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The role of social networks in migrant access to housing in Lenasia

Anisa Desai

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning.

Johannesburg, 2008

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science in Development Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

_____ Day of _____ 2008

_____

Anisa Desai

In dedication to my mother and father

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- **To my family -** Thank you for your unwavering support and your endless words of encouragement.
- **Margot Rubin (My Supervisor)** - No one is more cherished in this world than someone who lightens the burden of another. Thank you profusely for all your input, support and encouragement, I can safely say that I could not have completed this research report if not for a supervisor such as you.
- **Tanja Winkler -** Thank you for all your help and your endless words of encouragement.
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- **To my friends** – Thank you for always being there and for lifting me up when I thought all was lost.

ABSTRACT

Migrant social networks have become somewhat of a trademark of global migration. Social networks and their development cannot only be recognized as a by product of migration, instead what has been noted is that social networks have emerged as primary actors in the migration process as seen in the incidence of the Asian migrant population in Lenasia. The use of social networks by migrants allow for migrants to accrue a range of benefits such as access to accommodation, employment, security and participation in social activities.

With regard to the research report, the use of social networks by Asian migrants to access accommodation in Lenasia has been the focus of the study. Initial assumptions about this transient community entailed that migrants in Lenasia were generally unable to access accommodation through other formalised mechanisms such as rental companies therefore they relied on social networks. This has however been proven incorrect and what was found was that the migrant population had in fact never considered or utilised the services of a rental company because their social networks had always successfully met their accommodation needs.

The occurrence of migrant social networks in Lenasia has initiated further migration into the area, and subsequently led to the development of migrant enclaves operating in isolation from the pre-existing community. The effect the creation of migrant enclaves in Lenasia has had on the area's development trajectory is explored in the research. In addition the consequences of migrant enclaves and separate social networks between the pre-exiting and migrant community are investigated.

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ACRONYMS

• CoJ	**C**ity of **J**ohannesburg
• CBD	**C**entral **B**usiness **D**istrict
• FMSP	**F**orced **M**igration **S**tudies **P**rogramme
• ITA	**I**ndian **T**heological **A**ssociation
• SAHRC	**S**outh **A**frican **H**uman **R**esearch **C**ouncil
• SAMP	**S**outh **A**frican **M**igration **P**roject
• SNT	**S**ocial **N**etwork **T**heory
• U.K.	**U**nited **K**ingdom

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research title

The role of social networks in migrant access to housing in Lenasia.

1.2 Definition of key terms

Social networks emerge as a key concept in this study, therefore it is vital to explain the concept so as to frame the understanding that is being worked with.

Social networks: networks by and large have been understood in many different ways dependent on the context in which they are utilized. With regard to migrants a network can be understood as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (Massey *et al*, 1994:728). Furthermore the use of a social network by a migrant entails the experience of some form of support or service. Given this broad definition of what a network is in relation to migrants, a more refined understanding or stance needs to be adopted particular to the anticipated trajectory of the research. With regard to the proposed research area, I shall be focusing on how migrants in Lenasia utilise social networks in order to gain or facilitate access to accommodation.

A concept parallel to that of social networks is that of *formal housing access*, what is meant by formal housing access in the context of this research is regular avenues an individual might use in order to gain access to accommodation. These avenues include inter alia, a property or a flat being

offered up for rent through advertisements or rental companies and other widely used mechanisms. What has been proposed by this research is that migrants due to a myriad of reasons are generally unable and in some instances unwilling to access accommodation through formalised streams therefore they have relied on the utilisation of informal social networks to secure a place of residence.

1.3 Background

The world as we now know it has changed dramatically over the past century, the changes humanity globally have undergone are innumerable, for all facets of human existence have morphed, whether it be economically, politically, technologically or socially. This evolution of human existence is most evident and best demonstrated in the cities of the world.

With the remarkable progressions that have been made in the sphere of transportation particularly, the ability for people to travel longer distances over shorter periods of time with minimal costs being incurred has become a common reality. With this acknowledgement of how distance no longer serves as a hindrance to movement we can better understand why it is that global migration has become a defining factor of our world today.

Migration or migrating as a physical action is a very complex process, for understanding this action entails that one must understand that the decision to migrate is born out of a number of instances, instances particular to the individual or particular to the area from which they originate. Regardless of the motivation for an individual to relocate to a foreign land the response which they receive in their adoptive lands is of equal importance.

Since 1994 South Africa's migrant population (both legal and illegal) has grown exponentially; this is attributable to the disbanding of the racially unjust system of rule, *Apartheid*. South Africa according to official statistics has an estimated migrant population of 1 025 072 (2001 EST.), according to Statistics South Africa (2001). Furthermore Census 2001 counted 3,225,830 people in the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) with 216,715 people born outside South Africa equating to, 6.7% of the city's population (www.statssa.gov.za). Further consultation with official statistics indicates that the country's illegal migrant population is 500 000(2001 EST.) (www.statssa.gov.za)

Although these statistics help one to understand international migration into the country, they do not clearly reflect the total number of Asian migrants present in the country, both legally and illegally. This in itself presents somewhat of a problem, for it becomes difficult to truly assess the housing need and demand amongst Asian migrants in Lenasia.

The community to be studied as part of this anticipated research are the Asian migrants. The term Asian migrant is used collectively, as the group comprises of three further subgroups emanating from three different countries: India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Yet again statistics concerning the total number of migrants from each country is sketchy.

With regard to the migrant community's choice of location, Lenasia has been deemed an accessible point of residence; this is due to many factors which shall be explored briefly. Lenasia is a former Indian township located south west of Johannesburg. The township itself was established by the Apartheid government to house the Indian population that was forcibly removed from Fietas (now Pageview) (www.lenzinfo.org.za).

Population group			
Persons	1996	2001	% change
African	189,829	292,880	54%
Coloured	22,287	30,760	38%
Indian	48,211	54,457	13%
White	569	443	-22%
Total population	263,145	378,537	44%

Figure 1: Population breakdown of region 11(www.joburg.org.za)

As detailed in figure 1 above, Lenasia falls under region 11 of the Johannesburg municipality. The region is home to 54,457 Indians (2001 EST.)(www.joburg.org.za), most of whom reside in Lenasia, The estimate unfortunately does not take into consideration the number of Asian migrants residing in the region. Asian migrants have identified Lenasia as a choice location due to many motivating factors, there being an assumption of a shared culture and religion. The notion that the migrants had previously operated under was that due to a shared culture and religion with the resident community they would be easily accepted and furthermore be able to blend in effortlessly. However this was not the case as experienced by initial migrants to the area, the Asian migrant population has experienced much isolation with regard to their interactions with the resident community.

1.3.1 Background – Migrant community

The Asian migrant community in Lenasia comprises Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis as stated earlier. Most of this migrant community are men aged between 18 and 40. The female population emanating from these countries present in Lenasia is fairly minimal. The migrants are employed mostly in the informal sector, earning average to very low wages, with a small percentage of the population owning their own formal businesses. The bulk of the population does not possess more than a high school education. Although

most of the migrants are literate they do not possess any tangible qualifications. They usually emanate from the rural areas of their native lands where economic opportunities are very limited.



Figure 2: An example of one of the many flats in Lenasia which has a majority of migrants residing within them.

With regard to housing access in Lenasia the migrants generally have a problem accessing decent accommodation. Many of the flat owners and home owners in Lenasia who offer their premises up for rent through formalised networks or processes do not consider the migrants as desirable tenants. There is a general stereotype held by the resident community that the migrants are not clean /hygienic and they would defile their property if allowed to reside there.

This is not to say that the migrants fail in accessing accommodation in Lenasia, rather that to gain accommodation is a tedious task and they do not posses many options, therefore they rely on informal social networks. What is meant by social networks in this regard is that the migrants who are not able to gain accommodation have utilised what is regarded as social networks to do so. A network can be understood as a set of relationships, thus social networks operate and come into existence through a collection of people who share similar interests, origins or wish to experience or utilise a certain function or service. Migrants in Lenasia have utilised social networks

established on the foundation of a shared place of origin and existing family and social ties forged in the areas from which they emanate (Kadushin, 2000). The networks operate by way of a migrant whether newly arriving in the country or already residing in the country contacting his/her contacts when the need arises for them to secure accommodation. Very rarely would a migrant particularly in Lenasia try to secure accommodation through formalised avenues such as a landlord advertising for tenants for a flat or house.

With regard to the physical form of the accommodation they access it is of a low quality and often neglected. Another factor to consider is that given that migrants do not have a surplus of finances they do not opt for residences which charge a high rental; they rather opt for the cheaper option.

The majority of the migrants in Lenasia reside in the business quarter, within the numerous flats located in the district. Although accessing accommodation is generally a problem for the migrants in Lenasia, the fact that pre-existing community flight has occurred has eased their strife in some way. Although they are able to access accommodation in the Lenasia CBD it is of a poor quality and somewhat neglected by the owners.

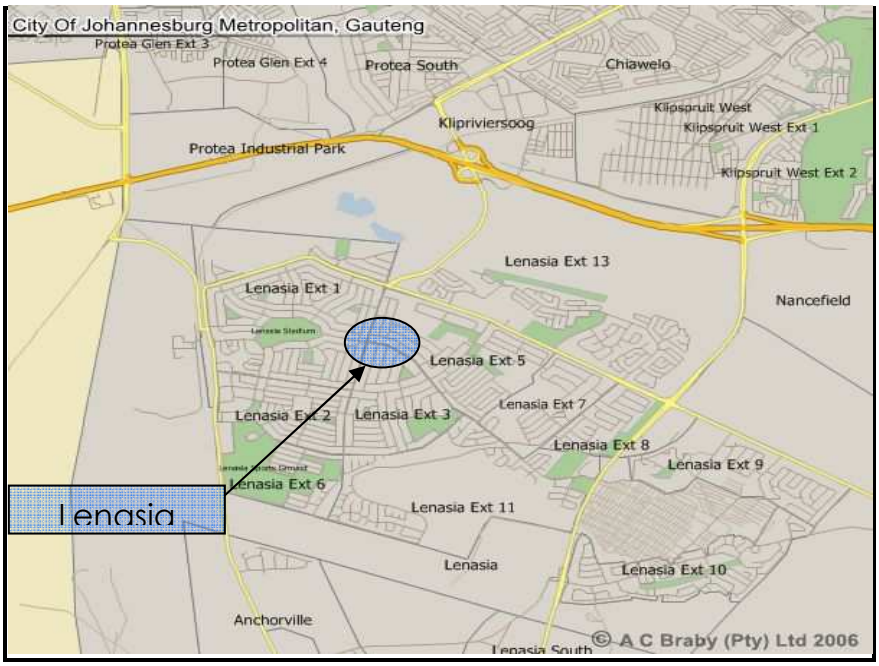


Figure 3: *Illustrating the Location of the Lenasia CBD (www.joburg.org.za)*

As emphasized above accessing accommodation for the migrant in Lenasia is an arduous task. However the migrant community has managed to find ways and means to overcome this difficulty. Given that the migrant community in Lenasia increases in number on an annual basis due to new arrivals, the already established migrant community in Lenasia has established a system to aid the new arrivals.

The system at work in terms of accessing accommodation entails the migrants banding together. The grouping of migrants together is not arbitrary. The migrants generally live together in large groups, within which they are linked in some way, whether it is by blood relation, or social relations. The migrants normally assist each other, and in terms of accommodation the same principle applies. An example of how the migrants operate in gaining accommodation is detailed below. As stated before the migrants in Lenasia are usually concentrated in the CBD of Lenasia, and most commonly take up residence in one of the many flats located in the vicinity, as indicated in figure 3 above.

When one of the migrants successfully acquires a flat, they inform their fellow migrants of it; thereafter they group together and take up residence in the apartment. They split the monthly rental between themselves collectively, as point of concern; the migrants usually overcrowd the flat with sometimes on average 6 – 10 adult males residing in a 1 bedroom flat.



Figure 4: Depicting one of the many flats which the migrant population resides in

The more migrants staying in one flat lowers the initial contribution the individual migrant has to pay towards monthly rental. This is viewed as a survival tactic for their living expenses is greatly reduced, allowing them much more freedom with their monthly wages. This also translates into them being able to send more money back home to their families. The migrants largely opt for the cheapest accommodation available for a number of reasons.

The brief outline above serves as an introduction to the intricacies present when trying to understand the use of social networks by migrants in Lenasia.

1.4 Rationale

The motivation in choosing to focus on the Asian migrant community residing in Lenasia, lies in the premise that studies conducted on migrant communities in the city of Johannesburg focus largely on transient

populations living within the city's CBD. Furthermore of the variety of migrant populations present in the Johannesburg municipality, migrants emanating from African countries enjoy most exposure, with little focus being directed on migrants originating from elsewhere.

With this rationale being utilised it is also important to note that although majority of studies on migrants occur within the CBD, there may exist differences in the way migrants residing in the periphery function on a daily basis. Therefore Lenasia presents itself as an ideal location, for it allows one to study migrants residing in the periphery of the city and simultaneously allows for a study where a non conventional migrant population is focused upon.

1.5 Problem statement

The problem statement that shall be utilized during the research is one that assumes that migrants residing in Lenasia encounter numerous obstacles whilst attempting to access accommodation, therefore they have chosen to rely on informal social networks to secure housing.

1.6 Research question

The main research question or rather what the research is attempting to answer or explore is:

What role do social networks play in the accessing of accommodation in Lenasia by migrants?

1.7 Sub questions

Additional questions formulated to compliment the main research question are:

- Why do migrants in Lenasia opt to use social networks, with specific regard to housing access?
- Do migrants utilizing these networks emanate from a certain area, if so what are the ties that bond certain migrants together?
- Do formal networks regarding housing access not address the migrant population's needs in the area?
- What are the experienced benefits of social networks, if any?
- Do social networks and the establishment thereof emerge as an actor in the migration process?

1.8 Hypothesis

The main supposition regarding or framing the research is that migrants are generally unable to successfully access housing/accommodation via other mechanisms apart from social networks. In addition to this it is assumed that migrants opt to use social networks due to their associated benefits such as *security, employment and access to social activities.*

1.9 Theoretical underpinnings

The anticipated theory to be utilized during the course of the research is:

- Social network theory

  Social network theory refers to as stated earlier ,sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared

community origin" (Massey *et al*, 1994:728). Furthermore it involves the usage of a network in order to gain some sort of support or service. The utilisation of social network theory allows one to better understand how and why migrants in Lenasia have utilised networks so greatly in order to secure accommodation.

- Interculturalism –*Leonie Sandercock*

  Sandercock has identified the need to redress the current train of thought we employ to understand multiculturalism, she feels that the term multiculturalism is an ill fitted concept in planning, as well as broader society. Although multiculturalism within the planning field offers us a way to accommodate and recognize migrants, it stipulates that diversity will ultimately lead to a unified culture borrowing from all existing cultures. This she strongly feels is where the fault lies in the planning process. The notion that cities or our urban environments are a melting pot, alive with diversity is in actual fact negating our inherent individuality as well as group individuality. The notion that all cultures ultimately will hybridize and thereafter lead to a uniform all encompassing way of life is absurd (Sandercock, 1998 & 2000).

  She in turn offers what she terms interculturalism, which serves as an alternative to multiculturalism. The usage of interculturalism forming part of a theoretical base of understanding shall allow for a better understanding of migrants in Lenasia, and better help contextualise the community.

- Transnationalism– *Jonathan Crush*

  Transnationalism as a concept has only been employed in recent years whilst trying to understand migration trends in South Africa. The theory at best offers a new way of understanding and describing

migrant identities in foreign settings. According to Transnationalism the identity of a migrant is dual; the migrant simultaneously exists and functions in their host and home country. This duality of the migrant's identity poses in itself many difficulties, for they still function as they would in their home country, this practice does not allow them to fully integrate into their host community (Crush, 2002).

- The good city – *John Friedman*

As a theoretical base I shall largely consult with Friedmann. Friedmann offers valuable insight as to why the marginalised particularly migrants should be accepted into South African society (Friedmann, 2002).

1.10 Type of research

The research relies on numerous sources of information from various mediums. Information utilised in the research shall be gathered from written sources chronicling migrant's experiences globally and in South Africa with regard to housing access, and furthermore the use of social networks. In addition to this qualitative interviews shall be conducted in order to prove the main hypothesis statement of the research. A total of 10 migrants, 2 landlords and 2 community leaders shall be interviewed.

The variety of information consulted lends to the research being of an empirical nature as it draws upon observation and experience and the utilisation of an exploratory case study.

1.11 Ethical considerations

Due to the strained nature of the relationship in existence between the resident Indian community and the Asian migrants sensitivity should at all

times be demonstrated whilst assessing migrant housing conditions. Issues of trust and misguided agendas might come into play, which will greatly affect the anticipated outcomes of the research.

In order to overcome this, respondents shall be required to fill in consent forms, giving their permission to be interviewed. Prior to being interviewed respondents shall be briefed on the purpose of the interview and reassured that their privacy shall be safeguarded. Furthermore prior to being interviewed respondents have the option to ask questions in order to gain clarity on the purpose of the interview.

1.12 Limitations

The major limitations of the research are particularly centered on the expected communication barriers in existence. Given that the 1st language of the migrant community is not English, interviews might prove to be an arduous task. Although bulk of the community is versed in English, they are not entirely fluent in it, therefore certain ideas and thoughts might become lost in translation. In order to overcome this I shall utilize a translator, who shall assist me during interviews with the migrants.

A further limitation would be the willingness of the migrants to partake in an interview due to varied reasons such as:

- Fears associated with their migrant status (illegal) being exposed and threatening their stay in the country.
- Fears of being evicted as a result of speaking out about the physical conditions of their residences, which at times may not be amicable.
- Fears of being ridiculed and judged due to the strained relationship experienced between them and the resident community.

- In addition to these limitations, landlords of certain buildings might not be willing to be interviewed for they might fear their exploitation of migrants might be exposed.

1.13 Provisional outline of chapters

Like any endeavour, the study of the migrant community in Lenasia with regard to their use of social networks in accessing accommodation has to follow a logical process, one which is connected, below is the chapter structure for the research.

Chapter 1: serves as an overture to the study, briefly introducing some of the relevant issues, the research hypothesis and an introduction to the migrant community to be studied.
Chapter 2: Discusses the theoretical underpinnings crucial to the research. The theory to be utilised in the research is that of Social Network Theory (SNT), Transnationalism, Interculturalism and The Good City.
Chapter 3: Outlines the research methodology, with regard to the type of questionnaires utilised.
Chapter 4: Serves as an introduction to the area of Lenasia and subsequently the pre-existing community and the migrant community.
Chapter 5: An analysis of the findings of the qualitative questionnaires shall be unpacked in this chapter in conjunction with an application of the above mentioned theory.
Chapter 6 (conclusion): Identifies the key research findings. In addition the assumed impacts of Asian migrant social networks in Lenasia shall be discussed with regard to their social, economic and spatial impacts. In summation recommendations shall be made in the context of the above mentioned impacts so as to lessen their severity.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

It is hypothesized that the migrants in Lenasia rely on social networks not only to facilitate access to accommodation but for a myriad of other reasons as well, such as anonymity, security and employment. In order to understand the current phenomenon and to contextualise the study in the larger literature a number of sources and arguments are used. Much use will be made of Social Network Theory, augmenting this is Transnationalism which explains the migrants' multiplicity of identity and "being" when in a foreign setting.

Leonie Sandercock's contribution of "Interculturalism" and John Friedmann's theory of "The Good City" shall also be outlined. Sandercock and Friedmann have been included in the literature for they postulate why migrants should be assimilated into society by outlining the assumed benefits. Furthermore the above two theorists provide means so as to initiate integration of migrants into host communities.

Current governmental tendencies and trends as demonstrated by The South Africa Immigration Act of 2002 exemplify the negative manner in which migrants are received into the country. Furthermore the act allows for the systematic isolation and abuse of migrants in the country (Crush, 2000). Migrants are viewed negatively both by government and broader society, according to Crush (*et al,* 2003) 48% of South Africans feel that foreigners are criminal threat. Negative attitudes such as the above have impacted on how migrants interact with each other and with their host communities. In part the creation of migrant enclaves within the city is a direct result of the negative environment present.

Sandercock (2003) stresses the need for integration of migrants, and she further offers a means of understanding difference in a more applicable way. Friedmann (2002) however states that the creation of enclaves within a society does not allow for that society to function at optimum, or rather realise what is regarded as the "Good City".

The above two theorists, Sandercock and Friedmann specify why migrants need to be integrated into society as highlighted earlier. The actual means and processes involved in achieving integration of migrants shall be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

2.1 Social Network Theory (SNT)

Much literature exists on Social Network Theory, however its understanding and application is not fixed as underlined by Koser & Pinkerton (2002:10) who state that "social networks have been studied for many years from a range of disciplines, but there still a lack of consensus about their definition". Social Network Theory's fluid nature, however is extremely advantageous as it allows for much flexibility in understanding a variety of situations such as patterns of accommodation access by migrants, which is useful for this study.

According to Granovetter the emergence of the study of social networks came about because sociological theory possessed a flaw; which is that it: "does not relate micro level interactions to macro level patterns in any convincing way" (Granovetter, 1973:347). Social Network Theory aims to link macro level processes to micro level processes. Macro level process can be understood as large scale phenomena such as social mobility, community organization and political structure, whereas micro level phenomena are occurrences which transpire in the context of small groups (Granovetter,

1973). Network theory focuses on micro level phenomena aiming to understand how occurrences at this level amass to form components of macro level phenomena (Granovetter, 1973). By focusing on micro level processes one can understand for example why macro level phenomena such as why Pakistani migration to the U.K. is so rife, and more particularly why do Pakistani families in the U.K. only settle in certain areas. By understanding occurrences at the micro level and processes within the networks utilised, questions such as the above can be answered.

Each individual is part of a social network/s which manifest their value and use in ones daily life (Kadushin, 2000).There exists a variety of social networks ranging in size from simple networks constructed between friends, family and relatives, to rather more intricate networks which span the workplace, multinational organizations and the internet which connects people globally (Kadushin, 2000). Another variation which exists amongst social networks is that of their function and purpose which shall be discussed at a later point in this chapter.

A network according to Kadushin (2000) can be understood as a set of relationships. A network can be further understood as comprising of nodes/actors and ties/relationships according to Granovetter (1973). Nodes are representative of the actual individuals or actors present and/or participating within the network and ties denote the relationships between the individuals as indicated in figure 5 below (Granovetter, 1973).

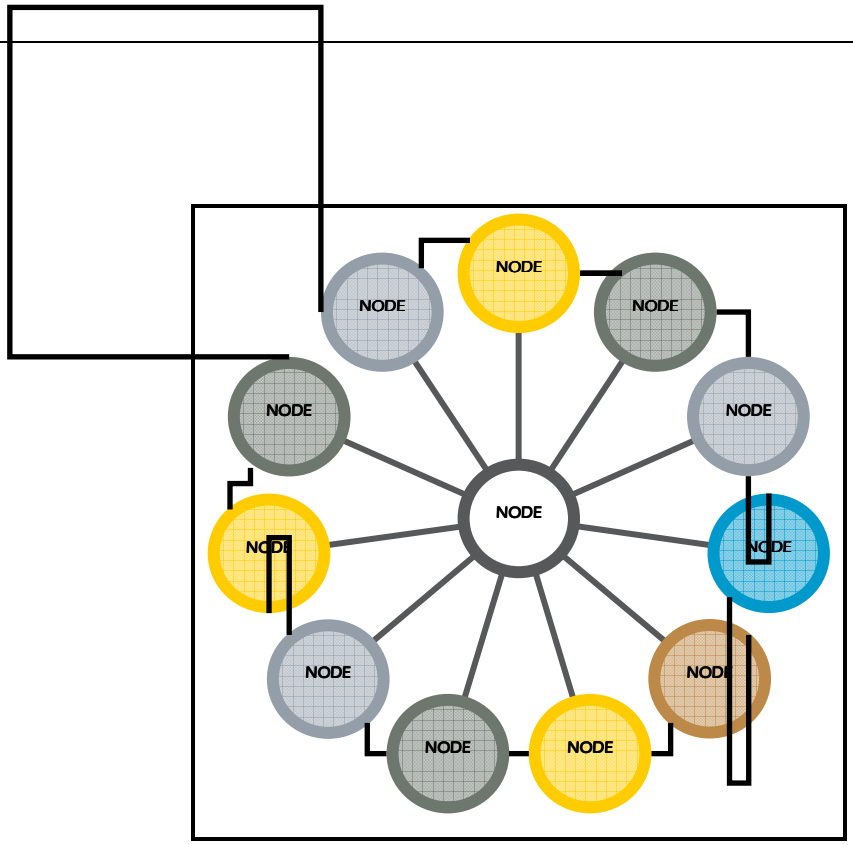


Figure 5: Simplified diagram illustrating ties/relationships between nodes/actors within a social network (Kadushin, 2000).

Within social network theory the individual is not viewed in isolation, or rather the individual or actor is of far less importance then the relationships and ties which they form with other actors within the network. As demonstrated by the above explanation, a social network is comprised of actors linked together by ties (Granovetter, 1973). Although the notion of ties and actors are integral in the understanding of a social network, they must not be understood as being unwavering, because not all actors or ties within a network are equivalent. Within a network there exists a hierarchy of actors, and furthermore a variety of ties, some stronger and some weaker (Kadushin, 2000). The success of an individual acting through a network in any endeavour is highly dependent on the type of ties they have with other actors within the network.

The differentiation between actors and ties within a network has been discussed in great detail by Granovetter (1973). According to Granovetter

(1973), stronger ties can be understood as those constructed with family members and close friends. Weaker ties are those constructed with acquaintances. Granovetter (1973) argues that although strong ties are invaluable to an individual, it is however their weak ties which are crucial because, firstly weak ties allow for a flow of information from otherwise distant parts of a network.

An individual through his/her weak ties within a constructed network has better access too and knowledge of opportunities (Granovetter, 1973). This is a direct result of the broadening of the individuals social field, relying solely on strong ties limits an individual in terms of news and opportunities because their field of knowledge is thus only limited to a fixed circle of individuals. Occurrences out of this circle may potentially be unknown to the individual therefore they may never be acted upon. It is the weaker ties which an individual has that broaden their horizon of opportunities and knowledge. Accordingly strong and weak ties allow for different levels of support when assisting an individual.

Secondly weak ties aid in amalgamating social systems (Granovetter, 1973). As opposed to social groupings operating in isolation of one another, social networks offer the opportunity of social groups to integrate. This idea is demonstrated in figure 6 below. The figures represent a type of social network created by female Italian migrants in Dublin, displaying the overlapping of strong and weak ties within a network.

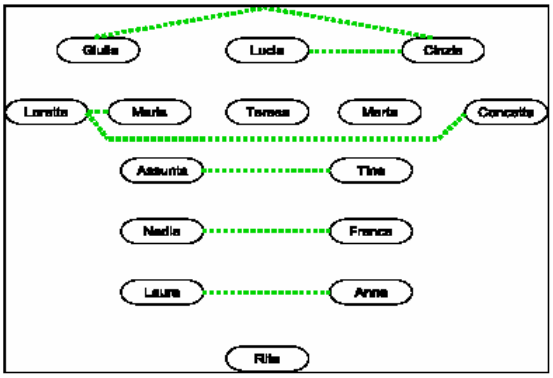


Figure 6(a): Represents close kin ties. (De Tona, 2006:4)

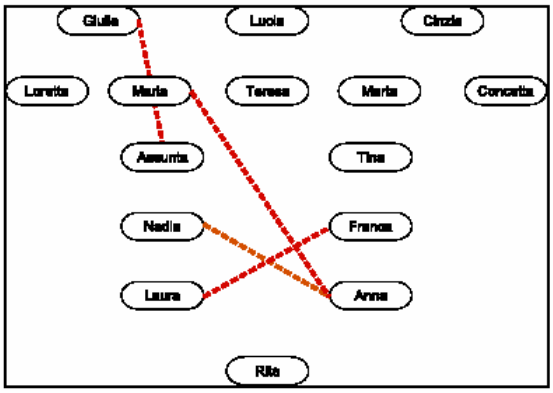


Figure 6(b): Represents ties with extended family (*Ibid*)

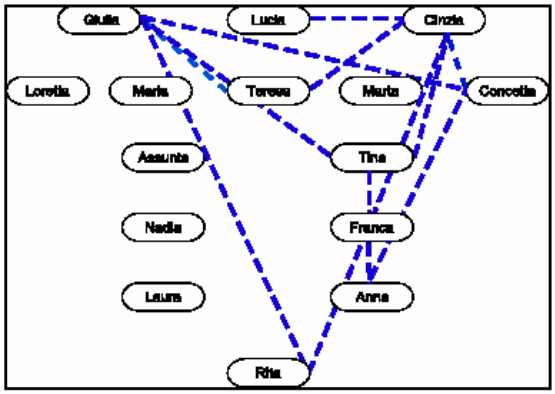


Figure 6(c): Represents ties with acquaintances. (*Ibid*)

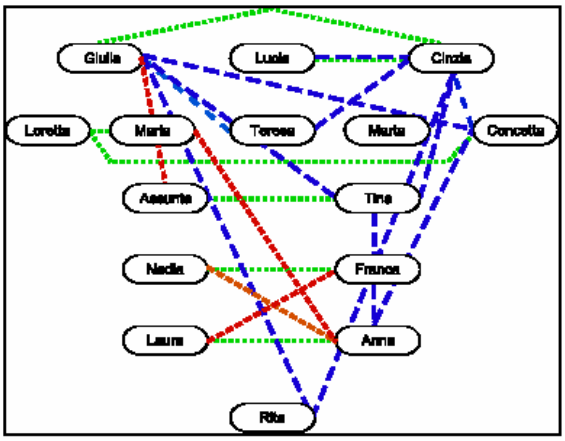


Figure 6(d): Represents the entire social network, with strong and weak ties evident. (*Ibid*)

The above example of the social network of female Italian migrants in Ireland demonstrates how strong and weak ties exist within a network, the strong are those constructed with kin and weak ties are those established with acquaintances. Furthermore how the simultaneous occurrence of strong and weak ties within a network allows for the integration of different social systems. From the above figures/diagrams one can begin to understand how information is able to travel amongst migrants within a network regardless of their affiliation with the network (De Tona, 2006).

In addition when looking specifically at actors within a network, there exist dominant and secondary actors (Granovetter, 1973). Dominant actors could be regarded as key actors within the network. An example to illustrate this point in fact is that of a social network based on Kinship and friendship amongst Pakistani migrants in the United Kingdom (U.K.). According to Anwar (1995) pioneer Pakistani migrants in the U.K. influenced many latter Pakistani migrants to relocate to the U.K. The notion of pioneer migrants influencing other individuals from their homeland to migrate is quite common, this sentiment is echoed by Meyer (2001:93) who states that "Connections with earlier migrants provide potential migrants with many

resources that they use to diminish the risks and costs of migration: information about procedures (technical as well as legal), financial support, job prospects, administrative assistance, physical attendance, emotional solidarity".

Furthermore according to Massey (*et al,* 1994:728), social networks are "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin". Reverting to Pakistani migrants in the U.K, according to Anwar (1995), newly arriving migrants were given financial assistance by pioneer migrants who were family members. This financial assistance allowed these new migrants to pay for their airfare and other travelling expenses. In addition upon arrival in the U.K. these migrants were given accommodation, meals and help looking for a job. All of these resources were provided by established migrants in the country. According to Anwar (1995) this indicated that most of the Pakistani migrants in the U.K. came to the country using their kinship and friendship networks. By utilising the above example of Pakistani Migrants in the U.K. one can begin to understand how social networks can be comprised of dominant and secondary actors. With reference to the above example, pre existing or pioneer Pakistani migrants in the U.K. could be considered as dominant actors and newly arriving migrants as secondary actors. The reason for this differentiation is that pioneer migrants in this particular example assisted newly arriving migrant, making the transition of newly arriving migrants that much easier in their host country. Pioneer migrants possessed many more resources over newly arriving migrants which placed them in a position of dominance or power, and furthermore made them more active members in the social network.

The relationships/ties formed between actors or nodes within a network should also be understood in terms of flow. According to Kadushin (2000) relationships between actors are usually based on a shared attribute/s such as religion and ethnicity to name but a few. However this does not mean that the relationships formed between actors are mutual/reciprocal, where all actors within the network receive some sort of benefit from their relationships with other actors in the network. That is why it is of crucial importance that flow within a network is understood. The concept of flow within network theory according to Kadushin (2000) is of utmost importance. Flow can be understood as the exchange of services, information and goods within a network between actors, of which benefits the actors participating. This particular aspect of network theory is highly applicable when understanding networks within migrant communities globally.

Another important notion which needs to be touched upon with regard to social networks amongst migrants is that of social networks emerging as an actor in the migration process (Massey *et al*, 1994). This claim has been supported by Massey and Espinosa (1997) who state that networks are essential for sustained migration flows. As demonstrated in the above example of Pakistani migrants in the U.K. Anwar (1995) states that pioneer migrants influenced members from their home country to relocate. They presented or let people back home know that they were earning more money and living more comfortably than their counterparts at home. The promise of a better life presented itself a strong pull factor when contemplating relocation amongst Pakistani migrants (Anwar, 1995). In addition the strong social structures created by Pakistani migrants in the U.K. served as an additional motivating factor because of the help that was offered by pioneer migrants to newly arriving migrants. The ease with which newly arriving migrants or those contemplating migration were able to access social networks facilitated and further compounded Pakistani migration to the U.K.

Upon arrival of a migrant networks serve as a means to procure ones transition to a new home, it also provides continuous financial, social and emotional support to the migrant.

From the above analysis of social networks present amongst Pakistani migrants in the U.K. it would appear that newly arriving migrants enjoy most of the benefits associated with the network whilst pioneer migrants enjoy very little to no benefits. According to Anwar (1995) and simultaneously Shaw (2000) this is not the case. Shaw (2000) points out that although initially newly arriving migrants receive bulk of the benefits, pioneer migrants do also derive benefits. The benefits experienced by pioneer migrants are not instant or visible but are felt. Before a discussion as to what benefits are derived by pioneer migrants is embarked upon, one first needs to understand some of the key aspects of the construction of Pakistani culture. According to Shaw (2000) *biradari*, or rather ones region of origin and/or caste is highly important. Allegiances formed based on kinship and village of origin are influencing factors and impose certain moral obligations, which are placed on members of a kin based network, such as helping all those affiliated with them or emanating from the same village as them. Pioneer migrants are expected to help newly arriving migrants in accessing accommodation, finding a job, settling in to their new home and with many other related activities (Shaw, 2000). This moral obligation according to Anwar (1995) is what ensures the continued sustenance of social networks amongst Pakistanis in the U.K.

Another factor which allows for the use of social networks by newly arriving migrants is that pioneer migrants although living in another country, are still very much involved with affairs in their home country. Usually pioneer migrants own properties, and/or businesses back home (Anwar, 1995; Shaw, 2000). To ensure that their assets are well looked after they enlist help from

within their kin based networks. Therefore from this one denotes that the actors within this said network experience reciprocal benefits. By looking after newly arriving migrants, the pioneer migrant ensures that his interests back home are well looked after.

Another factor supporting the intensity to which social networks are utilised is that of the support it offers. This support takes the form of the services the *biraderi* offers, such as support given at special occasions such as births, circumcisions, weddings, deaths, accidents, disasters and personal troubles. Not to forget financial assistance when needed. A member of such a network confers within the network for help before considering or utilising outside sources (Anwar, 2005).

The above analysis of Pakistani social networks is highly important for this research, as it provides added insight as to why migrants utilise social networks so abundantly. Although Pakistanis were explicitly spoken about in the above example, it is postulated that the above principles can be applied to both individuals emanating from India and Bangladesh because of similar cultural practises around social and moral obligations.

In summation networks are of great importance to each person. For migrants, social networks are crucial for finding jobs and accommodation, circulating goods and services, as well as psychological support and continuous social and economic information (Vertovec, 2002).

2.2 Transnationalism

Transnationalism as a concept has only been employed in recent years whilst trying to understand migration trends in South Africa but has been used in other contexts for a much longer period (Crush, 2002). The theory at best offers a new way of understanding and describing migrant identities in foreign settings (Crush, 2002). According to transnationalism the identity of a migrant is multi faceted; the migrant simultaneously exists and functions in their host and home country. This range of the migrant's identity poses in itself many difficulties, for the migrant still functions and furthermore has interests in their home country as demonstrated by way of the example of Pakistani in migrants in the U.K. This state of being a migrant does not allow for full integration into their host communities because they still have vested interests back home. Transnationalism points out that full integration into the migrants host country or community would entail the migrant abandoning his/her affiliation with their home country and giving up his/her original identity. This however does not occur in part due to the strong and intertwined social networks created, spanning the migrants host and home country (Crush, 2002). The migrant has to tread between two very different worlds, and in all that confusion find an elusive balance. The Asian migrant in Lenasia is a perfect example of how much difficulty is encountered when treading between two differing worlds.

This choice of migrants not to relinquish their cultural and social practices renders them somewhat at a disadvantage when they move to a foreign country. This is because the migrant being so entrenched within their own communities and subsequent social networks cannot fully integrate and experience the associated benefits of full integration. The migrant leads a multifaceted existence, rooted in two very dissimilar domains. Although they

many be physically located in one area, they still reside culturally in another (Crush, 2002).

According to Crush (2002) there exist five definite features of Transnationalism; the *first feature* is that transnationalism characterizes a high rate of exchanges by the migrant between their host country and home country. The exchanges between the migrant and his/her home country take the form of remittances, goods, information, regular communication and so forth. The migrant is continuously involved with occurrences back home and simultaneously involved with existing in their host country. According to Crush (2002:9), "transnational migrants literally live their lives across international borders". This sentiment is further echoed by Glick Schiller and Fouron (1999, 344) who state that transnational migration is a "a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across international borders, settle and establish ongoing social relations in a new state, maintain ongoing social connections with the polity from which they originated." This strong attachment that the migrant has with their home country even upon migrating, does not allow the migrant to assimilate in varying degrees into their new home.

The *second feature* of transnationalism is that "transnational activities are tied into the expansion and internationalisation of capitalist production." (Crush, 2002:9) Given the increased affordability of international travel and advancements in communication, people are able to travel further distances for job opportunities and means to improve the quality of their life. Hence international migration has become such a distinguishing feature of life in the past 100 years. Compounding this, travel or the ability to commute to different places has become relatively cheap, enabling a wider variety of individuals to move around. This has allowed for an increase in migrant

communities globally resulting in many more individuals and communities leading a transnational existence.

The *third feature* of transnationalism is that prior to its inception migrant identities were understood in a very rigid manner. In understanding the migrant in their host country/community the assimilation hypothesis was largely employed. What this hypothesis basically entailed was that the migrant upon arrival in their new home they cast of affiliation with their home country, to adopt a new identity. Migration research over the years has proven this supposition wrong. What in fact has been found is that migrants occupy a multiplicity of identities rooted in both their host and home country (Crush, 2002:10).

The *fourth feature* of transnationalism is that elements such as social networks although born out of the process of migration, further enable the continued occurrence of migration. This is due to the building up of knowledge, experience, social contacts and other forms of cultural and social capital through previous migrants. The construction of such capital by previous migrants serves as major influences upon the decision for one to migrant. According to transnationalism social networks have become one of the primary reasons for individuals to migrate (Crush, 2002:10). This notion of social networks becoming primary influencers motivating individuals to migrate is clearly demonstrated by the example cited earlier in the chapter of Pakistani migrants in the U.K. This notion has also further been supported by Massey and Espinosa (1997) who state that social networks are an actor in the migration process. In addition Portes (1995) proposes that migration in itself "can be conceptualized as a process of network building, which depends on and, in turn, reinforces social relationships across space".

The *final feature* of transnationalism is that migrants are no longer hapless individuals prone to exploitation and discrimination. With the increase in size and diversity of migrant communities they have been able to form what is termed "modes of resistance" (Crush, 2002:10). Through the formation of support networks located in both the host and home country the migrant is able in varying degrees to challenge the occurrence of abuse (Crush, 2002; Jacobson, 2002). Although this facet of transnationalism may confer some measure of autonomy to migrants, this is however not the case. Migrants still remain dependents and participants within their host country's (Crush, 2002:11). By grouping together migrants can ensure their safety and their continued existence in their host nations.

The five characteristics outlined above are the key features of transnationalism, they are however not exhaustive and all encompassing. They do however offer an insight into the experiences and actions of migrants in Lenasia.

As a point of disjuncture although transnationalism seeks to explain the multiplicity of the migrants identity it negates the fact that social networks within migrant communities further compound the migrants' choice to not integrate fully into their host community. Although networks according to transnationalism have served as a means for migrants to cope.

2.3 Leonie Sandercock: Interculturalism

"If the purpose of planning theory is to contribute to good practice, than the matter of difference must inform discussion within planning theory. If we want to achieve social justice and respect for cultural diversity in multicultural

cities, then we need to theorize a productive politics of difference. And if we want to foster a more democratic, inclusionary process of planning, then we need to start listening to voices of difference."
(Sandercock, 1998)

Leonie Sandercock has been included in the theoretical framework for she just like Friedman has postulated why migrants should be integrated into their host communities by outlining the assumed benefits. Both theorists have also offered ways of achieving inclusion of migrants into society. Considering the inclusion of migrants into society is important because according to Sandercock (2003:88) cultural diversity is increasingly becoming part of everyday urban life in our globalising world. The creation of cultural enclaves and separatism in society presents itself as a problem for urban governance and city planning for it fuels intercultural conflict (Sandercock, 2003). Given this acknowledgement governments have to proactively create and improve upon existing spaces in order to accommodate diversity.

Although Sandercock states that we are fully aware of difference in our cities and communities, the manner by which we recognize and deal with diversity is problematic (Sandercock, 1998). Diversity is tackled in a very rigid manner according to Sandercock (2003) and this is what has incapacitated governments globally. Migrants and migrant communities have been approached in a very cautious manner by governments. This approach has not allowed states to positively receive and produce environments favourable to the migrants existence. Given this understanding the continued occurrence of migration globally and the formation of migrant communities shall pose a developmental problem.

The problem according to Sandercock (1998) when dealing with difference is that our understanding of difference is lacking, therefore how we deal with

difference will ultimately be flawed. The manner in which we understand diversity is not flexible because difference is viewed negatively, as a perceived threat. Different values and practices of minority groups are sidelined because there exists a need for the dominant culture to impose itself on other marginal groups (Sandercock, 2003).

Some recognition however must be given to the fact that diversity in our cities is indeed acknowledged and it has aided in the plight of the marginalised to some degree. The mere fact that there is acknowledgement, that there exist individuals and communities different to mainstream society is a step in the right direction. But this is not enough; a much more holistic approach in dealing with diversity is called for.

This is why multiculturalism as a means of understanding diversity has been widely used, but there exists no consensus with regard to what multiculturalism actually entails. According to Sandercock (2004) "Just as there are different multicultural societies, so there are different multiculturalisms".

Hall (2000) supports the notion of diverse understandings and applications of multiculturalism as demonstrated below where he discusses some of the main interpretations of multiculturalism.

"Conservative multiculturalism insists on the assimilation of difference into the traditions and customs of the majority. Liberal multiculturalism seeks to integrate the different cultural groups as fast as possible into the 'mainstream' provided by a universal individual citizenship... Pluralist multiculturalism formally enfranchises the differences between groups along cultural lines and accords different group rights to different communities within a more...communitarian political order. Commercial multiculturalism assumes

that if the diversity of individuals from different communities is recognized in the marketplace, then the problems of cultural difference will be dissolved through private consumption, without any need for a redistribution of power and resources. Corporate multiculturalism (public or private) seeks to 'manage' minority cultural differences in the interests of the centre. Critical or 'revolutionary' multiculturalism foregrounds power, privilege, the hierarchy of oppressions and the movements of resistance... And so on" (Hall 2000:210).

According to Sandercock (2004) and Hall (2000) the problem with adhering to the tenets of multiculturalism however defined is that the long term needs of various cultural groupings are neglected. This is because they are only seen as a temporary state of affairs, all minority or marginal groupings of individuals will ultimately hybridise or relinquish their culture to become participants of the dominant culture at hand.

This train of thought is in itself potentially "tricky" for it does not allow for the positive inclusion and simultaneously positive developmental responses which aim to include minority groups in our cities. The dilemma with multiculturalism is that it firstly separates all groupings in society via difference or what is perceived as different, and secondly although acknowledging the plural nature of society, it views this pluralism as a stage in the process of evolution (Hall, 2000).

The evolution of multicultural society's' into a more unitary society, a society where all groupings aspire towards a common set of ideals and ways of knowing and being. This is what liberal and conservative multiculturalism entails and this is what Leonie Sandercock finds most worrying (Sandercock, 1998). Sandercock (2004) argues whether "a concept that has so many valences and such diverse and contradictory enemies possibly have any further use value?"

Sandercock (2004) has however responded to this shortcoming when dealing with diversity via the tenets of multiculturalism with what she terms interculturalism, although interculturalism is similar to pluralist multiculturalism in many ways. Interculturalism is viewed as a much more applicable and holistic approach when dealing and planning for diversity. The principles of interculturalism are discussed below.

Proponents of the theory of interculturalism state that:

- Culture is rooted; we cannot escape it for it manifests itself in every facet of our life. It informs the way we view, understand and interact with the world at large (Sandercock, 2004).
- Culture cannot in any way be viewed as fixed, it like everything else evolves, and it's a vibrant and varied body (*Ibid.*).
- Diversity in terms of culture is a good thing, and it should not be de-valued in any way. Interculturalism does not view superiority of cultures but rather promotes the interaction of cultures for it feels that through dialogue understanding can be achieved and useful lessons can be shared (*Ibid.*).
- Interculturalism also recognizes the legitimacy of all cultures as well as their right to experience and live in cities (*Ibid.*).
- Belonging to an intercultural society should not be based on what religion, ethnic group or race you belong to but rather the coming together and sharing of a universal commitment to the broader political community (*Ibid.*).
- Another important principle is that society has to own the current structural imbalances in terms of the dominance of one culture over the other. And that it is due to these imbalances that certain social and economic ramifications are experienced by the sub ordinate culture (*Ibid.*).

The above are the basic principles of interculturalism to which Leonie Sandercock ascribes to, as well as promotes as an alternative to multiculturalism. To her, difference should not be viewed as a negative or hampering force but rather a positive element. For it is our diversity that makes society in general a more vibrant and an exciting environment to be in. Sandercock stipulates, the need to listen to 'the other' in society, she strongly believes it is crucial, for valuable lessons can be learnt from the diverse groupings in society. And at the same time it will make the planning process much more applicable to the broader community it serves irrespective of which grouping or sector of society is involved (Sandercock, 1998 & 2004).

Although Leonie Sandercock discusses the benefits as to why the marginalised should be validated and planned for in our cities, she fails to produce a tangible framework to work with. Friedmann however fills the gaps left behind by Sandercock as shall be discussed in the next sub section.

2.4 John Friedmann - The Good City

Friedmann just like Sandercock has been included in the theoretical framework based on his suggestions as to why the marginalised and in the instance of this research report migrants should be included into their host communities/city's. Friedmann compliments Sandercock in that he provides a more rigorous and plausible framework to work with.

Like many theorists in the planning field, Friedmann (2002) has conceptualised the occurrence of diversity in our urban settings and furthermore the need to incorporate a positive outlook whilst attempting to integrate those who are perceived as different. He however differs in his

approach when rationalising diversity in that he enumerates the positive benefits and the necessity of changing mind frames when dealing with the marginalised. The assimilation of migrants or whoever might be perceived as different into our urban settings is seen as must in order to reach or become what is termed 'The Good City'. 'The Good City' according to Friedmann (2002) can be understood as a city functioning at its optimum, where all individuals living in the city are benefactors, enjoying a good standard of living. Furthermore 'The Good City' is a city which makes use of all its asset bases in a positive manner, ensuring positive growth and development. Friedmann in devising what is termed the Good city has taken on the role of a visionary. He provides a structure for urban regions around the world to recognise their true potential and function.

In order to understand the makings of the good city I shall briefly discuss the city's ability to sustain itself and promote growth through trade by actively investing in its innate resource complexes or assets. The justification for looking at a city's asset bases is based on the following premise. As mentioned earlier the good city is a city which makes use of all its resource bases, migrants are considered as part of a city's resource base according to Friedmann (2002). Acknowledgement needs to be given to them as a resource base if the vision of the good city is to be strived towards.

Asset bases/ resource complexes

- Human capital: includes all elements that provide a medium for human beings to grow in a productive and healthy manner, such as good healthcare, education and so forth.
- Social capital: is society by large being highly involved with the daily on goings of the many smaller communities which constitute it.

- Cultural capital: the diversity and innate distinctiveness of the region, through it varied inhabitants.
- Intellectual capital: comprises a regions universities and research institutions, as well as educated individuals such as scientists, intellectuals and those who posses some creative power.
- Environmental capital: the quality of the physical environment in sustaining life, such as clean air, drinkable water and so forth.
- Natural capital: the regions natural resources such as mineral deposits, land, forests, rivers and so forth.
- Urban capital: or in other words urban infrastructure which comprises transportation, water supply, energy, waste disposal and all other amenities which lend to the physical running of the city.

(Friedmann, 2002)

Friedmann believes that these seven interrelated resource complexes determine a regions capability to prosper and grow. However in order for these assets to assist in city building equal attention must be paid to each individual asset by the state. If the nurturing of these assets does not take priority amongst the states functions they will ultimately degrade and eventually take the guise of liabilities or negative capital (Friedmann, 2002).

Migrants fit into the above resource complexes in that they primarily form part of the city's social and cultural capital and subsequently the city's intellectual capital. And as stressed by Friedmann (2002) each of the city's resource bases must be nurtured equally in order for them to positively contribute to the makings of 'The Good City'.

According to Landau (2005:1) "Recognizing that marginalizing any group undermines cities ability to improve all residents' safety and welfare, effective leaders must actively combat discrimination even when exclusion is legally,

politically, or socially mandated. In an era of migration, this means finding creative and pragmatic ways to include migrants—from South Africa and elsewhere—in the communities in which they live. Doing otherwise tacitly endorses social fragmentation, inequitable growth, and the creation of a new underclass. For these reasons, marginalizing migrants both undermines human dignity and generates anti-social capital that negatively affects all urban residents. Among other forms, this capital manifests itself in irregular policing and insecurity; threats to public health; lack of investment and job creation; and less accountable institutions."

The above quote by Landau (2005) makes clear the interconnectedness of people living in the city regardless of background, this interconnectedness needs to be respected if the city wishes to develop in positive manner. This point has been highlighted in the above discussion by Friedmann (2002).

In addition when envisaging the good city Friedmann (2002) stresses that one needs to understand firstly whose city is it? and secondly that human flourishing is a fundamental right. According to Friedmann (2002) the city belongs to all those who reside within it and the search for a medium where all groups' interests within the city can be achieved must be strived towards.

Friedmann (2002) strongly believes that city's around the world should serve as centres for human flourishing regardless of one's ethnicity, creed, cultural values, gender or political association. The ability for a human to flourish should not be regarded as a privilege but rather as a right for all those who reside within the city. No grouping in society according to Friedmann (2002) should be overlooked or denied access in any which way or form, such an act not only affects the ability of said group to flourish, but indirectly affects our joint ability to thrive. In his eyes the quest to create what is regarded as the good city requires that governments acknowledge and integrate all members

of society regardless of their background or societal affiliations, and furthermore provide the means necessary for human flourishing (Friedmann, 2002).

Friedmann (2002) has recognized the need to recognize and incorporate those individuals considered to be marginalized within cities globally. Given the exponential growth in the rate of migration globally, migrants in foreign countries increasingly constitute what could be considered as marginalized groups in society. Friedmann by way of his vision for 'the good city' provides a justification as to why the marginalized need to be included in mainstream society; he simultaneously provides the means necessary in order to spurn the integration of the marginalized.

2.5 Conclusion

The proposed theoretical framework, as outlined and discussed above covers a broad range of issues. Of which have all been deemed relevant to the research. Social Network Theory provides a framework enabling a better understanding of how migrants in Lenasia interact with one another and on what level and for what purposes. In addition Social Network Theory provides insight into the type of societal systems in place, and why migrants in Lenasia consult with social networks primarily to access accommodation.

Transnationalism compliments Social Network Theory in that it provides support and evidence as to social networks are so highly used and depended on by migrants (Crush, 2002).

Sandercock (2004) and Friedmann's (2002) theories differ from the above two theories in that they instead provide reasons as to why governments should recognize diversity and furthermore positively plan for it. In the case of this research diversity or those recognised as different is the migrant community in Lenasia. Sandercock and Friedmann outline the assumed benefits of the inclusion of diversity in society.

The application of the above theory to the case study of migrants in Lenasia accessing accommodation through social networks shall be discussed in chapter 4 and 5 in detail.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A study on the use of social networks by migrants residing in Lenasia to access accommodation requires methodological tools which facilitate an understanding of the realities of the migrants. Relying solely on theory in gaining an insight on the use of social networks is not sufficient enough. A practical understanding must be achieved, so as to facilitate an applicable comprehension of migrants in the area and their use of social networks. To allow for such an understanding I have utilised a series of qualitative interviews/questionnaires directed at the migrant community, landlords and community leaders present in Lenasia. In this chapter I shall outline my research methodology and furthermore provide motivation as to why I have chosen this methodology.

3.1 Empirical data

The study of the use of social networks by migrants is an empirical case study and should be understood within its own context and spatial peculiarities. It is based on observation and experiences with the use of an exploratory case study (Lenasia) and qualitative interviews.

Given that the focus of the study is that of social networks, interviews with the subject community were necessary in order to prove the main hypothesis of the study. In order to align the study in a practical way, qualitative questionnaires were utilised.

In total 10 migrants were interviewed, 3 from Pakistan, 4 from Bangladesh and 3 from India. In addition 2 community leaders were interviewed and 2 landlords. With specific regard to the migrants interviewed all were male (refer to section 4.2.1), as indicated in the figure below. The oldest migrant interviewed was 37 and the youngest 27. The community leaders and landlords respectively were male and much older then their migrant counterparts. The oldest member interviewed from both the community leaders and landlords was 60 and the youngest was 54. The main aim of the interviews was to try and understand how migrant communities are accessing housing in Lenasia and how this relates to inclusion and exclusion of marginalised communities within the planning process of the city.

Name	Migrant nationality	Age	Gender	Length of stay in Lenasia
Anonymous	Pakistani	30	Male	7 months
Anonymous	Pakistani	33	Male	3 years
Anonymous	Pakistani	35	Male	6 years
Zahed	Bangladeshi	29	Male	5 years
Mohamed	Bangladeshi	27	Male	3 years
Ashraf	Bangladeshi	31	Male	4 years
Anonymous	Bangladeshi	30	Male	4 years
Anonymous	Indian	29	Male	5 years
Anonymous	Indian	37	Male	8 years
Arjun	Indian	33	Male	6 years

Figure 7: Age, gender, length of stay and country of origin of respondents

In order to realise this objective 3 instruments were developed, one targeted at the subject community (migrants), a further interview specifically formulated for community leaders present in Lenasia and a third interview targeted at landlords within the area. The type of interviews developed was qualitative as it was felt this type of interview would best provide the information relevant to the research.

3.2 Qualitative interviews

In this section, the type of interviews utilised in the study is presented. And some of the challenges faced during the interviews and as well as how they were overcome.

Prior to the initiation of the interviews certain procedures, as stipulated by the University of the Witwatersrand, were adhered to. Given that the study involved necessary contact in the form of interviews with the migrant community, landlords and community leaders, ethics clearance from the university's ethics department was needed. The purpose of obtaining ethics clearance was twofold: first of all to demonstrate that the procedure was adhered to and secondly to ensure that the subjects of my interviews, particularly the migrants were not put in harms way by being involved in the study. The highly xenophobic climate present in the country makes the migrant community a vulnerable group, which is a section specified in Wits' ethics procedure. Consequently Ethics clearance was received from the Ethics Department see annexure 1 for ethics clearance certificate.

The qualitative questionnaire targeted at the migrant community sought to understand how housing was accessed, whether social networks were used, and to what degree. The questions posed traced each individual's accommodation history while living in Lenasia and how they secured accommodation at their various residences. This approach was intended to reveal/gauge if social networks were used, how they were used and how often they were used. As well as attempting to answer the question as to why, social networks were used. Furthermore the nature of the social networks and the reasons why they were chosen as opposed to other methods of accessing housing were investigated. Qualitative questionnaires were used because according to Murray (2003:1) "Qualitative research is

multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them." In addition qualitative research makes use of a variety of empirical methods such as the utilization of a case study which seeks to describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in people's lives (Murray, 2003).

The qualitative questionnaires posed to the community leaders were supplementary to the study and provided a different viewpoint and an alternative understanding on migrants in the community and how they accessed accommodation. The above notion applied to the questionnaires posed to the landlords, although their understanding of how migrants accessed accommodation was much more relevant. For the landlords served as primary providers of accommodation to migrants, because it was their properties that the migrants lived in (Peberdy, 2004).

The basic structure of the questionnaires directed at the community leaders and landlords did not specifically mention migrants or migrancy in order to avoid raising sensitivities around the topic or biasing the responses. The questionnaire was structured so as to allow those being interviewed to establish by themselves whether migrants did exist as a noticeably new addition to the area and if so, how did they access accommodation? Why did they access accommodation in that manner? Why did they choose to live in Lenasia? and so forth. The inclusion of their observations was seen as useful because it was expected to further verify the findings from the migrant questionnaires. It was also useful to test some of the assumptions that migrants had made about the host community in relation to housing and access.

3.3 Limitations to study

There were a number of limitations, which included:

- *Relation to informants*
- *Language barrier*
- *Gender bias*
- *Threat to migrant status*
- *Exposure of exploitation*
- *Snowballing method*

The above listed limitations shall be discussed in detail below alongside how these limitations were overcome.

3.3.1 Relation to informants

There exists a very strained relationship between the host community and the migrant community; the occurrence of this strained relationship is rooted in a variety of reasons. Of which the general language difference and manner in which culture and religion is practiced is key. Furthermore migrants in Lenasia are viewed as an economic threat by local businessmen. The above cited reasons and many other reasons have all contributed to the construction of a highly strained relationship between the migrants and the host community. This presented itself as one of many challenges when conducting interviews especially with the migrants. I was already at a disadvantage when interviewing the migrants because I am part of the pre existing community. Although this was a difficulty, it was also advantageous as I already possessed some knowledge of their inner workings as a community. To gain the trust of the migrants was tricky at first, therefore before the commencement of the interview they were reassured that whatever information they provided would not be used against them .Furthermore in order to quell some of their

misgivings I presented them with the choice of remaining anonymous, which many of the respondents took advantage of.

Another method which I utilized when interviewing was to conduct the interview in a public space, within the Lenasia CBD. This step was also to ensure my safety and possibly their own if they viewed me and the interpreter as a threat.

3.3.2 Language barrier

Given that the migrants emanated from various countries in the Asian subcontinent, language was anticipated to be a barrier. Amongst the three groupings of migrants various languages were spoken, however English was understood and spoken in varied degrees by the migrants. The interviews were conducted in English and when needed the translator assisted with clarifying some of the more complex concepts. As mentioned earlier many languages were spoken amongst the migrants, but it was not necessary to enlist a translator who spoke all the languages. Hindi which is one of many languages spoken in the Asian subcontinent is deemed as a root language, by root I mean it shares many commonalities with many of the other languages spoken in the subcontinent. Therefore I enlisted the services of an interpreter fluent in Hindi, as the majority of migrants are familiar with this dialect. Luckily as highlighted earlier English was spoken by all the migrants therefore total reliance on the interpreter was not necessary and it allowed me to remain autonomous.

3.3.3 Gender bias

The Asian migrant community in Lenasia is constituted mostly of males, augmenting this is their cultural practices and traditions which are highly patriarchal by nature. This proclamation is supported by the Indian Theological Association (ITA) (2004:2), who state that "Patriarchal culture that

is deeply embedded in the Indian ethos has sanctioned an institutionalized system of male domination at many levels". In addition according to the ITA (2004:2) "Having internalized the sex role stereotyping which has relegated them to the position of 'the second sex', the average Indian woman's self-image has become one in which social approval of her being, status and function depend on her compliance with, and submission to, male domination"

It was assumed that being female I would be looked upon suspiciously and that they would not be willing to partake in the interview. In order to overcome this challenge I enlisted the services of a male interpreter. Although the services of the interpreter were not needed extensively, his mere presence was reassuring for both the migrants and myself because he was male. The migrants felt much more at ease with the male interpreter at hand. Although I posed the questions and they responded to them, they appeared to answer the questions whilst looking mostly at the male interpreter.

3.3.4 Threat to migrant status

Although it was not confirmed by the migrants interviewed, it was assumed that some of them might be residing in the country illegally. This assumption was based on figures gathered by Stats SA and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), indicating the number of illegal migrants residing in the country. According to official statistics there is an estimated 500 000 (2001 EST) (www.statssa.gov.za) illegal migrants in the country, contrasting these statistics the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) have estimated that the number of illegal migrants in the country amount to anything between four to eight million (SAMP, 2001). Whilst developing the questionnaires targeted at the migrants a conscious decision was made that their legal status would not be explored. This was deemed by myself as a fragile subject and if embarked upon would have jeopardised the findings of the research and

furthermore was not deemed to be a determining factor in the search for accommodation as proof of legality is not required by most landlords. As most rental agreements in Lenasia particularly those concerning the occupation of a flat in the CBD are informal, with no rental agreements being signed. Therefore the subject was not touched upon.

However the use of social networks by migrants in some instances is motivated for it provides anonymity due to illegal residence within a country as indicated by many studies globally. However with this particular case study the provision of anonymity by social networks was not looked upon as primary factor in the way migrants accessed accommodation. It has however been assumed based on previous studies of migrant social networks that residence status within a country be it legal or illegal did have some impact on a migrants use of social networks. Therefore it has been assumed that anonymity is an associated benefit of migrant social network.

3.3.5 Exposure to exploitation

Prior to conducting interviews in the field it had been assumed that exposure of exploitation by landlords would arise as an issue for both migrants and the landlords. According to Mattu (2002) immigrants and refugees are most at risk of residing in substandard housing were overcrowding, isolation, exploitation and the risk of imminent eviction are a reality. This is due to certain barriers hindering the migrant whilst trying to access accommodation of which their migrant status, ethnicity and financial disposition are most influencing (Mattu, 2002). Although the migrants prior to being interviewed were reassured that this was purely an academic study and if they did however have anything negative to say about their current accommodation their landlords would have no knowledge of it.

In addition the actual location of their current accommodation was never asked, responses were kept vague as in they did not require the name or address of actual buildings they resided in. The migrants only had to indicate in which area they lived in and the type of accommodation. Another method employed so as to reassure the migrants that they should not fear any retribution from their landlords for saying anything negative about their accommodation was yet again to provide the migrants with the option of anonymity.

Convincing the landlords to partake in the study was not as difficult as assumed. Whilst briefing them on the purpose of the interview and indicating that it was for my master's research report they were willing to be interviewed. Whilst comparing the data collected from both the interviews of the migrants and landlords certain discrepancies were noticed, these discrepancies shall however be discussed in detail at a later stage.

3.3.6 Snowballing method

Initially the snowballing method of identifying and interviewing migrants by association was to be used, I decided against this. It was felt that if the migrants knew or expected to be interviewed by word of mouth it would have tainted my findings to some degree. Therefore the 10 migrants interviewed were chosen randomly and primarily showed no relation to one another (Murray, 2003).

3.4 Fieldwork Protocol

With regard to the actual application of interviews in the field, certain procedure was followed.

Before the commencement of the actual interviews with the migrants some time was spent informally observing them interacting with each other (Yin, 1994). During this phase I established when would be the best time to speak to the migrants and furthermore what area or space would be the most appropriate to talk to them in. The above could be regarded as phase one.

Secondly I began to informally converse with some migrants, this allowed me to establish what would be the best manner to approach the migrants when conducting the actual interviews (Yin, 1994). Although some of the questions posed to the migrants at this phase was not related to the state of their accommodation, it was however beneficial in that it prepared myself for the conduction of the actual interviews.

In phase three a draft questionnaire was tested on two migrants, in order to gauge how long each interview would take and to see if there were any language or clarity issues. During this testing phase, the language level was adjusted in order to make the final questionnaire more understandable. The findings from this pilot were noted and incorporated into the development of the final questionnaire (Yin, 1994).

Phase four saw the application of the actual migrant interviews in the field, taking all of the above into consideration.

Phase five of the fieldwork was interviewing the community leaders and the landlords. Identifying individuals from these sectors was not difficult as they were already well known in the Lenasia community with regard to their roles as community leaders and property owners. Due to their respective statuses identifying them was not an arduous task. The individuals approached to be interviewed were willing; all that remained was setting up a time that was convenient for both myself and them to be interviewed. After the

establishment of a time and place that was suitable for them to be interviewed, the interviews transpired.

The above are the five phases of the fieldwork, analysis of data collected in the field shall be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.5 Conclusion

As previously outlined by Murray (2003:1) "Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them."

The use of qualitative interviews allowed me to better understand how social networks are used by migrants in Lenasia to access accommodation, allowing me to in part prove the main hypothesis of the research. By understanding how social networks manifest there value in the field a heightened understanding of their importance to migrants and inner workings were achieved. Although many obstacles were faced during the construction of the interviews and subsequently the implementation of the interviews in the field, they were overcome and the interviews were completed on schedule

The data obtained from the series of questionnaires shall be presented in the next chapter of the research.

CHAPTER 4

INTRODUCTION TO MIGRANT AND HOST COMMUNITY

4. LOCATING LENASIA



Figure 8: Location of Lenasia in relation to Johannesburg, (www.joburg.org.za)

Lenasia is a predominantly Indian[1] township located 35 kilometers south of the Johannesburg central business district falling within the boundaries of the Johannesburg municipality (www.lenzinfo.org.za).

[1] Indian: the term used to describe the South African born Indian population, whereas the term Asian in the text is used to describe the migrant population.

The area was established under the Apartheid government to house the Indian population that was forcibly removed from Fietas (now Pageview) in the south-western part of Johannesburg, under the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 (Dinath, 1972). Lenasia over the years has grown immensely, becoming home to many in-migrants[2] as well as people emanating from beyond South Africa's borders (www.lenzinfo.org.za).

The initial Indian population of Lenasia according to Dinath (1972) was estimated at 21 037 in 1970, although no exact figures reflecting the current Indian population of Lenasia have been found, it is believed that the population has more then doubled.



Figure 9: Lenasia located by region within the Johannesburg Municipality (www.joburg.org.za)

[2] In-migrants are regarded as those migrants who emanate from within the country's borders, persons relocating from one province to another or from one urban or rural area to another for a myriad of reasons ranging from economic to social factors (Peberdy, 2004).

This assumption is supported by statistics reflecting the Indian (Asian) population of region 11 in the Johannesburg municipality, which Lenasia falls under. Currently the Indian population in the Region is 54 457 (2001 EST.) the cited figure is indicative of a steady population growth rate in the area (www.joburg.org.za). According to figure 10 below the region has experienced a 13% growth rate of its Indian population between 1996 and 2001(2001 EST.).

Population group			
Persons	1996	2001	% change
African	189,829	292,880	54%
Coloured	22,287	30,760	38%
Indian	48,211	54,457	13%
White	569	443	-22%
Total population	263,145	378,537	44%

Figure 10: Population breakdown of Region 11(www.joburg.org.za)

The suburb of Lenasia is now considered to be a vibrant and bustling suburb experiencing continuous expansion as demonstrated by the recent introduction of 2 shopping centres (Trade Route Mall and Signet terrace), and new churches, mandhirs[3], mosques[4], banks and various commercial and industrial activities (www.lenzinfo.org.za).

Lenasia is a large suburb divided into 12 extensions, including a major suburb produced from Lenasia, which is called Lenasia South. In addition the area contains an informal settlement known as Thembelihle situated between extensions 9 and 10 of the area (www.lenzinfo.org.za). The business district of Lenasia is located jointly between extension 1 and 2 of the area as indicated in figure 11 below. It is home to many formalized businesses as well as a

[3] Mandhir : Hindu place of worship
[4] Mosque : Muslim place of worship

number of informal traders. The bulk of the flats occurring in Lenasia are situated in the CBD, as indicated by the questionnaire findings this is where majority of the migrants interviewed resided. The industrial area born from Lenasia proper is situated on the outskirts of the suburb and referred to as Anchorville as indicated in figure 11 below.

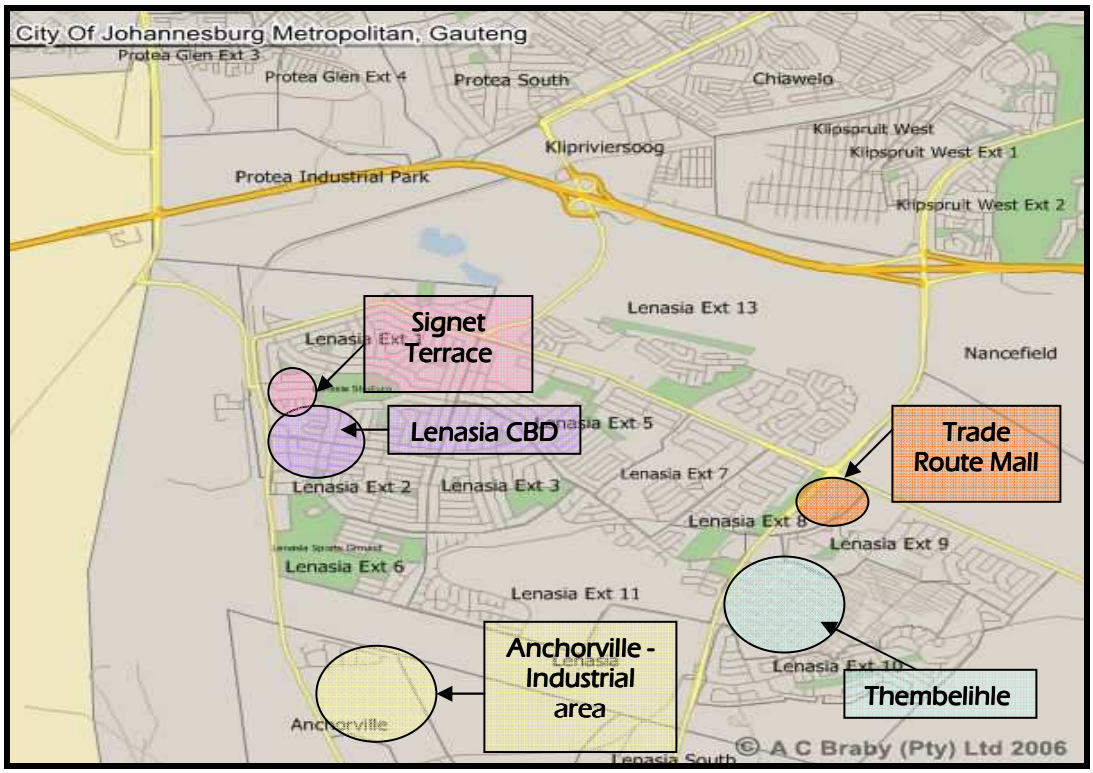


Figure 11: Illustrating areas of importance in Lenasia

Lenasia's growing population has become an issue of great concern to its residents as well as the Johannesburg municipality as no additional land has been zoned for suburban development (www.lenzinfo.org.za). In addition residential and business structures within Lenasia do not exceed a height of 3 storeys as large expanses of the area is situated atop dolomite ground and complex underground water systems (*ibid.*). To preserve structural integrity of buildings in the area, the building code stipulating a height of no more then 3 storeys of any structure has been strictly adhered to. The above instances

have resulted in exorbitant property prices in the area making it increasingly difficult for entry level income earners to afford living in the area (www.lenzinfo.org.za). On average a standard home (3 bedrooms) costs anything above 1 million Rand to purchase, entry level income earners cannot afford such high prices. In addition monthly rentals of flats and houses in the area on average cost anything above R 3000 a month excluding lights and water (The Indicator Newspaper, 2008).

Due to limitations of and on space in Lenasia as discussed earlier , competition for this resource has become rife in the area.

4.1 The pre-existing (host) community

Lenasia is a cosmopolitan and diverse suburb comprising multiple religious, racial and ethnic groupings. The area although increasingly becoming multi racial, still remains predominantly "Indian". Within the area Islam is the prevalent religion, with Hinduism and Christianity having the next largest congregation (Mesthrie, 2000). Many dialects are spoken within the area amongst the dominant Indian racial grouping; however the younger generation speak mostly English.

Indian immigration to South Africa from India was curtailed by the South African government in 1913 as a means to curb the community's increasing population size because they began to pose somewhat of an economic threat to the largely white dominated economic sector given their flare for business (Mesthrie, 2000). Furthermore given the South African Indian community's years of isolation under apartheid rule, the community has gone on to develop somewhat of a hybridised culture borrowing from their Indian background and their lives in South Africa. This morphing of South African

Indian culture has diverged from mainstream Indian culture emanating from India (*ibid.*).

The increased arrival of Asian migrant's post 1994 has posed somewhat of a culture shock for the pre-existing Indian community as evidenced by the strained relationship in existence between the Asian migrant population in Lenasia and the pre-existing community (Mesthrie, 2000). Information gathered from the questionnaires posed to the community leaders and landlords respectively support this notion.

According to Landau (2005:7) "despite the country's ambitions to overcome past patterns of exclusion based on arbitrary social categories, xenophobic articulations in Johannesburg and elsewhere, starkly contrast with the country's commitments to cosmopolitanism". The heightened increase of foreigners entering South Africa has further entrenched negative attitudes held towards them by South Africans, "a reified; foreign other underscores South Africans shared connection to the national territory" (Landau, 2005:3). Migrants are generally viewed as a threat by South Africans, the varied transient migrant community in South Africa is looked upon with much disdain, and such hostility is rooted in fears such as foreigners occupying economic opportunities meant for South Africans (Landau,2005).

The above occurrence has been duly enacted in Lenasia between the pre-existing community and the Asian migrant community. The pre-existing community's apparent disregard for the Asian migrant population can be understood as a result of years of isolation which has incapacitated the pre-existing community's ability to accommodate difference in the form of the Asian migrants (Landau,2005). In addition the competition for finite resources such as employment and business opportunities and accommodation space has contributed to the pre-existing community's hostility towards the Asian

migrants. The belief that South Africans should be given preference over migrants with regard to resource distribution is wholly bought into by South Africans and by the pre-existing Lenasia community (Landau, 2005).

Crush (*et al,* 1999) states that South Africans generally exhibit a heightened form of xenophobia due to their years of isolation under apartheid rule, and also due to the imposition of racial categories in a hierarchical manner. Difference was not celebrated in apartheid South Africa and this left a lasting impact upon the country's population. South Africans exhibit a general dislike towards migrants according to Crush (*et al,* 1999) because they do not know how to react to people who are very dissimilar to them.

An understanding of the inner dynamics of the pre-existing community and how they react to the Asian migrant community is vital. For the migrant community finds itself located within the context of the pre-existing community. How the host community reacts to them is important because it may explain why the migrant community ascribes to certain forms of behaviour in Lenasia and more specifically why they access accommodation in such a particular manner.

4.2 The migrant community

There is a sizeable migrant community in Lenasia according to the respondents, but there are no official statistics indicating the total number of migrants present in the area. According to Statistics South Africa (2001) in Census 2001 there was an estimated 216,715 people born outside South Africa residing in Johannesburg totalling 6.7% of the city's population. Breaking down the city's migrant population further according to country of origin it was noted that 1 444 people emanated from India (2001 EST.) and a

further 654 individuals from Pakistan (2001 EST.), as indicated in figure 12 below (www.statssa.org.za).

The aforementioned official figures released by Statistics South Africa (2004) on the number of Indian and Pakistani migrants in Johannesburg are not entirely convincing because they appear to be quite low. According to Crush (*et al,* 2005) it is believed that the number of foreign born nationals is higher then Census 2001 estimates.

The lack of convincing official statistics is a problem because it creates an analytical gap in the research. The total number of migrants in Lenasia is unknown but it has been hypothesized in the research that the number of individuals emanating from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh residing in South Africa and specifically Lenasia is much higher then the Census 2001 figures on offer. According to a report by the Consortium of Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CORMSA: 2008), there is an estimated 60 000 – 70 000 Pakistanis in the country and 30 000 – 40 000 Bangladeshis. No figures reflecting the number of Indian migrants in the country have been released by CORMSA. These figures however remain unsubstantiated as no source has been citied in the CORMSA document entitled *Protecting Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in South Africa* (June, 2008). It has been assumed that the apparent discrepancy in figures reflecting the number of Asian migrants in the country is attributable to this particular sect of this migrant population been overshadowed by a clear dominance in focus upon African migrants.

The lack of reliable statistics reflecting the number of Asian migrants in the country and Lenasia presents the research with many problems as shall be demonstrated in the following chapter where recommendations are to be made regarding the migrant population in Lenasia. Without the provision of

reliable statistics it is hard to determine what the proper course of action regarding the Asian migrant population in Lenasia should be.

	Male	Female	Total
SADC			
Angola	1,050	732	1,782
Botswana	516	421	937
DRC	799	479	1,278
Lesotho	2,013	3,869	5,882
Malawi	3937	874	4811
Mozambique	15,182	4,802	19,984
Namibia	106	93	199
Swaziland	615	554	1,169
Tanzania	540	91	631
Zambia	849	828	1677
Zimbabwe	10,975	6,420	17,395
Rest of Africa			
Congo	1,371	954	2,325
Ethiopia	333	155	488
Kenya	419	338	757
Nigeria	2,297	281	2,578
Rwanda	123	99	222
Somalia	130	77	207
Europe			
Germany	1,316	1,103	2,419
Portugal	1,015	751	1,766
United Kingdom	6,079	5,707	11,786
Asia			
China	299	231	530
India	936	508	1,444
Pakistan	549	105	654
Taiwan	134	108	242

Figure 12: Number of migrants in Johannesburg from selected countries (2001, EST.) (Statistics South Africa: 2004)

4.2.1 Gender

Of the migrants present in Lenasia it is assumed that the vast majority of them are male. This assumption is based on three primary reasons. *Firstly* according to statistics provided by Census 2001 as indicated in figure 12 above the male component of the Pakistani and Indian population present in Johannesburg is much higher then the female component (www.statssa.org.za). No figures regarding the gender distribution amongst the Bangladeshi migrant population is available.

Secondly the literature on migration cites the movement of people both locally and internationally as a usually male dominated occurrence (Alam *et al*, 2006). In a study carried out by the Forced Migration Studies programme (FMSP) at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2002 – 2003, it was noted that 70.6% of non-nationals consulted with were male. The above statistic is indicative of the gender bias present in the migration process (Landau *et al*. 2004). According to Vertovec (2002:5) "migration networks – among skilled or unskilled workers – are significantly gendered. Gender and gender relations have much to do with conditioning who one's contacts are, what one's relationship to them is, and how networks are accessed, managed and taken advantage of."

In a study of migrants residing in Witbank which is located 150 kilometers east of Johannesburg, the following was noted, 72% of migrants in the area are male and 28% are female (CDE,2006). In addition 60% of migrants in Witbank settle there due to social networks. The above statistics of migrants residing in Witbank makes clear the point Vertovec (2002) is trying to make regarding how gender impacts upon the manner in which social networks are utilised. It has thus been assumed with regard to the research that the Asian migrant population in Lenasia follows the same pattern of migration and furthermore the use of social networks as migrants globally (*ibid.*).

And *thirdly* information gathered whilst interviewing the migrants in Lenasia strongly demonstrates a male dominance. All of the 10 migrants interviewed were male as indicated in chapter 3, during the course of the interviews with each of the migrants, none had made mention of fellow female migrants residing with or around them. Neither did any of the migrants mention the presence of female participants within their specific networks. This dominance of males was noted across the 3 migrant groupings (Indian, Pakistani and

Bangladeshi). In addition the landlords interviewed stated that the migrants they rented their properties out to were all male.

4.2.2 Age

The qualitative questionnaires indicated an age range of 27 – 37 years, of the migrants in Lenasia. According to Landau (*et al,* 2004) majority of non nationals in South Africa belong to a relatively younger age group. As indicated in figure 13 below.

Age	SADC countries	Rest of Africa	Europe	Asia	South Africa
0-19	11.7	12.1	4.5	12.7	30.8
20-29	37.9	38.2	6.0	20.2	24.1
30-39	25.7	29.0	15.7	21.7	18.9
40-49	13.6	10.5	18.3	14.9	12.7
50-59	5.7	4.5	24.4	10.9	7.1
60+	5.2	3.9	30.9	19.6	6.2

Figure 13: *Age groups as percentage, by place of birth, Johannesburg. (Statistics South Africa: 2004)*

The reasons supporting such a trend according to Peberdy (*et al,* 2004) is that individuals choose to migrate at their prime working age which is between 20 – 39 years of age. In addition they choose to relocate in their most productive years increasing their ability to generate an income of which shall be relayed home in the form of remittances (*ibid.*). This is particularly true when looking at the Asian migrant population in Lenasia as evidenced by the questionnaire findings. Of the migrants interviewed 6 indicated that they support a family back home.

4.2.3 Ethnic groupings

The Asian migrant population in Lenasia is comprised of 3 major groupings as mentioned numerous times within the text. The 3 groupings present are those migrants emanating from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. As has been

established, there is unfortunately no reliable data indicating the population sizes of each of the migrant groups present in Lenasia. Although these 3 groupings of individuals originate from 3 different countries, the phrase Asian migrant has been used collectively. The usage of the collective term "Asian" according to Aspinall (2003) is justified because individuals emanating from or with links to the Indian Subcontinent of which India, Pakistan and Bangladesh form part are referred to as Asian. Therefore the usage of the collective term Asian migrant within the research remains justified.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS SECTION

5. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

It was initially hypothesized that social networks were the key determinant in access to housing by migrants in Lenasia, since conducting the research it has become apparent that the use of social networks goes far beyond a mere tool for shelter provision, as shall be demonstrated in the analysis of findings below.

5.1 Why Lenasia? – Social networks

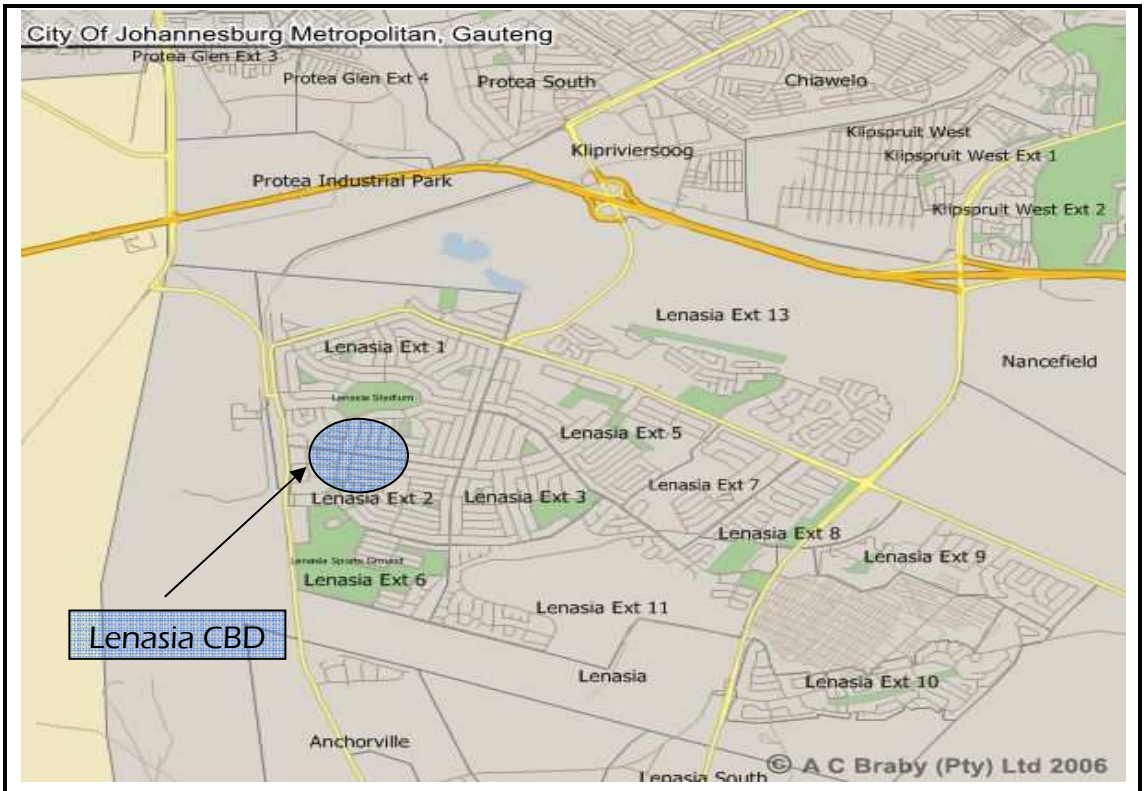


Figure 14: *illustrating the Location of the Lenasia CBD, (www.joburg.org.za)*

The migrants when asked why they chose to come to Lenasia, their responses were fairly unanimous. They all cited friends and family members already living in Lenasia as a strong motivating factor or pull force. Although it had been hypothesised initially in the research that Asian migrants came to Lenasia, based on the assumption of a shared culture and tradition, with the host community, this hypothesis was not supported by the data. None of the migrants interviewed indicated the pre-existing Indian community in Lenasia as a motivating factor to migrate to the area.

The hypothesis has been refined by assuming that the initial or first batch of Asian migrants, who came to Lenasia, came so based on the notion of a shared culture, religion and tradition with the host community. Such an affiliation with the pre-existing community was thought to ease their transition into their new home. This was however not the case. One of the landlords interviewed indicated that the migrants in the area were very dissimilar to the pre-existing community in terms of how they socialised with one another, their living arrangements and their business practices, and due to these differences the pre-existing community refused to bond with the migrants. According to the community leaders and landlords interviewed the migrant community is also perceived as a threat by the pre-existing community because they have established businesses mostly retailing in food, clothing and electronic goods which are in direct competition with businesses owned by the pre-existing community.

It is therefore likely that the continued arrival of Asian migrants in Lenasia following the initial batch of migrants was not based on acceptance into the host community or some kind of cultural affiliation. The continued migration to the area is reliant on the establishment of social networks by the initial migrants. The creation of strong networks by migrants in Lenasia has established itself as an agent in the migration process. The above occurrence

is demonstrative of the fourth feature of transnationalism which indicates that social networks are an actor in the migration process (Crush, 2002).

The presence of a strong migrant contingent in a host country according to Crush (2002) facilitates continued migration. This notion has been demonstrated by McDowell (1997) whilst analysing the increased influx of Sri Lankan migrants to Europe. In McDowell's (1997) study, when he posed the question "How many Tamils are there in Europe?" to a Sri Lankan migrant, the migrant responded by saying "About 24, 000," In addition McDowell (1997) posed the question "Why are you here in Europe?" to the same migrant, the migrant responded by saying "there are about 24, 000 reasons why I am here" (McDowell, 1997:19).

The above response elicited by the migrant makes clear how the incidence of an older/existing migrant population motivates and/or influences an individual's choice to migrate. According to the findings from the qualitative questionnaires, all the migrants interviewed indicated that the existence of a family member/s and friends was the primary reason the chose to migrate and furthermore why they chose Lenasia as a point of residence.

Massey and Espinosa (1997) state that social network's emerge as an actor in the migration process. As evidenced by the findings of the questionnaires, Asian migrants in Lenasia migrated to the area based on existing social networks constituted of friends and family members. Furthermore of the community leaders interviewed they noted that the continued arrival of Asian migrants in Lenasia was in part attributed to the already strong presence of an older migrant population.

All the migrants interviewed indicated that they came to Lenasia due because of familial ties and ties of friendship. Social networks in operation amongst

Asian migrants in Lenasia operate in a very similar manner to the above cited example of Sri-Lankan social networks in Europe, where an existing older migrant population further influences the continued arrival of newer migrants.

Subsequently the migrant population in Lenasia has grown substantially over the last few years, although no real figures exist to substantiate this claim, the qualitative questionnaires indicated a steady stream of newly arriving migrants in Lenasia. According to findings from the landlord questionnaires it was noted that the landlords noticed an increase in the number of migrants in Lenasia in addition they stated that they were increasingly letting out their premises to migrants.

5.2 Dominant and secondary actors

According to Granovetter (1973) within a social network there exist dominant and secondary actors. With regard to migrant social networks, dominant actors are considered to be older migrants and secondary actors are newly arriving migrants (Anwar, 1995; Shaw, 2000). This hierarchy of actors within migrant social networks is clearly demonstrated by the previously mentioned example of Pakistani migrants in the U.K. of this migrant community older migrants assisted newly arriving migrants to the country (*ibid.*). This assistance took the form of the older migrants providing accommodation to the newly arriving migrant, facilitating employment and relaying vital knowledge about their host country and community to the newly arrived migrant (*ibid.*).

As indicated by the qualitative questionnaires targeted at the migrants, a number of dominant actors were identified amongst the Asian migrant population in Lenasia. These dominant actors took the form of friends and family members who assisted the new migrant upon arrival in Lenasia. The

assistance took the form of the provision of accommodation, employment and the sharing of crucial knowledge about the host community and country. These dominant actors within the social network arranged other accommodation when needed.

5.3 Strong and weak ties

An individual through his/her weak ties within a constructed network has better access too and knowledge of opportunities (Granovetter, 1973). This is a direct result of the broadening of the individual's social field, relying solely on strong ties limits an individual in terms of news and opportunities because their field of knowledge is thus only limited to a fixed circle of individuals. Of the networks formed by Pakistani migrants in the U.K, strong and weak ties play vital roles. Strong ties are those ties constructed with family members and close friends. Weaker ties are those constructed with acquaintances (*ibid.*).

This notion is clearly demonstrated by the Asian migrant population in Lenasia as evidenced by the questionnaire findings. Initially newly arrived migrants to Lenasia depended exhaustively on their strong ties, but as time went by, the migrants established weaker ties with acquaintances of similar origin. The relationships formed with these acquaintances allowed them to find accommodation much quicker when needed as their social field was made that much broader and not only limited to the fields of knowledge of their strong ties. Finding accommodation at later points during their stay in Lenasia was easier as indicated in the questionnaire findings because their circle of people of which they knew had grown. Given the close knit nature of the migrant community in Lenasia, meeting new acquaintances of similar origin was relatively easy. When tasked with finding new accommodation the migrants asked their family members and more recently acquired acquaintances for assistance. None of the migrants interviewed indicated that

they had ever failed in finding accommodation with this method. The number of strong ties in the migrant's possession is limited because the number of family members the migrant has residing in Lenasia is limited to a few individuals. The formation of weak ties with newly met acquaintances of similar origin is that much easier given the greater size of the population.

All the migrants interviewed cited strong ties in the form of familial ties and close acquaintances as a core motivating factor in their choice of residing in Lenasia, and furthermore as a means to initially access accommodation. Thereafter when the migrant had to at some point look for new accommodation, they did not only refer back to their strong ties or those individuals who first facilitated accommodation access for them. They enlisted the services or rather knowledge of friends/acquaintances made whilst residing in Lenasia. The merging of strong and weak ties of the migrant allowed them to better find out about accommodation opportunities.

The aim of the research is to understand how and why social networks are used by migrants in Lenasia to facilitate accommodation access. Prior to understanding this particular aspect and function of social networks in Lenasia an understanding as to why Lenasia has been chosen as a point of residence by migrants must first be established. This has however been outlined above. Therefore an in depth analysis of the use of social networks in accessing accommodation in Lenasia can now be delved into.

5.4 Accessing accommodation

It had initially been hypothesized that Asian migrants in Lenasia utilise social networks to facilitate accommodation access primarily because other more formalised mechanisms of accommodation access are viewed as inaccessible. Formalised methods of accommodation access are those avenues which

include the use of rental companies and responding to accommodation advertisements in newspapers

In order to prove the above hypothesis the following questions were asked as part of a questionnaire:

- What was your main way of finding accommodation? Did you think about using other methods to get accommodation? If no, why not? If yes, how did they work for you?
- Did you apply to a rental company? If not why not? If yes, what did you do?
- Did you respond to adverts in the paper?

To the first question, 9 out of the 10 migrants cited asking friends and family members if they knew of any accommodation available as their main way of finding accommodation.

In addition, 9 out of the 10 migrants did not consider other methods of accessing accommodation because the method (social networks) already in use proved to highly successful. Some of the migrants also cited that if they utilised other methods such as the use of a rental company their monthly rentals would be much higher. This informal way of accessing accommodation according to some of the migrants saved them money. The reason this particular question and the other 2 questions did not receive a unanimous 10 out 10 response was because one of the migrants interviewed had just arrived in the country and was still settling in, becoming familiar with his surroundings.

To the second question, 9 out of 10 migrants had never applied to a rental company, nor have they ever considered it. The migrants reasons for not utilising the services of a rental company ranged from their services never

being considered because they managed to find suitable accommodation without, to the fear that if they were to utilise a rental company they would in effect pay higher rentals and not have as much freedom with their accommodation.

To the third question 9 out of 10 migrants never responded to adverts in the newspaper advertising accommodation, because they managed to secure accommodation through other means such as asking friends and family if they knew of available accommodation. Finding accommodation by perusing through newspapers never presented itself as a primary means of facilitating accommodation access amongst the migrants interviewed.

The responses to the above 3 questions obtained from the migrants indicates how migrants primarily look for accommodation through their contacts within a social network/s. This is not because other methods appear to be inaccessible, but rather because they are rarely consulted with. Social networks and the use thereof in facilitating accommodation access appeared to be highly successful according to the migrants, so successful that there appeared no need whatsoever to utilise other methods.

5.5 Type of accommodation accessed

Majority of the migrants interviewed reside within numerous flats in the Lenasia CBD, as indicated earlier in the text. This specific choice of accommodation by the migrants could be understood as being rooted in three instances.

The first being as indicated across the findings from the three interviews that the migrants chose to live in that specific location because it was closer to their business and employment interests. Of the migrants interviewed they all

indicated that their business and employment interests were all located in the Lenasia CBD, in the form of stalls located in the informal market and numerous formal businesses mostly retailing clothing, electronic equipment and food.

Secondly given that the area was progressively taking on an escalating migrant population, migrants primarily chose to live there because they could be surrounded by people familiar and similar to them (Kadushin, 2000). As indicated by the example of Pakistani migrants in the U.K., the migrant population In the U.K. tended to live in the same areas, this allowed them to develop a strong sense of home. In addition the formation of migrant strongholds within their host community insulated them from perceived threats from the host community (Anwar, 1995; Shaw, 2000).

Transnationalism also alluded to this trend, as Crush (2002) discussed given the increase of size and regularity of migrant communities, migrants opted to live in areas with high percentages of foreigners emanating from similar locations because it allowed them to develop what could be termed as modes of resistance against an assumed hostile host community. Migrants according to Crush (2002) are increasingly not forced to assimilate with dominant host cultures and communities in order to ensure their survival. Migrants are progressively more able to rely upon fellow migrant within a given network in a host community to ensure that their needs are met such as accommodation access and employment. Transgressing out of a social network is not needed to a large extent in order to ascertain survival by a migrant as indicated by Crush (2002).

Thirdly According to Peberdy (*et al,* 2004) Cross border migrants are most likely to live in flats, in blocks of flats because this was seen as a more temporary state of accommodation as opposed to renting out a house. In

addition flats are viewed by migrants as a cheaper from of accommodation. Furthermore Peberdy (*et al,* 2004) states that most cross border migrants do not want to live in South Africa permanently therefore their demand for more expensive forms of accommodation is limited. Of the Asian migrants interviewed none of them indicated that they intended to reside in Lenasia permanently. This was evidenced by the fact that their families which they were financially supporting, still remained back in their home countries. In addition they demonstrated no indication that they intended to bring their families over to South Africa.

Therefore given this migrant community's temporary state in Lenasia they opted for cheaper forms of accommodation, such as the flats in the Lenasia CBD. As indicated earlier in the chapter migrants generally sent back a lot of their money earned in their host country to their family back home in the form of remittances. Accommodation costs are therefore kept at a minimum so that the migrants are able to send more money back home (Crush, 2002). This trend is fittingly practised by Asian migrants in Lenasia.

Another means employed by migrants in Lenasia in keeping accommodation costs down, took the form of sharing accommodation with multiple migrants. On average 5- 9 migrants resided in one flat (1 - 2 bedrooms), with one kitchen and bathroom being shared between them. The lounge in these flats doubled up as a bedroom as well. This general overcrowding by migrants in a flat was noted in the interviews with the community leaders. This trend was noted by the community leaders as a means to lower their monthly rental expenses. And given migrants temporary residence in South Africa according to Peberdy (*et al,* 2004), more expensive forms of accommodation where not considered an option.

5.6 Creation of migrant enclaves (maintaining transnational identities)

As indicated in the qualitative questionnaire findings all of the migrants interviewed utilised social networks in varying degrees to access accommodation. Although the main aim of the research was to explore to what degree social networks were utilised in accessing accommodation, the findings alluded to something of equal importance. Migrants opted to operate within social networks due to other associated benefits such as security, employment and cultural familiarity. As discussed by Crush (2002), the theory of Transnationalism states that migrants no longer face total isolation in their host country's due to the global increase of migrant populations. Migrants of matching origin, group together in their host countries; this practice allows the migrant to be in a familiar environment when away from home, one which is not altogether unfamiliar and daunting (*ibid.*). This is certainly not a uniquely SA phenomenon and Pakistani migrant communities in the U.K. display this trend quite readily according to Anwar and Shaw (1995 and 2000).

The migrants strong involvement and affiliation with fellow migrants within a social network, manifests itself in a physical sense. Due to the close connectedness of migrants within a social network, migrants tend to live in close proximity to one another, creating sub-communities of their own within their host community (Vertovec, 2002). These communities for the most part act independently from the host community. This trend leads to the creation of exclusive migrant enclaves, where certain areas have become predominantly "migrant" with the host community being in the minority.

According to the findings of the qualitative questionnaires it was noted that, majority of the migrants interviewed resided in one of the many flats located in the Lenasia CBD. According to the landlords interviewed they were

increasingly letting out their properties to migrants. This trend according to the landlords was rooted in the general increase of the migrant population and furthermore the secondary trend of members of the pre-existing community moving out of the CBD and flats therein due to the assumed increase of migrants residing near and around them. In addition many of the migrants interviewed were employed or owned some form of business within the Lenasia CBD therefore it was more convenient for them to live in that particular location. Although the Lenasia CBD and the numerous flats located within the area are seeing an increase in their total migrant population, the area has however not become predominantly migrant, in that migrant exclusive enclaves were not yet fully formed. However based on the information gathered from the questionnaires targeted at the community leaders and landlords the realisation of migrant enclaves within Lenasia remains a strong possibility given current trends.

Areas such as these operate in a very isolated manner, largely cut off from the goings-on of the broader community in which they are situated. Such fragmentation in communities does not contribute to the positive development of the area according to Sandercock (2003) because common goals aimed at the betterment of individuals' lives cannot be set and worked towards given a clear lack of unity amongst a community's diverse groupings. In addition according to Sandercock (2003:88) cultural diversity is increasingly becoming part of everyday urban life in our globalising world. The creation of cultural enclaves and separatism in society presents itself as a problem for urban governance and city planning for it fuels intercultural conflict.

5.7 Rural element

Whilst conducting the interviews with the migrants it was duly noted that a large percentage of the migrants emanated from specific rural areas of their

home countries. According to Landau (2007:9) it should be recognised "that for many domestic and (especially) international migrants, the process of moving to the city—or towards larger more networked cities— is primarily a step into a global 'imaginary'. Through urbanization, they hope to access more than a place to stay, but possibly a global youth culture, employment, and often onward travel to elsewhere in the world. Whether they ever realize these ambitions, the city nevertheless is seen as a space where one can access trading and travel opportunities unavailable in rural settings or even in the capital cities of less economically connected countries."

From the above citation by Landau (2007) it is understood that migrants particularly from rural areas irrespective of country of origin migrate to urbanized settings in the hope of accessing opportunities and resources which may not be available in rural areas and urban centres within their own country.

The above characteristic is also distinctive of social networks, where members of a social network share a common affiliation (Granovetter, 1973). As with the example of Pakistani migrants in the U.K., it was noted that bulk of the Pakistani migrant population emanated from specific rural areas of their country. Ties based on a shared place of origin between these migrants served as a strong link within their social networks (Anwar, 1995; Shaw, 2000). As with the Asian migrant population in Lenasia, the existence of an older migrant population presented itself as means of initiating future migration into area. Newer migrants in Lenasia indicated that they shared common places of origin with older migrants. The continued communication of older migrants with friends and family members back home to a large degree ensured and simultaneously motivated other individuals to migrate as supported by the questionnaire findings.

Elements of flow within a network also come into play with the above example. Granovetter (1973) and Kadushin (2000) discussed the notion of flow within a network, flow, according to them is understood as the exchange of services, information and goods within a network between actors, of which benefits the actors participating. As in the case of Pakistani migrants in the U.K. there was strong evidence of reciprocal flow. Older migrants are required through obligation to assist newly arriving migrants. This obligation is of a reciprocal nature because by the older migrants assisting newly arriving migrants they are ensuring or safeguarding family and business interests back home in their native areas. The above could be understood as a form of an agreement whereby old migrants assist new migrants so as to ensure their interests are taken care of by friends and/or family back home (Anwar, 1995; Shaw, 2000).

Of the migrants interviewed many of them indicated that the presence of a family member/s already living in Lenasia motivated them to migrate. The older migrant (family member) according to the newer migrants provided them with a place to stay and help in facilitating employment. It is believed as indicated in the questionnaire findings that such a relationship is based on obligation and reciprocal benefit. The older migrant by looking after the newly arriving migrant was safeguarding particularly his family interests back home.

The above feature is also a characteristic of transnationalism whereby migrants or communities of immigrant origin share strong links with their home countries. Transnationalism characterizes a high rate of exchanges by the migrant between their host country and home country (Crush, 2002). The exchanges between the migrant and his/her home country take the form of remittances, goods, information, regular communication and so forth. The migrant is continuously involved with occurrences back home and

simultaneously involved with existing in their host country. According to Crush (2002:9), "transnational migrants literally live their lives across international borders". The above is clearly demonstrated by Pakistani migrants in the U.K. and the Asian migrant population in Lenasia. As indicated in the questionnaire findings the Asian migrants were still strongly linked to their family back home, in that they were forwarding most of their earnings to their family back in their native countries.

The Asian migrant population in Lenasia operates in a very similar manner and possesses a very similar social network structure to that of the Pakistani migrant community in the U.K. as evidenced by information gathered from questionnaires posed to the community. Most of the migrants indicated that economic opportunities back in their native lands particularly the rural areas was very limited. All the migrants indicated that they relocated to South Africa in the hope of accessing better economic opportunities and a better means to support their family financially back home. In addition economic opportunities made available in the urban areas of the migrants native countries were very limited, therefore the choice to migrate to an urban area/centre in another country was deemed more feasible.

5.8 Social networks: associated benefits

According to Landau (2005), Anwar (1995) and Shaw (2000) migrants also entered into social networks with such dynamism due to their associated benefits apart from employment and accommodation access. In the case of Pakistani migrants in the U.K., the migrants continued use and depend upon social networks according to Anwar (1995) due to the support the network offers. This support takes the form of the services the network offers, such as support given at special occasions such as births, circumcisions, weddings,

deaths, accidents, disasters and personal troubles. Not to forget financial assistance when needed (Anwar, 2005).

In the case of Asian migrants in Lenasia they cling so strongly and participate so vigorously within their networks because in addition, it provides them with many benefits such as participation in varied social activities. Of the migrants interviewed they indicated that apart from facilitating accommodation access, their social networks allowed them a means of engaging in social activities such as playing cricket together, and socialising together when eating meals together at migrant owned food establishments.

The migrants viewed this particular aspect of their social networks as vital because it provided them with a means of not feeling so isolated whilst in the host community (Crush, 2002). Given the semi permanence of the Asian migrant community in Lenasia as indicated in the questionnaire findings and the inhospitality of the host community, the associated benefits of social networks as discussed above allows the migrant to function in a manner whereby mixing with the inhospitable host community is limited in order to survive.

5.9 Conclusion

As demonstrated by the above analysis of the findings obtained from the qualitative questionnaires. Migrants in Lenasia utilised social networks to facilitate accommodation access not because they were unable to access accommodation through other formalised mechanisms. Rather they utilised social networks because they worked so well in facilitating accommodation access that other means in facilitating accommodation such as through a rental company were not even considered. Instead many of the migrants felt

that accessing accommodation through other means would in fact cost their more in monthly rental.

In addition social networks were so greatly used by migrants in Lenasia because they had many other associated benefits such as facilitating employment and allowing the migrants to participate in other social activities such as playing cricket. Migrants also utilised social networks so exhaustively because they provided the migrants with a means of not feeling homesick or isolated in their adoptive countries (Crush, 2002).

In summation accommodation access through social networks is just one of the many benefits or services offered to the migrants in Lenasia.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

6. INTRODUCTION

The initial hypothesis framing the research was that migrants are generally unable to successfully access accommodation in Lenasia through existing formalized mechanisms and as a result have resorted to using social networks. After completing the study the above hypothesis was found not to have been supported by the findings.

What has been found is that the Asian migrant population in Lenasia does not try nor use other methods of finding accommodation. This was because their social networks have successfully satisfied all of their accommodation requirements and the need to consult with other avenues was deemed unnecessary. In addition it was found that the Asian migrant population in Lenasia utilized social networks for a myriad of other purposes, such as the associated benefits of employment and safety as well as support in a foreign environment. Apart from the accrual of benefits from the social networks in existence, migrants arriving in Lenasia automatically entered into these networks because of the cultural and social expectations that exist within these communities as well as the fact that there are pre-existing links and relationships between the migrants, which are reinforced in the new environment.

One of the key findings of the research was that the primary reason prompting the use of social networks was not the need to find avenues to access shelter but rather that accommodation facilitation is a function of the social network.

Migrants opt to use social networks as a means of facilitating accommodation access as mentioned earlier because they satisfied their immediate and particular accommodation requirements. More formalised methods of accommodation access were perceived as being unable to accomplish/satisfy the migrant community's needs such as cheaper accommodation and freedom from lease/rental agreements. The migrant population as discussed in chapter 5 utilised social networks to gain accommodation because it allowed them to have a greater degree of freedom in terms of the type of accommodation they were able to access and furthermore the amount of money which they would have to contribute towards monthly rental.

All of the migrants indicated that they did not wish to spend what they considered exorbitant amounts of the weekly wages or monthly salaries on rental. They wished to keep this particular expense to a minimum, so that they were able to send larger remittances back home. In order for accommodation expenses to be kept to a minimum, it was observed through information gathered from the qualitative questionnaires that the migrants shared rental expenses with as many fellow migrants as possible and relied on their social networks to provide access to the cheapest accommodation. In addition given the migrants uncertainty in terms of their length of stay in the area, they wished to not be tied down to lease agreements. As such shared accommodation with fellow migrants in the same situation is a logical choice.

Social networks apart from facilitating access to suitable accommodation, present the migrant with many other benefits such as access to employment, social activities, and safety. As well as providing a surrogate family, which in many ways mimics the rituals of home that the migrants are familiar with and need in order to survive in a new environment.

The migrant social networks present in Lenasia, as evidenced by the findings, established itself as an agent in the migration process. Of the migrants interviewed they all indicated that they chose to come to Lenasia, not because of some kind of identification with the local community but rather because of existing contacts (family, kin and friends) already residing in the area. In most cases this was the primary motivating force influencing the migrants decision to leave their homes and in choosing Lenasia as a point of residence.

Social networks are important mechanisms informing migrants where to go to because they offer material, social and emotional support to newcomers. Access to housing is just one of a number of benefits that accrue to migrants who are part of these social networks.

The impact of migrant social networks in Lenasia on development shall be looked at in conjunction with recommendations in the proceeding sub-sections.

6.1 Consequences of migrant social networks in Lenasia

Through an analysis of the qualitative questionnaire findings in the previous chapter it has become quite evident that the social networks in use by migrants in Lenasia in facilitating accommodation access is more than adequate. Migrants are able to satisfy their basic need for accommodation within a given social network all the while experiencing added benefits. Therefore no real intervention with regard to assisting the migrant in finding accommodation is needed.

The impact of social networks and its relevance to development in Lenasia lies not in the networks ability to facilitate accommodation access for the

migrants involved but rather in its impacts within the broader context of Lenasia and its impacts on the pre-existing community. The consequence of migrant social networks in Lenasia shall be discussed with regard to its spatial, economic and social implications.

6.1.1 Spatial implications

Lenasia as mentioned in the previous chapter is experiencing a current shortage in physical space due the apparent lack of additional land being rezoned for residential and commercial development. In addition Lenasia experiences certain limitations in the type of structures which are allowed to be built in the area creating situations of only low-medium density, as buildings can reach a maximum of 3 storeys. If the migrant social networks continue to operate within their current trajectory major spatial ramifications in the form of a debilitating shortage of space is assumed to be experienced.

The shortage of space in Lenasia compounded by the continued increase of the migrant population is undoubtedly an issue of great concern. There is the perception by local residents that the migrants are taking up space that should be available for longer term Lenasia residents. Entry level income earners in Lenasia are currently experiencing the hardships associated with a limitation on residential space. This is evidenced by what are seen by the local community as the excessive prices asked for houses on sale in the area. Not only has the shortage of space been noted via the high property prices but also via the high monthly rentals expected for houses and flats.

Modes of accommodation such as flats and apartments are considered to be the cheaper option of residence in Lenasia. However given the general migrant predominance of this accommodation, members of the pre-existing community have tended to shy away from accessing flats and apartments in the Lenasia CBD. Many of the blocks of flats in the Lenasia CBD have become

migrant enclaves or strongholds, not allowing for the pre-existing community to feel comfortable within this setting even if able to access a flat (Kadushin, 2000).

Lenasia is experiencing a rise in the number of migrants as well as an increase in the population number of the pre-existing community. The spatial implications of the above mentioned instances are already being experienced and are anticipated to worsen with time. Space in Lenasia has become quite the commodity and competition for it has begun therefore resulting in much antagonism between the migrant community and the pre-existing community. As these two groupings are now in direct competition with each other in attempting to secure accommodation.

6.1.2 Economic implications

It has been noted particularly with regard to the qualitative interviews targeted at the landlords and community leaders in Lenasia that the migrants are perceived to pose somewhat of an economic threat to business owners from the pre-existing community. This has in part lent to the negative reception of the Asian migrant community by the pre-existing community. The Lenasia CBD is increasingly taking on a dominant migrant culture. The area was previously dominated by members from the pre-existing community in both the residential spaces and businesses both from the formal and informal sector. However with the increase of the migrant population they have manifested their dominance within the residential spaces occurring in the CBD and to a lesser extent the businesses in the area. With the increase of the migrant population in the Lenasia CBD and their increasing presence in the business arena of the area it has been noted that businesses owned by members of the pre-existing community has begun to diminish in number. The Lenasia CBD is currently progressively becoming a migrant enclave both residentially and economically. The businesses operated by the migrant

community span both the formal and informal sector; the type of goods usually retailed by the migrant population is electronic equipment, clothing and food. Migrant operated businesses operate in direct competition with businesses operated by members from the pre-existing community.

The reason for a decrease in host community owned businesses in the Lenasia CBD has been caused by a number of occurrences; the increase in the migrant population and furthermore migrant owned businesses in the CBD has resulted in a reduction of businesses owned by members of the pre-existing community. This is because members from the pre-existing community are increasingly feeling uncomfortable in operating businesses in a developing migrant enclave; the above finding has been supported by information gathered from the qualitative questionnaires targeted at the community leaders and landlords present in Lenasia.

The dominance of migrants in the Lenasia CBD has undoubtedly had economic implications for the pre-existing community and furthermore development in the area as supported by the qualitative questionnaire findings.

6.1.3 Social implications

The creation of migrant enclaves or rather strongholds within a given community and in the case of Lenasia according to Sandercock (2003) and Friedmann (2002) counteract developmental initiatives. According to Sandercock (2003) separatism and the creation of cultural enclaves is a problem for urban governance and city planning because it fuels intercultural conflict. Conflict particularly of this nature is anti developmental because both the migrant community and the pre-existing community share no commitment to the broader political community or rather the progression and development of Lenasia. What is meant by development in the context of

Lenasia is the area's ability to grow and prosper both economically and socially resulting in an overall upliftment in the quality of life of all the residents of the area. The pre-existing and migrant community remain so embroiled in intercultural conflict that they negate broader processes at play affecting and informing Lenasia's development trajectory. It is not being suggested however that development within Lenasia cannot occur due to intercultural conflict between the migrant and pre-existing community, but rather that the areas developmental potential will be considerably limited and stifled due to the intercultural conflict experienced.

Friedmann (2002) on the other hand suggests that in order to achieve or realise what is termed 'the good city', all of the city's inhabitants should experience inclusion. Only through positive inclusion can the city make use of its population as an asset base that contributes to development. Although Lenasia cannot be considered to be a city, the above principle nevertheless still applies to the area. It has been noted that the migrant community has become increasingly economically active in the area. Their increasing economic dominance in the area has not been viewed as aiding in the development of Lenasia, but rather as hampering in the development of the area particularly by the business owners from the pre-existing community.

In Lenasia however the Asian migrant population operates in almost complete isolation from the pre-existing community and vice versa. This has further fuelled the creation of migrant specific and host community specific enclaves. Neither group has indicated the will to integrate with one another.

Development due to the high level of separatism present between the pre-existing and migrant community in Lenasia cannot benefit all of the areas inhabitants. According to Landau (2005:13) any development initiatives occurring in the context of high degrees of separatism cannot prove to be

beneficial because anything that prevents individuals or communities from becoming positively incorporated into a country's social, economic, and political processes threatens to create a new socially, economically, and politically excluded 'underclass' with the potential to undermine the welfare of all urban residents and furthermore an area's development potential.

6.2 Recommendations

The use of social networks by Asian migrants to access accomodation in Lenasia does present a developmental problem as discussed above. Whether or not intervention by government should be initiated is questionable. It has been established through the qualitative questionnaire findings that the Asian migrant population in Lenasia displays no intention of permanently residing in the area and neither do they exhibit the need to integrate with the pre-existing community. Therefore tangible governmental interventions controlling or rather addressing the impact of their presence in Lenasia is debatable.

In addition no concrete statistics regarding the total number of Asian migrants present in the country and subsequently Lenasia exist. Given this statistical gap, the anticipated impact any assumed governmental intervention will have with regard to the migrant population stands on shaky ground, because little is known about the community being targeted.

Taking into consideration the above concerns, recognition however must be given to the fact that given the economic, spatial and economic construct of Lenasia there are currently experienced impacts and anticipated future implications associated with the presence of migrants in the area. Although intervention remains debateable it should be understood that the trend of Asian migrants coming to Lenasia in order to realise some economic

aspiration has not displayed any signs of ceasing. In actual fact the formation and functioning of migrant social networks in Lenasia, according to anecdotal evidence, has further prompted migration into the area.

Little might be known with regard to the Asian migrant's actual population numbers, but acknowledgment must be given to the impact they have had on the social, spatial and economic fabric of Lenasia to date. And these impacts must be taken into consideration when taking into account the future developmental realities of the area. It has been hypothesized and supported by the research findings, that the social, economic and spatial impacts experienced in Lenasia due to the presence of the migrant community has been further exacerbated due to the high degree of spatial and social segregation, between the migrant community and the pre-existing community, which is clearly in evidence. In order to address the accommodation shortage present in Lenasia caused by the exponential growth of its Asian migrant population, it is suggested that high density social housing be considered. However in order for the above to present itself as a viable option the various spatial limitations and planning regulations present in Lenasia need to be overcome.

Sandercock (2003:24) argues that adopting an intercultural perspective requires that an acceptance and desirability for cultural diversity be strived towards, and in doing so political life should be changed accordingly. Such a stance will result in the creation of 'the good society'. 'The good society' does not entail the production of a common culture, as this would contradict the tenets of interculturalism (Sandercock, 2003). Instead 'the good society' recognises and validates diversity as naturally occurring, what is in fact being proposed by 'the good society' is that all society's members in all their diversity be committed to a shared political community. One which does not wish its members to relinquish their own cultural practices and neither wishes to

impose dominant ideologies upon its members (Sandercock, 2003). Commitment to a shared political community does not require matching cultural, religious or economic associations, but rather an overarching commitment to the continued existence and well being of that society, one which allows for the realisation of individual and group goals. Commitment in this regard means that the society's members care enough not to undermine and act against the interests of that society (Parekh, 2000).

Lenasia in the context of its increasing migrant population and increasing levels of separatism as demonstrated by the formation of migrant enclaves cannot recognise its potential to transform into 'the good society'. The migrant community exists and operates separately from the pre-existing community and vice versa and this has serious consequences for the development of Lenasia, as no joint commitment between the two groupings entailing the continued existence and prosperity of Lenasia is in existence. There exists the strong need to recognise that societal dynamics currently in operation are counteracting the areas developmental potential. An increased sense of competition for resources between the migrant and pre-existing has resulted in increased antagonism and resentment between the two groupings further entrenching the occurrence of separatism.

Supplementing Sandercock's (2003) notion of interculturalism and 'the good society' is that of Friedmann's (2002) concept of 'the good city'. As mentioned earlier in the text Friedmann (2002) proposes that 'the good city' is a state of urban existence that should be strived towards by all societies. Friedmann (2002) has discussed in great detail the relevance and importance of striving towards 'the good city', and why it is of the utmost importance to initiate integration of all the diverse groupings present in any given society.

Integration according to Friedmann (2002) is not constituted of minority groupings abandoning the culture to adopt the dominant culture, but rather that all cultures are recognised and respected, and given the freedom to exist parallel to other cultures without confronting the threat of degradation. The justification in initiating the integration of migrants into mainstream society is dependent on the concept that people are asset bases, capable of enhancing a community's ability to prosper (Friedmann, 2002). As in Lenasia the migrant community has not been recognised as an asset base, and measures of inclusion have not been instigated. The operation of the migrant community separate from the pre-existing community both socially and economically within the context of Lenasia has not allowed the area to realise its growth potential. The recognition that the migrant community if acknowledged in a positive light has the ability to positively contribute to Lenasia and its growth should be adopted by the pre-existing community and local government. Landau (2005:14) states that by marginalising significant migrant communities, you limit their will to integrate and assimilate with host communities, resulting in migrant communities clinging to their outsider status failing to invest economically and socially in their adoptive homes. The fact that the Asian migrant community in Lenasia is transitory is of little consequence to the 'good city theory', as the broader commitment to an intercultural society and the formation of 'the good society' and 'the good city' does not require the permanent residence of its members. However it does require that members of society regardless of background be made to feel part of that community whilst residing within its confines (Sandercock, 2003). Because this shall limit intercultural conflict which, as has been mentioned above to be anti developmental (*Ibid.*).

What is being espoused as part of the recommendations is the creation of a commitment to the continued existence and flourishing of Lenasia by both the migrant and pre-existing community in a mutually constructed agenda.

Efforts to a degree need to be initiated whereby the migrant population recognise themselves as part of the fabric of Lenasia and that the pre-existing community recognises this belonging and vice versa. Furthermore the migrant community should become aware of their inter-dependence upon the processes occurring within Lenasia, in doing so the migrant population shall recognise their impact upon the area, and furthermore their ability to positively lend to the development of the area.

The ideal scenario would be to ensure that the migrant social networks in existence does not just start and stop within the migrant sphere but extends with both strong and weak links across the Lenasia community thus promoting a degree of interconnectedness between the migrant and pre-existing community. At the same time it is important that the local pre-existing community recognises the migrant population as a feature and component, forming part of their society rather than a transitory, antagonistic and competitive group.

6.3 Conclusion

Migration into South Africa and subsequently into Lenasia cannot be halted; the freedom of movement is a basic right of all individuals regardless of nationality. Furthermore the South African constitution recognises and promotes cultural pluralism. With an increase in the advent of global migration South Africa is not immune to migration or to the development of migrant communities.

Given that the overall vision for South Africa and its population is that of continued growth and development, the manifestation of migrant enclaves operating in isolation from dominant host community's is perceived to present a developmental threat. Due to high levels of xenophobia

perpetuated by large sections of the South African population and the government, migrant and host community separatism is experienced, as demonstrated in Lenasia (Landau, 2005). Separatism as outlined above fuels intercultural conflict and counteracts developmental initiatives (Sandercock, 2003). If South Africa's vision for continued growth and development in the context of, spirit of cohesion, tolerance and the celebration of difference is to be realised, urban governance needs to create an environment of tolerance where cultural diversity is celebrated and not lamented upon.

In referring back to Thabo Mbeki's 'I am an African' speech (1996) it was stated that South Africa belongs to all those who live within its borders. No differentiation is made between migrant and South African citizen, given this viewpoint urban governance needs to create environments whereby economic, spatial and social inclusion of migrant communities is realised. Space and place should be created where diversity is tolerated and celebrated, and where inclusion of migrant communities is consciously strived towards. This in itself shall help; realise the vision for 'the good society' (Sandercock, 2003) and 'the good city' (Friedmann, 2000). And furthermore allow South Africa to achieve its goal of continued growth and development benefiting all those that live within its boundaries.

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APPENDIX A:

ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Division of the Deputy Registrar (Research)

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49/1 Desai

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H080708**
PROJECT	The role of social networks in migrant access to housing in Lenasia
INVESTIGATORS	Ms A Desai
DEPARTMENT	Architecture
DATE CONSIDERED	11.07.2008
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE*	Approved Unconditionally

NOTE:

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE 16.07.2008 **CHAIRPERSON** .....
(Professor R Thornton)

cc: Supervisor : Ms M Rubin

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to a completion of a yearly progress report.**

ADesai
Signature

This ethical clearance is valid for two years from date of approval.
PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

APPENDIX B:

MIGRANT QUESTIONNAIRE

Asian migrants access to housing and accommodation in Lenasia Study

Dear Sir/Ma'am

I, Anisa Desai, am undertaking a study in order to understand how Asian migrants access housing and accommodation in Lenasia, this forms part of the requirements for my degree in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand.

We are asking you to take part in the research study, on how ***Asian migrants access housing and accommodation in Lenasia***. You will be one of about ten participants in the study, which will take place in Lenasia. Please note that the information gathered in this study is intended purely for the completion of a Research project for a post-graduate degree and no promises can be made regarding the potential benefits that may be received as a result of this work but you can be assured that there are no risks attached to participating in the study and all responses will be kept in the strictest confidence.

The interview will take approximately 1 hour and will be recorded and notes will be taken and you can refuse to participate in the study without any penalties and you are welcome to terminate the interview at any point. Please also be aware that only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the information collected in this project and that your identity will be kept confidential, should you choose to reveal it.

If you are willing to participate in the study and have had all of your questions answered please sign below.

Many thanks for your time.

Anisa Desai

Name…… Signature……..Date……

CONSENT QUESTIONS *CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER*		
Do you understand the purpose of the study, and what will be required of you if you agree to take part?	Yes	No
Have your questions concerning this study have been answered?	Yes	No
If no, what further questions do you wish to ask?	RECORD QUESTION	

Do you understand that at any time you may withdraw from this study without giving a reason?	Yes	No
Do you understand that this study is in no way linked to any organization or individuals that provide accommodation?	Yes	No
Do you agree to take part in this study?	Yes	No

VERBAL CONSENT: I, the interviewer confirm that the respondent gave verbal consent to be interviewed

Signature of interviewer ……

A	*Date*	__ __/ __ __ / __ ___		
B	*Name of interviewee*			
C	*Time started interview*		*Time finished interview*	
D	*Place of interview*			

GENERAL QUESTIONS										
E	*Gender of respondent*	F					M			
F	*Age of respondent at last birthday*	18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41 and above			
G	*Nationality*	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Sri Lankan	Other				
H	*How long have you resided in South Africa?*	0-1 year	1-2 years	3-5 years	6-10 years	More then 10 years				
I	*How long have you resided in Lenasia?*	0-1 year	1-2 years	3-5 years	6-10 years	More then 10 years				

CORE QUESTIONS

1. Why did you choose to live in Lenasia?

2. At the present moment where do you live?

3. Do you share accommodation, if so with whom?

4. What is your relationship to them?

5. If they are not family members, how did you meet them?

6. How many bathrooms/toilets are there where you stay?

7. How many bedrooms are there?

8. How many kitchens?

9. What is the quality of the accommodation?

10. Would you stay/move? Why?

11. Please can you describe how you came to find your first place in Lenasia?

12. Is that where you are living now?

Yes	No

13. Could you tell me about other places you have stayed at?

Probing points:
With whom have you stayed?
Why did you move?

How did you find new accommodation?
How many times have you moved?

14. If you had to give up your current place of residence, how would you go about looking for new accommodation in Lenasia?

15. What was your main way of finding accommodation? Did you think about using other methods to get accommodation? If no, why not? If yes, how did they work for you?

16. Did you apply to a rental company? If not why not? If yes, what did you do?

17. Did you respond to adverts in the paper?

18. Is it difficult for you to access accommodation? If yes, what makes it difficult?

19. How do you overcome these problems?

20. Do you belong to any cultural organisation? Why are you a member of such an organisation? Do they offer you assistance/support in any way?

21. Do you have friends or relatives in Lenasia? How often do you meet with them? What type of relationship do you have with them?

READ: Thank you for your time and your cooperation. If you have any questions about this interview or its results, you should feel free to ask me now.

22. Additional comments:

APPENDIX C:

COMMUNITY LEADERS QUESTIONNAIRE

Asian migrants access to housing and accommodation in Lenasia Study

Dear Sir/Ma'am

I, Anisa Desai, am undertaking a study in order to understand how Asian migrants access housing and accommodation in Lenasia, this forms part of the requirements for my degree in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand.

We are asking you to take part in the research study, on how ***Asian migrants access housing and accommodation in Lenasia***. You will be one of about ten participants in the study, which will take place in Lenasia. Please note that the information gathered in this study is intended purely for the completion of a Research project for a post-graduate degree and no promises can be made regarding the potential benefits that may be received as a result of this work but you can be assured that there are no risks attached to participating in the study and all responses will be kept in the strictest confidence.

The interview will take approximately 1 hour and will be recorded and notes will be taken and you can refuse to participate in the study without any penalties and you are welcome to terminate the interview at any point. Please also be aware that only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the information collected in this project and that your identity will be kept confidential, should you choose to reveal it.

If you are willing to participate in the study and have had all of your questions answered please sign below.

Many thanks for your time.

Anisa Desai

Name…….…… Signature……..Date……

CONSENT QUESTIONS ***CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER***		
Do you understand the purpose of the study, and what will be required of you if you agree to take part?	Yes	No
Have your questions concerning this study have been answered?	Yes	No
If no, what further questions do you wish to ask?	RECORD QUESTION	

Do you understand that at any time you may withdraw from this study without giving a reason?	Yes	No
Do you understand that this study is in no way linked to any organization or individuals that provide accommodation?	Yes	No
Do you agree to take part in this study?	Yes	No

WRITTEN CONSENT: I, the interviewer confirm that the respondent gave written consent to be interviewed

Signature of interviewer ……

A	*Date*	__ __/ __ __ / __ ___		
B	*Name of interviewee*			
C	*Time started interview*		*Time finished interview*	
D	*Place of interview*			

GENERAL QUESTIONS							
E	*Gender of respondent*	F			M		
F	*Age of respondent at last birthday*	18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41 and above

CORE QUESTIONS

1. How long have you been living in Lenasia?

2. Have you noticed any changes over the last ten years regarding new entrants into Lenasia? If yes what kind of changes?

3. When did the changes start?

4. Why do you think these people settled in Lenasia?

5. How were they received by the pre-existing community? Were they welcomed? If not, why not? If yes, why yes?

6. Did they move into all areas of Lenasia? If not, where did they settle?

7. Why do you think they moved there?

8. Who lived in these areas before the newcomers arrived?

9. What is the quality of accommodation that they are staying in?

10. How do you think newcomers to Lenasia access accommodation?

11. Why do you think they access accommodation in this manner?

READ: Thank you for your time and your cooperation. If you have any questions about this interview or its results, you should feel free to ask me now.

12. Additional comments:

APPENDIX D:

LANDLORDS QUESTIONNAIRE

Asian migrants access to housing and accommodation in Lenasia Study

Dear Sir/Ma'am

I, Anisa Desai, am undertaking a study in order to understand how Asian migrants access housing and accommodation in Lenasia, this forms part of the requirements for my degree in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand.

We are asking you to take part in the research study, on how ***Asian migrants access housing and accommodation in Lenasia***. You will be one of about ten participants in the study, which will take place in Lenasia. Please note that the information gathered in this study is intended purely for the completion of a Research project for a post-graduate degree and no promises can be made regarding the potential benefits that may be received as a result of this work but you can be assured that there are no risks attached to participating in the study and all responses will be kept in the strictest confidence.

The interview will take approximately 1 hour and will be recorded and notes will be taken and you can refuse to participate in the study without any penalties and you are welcome to terminate the interview at any point. Please also be aware that only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the information collected in this project and that your identity will be kept confidential, should you choose to reveal it.

If you are willing to participate in the study and have had all of your questions answered please sign below.

Many thanks for your time.

Anisa Desai

Name…….. Signature……..Date……

CONSENT QUESTIONS *CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER*		
Do you understand the purpose of the study, and what will be required of you if you agree to take part?	Yes	No
Have your questions concerning this study have been answered?	Yes	No
If no, what further questions do you wish to ask?	RECORD QUESTION	

Do you understand that at any time you may withdraw from this study without giving a reason?	Yes	No
Do you understand that this study is in no way linked to any organization or individuals that provide accommodation?	Yes	No
Do you agree to take part in this study?	Yes	No

WRITTEN CONSENT: I, the interviewer confirm that the respondent gave written consent to be interviewed

Signature of interviewer ……

A	*Date*	__ __/ __ __ / __ ___		
B	*Name of interviewee*			
C	*Time started interview*		*Time finished interview*	
D	*Place of interview*			

GENERAL QUESTIONS							
E	*Gender of respondent*	F			M		
F	*Age of respondent at last birthday*	18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41 and above

CORE QUESTIONS

1. How long have you been living in Lenasia?

2. Have you noticed any changes over the last ten years regarding new entrants into Lenasia? If yes what kind of changes?

3. Do you own property which you rent out for accommodation purposes? (Type of accommodation?)

4. Where is your property located in Lenasia?

5. Have there been any changes in the type of tenants you have rented to in the last ten years?

6. Who did you rent your property out to before theses changes?

7. Have you rented out your property to the newcomers?

8. How did your tenants react to the arrival of the newcomers living in the same building as them?

9. Do the newcomers constitute a large percentage of your tenants?

10. Of the newcomers that you rent to, are they mostly family units? If no, how are they constituted?

11. How many people on average reside in one apartment in your building?

12. Has the number of newcomers that you have let your premises out to increased in the past years?

13. How have you advertised your premises for rental?

14 Of your tenants that are newcomers, have they occupied your premises for an extended period of time?

15. When did the newcomers first start arriving in Lenasia?

16. What were their reasons for settling in Lenasia?

17. How were they received by the pre-existing community? Were they welcomed? If not, why not? If yes, why yes?

18. Did the newcomers move into all areas of Lenasia? If not, where did they settle?

19 Why do you think they moved there?

20. Who lived in these areas before the newcomers settled there?

READ: Thank you for your time and your cooperation. If you have any questions about this interview or its results, you should feel free to ask me now.

21. Additional comments: