'Becoming South African': Examining the Experiences of Caribbean Immigrants Living in Pretoria

by

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Declaration

I, Marlon Shawn Gilbert, declare that the dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree M.Soc.Sci. Development Studies at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not been submitted by me for a degree at another university. Where secondary material is used, this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with university requirements. I am aware of university policy and implications regarding plagiarism.

Abstract

The problem this dissertation engages with is the role of state-defined pathways available for 'legal' Caribbean migrants to South Africa, to effectively become South African citizens through practices of assimilation; enabling them to claim citizenship, and thus belonging to a new national community. The concept of a singular, state-defined citizen, a conception that has dominated academic debates over the last hundreds of years, is today challenged by the activities and presence of migrants from everywhere in nearly every place. This new and contemporary dynamic is prompting scholars to conceptualise other images of belonging, images that transcend, move beyond, stretch and displace the centrality of national borders in defining citizenship. One view shifts the source of citizenship rights from the state to the individual, bringing to the fore a cosmopolitan or post-national citizenship. Conversations concerning the significance, or lack thereof, of the state in migration share a tendency to analyse migration from the macro-level that the state represents and interpret individual actions and outcomes from that point of view. In this dissertation I address the problem by investigating the lived experiences of immigrants, and analysing from the micro-level of individuals and their families, in order to understand their relationship to the meso- and macro-levels available within the wider society. In the process, I illuminate the pathways that are available to 'legal' Caribbean migrants as they seek to deepen their belonging to a new national community whilst retaining their connections to other national and transnational communities.

KEYWORDS: Becoming, belonging, autonomy, assimilation, immigration, cosmopolitanism, transnationalism, margins, social fields, middle-class.

Dedication

For my wife, and our children.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANC   African National Congress

CARICOM Caribbean Community

DHA   Department of Home Affairs

ILO   International Labour Organisation

IOM   International Organisation for Migration

ISB   Immigration Services Branch

NDP   National Development Plan

NPC   National Planning Commission

PRP   Permanent Residence Permit

RSA   Republic of South Africa

UK   United Kingdom

UNDESA UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs

UNWTO United Nations World Tourism Organization

USA   United States of America

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1   Foreword

> 'What is hidden cannot be loved. The traveller cannot love, since love is stasis and travel is motion. If he (the traveller) returns to what he loved in a landscape and stays there, he is no longer a traveller but in stasis and concentration, the lover of that particular part of the earth, a native' (Walcott, 1993:265).

In a 1992 Nobel lecture, Derek Walcott theorises that the act of 'loving' and 'returning' to a landscape (read foreign country), to eventually stay there is what transforms a 'traveller' into 'a native'. Put another way, claims of identification with and belonging to a landscape can be made naturally and independently by the traveller; and changes taking place in the traveller, are connected to this identification. The landscape here refers to more than the topography of a country, it encompasses social, economic and political dynamics, their historical antecedents, interpersonal relationships and even feelings invoked by spaces within the landscape. In this autobiographical excerpt, the St. Lucian born Walcott describes his own process of assimilating into a foreign country, namely the island of Trinidad and Tobago. Walcott's insights are relevant to this dissertation because the central concern of this work is how a select number of 'legal'[1] Caribbean immigrants to South Africa experience, and articulate their efforts and claims to 'become South African'.

Belonging is multi-dimensional. Belonging can be derived from how persons feel about their status in society, which they may learn through processes of exclusion, rather than inclusion. Belonging in this sense is invoked more readily from a sense of exclusion. This conception underscores both the relational and relative nature of

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[1] The notions of legal and illegal immigrants, stem from the concept of the nation-state, and bordering practices developed to protect its integrity. Use of these terms in this dissertation is a reflection of the normalisation of political processes that recognise non-nationals, who are determined to live in South Africa, as one or the other. In a sense, no person is illegal by virtue of their mobility; but the decision to cross a border makes them subject to the laws and regulations, which impose a designation. Some writers perceive this disposition as a colonial artefact. The Organisation for African Unity (OAU) championed the principle of the intangibility of colonial borders in 1963; and more recently, Achille Mbembe (2019), expressed his belief in 'a common right to inhabit this earth', and that no African or person of African descent is a foreigner in Africa. Discussions on 'legal' immigrants residing in South Africa, indicate that for the time being states, like South Africa, are invested in borders.

belonging and allows space to examine both formal and informal experiences. Belonging can be drawn from issues related to membership, rights and duties (for example citizenship), or it may relate to forms of identification with a group, or with other people. Belonging can also be stirred by connection to social places, like a country, a city, or a community, and it is framed by identifications and memberships. The peculiar ways in which status reinforces sense of self and interacts with feelings of being part of a larger group, and with the emotional and social bonds that are related to such places, contribute to belonging (Anthias, 2006:21).

Claims of belonging by an immigrant, must typically be supported by other actors making a similar claim to facilitate permanence, a position or point that Walcott refers to as 'stasis'. Walcott does not reference borders or nation-states in the wider text, only other inhabitants, but as we well know returning to and staying in a country in today's world involves by necessity the crossing of borders, and interfacing with states, laws and bureaucracies. Walcott's emphasis on the role of immigrants in achieving stasis is not a perspective often encountered in the academic literature. The literature on international migration, or immigration, tends to be dominated by the perspective of, and concerns from, receiving states about how to control the number and composition of immigrants flowing into a territory. The autonomous aspect of immigrant belonging that Walcott reminds us about is often obscured in the academic conversation, if not entirely denied by counter claims made by the state and members of the wider society – yet it is analytically important as I will show in this dissertation.

In his essay, Walcott's argument performs at least two functions. Firstly, it frees the analysis of the traveller from limiting legal categorisations, which may be useful for bureaucratic purposes, but shifts the focus on 'causation from outside' forces, at the expense of migrant's agency and internal migration dynamics (De Haas, 2001:16). The traveller, for example, can be a student, a tourist, a spouse, a refugee, an economic or non-economic migrant, with space retained for consideration of the capacity of other actors to determine the conditions of the traveller's stay. Secondly, Walcott asserts that some form of change will occur in the traveller, as a consequence of the decision to remain. A similar point has been made by Gardner (1995: ii), who writes that '… those who step across cultural and geographical

boundaries are, in varying degrees, likely to find themselves transformed. As bodies physically move, so do personal and social boundaries shift; in this sense, migration involves a constant process of re-invention and re-definition.' Here Gardner identifies the mechanics of transformation in the movement of personal and social boundaries that accompany moving across territorial and legal boundaries. Moreover, the implication of Gardner's point is that both the traveller and the landscape are in motion, and that social boundaries within the landscape have to shift to accommodate the traveller, at the points at which they intersect. Both Walcott and Gardner then also agree that migration is above all a process.

Even if Walcott underplays the importance of states in establishing and maintaining territorial boundaries, the academic literature is clear that they play a pivotal role in differentiating international migration from other forms of human displacement. Consequently, states undoubtedly shape and transform migration patterns (Brochmann & Hammar, 1999; Castles & Miller, 2009; Skeldon 1997; Strikwerda, 1999, cited in De Haas, 2011). The academic literature on international migration is vast and well established and there is no space in this dissertation to engage with it in its entirety. For example, current debates range from the inability of states, particularly the liberal democratic state, to effectively manage immigration (Thielemann, 2006; Castles & Miller, 2009) to intense contestations about the efficacy of immigration policies (Brochmann & Hammar, 1999; Carling, 2002; Collyer, 2006; Strikwerda, 1999, cited in De Haas 2011).

For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I can for now agree with scholars who argue that states maintain substantial influence over immigrant experiences. With the power to establish formal rules and rights to citizenship, reflected in institutions that can grant access to participation and belonging, governments can determine to a large extent the context of incorporation into host societies and equality available to immigrants (Bloemraad *et al.,* 2008:154). Immigration policies, and by extension, changes to immigration policies, possess far reaching implications as a result of what Das and Poole (2004:15) call the 'double sign' of the state: its capacity to both maintain its distance whilst deeply penetrating every aspect of the lives of the governed. Immigration in this context thus raises questions about government policies and state bureaucracies and contestations around citizenship.

Since the 1990s, debates about international migration have been closely tied to what has been called globalisation. On one level, globalisation undermines simple conceptions of citizenship as state-centred and state-controlled. The process of nation-building typically attempts to forge a distinct national identity, itself a form of integration and differentiation, which in turn could form the basis for stronger anti-immigrant policy. Borders, inherent to the relationships between nation-states, order its inhabitants, and others who are outsiders (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2001). So, despite globalisation the nation-state remains an important actor through its capacity to establish and enforce formal rules and rights associated with membership. That is, to define insiders and outsiders in relation to citizenship.

These debates concern governments and nation-states all over world, yet it has special salience for South Africa, the site where research for this dissertation was conducted. As a middle-income country yet trapped in various ways still by the inequalities and impoverishment that characterised its colonial and apartheid past, post-apartheid South African governments have by near necessity tied the question of migration to its shores to the question of national development.

1.2   Problem statement

The problem this dissertation engages with are the pathways available for 'legal' Caribbean migrants to South Africa, to effectively become South African citizens through practices of assimilation; enabling them to claim citizenship, and thus belonging to a new national community. International migration is as old as humanity itself. Yet today immigration as a process problematises ideas of national identity, sovereignty, and state control. The movement of people across national borders raises questions pertaining to membership and citizenship, in the sense of the legitimacy of actors within the borders, as well as the borders themselves. The concept of a singular, state-defined citizen, a notion that has dominated academic debates over the last hundreds of years, is today challenged by the activities and presence of migrants from everywhere in nearly every place. This new and contemporary dynamic is prompting scholars and intellectuals such as Walcott to conceptualise other images of belonging, images that transcend, move beyond, stretch and displace the centrality of borders. One view shifts the source of citizenship rights from the state to the individual, bringing to the fore a cosmopolitan

or post-national citizenship. Another focuses on citizenship in terms of legal status, with specific regard to access to multiple citizenship, or as participatory citizenship based on transnational practices and attachments (Bloemraad *et al.,* 2008).

These counter perspectives give rise to a problem, namely that each variant in attempting to de-emphasise the centrality of the state, retains the primacy of citizenship as a measure of belonging. Citizenship as belonging, frames immigrant assimilation as a process controlled by the state. These are the central concerns that animate this dissertation. Evidence presented by scholars that belonging can transcend the state is criticised due to the pervasiveness of the state in contemporary migration processes. According to Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004:1117) the phenomena that immigration scholars describe as transnationalism is usually its opposite: highly particularistic, (national) attachments. Conversations concerning the significance, or lack thereof, of the state in migration share a tendency to analyse migration from the macro-level that the state represents and interpret individual actions and outcomes from that point of view. Scholars have tried to address this issue by focusing on the importance of autonomy in migration processes (Bojadžijev & Karakayali, 2010; Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013; Nyers, 2015), identifying immigrants as distinct actors, separate from the nation-states they depart from and those they inhabit. In this dissertation I address the problem by investigating the lived experiences of immigrants, and analysing from the micro-level of individuals and their families, in order to understand their relationship to the meso- and macro-levels available within the wider society. In the process, I shine a light on the pathways that are available to 'legal' Caribbean migrants as they seek to deepen their belonging to a new national community whilst retaining their connections to other national and transnational communities; and illustrate the connection between the pursuit of belonging and assimilation.

The concerns that animate this dissertation are not place specific and could be researched from the vantage point of many places, and indeed in many different ways. As a person born in the Caribbean who currently works and lives in the capital city of South Africa, I opt to address and research these concerns from the place where I currently reside. As such, my research confronts some of these concerns

through a qualitative study, investigating the experiences of a small number of Caribbean immigrants and their families living in Pretoria, South Africa.

This is an apt moment to carry out such a study. The Government of South Africa is currently reviewing the country's immigration policy, inclusive of the management of the integration of foreign nationals and the rules governing naturalisation. Management of the integration of immigrants is an example of the 'double bind' that borders represent (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009:129). Specifically, in order to function as a capitalist economy, liberal democracies must secure frontiers (often against people or labour) whilst leaving them open (often for capital). Countervailing forces of deregulation, on the one hand, of items inclusive of people, currencies, goods and services to promote growth; and regulation on the other, to safeguard competitive advantages by attracting, amongst other benefits, investment, information technology, and the 'right' kind of migrants,[2] act upon the state at the same time.

In this projection by Comaroff and Comaroff (2009), the state assumes the role of manager of a corporate entity, a quasi-licencing authority, designed to benefit its stakeholders. Such stakeholders aspire to be global citizens, as well as exclusive beneficiaries of the commonwealth of a sovereign polity. South Africa is not immune to the aforementioned abstraction. The end of apartheid created new but partially understood prospects for migration to South Africa. The (re)introduction of the country into the global economy resulted in new streams of both legal and undocumented migrants from Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries and non-SADC countries whilst producing within it 'new ethnic constellations' (Crush & Williams, 2002:1). Already 17 years ago scholars remarked that 'South Africa is increasingly becoming a hub of legitimate and illegitimate immigrants of a pan-African and global complexion' (Crush & Williams, 2002:2).

The growth of emigration to South Africa is a complex phenomenon, connected to recent processes of neoliberal regional integration, resting on a longer history of

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[2] These would include categories such as tourists, skilled personnel, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and possibly laborers willing to work more cheaply than locals, if the political compromise allows.

regional labour migration. From about the mid-nineteenth century, migration represents possibly 'the single most important factor tying together all of the various colonies and countries of the sub-continent into a single regional labour market during the twentieth century' (Crush *et al.,* 2005:1). Socio-economic transformations, poverty and inequality, as well as political turmoil in Southern Africa, are listed as push factors that coincide with the pull factors that South Africa's relatively stable political, economic and social conditions represent.

Initially, the new African National Congress (ANC) government granted amnesty to many 'unauthorised' immigrants who wanted to remain in the country and promised to relax the strict and racially biased immigrant policies constructed under White minority rule. The commitment to protect the rights of immigrants who sought refuge, legally or illegally, in South Africa appeared to correlate with increasing numbers of people entering South Africa. However, demographic changes taking place in the society, coupled with the perceived lack of change or transformation in the circumstances of ordinary South Africans, produced heightened levels of animosity towards foreigners (Trimikliniotis *et al.,* 2008). The resulting tension produced by a desire for openness, corrected by push back from less mobile sectors of the society, creates what I would describe as a reluctant cosmopolitanism. Segatti (2011:11) describes South Africa's predicament as being 'caught between a rock and a hard place' through the need to balance its tenuous relationship with immigration. The health of South Africa's economy is deeply connected to the rest of the region in terms of labour, skills circulation, trade and technology transfers, and financial markets (ibid.). The connection between migration and development should be defensible, but social tensions emerging from fears over migration can occlude the migration-development link. Different branches of government have to weigh the potential threat to social order that immigration represents and jeopardise their majorities and political domination; against becoming alienated by regional, and international partners due to incidents or accusations of harbouring xenophobic tendencies. Either would be bad for business, and raises the stakes in striking the right balance.

Many attempts have been made by the Government of South Africa, specifically the country's Department of Home Affairs[3] (DHA) to address some of its development challenges through immigration policy. [4] The Immigration Act of 2002 and the Immigration Amendment Act of 2004 sought to make a break from post-apartheid introspection, by swapping out anti-immigration discourse with an economically based discourse of selective skills import. The 2004 Amendment reinforced the economic underpinning to the 2002 Act. It states that the Act 'aims at setting in place a new system of immigration control which ensures that economic growth is promoted through the employment of needed foreign labour, foreign investment is facilitated, the entry of exceptionally skilled or qualified people is enabled [and] skilled human resources are increased' (Crush & Dodson, 2007:441).

By 2017, large sections of the 2004 Immigration Amendment Act remained unimplemented and in July of that year the DHA of the Republic of South Africa launched the 2017 White Paper on International Migration,[5] citing, inter alia, that

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[3] The DHA is identified as 'the custodian, protector and verifier of the identity and status of citizens and other persons resident in South Africa' (DHA, n.d.). Through its work, the Department endeavours to enable people to be aware of their rights and to access the benefits and opportunities available in the public and private spheres. The Department declares that it contributes to the deepening of democracy and social justice by expanding its services to marginalised communities in South Africa. The DHA is also responsible for controlling, regulating and facilitating the movement of nationals and non-nationals through POE and provides consular and immigration services at South Africa's foreign missions. In this regard, the Department is at the centre of efforts by the Government of South Africa to enable economic development and promote sound international relations whilst maintaining national security (DHA, n.d.).

[4] Currently, South Africa's policy on international migration is implemented through the Immigration Act, 2002 (Act No. 13 of 2002) and in part through the Refugees Act, 1998 (Act No. 130 of 1998). Subsequent to the implementation of the Immigration and Refugee Acts, the DHA made amendments, through regulations and strategies, to deal with what the Department perceives as gaps in the legislation. These measures, nonetheless, are seen to be insufficient and an indication of the need for a comprehensive review of the policy framework, which would in turn provide inputs for systematic reform of the legislation.

[5] The latest White Paper on International Migration was published in July 2017, the document was released approximately 18 years after the previous White Paper on International Migration, which was

South Africa had become a significant destination and transportation hub for the continent and the world. The latest White Paper is designed to act as a policy framework, which would guide a comprehensive review of immigration and associated legislation. The process of amending the legislation is scheduled to be completed in 2019.

The department cites significant changes at the local, regional and international levels as the rationale to revamp South Africa's immigration policy, an immigration policy that would allow the country to 'embrace global opportunities while safeguarding our sovereignty and ensuring public safety and national security' (DHA, 2017:5). In order to do this, eight policy gaps have been identified in a number of areas, inclusive of, and pertinent to this study, 'the management of residency and naturalisation' and 'the management of integration for international migrants' respectively (ibid.: vi).

The paradigm that frames the 2017 White Paper is that of 'strategic management of international migration to achieve national goals'. The authors of the 2017 White Paper state explicitly that 'South Africa urgently needs in a highly connected world … a robust, progressive vision of benefits of well-managed international migration' (ibid.:31). Basically, it acknowledges that in the face of the state's inability and unwillingness to stop or slow down immigration, energy should be directed at managing the process in an efficient and secure manner that is respectful to human rights.

According to the DHA, the 2017 White Paper represents a departure from the 1999 White Paper, which was characterised as 'static' and incapable of the strategic management of international migration (DHA, 2017:2). The DHA references South Africa's adoption of the country's National Development Plan (NDP), which was launched in 2012 and represents the overarching policy framework for all public policies, legislation and strategies, as the rationale for the review.

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approved by Cabinet in March 1999. The 1999 White Paper provides the framework for existing legislation and regulations governing immigration or international migration to the Republic of South Africa (South Africa, Department of Home Affairs, 2017:6).

The 2012 NDP in turn advocates for the proper management of migration in order for gaps in the labour market to be filled and positive contributions to the economy to be realised. The authors of the NDP recognise that 'energetic and resourceful migrant communities can contribute to local and national development' and highlight the role of 'diverse, cosmopolitan populations' in fostering 'cultural, economic and intellectual innovation' (NPC, 2015:105). The NDP's appeal to the development of an inclusive cosmopolitanism is as old as the democracy itself, informed by the often-quoted line in the preamble of the Constitution, which reads: 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity' (RSA, 1996:1). However, as Peberdy (2001:16) has pointed out, immigration selection on the basis of skills, investment potential or otherwise, is connected to ideas of 'the self-image of the destination state, race, national identity, and the stereotyping of non-nationals and their places of origin'.

The question of belonging in or to South Africa has of course a fraught and difficult history due in large part to its colonial and apartheid history. Following the demise of apartheid, discourses on national identity have fundamentally altered the way in which ordinary South Africans approached the issue of belonging to an 'imagined community'. During the period of White minority rule, millions of Black South Africans were for example marginalised through the granting of dubious citizenship rights in the Bantustans, 'independent' homelands, which legally regarded them as 'foreigners' (Murray, 2003). Whilst leading figures, both inside and outside of the post-1994 government, were generating new narratives of national purpose through the conciliatory and inclusive rhetoric of the 'rainbow nation', they inadvertently crafted the basis for not so new forms of national exclusion. As Murray (2003) has argued, faith in the newly minted South Africa, complete with its adherence to constitutionalism and the rule of law, the expanded rights of citizenship, and the inclusionary politics of multiculturalism and non-racial democracy, were accompanied by fears of being overrun by illegal immigrants, the new foreigner.

In addition to the challenges to South Africa's constitutionality, based on its record with 'outsiders', the country struggles to meet the social and economic needs of the majority of its 'insiders'. Thus, appeals to South Africans to embrace a common national identity are often undermined by persistent alienation amongst South Africans from one another, along the fracture lines of significant disparities of wealth,

income, and opportunity that remain racialised. Halisi (1997, 1998) describes national life as a coexistence of two (separate and unequal) nations, held together in an unstable equilibrium. In the post-apartheid era, the division between 'the haves' and 'the have nots' is identified as the obstacle to a vibrant national unity.

As Comaroff and Comaroff (2009:128) suggest, an 'obsession with policing borders' is connected to ideas of the limits of sovereignty. These limits are made visible through the continued alienation and inequality amongst insiders, and the recurrence of the figure of the new foreigner. In South Africa, but also elsewhere, debates over the crises that governments face stem from their inability to control, inter alia, immigration. Like Baumann (2002:30) says, the state represents 'a form of governance … that holds or claims territorial sovereignty' and this view informs both the 2017 White Paper on international migration, and the NDP. The management of phenomena such as naturalisation and integration as the White Paper proposes, creates an opportunity for researchers to examine more closely the nature of assimilation in the context of South Africa, so as to contribute to policy that explicitly links migration with development.

1.3   Statement of purpose

The process of becoming a naturalised person in a foreign country intersects with debates regarding the absorption of foreigners into a national community. Naturalisation,[6] the process that enables a non-citizen in a country to acquire citizenship or nationality of that country, is a strategy employed by states to exert greater control over changes resulting from immigration. For Comaroff and Comaroff (2009:146), naturalisation entails 'the assimilation of alien persons, signs, and practices into a world-in place; its prototype is the metamorphosis of outlanders into citizens of the liberal nation-state'. In other words, bringing them into the mainstream citizen body.

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[6] In South Africa, naturalisation is covered by the South African Citizenship Act, 1995 (Act 88 of 1995), which was amended by the South African Citizenship Amendment Act, 2010 (Act No. 17 of 2010) and proclaimed on 1 January 2013.

Soysal (1995, cited in Byrne, 2017:108) claims that the growing acceptance of a universal concept of citizenship, based on individual personhood above national belonging results in persons legally admitted by the state enjoying many of the rights available to national citizens. Following Soysal's argument, the utility of citizenship continues to diminish, as well as the need to subscribe to naturalisation processes implemented by states. On the other hand, persistent re-assertion of state control of borders, the extension of bordering practices at missions abroad, and the review of immigration policy in South Africa, for example, indicate that citizenship status within nations retains important consequences.

I argue that belonging for a foreigner is a process that the state is relevant to, stemming from its role in admitting individuals and allocating rights and privileges that may culminate in citizenship; but individuals are central to the process of identifying and accessing pathways available to immigrants within the wider society, as they pursue their claim to belong. The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate the autonomous ways in which legal immigrants mediate and respond (read assimilate), within the context of what Mbembe (2001:1) describes as the tension or 'conflict between a cosmopolitan and nativist vision of identity', reflected in immigration policies and state attitudes.

1.4   Research question(s)

On the subject of identity, the end of White minority rule, and the adoption of constitutional democracy necessitated the building of a narrative that would frame the new South Africa. The architects of the 'new nation' identified principles of social progress, constitutional liberties and a non-racial, inclusive democracy, amongst others, as key to the citizens of the nation of South Africa (Murray, 2003). Ivor Chipkin poses a question, central to the political settlement: On what grounds are South Africans a single people (2007:174)? According to Chipkin, South Africans lack national markers; unlike the South Africans of yesteryear, there is no longer a clear distinction between the oppressor and the oppressed, a particular language or religion, a common culture or race. Contemporary South Africans appear to have in common at the least, a geographical legacy and an intuition, an obscure internal measure of the people.

Chipkin (2015) later penned an essay in the Sunday Times, entitled 'Who is African, and who gets to decide that?' In it he clarifies that exclusion goes beyond citizenship, and voices his concern for a 'we', a South African constituency not covered by shifting conceptions of nation, moving towards what he describes as 'growing ethnic, chauvinist tendencies'. Chipkin challenges the standards of authenticity redrawing South African borders, and the potential to exclude in the future groups of people who are included today. I do not intend to debate the value of Chipkin's argument, but I wish to seize upon Chipkin's identification of a separate constituency, operating within the borders of South Africa, and arguably every nation-state, that is not fully covered by government conceptions of the demos. This group is significant, in its potential to accommodate multiple social fields with important consequences for immigrant incorporation into South Africa.

The existence of people living within a territory, enjoying citizenship rights and privileges without meeting the standards articulated by the government of the day is not farfetched. The purpose of nation-building programs is to evangelise the outliers, and Gunsteren (1998) reminds us that citizenship is always 'incomplete'. Chipkin's observations create an opportunity to ask the following research questions: How are pathways to belonging in South Africa mapped out by 'legal' Caribbean immigrants, in relation to options provided by the state and the wider society? What is the role of existing social fields in translating 'legal' immigrant aspirations for belonging to South Africa into access and acceptance? Is there a connection between access to social fields and assimilation? What are the implications for development and policy-making to be drawn from examining the experiences of 'legal' Caribbean immigrants, as they seek to become South African?

1.5   Overview of methodology

Research on immigrants requires probing realms of the social that are not always readily accessible. Qualitative research provides an opportunity to examine and interpret the experiences of Caribbean immigrants living in South Africa. The research design I chose for this study, and which I considered well suited to answer the research questions, consisted of semi-structured interviews involving a sample of five Caribbean individuals. The interview schedules were designed in such a way to

elicit data on these individuals and their partners, children and family networks in South Africa and elsewhere.

1.6   Rational and significance

In the specific case of South Africa, the migration phenomenon has been examined by scholars through varied disciplinary and methodological approaches. Researchers typically employ quantitative, statistically representative, national surveys in host and source countries alike (De Vletter, 1998; Frayne & Pendleton 1998; Mattes *et al.,* 1999; McDonald *et al.,* 1998, 1999; McDonald 2000; Sechaba Consultants 1997, cited in Crush & Williams 2002:2). The qualitative approach is often able to offer more nuanced dynamics of the immigrant experience in South Africa, and in the city under discussion.

Crush and McDonald (2002:1) recommend more 'participatory' and 'place-based approaches' that could aid in answering the following research questions: 'What is the qualitative nature of the new South African migratory mosaic? Who are the new international migrants and immigrants in South Africa? What are the conditions shaping their migratory patterns? And what is the nature of their relations with South Africa and their home countries?' This dissertation joins a growing number of qualitative studies on immigration in South Africa (Hoag, 2010; Chereni, 2014; Inaka, 2014; Lin, 2014; Adams & Rother, 2017; Kalule, 2017).

Antecedents to this study include research on a Caribbean presence in South Africa in the early twentieth century, predominantly amongst economic migrants such as seafarers who settled in the Western Cape. As a noted historian, Cobley (1992:359), has shown, many of these individuals used their educational advantages over local labour, amongst other benefits they had, to obtain available skilled and semi-skilled jobs. Others found employment within the small educated 'Coloured' elite of businessmen, self-employed artisans, professionals and clerks.

1.7   Role of the researcher

I can identify in part with Walcott's traveller. Like the author, I originate from a Caribbean island, but through various life circumstances, live outside of my country of birth. I reside and work in Pretoria, South Africa; as a result of a work assignment. My family and I commute on weekends to Johannesburg, so our concept of South

Africa is largely shaped by events taking place within the province of Gauteng, particularly the administrative capital. Several life altering events coincided with my stay in this country, producing personal changes that are intertwined and inseparable from a country that is not my own. Interest in this project was stirred through conversations with people from my island, and other territories in the region, who have made long-term commitments to stay in South Africa; to 'become South African'.

1.8   Researcher assumptions

In the execution of this study I made the assumption that participants in this study have a desire to belong to South Africa in part or as a whole, and that avenues exist in the law, and pathways exist in society, to support their continued presence in the country. This study focuses on legal immigrants in South Africa. Illegality, and to some extent legality on the basis of laws governing asylum seekers and refugees, would distort the objectives of this research exercise.

The issue at hand is not one of whether people change, but the nature and direction of their change as a consequence of their experiences in moving away from the margins of the society, both formal in terms of the state, and informal with respect to their reception by the wider society.

1.9   Organisation of the dissertation

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter two provides a brief review of the literature and the theoretical framework for the study. Chapter three introduces the research participants and outlines the research methodology. Chapter four presents my evidence, and chapter five provides a discussion and conclusion of the research including recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature review and theoretical framework

2.1   Introduction

In this chapter I will develop my ideas on the implications of the tension or 'conflict between a cosmopolitan and nativist vision of identity' on legal immigrant assimilation in South Africa. I begin by identifying legal immigrant pathways and their role in providing a context for immigrant access and opportunities in a host country. I argue that these pathways may begin with the state, as a result of state power, but once access is granted, immigrants have relatively greater space to navigate and negotiate the host society through pathways that their aspirations and capabilities contribute to mapping out. Lastly, I will articulate a theoretical framework, which illuminates agency in the process of immigrant assimilation.

Studies on migration, particularly immigration, are important for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it is hard to imagine a country in the world not touched by the phenomenon. Secondly, immigration tends to be intimately linked to critical national and global issues, inclusive of development, human rights and the environment. Thirdly, immigrants tend to represent a dynamic and entrepreneurial component of their host society, often misunderstood and attracting resentment by sectors of the receiving population (Koser, 2007).

Migration entails a geographical shift into a new area, often with a transnational dimension, interaction with a 'new' cultural environment and some form of reception by a receiving culture or group. Migration is a complex phenomenon, encompassing diverse people, groups and circumstances. Common migrant categories include permanent settlers, contract workers, students, refugees, a nomadic global elite, people seeking to reunite with loved ones, forcibly moved persons or those seeking to return to their home country (Stalker, 2001:10-12, cited in Seglow, 2005:317). Migration is a form of, and produces, social change, and has the potential to produce transformations in the receiving and sending society alike.

The number of people who migrate each year is unknown. The incongruent ways in which different countries record flows, specifically illegal migration, contribute to the indefinite figures quoted (Ghosh, 2000:6; Stalker, 2001:10, cited in Seglow, 2005:317). In 2002, the UN estimated that roughly 3% of the global population, about

185 million people, were on the move (Castles & Miller, 2003:4). By 2017, the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) recorded 257.7 million people, or 3.4 % of the world population (UNDESA, 2019). The balance of the world population, those not on the move, are invariably touched by migration in profound ways. A large percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP) of many countries consists of remittances from emigrants. Moreover, competition over jobs and resources, as well as ethnic conflicts, can often be traced to migration (Stalker, 2001:100-112; Castles & Miller, 2003:32-48, 178-197, 220-277, cited in Seglow, 2005:317).

Migration problematises the concept of state membership, specifically that of transnational communities, which represent a distinct social space (Stalker, 2001: 115; Castles & Miller, 2003:29-30; Jordan & Düvell, 2003:75-8, cited in Seglow, 2005:318). The complexity is exacerbated by the volume of migrants as well as the number of sending countries. A higher number of sending countries implies increased diversification of the cultural backgrounds, economic skills and social skills of those arriving at various immigrant gateways (Ghosh, 2000a:8-14, 18-20; Castles & Miller, 2003:7-14, 122-53, 278-91, cited in Seglow 2005).

The effects of migration are acutely experienced in cities. Parag Khanna (2011) argues that the 21st century will be defined by 'the city', superseding the role of the nation-state in preserving the global order and patterns of capital formation and flows. Graeber (2002) compares the contemporary role of cities in entrenching the power and wealth of international elites, to forms reminiscent of the fifteenth century. For Greenfield, the modern economy is a 'product of nationalism' (2005:327), and the surge towards cities directs the role of the state towards increased levels of border control to manage the movement of labour towards the centres that cities represent. Rather than superseding, nation-states and the cities they enclose work in tandem in the preservation of the global order.

Post-apartheid South Africa, and the governing ANC, inherited a complex and multifaceted set of challenges related to the implementation of an immigration policy that would complement the transformative and development needs of the country. The political discourse, which emerged and remains dominant, has focused on stemming irregular immigration. Concomitantly, measures devised to address,

directly or indirectly, the issue of irregular migration are reflected in the immigration policy passed in 2002 (Polzer, 2005). South Africa has experienced losses and gains as a result of migration. Emigration of skilled labour to developed countries such as the United States of America (USA), Australia, Great Britain and New Zealand is recorded, alongside a growing population of irregular immigrants from the region and wider African continent. South Africa is a destination of immigration from other parts of the world; this is facilitated by provisions in place through the law to accommodate the incorporation of skilled persons into the country (Tati, 2008).

Landau (2005, 2009) identifies South Africa's urban centres as the sites in which many of these movements collide. The intersection of 'newly urbanised South Africans and non-nationals in an environment of resource scarcity, combined with political and economic transition, places a premium on the rights to residence, employment and social services' (Landau, 2005:1119). Pressure to exclude foreigners in favour of South Africans, under the banner of national sovereignty and rights to prosperity, created the conditions for government to declare a 'state of exception' (Landau, 2005:1119). People in the lower economic strata experience resource scarcity and competition more acutely than those in the middle- and upper-classes and are more predisposed to exploit the politics of difference as a survival strategy. The reality of a large percentage of South African citizens, especially those living in urban centres, excluded economically, competing for opportunities to make a living, feeds into a nativist discourse and inadvertently undermines cosmopolitan claims.

Negative reactions to migrants by the receiving society often stem from perceptions of the change potential to the status quo, but according to Portes (2010), these fears are typically unfounded. Research indicates that, beyond superficial modifications to the general appearance of a migrant-receiving area, the fundamental character of the receiving society remains unchanged. The locus of change instead revolves around the accommodations made by the foreign-born as they seek to find their fit within their new environment.

2.2   Immigrant pathways

Before we review the literature on immigrant accommodations in host societies, I want to briefly discuss the significance of pathways for legal immigrants. Massey and Malone (2003) conducted research on the subject and provide insights that are useful to this dissertation. The researchers found methodological discrepancies between the way states, the US in particular, measure migration and actual immigrant circumstances. The problem arises from concepts such as permanent and temporary. These concepts are temporal and found to be incapable of reading migrant intentions. A person may enter a country on a temporary visa, with the intention to study for example, and access to opportunities or a burgeoning relationship may alter their pathway. In the same way, an individual may acquire permanent status on the basis of their professional qualifications or business plans, with every intention of staying, but commitments in another country or changing circumstances in a host country can modify their feelings and desire to remain.

Intentions are subjective and ambiguous, requiring individuals to reflect and respond to inquiries of their status based on their psychological state at a fixed point in time. The intention to stay, or using Walcott's terminology, 'stasis', is paramount in determining when a visitor becomes an immigrant. Ellis and Wright (1998) wrestled with a similar inquiry, of when exactly does an immigrant become an immigrant? In an era defined by increased globalism, and human mobility, the issue of when one arrives 'to stay' becomes more difficult to ascertain. This conundrum provoked Massey and Malone (2003:475) to describe the US state agencies' commitment to temporal concepts as based on an 'anachronistic 19th century view of immigration that was not even accurate in the 1890s'. Practical applications of pinning down an individual's intention 'to stay' aside, there at least two further issues that are relevant to this dissertation. The first is theoretical; neoclassical migration theories, assume one-way migratory flows in order to secure higher earnings over the course of a lifetime. More attention will be paid to the shortcomings found in neoclassical migration theories at the end of this chapter, as well as the reasons behind the choice of the theoretical framework employed in this study. Secondly, pathways to legal migration fixated on when immigrants become immigrants produce misleading conclusions about the process of adaptation and assimilation. Many countries base

decisions on naturalisation on the length of time spent in a country. In South Africa, for example, applicants for naturalisation are permitted to submit their application after holding a permanent residency permit (PRP) for a period of at least ten years.[7]

The length of time spent in a country only tells a part of the story. Massey and Malone (2003:501) recommend adjusting and updating methods of measuring immigrant experiences to capture events before legalisation, such as circular migration, in order to arrive at more realistic renderings of immigrant adaptation and assimilation. I agree in part with the researchers' findings, but a more detailed immigrant profile would not necessarily provide insight into immigrant intentions. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, intentions may shift due to factors that occur subsequent to declarations made at a port of entry. We can accept that macro-level and micro-level concerns over the linkage between legal immigrant pathways and adaptation can be divergent, and that there is a requirement to approach them as separate constructs that overlap at times. Further, acquiring a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between legal immigrant pathways and assimilation requires a handover to a micro-level, behavioural approach. Again, the choice of the theoretical framework utilised in this dissertation takes into consideration the need for micro-behavioural explanations.

2.3   Assimilation

The ways in which legal immigrant pathways relates to assimilation necessitates a review of the literature on assimilation. Accommodations or changes made by immigrants in a host society are covered by a cluster of concepts that include, inter alia, assimilation, integration, incorporation, adaptation, and acculturation. Assimilation is a cross-disciplinary topic, in which political scientists, sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists are listed as contributors to a vast body of literature on the associated dynamics. Alba and Nee (1997:863) define assimilation as the 'decline, and at its point, the disappearance, of an ethnic/racial distinction and

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[7] This provision is being challenged by the 2017 White Paper on International migration, and a recommendation has been made to delink the pathway to residency and citizenship based on the length of an applicant's stay in South Africa.

the cultural and social differences that expresses it'. Brubaker (2001:531) describes assimilation as an 'analytically discredited and politically disreputable concept'. The concept has been criticised by social scientists for 'imposing ethnocentric and patronising demands on minority peoples struggling to retain their cultural and ethnic integrity' (Alba & Nee, 1997:877). Assimilation conjures up ideas of Anglo-conformity in the American setting, harsh homogenising, state projects such as the Germanisation of Polish-speaking parts of Germany and Jacobin Republicanism in France (Brubaker, 2001).

Several theorists have contributed to reclaiming assimilation as an analytic concept, amongst them Portes and Zhou (1993), De Wind and Kasinitz (1997), Alba and Nee (1997, 2003), Brubaker (2001), Joppke and Morawska (2003), Freeman (2004), and Gans (2007). In an essay by Alba and Nee (2003), assimilation is reinterpreted as a spontaneous and unconscious part of the interaction between minority and majority groups, thus a necessary concept in the study of intergroup relations. The reality of diverse outcomes in immigrant adaptation necessitated the introduction of the concept of 'segmented assimilation' (Portes & Zhou, 1993:74).

Classical assimilation 'assumes a society composed of domestic individuals and groups which are integrated normatively by a consensus and organisationally by a state' (Joppke & Morawska, 2003, cited in Freeman, 2004:947). No society fits this description, instead they constitute 'multiple autonomous and interdependent fields or systems, which engage actors only partially, never completely' (Freeman, 2004: 947). Several implications for immigrant incorporation can be drawn from this definition. Firstly, the capacity of the state to integrate immigrants is constrained by these multiple social fields, a point we will pick up on later in this chapter. Secondly, within the host society, all immigrants assimilate on some level. Thirdly, conceptually immigrants are assimilated to other individuals and groupings within the society. Fourthly, if the society into which immigrants are assimilated is fragmented, then the process of assimilation would be fragmented. These are relevant because they emphasise that legal immigrant pathways extend beyond the routes provided by the state of a host society, involve the wider society and may appear as intricate and variegated as the society under consideration.

De Wind and Kasinitz (1997) point out that assimilation has two parts, an immigrant's willingness to assimilate and the society's preparedness to allow migrants to assimilate. Bringing to the fore an interplay, or interactions around a shared locus, like a field. For Alba and Nee (2003:10), assimilation refers to the 'decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences'. Alba and Nee's definition could connote a sense of loss, which I believe is a furtherance of ethnocentric assumptions regarding minority groups coming into contact with 'stronger', more coherent groups. Herbert Gans (2007) references Albert and Nee's definition but makes a further distinction between social and cultural assimilation, referring to cultural assimilation as acculturation.[8] According to Gans, acculturation (cultural assimilation) refers to the options pursued by immigrants and their descendants in the host country. These choices are usually made automatically and tend to be unintentional. Social assimilation, on the other hand, is entirely purposive, and cannot be accomplished without formal or informal acceptance by the non-immigrant population. I agree with this definition because Gans accounts for agency on the part of the foreign-born in navigating their new surroundings.

Acculturation or cultural assimilation derives from the need or opportunity to adapt to new situations and commences at the point of arrival. Social assimilation is the process through which immigrants pursue non-immigrant associations, when immigrant connections cannot fulfil needs or interests. Immigrants differ in their capability to assimilate; those in possession of middle- to upper-class status are more prone to do so, or have less need to do so (Feliciano, 2005). Non-immigrants require incentives to accommodate immigrants, increasing the requirement for

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[8] In South Africa, two distinct styles or approaches to anthropology developed according to language categories. Sharp (1980, 1981) identifies one style produced by English-medium universities, and another style produced by Afrikaans-medium universities. Studies of cultural change and urbanisation by Afrikaans anthropologists draw from the cognate discipline of volkekunde, which is intrinsically a manifestation of an Afrikaans outlook on life (Sharp, 1981:17). Social anthropologists from English-medium universities, through contact and exchanges with British and American universities especially, veered away from volkekunde, and reflect more closely the approach of counterparts from these countries. Cultural assimilation as defined by Gans (2007), and applied by me in this dissertation, reflect the style of English-medium universities.

cultural and social skills to navigate the host country. It should be noted that the requirement for assimilation is reduced drastically for immigrants with scarce and sought-after occupational skills. This is important because it illustrates the role of capabilities and aspirations in sorting, or selecting and deselecting, immigrant options that when linked together, uncover uniquely mapped out pathways.

Portes (2010) makes a useful contribution through his examination of the components of a host society (illustrated in figure 1) that facilitate changes in migrants, and the conditions that result in transformation of the society as a result of migration.

Figure 1

Migration and Change in Host Societies
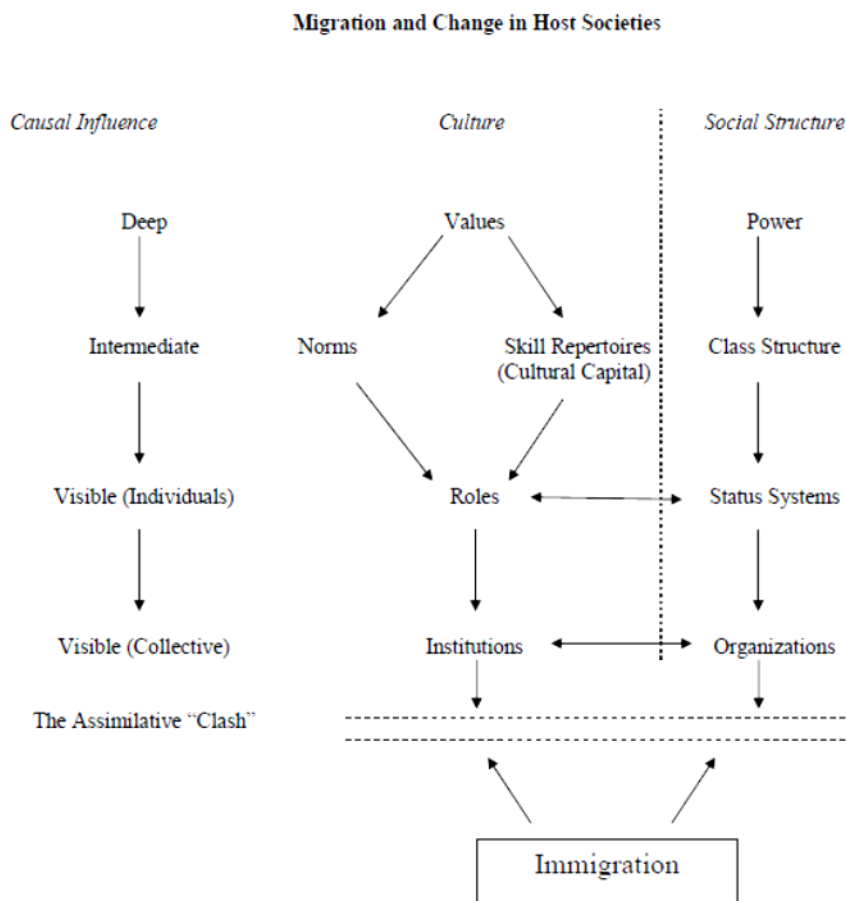
Causal influences that can produce change run through layers ranging from the relatively superficial, identified as the visible (collective) and visible (individuals) respectively, to the intermediate, all the way to the deep, relatively invisible strata. The societal interface is divided into two aspects, the culture and social structure. Immigration as a causal influence has to penetrate the culture of a host society

through the above-mentioned layers, represented in established institutions; through to the roles held by the existing population; through to the norms and skill repertoires reflected in laws and policy frameworks; all the way to the very values upholding the society itself. The social structure runs from organisations, representing the visible (collective), through the status system, which formalises a sense of place of individuals in the society, through the class structure that relates actors to their place; all the way to the deepest part, where power is wielded and the order of the society determined.

The 'assimilative clash' (Portes, 2010:1548) refers to the collective resistance mounted by the very layers constituting a host society to migration-induced change, in the form of a 'thick institutional web' (ibid.). This structure acts as a sorting device, with permanent settlers in the professional/technical class, made up of relatively small ethnic groups, who are generally incapable of and uninterested in changing the status quo. Change typically manifests in the form of various forms of accommodation, undertaken by immigrants in the host society. Revolutionary social change requires transformation of the value system of the host society, and changes to the class structure. Beyond 'street level' changes in the sight and smells of cities, migration-induced changes rarely have an impact on the fundamental pillars of a society (ibid.). These would include amongst others the education system, language(s) spoken, the legal/judicial system, basic values determining social interactions and very critically, the class structure and distribution of power. In the conceptualisation of my research, Portes' insights into the connection between collisions, or in his words a 'clash', and assimilation are central to the ways in which immigrant pathways are navigated and the changes that different individuals undergo as their agency interacts with the constraints that they encounter in a host society.

Immigration tends to reinforce the prevailing political and economic order. According to Portes (2010), immigration pushes from below, affecting some organisations and possibly resulting in institutional accommodation to some extent, but the potential for transformation is resisted by a pre-configured institutional web, established by deeply embedded cultural and power structures. The institutional web facilitates assimilation, directing migrants to their place within the status system of the host society. This entails educating migrants and their descendants in the language and

cultural norms of their new home. Apart from 'telluric movements' (very large numbers of people, across the class spectrum) (ibid.:1545), the modern state is sufficiently powerful to contain and incorporate migration-induced change, in ways that strengthen the normative structures in place. I do not agree with Portes' assessment on the stability of the modern state. His research referred to the US and may be applicable to narratives generated by that context, but postcolonial, developmental societies evince a different character, which Mbembe (1992:2) describes as 'chaotically pluralistic'. The introduction of immigrants within that context often require researchers to take into account a less established populace, with more recent experiences of political and social rupture.

Brubaker (2001) embarks on a herculean effort to distance the concept of assimilation from its normative origins. He makes a distinction between two applications of assimilation: general and abstract on one hand, and specific and organic on the other. In the first instance, referring to a process of becoming or making similar, assimilation refers to a direction of change and not the degree of similarity. The second connotation implies a movement to a final state, the complete absorption by the recipient body. Each application can be subdivided and understood in their respective transitive or intransitive forms. Used intransitively, assimilation refers to the process of becoming similar, enabling researchers to identify the areas of convergence for both immigrants and members of a host society.

The general or abstract conceptualisation of assimilation is by no means problem free. When utilised by state actors, it can assume a transitive character and mean to 'assimilate' or 'make similar', accompanied by the normative assumptions and impositions that state policies and programmes historically associated with assimilation. According to Brubaker, assimilation used in the organic and specific sense is always transitive and inherently problematic. For the following reasons, I disagree. The organic or natural metaphor used by Brubaker is drawn from an animal's body, limiting the process to 'convert [ing] into a substance of its own nature, as the bodily organs convert food into blood, and thence into animal tissue … to absorb into the system, [to] incorporate' (Oxford English Dictionary (OED)). Used this way, the body or organism and the landscape are one and the same. I wish to propose another typology, not articulated by Brubaker, namely assimilation in an

organic and specific sense, viewed intransitively. Gans' (2007) ideas on social assimilation, specifically changes resulting from purposeful choices made by the individual, as opposed to coercion by the state or other social forces, can be considered natural. I make this proposition because it is conducive to the identification of the ways in which individuals respond to other actors and events within a specified context, without diminishing the role of the individual or the significance of other actors, such as governments and the wider society.

Comaroff and Comaroff (2001) provide another metaphor for the 'natural', consistent with my proposition, in the form of plants and shrubs found in a broader landscape. Used in this way, the landscape or context is not the same as the organism; but supportive of a wide variety of organisms. Applied intransitively, what an observer sees and recognises as natural becomes a matter of time and context. There is a temporal and spatial dynamic to assessing what is indigenous to a landscape. Visitors to South Africa are astonished by the transformation brought about by the thousands of *Jacaranda mimosifolia*[9] littered across the capital city, usually during the months of October and November. They are often unaware of the fact that the *Jacaranda* was brought to South Africa from South America in the 19th century, and is considered an invasive, non-indigenous species. Acceptance and strong emotional connections by some sectors of the society contribute to the plant's assimilation into and identification with South Africa.

In the same way, the natural and, intransitive application of the concept of assimilation being proposed, refers to the process undergone by a traveller (who may at a later stage claim to be a native) in becoming similar to parts of a landscape. What the traveller sees, learns and interprets become catalysts for his/her response or adaptation to his/her new environment. This typology, (illustrated in Table 1 below and highlighted in green), recognises the landscape and the ecology it supports as part of a specific context that facilitates assimilation or becoming similar, and suspends normative reference points that designate what should represent

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[9] Jacaranda mimosifolia is included on the government's list of banned non-indigenous plants. Despite the classification, it has assumed a sense of place in South Africa, and has not been forcefully removed like other invasive foreign plants, although it is forbidden to plant new ones.

indigenous or the authentic. It also challenges the observer to analyse the patterns of integration, adaptation or incorporation employed by the traveller in becoming less of a traveller.

Table 1

	General and Abstract	**Specific and Organic**
Transitive (External pressure or expectation to conform to a standard.)	Assimilative • Susceptible to use by state programs • Making similar to an undeclared mainstream	Assimilative • Natural (Body) • Absorption • Normative assumptions • Ethnocentric, considers a specific ethnic/racial/class as reference point • Classical assimilation theory
Intransitive (Relatively free of external pressure to conform to an identified standard.)	Assimilation • Becoming similar to a Generic Mainstream	Assimilation • Natural (Ecology) • Becoming similar to parts of the landscape, through acceptance and shared capacity to thrive in the environment • Augmentation/informed responses to the environment • Considers the wider environment as the referent point • No ideological commitment to a mainstream

In the introduction, I asserted that the landscape of a country includes its social, economic and political dynamics, their historical antecedents, interpersonal relationships and even feelings invoked by spaces within the territory. Further, claims to belong by an individual, namely a foreigner or an immigrant, requires support from other actors occupying the landscape in order to strengthen and legitimise the claim. I will dedicate the following three sections of this chapter to discuss the process of assimilation enabled by two categories of actors. The first category refers to the nation-state, represented by government officials, bureaucracies and the formal processes they generate. The second category is populated by the wider society, and the informal, relatively non-obligatory processes of assimilation that this group entails.

2.4   The nation-state

In modern times, civic participation is legitimised by the idea of nation, specifically the nation-state (Verdery, 1993:43), and citizenship is the ultimate symbol of belonging to a national community. The root meaning of nation is to be born, and despite the

variety of contexts in which the term is invoked, it is important for the system of categories represented to appear natural. Used as a sorting device, it groups and differentiates one category of people from another. In the process, it rarefies the thing being born into, for example privilege, or cultural historic community (Verdery, 1993:37). The categories created impose boundaries that require protection. Ideologies of what constitutes a nation shift over time (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) and by extension, their margins shift in tandem. The state holds ultimate power to establish and adjust legal pathways, necessary to access a landscape. Through borders and bordering practices, the state, guided by policies, organised through its bureaucracy and implemented by its agents, cannot be disaggregated from a discussion on legitimate immigrant pathways and its connection to adaptation and assimilation.

Accessing a state, a discrete point or stage along an immigrant pathway, requires interfacing with a border. Immigrants undergo changes that become apparent shortly after arrival (Martinovic *et al.,* 2009:871), a process that is invariably contoured by experiences at the border and through bordering practices. Borders, boundaries and margins are used interchangeably to describe delimitations, but in this dissertation, I want to take an opportunity to distinguish between the concepts. The OED defines a border as a line separating two countries or other areas; a boundary as a line marking the limits of an area; and a margin as an edge or border. Borders here, refer to the physical outline of the state, mapped and defined lines that demarcate where a state begins and ends. At border points, individuals encounter official entryways, in the form of border officials and bordering practices. Boundaries and margins are applied to capture more abstract phenomena. Boundaries used here encompass the line as well as the areas on either side, allowing for greater subjectivity and nuance. A formal boundary refers to borders as defined prior, whilst an informal boundary describes distinctions along the lines of class, ethnicity, culture and gender. The margin is the coded edge or the articulated line itself; it encompasses rules and practices and accompanied by claims of certainty. Das and Poole (2004:20) define the margins as 'the literal boundaries of the state'. Crossing a border, or navigating boundaries requires an outsider to be or become legible to the rules encoded at the margins. Each of the three manifestations of a border, or demarcation, has a role to play in immigrant assimilation.

Through the prism of the nation-state, assimilation is conceptualised as naturalisation, a process whereby outsiders are transformed into citizens (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). Normative debate regarding naturalisation in liberal states coalesce around two routes, which James Hampshire describes as 'liberal minimalism' and 'nationalism' (2010:74). Liberal minimalists, like Joseph Carens (2002), argue for easy naturalisation, stemming from the existing social membership enjoyed by permanent residents. For liberal minimalists, access to citizenship should be uncomplicated, and naturalisation requirements satisfied by a period of minimum residence. Nationalists,[10] on the other hand, stipulate assimilation to a national culture as a requirement for naturalisation. An involved discussion on processes of naturalisation presupposes that an individual has already gained access to the country, and possesses some capability in negotiating the formal and informal boundaries of the state. This would be premature. Instead, we should first examine the characteristics of the nation-state that produces a predilection to absorb or repel outliers, inclusive of the role of borders.

The state can be described as polymorphous, ever changing in response to a series of threats, which challenge its authority and disperse its legitimacy (Worby, 1998); this scenario elevates the value of singularity. For Verdery (1993:43), the modern state is a product of a totalising process, required to move all of its subjects towards homogeneity. Scott (1998) agrees with this characterisation and describes the state as an agent of 'homogenisation, uniformity, grids, and heroic simplification' (cited in Ferguson, 2005:377). The aims may differ from state to state, but homogeneity serves to create a common platform to accomplish a national purpose. States vary in the attention paid to homogenisation, which often reflects the resultant power of political elites, and the opposition to the pursuit of an agenda that is couched as national purpose. Verdery (1993) suggests that the power held by political elites differentiates the sophistication of homogenisation thrusts in the developed world from the less radical emphasis she observes in the developing world. Comaroff and Comaroff (2001:124) provide a different view of the developing world and describe

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[10] This form of nationalism, coupled with racism is why acculturation and assimilation became problematic concepts in apartheid era anthropology (Sharp ,1981; Dubow ,1992).

postcolonial states, in the African context in particular as 'labile historical formation(s)', evincing amongst other 'obsessions' a desire to 'regulate sovereign borders under global conditions'. In conjunction with struggles to produce singularity within their borders, developing states are confronted by crises at their borders. Crush *et al.* (1991) highlight that the preoccupation with the regulation of borders is not an original feature of African societies, but evolved over time. From a wider, international perspective, we have moved over the past 200 years from a situation of open borders to closed borders, a march that happened in tandem with the growing importance and strength of nation-state bureaucracy. A construct whose national purpose can be equated to what Keith Hart (2013:25) calls national capitalism, 'the attempt to manage money, markets and accumulation through central bureaucracy in the name of a cultural community of national citizens'.

This community of national citizens, in theory, becomes the endpoint of the process of naturalisation. As mentioned earlier, Chipkin (2007) examines the 'national subject' developed to serve South Africa's national purpose. He describes them as a people shaped by, and within, the politics and culture of the nationalist struggle, with its inherent susceptibility to nationalist mythologies, which incorporates the struggles against oppression and exploitation by foreigners. Rassool (2000) identifies three main streams, underscoring the narrative of the nation, its people and their history underpinning the South African state's homogenisation thrust. The first is a 'multicultural' nation, a 'rainbow', reflective of the diversity of the people; secondly, a triumphant people, who engaged in successive forms of resistance to overcome the conflict and violence of apartheid, on the path to reconciliation; and thirdly, the role of heroic leaders in producing the 'miracle of the new South Africa'. For Rassool, these discourses, or 'discursive contours' (Rassool, 2000:1), can be found in almost every area in which heritage is constructed and in public culture in South Africa. A potential complication arises for the state if, or when, the datum, or the empirical group living within a specified geography, does not cohere completely with state projections of the national subject (Chipkin, 2007). National subjects may be drawn from the datum, but the entire population may not qualify or see themselves as a national subject. What other available platform for homogeneity can national purpose be based?

An emerging and pervasive panacea to perceived threats, resulting from immigration, to the homogenising thrust of the nation-state, is a gravitation towards autochthony, the elevation of special rights by nature of birth (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001). Autochthony resonates with populist insecurities, and provides a promise of a common denominator that spans multiple axes of difference. When invoked by populist fears stemming from threats, including immigration, the potential for citizens to 'deflect shared anxieties onto outsiders' (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001:28) is amplified. At the epicentre of the response to the threat from outside are nation-state bureaucracies. Bøås and Dunn (2013:12) add that 'autochthony is a strategy, not a fact', and in my opinion, cultivating 'cosmopolitan populations' in South Africa, as the NDP articulates, is a higher priority; relegating autochthony to a temptation, or last resort. For the time being, creating immigrant pathways and opportunities for the assimilation of foreigners, remains tied to the country's development strategy.

For writers like Baumann, the crises and anxieties felt by receiving populations stem from the concept of nation as an organising principle. In order to create conditions that are genuinely inclusive, nation-states would have to relinquish conceptualising the nation as a superethnos (Baumann, 2002:32), with the associated problems of trying to forge and maintain an identity, without an identity. On the other hand, non-discriminatory inclusion, or assigning rights to everyone voids citizenship, and in this respect, citizenship is 'designed to fail' (Tyler, 2010). Anderson et al. (2009) illustrate in their research that citizenship is coexistent with the exercise of sovereign control, therefore governments are wedded to protecting the concept of citizenship and by extension the integrity of borders. Bringing about what Tyler (2010) refers to as the predicament of citizenship; being sustained by the power of sovereignty to erect and maintain borders – borders that it cannot ultimately fully control. States like South Africa, are compelled to attempt to control migration in a manner that strengthens citizenship, specifically access to citizenship.

At this juncture we can ask whether migration can be controlled? De Haas (2007) considers migration a universal aspect of humanity, and therefore not particularly amenable to control. As a result, 'elected leaders and bureaucrats increasingly turn to symbolic policy instruments to create an appearance of control' (Massey *et al.*, 1998:288, cited in Czaika & De Haas, 2013:491). In the broad, macro context of

states, migrations cannot be controlled; people motivated by their aspirations and enabled by their capabilities will move, and this refers to individuals that receiving states categorise as legal or illegal immigrants. There are at least two means by which the state can exercise its sovereign control over its borders, namely through immigration policies and the bureaucratic administration of the said policies. For 'legal' migrants, exploring legal immigrant pathways, these separate but deeply interconnected state instruments have far reaching implications for assimilation, stemming from what Das and Poole (2004:15) describe as the double sign of the state: its capacity to both maintain its distance whilst deeply penetrating every aspect of the lives of the governed. The distance is experienced as remoteness, indifference, and inviolability; and the penetration manifests in the capacity to materialise, or frustrate, immigrant aspirations and capabilities within a landscape that comes to represent their fulfilment.

2.4.1 Immigration policies

Nation-states have at their disposal a range of policies that reflect who they wish to define as part of their membership (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004:1019). Immigration policy is a central instrument used by a state to articulate and implement the rules and regulations for the control of the movement of foreigners at its borders. A common strategy utilised by states to exercise control over the composition of individuals flowing through their borders, with the intention to stay is called 'differential inclusion'. Differential inclusion refers to the ways in which different categories of migrants are affected by variations in access to the labour market (formal and informal), social benefits and services, education, as well as political and cultural rights and provisions within and between countries (Carmel *et al.*, 2012:6). Also known as selective openness, and a general practice of migration management, differential inclusion creates tension between human rights and the protection of sovereignty (Sassen, 1999, cited in Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002:127). The selective, managerial nature of immigration policy implementation necessitates the tracing, selection and attraction of people with characteristics that the host country determines to be beneficial for the growth of the economy, and who are estimated to be able to add value to the imagined community.

An important implication of differential inclusion is that some individuals, based on the value of specific capabilities to a state, could experience more fluid transitions at the formal borders. In South Africa, under sections 19(4) and 27(a)(ii) of the Immigration Act, 2002 (Act No. 13 of 2002), individuals, in possession of skills and qualifications listed on the Department of Home Affairs' (DHA) Critical Skills[11] list, are entitled to apply for a critical skills visa or PRP. Residence permits and visas are examples of tangible instruments issued by governments to manage access by non-nationals to rights and privileges available to nationals. These instruments, made available by immigration policies, establish the basis for legality or illegality, and can shift as a result of changes in legislation, actions or non-actions on the part of non-nationals, or interpretation by state officials. Permanent residence is an important legal and personal step, in the context of migration to South Africa; it represents a marker for people intent on acquiring the full status of citizenship.

Permanent residents can reside, work, study and start a business without restrictions in South Africa, and under the current arrangements, the permit does not expire and remains valid indefinitely.[12] Holders are expected to enter South Africa once every three years. The granting of PRPs[13] is contingent on the provision of proof that a potential immigrant is capable of making a meaningful contribution to broadening the economic base of South Africa. Applications for permanent residency in South Africa are initiated by a submission to the Minister of Home Affairs, which should demonstrate why the applicant should not be declared a prohibited person or an

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[11] The critical skills work visa evolved from a combination of the former exceptional skills and quota work visas. The latter was issued in line with the Quota List of 2009, which had skills categories, requirements, and the quota of skills targeted in the Republic of South Africa. The critical skills work visa is issued in accordance with the critical skills list (Department of Home Affairs, n.d.)

[12] The proposed successor to Permanent Residence Permit is called a Long-term Residence Visa, which would be reviewable, and not linked to citizenship.

[13] Currently, permanent residency applications in South Africa are administered under Section 26 (Direct Residency Permits) and Section 27 (Residency-on-Other-Grounds Permits) of the Immigration Act 2002 (Act No 13 of 2002) respectively and read in conjunction with Regulation 33 of the Immigration Regulations.

undesirable person (DHA, 2018). The assumption is that all non-South Africans are either prohibited or undesirable within the borders of South Africa until this is disproven. Clearance by the minister allows a prospective immigrant to submit an application for permanent residency, for a direct residence[14] permit, or residency on other grounds permit. The above provisions, which must be adhered to, firstly remind individuals that they are not citizens, and secondly impose real life regulation on how an individual can plan and conduct their lives. Both consequences create opportunities to introduce into the bordering process, what Mariane Ferme (2004:107) describes as the 'spatiotemporalities' that come about through the imposition of seemingly arbitrary demands by the state. The differentiated border experience from individuals who hold critical skills, for example, have direct bearing on the imagery of the country they are entering, and by extension their individual process of adaptation and assimilation.

I wish to take a brief detour to account for the convergence on similar modes and strategies between different countries, with respect to the management of immigration. Immigration policies implemented by states are not produced in a vacuum, in addition to local requirements, they are influenced by global policy discourses on migration, international treaties and political declarations, and membership to international agencies and associations. Boucher (2008) elaborates on the pressure to conform to global norms, and the pressure to protect the local, as two distinct polemics in contemporary global policy discourse. The first, produced by a global capitalist system, acting in concert with neoliberal parts of the state, embraces the free flow of capital, goods, services and labour across international borders. The second, a reactionary response to the neoliberal parts of the state, mounted by the conservative elements, including fearful citizens, populist media and

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[14] Currently, direct residence permits can be sought by non-nationals residing in South Africa for at least five years on the basis of a work permit. Spouses and dependants of South African citizens and PRP holders are also eligible to apply for a direct residence permit. The residency-on-other-grounds permits can be obtained by non-nationals who hold a permanent work offer in South Africa, possess exceptional skills and qualifications, intend to set up a business in South Africa, qualify as refugees in accordance with Section 27(c) of the Refugees Act, are retired, are financially solvent and by reason of biology or judicial adoption, related to a South African citizen or PRP holder.

far-right representatives, is responsible for restrictive immigration policies (ibid.: 1462).

According to Boucher's reading of global discourses on managing international immigration, 'the conservative "law and order" parts of the states and governments concerned with sovereignty and security' (2008:1463) are responsible for the aforementioned tension. The conservatives and their policies are credited with interfering with the process of allowing developed world labour market demand in national states to be satisfied by developing world legal immigration supply. The frustration of this market reality, in the form of tight immigration policies, is seen as a contributing factor to irregular migration, exploitation of 'illegal' migrants, xenophobia, racism and discrimination. A third theme is differential inclusion, a compromise position designed to address the tension, and central to migration management, promotes, inter alia, an increase in the number of legal temporary labour market programmes, especially ones favouring highly skilled migrants.

Boucher (2008) criticises the sanitised and simplistic rendering of human mobility across borders found in global policy reports,[15] singling out the manner in which global capitalism masquerades as integral to the process, as opposed to being part of the problem. The framing of international migration management is inextricably linked to the economic benefit of migration and rationalises the movement of labour supply from the developing world towards the developed world (Geiger & Pécoud, 2010). Despite the structural factors responsible for the form of immigration policies, officials working within bureaucratic organisations are tasked with interpretation and application of said policies. The growing complexity and ambiguity of migration management, which global discourses play no small role in informing, negatively affects immigration administration (Sager, 2017). Specifically, the ability of bureaucracies to deal with cases fairly and consistently, which we will briefly address in the next section. Immigration policies may make a pathway available to access a

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[15] ILO, Towards a Fair Deal for Migrant Workers in the Global Economy 2014; CGIM, Migration in an Interconnected World 2005; International Migration and Development, UN Report of the Secretary General 2014; IOM, World Migration 2005; Declaration of the Hague 2002.

country, but discretionary powers are held by bureaucratic administrations to determine the suitability of a pathway to an applicant.

2.4.2 Bureaucratic administration

The legitimacy of a bureaucracy is derived from its predictability. According to Weber (1921, 1968:956-958), the 'bureaucratic authority' of public and lawful government is made up of regular activities distributed in fixed ways as official duties, the distribution of these duties in a stable manner, and continuous execution of these duties by qualified personnel. Officials are expected to be detached from their emotions in the conduct of their duties. The modern civil service makes a distinction between the sphere of the bureau or office and that of the private life (ibid.) Paragraph (a) of the Preamble of the Immigration Act 2002 (Act No 13 of 2002) agrees with Weber's assertion, in stating, inter alia, 'visas and permanent residence permits are issued as expeditiously as possible and on the basis of simplified procedures and objective, predictable and reasonable requirements and criteria, and without consuming excessive administrative capacity'. The literal policy aside, mediating a case or problem and its pre-determined outcome is governed by a set of instrumental values and a constitutive knowledge, or 'bureaucratic epistemology' that guides an official's decision-making process (Schaar, 1981:35).

Under duress, potential problems may arise in public encounters with governmental institutions, stemming from a tendency to oscillate between a rational mode and a magical mode of being (Das, 2004). The rational mode is evident in the structure of rules and regulations, which in turn order and validate community customs. Magical qualities manifest in the subjective interpretations of these rules and regulations. This is especially apparent at checkpoints and border crossings, where government issued documents like passports, and entry permits are scrutinised and decisions are handed down.

Hoag (2010) recounts the history of the DHA, tracing the events that produced an institution often described as 'illegible'. During the democratic transition in South Africa, early retirement packages were offered and accepted by scores of White

officials. It is estimated that across the civil service,[16] early retirement increased by 180% between 1990 and 1994 (Picard, 2005:113), resulting in a significant loss of institutional memory and capacity. The resulting skills shortage, coupled with demands for affirmative action, meant that several years would pass before posts requiring technical or managerial skills would be substantively filled.

The staffing crisis at the DHA coincided with the arrival of relatively large numbers of immigrants from the African continent, and other countries, who presented themselves at South African borders to take advantage of the new economic opportunities that were expected to materialise by the lifting of trade sanctions. It is estimated that between 1992 and 1999, the total number of temporary residence permits issued increased by almost 7 million (from 3 to 9.9 million) (Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2008:74; Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau, 2008:214-8). Bursting at the seams of its institutional capacity, and lacking a constitutive knowledge capable of managing the conditions at the time, the DHA's bureaucratic authority was negatively affected. Worby (1998) argues that in the areas where governments are over-burdened, authority becomes more dependent on theatrics. The absence or reduction of the rationale mode, required to contextualise the magical mode, increases uncertainty and frustrates otherwise legitimate immigrant claims to belong.

In June 2014, in an effort to improve the efficiency of visa processing, the DHA announced the opening of visa and permit facilitation centres in 11 cities across South Africa's nine provinces. The aforementioned centres are run by Visa Facilitation Services Global (VFS), an international outsourcing and technology services company that manages immigration-related services on behalf of participating countries. VFS processes visa and permit applications on behalf of the DHA. In October 2010, the DHA entered into a contract with VFS for the company to manage visa and permit applications at South African diplomatic missions abroad. By December 2013, a similar service level agreement had been concluded to encompass visa and permit applications within South Africa (Mathope, 2018).

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[16] During the apartheid era, the civil service served as a means of economic empowerment for White, Afrikaners (Picard 2005:35–38; Posel 1999:100–101).

Prior to June 2014, applications for PRPs in South Africa were received directly at the DHA, or in the provincial office located in the province in which applicants intended to work and live. South African overseas missions also process applications for permanent residence. Authorised intermediaries can be involved in the application process. Attorneys, advocates or immigration specialists registered with the Association of Immigration Practitioners of South Africa may prepare and submit applications on behalf of applicants. The Immigration Act 2002 (Act No 13 of 2002) also facilitates a number of visa[17] applications. Categories of visas provided for by the Immigration Act include amongst others visiting, study, work, business, medical, transit and relative visas. Visas establish the conditions for short-term and long-term work and residency for non-nationals, but by definition require renewal or extension in the event that the stipulated period expires. Infantino (2017:46) describes outsourcing immigration-related services as 'deflecting responsibility by organisational means'. For Infantino, outsourcing border control procedures alters the decision-making process, and argues that face-to-face interactions, and the ability to employ policy discretion, are important components of border control. The choice to outsource border control increases the cost associated with access for applicants, and further distances the state, and its rationale for decisions handed down. In that regard, Infantino's argument applies to the reduction in the agency of applicants to communicate or provide feedback to state officials.

It is time to turn attention to the other actor within a landscape, required to support a claim to belong articulated by a foreigner, the wider society. The scholarly contribution to the concepts of nation and nationalism is vast and interdisciplinary. Verdery (1993) commented over twenty-five years ago that the literature generated during the 1980s and 1990s alone was sufficient to rival the combined contributions of other subjects under consideration at the time. In the light of the magnitude of intellectual production focused on the nation-state, seeing beyond the power and

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[17] A visa is an endorsement by a country, which typically appears on the passport of a non-national of that country, indicating that the holder is permitted to enter, leave, or stay in a country for a specified period of time. Visas establish the conditions regarding work and other activities that may or may not be conducted by a non-national in a country.

projection of the nation-state requires effort. The next section will address some of the literature that work towards visualising social relations that operate beyond the influence of the state, and the immigrant pathways that they imply.

2.5   Seeing past the nation-state

Citizenship, which we described earlier as the ultimate symbol of belonging to a national community, confers upon the bearer political rights and 'the unconditional right to enter and reside in the country, complete access to the labour market, and eligibility for the full range of welfare benefits' (Brubaker, 1992:180). Rights to these public goods and opportunities decisively shape life chances (ibid.). Therefore, citizenship is not the most important goal in the economic and social sphere. What matters more is one's social position in, inter alia, the labour market, housing market and the education system, in determining life chances (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). If belonging to a national community to improve life chances is more important than citizenship, then what is the utility of citizenship to an immigrant? For Brubaker (1992), it comes down to protecting access to rights and privileges that improve life chances, which could be revoked or amended without the legal guarantee of citizenship. But this dissertation is tasked with examining the linkages between immigrant pathways to belonging available within a society and, their connection to assimilation. We can derive from Brubaker (1992) and Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) that shared concerns over life chances within a territory represent a focal point in its own right, in its potential to cause the prospects of the native-born and the foreign-born to overlap. Exclusion or inclusion from a territory, translates to exclusion or inclusion from all the activities taking place within the territory (Brubaker, 1992:24); providing us with a clear incentive to consider the immigrant pathways, and opportunities for assimilation opened up or denied by the wider society in the pursuit of improved life chances. In order to further explore the ways in which immigrant pathways could be delineated within the wider society of a host country I wish to review the work of scholars who deliberately sought to see beyond the nation-state, in order to visualise social relationships and flows that transcend borders.

2.5.1 Cosmopolitanism and transnationalism

Giddens (1994) describes the nation-state as a 'power container', a bounded community that imposes a set of cultural norms and demands loyalty and exclusivity and which is intimately connected to inviolable principles, such as blood and territory, (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013:29). The nation-state container view of society is noted for its inadequacy in capturing the complex interconnectedness of contemporary reality (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004:1006). Despite this, social science theory is dominated by representations of society enclosed by the borders of a particular nation-state. As a result, researchers often take rootedness and incorporation in the nation-state as the norm and social identities and practices enacted across state boundaries as exceptions to the rule. Transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are two traditions that are employed by scholars to address the limitations of the 'container' view, and methodological nationalism.[18] Though, it should be noted that both cosmopolitanism and transnationalism are known for their lack of a universally accepted definition, and are contested in the literature (Roudometof, 2005:113).

Cosmopolitanism is often used to describe a new moral and ethnic standpoint for 21st century life, attracting criticism for reflecting the mentality of upper- and middle-classes (Featherstone, 2002). Transnationalism is associated with relatively recent immigrant groups, and a range of cross-border activities (Roudometof, 2005:113). Milan Kundera (2002) suggests that cosmopolitan and transnational respectively are applied to different classes of migrants, differentiated by national origin and cultural tradition. Low-skilled migrant workers and refugees tend to be categorised as transnationals, whilst cosmopolitan is assigned to persons with sufficient cultural competencies to navigate through new meaning systems (Roudometof, 2005:114). This research project will not delve too deeply into the spatially and culturally distinct stereotypes that the respective terms attract, instead it will treat cosmopolitanism as an orientation, and valorise transnationalism for the practices it makes visible, and the implications for conceptualising boundaries.

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[18] Methodological nationalism is defined as a tendency to accept the nation-state and its boundaries as a given in social analysis (Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004:1008)

Cosmopolitanism is defined as 'a practice or competence' (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002:13, cited in Landau & Freemantle, 2010:382). Cosmopolitanism refers to an openness to other cultures, values and experiences, and outlook facilitated by new types of mobilities of capital, people and things (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013:14). Openness is a core characteristic of cosmopolitanism, placing it at times in contradiction with citizenship. Cosmopolitanism implies belonging beyond the immediate and the local, whilst citizenship is associated with formal ties to a specific community or state. Papadopoulos and Tsianos (2013:182-183) identify a paradox in the function of citizenship as the regulatory mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. Namely, the more a society moves towards citizenship, the more it creates the conditions for its disappearance as a form of governance. The tenuous relationship between borders, and the citizenship that it both produces and depends on for validation, results in a semi-permeable membrane that various categories of migrants can skilfully navigate.

Beck (2002) in introducing what he defines as reflexive cosmopolitanisation, calls for a new paradigm that recognises not only the relations between and beyond national states and societies, but also the inner quality of the social and political. Cosmopolitanism is a flexible mode of belonging, able to encompass openness, non-exclusivity, cultural pluralism and citizenship decoupled from culture. Turner (2002: 49) reminds us though, that there is a place for place in cosmopolitanism, and the setting of the nation-state allows us to discuss belonging in the contemporary context. According to Beck (2002), cosmopolitanisation entails the pluralisation of borders, meaning that different individuals living within the same state may be bound by different social boundaries, or life-worlds. In the same way, people from outside the nation-state, desirous of entering a particular country may have more in common with some groups within the receiving country than other groups of people living in the receiving country. Ong (1999:9) highlights the problems associated with the movement of capital and immigrant strategies of mobility, in the inability of poorer sectors within a receiving society to respond to changes around them, producing a feeling of staying put and being stuck.

A cosmopolitan orientation is useful in explaining why groups of persons readily move across national boundaries, such as refugees, illegal migrants and

international students (Roudometof, 2005:117). Cosmopolitanism overlaps with transnationalism, but critics highlight that it ignores social relations and social positioning, the intersections of the individual and the global. For transnational scholars, focusing on the social allows the relations of power and privilege exercised by social actors based within the structures and organisations to be analysed (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004:1007). Incidentally, transnational scholarship in migration studies, and perspectives on the cross-boundary social fields that migrants inhabit, were developed from research on Caribbean subjects (Waldinger, 2013), in the context of the cities where large groups are found. The geography of cities makes the setting conducive to transnational flows (Glick Schiller, 2004:1007). Migrants are often embedded in multi-layered, multi-sited transnational fields (Glick Schiller, 2004: 1003). Cities receive specific attention from cosmopolitan and transnational advocates. In cities, geopolitical status is shaped by the flow of capital and structures of power that constitute the region, states and the globe. Cities do not fit neatly within their national context, but find ways to sidestep the national in order to be visible and interact with the global. According to Sassen (1991), the interplay of global institutional forces and state policies contribute to the ways that cities reposition themselves in national settings. Assimilation in the setting of a city is influenced by these dynamics, global cultures that tend to converge on city settings increase the occurrence of people living in simultaneity, or belonging to multiple worlds. Benefits of theorising beyond the container view of the nation-state include the increased visibility of individuals operating in the context of wider societies, and the social relations that bind them to specific locations.

2.5.2 Social fields

A social field is 'a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organised, and transformed' (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004:1009). Social fields represent the context within which individuals, citizens and non-citizens alike compete and cooperate to change their social position and improve their life chances. Developed by transnational scholarship, the authors rely on the work of Bourdieu, and the Manchester School of Anthropology, to highlight the ways in which social relationships are structured by power. Bourdieu (1990) recognises struggles over

resources in a field as instrumental to improving an individual's social position. The resource in this application includes greater levels of access and acceptability within the social fields that the native-born and the foreign-born inhabit, as an extension of shared aspirations and capabilities. Boundaries of a field are fluid, and the field itself is a construct of its constituent participants. Within these social fields, individual actions could be distinguished between ways of being and belonging (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004:1008).

Ways of being encompass the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than the identities associated with their actions. Its counterpart, ways of belonging represent the practices that signal or enact an identity, which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. These often appear as concrete actions such as a style of dress, insistence on maintaining an accent, cooking a particular type of cuisine, or patterns of child rearing (ibid.:1010). Individuals within transnational fields synthesise ways of being and ways of belonging differently in specific contexts. Ways of belonging are not always visible, connections can be maintained through memories, nostalgia or people's imagination. Implication being, a social field can be inhabited whenever individuals choose to do so (ibid.:1011). Landau and Freemantle's (2010:385) work on tactical cosmopolitanism, or 'a heterogeneous set of practices that has emerged from a form of constant, if not always conscious struggle against the harshness of city streets and hostile attitudes' is an example of the ways in which immigrants bifurcate their responses to situations in order to adjust and manoeuvre through a host society.

In addition to theorising beyond the container perspective of society, transnational migration scholarship serves as a critique of the unilinear assimilationist paradigm of classical migration research (Basch *et al.,* 1994; Glick Schiller *et al.,* 1995, cited in Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004:1005). Assimilation and transnational ties are often pitted as incompatible or binary opposites, but this too is attributed to methodological nationalism. According to Levitt (2010:42), people utilise multiple routes towards simultaneous incorporation, utilising options of being and belonging that are sourced from their home countries, host countries, as well as connections to co-ethnics, co-professionals and co-religionists around the world. Evidence that people manage multiple and internally diverse identities accentuates the problem with viewing

ethnicity as a monolithic structure. In order to address this gap, Levitt recommends entering the analysis spatially, and instead of assuming that particular groups exist, and that ethnicity is a primary organising principle, researchers should begin with the context. Geopolitical positioning influences both migrant assimilation, and enduring homeland ties, as a result of its connection to cultural repertoires, economic resources and institutional regimes. Entering the analysis spatially is also compatible with the rendering of assimilation being utilised in this dissertation, which is specific and organic but intransitive; it recognises the context or landscape as a component distinct from its inhabitants and their foibles.

Social fields can be analysed on three levels, the individual, the organisational and the societal. Friedland and Alford (1991), argue that an adequate social theory must work at all three levels. According to Battilana (2006:655), the three levels of analysis are nested, meaning individual, organisation and societal are interrelated. Organisations and institutions impose higher levels of constraint, as well as opportunity for individual actions (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Despite a requirement to filter through organisational and societal wide imperatives, when an individual is conceptualised at the centre of an intimately arranged social field, we can trace the decisions made, and transformation undergone, to the value of the social field and their position within it back to the aspirations of the individual. An individual's position in a social field, determines their access to resources and capacity to influence the social field under consideration. For example, parents would have a comparatively greater say over their children in the context of a household, than they would in a school that their children attend. Zhou's (1997) work on immigrant children in the school environment establishes a relationship between the attitude of teachers and administrators on the welfare and immigrant access to the wider society. Schools represent an important context for the shaping of foreign-born prospects of belonging in a host society; not only for the students, but for their parents as well. A decision would have been made on the choice of school, constrained of course by availability, affordability and other access issues, but once admitted, the school, would have rules, and ways of operating, through which parental prerogatives must filter. What are some of the options available to parents in a school setting to enhance their say over the institutions that become intertwined with the goal of improving the life chances of their offspring?

Battilana (2006) reminds us that social fields may constrain human agency but more importantly, they are products of human agency. A strategy that could be employed, would be to raise one's position within a social field, by an activity as prosaic as joining a parent-teacher association (PTA), or performing other activities that promote greater levels of participation and provide opportunities to effect change. For Beck (2002:30), the actions undertaken and circumstances faced by migrants are invariably struggles of belonging and examples of everyday cosmopolitanism. Everyday pursuits of life chances require maintaining a sense of openness to others and experiences to be achieved, and institutions despite their inherent constraint provide their own pathways to both provide access and situations that could trigger endogenous growth, or assimilation.

An identifiable difference exists between the level of tolerance for individual agency in institutions, such as a marriage or the family, when compared with a school, religious organisation or social club. A religious organisation or a place of employment would arguably exert greater levels of institutional pressure on an individual than their home, and require individuals to act more strategically in the event that they are motivated to enhance their level of participation within an institution. Following on, a distinction can be made between what I consider a proximal social field, found in primary social groups, and distal social fields that more formalised institutions make available to individuals. Proximal social fields would comprise of spouses, other close relatives and friends. This social field exists relatively free of constraints on individual action and decision-making, and directly reflects the aspirations of its architect. In a survey-based study published 20 years ago on foreign nationals in South Africa, Sinclair (1999:469) identified hostility as a common theme in their migrant experiences. Intimate or proximal social fields often provide the primary bulwark against perceived hostility, and provide a platform and context for engaging distal social fields.

Different institutions represent different opportunities for life chances for different individuals. By this I mean, individuals place different weightings on their social position within the various institutions they are connected to, and apply greater levels of effort to the social fields that hold the greatest personal value. Take religion for example, religion for the devout is an important aspect of the life of an individual, and

its centrality is often strengthened in families (Bernard, 2003). Cadge and Ecklund (2007), drawing on the work of Cerulo (1997) on individual and group identity formation, argue that the ways individuals think of themselves and their relationships to groups of others, is a fundamental theme in research about religion and immigration. Religious organisations could come to represent the container for a broad or distal social field that supports or protects life chances bound up with child rearing or general family stability. Deeply held beliefs and convictions, which may also be part of a homeland tie, possess the potential to become a basis for belonging and access to a related social field in a new society.

The final point I wish to make concerning social fields concerns its subjectivity, and the vast difference that could exist between a participant and an observer. Marriage, for example, could be considered the strongest possible link between members of two diverse groups, and in that regard is recognised as evidence of successful integration (Martinovic *et al.,* 2009); it also represents a central component of a proximal social field. Marriage is an institution that connects people, and Cott (1998) argues that everyone is touched by marriage. The experience may be as a participant or an observer, traditional or unconventional, positive or negative; they all constitute our understanding of the institution. These seemingly private moments transcend the individuals involved and constitute public institutions, with wider implications for the wider society within which they occur (Cott & Nugent, 2002). But the belief that immigrant marriages are evidence of fraudulent practices on the part of immigrants desiring to access South Africa constitutes a component of the discursive representations of immigrants in South Africa (Hoag, 2010). Marriage is perceived by some as a means to acquire South African citizenship, and central to anti-immigrant sentiments, undergirded by the belief that most unions between South Africans and foreigners are 'marriages of convenience' (Murry, 2003:752). Hoag (2010:11) includes 'discursive representations of the public' held by officials, as a component of the illegibility of the DHA, whereby officials place responsibility for corruption on the public, rather than the system or immigration officials themselves. The same institution that may be pivotal in gaining access and changing an individual's social position, could come to represent a liability. Overall, social fields provide a framework, as well as inputs for socially constructed pathways into the wider society, which we will explore further in the next section.

2.5.3 Social operators

Another determinant of life chances within a social field could be drawn from Katherine Verdery's (1993) work on the role of social operators in conceptualising a national subject. Social operators, such as race, ethnicity, class and gender form the basis of social classification, appearing alongside and interacting with one another in complex ways (Verdery, 1993:42). These categorisations, are the more tangible markers within a social field, offering recognisable signage for persons determined to navigate a host society. Social operators apply to citizens and non-citizens alike, providing further opportunities for overlap. Anthropologist Brackette Williams (1989) recognises the role of the state in providing the framework that contextualises the symbolic conventions at play within its borders. Group relations, distributions associated with them, as well as what is considered legitimate can be established and fixed within this framework. For Williams, the state itself is the framer and the frame that produces politically viable and visible notions of authenticity, tradition, culture, insider or outsider, natural or alien. State preferences for one or more social operator improve opportunities to change one's social position or access to life chances for individuals born in a country, as well as those who originate from outside and desire to belong.

Eric Hobsbawm (2012) identifies two primary means by which the nation manifests. The first is through citizenship, and in this form, the nation is expressed through collective sovereignty which offers opportunities for common political participation. The second form is dependent on ethnicity, in which markers such as common history, language or a distinct cultural identity are prominent. South Africa has moved away from the latter and embraced the former, but social operators like ethnicity cannot be completely divorced from nation, even in situations in which it lacks constitutional support. Vally (2001) reminds us that in the context of South Africa, concepts such as race, ethnicity and culture for example, which were once manipulated by an intellectual elite have been diffused and imbibed by the majority of the people. In the democratic era, the lingering effects of apartheid policy on the wider population and its influence on claims of immigrant belonging cannot be ignored. In addition to citizenship, ethnicity, race, gender and class contribute to identity formation.

The inclusion of some ethnic groups and exclusion of others, privileging of some and the marginalisation of others within the borders of nation-states, imply the failure to complete the homogenising project of the nation-state. Few nations, if any, can be considered postethnic. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009:124) correctly identify the challenges experienced by postcolonial societies in moving beyond the pervasive role of ethnicity in ordering the symbolic conventions of the state. But the growing popularity of right-wing groups in Europe, and surge in identity politics in the United States, undermine any claim of success held up by Western countries. Baumann (2002:32) sees ethnicity as a marker of identity as the problem, arguing that to be genuinely postethnic, that is inclusive, the nation-state would have to altogether abandon investing in the idea of nation as a superethnos.

Ethnicity is a socially pliable construction, and subject to contestation. The concept of 'Coloured', for example is an ethnic category created to identify some form of otherness. Baumann reminds us that colour-coded identities, White, Black, Coloured and so on, are a matter of situation and context, like all other identities (2002:58). What defines an ethnicity can be identified in the social processes defending the margins of how people define themselves. People have the capacity to cross these boundaries in systematic ways. 'Ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group' and it is 'constituted through social contact' (Eriksen, 1993:12,18).

It is difficult to predict what people would describe as ethnic and to distinguish these descriptors from social class, another plastic category. Baumann (2002:60-61) encourages researchers to pay more attention to circumstances where ethnicity is rigid, and ethnic boundaries are actively policed. Joseph Rothschild defines ethnopolitics as 'mobilizing ethnicity from a psychological or cultural or social datum into political leverage for the purpose of altering or reinforcing … systems of structured inequality between and among ethnic categories' (1981:2-3). Ethnopolitics transforms a classification boundary into a substantive and unified group heritage, identified by a unique culture. It modifies, reifies and sometimes creates altogether the unique cultural heritage of the ethnic group that it mobilises.

Ethnicity endures for political and cognitive reasons. Comaroff and Comaroff (1992: 61) write 'in systems where assumed, cultural differences rationalise structures of

inequality, ethnicity takes on a cogent existential reality. It is this process of reification … that gives it the [false] appearance of being an autonomous factor in the ordering of the social world'. According to Baumann (2002), a preoccupation with defining or knowing in advance who or what a South African is, for example, accentuates the challenge of assimilating individuals both foreigners and persons born in the country that fall outside the margins that situation and context define.

Sanders (2002:328) adds that ethnic identities are fluid across time and social contexts. The public presentation of ethnic identity is situational, revealing a plural or hybrid nature of modern ethnicity. When interaction between groups is limited or regimented and otherwise conditioned by territorial segregation, such as the state of affairs during apartheid in South Africa, intergroup differences are amplified. Acknowledged racial differences can sharpen in a group member's self-identification and out group acknowledgement of intergroup distinctions (ibid.). A similar observation could be made with respect to class for example, whereby individuals of comparable material circumstances and interests living in close proximity could develop a sense of distinctness from others. Sander's observation underscores an issue particular to social operators, that is, conditions need to be configured in order to perpetuate the belief that it is a natural thing (Baumann, 2002:62). Ethnicity, similar to other social operators deployed directly or indirectly to support an identity favoured by a nation-state, represents a capture or snapshot of groups of people at a particular time.

The Government of South Africa approaches its nation-building [19] project by appealing to a superethnos, whereby 'diverse origins, histories, languages, cultures and religions' are subsumed by a 'sovereign state with a unified constitutional and

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[19] The Department of Arts and Culture defines nation-building as 'the process whereby a society of people with diverse origins, histories, languages, cultures and religions come together within the boundaries of a sovereign state with a unified constitutional and legal dispensation, a national public education system, an integrated national economy, shared symbols and values, as equals, to work towards eradicating the divisions and injustices of the past; to foster unity; and promote a countrywide conscious sense of being proudly South African, committed to the country and open to the continent and the world' (DAC, n.d.).

legal dispensation, a national public education system, an integrated national economy, shared symbols and values' (DAC, n.d.). This strategy privileges the shared symbols, over the listed axes of difference, delegitimising race and ethnicity as overt determinants of social and economic mobility, but quietly elevates other social operators, such as class and gender. Though race, ethnicity and culture, continue to determine social position in liberal democracies like South Africa, social status based on economic standing has become more prominent. To declare that the boundary of a sovereign state can be more easily accessed by individuals with the financial capabilities necessary to make and sustain a move, is not farfetched. De Haas (2011) argues that a key difference between individuals with the aspirations to travel abroad to further their life chances, lies in their capabilities.

A problem with class, take the middle-class for example, lies in its definition; 'middle class is a relative term – it's somewhere above poor but below rich, but where?' (Keeley, 2015:39). I consider the middle-class to class, what Coloured is to ethnicity; possessing sufficient ambiguity and flexibility to provide access and opportunity for interchange, and passing. The middle-class in South Africa is a broad conceptual category defined by, amongst other factors, a perception of where the one is positioned relative to others. This self-perception is linked to a form of dignity and belonging to a group framed as 'normal'. The norm, established in part through political rhetoric and ideals of economic empowerment prevalent in day-to-day discourse, elevates notions of self-respect, aspirations and upward mobility (Alexander *et al.*, 2013:236), values which can all be derived from ethnic or cultural sources. The multiple meanings and purposes of claiming a middle-class confirm that 'the connection between class location and cultural identity appears to have unravelled' (Bottero, 2004:987). Phadi and Ceruti (2011:99) identify affordability and its corollary of self-sufficiency as important markers of the middle-class. The middle-class in South Africa is not a homogenous group (Krige, 2012; Khunou & Krige, 2013). Khunou and Krige describe at least two distinct groups amongst the Black middle-class: those who grew up under apartheid conditions, acquiring their status in a sustainable manner, distinct from a group dependent on debt and by extension indebtedness. The latter group, the one supported to debt is fragile and superficial. The former group, on the other hand, reflect a value system based on prudence and

traditions, which would account for the stability and ability of its members to weather socio-economic upheavals and political shifts.

The middle-class have played an important role in Caribbean migration. In one sense, they have provided an example of upward mobility for people of the lower classes. Many of the goals pursued by Caribbean people in their various migration destinations reflect middle-class aspirations. These aspirations would include a 'respectable livelihood' derived from trade, business or some form of professionalism, and a secure social and economic position (Olwig & Sorenson, 2003); and represent a sort of meeting point for immigrants and like-minded groups, and individuals, in the receiving societies. Incidentally, education and religion are important components in the acquisition and maintenance of social and economic position in the Caribbean. In colonial times, religion was closely associated with education; as a result, many of the schools in the region have a religious affiliation (Campbell, 1997:2).

The 'middle-class' in Caribbean societies is typically a vulnerable position, which motivates its members to employ migration as a strategy to maintain the livelihood that guarantees their position in society, as well as an escape route in the event of a threat to this livelihood (Lowes, 1995; Thomas-Hope 1995, 1998, cited in Olwig & Sorenson, 2003:86). The lifestyle and status that South Africa facilitates, inclusive of opportunities to participate and contribute, are powerful inducements to remain, immigration rules permitting. Class, especially the middle-class, given its flexibility, open-endedness, and dependence on social contact to be constituted, offers multiple opportunities for individuals to cross into and find a sense of belonging. In so doing, it provides pathways for immigrant assimilation into a society.

2.6   Autonomy in migration processes

I could now turn to the component of immigrant processes, necessary to assess and mediate the potential arbitrariness of belonging derived from the state and the wider society respectively, and that is autonomy. An infinite range of discrepancies could arise through the intersection of the preciseness of migrant categories to be declared at a border point, and the mess of human circumstances. A 'control bias' (Scheel, 2013), automatically focuses attention on the role of the state in managing immigrant

circumstances, but what about the management of the migration process performed by the individual? I define autonomy as the freedom to make decisions in the migration process, in the context of constraints and enablement provided by other actors in a country that operationalise borders. Presentation at a point of entry of a state is an intersection with power, where individuals allow themselves to be scrutinised by the rules of another system. The exchange is asymmetrical in nature, to a large extent determined through a system of bilateral and multilateral treaties, but the rules are activated in response to the action or activity of the individual. If individuals do not travel, or attempt to cross borders, there would not be a need to invoke immigration policy or for migration management in general. Migration management presupposes immigrant autonomy, and the two concepts are indispensable to one another.

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) estimates that up to the year 2018, over 1.4 billion international arrivals occur per year (UNWTO, 2019), compared with the approximately 25 million tourist arrivals in 1950 (ibid.:2015). The substantial increase over the course of 68 years demonstrates that national borders are attuned and responsive to specific flows of travellers. The more pressing concern for many governments, and their populations, come in the form of the approximately 257.7 million people, or 3.4% of the world population, estimated by the UNDESA, in 2017, to be the world's stock of international migrants (UNDESA, 2019). This constituency, five of whom and their families contribute to this study, reinforce the need to visualise autonomy in migration research. Bojadžijev and Karakayali (2010, cited in Nyers, 2015:26) describe the 'autonomy of migration' approach as a 'dazzling term, slogan, and program all at once'. Incubated within an activist-research nexus and developed primarily in Europe, proponents set out to liberate research and activism on migration from some of the more prevalent frameworks, for example humanitarianism, securitization, migration management, labour market, prioritised by the dominant approaches in migration studies (ibid.). Recognising an autonomous dimension to migration acknowledges that 'it has the capacity to develop its own logics, its own motivation, its own trajectories' (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013:184). Autonomy speaks to the agency of migrants, making visible their 'ability to actively create a new situation, a new social reality' (Nyers, 2015:27).

The autonomy of migration perspective delineates a space for migrant agency, but rather than complete independence, views migrant action in terms of interdependence. Similar to the key argument made by the New Economics Movement that migrant decisions do not occur in a vacuum, but are set in the context of households and families. Autonomy involves forms of self-rule that are not disconnected from larger collectivities, such as the nation-state, or communities therein. Autonomy thereby represents a principle of organisation that profiles the tension between the desires of the individual and the collective (Nyers, 2015:27), without privileging the objectives of the traveller and actors within the landscape, respectively. What is essential for me in autonomy of migration, and an important bridge to assimilation thought, is the connection between learning, and the specific responses on the part of a migrant to adapt to their evolving situation. The autonomist approach to migration emphasises that migration is a social fact, which mobilises a full spectrum of creativity in human agency. I agree with Papadopoulos and Tsianos (2013:184) in identifying the most significant contribution of the autonomy of migration perspective, in its ability to 'to see migration not simply as a response to political and economic necessities, but as a constituent force in the formation of polity and social life'. For autonomists, a preoccupation with structure overshadows, or in more extreme cases, makes invisible the creativity and dynamism of human agency enabled by migratory processes (Nyers, 2015:28).

The autonomy of migration approach is amenable to research that challenges the impenetrability of borders. The autonomist approach encourages researchers to 'reimagine and rethink what is the border and its relationship to migration' (Nyers, 2015:28). Connected to the perspectives that emerge from methodological nationalism, Scheel (2013) criticises the 'control bias' permeating mainstream and critical literatures on migration. De Genova *et al.* (2015:57) argue that the commitment to control, can conceal the complex ways in which borders 'react to diverse kinds of migrant subjectivities and thereby operate to produce differential forms of access and "rights"'. Following on, the relationship between migrants and borders is not a simplistic dyad of exclusion or inclusion, but comprises 'complex and ambiguous negotiations, contestations, and refusals' (Nyers, 2015:28). Why do individuals persevere, despite opposition or frustration at a border? Why do some individuals who are readily permitted through a border, later decide to leave a

territory? I discussed the connection between life chances on the value of citizenship, and other forms of legitimate belonging conferred by a state in a national territory. What is left outstanding is a suitable theoretical framework that animates and explores these connections, and the subject of the next section.

2.7   Theoretical framework: aspirations and capabilities

Migration research has revolved for the most part around four basic questions: the origins of migration or why do people migrate; the direction and continuity of migration flows; the utilisation of immigrant labour; and the integration of immigrants (Portes, 1999). In relatively wealthy countries, the immigration of individuals with undesirable skills from culturally conspicuous countries is often perceived as a problem to be controlled (De Haas, 2011). The perceived pressure from immigration results in the implementation of increasingly restrictive immigration policies and border controls (Massey *et al.*, 1998; Castles & Miller, 2009).

Immigration policies implemented by states are influenced by theoretical frameworks on the determinants of migration. Functionalist social theory[20] has been the dominant approach undergirding the approach to migration research since Ravenstein (1885, 1889) published his laws of migration (cited in De Haas, 2011). Gravity or push-pull models, recognise migration as a spatial imbalance. Factors including economics, the environment, and demography, are responsible for pushing migrants out of their places of origin and luring them to destination places. Push-pull models are relatively static, and de-emphasise migrant agency, relegating migrants to passive actors, being acted-upon by outside factors. Neo-classical migration theory is the most popular and detailed application of the functionalist social scientific approach to migration studies (Kurekova, 2011). At the macro-level, neo-classical theory explains migration as a consequence of geographical differences in supply and demand for

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[20] Functionalist social theory recognises society as a system with a tendency towards equilibrium. People are expected to move from low-income to high-income areas. The idea that migration is related to spatial disequilibria forms the basis of so-called 'push-pull' models, which still dominates gravity-based migration modelling as well as common-sensical and non-specialist academic thinking about migration (De Haas, 2011).

labour. At the micro-level on the other hand, neo-classical theory perceives migrants as individual, rational, income-maximising actors who move based on a cost-benefit calculation (De Haas, 2011).

In addition to being considered static, neo-classical migration theory is critiqued for reducing migration determinants, being blind to market imperfections, unable to differentiate between different migrants and migrant sending societies and ahistorical in nature. General dissatisfaction with neo-classical theory's economic explanations, and the push-pull framework produced new theories that endeavour to consider 'an interplay of individuals, motivations and contexts' more comprehensively than neo-classical theories (Massey *et al.*, 1998:16). A rejection of the core functionalist assumptions of neo-classical migration theory resulted in many scholars turning to an examination of structural factors that drive and sustain migration.

Structural approaches, which include inter alia, the new economics theory of migration, [21] and world systems theory, [22] share a tendency to obscure the significance of the 'free' choices made by individuals in their migration decisions. Historical-structural approaches, like world systems theory in particular, possess deterministic overtones of migrants being pressured to move as a result of broader structural processes (De Haas, 2008). Macro-level approaches, favoured by sociologists, demographers and geographers, are important in their ability to identify and describe a bigger picture to contextualise migration. But a key weakness lies in the absence of a behavioural link to the micro-level (De Haas, 2011). The new

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[21] New economics theory of migration (NEM) provides a new level of analysis, and focuses migration research on mutual interdependence, rather than individual independence. The key argument being that migrant decision-making does not occur in a vacuum, but set in the context of households and families. Proponents argue that migrants are influenced by a complex set of factors occurring in sending countries. As a result, migrant decisions are household responses to income risk and market failures, above individual utility maximising calculations. (Massey *et al.*, 1993)

[22] World systems theory of migration is a historical-structural approach, which builds on Emmanuel Wallerstein's (1974) world system theory. This application links the determinants of migration to structural changes in world markets and recognises migration as offshoot of globalisation. Namely, the rise of new forms of production and the increasing interdependence of economies (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Sassen, 1988; Skeldon, 1997; Silver, 2003).

economics theory of migration acknowledges micro-level dynamics by elevating the role of families and households in explanations of migration, but sacrifices individual agency as a focal point.

I agree with De Haas (2011:16) in saying that 'any convincing macro-model should be underpinned by a credible micro-behavioural link'. The absence of factors to explain individual actions, in the context of abstract concepts such as demographic transitions, population density, and environmental degradation for example, renders the models deterministic, and inflexible to explain why some people stay, or others move when no clear motive exists. The notion of pathways, discussed by Massey and Malone (2003) is a useful concept here as it offers a conceptual link between macro factors, such as state-defined immigrant categories, and micro factors, such as the individual motivations that result in individuals presenting themselves at the borders in the first place, and their tailored responses to the ways in which borders respond to their declarations. Thomas-Hope (2000) illustrates the significance of micro factors in understanding why people migrate, by incorporating the degree of personal consciousness on the part of the migrant, and the extent of societal meaning attached to migration as enablers of the process. Migration in the Caribbean represents a central aspiration and strategy for upward mobility through the accumulation of capital, both financial and social. A more flexible framework, which can account for the dynamics of global market forces, class considerations and other internal dynamics of societies, in addition to the experiences, assessment and behaviour of people themselves, is required to explain Caribbean migrant behaviour.

De Haas provides a sophisticated framework that incorporates aspirations and capabilities, making the agency of the traveller, or migrant, integral to related discussions. People migrate when they perceive or expect better opportunities elsewhere, and possess the capabilities to move. This assumption implies choice and agency, but demonstrates that agency is constrained by historically determined factors, which materialise concrete opportunity structures (2011:16). De Haas' aspirations-capabilities framework endeavours to 'conceive migration aspirations as a function of spatial opportunity, instead of only income or wage differentials' and

'conceive migration propensities as a function of their aspirations and capabilities to migrate' (ibid.:15-22).

The importance of capabilities to migration theory is derived from the application of Amartya Sen's (1999) capabilities approach. In this way, human mobility is elevated as an integral part of human development for both intrinsic and instrumental reasons. Sen's ideas of capabilities allow agency in migration to become more visible. De Haas distinguishes human mobility from migration by defining the former as 'the capability to decide where to live' and the latter as the associated functioning. The intrinsic aspect of mobility lies in expanding the choices available to an individual through access to social, human and/or economic resources. The instrumental aspect of mobility is experienced in more concrete markers: improvement in income generation, health, education and self-respect.

The aspirations component of De Haas' framework addresses seemingly rational human calculations to migrate. Functionalist migration theory assumes that migration choices are generally consistent across societies and over time. This commitment overlooks the role of culture, education and exposure to relevant information in shaping an individual's concept of a good life and relatedly, their personal aspirations; as well as their awareness or perception of opportunities elsewhere. Personal aspirations account for why people endure relatively unpleasant aspects of migration and press their claim for belonging in a foreign country.

This framework is well suited to address my research problem because it conceptualises the immigrant as a purposeful actor, operating in the context of endogenous and exogenous constraints. Questions related to immigrant pathways that lead to assimilation, the conditions that emerge within state structures but continue into wider societal structures (like social fields), could be accommodated given the attention to the individual, inclusive of their capacity and proclivity to respond to the opportunities and obstacles encountered on their path. Additionally, the framework counters a focus on 'causation from outside' for the same reason stated prior, by privileging the ways individuals respond to their context. This approach could be likened to tracing a person's journey through an unmarked or unmapped territory. If we were to outline their path, we can learn important details about the territory from discerning the areas that allowed free passage, as well as the

areas that resisted movement altogether. Where was resistance encountered, and why? We can also make inferences about the traveller, based on how they respond to the obstacles. Do they go over, under, around or retreat from these obstacles? Following on from a theoretical approach that promises so much, finding a method that would be suited to this type of analysis will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

My research investigates the experiences, including dynamics relating to the process of assimilation, of Caribbean immigrants residing in Pretoria. Everyday, relatively unexceptional social circumstances provide scenarios that can be examined to uncover the challenges associated with setting up residence in a foreign country. Anthropologist Ong (1999:22-23) reminds us that human agency and imaginations provide insight into how subjects under historical conditions are shaped by structures of power, such as colonial rule, public authorities, market institutions, political agencies, and further how they respond to these structures in culturally specific ways.

In this chapter I accomplish the following: provide a rationale for my research approach; introduce the research setting; indicate my research sample and data sources; outline the data collection methods and data analysis methods respectively; declare my positionality in the research process; outline some of my ethical concerns and strategies the address the aforementioned; and indicate some of the limitations of the research exercise.

3.2 Rationale for research approach

Methodology and theory are intimately connected. There is a methodological dimension to cosmopolitanism and transnationalism, in that they extend social analysis beyond national borders and frameworks, equipping researchers to analyse the fluid, relational and mobile aspects of social life. Post-national or transnational phenomena can be considered, without deemphasising the importance of the nation-state (Skrbis & Woodward, 2013:3). A study on immigrant assimilation that prioritises agency in the context of a social field, bound by fluid boundaries that the immigrants themselves participate in unravelling, requires a methodology that privileges processes above specific outcomes. Interviewing is conducive to capturing the transitions involved in translating migrant aspirations and capabilities into opportunities to strengthen claims of belonging to a social field. 'Ethnographic interviews allow researchers to document how persons simultaneously maintain and

shed cultural repertoires and identities' (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004:1013), in pressing their claim to belong.

3.3   Research setting/context

The site for this study is the City of Tshwane,[23] the second largest metropolitan municipality in the Gauteng Province following Johannesburg, South Africa's most important economic centre and largest city (Todes, 2012). The official name of the municipality is Tshwane, but through familiarity and usage, my respondents refer to the area by its historical moniker, Pretoria, hence the prevalence of its use in the paper. Tshwane hosts the administrative capital of South Africa, also known as Pretoria; 'capital cities are settings of power, exercise and contest' (Therborn, 2006, cited in Mabin, 2012:169), and are especially attractive to migrants. South Africa is atypical in the sense that the core functions of a capital city are divided amongst several geographically dispersed centres; Cape Town and Bloemfontein serve as the sites for the legislative and judicial capitals respectively.

3.4   Research sample and data sources

Amongst the 2,188,872 international migrants estimated by the 2011 Census to be living in South Africa, only 0.3% was derived from Latin America and the Caribbean (Meny-Gibert & Chiumia, 2016). I use snowball sampling in conjunction with criterion sampling to identify my respondents. The subjects are five first-generation Caribbean immigrants, domiciled in Pretoria, over the age of 30, with permanent residency

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[23] The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality was established on December 5, 2000, through the integration of various municipalities and councils, which served the greater Pretoria area (City of Tshwane 2004). South Africa's administrative capital was named after Boer leader Andries Pretorius in 1855. In 2005, Pretoria was officially changed to Tshwane, the name of the metropolitan area encompassing the city. The ANC-led Government of South Africa has changed the names of other places as part of a policy to make a break with the past, but Pretoria is one of the more sensitive alterations. The 'new' name was approved on 26 May 2005, by the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC), but was subsequently rejected by many of the city's citizens who maintain that the name 'Pretoria' was of historical significance. Shifting from Pretoria to Tshwane has proven to be challenging for many business organisations, media and other institutions both locally and internationally, as a result the city is still commonly referred to as Pretoria (SAHO n.d.).

status or actively pursuing residency status. Formulating an 'adequate' sample size for a research project is a problematic exercise. Maxwell (2013) argues that in qualitative studies, where research questions are limited, and a central phenomenon in a particular context is being considered, the researcher's objective is to explain, describe, and interpret; and not to generalise. Sampling in this respect privileges information richness (appropriateness and adequacy), above representative opinions (Morse & Field, 1995, cited in Guetterman, 2015).

Patton (2015) recommends purposeful sampling in order to select information rich cases, but acknowledges that sample size can be influenced by resource limitations. Merriam (2009) begins with the research questions, the data collected, the data analysis, and the availability of resources to determine sample size, and recommends that researchers avoid committing to specific numbers too early in the research process. Scholars such as Creswell (2013) and Morse, address sample size more directly. Creswell recommends collecting extensive material about a few sites or individuals, and for an ethnography, a single culture sharing group. Morse (1994) suggests approximately six participants to understand the essence of an experience. Ultimately, I was able to secure five participants, based on availability and confidence that appropriateness and adequacy would be achieved with this sample.

3.5   Data collection methods

In migration research, the interview as a method is usually accompanied with other methods, such as participatory or non-participatory observation, or focus groups, which serve the purpose of validating findings and to provide a more robust understanding of the issues (Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018:173). At the same time, Hockey (2002) argues that interview-based studies are a culturally appropriate form of participatory research, particularly in a Western setting, stemming from the format of an interview as a 'spatially dislocated, time-bound and characterised by intimacy at a distance' (Hockey & Forsey, 2012:83).

According to Forsey (2012), research interviews can create and capture insights at a depth and level of focus that would be difficult to achieve through surveys and observation. Hockey and Forsey (2012) propose a shift in terminology in order to

appreciate the merits of the interview as a stand-alone method, which I embrace. Rather than participation, the writers advocate for the use of the term engagement. Engagement covers the range of activities appropriate to the production of an ethnography, namely engaged listening and engaged observation. Both satisfy the need to 'be there' and 'be with' research participants, fundamental to a field study (ibid.:75). Through this lens, the interview represents a moment of engagement, a site of participation in the life of a respondent that provides an opportunity to tap into their knowledge as a social actor. Despite agreement with Hockey and Forsey's (2012) views, I apply ethnography guardedly, my data collection methods would be better described as, 'ethnographic interviews'.

Interviews are a vital tool in examining migrant behaviour, capable of illuminating aspects such as the autonomy and agency of mobile people, and central to the design of ethnographic studies (Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018:172). Interviews facilitate collaborative knowledge production and participant research, able to capture and utilise respondents' voices and analysis of the situation. As a method, interviews allow for the unearthing of knowledge that would otherwise remain undiscovered by other more standardised forms of data collection. Interviews allow participants to shape the research inquiry, providing room for the researcher to pursue areas not originally recognised as part of the inquiry. Fedyuk and Zentai (ibid.) caution that 'interviews need to be carefully adapted to each data collection purpose, and to incorporate a reflexive reflection on the role of the interviewer and accompanying power dynamics'.

Interview formats can be divided into the structured, semi-structured or unstructured dependent on the openness of the conversation required by the interviewer. The semi-structured interview allows a degree of openness, whilst ensuring that respondents remain close to the topic of inquiry. In this format, space exists for the interviewee to introduce connected topics, and the interviewer to explore emerging themes around a central core issue under inquiry (Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018:173). The respondents in this study were invited to participate in a semi-structured interview process that stretched over a 12-month process. Initial interviews per respondent were captured, with sessions averaging 90 minutes. Respondents were forwarded the scripts ahead of time, and most of them indicated that this was the first

opportunity they had had to consider and reflect on their experience as immigrants living in South Africa. Each interview transformed into a distinct 'moment of engagement' in the sense defined by Hockey and Forsey (2012:75).

An interview 'embraces a conversation, in which the interviewee shares his/her experience, opinions, memories, and knowledge' (Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018:173). According to Charmaz (2006:25-26) the role of the researcher is to 'listen, to observe with sensitivity, and to encourage the person to respond' (cited in Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018:173). This requires reflexivity around the power dynamics in the setting and ongoing consideration of the ethical implications of the research exercise. I allowed participants to read through the interview schedule and respond to the questions posed in the way they saw fit, taking opportunities at times to seek clarification or identify with issues raised. I endeavoured to refrain from putting forward leading questions, or to anticipate responses in line with my own experience in South Africa would.

I found that the participants had bought into the need to tell 'their story' and owned the process of providing an honest rendering of the impact of their decision to stay in South Africa. As anticipated, the interviews evolved differently as each participant seized upon the issues stimulated by the interview schedule, to describe his or her experience. We covered sensitive topics, ranging from painful life changing moments associated with presenting oneself at borders, both formal and informal, dreams deferred, breakthroughs, triumphs and future plans. During the respective engagements I struggled to locate my positionality in the flow of the conversation. I entered assuming that I was an insider and possessed power as the researcher and framer of the interview. My participants were telling their story, inserting themselves into their own narrative, which made the role of researcher an exercise of self-restraint. My own experiences, coming from the Caribbean, intimately aware of the nationalities represented, and living in South Africa drew me into the accounts and the interview process became one of managing my own internal identification with parts of the narratives presented and a search for the relevant story to document.

A second round of interviews became necessary, and was subsequently conducted with four of the five participants, based on the importance of immigrant participation, later distilled as autonomy in the migration process, which emerged as a theme

during the first round of interviews. Scheduling conflicts and time constraints prevented the pursuit of the outstanding participant, but it was her contribution that triggered a closer look at the role of my participants in actively managing their process, and I felt she had adequately covered the topic in her initial interview. During the second round of interviews, though shorter in length, lasting for the most part on average 45 minutes, the sessions were more relaxed and conversational than the first. Familiar with the research process and the researcher, and more in tune with the process of sharing their experiences in South Africa, my respondents provided material that evinced greater depth and introspection.

Interviews are critiqued by some scholars for collecting unrepresentative and free-floating interpretive data, and with good reason. The open-endedness of the data collection method produced results that can be described as 'unstructured', expressed in long paragraphs, constituted by useful concepts located across different parts of the text and unrelated data for the study alike. Kulatunga, *et al.* (2007:500) succinctly describe the process encountered with the data collection method when they state that 'in a semi-structured interview the interviewee does not behave properly and starts answering questions which will come later on'. Answers for a particular question were often covered by another question, presenting a challenge to 'structure' these 'unstructured' data sets into meaningful units. As a result, researchers are encouraged to not take the data collected at face value. Rather than hard facts, interviews are useful in guiding the researcher through relevant issues, and to capture lived experiences, knowledge, opinions and perspectives; to assist the researcher in drawing conclusions about the field or a particular research question (Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018:173).

Analysing the data provided by my participants presented some challenges. Two of my participants were very articulate in their accounts, and their voices could potentially mute the contributions of the remaining respondents and determine the outcome of the study. Another participant was extremely reserved when the recordings were being made, but as soon as the interview appeared to be completed and we were simply chatting, he would produce rich, unsolicited details of his life that are reflected in the body of the research report. Fortunately, he permitted me to recommence recording, after I asked him to repeat the parts of his story that were

initially omitted. This occurred several times in one sitting, and became an aspect of the interview that lightened the engagement and encouraged my respondent to speak more freely.

Methodologically, documentation is an important component to ensure the quality of the data collected (Joye, 2005:6). To ensure reproducibility, a transparent process of data production is essential (Joye, 2005:3). Documentation of the results included audio recorded interviews, associated transcripts and participant profiles. An external transcription service was employed to assist with the workload, and a non-disclosure agreement was provided and signed. The various accents and region-specific phrases generated by my research participants, challenged the transcribers, resulting in poorly rendered documents that required me to personally comb through the material and reproduce the transcripts. The process inadvertently facilitated greater familiarity and opportunities for further reflection on the underlying dynamics of the stories presented. Data was captured using Microsoft Word, and will be stored at the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria for a period of 15 years.

3.6   Data analysis methods

Data analysis begins with '… breaking up, separating, or disassembling of research materials into pieces, parts, elements, or units' (Jorgenson, 1989:107). It is followed by a search for patterns, types, or sequences that provide evidence to support the initial propositions of a study (Yin, 2003, cited in Kulatunga *et al.*, 2007). The objective of the process is to reconstitute the data in a meaningful way (Jorgenson, 1989, cited in Kulatunga *et al.*, 2007). Data analysis assists the researcher in generating theories that are grounded in the empirical evidence (Hartley, 2004, cited in Kulatunga *et al.*, 2007). In this paper, I use content analysis to break up and reassemble the data collected during the interview process. Krippendorf (2004) defines content analysis as a research technique that makes replicable and credible interpretations from text to a context of their use. Content analysis facilitates a systematic reduction and organisation of large amounts of data into categories or codes, represented by words, themes, phrases, concepts or sentences (Junginger, 1996; GAO, 1996, cited in Kulatunga *et al.*, 2007). It can be applied to identify the properties of these categories systematically, for example the frequency of their

occurrence (Zhang & Kuo, 2001, cited in Kulatunga *et al.*, 2007), which in turn can assist in the identification of important concepts from the data set.

Holsti (1969:14) defines content analysis as '… a technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages' (cited in Kulatunga *et al.*, 2007). Content analysis, entails the examination of the data to identify and note the frequency of a concept/theme (Busch *et al.*, 1994-2012; Krippendorf, 2004). Dominant concepts/themes in the text are subsequently categorised into codes (Franzosi, 2004). The underlying principle of content analysis is to identify the occurrence of specific terms within the text, which can be implicitly or explicitly related to the concepts/themes under consideration (Busch *et al.*, 1994-2012). The identification of explicit terms is a relatively straightforward exercise; determining the implicit terms in a data set, on the other hand, requires care and familiarity with the text (Kulatunga *et al.,* 2007), necessitating exhaustive reading and re-reading of the interview transcripts.

Saldaña describes coding as an 'exploratory problem-solving technique without specific formulas to follow' (2013:8). More than labelling, coding involves linking, 'it leads you from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea' (Richards & Morse, 2007:137, cited in Saldaña, 2013). Coding is a cyclical act, the many iterations enables the researcher to manage, filter, highlight and focus 'the salient features of the qualitative data record for generating categories, themes, and concepts, grasping meaning, and/or building theory' (Saldaña, 2013:8). Qualitative coding is a process of capturing vital parts of a 'research story' (Saldaña, 2013:4). When placed together, these parts may yield patterns and facilitate the development of categories and opportunities for researchers to analyse the connections.

My respondents presented widely differing experiences, which I later linked to the manner in which the state interpreted the specific capabilities that my respondents possessed. Their differences opened the inquiry to consider, for example 'differential inclusion', and 'immigrant pathways' provided by the state. But the perspective of the state was only a part of the story. Individually held aspirations and capabilities, which to a person are indivisible, both influenced their interests and activities in their home country, as well as their adopted country, and determine to some extent their

interactions with other people. By focusing on my individual respondents, my themes emerged out of the volume of data that was generated.

3.7   Issues of trustworthiness

The methodological strengths of the interview lie in the nature of typically a one-on-one conversation, and opportunities to refocus and adjust the scope of the inquiry. Decisions on the scope of the inquiry, selection of respondents, establishing the rules and structure of the interview, recording and interpreting the data are all ascribed to the researcher, and reflective of his/her position. The credibility of the research depends heavily on the reflexivity of the researcher, on his/her role and position during each stage of the project. Insider/outsider debates have revolved around the ethno-national lens, and the role of gender in constructing insider or outsider categories. To address the dilemma, some writers propose the application of multiple positionalities to challenge fixed constructions of insiders versus outsiders. These positionalities are identified and declared by reflecting on gender, age or generation, parental status and migratory experiences. The intersection of the aforementioned for both the interviewer and the interviewee should be included as well (Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018: 179).

I can be described as an Afro-Caribbean national, originating from Trinidad and Tobago, the most southern islands of the West Indies. Afro-Caribbean is not a label I identified with at home, and hyphenated identities were not a part of my upbringing or self-reflection. Race and ethnicity do not resonate as powerfully in Trinidad and Tobago amongst the groups that would be considered of African or mixed descent, except during general election periods, or when people travel abroad and the categorisations are valorised in the context in which travellers reside. Nonetheless, it is important for me to declare my positionality in the research study, given overlaps in my upbringing and experience and those described by my respondents. I share with my participants a related cultural and ethnic heritage. Other criteria of affinity, as identified by Ganga and Scott (2006), include a linguistic, national and religious heritage. As part of the former British colonial empire, the West Indies, or English-speaking Caribbean islands, possess some similitudes. Girvan (2015:97), commenting on the coherence of the political persuasions of the native elite during

the independence period, attributes it to the embedding of 'colonial ways of thinking' and deems it to be a measure of the success of British policy in the region.

Insider status becomes critical to migrant research when the researcher and the participant share the same imagined community (Ganga & Scott, 2006:3). According to Ganga and Scott (2006), the interviews undertaken by an 'insider' create a distinguishable social situation, whereby shared cultural knowledge resulting in differences between the researcher and the participant could become a factor in the research process. The so-called 'diversity in proximity' (Ganga & Scott, 2006:3) renders 'insiders' better able to appreciate both the issues that connect them to their participants, as well as those that represent departures. A consequence to 'insider' status is the potential for the proximity between the researcher and participant to have a negative impact on the research process (Ganga & Scott, 2006:4). Social proximity and its advantages can be taken for granted, compromise objectivity and inform the social dynamics that constitute the qualitative interview.

Some scholars counter this rendering of insiders and outsiders, arguing that presumptions of who represents an insider or an outsider in migration research is undergirded by methodological nationalism, and the recognition of ethnicity as a central determinant of identity (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003; Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). By sharing a similar ethnic or national background as the researched group or individual, it is assumed that the researcher is an insider to the perspectives and/or social positions of the researched, thereby producing greater levels of intimacy and authenticity in the knowledge produced. Transnational scholars reject these assumptions and call for an approach that is mindful that migrants and researchers occupy multiple localities and a multiplicity of perspectives and belongings which can be used to guide situational activities encountered in the interview.

In the same vein, Song and Parker (1995) caution against oversimplified labelling of insider/outsider in migration research, and encourage researchers to move beyond the conceptual divide for two reasons. Firstly, groups that the researcher and respondents may appear to belong to are diverse, and secondly, there can be diversity of experiences between the researcher and the researched. A third typology recommends that the researcher occupy the position of an honorary insider, or hybrid

inside-outsider, based on the indications of identity that are actively managed and manipulated during an interview (Carling *et al.,* 2014). Other studies advocate that no one identity can secure an insider/outsider position, and that in an interview setting different aspects of identity may become prominent at different times in the flow of the conversation. The emphasis for the researcher becomes incorporating the shifting social categories into the research design through critical reflexivity, rather than being anchored by identity markers.

I agree with Fedyuk and Zentai (2018:181), who encourage researchers to view interviews as flexible, situational and dynamic encounters, which should inform research design and data interpretation. In the course of an interview, it is a challenge for researchers to appreciate the situational narrative unfolding, and to guide the interviewee to develop them. I found the interview process to be an encounter that requires the negotiation of roles, and an ongoing accounting of the distribution of social positions assumed in an encounter.

3.8   Ethical concerns

The research process has been informed by the Code of Ethics approved by the American Anthropological Association in June 1998[24] and the Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice adopted by the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth in March 1999,[25] as well as the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics for Research (Rt 429/99).[26]

Great effort was applied to ensure transparency and to build trust between researcher and participants. In each case, arranging time to meet and record the interviews required management of conflicting schedules. Especially for the respondents who were completely unknown to me, the intervening time between agreeing to participate in the study and the actual interview was spent building a

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[24] http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm

[25] http://www.theasa.org/ethics/ethics_guidelines.htm

[26] http://www.ais.up.ac.za/research/code_ethics.pdf

relationship and ensuring that it was clear that they were under no obligation to participate and that they were free to withdraw at any stage of the process.

At the beginning of each interview, participants were reminded of the parameters of the study, provided with a summary of the ethical code guiding the research and an informed consent form (Annexure B), and once the form had been signed the interview commenced. Over and above the efforts made prior to the interview, during interviews, further effort was made to communicate the voluntary and dynamic nature of the research process, which could be terminated by the participant at any time. No conditions were submitted by participants for inclusion in the study.

In addition to steps taken to ensure anonymity, participants were allowed to review transcripts from their respective contributions. This measure served both to offer an opportunity to improve the integrity and depth of the documentation process, as well as to allow participants to remove from the record parts of their narrative that they did not want to be included.

3.9   Limitations and delimitations

The study is based on responses provided by five individuals, male and female, originating from countries in the Caribbean residing in Pretoria. The report does not attempt to predict or generalise the experiences of all immigrants from the Caribbean region living in South Africa. No systematic distinction is made between the cultural, economic and political differences between the countries comprising the sample. The research site is one of three capital cities in South Africa, and the situations described in the study reflects the particular circumstances around the lives of these individuals and their families in the context of one city.

The feasibility of the study is contingent on the proximity and availability of respondents, number of participants, time available for the research exercise and criteria determining suitability. Each of the aforementioned would invariably influence the range of experiences captured in the report and possibly the social status of the individuals and families participating in the research exercise. My gender and 'insider status' are salient factors in the research process. With regard to the latter, a conscious and reflexive approach, which identifies me as co-respondent in the study is employed.

Chapter Four: Evidence

4.1   Introduction

In this chapter I present my evidence on the centrality or importance of the agency of a select number of immigrants, from the Caribbean residing in South Africa, in mediating and managing their migration process, through the obstacles and enablers derived from formal (state) and informal (wider society) sources. This autonomous dimension in migration acknowledges 'the capacity to develop its own logics, its own motivation, its own trajectories' (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013:184). Autonomy recognises immigrants' 'ability to actively create a new situation, a new social reality' (Nyers, 2015:27); and this characteristic should be identifiable at any stage of an immigrant's journey.

I begin with a brief overview of the significance of migration to the Caribbean region, and introduce my participants. Subsequently, I lay out my findings in three sections. The first section traces autonomy in the decisions that transformed a desire for mobility into an actual move, taking stock of the role of capabilities in materialising people's aspirations in a place different to where they were born. Put differently, translating the intrinsic aspects of mobility, expanding the choices available to an individual through access to social, human and/or economic resources, into the instrumental aspects of mobility, improvement in income generation, health, education and self-respect (De Haas, 2011). The purpose of the first section is to demonstrate the ways in which a claim to belong is developed and managed by my participants. The remaining sections illustrate the ways in which formal and informal sectors of the receiving society respond to the respective claims, and the creative ways in which my participants manage their immigration and assimilation process.

The reason why I present my evidence and data as follows is in keeping with the observation made by De Wind and Kasinitz (1997), who point out that assimilation has two parts; an immigrant's willingness to assimilate and the society's preparedness to allow migrants to assimilate. This complementarity is a key dynamic in understanding immigrant pathways and its connection to assimilation; the opportunities presented or denied, provoke responses that can be viewed as adaptation. I make extensive use of the voices of my participants, and some of my

own insights and experiences as a temporary resident in South Africa. In the process I hope to convey that the autonomous claim to belong, by my respective Caribbean respondents, is analytically important; and the decision to remain in South Africa, despite the challenges, catalyses and contextualises their assimilation.

Migration is ingrained in the psyche of Caribbean people, as Thomas-Hope argues (2000, 2002). In defining the Caribbean, Girvan (2001:1) poses the question, 'What constitutes the Caribbean?' The answer is not straightforward, often dependent on perspective and context. For scholars, the Caribbean is a socio-historical category, a cultural zone shaped by the legacy of slavery and the colonial plantation system. A product of European imperialism, the Caribbean region possesses distinct linguistic traditions derived from the Spanish, French, British and Dutch. Definitions of the Caribbean can be derived from the dominant language spoken. For example, Anglophones in the region often speak and conceptualise the Caribbean as English-speaking islands, or the member states of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), despite the subsequent addition of Haiti and Suriname, French- and Dutch-speaking territories respectively, to the regional body. Hispanic literature on the Caribbean provides useful definitions. 'El Caribe' may refer to either the Spanish-speaking islands only, or to 'Las Antillas', the entire island chain. Subsequent work made a distinction between 'El Caribe insular', the islands, and 'El Gran Caribe', the Greater Caribbean. The expanded definition incorporates linkages between the islands, parts of the adjoining mainland, and extends to include the Caribbean Diaspora overseas (ibid.).

The Caribbean referred to in this study covers all the islands in the Caribbean Sea plus four mainland entities with close historical and cultural affinity to the islands; they are Guyana, Suriname, Belize and French Guiana, as well as the Caribbean Diaspora overseas. English is the official language of the majority of Caribbean states and territories, but numerically Spanish speakers comprise the majority of the populations in the region. Other linguistic traditions in the Caribbean include French, Dutch and several Creole languages. Caribbean societies are ethnically diverse. Hispanic, or Spanish-speaking societies are predominately made up of people of European and African descent. English-, French- and Dutch-speaking countries, on the other hand, reflect majority populations of African and Indian descent. Relatively

smaller groups of Chinese, Jewish, Syrian and Lebanese communities are also present (Girvan, 1997, 2001). There are also communities of the indigenous people, Amerindians,[27] who lived in the region before Europeans arrived.

Migration in the Caribbean represents a vital strategy for upward mobility through the accumulation of both financial and social capital. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most opportunities for migration occurred within the region itself; in more recent times North America and Europe opened up (Thomas-Hope, 2000). Despite significant changes in both the international and national contexts, the patterns and processes associated with Caribbean migration persist, reflecting a deeply ingrained value for mobility within Caribbean societies. According to Thomas-Hope (2002:5), 'the value of migration to the expansion of capital is in the labour it provides as an economic commodity; the value of migration to Caribbean peoples themselves is in the adjustments which it has facilitated in the face of constitutional, economic and social change. So successful were these strategies of adjustment that they became institutionalized to form an integral part of Caribbean culture.'

The reason for writing the above is that based on geography and history, it is unlikely that individuals from that region would venture as far a South Africa. Taking the value of migration, and the extent to which it has been ingrained as a strategy, then it is hardly surprising to find small numbers living and thriving in South Africa. This seemingly paradoxical scenario increased the level of interest in a study of this nature. Now I turn to introduce my research participants.

4.2   Research participants

In this section, I take the opportunity to introduce my research participants, two women and three men, drawn from four different countries in the Caribbean; specifically, my country of origin, the twin island state of Trinidad and Tobago, the island of Jamaica and on the mainland of South America, Guyana and Suriname respectively. Anna, Brian, Celeste, Dean and Evan, as individuals as well as through

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[27] Also known as American Indians, and used chiefly in anthropological and linguistic contexts, Amerindian refers to a member of one of the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

their shared experiences, express a paradoxical quality found in West Indians of both belonging to everywhere and nowhere at the same time.

4.2.1 Anna

Anna is a 52-year-old Guyanese national, who arrived in South Africa in 2011 and acquired permanent residency in 2012. She has been married for almost 20 years to a fellow Guyanese national, who lives and works in another African country, and the couple have two teenaged children, who are enrolled in South African schools. Anna's extended family in South Africa consists of an older sister and her mother, who passed away during the course of the research exercise. Anna's sister made the initial move to South Africa, accompanied by their aging mother. Faced with the reality of a spouse she rarely sees owing to his job posting, and two other significant family members living in South Africa, Anna decided to move from Guyana to South Africa, to ensure more frequent contact with her husband, and to be in close proximity to her mother and sister, who were based in Pretoria, South Africa.

Anna is a scientist by training and an educator, possessing advanced qualifications and experience in lecturing at the tertiary level. Anna was able to obtain a PRP on account of her skills. Prior to residing in South Africa, Anna's experiences abroad included a brief stint in the USA and Trinidad and Tobago, but these periods were for the purpose of academic study. Apart from Guyana, South Africa is the only place in which Anna has resided for an extended period of time, without a clear time frame to depart.

Anna's parents were Guyanese, and she described her upbringing as typical middle-class Caribbean, defined as being 'good', going to school to secure an education and to church to complete instruction. Anna is a devout Anglican, certified and serving as a lay minister in an Anglican church in Pretoria.

4.2.2 Brian

Brian is a 45-year-old Jamaican national, who left Jamaica when he was 21 years old. Brian has lived in South Africa for over 16 years, having arrived in 2003. He is a permanent resident, and in the process of applying for South African citizenship. Brian has been married to a South African woman, who originates from Polokwane, for the past 15 years, and the couple have a five-year-old daughter. Brian's extended

family includes his wife's relatives in South Africa, and a cousin based in Port Elizabeth. Brian's other close relatives, apart from those in Jamaica, reside in the USA and the UK.

Brian's cousin, a university lecturer, made the initial move to South Africa and encouraged Brian to come for a visit. Brian had spent an extensive period of time living, studying and working in Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Antigua, Puerto Rico, London and New York, but had not planted roots in any of these destinations. Buoyed by the prospect of the burgeoning relationship with the woman who is now his wife, with whom he had been corresponding before his initial trip, Brian took up his cousin's offer to visit him in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. The two-week vacation morphed into a series of longer-term plans that led to a decision to settle in South Africa.

Following their wedding in 2004, the young couple initially settled in Port Elizabeth, South Africa and pursued studies outside of South Africa during this period. Realising that there were few opportunities for career advancement, the pair moved to Pretoria, where Brian's wife began her career within one of South Africa's government departments. A scientist by education and training, with graduate qualifications in conflict resolution and negotiation, Brian set these skills aside and established himself as an entrepreneur, establishing a light manufacturing company that both employs people and acts as an incubation hub for other manufacturers.

4.2.3 Celeste

Celeste, a naturalised American citizen, was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, in the 1960s, which would place her in her 50s. Celeste was married to the son of a prominent family in Mozambique, until he passed away. She moved to Mozambique in 1996, which means she has been living in the Southern African region for over 23 years. Apart from Trinidad and Tobago and Mozambique, Celeste's extended family reside in the USA, Canada and the UK.

Celeste has two children, a son in his early 30s and a daughter in her early 20s, who have largely been educated in South Africa. She arrived in South Africa in 2001, on a posting with an international organisation, and lived in Centurion for the duration of her tour, subsequent to which she moved to Johannesburg. According to Celeste,

who had considerable political connections at the time, she needed to be regularised, and was assisted by a senior South African official, who assisted in securing permanent residency for Celeste and her children.

Celeste describes herself as an educator. She was schooled in the USA up to postgraduate level and currently runs a non-profit organisation in Johannesburg working with young people from disadvantaged areas, empowering and equipping them. Celeste sees living in South Africa as 'witnessing history', and embraces the responsibility to contribute to the development of her adopted home.

Celeste's parents migrated to New York, in the USA, from Trinidad and Tobago, in pursuit of a better life for their children when she was six years old and she described them as aspirant Caribbean people, referring to the value ascribed to education as a means towards social mobility. Despite the numerous places she has called home, Celeste identifies strongly with Trinidad and Tobago, given the respite that that identity provided in the face of a negative experience of growing up in the American social environment, and especially the school system, as a Caribbean immigrant in the 1970s and 1980s.

4.2.4 Dean

Dean is a 43-year-old national of Trinidad and Tobago, who has lived in South Africa for over 14 years. He arrived in the country in 2005 and attained permanent residency in 2012. Dean is married to a South African woman who originates from KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). The couple met in the state of Florida in the USA, got married two years later and moved to South Africa two months after the wedding. They have a young daughter together. Their extended family in South Africa consists of Dean's in-laws, with whom he has a strong and accommodating relationship.

The decision on where to settle down came down to a compromise between the couple on the location of their wedding ceremony. If the ceremony was held in Trinidad and Tobago, the couple would make an attempt at settling in South Africa, and vice versa; if the ceremony was held in South Africa, the couple would take their chances with settling in Trinidad and Tobago. Incidentally, the couple married in the Bahamas, which, being a Caribbean island, and in closer proximity to Trinidad and Tobago, led to the decision to reside in South Africa.

An executive chef by trade, Dean has extensive experience in the restaurant and hospitality industry and is self-employed. Dean was once employed with a cruise line company, which allowed him to travel the world extensively. He has travelled to many different places and countries, but not spend considerable lengths of time in any one location. The two places that he would have lived in for the longest periods would be Trinidad and Tobago and South Africa. According to Dean, he has spent a third of his life in Trinidad and Tobago, a third travelling the world for work purposes and the remaining third in South Africa. At this stage of his life, Dean deems it important to leave a lasting legacy for his daughter, ensuring that she has access to a wide range of opportunities and advantages that were not accessible to him.

4.2.5 Evan

Evan is a 34-year-old Surinamese national. Suriname is a Dutch-speaking country, which like Guyana is located on the South American mainland, but forms part of the Caribbean region. Evan arrived in South Africa in 2008 on a work permit and is currently in the process of applying for permanent residence. He is married to a South African of Portuguese descent and they have a young daughter.

Evan initially arrived in South Africa to work with an international corporation, whose South African operations required persons with information technology and Dutch-speaking skills. Encouraged by an uncle who accepted a similar offer earlier, and moved his own family to South Africa, Evan, who comes from an extended, closely knit family in Suriname, made the move. Apart from Suriname, Evan's relatives reside in the Netherlands, Guyana and Canada, which represent traditional immigrant gateways for people from Suriname.

Evan left a well-paying, stable job in Suriname to pursue the opportunities for career advancement in his preferred field, in the unknown that South Africa represented. The only knowledge Evan held at the time of his decision was that South Africa was due to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which translated to him as a sufficient indication of development to commit a few years in building his career. Evan initially intended to stay for a maximum of five years, before deciding whether to return to Suriname or another Caribbean island.

Evan's plans to return to the Caribbean were changed when he met the woman who became his wife. Her extended and close-knit family provided a ready and accommodating social network to receive him. Apart from his wife's relatives, Evan is part of a larger cohort of professionals, who came on the same programme. The majority of this community live closer to their place of work in Johannesburg. Evan is the only member of this cohort, to date, who has decided to settle in Pretoria, closer to his wife's family. Prior to coming to South Africa, Evan had not lived outside Suriname or travelled extensively.

4.3 Autonomous claims to belong

4.3.1 Introduction

Walcott (1993) declares that 'what is hidden cannot be loved', in the obverse, what is loved cannot be hidden. To claim, is to assert that something is the case (OED). A claim can represent an assertion of the truth of something (OED). The root word means to 'call out', as in to declare or make a position clear. A claim is always directed, and in reference to someone or something, it is never arbitrary. De Haas' aspirations and capabilities framework in migration research enables us to extend the definition of a claim to include, a necessary step in realising social, human and/or economic resources across a national border. Pressing a claim to belong to someone or something in a landscape requires discrete, meaningful actions. For foreigners, these actions involve negotiating formal and informal boundaries encompassing a nation-state. A claim is intimate, and grows in conjunction with the perceived value of who or what motivated the claim; or as the below example illustrates, matures over the passage of time and acquires its own logic.

> Even though when I came here (South Africa), I came with the intention of eventually going back home, I'm here so long, as time passes, I am sort of losing my connection with Guyana and just making deeper connections here and its strange because, it's a whole, it's very different type of connections. It can compare with what was in Guyana, but what was in Guyana is just not going to be there when I am ready to go back. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

An autonomous claim to belong is intimately connected to an individual's sense of identity and their aspirations. As a result, for persons who move during the course of their life and assume the label immigrant, agency and its role in migrant decision-making can be traced to attitudes formed in their home country and traced through

their behaviour in their adopted homes. In the Caribbean, places abroad are significant, similar to other regions where emigration is normalised. The perception of opportunities in a particular locality is produced by interaction between an individual's value system and the image of the real world (Downs, 1970, cited in Thomas-Hope, 2002). These mental images are informed to some extent by national influences that may come in the form of economic and political linkages and may include a sense of cultural exile and the search for a meaningful past.

Cities in Europe and North America comprise the familiar destinations to which Caribbean people migrate, and as a result of acceptance and use, represent the strongest ties. Destinations in London, New York, Amsterdam or Paris, for example, represent acceptable images of the world outside of the own countries that comprise the region. Located on the fringes are ancestral homelands of different racial sectors of the population. Destinations in India and Africa, especially, are romanticised and useful in creating and legitimising an acceptable cultural identity at home, but they do not constitute real[istic] images of the outside world (Thomas-Hope, 2002). A question I posed to myself in formulating the study was, how did South Africa come to be included in the 'real world' of opportunities for my participants?

4.3.2   Off the beaten path: Selecting South Africa

All of my respondents' respective journeys to South Africa begin with a desire to go somewhere other than where they were, in order to improve their life chances. My respondents are mainly professionals who, except for one individual, had travelled outside their respective countries prior to South Africa.

> I have always wanted to go out and explore. To expand my horizons, so to speak. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

There is a semblance of luxury of choice and opportunity, free of structural constraints, such as borders and national responses, that we can detect in the rawness and naiveite of Brian's aspirations. Anna echoes Brian's openness, and cosmopolitanism.

> I was in the process of going to Canada, but then I didn't want to go in the cold. And I wasn't too sure I wanted to live in another island in the Caribbean. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

Canada, Trinidad, Barbados and the USA were listed by Anna as plausible options. For someone from the region, another island or a North American destination can easily be accessed by airplane in a single stop, and represents a recognised place that is 'foreign'.

> Having spent most of my life on that side of the world, the Caribbean and the United States, which became no longer attractive to me, I found, the new-found land of Africa, South Africa specifically, as an interesting challenge, a new challenge. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

A romanticised vision of 'Africa', and extensive travel to established immigrant cities for this respondent, played a part in a desire to pursue a challenge, in what he articulates as the 'motherland'.

> When I made the decision to go halfway around the world, in a way, I was mimicking, or at least copying my parents' decision to go to a whole new environment, and not know anyone. (Celeste, February 11, 2017)

Anna and Brian had briefly visited South Africa on occasion prior to making the move; but Celeste lived in Mozambique with her husband's extended family who originate from that country. For the most part, none of my research participants had set out for, or considered South Africa to reside. South Africa is not one of the traditional immigrant gateways for Caribbean migrants, but for each one of my participants, concrete opportunities, connected to individually held aspirations, drew them to South Africa. Opportunities came in the form of family reunification, further study, a job assignment, marriage prospects, and in the case of one participant, all of the above.

Moving to South Africa tested one of my participant's level of openness when the subject was initially raised by a family member interested in reunification.

> It was not my initiative. My sister had lived here for a few years and she retired here and she brought my mother. She wanted me to come, but I wasn't really interested. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

The decision by an older sibling to reside in South Africa subsequent to retirement, in addition to their mother accompanying her, provided a compelling reason to consider the country as a destination. The circumstance of the move by two close relatives coincided with a job opportunity for her husband in another country on the African continent. South Africa, as a regional hub, represented a place in which Anna's

nuclear and close extended family could be together, which for her is a fundamental aspiration.

Brian recounts how an invitation from a relative, to visit South Africa for a short time created an opportunity to see the country for himself. The cousin was a student at the time, himself drawn by incentives offered by a university in the Eastern Cape for international students.

> I do have a family member in South Africa, who is a distant cousin, who is also a Jamaican. … he encouraged me to come here … (Brian, December 22, 2016)

Brian was already living outside the island of his birth, working in the UK at the time. The presence of someone familiar, even a distant cousin, in South Africa helped to make the destination more accessible.

4.3.3 Concrete opportunities

Despite inducement from external sources, the decision to act had internal roots. My respondents are able to clearly articulate their aspirations, the role of migration in satisfying them, and the capacity of South Africa to translate their capabilities into reality.

> The reason for me wanting to leave my last place of permanent residence in T&T (Trinidad and Tobago), it's obviously not … it's not a matter of not liking my country, it was just for me a matter of a professional decision that had to be made to advance my career. (Dean, January 18, 2017)

A job opportunity for Evan also represented a career shift into a field more suited to his passions. The desire was not a result of a need to survive; his financial needs were being met and he was safely ensconced in a strong family context. Career change and the personal advancement it represented provided a strong motivation to travel to South Africa for work.

> Back home, I had a good job, well paid but the job I was doing was more like accounts and stock take for a company and it wasn't something that I really loved to do or liked to do and when I heard about this work in South Africa … because I saw the IT (information technology) then it kind of moved me to want to come to South Africa. (Evan, August 19, 2017)

Opportunities for the advancement of her children provided further incentive for Anna, in addition to family reunification, to uproot and leave a context that, on the surface, provided a good life.

> Part of me wanted to leave Guyana and part didn't. For myself, I think I just could have continued to live in Guyana until … because I mean, I had a place in society and good job. And once I was pulled out of that place at least once a year I was ok. But, in reality, thinking about my children's future made me begin to consider leaving. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

Anna was already at the 'top' of her field; she held a senior position in her home country and provided consultancy services in her area of expertise. The basis for the DHA granting her residency status was the recognition that she possessed critical skills,[28] A push factor for Anna included the comparable lack of education[29] opportunities for her children in Guyana.

Brian's interest in South Africa evolved, requiring him to change his declaration from tourist, to student, and later on resident due to spousal privilege.

> The decision to come back to South Africa was made after I had been accepted by University of Port Elizabeth. Back then, post graduate study was really, you could say really affordable. Because the government of the day made it possible to attract international scholars. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

An opportunity to pursue postgraduate studies at the University of Port Elizabeth[30] provided a pathway, and solidified a growing affinity for South Africa. Government

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[28] http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/immigration-services/scarce-skills-work-permits

[29] The emphasis on education in the Caribbean is derived from class origin, rather than a cultural trait (James, 2002). In the British Caribbean, for example, education served two practical purposes, both tied to stability and maintaining the status quo. Colonial authorities applied formal education as a means of preventing former slaves from 'sinking into barbarism' (James, 2002:238); in other words, to maintain the society, education was tied to ideas of progress. Secondly, education facilitated a practice by colonial authorities of recruiting a portion of the skilled work force, thereby creating a large professional class. The recruitment process was implemented during slavery and continued after it was abolished, easing the transition to emancipation (James, 2002). Education, upward mobility and professional aspirations resonate strongly within the Caribbean middle-class.

[30] The institution once known as the University of Port Elizabeth is today known as the Nelson Mandela University, having undergone a restructuring exercise.

policies, in terms of immigration and education, worked in conjunction with less tangible enticements that ultimately resulted in a longer-term commitment.

Marriage, or the prospect of marriage represents a defining context for the improvement in life chances for several of my participants. Marriage and immigration are two seminal life events that often occur together. Both events represent a change and create the context for profound adjustments in the lives of participants. In marriage as well as immigration, an individual must reconcile the loss of the old and embrace, in some form, the new (Youakim, 2004). Marriage would have profound implications on immigrant pathways and the process of assimilation for my participants, but in this section, we are considering its value in coalescing aspirations in a specific country, and the connection to pressing a claim to belong.

In recounting his first visit to South Africa, Brian describes how unfocused he was at the time.

> The trigger while visiting South Africa was during the period in which the war in Iraq had started, the second one, and let's say I was involved in the politics of the world at the time. I had airy fairy beliefs and desires to probably work with the United Nations some day and I saw the programme at the University of Port Elizabeth, and I was interested. I never really thought about it very seriously at the time, while I was in South Africa. But also, I met the woman that would become my wife, so that was the greater pull. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

The tangible connection to South Africa, for him, was the woman he would later marry, and commitment to her provided the pivot for the decision to move to South Africa on a more permanent basis.

> So, the idea of staying in South Africa was because of this lady who I eventually, we eventually got married in 2004. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

Evan provides another example of how a claim to belong can spontaneously evolve. He left his extended family to explore a work and career opportunity in South Africa 'temporarily'.

> I decided I want to stay at least five years and within that, I think after three years I got to know my wife, we started dating and that's when we decided to get married, so that is it basically. (Evan, August 19, 2017)

Similar to Brian, Evan's long-term commitment to living in South Africa is preceded, and informed, by a more meaningful and personal commitment to their spouses.

Dean was different to Brian and Evan in the sense, he 'discovered' South Africa in the USA. Dean met his future spouse during the time he worked on a cruise ship.

> I met my wife through one of my many travels back in Florida in the US. We got married two years later and then I moved to South Africa two months after getting married. (Dean, January 18, 2017)

Apart from their union, and the potential life that the couple could lead in South Africa, Dean would have had little reason to visit or be interested in South Africa. His claim to belong to South Africa developed subsequent to a conversation the couple had concerning their future together.

Each of my participants underwent an iterative process of assessing the viability of South Africa as a place of residence, including the growing attachments and importance of these attachments as a basis for making a claim to belong. Building a case, weighing the pros and cons, utilising the knowledge they held, and largely ignorant of the specific reaction by official borders to their claim in the future. Through clarity that hindsight brings, the accounts provided by my respondents converge on the strength of personal attachments, and their growth potential in South Africa as powerful motivators to deepen the encounter. Similar to the thousands of prospectors that came to South Africa searching for gold and other precious minerals, a complex decision with far reaching consequences can be traced to very primitive and relatable instincts.

4.3.4   Reactions and responses from friends and family

Familial support at home, or lack thereof, to the move to South Africa for my respondents hinged on general ignorance of the country, and the magnitude of the unknowns that it presented. The reactions from family members and friends to plans to emigrate to South Africa, were strong, and based on distorted ideas of 'Africa'. One respondent, who has an extended family network living in different countries outside his island of origin, received a call from a relative living in one of the recognised destinations for large numbers of Caribbean immigrants.

> My aunt in Canada called me and said why am I going to South Africa. Don't you know that people are fleeing from Africa instead of going. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

Her objective was to 'correct' her nephew's course. The strategy to leave the island was not the problem; the point of contention was the destination. The romanticised views of Africa, referred to by Thomas-Hope (2002), are not held by all, and amongst those who hold the view, immigration to destinations in Africa represented a bigger step at the time, circa 2000. 'Africa', undefined and undifferentiated, was a place to depart from, arguably similar to the Caribbean; destinations on the continent were not places to engage.

Apprehension about the decision to migrate to a destination in Africa was in connection with distance, one respondent said:

> My family felt that it was a long way to go, going from the US to Mozambique. (Celeste, February 11, 2017)

Global structural forces do not directly support contact between the Caribbean and the African continent, or Asia. Trade and information flows tend to run through intermediaries in the global North. However, many of Celeste's relatives are in the USA, so travel to destinations on the continent were dependent on more than the convenience of travel. By the time she had moved to Pretoria, the conceptual gap was bridged, and Celeste had built up her own familial relationships in the region.

Dean did not know how to broach the subject with many of his friends and family, so he waited until the last minute to reveal the couple's decision to move to South Africa.

> Some of my friends in particular, they didn't actually believe when I told them I was going to move to South Africa. Apart from it not being common it was, I mean, on the other side of the world. (Dean, January 18, 2017)

Claims of travel between African countries and the Caribbean being uncommon are unsubstantiated, but there is a high probability that individuals who decide to migrate would be disconnected from social networks in their home country, despite the advent of mobile technologies and applications. The 'other side of the world' referred to by Dean also includes a range of new experiences, memories and relationships that over time makes one different. Despite my best efforts, six years in South Africa has made me more conversant with issues occurring in South Africa and particularly Pretoria than with what is taking place in my home island.

Evan comes from a close-knit, East Indian family in Suriname. According to him, his relatives are numerous, live in an extended family network, whereby individual decisions are family property. Information flows freely amongst Evan's relatives, and a disparaging report on South Africa provided by a mobile uncle almost scuttled his plans to take up the job offer.

> One of my uncles, he travelled everywhere, and he did work overseas and stuff and he told me that South Africa is not really a place you want to go to because of the crime. (Evan, August 19, 2017)

Evan's relative, different from the one who actually made the initial move to South Africa and encouraged Evan to follow suit, identified crime as a significant disincentive to embark on the move. In the absence of specific knowledge or travel experience, other relatives used their imaginations.

> They see South Africa as a place like, there is a lion behind a tree. (Evan, August 19, 2017)

At the point at which Evan was deciding on the move to South Africa, he was the least mobile of the respondents in this study. Apart from his uncle who supported the move, his other relatives, who made up his main support system, largely did not know how to process the move. 'Africa' represented an underdeveloped and backward space, fraught with dangers.

Support for the move stemmed from the short-term nature of the experience that Evan originally envisaged, and used to pacify those against the decision. His parents held divergent positions on the suitability of the opportunity. Evan was nonetheless able to leave with his family's blessing after persuading the more vocal members who were opposed to the move, that it would be for the best, and that he would return.

> My father was like, go! My mother was like, no! So, I had to talk her out and stuff like that, and then my mother's sisters and they were also like hesitant but eventually they just agreed to it. (Evan, August 19, 2017)

4.3.5 Discussion and conclusion

Human experiences are complex, and variegated. An individual can be embedded in a significant, life changing process such as migration, but unable to appreciate or identify a starting point. Some people are not always conscious that they would

become migrants, especially in circumstances where the move did not start with an intention to reside outside of their home country. Amongst my respondents, migration emerged as a feature or a development of a wider personal; they were pursuing and creating pathways that would improve their life chances. My participants' accounts of how they ended up in South Africa prompted a deeper consideration of the larger social processes, shaped by personally held aspirations, enabled by their capabilities, and materialised by their decisions. If these broader social processes, or materialisation of aspirations, are conceptualised as a flow, with force and direction, then push back, seen in the responses of relatives and friends can be recognised as an interruption to that flow. This encounter, where the flow meets resistance is an opportunity for autonomy to articulate itself, and for the individual to arrive at a point of greater commitment.

Each of my respondents, by virtue of existing qualifications and means, was in a position to exercise choice over the destination, even if they at times overplay this dimension in how they narrate their life trajectory. Despite the relative absence of an established support system, provided by generations of family members, and/or a community of people from their respective countries or the region for that matter, the decisions came down to: why not South Africa? In all but one instance, the decision to move was mediated by strong opinions, which proved to be insufficient to dissuade my participants, a likely consequence of the strong incentives provided by the prospects of establishing or advancing the immediate family, which was central to each respondent. South Africa, despite all the challenges that pre-migration information posed, represented a destination where family and other general idealisations of life chances could be realised.

The next section will follow the flow of materialised aspirations, or life chances, and document the reactions of my respondents to an intractable obstacle to their forward movement, in the form of the national borders and bordering processes of South Africa. At margins, declarations must be made, immigration declaration forms serve this very purpose, to make clear at the border your intentions. National bureaucracies developed to implement the rules and regulations governing access are not organic; they do not interpret broad personal processes and factor in that a tourist today may fall in love and on another day apply for an indefinite stay. Migrant decisions must fit

clearly defined categories, they must be legible. Changing categories requires re-reading and opens up opportunities for misinterpretation.

4.4   Encountering the South African state: Becoming legible

4.4.1   Introduction

In this section, we examine the experiences of my respondents in their respective applications for permanent residence, a discrete, intermediate step that could lead to citizenship. Legal migrants are required to interact directly with formal or official borders. Das and Poole (2004) remind us that a primary means through which the state is experienced is through documents, such as birth papers, marriage licences, identification permits, driver's licences and death certificates. For the foreign-born, these documents that are crucial to earning income, mobility within the country and conducting business in general, require evidence of a migrant's residence status before they can be acquired.

4.4.2   More equal than others

Residence permits and visas are examples of instruments issued by governments to manage access by non-nationals to rights and privileges available to nationals. These instruments reflect state instituted pathways for immigrants, and establish the basis for legality or illegality; which incidentally could shift as a result of changes in legislation, actions or non-actions on the part of non-nationals, or interpretation by state officials. Visa applications are typically processed outside a country. Anna applied for a South African visa from Guyana, with the assistance of a South African immigration attorney. The visa was granted under the critical skills category and enabled her to travel to South Africa, with her two children listed as dependants. Upon her arrival in 2011 she immediately applied for temporary residence, and in under three months the request was granted by the DHA. Anna encountered limitations with her temporary residence status, which led her to apply for permanent residence. Anna needed to acquire an international driver's license, which was difficult for her to obtain, describing the process as convoluted.

Anna was advised to obtain a South African driver's permit, to solve her problem. The first hurdle she encountered was the task of finding a definitive solution to her

'problem'. She recalls, '… it's interesting, that people in positions where they are supposed to know, they don't always know and often misinform you.' Given that obtaining a South African driver's license required a South African identification card and the issuance of South African identification, Anna surmised that she required a permanent residence permit. Permanent residence status equates to access. For Anna, proper documentation, or evidence of an enabling status, was important to smooth the settling process and became a worthwhile pursuit. 'So, documentation is very, very, important in this place. Proper documentation!'

Having made up her mind to apply for permanent residence, Anna set about preparing the application in 2012. Anna enlisted the assistance of the same immigration attorney who had processed her earlier applications, but the lawyer 'disappeared' shortly after initiating the application. Anna's prior dependence on the lawyer meant she was ignorant of the procedures entailed in applying for permanent residence, and her ignorance extended to specific knowledge of the stage of her application, or the means available to her to follow up on the matter. Cognisant that her temporary residence visa was due to expire, Anna tried reaching the DHA by phone, but could not get through. Anna's entire life in South Africa hinged on her legal status; her children's ability to go to school depended on her residence permit, which increased her anxiety.

Abandoned by her lawyer, and contrary to the advice provided, Anna opted to face the DHA without an intermediary. 'Then I decided just go to the agency. Don't worry about who might know who ...' She visited the DHA office in Johannesburg on a Saturday, but only matters pertaining to nationals were processed on that day. The second time around, she visited the office during the course of the week, informed the person at the information desk of her purpose and was instructed to follow the lines. 'I just fell in the process like any other member of the public. A long line, but it's moving, so you don't mind.'

Anna estimated that she spent less than four hours in the DHA office, but ultimately, she obtained her permanent residence permit. The experience conflicted with the accounts she had heard previously; there were indeed long lines, but she did not encounter any problems. Anna reflected on how close she had come to losing her legitimacy, 'So, had I not gone at that time, the PRPs would have expired, I would

have never known, and I would have been illegal and I would have had to gone through the whole process with no guarantees of getting it again. So, I was lucky, I think I was just blessed.' Anna's experience with the DHA was contrary to the negative reports she received about the Department.

Instead of the reputed inefficiency, which contributed to her reluctance to deal with the Department directly, she found a system that worked. The euphoria Anna expressed was derived from both the relative simplicity of her application process and relief that she was within the time frame stipulated by the state. As a legal immigrant, the control of the state through its power to include an outsider through access to documents is 'real'. In one day, in a few hours, her 'problem' was resolved by the Department, without an intermediary. Subsequent to the processing of her permanent residence permit, Anna applied for an identification card, which she received in under six months. Regular updates from the Department on the progress of the application, sent to her mobile phone, reinforced her confidence in the DHA and its processes: 'You join the line but the line moves.'

Anna was not the only respondent who reported a positive experience with the DHA. When I asked Celeste to describe her process of applying for permanent residence, she related that 'It was dignified. It was very simple in terms of the process. It wasn't the kind of horror stories that you hear.' All of my respondents had heard horror stories, and we will examine and compare shortly, those who experienced them personally. Celeste had transferred to the South African office of an international organisation that employed her, following the death of her husband. Two years into her contract, Celeste's employment circumstances had changed dramatically, and leaving the job would affect the conditions of her residence permit. She needed a residence permit immediately and placed a call to a very senior government official at the time, who was able to smooth the way for her. No money passed hands; Celeste's close political relationship enabled her to acquire permanent residence status for herself and her children.

I wish to contrast Anna's and to a lesser extent Celeste's experience at the borders, with those of Brian and Dean respectively. Brian, you would recall, was granted a place to study at the University of Port Elizabeth, and applied for a study visa, which was processed without any problems and enabled him to return to South Africa in

2003. The relationship between Brian and his South African girlfriend developed quickly and the couple were married in 2004. Shortly after their wedding, Brian encouraged his spouse to take up an offer for further study in Europe, and for a period of three months, whilst he finished his programme, the couple were apart. Brian's troubles began when they were reunited. His study visa was due to expire, and he applied for a spousal visa, a prerequisite for the permanent residence permit. Applicants become eligible for permanent residence as an accompanying spouse after five years of marriage. In the meantime, a temporary spousal visa, renewable every two to three years, is offered. Brian's evolving life necessitated a change in his declaration; he had made a claim to belong and ran headlong into existing suspicions about marriages between South Africans and foreigners. 'I remember I went to apply for my permanent residence status, and I was told by one of the officers there at Home Affairs that I only got married for citizenship.'

Brian's application was submitted in 2005, but he did not receive his permanent residence permit until 2011. In a period spanning over seven years, Brian was required to report to the Department to 'check' on the status of his application and inform officials of any changes in his activity, inclusive of work or studies, whilst the application was pending. When asked about the experience, Brian responded simply, 'It was tedious.' The line of questioning clearly touched a nerve, as Brian recounted his scheduled visits to the DHA.

> There is a special room that non-South Africans must enter and the attitude of the people towards those in there is deplorable, it's terrible. It borders on being inhumane in the way in which they speak to non-South Africans. (Brian, August 22, 2017)

Brian attributes the 'attention' he received from the DHA to his decision to marry a South African. In addition to an incident at the DHA office in Pretoria, Brian was questioned again by a DHA official on his motivation for marrying a South African. Marriage is perceived as a means to acquire South African citizenship, and central to anti-immigrant sentiments (Murray, 2003).

At the time of our interviews, Dean was also a permanent resident. Unlike Brian who had arrived on a study visa and converted to a spousal visa, Dean and his wife were married in the Bahamas and he had to apply for the accompanying spouse permit prior to travelling to South Africa. Entering South Africa was straightforward, but

Dean's subsequent experiences with the state led to threats of deportation and incarceration. Dean has a more aggressive personality than Brian, which he directly attributes to his experiences in South Africa. Unfortunately, his confrontational nature contributed to the escalation of his multiple encounters with the DHA. Dean also attributes his experience with the DHA to his marital union with a South African. 'South Africans for some reason think …. that if you marry a South African and you come to live in the country it's because you [are] seeking a better life.' There is of course, nothing wrong with seeking a 'better life' abroad, but marriage appears to be a particularly sensitive and hazardous pathway to belonging. Dean found himself at a cross section of legibility. His marriage to a South African, and possibly his ethnicity (he is of African descent), contributed to his negative interactions with the state and the effects endured long after he eventually acquired permanent residence. Reflecting on a series of bruising interactions that played out over years, Dean remarks, 'At the end of the day, an experience like that, you could never erase it.' The interactions with the DHA had a marginalising effect on both Dean and Brian, which carries over into their dealings with wider society, which will be addressed in the next chapter.

Brian and Dean's experience with the DHA, differs sharply from Celeste's 'dignified' reception, indicating that some applicants are more equal than others. Marriage does not currently enjoy the same privilege of place as skills and qualifications deemed by the government to be desirable, sitting closer to the margins of acceptability. The gap created by the grounds for a legitimate claim, stemming from legislation, and the constitutive knowledge of the department, which has organically grown to distrust applications based on marriage, allows a magical mode to exercise greater levels of authority in the encounters between officials and my respondents who pursued this route.

What are some of the implications that could be drawn from the experiences of my participants, as a result of differential inclusion? According to Anna, easy access to critical documents, which confers a measure of acceptability.

> … you see the way in which people deal with you when you give a passport versus if you give South African ID. They deal with you differently. They are more accommodating and accepting and everything when you have the South African ID. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

Brian and Dean eventually became permanent residents, but they were required to manage a suspension of their aspirations, and accompanying feelings of anger and resentment at the treatment meted out by state officials. We began identifying in the previous chapter, the link between interruptions of the flow of individual aspirations and opportunities for autonomy in migration to clarify, and strengthen claims to belong. Management of migration by affected respondents manifested in at least two ways, crisis management and endurance. Crises brought about by what Ferme (2004:107) describes as the 'spatiotemporalities' created by the imposition of seemingly arbitrary demands by the state, and an associated need to manage the powerlessness associated with deferred aspirations. Brian's seven-year process provides an example of the endurance required to last long enough in order to navigate through the circuitous route of becoming legible to the state officials adjudicating his respective claims.

4.4.3 Outsourcing immigration administration

I wish to briefly highlight Evan's experience, distinct from Brian and Dean's by virtue of a change in immigration procedure that involves the outsourcing of border control. The possibility of direct encounters has been dramatically reduced by changes to the way the DHA handles migration management. The advent of VFS Global South Africa, in 2014, means that applications require an intermediary. Evan processed his application for permanent residency, on the basis of spousal privilege through VFS Global, and does not appear to harbour the negative emotions that my participants who interacted directly reflect on, despite the passage of time. What they all have in common, notwithstanding a basis for a claim to belong, is insecurity.

Evan is the only respondent in this study residing in South Africa with a temporary residence permit. The other informants' applications were processed prior to 2014 and predated the advent of VFS Global operating in South Africa. You may recall that Evan travelled to South Africa in 2008 to take up a job opportunity. Evan's plan when he left Suriname was to stay in South Africa for three to five years, but in 2010 he met his wife, who was a South African citizen. At the time of the interviews, Evan had begun the process required to change his residency status from a work visa to a permanent residence permit. A year into the application, he expects the process to be straightforward, given that it was being undertaken by VFS Global. The company

that hired Evan was initially responsible for his work visa and opted to use an immigration lawyer after encountering difficulties with direct access to the DHA. Upon subsequent applications for the renewal of his temporary residence permit, Evan took it upon himself to ensure that he could remain with his family, 'I can't afford to be undesirable, or whatever they call it, you see, so I did it myself, and they fixed it, they extended it, so I'm fine.' The involvement of lawyers inadvertently distances him from direct interactions with DHA officials, and results in a markedly different experience from those of Brian and Dean respectively, even though his application for permanent residence is also based on spousal privilege.

Despite the entrance of VFS Global and an application submitted by his employer, he took the extra step of involving an immigration lawyer to prepare his renewal applications, and in this instance the application for permanent residence. The use of a law firm serves to reassure Evan that his application would be processed accurately, and that he would not encounter problems, notwithstanding the high costs associated with employing a lawyer, and the fees required to process an application through the VFS.

4.4.4 Discussion and conclusion

Negative experiences with the state created long lasting indentations on my affected participants, which I could not identify with except through their telling, it was not the South Africa that revealed itself to me. Brian and Dean interacted with a border, with a different code programmed into it, than the ones navigated by Anna and Celeste. They met a border that was elongated, and thickened, which marginalised them and challenged the excitement and openness presented at the beginning of the move. Their constitutive knowledge about South Africa expanded to include rejection, and set the stage for what Landau and Freemantle (2010:385) define as tactical cosmopolitanism. Those who met thinner, more accommodating margins, proceeded to manage the internal, less formal boundaries, without the baggage or the benefit of having their claim countered by the state. These internal boundaries should not be mistaken for less challenging, and will be addressed in the following section.

4.5   Negotiating the margins of the society: Belonging to South Africa

4.5.1   Introduction

In this section, I discuss the role of social operators, such as ethnicity and class, in fostering or frustrating a sense of belonging to South Africa, for my respondents. You may recall that belonging can be drawn from issues related to membership, rights and duties drawn from a designation like citizenship, or it may relate to forms of identification with a group, or with other people. Anthias (2006:21) includes the peculiar ways in which our status reinforces our sense of self and interacts with feelings of being part of a larger group, and with the emotional and social bonds that are related to such places constitute belonging.

4.5.2   Mapping out socially constructed pathways

I begin with examples of discomfiture and disorientation described by my participants in realising their position in a social field; illustrate the socially constructed pathways that are discovered as individual aspirations and capabilities respond to the situations encountered; and end with the social fields that represent the sites of being and belonging for my respondents.

4.5.2.1 Searching for a place

Anna narrates a situation that occurred at her daughter's school that I believe is particularly poignant, and indicative of a process applicable to all of my participants, their search for a place. Anna's children attend denominational private schools in Pretoria; her choice of schools based on South Africa's curriculum, as opposed to international schools, reflects the long-term engagement she has in mind for her family in South Africa. Anna recounts an incident that occurred shortly after enrolling her daughter, during a social event hosted by the school. Prior to the event, Anna had briefly interacted with two parents from her daughter's class. When Anna entered the room where the gathering was taking place, she recognised that the respective tables were populated by race, and she was faced with a dilemma. There were 'Black' tables, 'White' tables and a few Indian parents seated on chairs off to the side. Racial categories are different in the Caribbean; Anna is mixed-raced, meaning African, Asian and European, but her phenotypical features appear more African. In South Africa, she could be considered Coloured. She was both unfamiliar

with the majority of the people in the room as well as a social situation that appeared to require clarity on where she belonged.

In the absence of a reference point, Anna walked through the room looking for a table to be seated and proceeded to the area where the Black parents congregated. Anna indicates that a few of the Black mothers looked in her direction, and then looked away. She relates that she then hovered around tables where the White mothers were located and the reactions were the same, leaving her a bit 'lost'. A short time after standing around on her own, one of the parents she had met prior to the event recognised her and seated her at one of the tables to the back that was more sparsely populated. The woman was a mother of one of the girls with whom Anna's daughter was friends at the time, and she happened to be White. The woman sat with Anna and introduced her to another parent at the table at which they were currently seated, a mature White woman. When the introductions had been made, the parent Anna had met earlier left to return to her original placement.

The incident, which became representative of Pretoria and South Africa for Anna, left a lasting impression, and she describes her feelings at the time in this way, 'I was quite disappointed that the Black people ignored me so much. You would sort of expect the White people to ignore you. But the Black people ignored you and I thought that that was not nice.' Anna was confronted by her own racial biases and double standards, which leads her to assume that she would be automatically received by the Black parents and expectation of rejection by White parents. Despite Anna's feelings of marginalisation at the time, she chose to look for ways to improve her social position in the context of the school environment. 'You have to have an opening. You have to have a conduit I would say.' Anna identified the leaders within the different groups and leveraged their social positions to establish relationships with other parents.

Anna believes that her decisions and approach to relationships at the school directly impact upon her children's experiences, making her more attuned and willing to engage with the administration and other parents. Anna's access and personal adjustments required to fit into the school environment allowed her to recognise, beyond clear racial categories that she felt external to, there were other differences. She described her surprise upon realising that amongst the Whites, there were

Afrikaner and 'English' parents, and that 'they have their own problems', meaning they are not unified, and everyone was not affluent. According to Anna, many of the relationships between the White parents have more to do with the economic benefits that could be gained through their association than any commitment to a group, or each other.

Anna's comments on the Black parents is also interesting:

> In the Black population you have the well to do and you have those who are struggling like hell but want to give their children the best. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

Anna was referring to the economic sacrifice that some parents were prepared to make to offer their children the 'best' education possible. Anna converted her feelings of being on the outside to a commitment to find a pathway inside, because of the value of education and socialising her children to adapt to life in general. In Anna's process of becoming more enmeshed in the school environment, it enabled her to become more reflective of struggles over belonging to South Africa that other parents, born in South Africa, experience. Anna's perceptions of South Africa are not necessarily accurate, nor relevant to this study. What I find interesting is Anna's progression, in her ability to shift from seeing race, to ethnicities to class, and her desire to better understand and adapt to her adopted home.

The social milieu continues to confuse Anna and her children. She describes the ways in which she and her son ascribe ethnic labels to themselves, 'So [my son] considers himself Coloured. I actually just consider myself Black because to me it just makes life easier, so I just say I'm Black.' Anna's daughter encounters more difficulty in the exercise, and Anna describes the difference in her children's responses in the following way:

> I think they are grappling and they have to decide what they are. I don't know that I can decide for them. I don't think I should. I just leave it to them … For [my son] it's not a problem, because colour and these things, they don't matter to him. And he is like colour blind in terms of ethnicity and racism, and I think that is a very good quality he has. My daughter isn't colour blind and she struggles, and I think it's because people can't peg her. She isn't Black enough, she isn't Indian enough, she definitely isn't White. But what the hell is she? And she really struggles with that. And I don't want to prescribe for her. Because whatever it is at the end of the day has to be something, she is very comfortable with. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

The ways in which Anna and her children recognise and respond to race and ethnicities do not neatly correspond with definitions in South Africa, and contributes to their misreading of situations and contexts, but Anna's search for a place, is instructive.

I wish to focus on Celeste and her attitudes towards finding a place in South Africa. Amongst my respondents, Celeste has the most experience as an immigrant, having lived in the US for an extended period of time, obtaining US citizenship, then residing in Mozambique with her family for some years before eventually moving to South Africa. Celeste provides her opinion on searching for a place, by saying 'What I do find in South Africa, a lot of things are predicated on relationships. And you can be an 'outsider' if you don't have access through relationships'. Celeste believes that proximity and relationships could render anyone an outsider, regardless of their citizenship status. She compared her experiences in the USA and the similarities between the two countries. In the US, she was called a 'monkey chaser', a derogatory term often used by African-Americans to describe other Black people that they feared would take their jobs. Celeste recounts the hurt she felt in response to the aggression she experienced as a child growing up in the USA, and her inability to belong to the USA, despite holding American citizenship. Despite the negative experience, Celeste is able to reflect on her time in the US and says the following:

> I am also very proud of having been socialised in the United States because the US has given me that fight. And I feel that what I got from the US, I can live in any part of the world, because I can hustle. (Celeste, February 11, 2017)

However, she is aware of inherent social requirements in South Africa that require her to make an extra effort, and relates 'I find there is a degree of myopia also with Black South Africans. There is a degree of pushing you aside if you are not South African'. Celeste was referring to a seeming need to demonstrate competence in extending courtesies in Black South African languages. In her experience, the ability to complete the ritual of greeting was important, and one can be ignored for failing to observe the convention. This realisation, critical for Celeste as the head of a non-governmental organisation (NGO) that works with impoverished children in townships across the country, places a specific requirement to adapt by learning the languages of the people she interacts with on a daily basis.

I now turn to focus on Brian and Dean. Their experiences in finding a place differ from Anne and Celeste, on account of the state-defined immigrant pathways available to spouses of South Africans, and their protracted and negative interactions with the DHA, which we covered in the previous chapter. When Brian arrived as a student in Port Elizabeth, a small seaside city in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, the idea of living in the country beyond the duration of his study was at an infant stage. He was in a conversation with a colleague from Botswana and Brian recounts the exchange in the following way:

> The way in which I saw back then, in Port Elizabeth, and I saw it even more now in Pretoria, is that Nigerians and West Africans were treated as Africans. I was once told by a Botswanan, "… you are not an African, you know, those people (White South Africans) they are Africans, but you are not even an African." (Brian, December 22, 2017)

Brian uses the example to illustrate the degree to which he was made to feel like a foreigner in Port Elizabeth, by a non-South African. According to Brian, students from other African countries were treated as 'Africans', but he was treated as something of a lesser degree. Brian arrived with notions of a return to the 'motherland', so the lack of acceptance, soured him to his new environment. Notwithstanding his experiences in Port Elizabeth, the exchanges and alienation paled in comparison to exchanges in Pretoria. Brian describes Pretoria as an extremely aggressive city, more so than New York and London, where he had resided and worked for short periods of time earlier in his life. Rather than a melting pot, Brian described Pretoria as a 'boiling pot', simmering with tensions. People who stood out as being foreigners are subject to be targeted and he describes his response in the following way:

> These things are things that you must learn. You must learn, even without speaking because then people will realise you are not one of us. You stick out. I try not to speak. (Brian, August 22, 2017)

When pressed to describe what shifted in him, in response to the city, Brian responds:

> You had to be more bold, you had to be constantly on the lookout. Because one it's either somebody is trying to rob you, planning to rob you, thinking of robbing you or already robbed you, in terms of your interaction, especially in the city centre and those places. You always, constantly, experiences like smash and grab weren't experiences that I experienced before coming to South Africa. (Brian, August 22, 2017)

Brian has been a victim of crime, but additionally, his insecurity and cautiousness stems from his need to frequent the Central Business District (CBD) of Pretoria, which records relatively high crime statistics. As an entrepreneur, who employs people and conducts business in the CBD, his context of life draws him into competitive and sometimes dangerous urban situations. What Brian learnt about his environment, through necessity, made him more careful about his surroundings. We are tracing the relationship between the discoveries, or learnings about South Africa, on the part of my respondents and the ways in which they respond or become more attuned to their environment.

Dean describes himself as an upbeat and relational person before travelling to South Africa. Over the years, he indicates that he became constantly angry at what he perceived to be discrimination directed at him on the basis of race and his accent, which identifies him as an outsider. Dean specifies that only in South Africa did he experience situations in which individuals of another race, he did not specify which, confronted him, cursed him and used derogatory language. The incident(s) changed his general demeanour: 'I don't even try to accept it; I'm not even trying to get used to it.' In response to perceived hostility, Brian retreated and contemplated how to sidestep these encounters, but Dean pushed back and fought. The first place in South Africa where Dean and his wife lived after their marriage was KZN, the second largest province by population in South Africa, and the region from which Dean's wife originates. After a few months in KZN, the couple moved to Sandton, an affluent area in the Johannesburg municipality. Neither Dean nor his wife had lived in Johannesburg before, but they were accommodated by a friend of Dean's wife. Dean was unemployed, living off savings, and struck by what he describes as the 'pretentious' behaviour of people living in the Sandton area. Dean describes the people he interacted with in Sandton as 'imports', strangers like himself and his wife, South Africans from other parts of the country.

> And you would see these people in the streets, the BMWs, the Porsches, the Lamborghinis, the … I mean all these high-end cars, all these high-end, luxury and sports cars but you go to their place and there is no food in their fridge, you know what I'm saying, you go to their place and they have a bean bag setup in the lounge, they live in debt, the best shoes, best handbags, best clothes, expensive watch, where for me I would go buy a $20 watch and wear it for everything. (Dean, January 18, 2017)

Living within his means is important to Dean, causing him to react strongly to a lifestyle that hinges on indebtedness. Phadi and Ceruti (2011:99) identify affordability and its corollary of self-sufficiency amongst important markers of the middle-class, and Khunou and Krige (2013) discuss a sector of the Black middle-class dependent on debt. In rejecting the lifestyles, he witnessed in Sandton, Dean was narrowing the social field he wanted to inhabit. The high cost of living, and people they associated with the city, played a part in the couple's decision to leave Johannesburg and move to Pretoria. The couple initially stayed at the home of a friend of Dean's wife living in Pretoria, and during their stay Dean found a place where he felt he belonged and describes it as 'serendipity'. The neighbourhood, an upmarket suburb in Lynnwood in Pretoria East, appeared to provide everything they were looking for as they started their family. The couple could not afford to live in Lynnwood at the time and settled on their own in a suburb called Sunnyside, where they stayed for four years. Sunnyside has a large population of immigrants from other parts of Africa, and according to Dean he was subjected to a great deal of harassment on the part of the police in that area.

The location and period spent in Sunnyside was less than ideal, but it enabled the couple to establish themselves, secure a sustainable means of income and save enough to afford a house in the neighbourhood Dean sighted four years earlier. Though Dean gravitates towards the negative situations that occurred in South Africa, in the flow of our discussions it became clearer that his experiences of welcoming and acceptance were more prevalent, and pertinent. The initial conduit, or pathways, available to Dean was facilitated by his spouse, in some ways, she was his conduit in her own right. The same could be said for my other respondents who married South Africans. They happen to be male, so the role of gender in providing a socially constructed pathway for these men should not be overlooked.

Spouses and their established networks provide an initial and enduring context of softness and receptivity in South Africa for Brian, Dean and Evan. Dean discusses his wife's family and the role they played in receiving him in the following way:

> My contacts in South Africa before coming to South Africa was absolutely nil. Who or what made me want to stay in South Africa? Obviously, my wife, and to a certain extent I must say, her side of the family. They were very welcoming when I got here even though again, it wasn't… the manner in which we got married wasn't in keeping with their culture, their

> practices, that type of stuff, you know? Her family, they were… funny enough they are not what you would expect, especially her mother, of the traditional South African Zulu person. You know so, they were very very welcoming, very very accepting. Honestly, they made me feel like, like one of their own from the get-go. (Dean, January 18, 2017)

Dean gushes about his mother-in-law and her role in setting aside cultural traditions to envelope her new son-in-law. Brian' s wife would accompany him to the DHA and advocate for him during his encounters with the state.

> Luckily, fortunately, my wife went with me during those times. And she was never pleased herself. It was a constant battle, because I would go there and they would speak to me in a South African language. And she would have to, more than once she scolded the person at the counter, that you cannot do that. You can't be speaking to the person in, you know ... You don't do that. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

Brian's in-laws were also instrumental in proving access and pathways for belonging.

> My wife's brothers and sisters, well, I mostly see the sister, which, you know, it's the usual sister-in-law type of interaction. She is very pleasant and I can say she is very protective of the existence of her sister inside of a marriage with me. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

Except one relative, the oldest brother, who remains estranged on account of Brian's refusal to negotiate and pay a lobola, or the bride price.

> The only negative experience I have had is just one brother who insisted that I must pay lobola and I refused. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

Evan inherited an extensive family network, very similar to the one he knows in Suriname.

> It's one of the things that I see the Portuguese way of living, it's similar to the ones that we have back home. The family ties are very important, you know, it's kind of very strong as well, so they live like that. When there is a feast or a party everyone is invited, that should be invited, as well, so it's the bond is kind of strong. (Evan, August 19, 2017)

My respondents married to South Africans possess a distinct advantage, which compensated to some extent the negative aspects of settling into a new country. Their accounts contrast with Anna's, who describes the adjustment process in the following way:

> … we had a difficult time adapting. It was difficult. I didn't expect it to be because I have lived in other societies, and I have travelled. I mean I travelled to [South] Africa many times before coming here to live and different parts of Africa. But I thought that coming here, it would be seamless and it wasn't. It took a toll on me and I didn't even realise until, in hindsight, I

realised what a toll it took on me, emotionally and psychologically. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

Anna accessed the country, through its formal borders with relative ease, but language differences for example remain a formidable barrier.

> The issue of language I think makes a big difference here, I think if I were fluent in one of the South African languages it would be much easier. I would be way more accepted even though I am accepted as I am but I'd be even more accepted by whichever community's language I spoke. That is, you know, the one thing that I think is probably making this a bit more difficult than it could be. But the languages aren't that easy to learn so I try with occasional words but I don't see myself getting anywhere. (Anna, December 04, 2017)

Brian, Evan and Dean are conversant in at least one of the languages spoken by their respective wives, which assists them in understanding and relating to the parts of the society that they are required to engage. A pathway is continuous; beyond access, there must be explanations for why my respondents continue to remain in South Africa and manage their motivations and movement from one juncture to the next. This will be the subject of the next section.

4.5.2.2 Follow the aspirations

South Africa is 'far from home' (Cobley, 1992) for Caribbean people. What is the objective for my respondents, in embarking upon the immigrant pathways available in South Africa? Is it citizenship? Amongst my participants, only Brian is actively pursuing citizenship. Dean is eligible, but ruled out the possibility. He says, 'I won't even think about giving up my, I mean never think about giving up my citizenship, especially not for here.' He cites his experiences with the DHA and encounters in the wider society as reasons for his disaffection.

> I spent a quarter of my life back home, nobody ever once, I know forgive my 'French', nobody ever once come to my face who is not of our race and said, 'You f****** nig***'. Nobody! You know regardless of who that person could be, your worst enemy, that person will (rather) walk up to you and punch you in the face, they will not disrespect you like that. (Dean, January 18, 2017)

Despite, Dean's disillusionment, he remains in South Africa, and at the time of our interviews, did not have plans to leave. On the contrary, he has ambitions for a business enterprise spanning South Africa and his homeland. The acceptance and sense of belonging that he obtains from his wife, her family and the couple's friends,

account in part for the couple's decision to remain in South Africa, but there must be more to the story. The more is supplied by individually held aspirations, and inherent capacity to improve life chances in South Africa.

Celeste addresses the citizenship question in the following way:

> I took American citizenship solely for practical reasons. I landed in Mozambique with a Trinidadian passport. And I only took American citizenship because I was leaving the US, and I'm pragmatic. (Celeste, February 11, 2017)

Celeste became a naturalised US citizen to secure her access and benefits derived from time spent in that country. She cites her ability to enjoy a certain quality of life, raise her children, earn a comfortable living, and maintain a supportive network of friendships in South Africa as the basis for her claim to belong, all of which can be satisfied by permanent status. Celeste is very confident in her flexible status, as a Trinidadian and naturalised American, residing in South Africa with every intention to remain.

Anna on the other hand, is still working through issues regarding her stay. Concerns about citizenship are not pressing for her, due to her need to convince her husband, who visits periodically. Notwithstanding her inability to make permanent plans, the decision to reside in South Africa on a long-term, non-temporary basis, prompts Anna to appropriate life chances for herself, and her children in the place they reside, South Africa. In this connection, Anna says something interesting:

> It's a long process, and I didn't realise this when I came but as time passes, the thing for me with being in South Africa is, everywhere else I have lived I've known in my head it's temporary, but this it has no end game. You know it's not temporary, it's actually maybe permanently, I'm not even sure I know, but at least it's long-term and so the whole approach to everything I mean the way in which you view around you, you have to try to view yourself as one of them. Wherever you can fit in, you cannot view it as them and me the way in which it was easy to do that when I lived in Trinidad for a couple years studying, lived in the US, a couple years studying, it could always be them and me but here at some point in time you have to accept that you're a part of them. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

Anna describes here her shifting perception of herself in relation to South Africa, from 'them and me', to 'part of them', or put another way, becoming similar to South Africans. The responses from my respondents are consistent with Brubaker's (1992) assumptions that people's attitudes to citizenship and belonging to a country, are

subordinate to their access to public goods in a country, which in turn support and advance life chances. In situations whereby access to public goods can be accessed without citizenship, the imperative for citizenship is reduced (Soysal, 1995). Negative, positive or mixed feelings towards South Africa aside, the decision to stay in South Africa, commits my respondents to some form of assimilation, along pathways delineated by their aspirations and capabilities. This leads me to consider their aspirations as a compass, navigating them away from situations that are not in keeping with their aspirations, and towards more preferable areas of interest and development. The limitations, of course, exist in the ability of their capabilities to enable them to steer away from, or into the circumstances of their choosing.

In order to better understand the specific pathways to belonging, mapped out by my respondents, we could follow the aspirations they articulate, and connect them to their participation. Celeste, believes in the value of education, in her words, 'We are very strong on education, you take that wherever you go. So how I decided to educate myself and my children, was very strongly based on how I was raised.' She cites South Africa's excellent education system, rightly the one she was able to afford due to her means, as being a critical factor in her decision to remain. With her children grown, she is able to focus on making a lasting contribution to her adopted home, and says:

> What's important to me is to see the country that I have taken on as my home, growing, developing. I feel that I am witnessing history, in terms of the growing pains that South Africa is going through. In terms especially of the transition, of the Liberation movement or the Liberation party, the ANC, into a government right now, making some mistakes, that I think is part of that growth. But also, I am witnessing history. And I think that's, that's a whole other conversation, but I feel privileged to be part of it. (Celeste, February 11, 2017)

Celeste's sympathetic and long-term analysis of the state of South African politics, and feelings of privilege to be a part of the 'history' being made, are reminiscent of Nesbitt's (2004) African internationalism,[31] which promoted the use of sanctions to end apartheid.

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[31] Nesbitt (2004) chronicles the currents that ran through the African-American and Caribbean people that kept pace with events in South Africa. There is a rendering of South Africa, the miracle that it

Celeste runs an NGO that specialises in literacy, with a primary focus on Coloured learners in Johannesburg. She also freelances, undertaking projects for other NGOs and international agencies, but she maintains the flexibility to set the terms of the organisation she runs. Traces of African internationalism can also be found in Brian's claim to belong to South Africa. He illustrates the decision-making process, between his wife and himself, that led to the commitment to stay in South Africa in the following way:

> When I first came back from Sweden after I did my postgraduate studies, my wife got an offer with the World Economic Forum and they were preparing my documents, they sent her the contract and that contract which includes me, the offer ensures everything, very good pay and we declined that offer and stayed in South Africa. It's a sense that listen, now it's the time to build South Africa. The belief that this [South Africa] is where we must build for now. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

Brian and his wife's plans have been tested, but the couple remain true to that declaration. Brian shares his goals and expectations for the future and says the following: 'My plans and goals and expectations, is, first, secure my family, (and) secure my business, that has been going for the past five years, build that steadily.' Brian's focus is on his family and the light manufacturing company he started, which employs and creates employment in the sense that he trains and incubates other businesses whilst growing his own business, at no charge to the individuals.

Brian uses his plant and equipment to support the development of other small producers, making available the production techniques and business skills he developed over the course of his career. 'I will sit down with them over time, and offer them, at no charge, to sit, and you know, to go through product development and all this stuff.' Much of Brian's experience was gained in South Africa, but the accumulation of learning, which stretches from his formative years in Jamaica, through his years as a student in Trinidad and Tobago, and the USA, working experiences in the UK must be factored in when assessing the emphasis of his small company on developing people.

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represents, and the country's place within the community of nations that forms part of the pre-emigration consideration of people within the African Diaspora.

At the time of the interview, Brian had three other companies utilising his general expertise on issues including amongst others starting a business in South Africa, accessing the market and making a profit. Brian is especially proud of one of the individuals who graduated from his informal program, 'This young lady, she is Afrikaans, she reached a certain level, where she can go off on her own, and she is running her own stuff. But she came to me, at the time where she only had an idea on paper, and I took that idea and paper. Now she's running a business, where she has stuff in stores, and selling on the internet.'

The supervisor at Brian's plant is a young man who started working with Brian as a part-time student at a technical university in Pretoria. Brian recounts the day the young man declared, 'This is what I want to do for the rest of my life.' The interest and aptitude shown by Brian's protégé encouraged Brian to mentor the young man more closely and confer more responsibility on him. 'When I'm not there, his word is my authority, because I sit with him through different times, and I explain different aspects of managing and leadership inside the business.' Brian is motivated to assist other entrepreneurs to branch out and be independent of the organisation that gave them their start. In mentoring his protégé, Brian recalls a key statement he said to his charge, 'I'm doing this because years from now I do not want you to still be with me, I want you to go and start your own business.' Brian's informal curriculum emphasises competency in 'managing inventory, managing resources, managing when money is paid, how to write up an invoice, you know how all of these little things'. Brian's actions are unheralded, but he finds meaning and fulfilment in contributing to his adopted home. I visited Brian' s plant, which also has a store front, subsequent to the interview. He was not present, but the setup and the reception from his employees reflected his description.

I want to turn to Anna's response to the line of inquiry designed to tease out the aspirations of my participants. She says the following:

> I want to see my children grown and happy, successful as far as it's their ability to succeed. I think that those are the most important things. And then the second most important thing is, I am becoming a whole lot more active in the church and I want to just continue along that path, so that's where it's going. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

You may recall that the basis for Anna's residency permit, and the relative ease in which she acquired it, were the qualifications she possesses; skills that the Government of South Africa designates to be 'critical'. Anna was recruited by an NGO to develop a programme for a government department. Anna authored the concept note tabled by the responsible government department, and travelled to provinces outside Gauteng to assist in the training and facilitation of stakeholders across the country. According to Anna, 'It didn't matter that I [was] foreign to the South Africans.' Anna later encountered resistance from another consultant working for the NGO, who was from another African country, which affected her relationship with the organisation, 'After a while you know, I didn't like it because I'm not there to compete with anybody, so I kind of marginalised myself.'

Anna describes another workplace relationship with a South African colleague who joined the organisation subsequent to Anna's arrival. Anna believed that she represented a threat to the younger woman, 'I did feel as if she felt I was taking away something from her, so again I sort of pulled myself out because I didn't want her to feel that way. Until eventually I pulled myself out of the department totally.' Anna indicates that the point official from the government department tried to recruit her directly, but her prior experiences were sufficient to turn her away.

> If there's something I can do for them I actually rather do things remotely than have to go in and engage with the people, which is a bit unfortunate because I love training but when you get into a training situation and then people are trying to compete with you, and so on it's not good I rather just not be there. (Anna, December 4, 2017)

Anna's decision to focus on family and church, are recognisable facets of her upbringing in Guyana. Anna describes changes to her lifestyle in the following way, 'I have always been prayerful and religious, but it has become a lot more here [South Africa].' I want to highlight the fact that the luxury that Anna exercises in walking away from the primary reason for her access to South Africa, the availability of her skills to South Africa, stems from her economic stability and the unconditional basis on which her visa was granted. None of these are being criticised; the issue for me in Anna's example is the role of individual capabilities in creating options for aspirations. The next section will continue this thread, by highlighting the primary strategy in the protection and projection of life chances employed by respondents, namely the creation of social fields.

4.5.3 Designing social fields

In the previous section, we looked at the autonomous ways in which my participants respond to the informal opportunities and obstacles encountered in their individual pursuit of belonging to South Africa, and the socially constructed pathways that their capabilities and aspirations contribute in mapping out. People belong to something, or someone, and the break from methodological nationalism enables us to look past the state and consider that the groups that individual people belong to, are constrained by social fields. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004:1009) define a social field as 'a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organised, and transformed'. Social fields represent the context within which individuals, citizens and non-citizens alike, compete and cooperate to change their social position and improve their life chances; and represent a primary vehicle for adaptation and assimilation.

Social fields accommodate the multiple routes people employ in managing simultaneous incorporation in the place they reside, integrating options of being and belonging that are sourced from their home countries, host countries, as well as connections to co-ethnics, co-professionals and co-religionists around the world (Levitt, 2010:42). Social fields can be analysed on three, nested levels, the individual, the organisational and the societal (Battilana, 2006:655), with organisations and institutions imposing higher levels of constraint, and different opportunities for individual agency, when compared with individual fields (Friedland and Alford, 1991). If we conceptualise the individual at the centre of nested social fields, we can trace the decisions made, and personal adjustment undertaken, to the value of the social field and their position within it back to the aspirations of the individual. Even though individuals inherit and interact with institutional and societal social fields, their capacity to affect the respective social fields they inhabit is related to their proximity to the field's decision-making processes. The issue of proximity will be examined further in the form of two types of social fields, one is proximal and reflects closely the aspirations of my respondents, and the second is distal and exercises greater constraints on individual actions.

4.5.3.1 Establishing proximal social fields

I continue with Anna's responses; Anna and her children appear to have experienced the most difficulty in settling into South Africa amongst my participants. Despite Dean and Brian's troubles with the state, the role of their spouses in interpreting, translating and guiding their incorporation in South Africa gave them an advantage. Anna and her children became more insular, her attention turned to home and religion in ways incomparable with their life in Guyana. Anna's children had their individual struggles:

> …it was not easy. For my son, it has been very, very difficult. Because he is a gentle person and the typical South African young man is rough. His way of looking at people is and, this is informed by our life in Guyana, they had a good life at a good level of society. They interacted well, they were viewed well and they viewed others well. And it didn't matter who the other person was, higher in society, lower in society, a friend was a friend. It was somebody that you cared about, you invited to your home, you include in your activities and so on and so forth. But it's not the same here (South Africa). They are very socially stratified and also, ethnic stratifications. So, you know, it has just been really challenging in those ways.' (Anna, December 21, 2016)

When asked about how she socialises, and the places she frequents, Anna responds in the following way:

> You know, people have, like relatives and friends complain that my children don't socialise enough, they don't go out enough and so on. But my children want to be at home. Many times, I ask them, no, no, no mummy we just want to stay at home. And that says two things to me, it says, home is a happy place and therefore I must be doing something right. And it says that there is nothing out there that is really attracting them. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

Anna and her children stay close to the home, with this setting acting like a fortification against feelings of discomfit in South Africa. This proximal social field around Anna, allows her to provide her children with a sanctuary from their 'ordeals' at school. The environment also serves to deepen their marginalisation, as the family unit reduces their options for interactions with the wider society.

Celeste, you would recall builds on her experiences in the US, in which she felt marginalised, but gave her 'that fight' she evinces. In conjunction with an extended family network she acquired in Mozambique through marriage, her views on life in South Africa differs from Anna's. She describes it in the following way:

> …it has changed how I approach life. I find it very civilised. Even though I call it my hustle, I have been able to be a single parent, because as I said, my husband is deceased. But I was able to be at home every day when my daughter came home from school, for the last 18 years. (Celeste, February 11, 2017)

For Celeste, South Africa does not present the same level of demand on her time and energy in order to provide for her family, as a single parent when compared with the US, where she initially raised her son.

When asked about the composition of people around her, Celeste answered in this way:

> I have a mixed bag of friends. I have a fair amount of South African friends. I feel that it is important if I live here. My network, I mean, I wouldn't even say a fair amount, the majority of my friends are South African. Because that's my network. So that's my family of friends. People that I know that I can count on. (Celeste, February 11, 2017)

Stuart (1996:29), in her research on female-headed homes in the Caribbean notes that, 'Caribbean families are highly complex, and many forms exist side by side - reflecting the pluralistic nature of Caribbean societies. These diverse family forms have emerged in response to historical, economic, and social forces, evolving according to what people have found functional to their needs'. Celeste's 'needs' in South Africa included the development of an 'extended family' of aunts and uncles, to provide support and nurturing to her daughter, which informed the way the members of this network were identified. Celeste recounts, 'In my circle, my daughter can't call my friends, you know, "hey Jill" or "hey Jane".' These relationships are intimate in the sense that Celeste could travel outside of the country, and someone would be able to look after her daughter, 'So, she would go and stay at the auntie's house if I am gone for a week or so.' Celeste directly incorporates a strategy for raising her daughter, which she learnt in the Caribbean, and applied it to her context in South Africa. I had an opportunity to spend an evening with Celeste and her social group, in a capacity unrelated to the research exercise, but the opportunity enabled me to appreciate the eclectic mix of South Africans and expatriates that were linked by one individual. The 'family of friends' were directly involved in the upbringing of her now adult daughter, and the intimacy of the relationship between Celeste's daughter and the mainly 'aunties' is apparent.

My respondents who married South Africans underwent changes synonymous with the alignment process I would expect from couples in committed relationships. Intimate relationships between migrants and their spouses born in the country of residence emphasise the value of approaching assimilation as a natural, intransitive process, or one of becoming similar. Respondents provided examples of joint decision-making, shared lives and personal growth that required collapsing individual boundaries and designing new structures to facilitate family life and the support of dependents. All of my respondents who married South Africans were male, and relied significantly on the relationships already established by their spouses as foundation for their own social fields. These men did not allude to tension with their respective spouses, which may have arisen due social deficits, or the inability to earn an income depending on the progress of their respective application for residency. The intensity of a prevailing environment that was unfamiliar and at times hostile, was countered by an intense attention to the stability and development of intimate relationships.

Proximal social fields serve a purpose, which is to create a conducive environment to achieve the aspirations of their architect. In specific applications by my respondents, in response to the perceived harshness of the outer environment, their proximal social fields act as a sanctuary for the incubation and maturing of their hopes and dreams, including those pertaining to their children. Within their proximal social fields, my respondent and their spouses' identities are more clearly displayed, and they are able to display ways of belonging that reflect where they originated, as well as new or blended traditions developed over time that suit their current context and purpose.

Brian for example, his wife is Pedi, and she speaks primarily Northern Sotho, as well as several other languages indigenous to South Africa. Brian also speaks a 'patois' or English-based dialect, widely spoken in Jamaica, which his wife now understands. When the couple visits Brian's relatives in the USA, UK or Jamaica, his wife is able to comprehend what they are saying, and Brian can converse in Sotho, albeit in a limited fashion. In my opinion, the prevalence of English in South Africa, particularly in urban centres such as Pretoria, removes some of the pressure to learn other languages, but the home environment allows him to speak his 'patois'. Brian is not insistent on projecting his culture and upbringing towards his daughter, but he along

with his wife are concerned that their daughter be capable of negotiating a multicultural society. Brian and his wife chose an English-speaking school, to ensure that their daughter could communicate in a language both of them understand, and they communicate with their daughter mainly in English. Apart from speaking patois at home, which his wife is able to facilitate, the other artefact from Brian's upbringing that features in the present is a specific dish that is very popular in Jamaica, called 'rice and peas'. Brian described it as the 'one thing that remain[ed] with me all these years'. Brian taught his wife how to make the dish and it represents a constant through the many changes that his life outside of Jamaica precipitates.

For Dean, South Africa satisfies what he describes as 'a normal life', which he expanded on in the following way, 'By moving here (Pretoria, South Africa), I am able to attend a parent-teacher meeting, I am able to go to a school concert and that type of thing'. Dean spends a great deal of time at home with his family and if he goes out, the time is spent at the homes of a close group of friends. The private space that his home represents enables Dean to create experiences, or social gatherings in which he would entertain and prepare popular dishes from Trinidad and Tobago. Many of the ingredients required to make dishes found in Trinidad and Tobago can be sourced in Pretoria, and Dean is familiar with the small grocers and housewives' markets that cater to the increasingly diverse immigrant community found in Pretoria. Dean reacts and responds to his experiences in South Africa by emphasising a set of practices and new family traditions derived from his idea of being an authentic Trinidadian, in the context of his nuclear family. I refer to his practices as his own ideas of authenticity, because Dean and I are drawn from a similar socio-economic context in Trinidad and Tobago, but I do not maintain the same repertoires as Dean. I spent an afternoon with Dean, his family and other expatriates who work with his wife; on his invitation, in a social setting, and not directly related to the study. The way his home was decorated, the sights, the sounds, the food and the atmosphere reflected a conscious effort on Dean's part to recreate his rendering of Trinidad and Tobago, which I enjoyed, but do not necessarily identify.

The opportunity to expose Trinidad and Tobago culture regularly through food, drink and music is something Dean treasures, a means of holding on to and projecting his idea of his identity. However, the primary objective of Dean's attempts to recreate his

heritage is to educate his daughter. Heritage could be defined as 'the use of the past as a cultural, political, and economic resource for the present' (Ashworth *et al.,* 2007:3). Dean deliberately draws on facets of his upbringing in Trinidad and Tobago to shape his daughter's outlook. Given his occupation as a chef, he employs food as the primary means of developing his daughter's appreciation of the part of her that is not South African.

Dean's experiences in South Africa creates a tendency to distance himself from identifying with his adopted home, and focus on distinguishing himself ethnically from other people in South Africa. His response and insistence on being different could be detected in the ways in which he raises his daughter and instilling in her a sense of her identity that can be drawn from where her father originates. Dean reflects on the purpose of his emphasis on the link to Trinidad and Tobago to his daughter's future, and said the following, 'When she grows up and goes on to have her own family that she will then be able to pass this on. Because, that will now be part of their culture, part of their history, regardless of who she goes on to marry after, you know, so yes, that is also quite important.' In Dean's comment you could see past his tactical cosmopolitanism directed at the parts of South Africa that rejects him, and appreciate his deep affinity for the parts that embrace him, and interacts with him on a platform of similitude and shared life. Within his home, his proximal social field, Dean in not a foreigner or an alien.

Evan leads a comparatively sheltered life in South Africa. His employers procured his work permit, and he commutes to Johannesburg for work during the week, but apart from this commitment, his life is centred around his home in a residential suburb in Pretoria North. His family live near to the relatives of Evan's wife, providing a readily available proximal social field that enlarges the one inhabited by Evan, his wife and their daughter. Proximity and the enmeshment with Evan's wife's relatives, reminds him of his extended family in Suriname. Moving to South Africa and getting married changed the context of Evan's life and brought new responsibilities. Coming from a large East Indian household in Suriname, Evan discusses his relationship to food, as an example of one of the ways in which the decision to South Africa adjusted him.

> Well, food for me is, I love cooking. When I was living in Suriname a bachelor I wasn't cooking, my mother did that. My wife cooks Portuguese food, so she makes the Portuguese

dishes and sometimes I do copy those from her and then even perfect it. I don't cook home (South Africa), the food that I have back home (Suriname) I don't do that, because I wasn't cooking back home (Suriname). Certain things, actually all of it, I miss, only when I reach here, then I started with trying the different thing. I will try with different curry and stuff like that, different spices, pasta the Italian way, I will go and since I eat everything, all the meat, I'll just cook…..One of the things my wife likes when I cook also is she likes the way I make the curry. She is kind of like a curry fan. (Evan, August 19, 2017)

Within the proximal social field of the home and within their marriage, the setting demands from Evan greater levels of responsibility and opportunities for experimentation. He did not learn to cook at home (Suriname), but his flavour palette is reflected in the dishes he produces, and satisfied by the availability of spices that he recognises from home.

Assimilation conceptualised as an absorptive process is limited, it implies disappearance of the individual, and concealing processes initiated by human agency, such as making comparisons of values and lifestyles, assessment, decision-making on where to live and who to associate with, and the level of association. Assimilation as a process of becoming similar, opens up the analysis to include the similarities that existed before migrants arrived, as well as the similarities that emerge through long standing contact. A commitment to a mainstream that migrants assimilate into, also overlooks the influence migrants may have in the shaping of characteristics and lifestyles that emerge as mainstream. Shared aspirations and capabilities play a decisive role in converging the circumstances and outcomes of my respondents and members of their proximal social fields, made of largely South Africans. In addition to protection, proximal social fields also serve as a platform for projecting into distal or broader organisational and societal fields, which the following section will address.

4.5.3.2 Negotiating distal social fields

Obvious examples of distal social fields have been briefly mentioned in previous sections, schools, religious organisations, work places, but I wish to begin with an example of how a distal social field could be located within the sanctity of the home. Celeste sums up the circumstances of an immigrant, and makes a connection with the importance of distal social fields in the following way, '… the life of an immigrant is always dysfunctional within a new environmental context. Because we are busy

trying to fit in our new environment but also wanting to hold on to where we come from.' Celeste is referring to the challenge of selecting and applying what is relevant from the 'old' context, whilst determining what to embrace in order to be relevant to the 'new'. In order to balance their evolving lives in Pretoria, which includes balancing their marriage, professional lives and the needs of their growing family, Brian and his wife decided to hire a helper. Brian describes his initial experience in the following way:

> Since her birth [the couple's daughter], we have changed house help twice. The reason we changed house help twice, one there was, in both persons…, I discovered that there is push back from taking instructions, not just, so to speak, instructions, but expectations and the requirement of their job, they were unwilling to hear what is expected, from a non-South African. Because I realised that their attitude towards me versus my wife, was, you could clearly see that, 'you are not a South African'. Both persons, they spoke English. The first one she understood English but not so well and so she was unwilling to communicate with me in English, though she could speak it. So, there was a push back. The second person was better, but she was very confrontational and I wanted an environment where there is stability. Even when I am not there, it must be a stable environment. (Brian, December 22, 2016)

Hiring a helper was not a part of Brian's experience prior to residing in South Africa, and represented a move that could either mitigate the dysfunction associated with balancing the couple's lives as new parents, or introduce new dynamics. The introduction of a 'helper' or domestic worker, within the context of the home disrupted the stability of the proximal social field Brian desired to maintain. According to Brian, the two individuals cited refused to adhere to his wishes, on account of him being a foreigner and their attitude and behaviour brought disharmony. The account, of course is Brian's subjective interpretation of what occurred, but the couple's need to depend on individuals that may not be close to them, to assist in maintaining intimate spaces illustrates the additional effort required to manage people and circumstances in a distal social field. A key benefit of the proximal social fields established by my respondents, and a goal to be derived from interacting with distal social fields, lies in mitigating marginalisation, or put another way reduction of their sense of being a foreigner. Brian's feelings of being marginalised by individuals who were required to come into his home, and the chaos they brought, resulted in their termination.

The encounters within a distal social field allow my participants to come into close, and committed relationships with other people in South Africa, and also enables my

respondents to gain insight into the conditions in which other people live. Celeste reflects on the 'helper' they employed in the following way:

> I am very mindful, very mindful in terms of my interactions [with South Africans], and I really believe that I am respectful. I mean, my helper, daily gets R300. She doesn't come every day, she comes one or two days a week, but because I think the minimum wage is shockingly low, and you can't buy, you can't do anything with that. (Celeste, February 11, 2017)

Anna expresses similar sentiments:

> I tend to be very respectful in dealing with South Africans, especially Black South Africans. And I think it makes a big difference to them, because I don't think they get a lot of respect and I'm not talking about the people at the top. I'm talking about people in the shops, in the offices and so on, you view them as individuals and you treat them as individuals. Like, you know, you ask them how has your day been, I can see that it's a busy day today. (Anna, December 21, 2016)

We are continuing to trace the relationship between the discoveries, or learnings about South Africa, on the part of my respondents, and the ways in which they respond or become more attuned to their environment. One of the example's provided by Dean of a broad social field concerns his neighbour and the contradictory image of South Africa that this relative stranger at the time provided.

> When I moved into this community, my neighbour, he was so welcoming and this is traditionally not what I would have expected, had I listened to the general population. (Dean, January 18, 2017)

The trusting relationship between Dean and his neighbours extends to security and mutual support. On the occasions on which Dean and his family travel, his neighbour would look after their home and dogs, and Dean would reciprocate. Close proximity in an upscale residential community, common concerns over security, and the ability to afford holidays away from home, middle-class preoccupations, allow Dean and his neighbour to seamlessly pursue a distal social field.

In addition to social circumstances that are configured around the home, such as neighbours and helpers, distal social fields could be populated by the organisations and institutions that individuals decide to pursue, or need to pursue to fulfil their aspirations. Faith-based organisations, schools, places of employment, clubs and associations are examples of institutions that provided inputs and access to the distal social fields my respondents developed out of necessity to belong. Not all of my

participants are religious, Dean in particular identifies as an atheist, but amongst those given to spirituality expressed through religious forms and traditions, the overwhelming nature of migration accentuated the need for a spiritual connection.

Anna became an ordained lay minister in the Anglican Church, which required her to be licensed by the bishop, and authorises her to assist in various activities related to her faith, such as communion, pastoral duties, baptism in emergencies and to assist in burials. She does not have a comparable level of access and involvement in other spheres of her life, except within her household; and prior to moving to South Africa she was satisfied with being an ordinary lay member. In discussing her role in the church, she says the following, 'I don't think that my foreignness, or so on, is that much of an issue in the church. I mean, I've been welcomed, and I participate fully, and there are also others who participate at a high level in the church.' The door to this world of experience was opened for my respondent by an older White woman, who had been a lay minister for years. The decision to take up the offer required undergoing training and certification, ultimately changing her social position within this distal social field that holds great value for Anna.

Evan provides a workplace example. The organisation's hierarchy and system of rules, establishes the roles of its employees, which in a normative sense transcends the differences that exists amongst its workforce. However, Evan sought further ways to relate to his colleagues. Evan is part of a larger group of workers from his country, offering him a cohort within the organisation that speaks his language, and respond to similar national and cultural reference points. He held far less in common with his South African and West African colleagues, but wanted to change the dynamics in his section. Evan explores new places through food; he enjoys trying new things and is not afraid to try street foods. In South Africa, Evan discovered 'pap and vleis', described simply as a thick maize meal porridge and meat, and Jollof rice, a popular West African dish, that may be considered the most popular rice dish in countries such as Nigeria. At one stage, during lunch breaks, Evan would ask West African colleagues to purchase Jollof rice for him, or he would go out and buy it himself, or he would purchase pap and vleis. Evan's enthusiasm for food and the relationships that were built through his exploration, prompted his Surinamese colleagues who had hitherto been more conservative, to try different foods from the different cultures

around them. Evan remarks that some of his South African colleagues who were initially against trying West African dishes had begun to include Jollof rice as an option on their lunch runs. Evan changed his social position within the part of the organisation he works, and encouraged his colleagues to cross boundaries; extending features of his upbringing and enculturation in his Surinamese household.

Celeste and Anna provided examples of being automatically drafted into the PTA of the respective schools their children attend, and the enhanced roles available to participate. Anna ascribes more importance to the PTA than Celeste, but it is in the context of similar school structures that Celeste met many of her 'family of friends'; several were other mothers from the Caribbean. Anna sits on the governing boards of the various schools attended by her children, and the roles provide greater access to the lives of other learners, their parents and the administration alike.

Dean is not interested in faith-based organisations, but if he had a religion, it would be soccer. When asked about participation in a club or an association, Dean was the only respondent who held an active membership in a country club. The club initially attracted expatriates on work assignments and diplomats, but these individuals were transitory. Over the years, a committed following of residents developed, made up of nationals and non-nationals of various races and ethnicities, drawn from around Pretoria and as far as Johannesburg. As a longstanding member, Dean describes his growing centrality to the group, and the challenges the club experienced in coordinating the diverse group of players. The men would play on a Friday evening, throughout the year, including during December when Gauteng would become a virtual ghost town as the many 'imports' who came to the province for work would return to their home province. Dean suggested that the group use WhatsApp, which he administers, to coordinate their schedules. According to Dean, the group dynamic has been transformed, evidenced by greater levels of participation by the members and improvement in their teamwork. All of the current members of the soccer group within the country club would have met Dean in place, and according to Dean shows him respect as the 'patriarch' of the group. Apart from the setting of his home, and network of friends, the country club represents another place where Dean does not feel like a foreigner.

4.5.4 Discussion and conclusion

Negotiating the margins of the society for my respondents was a process specific to the individual set within social fields. Specific, in the sense that the margins encountered were a reflection of their particular engagements, with the parts of the society that their aspirations led them to, and their capabilities enabled. Overall, my respondents experience a segmented assimilation into South Africa's middle-class, inclusive of the diversity associated with that categorisation, so the interests of my participants and the members of the wider society they interacted with converged on similar interests and patterns of behaviour. Above race, ethnicity or culture, concerns about social advancement, leisure, education, financial security, and so on, draw my respondents into regular contact with South Africans. Schools, places of employment, communities, neighbourhoods, religious organisations, clubs and extended families comprise and populate social fields designed and managed in part by my respondents.

The socially constructed pathways, delineated by aspirations and capabilities, facilitate a process of learning and adaptation that enables my respondents to become more attuned to their environment; as they consciously approach the exercise of finding their fit. Finding a fit, or place to belong, is further resolved within two nested social fields, united in their aim to promote belonging and avoid marginalisation; and differentiated by the proximity of my respondents to the core of decision-making within the field. Within a proximal social field, my respondents are the core, and able to protect and project life chances from that centre. Within Distal social fields, my respondents are required to negotiate their way towards a position within the field that satisfies their aspirations to belong and their capabilities to make adjustments. Distal social fields appear to place a greater requirement for learning and adjustment, due to the boundaries set up by social operators such as race, class, culture, ethnicity, or more simply personalities, which need to be crossed. Within this process of assimilation, or becoming similar, immigrant autonomy is clear, my respondents apply themselves in areas that are associated with the improvement of the life chances of themselves and their children, and they assimilate in order to belong.

Chapter Five: Discussion and conclusion

5.1   Introduction

This research began as an exploration of the experiences of a small number of individuals and their families from the Caribbean, living in South Africa. South Africa is not a traditional gateway for migrants from the Caribbean, so the circumstances and conditions of their stay in the country, was of great interest to me as someone from the Caribbean, also residing in South Africa, albeit on a temporary basis. An underlying assumption about the individuals under study was that their process would be transformative, and consideration of their experiences in South Africa would contribute in some way to the literature on assimilation. Early on in the research exercise, it became apparent that the decision-making processes described by participants entailed reflexive, as well as deliberate, interactions with formal and informal processes of reception and rejection. This observation is supported by De Wind and Kasinitz (1997), who earlier found that the interaction between migrants and members of a host society has two parts; the migrants desire to engage and the society's willingness to be engaged.

The study coincides with a process, introduced by the Government of South Africa in July 2017 with the launch of the 2017 White Paper on International Migration, to review the country's immigration policy, inclusive of the management of the integration of foreign nationals, and the rules governing naturalisation. Naturalisation, a process that enables a non-citizen in a country to acquire citizenship, is a strategy employed by states to exert greater control over changes resulting from immigration. The 2017 White Paper was released approximately 18 years after the 1999 White Paper on International Migration, which was approved by Cabinet in March of that year, and currently serves as the framework for existing legislation and regulations governing immigration to the Republic of South Africa (South Africa, DHA, 2017:6).

The stakes are high for a country like South Africa to strike the right balance regarding immigration policy. As a middle-income country bedevilled by the inequalities and impoverishment connected to its colonial and apartheid past, post-apartheid South African governments have by near necessity linked migration to national development. This is made evident in the 2012 NDP, which advocates for

the management of migration in such a way to fill government defined gaps in the labour market. In this connection, the authors encourage the development of 'cosmopolitan populations', really harnessing 'the skills and potentials of migrants' to promote national development (NPC, 2015:105). South Africa's inclusionary politics of multiculturalism and a non-racial democracy has been stalked by fears of being overrun by illegal immigrants (Murray, 2003). Hostility directed towards foreigners in South Africa is, in part, attributed to the country's struggles to meet the social and economic needs of the population. Appeals to South Africans to embrace a common national identity are often undermined by persistent alienation amongst South Africans from one another, along the fracture lines of significant disparities of wealth, income, and opportunity that remain racialised. Integrating, and, or naturalising, mobile individuals into a context such as this, runs the risk of conflict with poorer sectors of the society, who are unable to respond to changes around them, in the form of changing their position within South Africa, or exploring opportunities abroad, and frustrated by 'feelings of staying put and being stuck' (Ong, 1999:9). Expanding and exacerbating, what Halisi (1997, 1998) describes as a coexistence of two (separate and unequal) nations.

The state has a tendency towards a 'control bias' (Scheel, 2013), which amongst other consequences, inflates the role of the state in managing immigration. What I have done, in addition to the state, is include the wider society, and importantly the agency of immigrants into the analysis. In this dissertation I have argued that belonging for a foreigner, is a process that the state is relevant to, stemming from its role in admitting individuals and allocating rights and privileges that may culminate in citizenship; but individuals are central to the process of identifying and accessing pathways available to immigrants within the wider society, as they pursue their claim to belong. I have shown how autonomy is connected to assimilation in the examples of my respondents making deliberate adjustments and undergoing personal changes in keeping with their desire to belong, and illustrated the parts of the society that support my respondents' desire and ability to belong.

5.2   Considering the results

The fundamental research question inquired into the respective roles played by the state and the wider society in influencing the pathways to belonging determined by

legal Caribbean immigrants in South Africa. For foreigners resolved to remain in a country legally, immigrant pathways created by the state, represent the primary means of access. These pathways are informed by immigration policies, and interpreted by bureaucracies, which determine to some extent the manner in which the border responds to different immigrant capabilities. National bureaucracies, developed to implement the rules and regulations governing access to a country, are programmed to read capabilities, not aspirations. Contemporary global policy discourses on managing international migration, which include and normalise strategies such as differential inclusion, provide a normative basis for the implementation of immigration policies that grant preferential access to immigrants with desirable skills. The imposition of state control at borders, inadvertently separates two inherently indivisible components of an individual's capacity to improve their life chances; aspirations and capabilities. States, like South Africa, place different weightings on differing capabilities, and these inherent biases determine to a large extent whether aspirations could be extended beyond a border. Differential inclusion, results in a bifurcation of the immigrant pathways, made available by the state. Applicants with prioritised skills, or other means of satisfying state requirements, enjoy special and differential treatment, when compared with persons who fulfil conditions for access with lower priority.

In addition to possessing inherent subjectivities, legal immigrant pathways are relatively inflexible, when compared with the fluidity of human circumstances. Some persons are not aware that they would become immigrants; with migration emerging as a feature, or a development of a longer personal process. In the course of traversing a pathway mapped out by individually held aspirations and capabilities, individuals who attempt to improve their life chances abroad cause the two pathways to overlap for a period of time. Until the requirements programmed into the margins of state pathways are satisfied, personal trajectories, which are connected to the improvement or life chances are suspended. For my respondents, who were readily able to satisfy defined state requirements, the suspension was negligible, lingering in the background as a possibility. On the other hand, respondents whose claim to belong was based on capabilities enjoying a lower priority, were subject to longer periods of suspension, or spatiotemporalities particular to immigration. These include the inability to earn a living, further studies, drive and other taken for granted

activities. The legitimacy, and access to documentation, that successfully clearing a legal pathway confers becomes instrumental, if not central to furthering life chances on the other side of the border, elevating the priority associated with this step.

For suspended respondents, their negative experiences with the state created long lasting impressions and renderings of South Africa; but migration and associated claims to belong are aspiration-led processes. Though their constitutive knowledge about South Africa expanded to include rejection and set the stage for what Landau and Freemantle (2010:385) define as tactical cosmopolitanism, the challenge also galvanised their determination to belong to the parts of South Africa that provided receptivity. Despite the length of time, and intensity associated with clearing the borders, for respondents who acquired permanent residency, the process with the state represented an introduction to the wider society. Wider society suggests perhaps some concrete totality, yet people typically interact with only parts or fragments of a society at a time. What we find is that people interact with social fields found in a society, and these 'multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organised, and transformed' (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004:1009).

What then is the role of existing social fields in translating 'legal' immigrant aspirations for belonging to South Africa into access and acceptance? Existing social fields provide the context and opportunities to extend immigrant claims to belong. The interests of my participants and the members of the wider society they interacted with converged on similar interests and patterns of behaviour, that reflect middle-class aspirations. Above race, ethnicity or culture, concerns about social advancement, leisure, financial security, and so on, draw my respondents into regular contact and exchanges. Schools, places of employment, communities, neighbourhoods, religious organisations, clubs and extended families comprised and populated social fields designed and managed in part by my respondents. The role of the middle-class in receiving my respondents is particularly important. There were more areas of commonality and convergence between my informants and the South Africans with whom they formed meaningful and sustained relationships, than what seems to exist between upper-class South Africans on one hand, and lower-class South Africans on the other. In addition to means, similar concerns about quality of

life, the rearing of children and access to new opportunities drew my respondents and the individuals and families they integrated with, towards common institutions.

A strategy employed by my respondents in negotiating the margins they encounter within the society involves appropriating and managing existing social fields. At least two distinct, and nested spheres of influence were identified; a primary or proximal social field, and a secondary or distal social field. A proximal social field is a central node of interpersonal relationships that allows for direct access and opportunity for decision-making by my respondents. Within this space, participants are able to express ways of being and belonging synthesised from an amalgam of their personal experiences, stretching from the Caribbean to South Africa, and all the places in between. This field acts as a buffer against the perceived harshness of an outer environment and represents the core claim to belong. Marriage and the unions that it establishes represent the primary context of belonging for my married respondents. The relationships formed provided a distinct advantage, performing a role as a mediator and conduit to the wider set of relationships affecting the respective couples and the families they started.

The distal social fields were derived from the individuals, institutions and organisations that my participants aligned to out of personal interest, or formed through necessity. These were less central, but similar to a proximal social field in the sense that they reflect aspirations and capabilities of the individuals at its centre; but their separation from the home and often added organisational or societal inputs, require individual agency to filter through a set of rules. Achieving a greater say in what occurs in a distal social field requires changing one's social position, which depending on the value of the field to my respondents they engage to the extent that the structures would allow and that their desire required. What then is the connection between access to social fields and assimilation? You may recall that aspirations and capabilities delineate socially constructed pathways. The decision to remain, and the process of finding a place to belong, involves a process of learning and adaptation that enables my respondents to become more attuned to their environment. My respondents' respective claims to belong are resolved within these proximal and distal social fields. The two are nested, but within a proximal social field, my respondents are the core, and able to protect and project life chances from that

centre. Within a distal social field, my respondents are required to negotiate their way towards a position within the distal social field that satisfies their aspirations to belong and their capabilities to make adjustments. Distal social fields place a greater demand for learning and modification, due to the rules imposed, be they social operators such as race, class, culture, ethnicity, or more simply personalities, which need to be understood in order to cross. Within this process of assimilation, or becoming similar, immigrant autonomy is clear, my respondents apply themselves in areas that become necessary in furthering the improvement of the life chances of themselves and their children. Stated differently, my respondents assimilate in order to belong.

In the light of efforts by the Government of South Africa to review the country's immigration policy, what are the implications for development and policy-making to be drawn from examining the experiences of a few 'legal' Caribbean immigrants, as they seek to become South African? Policy and strategic interventions related to the management of residency and naturalisation, outlined by the 2017 White Paper on International Migration include the delinking of residency and citizenship; the replacement of permanent residence permit with long-term residence visa; establishment of a Citizenship Advisory Panel (CAP) to oversee the naturalisation process; and the implementation of an induction and naturalisation ceremony to formalise the process of becoming a South African citizen (DHA, 2017:41-44) 'react to diverse kinds of migrant subjectivities and thereby operate to produce differential forms of access and "rights"'..

These policy and strategic interventions arose out of careful and considered study of practices undertaken by other countries; and they are consistent with global discourses on migration management. The recommendations are compatible with nationalist compulsions to homogenise outliers, and protect the integrity of citizenship and to a lesser extent rights to residency in South Africa. But the call made by the NPC for 'energetic and resourceful migrant communities (that) can contribute to local and national development'; and the linking of 'diverse, cosmopolitan populations' to 'cultural, economic and intellectual innovation' are incompatible with what Brubaker (2001) would describe as a transitive, or specific and organic approach to assimilation.

The evidence from this study supports assertions made by liberal minimalists, like Joseph Carens (2002), who argue for easy naturalisation, stemming from the existing social membership enjoyed by permanent residents. My respondents demonstrate a capacity to regulate themselves through personally held aspirations and capabilities, which unavoidably place them near to, or in direct contact with parts of the wider society. Further, members of the wider society highlighted in the study, were demonstrably capable of aligning and regulating individuals into the appropriate norms particular to the functions that cause their lives and circumstances to converge, namely raising families, educating children, employment, leisure, and corporate expressions of faith amongst others. The results of this study suggest that the state needs to balance concerns over control of access to citizenship and residency, with measures that would ease access into relevant social fields, and strengthen pathways for assimilation. A practical example of this would be to seed the discussion with considerations already articulated in the White Paper on Families in South Africa (GCIS n.d.), which aims to, inter alia, promote healthy family life, strengthen the family and preserve the family.

5.3   Recommendations for further research

This research project focused on a few individuals and their families, but there are several areas that would benefit from further inquiry. Firstly, some of the children referred to in the study enjoy citizenship by virtue of having one parent holding South African citizenship at the time of their birth. South African laws grant citizenship exclusively on the basis of the citizenship of an individual's parent, or jus sanguinis, as opposed to jus soli, which relies on location at birth, to determine nationality. The prospects of persons who enjoy South African citizenship, but were born to international migrants in South Africa in the post-1994 era, would be a useful area of research. Consideration could be given to their cultural repertoire, receptivity within the wider society, the ways in which they identify and the parts of the country that they cluster.

Secondly, the respondents who reported on the suspension of their aspirations, whilst the state deliberated their respective claim to belong, described personality changes and assumed anti-social behaviours that did not hold prior to living in South Africa. Eventually they were granted permanent residency, and their circumstances

were contained and mitigated within the families that they formed, but there is room to consider the mental health of applicants, and the impact on marriages, and family life in general; the effect on spouses and children during and after their prolonged interactions with the state.

5.4   Final considerations

The 2017 White Paper on international migration in South Africa advocates a risk-based approach to the management of immigration. The risks include illegal immigration, organised crime, terrorism, political instability, corruption, etc. The risks identified should not be dismissed or taken lightly, but considered along with wider processes of nation-building and social cohesion. In my study, the respondent with critical skills, withdrew from the field that was supposed to guarantee her participation, whilst the respondents who were frustrated based on their seeming lack of usable skills, are actively involved in job creation. Amongst my respondents, citizenship did not resonate as a goal to be pursued, probably as a result of their capacity to advance life chances without citizenship. Of course, the proposed changes to South Africa's immigration policy, could motivate individuals to pursue citizenship, but that would neither increase their aspirations, effectively make use of their capabilities, or positively contribute to their integration and subsequent participation in South Africa's development. Such a step would dramatically adjust legal immigrant pathways, and plunge many people and their families into a 'new' and more protracted suspensions of their aspirations, beyond the time frames stipulated in the current legislation. In addition, it would raise administrative costs and complexity, furthering burdening the bureaucracy, and usher in new dimensions of uncertainty that would ultimately harm the families, and other forms of proximal social fields formed around foreigners. South Africa's efforts to balance the 'double bind' associated with its borders would be aided by strategies informed by micro-behavioural dynamics associated with migration, and offer its citizens, both current and future, realistic pathways to development, that, in addition to skills, incorporate the hearts and minds of foreigners.

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Annexures

Annexure A: Interview schedule

A. <u>Personal Background</u>

- Place and date of birth
- Places of residence and length of time at each location
- Citizenship(s)
- Age, religion, education, profession and/or education
- Family constitution, including extended family. Parents' country of origin. Parental values and attitudes
- Marital status of respondent. Years of marriage. Nationality and citizenship of spouse
- Family in South Africa, other countries and (country of origin)
- Travel to other countries prior to and since move to South Africa

B. <u>Questions Related to Emigration</u>

- Motivation for emigrating to South Africa. (Why did you choose to do this and who encouraged/supported you in your decision?)
- When was the decision to move/go to South Africa made?
- Was there a reason why you wanted to leave ……… (last place of permanent residence, (country of origin) or otherwise)
- What contacts did you have in South Africa before migrating?
- Who and/or what made you want to stay in South Africa?
- How long did you plan to stay originally? Has this changed? If yes, why?
- How did your family and friends react to this decision?
- What is important to you?
- What are your future plans, goals and expectations?

C. <u>Questions related to cultural practices</u>

- Language practices and issues (during childhood, adolescence and now)
- Are you married, or cohabiting? If yes:
    - o Is your partner South African?
    - o How do you socialise as a couple?

- o How do you manage your relationship? (Distance, commuting, use of technology)
- Do you have children? If yes:
  - o In which language(s) do you communicate with your children?
  - o With which country/ethnicity do your children identify?
  - o What are some of the decisions you made concerning the upbringing of your children?
  - o What decisions did you make concerning their schooling?
  - o Who takes care of them in your absence?
- What familial customs and traditions do you practice now?
- How and where do you unwind and recharge?
- Has the decision to live/work in South Africa changed anything in your life?
- How would you describe your family life, compared to before moving to South Africa?
- What foods do you make and consume?
  - o How central is food to your life?
  - o What shifts, if any, did you have to make?
  - o Where do you buy food?
  - o How far have you travelled to obtained familiar foods or ingredients?
- Do you attend or host braais?
- Where do you socialise? Describe the places you frequent?
- What are the public spaces that you frequent? How often do you visit these places in the space of a week? Why do you go?

D. Questions related to social status and lifestyle
- When did you attain residence status?
  - o Can you describe the process?
  - o What impressions were you left with?
- Are you employed, or employ others?
  - o What is your range of skills? How did your training affect your current occupation?

- o Can you describe experiences with Government officials, Employees, Suppliers, Customers, etc.
- Are you a part of any club or social group?
- Are you part of a religious group?
  - o How did you find them?
  - o How often do you meet?
  - o What is your relationship to other members between meetings?
- Do you participate in sporting activities?
  - o If yes, how are your activities organised?
- How do you socialise?
  - o Describe your social groups. Is it mixed, comprised of South Africans and other immigrants like you?
- Describe your relationships with South Africans?
- Embassy Relations
  - o Does your country have a resident diplomatic mission in Pretoria? If yes, are you in regular contact with its representatives?
  - o Do you spend time with members of the diplomatic corps?
- Do you have any political affiliations in South Africa? Do/did you have political affiliations in your home country?
- How do you spend your time?
- How does this compare with relationships with people in … (country of origin)?

E. Further question related to Participation
- Can you elaborate on your participation in one or all of the following if applicable?
  - o The labour market or business sector,
  - o Community where you live,
  - o Institutions or organisations that you have joined,
  - o Local schools in your area, or the one(s) that you children attend (if you have children),
  - o Raising of your family,
  - o Payment of Income Taxes, etc.

- What is your level of participation in your home country of one of the places you have lived before?
- How does your participations in the areas described impact upon your relationship to South Africa?
- Are there taxes and other payments that are required in South Africa that are not required in the places in which you have lived before, for example E-tolls and SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) television licences?
    - What is your attitude towards these tariffs?
    - Do you pay them regularly?
    - Have you ever been penalised, if yes, describe the situation and your response?
- Have you ever committed an infraction, deliberately or otherwise, in South Africa, for example, traffic related?
    - Were your penalised? If yes, how did you deal with the issue?

F. General Questions?
- How do you cope with everyday concerns, difficulties?
- How would you describe your overall experience in Pretoria? Why did you leave?
- How have you changed, during your time in South Africa?
- Would you consider yourself as an outsider? If yes:
    - Why? What situations can you describe to support this belief?
    - How does this belief influence your day-to-day life?

Annexure B: Informed consent form

Research project:

"Becoming South African": Examining the experiences of Caribbean immigrants living in Pretoria/City of Tshwane.

My name is **Marlon Gilbert**. I am a post graduate student nr. **u15251595** in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria and I am conducting field research.

Will you please participate in my research project by joining in the discussions and interviews?

I will do my utmost to ensure that your name does not appear in my reports without your consent. You need not provide any information that you do not want to and you can withdraw from any interview at any stage. A summary of my aims and objectives, the research method that I will use and the way in which I will store and use the findings of my study can be found below. I will provide you, upon request, with any other information about my research project and answer any questions about my studies, my research methods, and myself. You may also contact me at the following telephone number: _____.

Purpose of the study

This qualitative study will investigate the experiences of Caribbean immigrants living in Pretoria, specifically the accommodations or changes undergone subsequent to their arrival in South Africa. The research design will be qualitative, consisting of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Caribbean immigrants residing in the administrative capital city of South Africa, Pretoria.

Study procedures

Interviews would vary in length, between one and two hours long, time permitting, and depending on the results of the initial interview, a follow up may be requested. The interviews would be recorded and stored in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria for a period of fifteen (15) years. Documentation is an important component to ensure the quality of the data collected. To ensure reproducibility, a transparent process of data production is essential. In

addition, potential disputes concerning intellectual property, data authenticity and data ownership have highlighted the need for all researchers at a university to take steps to secure the maintenance and storage of the raw data on which publications, theses, reports, patents and other forms of published material are based. Transcription and editing would be accomplished through the use of professional services.

I, the undersigned, understand the nature and objectives of the research project of _____ as well as my potential role in it and my right to withdraw from it at any stage. I voluntarily consent to participate in all discussions and interviews.		
Full name of participant	**Signature of participant**	**Date**

Declaration of ethical intent

I, Marlon Shawn Gilbert subject myself to the 'Code of Ethics' approved by the American Anthropological Association in June 1998 and the 'Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice' adopted by the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth in March 1999 as well as the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics for Research.

I therefore willingly subject myself to the general moral rules of scientific and scholarly conduct and will seek to incorporate the body of ethics and moral principles that constitute scientific integrity into all my research endeavours.

In conducting my field research, I shall endeavour:

- to protect the physical, social and psychological well-being and dignity of everyone involved in my research and to respect their rights, interests, sensitivities and privacy;

- to minimise intrusion into the private and personal domains of my research subjects and to refrain from uninvited infringement upon the 'private space' of all individuals and groups involved in my research;

- to communicate all information that may be material to my research subjects' willingness to participate in the study, to obtain the informed consent of all participants and to inform all participants that they may withdraw from the discussions or interviews at any time without any consequences;

- to anticipate problems likely to compromise anonymity of research subjects, to make it clear that their anonymity may unintentionally be compromised, and to inform them that the results of my research will become part of the public domain;

- to try my utmost to ensure that my research activities will not jeopardise future research and to preserve opportunities for future fieldworkers to follow me to my research area and research subjects;

_____

(Signature)

_____

(Date)

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