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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

The Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences

Forced Migration Studies Programme

Language and Livelihoods in Johannesburg:

Cameroonians Income Generating Strategies

By

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A research report submitted to the Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Forced Migration.

Johannesburg, 2006

DECLARATION

This research report is entirely my own work and has not been previously submitted as a research project, dissertation, or thesis, at any other University

…….

14th August 2006

University of the Witwatersrand

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the beloved memory of my sister, Manyonga Katende Nadine, for all she meant in my life.

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My utmost gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Landau, for his supervision and guidance. You have been an able guide, most of all an inspiration. I would also to thank him for his patience and support.

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Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents (Katende wa Mpiana Louis and Tshika Kalonji Elisabeth) for their constant prayers, love and support. I would like also to thank my cousins, aunts and uncles. To Alubati Katamea Chris, you are a great friend, an inspiration and a challenge, thanks for always being there!

ABSTRACT

This research investigates how language affects the livelihoods of migrants and their use of social networks for income generation in Johannesburg. The study focuses on the Cameroonians, a community constituted by two main linguistic groups: Francophones and Anglophones. It explores the historic process of migration into the Republic of South Africa, the motivations behind the choice of the inner city of Johannesburg by Cameroonians, and it differentiates the type of social networks in which Cameroonians in this study engage in. The research report also explores how language shapes social networks among Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg.

Findings of this study reveal that language does not have a direct effect on livelihoods as almost all Cameroonians migrants interviewed in this study are able to speak both English and French. It nevertheless, shapes the respondents' opportunities and strategies as many rely on linguistic communities to access information, get social assistance, and find jobs. This study found that Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg use intra-linguistic social networks more than inter-linguistic group social networks for their income generating strategies. It also demonstrates the importance that language has in the lives of these respondents.

The study is based on non-representative sample of Cameroonians living in Johannesburg. It used a multi-methods approach including in-depth face-to-face interviews and written sources such as journals, books and research reports were combined to gather relevant data. Thematic content analysis was used to analyse the data.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Migration has emerged as one of the key issues of the early 21st century accompanied by a proliferation of research projects, conferences and publications dedicated to the study of human movement[1]. Europe, Canada and the USA have been, for many years, one of the preferred destinations for migrants from developing countries in general, by Africans in particular. In recent years, it has been very difficult to get to the west for many migrants due to restrictions imposed by developed countries through migration policies. After the end of the apartheid era, South Africa has become an alternative for migrants, many who have settled in the inner city of Johannesburg[2].

Because of migration into South Africa, the population of the inner city of Johannesburg is becoming increasingly diverse and dynamic. On the one hand, this is because of the city's emergence as Africa's pre-eminent economic, educational, and cultural centre. On the other hand, it is evident that authorities and citizens feel overwhelmed – if not threatened – by the movement of people from the rest of the continent.[3]

The inner city of Johannesburg has become a magnet for many migrants due to the different opportunities that it offers. Many of migrants' movements in the city is a response to poverty and lack of employment in their countries of origin. While migrants

[1] Gardner, K. and Osella, F.: Migration, Modernity and Social Transformation in South Asia
[2] Peberdy, S, Crush, J, and Msibi, N: Migrants in the City of Johannesburg, a Report for the City of Johannesburg [Internet]. Available from www.joburg.org.za/corporate planning/migrants[Accessed December 17th, 2005]
[3] Gotz, G. & Landau, L. in Forced Migrants in the new Johannesburg: Towards a Local Government Response.

may be part of the growth and economic and social dynamism of the city, as well as its potential, they may also have particular vulnerabilities to social and economic exclusion and poverty. Forced migrants living in urban areas are unlikely to receive the kind of direct monetary or nutritional assistance provided to many refugees settled in camps or formal settlements.[4] Most of the migrants established in the inner city of Johannesburg face a number of challenges to their livelihoods. Landau and Jacobsen point out that some of the challenges include prohibitions on work, lack of identity documents or papers demonstrating professional qualifications, discriminatory hiring practices and the inability to access banking services, either savings or credit.[5]

Given the expenses associated with urban living, most of the migrants who do not receive a form of assistance or subsidies rely on other forms of income generation to make ends meet.[6] Though not all Cameroonians are forced migrants, many face the same challenges as forced migrants living in the inner city of Johannesburg. Due to some of these challenges, migrants negotiate their livelihoods by using different strategies in order to earn a living.

In light of the above, the present study seeks to determine the impact that language has on the livelihoods of Cameroonian migrants, both Francophones and Anglophones. It assesses the type of social networks they engage in, whether they engage in inter-linguistic or intra-linguistic social networks.

[4] Landau, L.: Urban Refugees, University of Oxford, Refugees Studies Centre, 2005
[5] Landau, L. and Jacobsen, K.: Forced Migrants in the New Johannesburg 2003
[6] Landau, L.: Urban Refugees, University of Oxford, Refugees Studies Centre, 2005

1.2. Background of the Case Study

The nature of social networks that exists among Cameroonians may be as a result of the effects of colonisation which resulted in Cameroon having two official languages that is, English and French. Since 1982, political affairs in Cameroon have been dominated by one party under the regime of President Paul Biya. There are many reasons that have contributed to the displacement of Cameroonians which include multiparty politics in Cameroon and the Southern Cameroon tension (Anglophone Cameroon). Political tension in Cameroon has been the basis of division among Cameroonians, both inside Cameroon and outside Cameroon. The area in Southern Cameroon occupies an under-privileged position within the Cameroon political scene. This part is mostly made up of English-speaking Cameroonians and represented in politics by the Southern Cameroon National Congress (SCNC) that has been preaching secession from the French-speaking part of Cameroon (East Cameroon). Militants of the Southern Cameroon National Congress (SCNC) have been constantly subjected to arrest and torture.[7] Against this background, relations between Cameroonian Francophones and Anglophones are therefore affected and influenced the type of social networks that my respondents engage in.

1.3. Rationale of the study

Scholars like Lindell Ilda point out that people living in African cities today face great challenges ranging from the deterioration of basic services, poor housing environment,

[7] Nelson, F. Timbong: A Social History of the Cameroonian Community in South Africa: 1990-2000, a Research Report Submitted to the Faculty of the Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2003.

falling access to secure jobs, and insufficient income.[8] Similarly, migrants around the world, particularly in developing countries, face many challenges regarding issues of employment, food, and accommodation. Not only do these issues affect migrants but also local communities, which can create a conflict of attitudes and expectations between them and the host community in the sense that aliens and host communities tend to struggle over limited resources (Jacobsen:2002).

In order to overcome these challenges, social networks is seen to play an important role in the lives of migrants (Margolis 1995; Menjivar 1997; Wilson 1998; Hagan 1998). Due to restrictions and difficulties of taking on formal employment, many migrants develop strategies to earn a living, social networks being one of them. Social networks not only provide migrants with information to prospective migrants, but also serve as a source of support for newcomers once in the country of destination.

In addition to the challenges mentioned above, many immigrants and refugees face well-known challenges, such as learning a new language.[9] To overcome this challenge, learning the local language in the country of settlement can become very important for their survival.

[8]Lindell, L. Ilda: Walking the Tight Rope: Informal Livelihoods and Social Networks in a West African City / Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2002.
[9] Simich, L., Mawani, F., Wu, F., and Noor, A.: Meanings of Social Support, Coping, and help-seeking Strategies among Immigrants and Refugees in Toronto, [Internet] Available from http://ceris.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/health/2004%20CWPs/CWP31_Simich%20etal.pdf[Accessed on the 14th of February 2006]

Language plays an important role in the lives of migrants living in the inner city of Johannesburg. These roles can be divided into two, the first role that language plays is a powerful instrument in the process of structuring social networks for migrants in the sense that through language groups, information about jobs, for example, is obtained. In this sense language may have an important role to play in the lives of Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg as far as their livelihood is concerned. This is because Francophones network with their fellow Francophones and Anglophones with fellow Anglophones.

The second role that language plays is related to local languages. Since English is the only language that Cameroonians can use in South Africa, because of difficulties in communication between black South Africans and Cameroonian migrants (who are not able to speak local languages), communication problems impact on their livelihoods. Studies have established that migrants who are able to speak at least one of the local languages feel to be more integrated in the host community. As Anastasia puts it: "For refugees, the acquisition of the language of the country of asylum is highly significant for their interaction with the wider community and integration into the host society"[10]

The ability to understand and communicate using the predominant language is essential for the integration into the South African society. On the other hand, it is also true to say that migrants with poor language skills do have difficulties with accessing information and support.

[10] Dimitriadou, A : An Exploration of Refugees' Experiences as English Language Students in Further Education Colleges, on http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/crer/fmsc04/abstracts04/dimitriadou/, [Accessed on the 6th of March 2007]

The majority of the studies on livelihoods of migrants in urban settlement that have been done so far have concentrated on the role that social networks play. These studies have focused on the efficiency, strengths and weakness of social networks. Very few studies, if any, have concentrated on the role of social networks and language on the livelihoods of Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg in particular. One can only assume that, Anglophones interact among their linguistic group belonging and Francophones also do the same in their pursuit for livelihoods. It is therefore important to find out how Cameroonians in Johannesburg interact among themselves and how language shapes their livelihood strategies.

In light of the above, it is important to identify and highlight strategies that Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg use in order to make ends meet in an environment where the majority of the host populations face the same challenges as far as securing incomes for their livelihood. This study is therefore important for the following 3 reasons:

First, the study will inform us on the livelihoods strategies of Cameroonian migrants in the inner city of Johannesburg, South Africa.

Secondly, the study is important in making us understand the impact of language on the livelihoods of Cameroonian migrants in the inner city of Johannesburg, a place where the languages spoken by the majority of the local population is different from the one spoken by migrants in their country of origin. In other words, this study is also important in that

it helps us to understand how Cameroonian migrants in the inner city of Johannesburg overcome language barrier in their pursuit to earn a living in a host country where there is a language barrier.

Thirdly, since this report is part of a wider research being conducted by Wits University, Forced Migration Studies Programme, it will add on information to the Forced Migration and the New African City project and it will also add to available information on migrants and refugees in Johannesburg at large.

In attempt to answer the research question, this study focused on two main areas. First, it focuses on the role played by social networks in the whole process of leaving Cameroon to their establishment in the inner city of Johannesburg and assistance received by the respondents on arrival. Second, it focuses on the impact of language on livelihoods of the respondents and why they engaged in particular social networks while settled in the inner city of Johannesburg.

My central argument is that Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones, in the inner city of Johannesburg interact with people belonging to their linguistic group and therefore language plays a crucial role in their livelihoods.

1.4. Discussion of the key concepts

This section discusses some of the key concepts in the present study in order to help us to understand the topic under study. Firstly, I am going to define the concept of livelihoods,

because it is one of the most important components of this research. Secondly, I define the concept migrants. And lastly, I will define the concept of a social network.

1.4.1. Livelihoods

When living in an environment where local populations face a high rate of unemployment, to make a living, migrants adopt different strategies to earn their livings. For instance, the findings of this study show that Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg make use of their contacts and engage in business activities for their survival.

What is livelihood? Even though the definition of livelihoods may not be universally acceptable, for the purpose of this study I borrow the following definition: A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Carney 1998:213).[11]Livelihoods have five basic capital assets: natural, social, human, physical and financial capital assets. Capabilities are dependent on such factors as age, gender, education, skills, health, and availability for labour. To measure strategies that Cameroonians use in making a living, respondents were asked to name the activities of members of their households or the people they share money, resources with or the people they support in terms of income generation. Kuhlman, cited by Grabska (2005), argues that livelihood should be examined both in terms of remunerative income (productive aspects) as well as no monetary aspects such

[11]The Working Definition for Livelihoods, [Internet] Available from <http://www.ecosystems.org/displaylive.php> [accessed February 12th ,2006]

as access to childcare, education, health facilities, and standards of housing conditions (reproductive aspects).[12]

Another important element is social capital that is described as the household's ability to increase its entitlements without working longer hours or increasing physical capacity[13]and it relates to the formal and informal social relations (or social resources) from which various opportunities and benefits people can draw on in the pursuit of livelihoods. Such capital is mostly found in informal networks.[14]

It is important to mention that the living standards of the respondents did not reflect their level of education because most of the Cameroonians in the sample are well educated, highly skilled, and ready to work if given the opportunity. The majority of the people in my sample have completed secondary school education while others have finished university. All my respondents interviewed attended education in Cameroon and some have continued to pursue studies in Johannesburg. Many more would like to go back to school.

1.4.2. Migrants

The term migrant can be understood as ″any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties

[12] Grabska, K: Living on the Margins: The Analysis of the Livelihood Strategies of Sudanese Refugees with Closed Files in Egypt, Working paper No 6, June 2005
[13] Grabsa, K. (Ibid)
[14] Grabsa, K. (Ibid)

to this country"[15]. However, this may be a too narrow definition when considering that, according to some states' policies a person can be considered as a migrant even when he/she is born in the country. In the context of the present study, the term migrant will apply to both voluntary and forced because some of the participants in this study indicated that they were refugees.

1.4.3. Social Networks

A social network is a set of actors (or points, or nodes, or agents) that may have relationships (or edges, or ties) with one another. Networks can have few or many actors, and one or more kinds of relations between pairs of actors[16].

In order to examine in a systematic way the nature of social relations of assistance that may be taking place among Cameroonians settled in the inner city of Johannesburg, I adopted a social network approach in this study. According to Mitchell (1969), a social network may arise from a set of responsibilities and rights that are consciously recognized among a group of people. Social networks play various roles in the lives of migrants in the sense that from the beginning of the migration cycle to the settlement, social networks contribute largely in the whole process. Prospective migrants receive information from their relatives or friends about the country they want to go to, in some cases they receive financial assistances in order to arrange documentations and once in the country of migration, they receive assistance in forms of foods, accommodation and

[15]Migrant Definition, [online] Available: <http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php>[Accessed January 20th, 2006]
[16] Introduction to Social Network Methods.[Internet] Available from<http://www.analytictech.com/networks.pdf >[Accessed January 17th, 2006]

information about the way to find employment or how to arrange documents in the country of settlement.

1.5. Overview of the Political situation of Cameroon

According to Akokpari (2000) and Hlobo (2000); conflicts, political oppression, economic hardship, human rights violations and environment factors are considered to be factors that have displaced millions of people around the World. As a result of the economic crisis in Cameroon and the disappearance of transitional ways for youth that accompanied it, political and economic uncertainty has turned into a new kind of social certainty for young people. Cameroon is one of the African countries which is still under a dictatorial regime, where human rights are not respected and where the economic situation is not stable. The above are some of the factors that have constituted push factors for the majority of Cameroonians.

Respondents in this study indicated that they left Cameroon because of political persecutions and human rights violations. The majority of Anglophone Cameroonians informed me that they were active members of opposition parties such as the Social Democratic Front (SDF) that are fighting for a democratic Cameroon. Others indicated that they were active members of the Southern Cameroon's National Council (SCNC) that is fighting for the succession of Anglophone part of Cameroon. Regarding the political situation in Cameroon, one of the respondents informed me that:

"I decided to leave my country because human rights are not respected and there is no freedom of expression in Cameroon."(Respondent 6)

Apart from political reasons, gender-related persecutions such as female circumcision were among other reasons that had made some Cameroonians to leave their country of origin. Because of lack of protection and broad abuse of Human Rights, Cameroonians including females are forced to flee their home country and therefore, their livelihoods are disrupted. They have to start afresh in the inner city of Johannesburg where they have settled and where competition for livelihoods is stiff.

1.6. Cameroonian community in Johannesburg

The inner city of Johannesburg has become attractive to many migrants due to different opportunities that it offers. Many of migrants movement in the city is as a response to poverty and lack of employment at home.[17] While migrants are part of the growth, the economic and social dynamism of the city, as well as its potential, they also have particular vulnerabilities to social and economic exclusion and poverty.

Amongst the many migrant communities in South Africa, Cameroonians stand out very distinctly. They constitute a population group made up of both Anglophones and Francophones[18], the majority of whom are bilingual. There are many reasons why Johannesburg seems to be an increasingly popular destination for most migrants among

[17] Peberdy, S; Crush, J and Msibi, N: Migrants in the City of Johannesburg, A Report for the City of Johannesburg.[Internet] Available from <www.joburg.org.za/corporate_planning/migrants>[Accessed December 8th ,2005]

[18] In 1919, following the First World War, Cameroon was divided between the French and the British.

them, is the perception that Johannesburg serves as an easy transit point to the other parts of the World such as Australia, the USA or Europe. Only a few respondents reported that they were in transit in South Africa while the majority indicated that Johannesburg is their final destination. This is due to many restrictions that have been introduced by some European countries and the USA in their migration policies for security reasons. South Africa, as suggested by the findings, seems to be an attractive destination for many African migrants because of the stability of the country's institutions and freedom in terms of democracy that many other African countries do not have.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter looks at the literature that examines migration, social networks and urban poverty. This review demonstrates that while much research has been conducted on these issues, little focus has been done on the Cameroonian community settled in South Africa, particularly in the inner city of Johannesburg. It also highlights the importance of language in urban livelihoods thus providing the primary focus for the study.

Migration, be it internal or international, is a response to socio-economic, demographic and political circumstances in both the place of origin and place of destination.[19] Some experts divide the many reasons people leave their homes for a new one into what is called the push and pull factors. Push factors may be as a result of widespread unemployment, lack of farmland, famine, or war at home. In the 1980s and 1990s, hundreds of thousands of Africans were pushed out of their homelands to neighbouring countries because of famine and civil war.[20]

Work on urban livelihoods borrows conceptually and methodologically from studies of rural poverty. Todaro (1977) notes that the decision to migrate includes a perception by migrants of a perceived income. Although Todaro mainly refers to rural-urban migration, his analysis also shows migration trends between big cities in Africa. He also notes that due to differentials between areas market forces will dictate movement.

[19] McNeil. W.H.: Human Migration in Historical Perspective in Population and Development Review. Vol. 10, No 1. Pp. 1-10

[20] Human Population: Fundamentals of Growth Effect of Migration on Population Growth. [Internet] Available from http://www.prb.org/Content/NavigationMenu/PRB/Educators/Human_Population/Migration2/Migration1.htm [Accessed November 12th, 2005]

Reflecting Todaro's (1977) analysis, Robert Chambers (1989) argues that low-income households aim at sustainable livelihoods through countering vulnerability in the face of risk and insecurity, through the deployment of both tangible and intangible assets, he further argues that this seem to promote migration. Tangible assets are physical resources, investments and skills, while intangible assets comprise, for example, rights of access to services and transfers.[21] When people lack these assets they migrate to other parts of the world where they think they could have access to them.

Grown and Sebstad (1989: 941) use the concept of livelihood systems which refers to the mix of individual and household survival strategies, developed over a given period of time, that seeks to mobilise available resources and opportunities. Strategies might include labour market involvement, savings accumulation and investment, changing patterns of consumption and income earning, social investment in health or children's education, labour and asset pooling arrangements or social networking. Within this perspective, livelihood systems are also seen to embrace the arrangement of reproductive tasks and responsibilities, including domestic work and child-rearing, that accompanies and makes possible participation in paid work, social organisation and public participation.[22]

International migration has become a major focus of discussion within the international community. Estimates prepared by the United Nations Population Division based upon census data from the 1980s indicate that more than 100 million people are living outside

[21] Beall, J. and Kanji, N.: Households, Livelihoods and Urban Poverty, August 1999.
[22] Beall, J. and Kanji, N.: Ibid

their countries of birth or citizenship. These include refugees (who numbered 12-13 million in the mid-1980s) as well as temporary and permanent migrants.[23]

A range of studies and researches have concentrated on livelihood strategies of migrants in urban settlement, on the role of social networks in the diaspora community and on the efficiency and weakness of social networks. These include the research done by Margaret Grieco, whose work on urban social network and labour circulation.[24] She argues that employment relations in modern society frequently harness and depend upon existing patterns of social relations, or social networks, in their recruitment dynamic, whilst social networks frequently come to own sets of clusters of employment vacancies. Basically, her research was based on the role of urban social networks in the organisation of rural employment. She found that kinship and neighbourhood linkages played a pivotal role in the organising of that migration in the sense that information was flowing through that network.

While social capital perspectives tend to celebrate the developmental capacities of social networks, many also recognize that social networks can have a 'downside' (Portes & Landolt 1996). As Dasgupta argues (Emi and Barry 2000:390) in the World Bank's millennium anthology on social capital, 'Social networks can be a help or a hindrance, it all depends on the uses to which networks are put.' While networks can provide an informal framework for greater economic efficiency, they can also operate as

[23]Russell, S. Sharon: International Migration: Implications for the World Bank. [Internet] Available from< www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/hnp/hddflash/work/wp_00054.html> [Accessed December 15th, 2005]
[24]Grieco, M.: Transported Lives: Urban Social Networks and Labour Circulation in the Urban Context; Ethnicity, Social Networks and Situational Analysis edited by Alisdair Rogers and Steven Vertovec, Berg Publishers, p.190

mechanisms of parochialism or collusion that disrupt economic development. In other words, where networks fail to operate as social capital, they constitute social liabilities.

Migrant networks incorporate all the forms of social capital identified by Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993). They facilitate value introjection because they support the socialisation of people into a "culture of migration" (see Kandel & Massey 2002). They function as reciprocit*y* exchanges, in which favors are extended from friends and relatives as part of a generalized system of exchange in which migrants help friends and relatives. This is not because they expect immediate repayment, but because they anticipate help being extended to them or their kin at some future date (Massey et al. 1987). Migrant networks also provide for bounded solidarity to reinforce the ties of kinship, friendship, and common community origin among migrants (Massey 1986). Finally, they are characterised by enforceable trust, since migrants who refuse to help friends or family may be ostracized or punished by relatives and friends at home and abroad (Goldring 1992; Mines 1981; Reichert1982).

Mitchell defines potential network members as that category of people who, "in terms of the general norms or values of the community, might be expected to provide ego with some type of service or support" (1969:43). For the potential relationship to become a link in the personal network, "some social exchange or transaction which converts the possible into an actual social linkage" needs to take place. Applying this principle to the topic of this research project, I postulate that a relationship between an urban migrant in Johannesburg and one of his/her social network members consists of the actual providing

of some type of support in the wake of the situation of migration. Support may include a variety of resources such as emotional help, personal service, material assistance, financial aid, social brokerage, and empathetic understanding" (Wellman 1981:184)

According to Roos Willems, research on support networks conducted for the past two decades (none of which was conducted in a situation of displacement or forced migration, and most of it in the Western hemisphere), have uncovered a number of common patterns:

- One of the first finding was that strong ties or ties between individuals with common characteristics (also called homophilous ties) are more important conduits of social support than weak ties or those between individuals with dissimilar characteristics (also called heterophilous ties) (Wellman and Wortley 1990; Lin, Woelfel and Light 1985).

- Secondly, kin appeared as a primary source of support while residential proximity proved essential in support transactions involving material aid (Fischer 1982; Antonucci and Akiyama 1987; Wellman and Wortley 1990).

- Lastly, at the network structure level, it seemed that individuals who are embedded in dense, homogeneous networks receive more social support in emergency situations than do individuals in wide-ranging networks (Marsden 1988; Smith-Lovin and McPherson 1993; Beggs, Haines and Hurlbert 1996).

My study intends to find out whether some Cameroonians in the inner city of Johannesburg depend on their social networks to either find gainful local employment in the informal sector as hair-dressers, tailors, etc. or receive financial support from friends and relatives, whether from their country of origin or from their relatives living in the inner city even from overseas.

Although the majority of the studies within the networks and immigration literature point to the beneficial aspects of social capital, some indicate that social networks do not have strong effects on labour markets (Campbell and Rosenfeld 1985; Bridges and Villemez 1986; Mouw 1999). For example, Mouw (1999) examined the earnings of native workers in the United States utilizing several datasets and found no significant relationship between use of social capital during job searches and earnings.

Emi Ooka and Barry Wellman (2003) found that immigrants with lower education have the least options in using interethnic ties. It is believe that this is due to the limited extent of their structural incorporation. When co-ethnic group members do not include professional or entrepreneurial elements, they may become the most disadvantaged group in accessing better job opportunities since they are excluded from social networks that control the allocation of better-paying jobs. Unless they form inter-ethnic ties, access to opportunities is unavailable, even educated immigrants are not exempted from such exclusions.

Livelihoods are most conventionally seen in terms of people's productive lives and indeed this is an important, if not the only dimension of them. However, the organisation of production feeds off and into a complex web of domestic and social relations and is closely linked to how people gain access to resources and the relations they have with the wider economy. For example, in rural areas access to land and labour can be crucial factors in ensuring agricultural production for consumption and the market, while the distinction between households as units of production and consumption is often blurred (Crehan 1992). The crossover between production and reproduction evident in rural economies is not absent from urban contexts either.

A commonly adopted definition of a livelihood is that it comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Carney 1998:1). It is argued from the 'sustainable livelihoods perspective' (Chambers and Conway 1992; Scoones 1998; Carney 1998) that livelihoods are pursued within vulnerability contexts and structural processes that influence livelihood outcomes. Grown and Sebstad (1989:941) use the concept of livelihood systems which refers, to "the mix of individual and household survival strategies, developed over a given period of time, that seeks to mobilize available resources and opportunities." Strategies might include labour market involvement, savings accumulation and investment, changing patterns of consumption and income earning, social investment in health or children's education, labour and asset pooling arrangements or social networking. Within this perspective, livelihood systems are also seen to embrace the arrangement of reproductive tasks and responsibilities, including domestic work and child-rearing, that accompany

and make possible participation in paid work, social organisation and public participation. Their approach allows for the introduction of social relations based on gender and age or generation, both within the household and beyond it.

Scholarly recognition of the fact that migrants use social networks is not new. Early in the twentieth century, Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-20) and Gamio (1930) document the operation of interpersonal networks among Polish and Mexican immigrants (although they do not refer to the term social capital). Drawing on social ties to relatives and friends who had migrated before, they argue that prospective migrants gain access to knowledge, assistance, and other resources that facilitate their international movement. Although ties of kinship and friendship, in and of themselves, provide few benefits to prospective migrants, once someone in an interpersonal network migrates, social ties to that person are transformed into a resource that can be used by friends and relatives to gain access to foreign employment. As Coleman (1990:304) notes, "social capital is *created* when the relations among persons *change* in ways that facilitate action" (emphasis added). Massey, Goldring, and Durand (1994) identify migration itself as the catalyst for change.

Given the norms of reciprocity, bounded solidarity, and enforceable trust that are associated with kinship and friendship, migrants draw on the social capital embedded in these relationships to lower the costs and risks of international movement and raise the benefits of foreign employment.

The core benefit associated with foreign employment, of course, is earnings, and social connections to people with current or past migratory experience. It has been shown to increase foreign wages, at least those received by male migrants (Donato, Durand & Massey 1992; Donato & Massey 1993; Phillips & Massey 1999). Just how this increase in wages is accomplished has never been fully specified, however. One obvious possibility is that friends or relatives identify high-paying jobs as they become available and transfer this information to their friends and family members who are seeking employment, as positions often become available prior to their advertisement or are publicized only within informal networks (Grieco 1987).

Having information before other applicants do can be very beneficial since, as Burt (1992) indicates, timing of information can make a substantial difference in who is able to capitalize on opportunity. Thus, well-connected migrants can skip a prolonged and inefficient search for a good job and move directly into a position that a trusted associate has already identified as being stable, available, and well paid.

Friends and relatives may assist migrants by providing them with useful information: where to look for jobs, how to present themselves to employers, how to behave on the job, what wages to ask for, and which sorts of jobs and worksites to avoid (Fernandez-Kelley1995; Aguilera 1999). If they have regular access to a large and diffuse network of weak as well as strong social ties, they may also be in a better position to hear about job openings and employment opportunities. For example, Massey and colleagues (1987) found that immigrants from one Mexican community met each Sunday in a Los Angeles

park to watch a community-sponsored soccer team compete. In addition to enjoying the match, townspeople gossiped, socialized, and exchanged information, thus providing migrants with a regular venue for the dissemination of information about employment opportunities.

This type of social event would provide migrants access to information that might not be available through their familial social networks. Granovetter's (1974) study on professional workers, suggests that weak ties link job applicants with no redundant information. Connections to non family members may be more beneficial than familial social networks.

The importance of friendship networks in finding employment was highlighted by Aguilera (2002), who found that friendship ties were positively related to labor force participation. Thus, we expect that both familial and friendship networks play important roles in determining wages, although friendship networks are expected to provide more information to workers than familial networks. Although the majority of the studies within the network and immigration literature point to the beneficial aspects of social capital, some indicate that social networks do not have strong effects on labor markets (Campbell and Rosenfeld 1985; Bridges and Villemez 1986; Mouw 1999).

For example, Mouw (1999) examined the earnings of native workers in the United States utilising several datasets and found no significant relationship between use of social capital during job searches and earnings. Immigrants, however, may behave quite

differently from foreigners. Moreover, his study operationalised a small number of forms of social capital that were specifically tied to job search method, which may explain why he did not find a statistically significant relationship between social networks and earnings.

Social networks have also been recognized by some scholars as effective in assisting network members to accomplish unauthorized conduct. For example, Bian (1992) reported that job seekers in China used their social networks to influence occupational assignments, despite the fact that this was an unauthorized act. He found that strong ties were especially helpful in this context, as they held trust and obligation. Social networks have also been shown to assist women seeking illegal abortions, though Lee (1969) found that women were forced to use weak ties (people with whom the women were only acquainted) to obtain information about abortions, as these connections provided more information than was available from their own immediate network.

One billion people live in absolute poverty in the World (Majola 1999). Poverty is perceived as a serious problem in the third world countries. The situation is even worse as poverty is growing faster in Africa with the number of absolute poor having increased by two-thirds Mthimunye (1998). The large-scale persistence of poverty is one of the biggest problems facing developing countries today. However, no consensus exists on the courses and definition of poverty.

Zackey (1996) argues that poverty is a multi-faceted phenomenon and she further agues that the economic field defining poverty in monetary terms like bread line, living wage.[25] MacPherson and Silburn in Dixon and Macarow (1998) define poverty as follows: "At its simplest poverty refers to a basic lack of the means of survival: poor are those who, even in normal circumstances, are unable to feed and clothe themselves properly and risk death as consequence". Vanderschueren et al (1996) argues that the key issue is that poverty reflects the inability of an individual household or community to satisfy certain basic minimum needs. Poverty is a persistent problem that has presented political and moral challenges to all societies at all times (Wilson and Ramphele 1989).

There have been many researches on poverty that have been conducted all over the World for many decades. Zackey (1996) emphasizes poverty as a lack of choice, De Haan (1997) attributed urban poverty to the rural biased poverty alleviation strategies that led to urbanization and therefore, poverty is urbanized. Urban poverty has been also exacerbated by the economic stagnation experienced in a number of developing countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan African, where over the past two or three decades there has been limited growth of productive investment and employment. MacPherson and Silburn in Dixon and Macarow, (1998) state that everyone claims to understand the word poverty, but the specific meaning attached to the word depends upon the underlying concept of poverty that people have in mind.

[25] Majola, C.H.:, Local Economic Development Initiatives and Urban Poverty Alleviation in the City of Johannesburg, M.A. Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. 1999.

An analysis of urban poverty, social networks and migration provides a platform from which to examine possibilities of making a living in the inner city of Johannesburg by migrants in terms of the way they access jobs or informations about jobs. This also enables us to examine the degree to which migrants in the inner city of Johannesburg have access to valuable connections that can assist them during times of arrival and during the whole process of settling.

As I have shown, some studies focus on the way people mobilise social networks to make end meet, especially migrants (forced or voluntary), yet many have not investigated how people from one country may have to use social networks on the basis of their linguistic belonging rather than on the basis of belonging to one country. The present study aims at filling this gap.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Key tasks

To determine the impact that language has on the livelihood of migrants, particularly Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg and to assess the kind of social networks in which Cameroonians engage in, the report performs the following tasks:

1. Determines the respondents' abilities to speak French, English or South African Languages;
2. Looks at the type of social networks Cameroonians use as a livelihood strategy;
3. Analyses how language affiliation shaped social networks among migrants in order to overcome language barrier for their livelihood strategies.
4. Based on the data analysis as well as the literature review, I developed explanation for the findings.

3.2. Population and area of study

Most immigrants often settle at their first port of entry because of the idea of maintaining a closer link with their countries of origin (Rogerson 1997). This research was conducted in the inner city of Johannesburg. The local administration of Johannesburg has been decentralized into 11 regions. Each region is operationally responsible for the delivery of health, housing, sports and recreation, libraries, social development and other local community based services.[26] It is also important to take into account the large number of migrants living in the inner city of Johannesburg. The population of this study was

[26] Wikipedia: Government of Johannesburg.[Internet] Available from <http://www.joburg.org.za/unicity/region1.stm> [Accessed October 21st, 2005]

Cameroonians both Francophones and Anglophones living in Johannesburg.

The choice of Johannesburg and the Cameroonian community was justified by two main reasons. First, despite the absence of camps in Johannesburg, the city provides economic opportunities for many migrants since it is the largest single metropolitan contributor to national economic product.[27]Johannesburg was chosen also because of its economic activity and community solidarity.

Secondly, choosing the Cameroonian community was motivated by the fact that it constitutes two groups, French speakers and English speakers. Historically, Cameroon was under the rule of the French and the British during the colonization era.

3.3. Data collection techniques

The data was collected using two main research techniques: interviews and written sources such as books, journals and reports. All these methods were combined in order to collect the necessary data to answer the research question of this study. I used different approaches in order to see things from different angles.

I did the data collection through in-depth face-to-face interviews with the respondents. Each interview lasted more than an hour and took place at the respondent's place of choice. Due to the high level of suspicion among migrants, I needed to take time to familiarize with the target group before the investigation began. The data collection

[27]Interpreting the figures.[Internet] Available from <http://www.joburg.org.za/facts/index_demographics.stm> [Accessed November 11th ,2005]

process involved the use of interview schedules with open-ended questions and a loosely structured interview guide. I recorded the information on a prepared data sheet. In-depth interviews are important because of their roles which are: Exploring the boundaries of a problem; obtaining evidence for a problem or issue; evaluating potential solutions; Managing the research process.[28] I developed questions which are relevant to my topic and I also picked questions from studies previously done in the same field especially the Forced Migration Studies Programme Johannesburg project.[29] The interview guide provided questions which helped to access information from the key participants to the present study. (See appendix for more details).

3.4. Sampling method

Sampling is the selection of a subset from a larger whole.[30] In this case**,** I sampled a limited number of Cameroonians both Francophones and Anglophones living in the inner city of Johannesburg.

This project used snowballing technique, which can be defined roughly as a method for recruiting new cases through a process of onward referral from known cases. Snowball sampling starts with one or more individuals who are known to meet a given criteria. Those interviewed are requested to nominate and facilitate introductions to other people whom they know and who meet the qualifications.

[28] http://www.pra.ca/resources/indepth.pdf.
[29] Migration and the New African City 2005.
[30] http://encyclopedia.laborlawtalk.com/sampling.

This strategy can be viewed as a response to overcoming the problems associated with sampling concealed populations such as criminals and the isolated (Faugier and Sargeant 1997). Snowball sampling can be placed within a wider set of link-tracing methodologies (Spreen 1992) which seek to take advantage of the social networks of identified respondents to provide a researcher with an ever-expanding set of potential contacts (Thomson 1997). This process is based on the assumption that a 'bond' or 'link' exists between the initial sample and others in the same target population, allowing a series of referrals to be made within a circle of acquaintance (Berg 1988).[31]

Snowball method can be particularly helpful for tracking down "special" populations (often numerically small sub-sets of people mixed in with large numbers of others). Business contact networks, community elites, deviant sub-cultures, avid stamp collectors, kinship networks, and many other structures can be pretty effectively located and described by snowball methods. It is sometimes not as difficult to achieve closure in snowball "samples" as one might think.

Snowball sampling has a number of deficiencies such as, problems of representativeness and sampling principles. The quality of the data and in particular a selection bias that limits the validity of the sample is the primary concerns of snowball sampling (Van Meter, 1990; Kaplan et al, 1987). Because elements are not randomly drawn, but are dependent on the subjective choices of the respondents first accessed, most snowball

[31]Atkinson, R. and Flint, J.: Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-Reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies. [Internet] Available from <http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU33.html> [Accessed November 11th ,2005]

samples are biased and do not therefore allow researchers to make claims to generality from a particular sample (Griffiths et al, 1993).

In this research, 2 postgraduate students at Wits University were targeted as the initial entry points. They constituted the nodes for the purpose of the present research. They acted as the first nodes (initial) part of contact, they provided with information that led to the identification, selection and location of number of subsequent participants. The first contacts facilitated to get in touch with other respondents.

A few highlights should be made here with regards to the sampling methods used in this study. First, a major limitation that I faced is the accessibility to the population of study. Because of the fact that I am not a Cameroonian created suspicion to the population of study and this situation complicated efforts to identify participants. Nevertheless, this limitation was overcome after I was introduced by my nodes to people that I interviewed and after being familiarized with the target group.

3.5. Research design

To determine the type of social networks that Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones engage in to earn their livelihoods, and to assess the impact that language has on their livelihoods, I adopted a three fold design in this study.

- The first step in this process was to compare the two groups in terms of their abilities to speak English, French and other languages;

- The second step was to determine whether their age, their length of stay and their education affected their access to livelihood;
- The third step involved drawing explanations for the impact of language on livelihoods of Cameroonians in terms of access to resources and other supportive means as displayed by respondents.

I used this strategy to measure the impact of language on livelihoods of the respondents and the role play by social networks to overcome the language barriers for them to make a living.

- Respondents were asked to explain what they did to make money when they first came to Johannesburg or to support themselves;
- Respondents then were asked to explain how they get the capital to start a business for those in business activities or to explain which channel they used to get their job for their livelihoods;
- Finally, I engaged the respondents in in-depth discussions in order to gather information that could not be obtained by the questionnaire. Respondents were further asked to explain where they would go if they want to borrow money. It was also at this stage that social network appear to play a very crucial role in the lives of Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg.

Other measures used in this research which were designed to compare Cameroonians both Francophones and Anglophones were their education; their length of stay in the inner city; their legal status; their gender and their language.

This process was expected to:

- Determine whether these elements have a positive or negative impact on the livelihoods of Cameroonians. In that perspective, I tried to understand whether any or all these elements mentioned above really matter for the livelihoods of Cameroonians.
- In terms of their livelihoods, these measures were used to compare the two groups:
  - How do they access capital;
  - The role of remittances in the lives of the respondents;
  - The way they got their jobs for those who were working.

3.6. Ethical considerations

This study complied with the Wits University ethical standards in Social Science research, as well as those of Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) - Johannesburg project. In that perspective, all participants (respondents) were above the age of eighteen. In order to be included in the population of study and to this end the following measures were taken into consideration:

- Respondents were made aware of the purpose of the study which was purely academic. Respondents were also made aware of the nature of questions, and the approximate duration of interviews before the beginning. They were also informed that the decision to participate was their free choice, they were not forced to participate without their approval and that if they decided to participate, they could decide to stop the interview at

anytime.

- Respondents were assured that their identities and information that I got from them will be kept in strict confidentiality. To do so, code numbers were given to respondents and areas of investigation instead of names.

- During the interviews I avoided questions that respondents considered as violating their privacy. In addition, respondents were advised of their right to withhold information relating to questions that they were uncomfortable with.

- As for the issue concerning discovery of illegal income generating activities, before each interview started, I advised my respondents that disclosure of such information was at their own risk. Secondly, I made sure that the interviews were voluntary and anyone who did not wish to participate was free to do so or at least quit even in the course of the interview. However I assured them that I would not deliberately put their lives at risk by revealing those activities to the authorities.

- As for the issue concerning legal implication regarding staying illegally in the republic of South Africa, I made sure that I did not reveal the names of respondents on the questionnaire and instead codes were used to prevent a situation were respondents could be identified.

- Respondents were informed that if they agreed to participate to the interview it should be free and no compensation should be expected apart from my appreciation.

3.7. Limitations of the study

There were a number of structural and methodological limitations in this study. The sample size was not representative of the entire Cameroonian community living in Johannesburg and the sample technique that I used makes difficult the generalization of the results. The present research is still valuable in the sense that, it reveals specific insights into the question that I examined as well as the general trends, which may be further investigated. Due to time and financial constraints, I was not able to make a bigger and representative sample.

Although I planned to have a same number of female and male participants in my sample, it was not easy to convince female to participate to the study, even for those who accepted to participate, they were uncomfortable with some of the questions of the interview, for those who were married, they requested me to contact their husbands before the interview, in some other cases, the husband wants to be present at the time of the interview, that had, as I suspected, influenced some of the answers of those particular respondents.

The fact that I am not a Cameroonian, may also have influenced the results of this research, because, all the time participants were asking me why I focused my study on the Cameroonian community and not on my own. Again, some of the respondents were suspicious and consequently, this might have impacted on the answers that they were giving me.

All in all, as soon as points relative to methodology and other discussed above were noted to be of great importance to the study, research findings are to be presented in the next chapter of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter explores the information gathered from the research and analyses the findings of this study. The focus of the research was on finding out if language has an impact on livelihoods of Cameroonians settled in the inner city of Johannesburg and the type of social networks that Cameroonians use as a livelihood strategy.

This study seeks to understand whether language and social networks have played a crucial role in the livelihoods of Cameroonians settled in the inner city of Johannesburg. I argue that social networks played a very important role in the lives of Cameroonians both Francophones and Anglophones, in terms of providing them with first livelihoods support. I also argue that language has an impact on the lives of Cameroonians in Johannesburg in terms of the extension of social networks for those who were not able to speak any of South African languages. In this section, I analyse the data collected to prove or disapprove the hypothesis of the present thesis. Details of the respondents' leaving and arrival in the inner city of Johannesburg are analysed in this section. This study hypothesises that, because Cameroon is a country with two different official languages (French and English), Cameroonian migrants settled in the inner city of Johannesburg are likely to use intra-linguistic social networks than inter-linguistic group social networks for their livelihoods. It is important to note that the analysis in this research draws more from information provided by the nodes and reflects the opinions of people who participated in this research.

4.1. The leaving process and arrival of Cameroonian migrants in Johannesburg

In order to understand the role played by social networks in the lives of migrants in general, during the process of migration for Cameroonians in particular, this section gives a background on the process of leaving Cameroon and settlement in the inner city of Johannesburg. It also informs us about the places where these people are coming from and reasons why they chose to come to South Africa.

Most of the respondents in this study come from Yaounde and Douala, whilst others come from Bamenda, Bafoussam, and Garoua (actual places where Cameroonians live in Johannesburg are provided in the appendix). For the majority of Francophone respondents in the present study, the coming to South Africa was not planned. Most of the respondents were planning to go to Europe, America or Australia. Respondent 16 is among those who were planning to go overseas. She worked hard to get the cash necessary with the help of her brother to go to Australia. She states:

> *"My plan was to go to Australia to further my education, but unfortunately, it was not easy to get a visa to go to Australia. The reason why I decided to come to South Africa is that the visa to come here was easy to get."*

While the majority of Francophones did not plan to come to South Africa, few had planned to come to South Africa, one of them states that he decided to come to South Africa to join his brother who was a well established businessman (respondent 2). All female Francophone respondents reported that they decided to come to South Africa

because the visa was easy to obtain, though their initial plan was not to come to South Africa. Respondent 13 planned her journey for almost three years to go to Switzerland, and like respondent 16, they ended up in South Africa because it was easier to get the South African visa.

Social networks play a very important role in the lives of Cameroonian migrants both Francophones and Anglophones living in the inner city of Johannesburg. A number of respondents reported having prior contact with people in Johannesburg before coming to South Africa. However, a few respondents reported having met their contacts after spending few days in Johannesburg. Others met their contacts at the airport. Among Anglophones, only one respondent, (respondent 12) did not make contact with individuals in South Africa prior to her arrival. Among Francophones, respondents 6 and 13 had informed me that they did not have contacts in South Africa prior to their arrival. Respondent 13 told me that the very first time when he came to South Africa, he came to work for an NGO that employed him in Cameroon. It was only after coming to South Africa then he met other Cameroonians with whom he made contact.

All my respondents informed me that they had South African visas at the time of arrival in Johannesburg and all of them came by air. The data gathered show that for a great proportion of Anglophone Cameroonians in my sample, the journey to South Africa was planned. Only respondent 17 informed me that he did not plan to come to South Africa but he planned to go either to the USA or the UK. The difficulties of obtaining a visa

seem to be the main reason why those who planned to go to other places other than South Africa chose to come to Johannesburg. Respondent (17) had this to say:

> *" As I could not get American or British visa, as I planned, I was encouraged by my friends who were established here in South Africa to come to Johannesburg."*

For the majority of Anglophone Cameroonian respondents, their original plan was to come to South Africa. It is important to mention that the majority of Anglophone Cameroonian respondents in this study were females and all of them informed me that they did not have any other place to go other than coming to South Africa. As for Cameroonian Francophones living in the inner city of Johannesburg, it is clear that the majority of them either came straight from their country of origin, possibly in urban areas, or they came from other African countries. When asked to give reasons why they chose to come to South Africa and why they settled in the inner city of Johannesburg. Apart from the fact that South African visa was easier to obtain, the pursuit of better life, higher education and mind opening experience, were among the most reasons given by the majority of respondents in this study from both groups. As respondents 2 (Francophone) puts it:

> *"I came to South Africa to join my brother, as he had already established a business in Johannesburg, I did not have any other choice other than staying and living in Johannesburg"*

Respondents 13 and 6 both came to South Africa for economic reasons. In contrast, respondent 14 came to South Africa for political reasons. She states that because she belongs to the same geographical region with the leader of the main opposition political party of the regime in Cameroon and being herself one of the leaders of an NGO defending the right of women in Cameroon, she felt that her life was threatened. Therefore, she decides to leave Cameroon and come to live in South Africa. Respondents 1 and 15 came to South Africa to further their education.

From the various reasons given by respondents, it is clear that South Africa was chosen by the majority of the respondents in this study as an alternative to Europe or America. It is also clear that the majority were influenced to choose to come to South Africa by their relatives or friends who were established in South Africa. Based on the data collected, South Africa, for the majority of Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones, has become an attractive destination due to visas restrictions in the other parts of the World. This is not being viewed as stepping stone to other destinations as state by the findings of the report of the Southern African Migration Project (Crush 2001:8).

According to the data collected, Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg are settled according to their linguistic group belonging, though in some places you can find members of the two linguistic groups together. In most of the case, Anglophones interact among themselves just like Francophones. According to respondent 4 who is Francophone:

"There is not much trust between Cameroonian Francophones and Anglophones here in Johannesburg due to the political situation back in our country of origin. Anglophones see Francophones as their oppressors and they prefer to interact with Nigerians rather than with their fellow brother Francophones."

The interviews that I conducted reveal that the process of coming to and settling in the inner city of Johannesburg was influenced by several factors among them include the South African visa which was easy to obtain as compared to visas of Western countries. Also the presence of relatives in the inner city of Johannesburg who encouraged them and in some cases, even assisted them. In all cases, entry into South Africa was facilitated by possession of a valid South African Visa, with Johannesburg International Airport being the point of entry. None of the respondents in my sample had reported that they arrived by road or by any other mean of transport.

Contacts played a crucial role in helping new comers. The majority of the respondents both Francophones and Anglophones reported that they met their contacts on arrival at the airport. All those who informed me that they did not meet their contacts at the airport indicated that they got in touch with other fellow Cameroonians through South Africans or other migrants.

Respondent 3 reported that the first person he made contact with was a Congolese who was already established in Johannesburg for quite a long time. The Congolese introduced him to a Francophone Cameroonian who assisted him until he was able to support

himself. The interviews also reveal that contacts were made inside linguistic group in that, Francophone Cameroonians reported having made contact with other Francophone Cameroonians and Anglophone Cameroonians with other Anglophone Cameroonians. None of the respondents reported having made their first contact with a person belonging to the other linguistic group.

4.2. The role of Social Networks.

Networks fulfill a channeling function because they can direct migration away from some possible destination areas where they have contacts, that is, family members and friends who can help them settle down. [32] The present section explores the role that networks played in the process of migration as well as in the establishment in the inner city of Johannesburg of the majority of the respondents of the present study.

Before leaving their areas of origin, most respondents in the present study reported to be in contact or to be aware of someone who they could depend on in Johannesburg. These contacts were not necessary family members but, in most of the cases were friends or other relatives.

In the process of leaving Cameroon to the establishment in the inner city of Johannesburg, social networks have been of great help for the majority of participants in the present study. When asked if they had relatives or close friends living in

[32] Gelderblom and A. Whynie: The Limits and Possibilities of Migrants Networks, in Migration in South and Southern Africa, edited by Pieter Kork, Derick Gelderblom, John O. Oucho & Johan Van zyl, published by HSRC Press, Cape Town, South Africa 2006, P.233

Johannesburg by the time they were thinking about leaving their community of origin, the majority of respondents belonging to the two linguistic groups admitted that they had either friends or relatives living in Johannesburg when they were thinking of leaving Cameroon. When asked the type of relationships that exist between them, responses ranged from husband, brothers and friends. When asked if they were in contact with them before they left and if they did encourage them or help them to come to South Africa, responses at this stage differ based on the experiences and the type of relation that the prospective migrants had with their relatives or friend living in South Africa. The majority of Cameroonian Anglophones informed me that they were in touch with their relatives or friends and they did encourage them to come to South Africa in some cases, they also assisted them financially.

The majority of Cameroonian Francophones also informed me that they were in touch with their relatives or friends and they did encourage them to come to South Africa. Among those reporting that they did not have contacts before leaving Cameroon, one of them said that he came here to work because he was employed in Cameroon by a humanitarian organization. It was the same organization that sent him to South Africa (respondent 6).

Social networks also play a very important role in assisting people during the whole process of leaving Cameroon. When asked the type of assistance they received from their relatives, again at this stage, responses differed and were based on the type of relationship between the prospective migrants and the people they were in touch with. For those

respondents who indicated that they were coming to join their husbands, they informed me that, not only did they receive necessary information, but most importantly, they also received financial assistance that allowed them to organise documents, visas, and tickets. The rest of the respondents informed me that apart from information, they also received moral assistance. None of these respondents (both Francophones and Anglophones) informed me that he/she received financial assistance from their relatives or friends.

This section, examines the role played by social networks in the process of leaving Cameroon. The data show that the majority of the respondents in this study decided to establish themselves in Johannesburg because the people they were coming to join were living in the inner city of Johannesburg and that these people have been of great help in the first days to the newcomers.

4.3. Length of stay and legal status

This section looks at the length of time spent in Johannesburg by respondents and its impact on their livelihoods. It asks whether being in Johannesburg for long time opens up opportunities in terms of livelihoods for migrants. It also considers the legal status of the respondents and whether those without proper documentation find it more difficult to find employment.

When asked how long they have been living in South Africa, most of the English speaking Cameroonians have lived in the country for more than 4 years. Only 2 of them have been in South Africa for less than 2 years. For French speaking Cameroonians, only

5 of them have been living in South Africa for more than 3 years. Others reported that they have lived less than two years in South Africa. Of the 17 Cameroonians migrants that made up the population of study in the present research, a few Francophone Cameroonians reported having a refugee status, while the rest were temporary residents. The majority of Anglophone Cameroonians reported to be permanent residents and few of them reported to be refugees.

Legal status of migrants plays a very important role in the life of respondents vis a vis livelihood. The data collected suggests that the majority of Anglophone Cameroonians who reported to have permanent residents or citizenship have opened stable businesses as compared to the majority of Francophone Cameroonians the majority who happen to have refugee status. The fact that they have refugee permits impacts negatively on their livelihoods as one of the respondents had to say:

> *" The documents that I have do not allow me to find a good job because I waste a lot of time every month going to the department of home affairs to renew my permit. I am working for my brother, it is easy for him to understand my situation since himself went through the same experience before he got the paper that he is using now"* (respondent 11).

From the above, it is true to say that legal status of migrants impacts on the livelihoods of Cameroonians. Those who are using permit under section 22 of the refugee Act No 130

of 1998[33] seem to be negatively affected not because of formal denial of jobs or services, but because of transaction costs.

The data collected also indicate that, the length of stay in the country of settlement also plays an important role in the livelihoods of Cameroonians in the sense that those who have been living for long time are no longer depending totally on their relatives or friends for their livelihoods. The majority of these have either permanent residence (this status was acquired by those married to South African women and most of them are Anglophone Cameroonians), or refugee status or temporary residence (the majority of whom are Francophone Cameroonians). All the respondents who reported to be under section 22 of the refugee Act were those who have been in South Africa for less than two years.

4.4. Coping and survival strategies of Cameroonians in Johannesburg

In this section, I look at the way Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones cope in terms of their livelihoods after they have arrived in South Africa, based on the responses that I got from the participants from the two linguistic groups.

It established that social networks not only play a crucial role in the process of leaving Cameroon to the resettlement in the inner city of Johannesburg, but also provide first assistance to new comers with accommodation, foods and other means of subsistence. However, it is important to mention that most of the first support received by respondents

[33] People under section 22 of the South African Refugee Act have to report every month to the department of Home Affairs to have their permits extended for one month.

was based on the belonging to a particular linguistic group. This means that, Francophone Cameroonians were assisted by other Francophones Cameroonians and Anglophone Cameroonians by Anglophone Cameroonians. In other words, this assistance was structured according to the linguistic group to which respondents belong.

When asked what they did to make money when they first came to Johannesburg, the majority of respondents both Anglophones and Francophones indicated that they had the same experiences. First, they had to meet with a person who was established in Johannesburg and most of the cases it was a person with whom they were in touch long time before they left their country of origin. As most of the respondents were in the informal sector, they informed me that their first activity was to work for their relatives or brothers. This involved assisting them without being paid since they were relying on them for foods and accommodation.

Only a small number of recent migrants, which included students, indicated that they did not have this kind of experience. Even though some of the migrants interviewed did not report having gone through these experiences, their partners did so. One of the respondents who was a student indicated that:

> *'It's rare to find someone who comes here and doesn't end up working for people who gave him/her shelter and foods. Most of Cameroonians who arrived here before us are owners of small businesses.'*[34]

[34] This particular respondent is a Francophone Cameroonian.

From these responses, I assessed the type of social networks in which Cameroonians engage in. None of the respondents informed me that when they first came to South Africa they got in touch with a Cameroonian who does not belong to their linguistic group. This fact shows that Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones engage in intra-linguistic social networks for their survival and not inter-linguistic social networks.

Language is a central element which determined the type of social networks in which Cameroonians both Francophones and Anglophones engage in. Belonging to a particular linguistic group is an important means of accessing assistance or employment. As shown by the data, Francophone Cameroonians were assisted or employed by their fellow Francophones and Anglophone Cameroonians were assisted or employed by fellow Anglophone Cameroonians. Also, it was clear that information about jobs for instance, were obtained through similar language group.

However, before they get well established, self-employment appears to be a copying strategy for the majority of Cameroonians. The majority of Cameroonians interviewed run small businesses (internet cafés, barber shops, selling groceries, hawkers, etc.). It is important at this stage to mention that those who had established stable businesses are those who have been living in South Africa for a long time and majority of them are permanent residents.

Karen Jacobsen (2004) argues that, urban refugees often bring with them new or different skills, more business experience than their local counterparts, and knowledge of markets in their countries. This constitutes an advantage for the business market. Difficulties in accessing formal employment opportunities mean that Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones, are more willing to take financial risks to run their own businesses. However, the income from these activities tends to be limited and unpredictable. The majority of respondents in the sample reported earning from R 1000 a month to R 2000 and few reported having income that is over R 2000 a month. Most of this money is spent on accommodation and food.

Most of the respondents reported that they share flats, in most of the cases with people belonging to their linguistic group or other migrants. This strategy is used to reduce accommodation costs which they reported to be very expensive. One of my respondents indicated that:

> *"It is not easy to rent a flat alone. One must find other people to share the flat in order to reduce the costs, because if you don't share your flat, though you might be able to pay at the end of each month, you must also make sure that you save some money. You can not just be working to pay rent and foods. We need also to save as well and that is the reason why I share this flat with my brother."*

As for food expenses, it was difficult for the respondents to estimate how much they spend per month, because they reported that they buy small quantities of vegetables on a

daily basis. Groceries such as rice, sugar, and maize are bought in bulk and last several months. Respondents were also not able to estimate how much they spend per month on clothing.

If social networks played an important role in the process of migration from Cameroon to South Africa, it shows that they also have been of great importance in the lives of the respondents regardless of their linguistic group once established in the inner city of Johannesburg. As it is with all migrant communities, those away from their homeland establish networks of support to make life easier in foreign countries (Castles and Miller, 2003).

For their survival, language has been a key element in structuring social networks of Cameroonians living in Johannesburg. Respondents, both Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians, informed me that they receive help from their friends and relatives during their earlier days in the city. After a period of time, they move on and tend for themselves because they could not be depending on others for the rest of their life in Johannesburg. Respondents were forced either to start looking for a job or to try to get capital to start up businesses and thereby creating two groups from both Francophones and Anglophones. The first group is made up of people who have been employed formerly. When asked how they got their jobs, Francophone Cameroonians who were working at the time of the interviews informed me that they were introduced to their current bosses by other Francophones, the majority who are from Cameroon. This is also true for Anglophones Cameroonians. This proves that information that respondents got in order to get their

employment were channeled through their linguistic groups. English speakers seem to be informed about job opportunities by other English speakers while Francophones network with people speaking French.

The second group was made of people running their own businesses. Again, language has been of great importance. As reported earlier on, during their first days in the city, Cameroonians both Francophones and Anglophones were either working for their brothers or relatives or assisting them, since they relied on them for a living. Some of these respondents ended up running their own businesses. When I looked at the kind of businesses that these people run, the data suggests that the majority of respondents who were assisting their relatives or friends in selling fruits and other vegetables on the street, end up being in the same business. This is because they knew where they could get their goods and they also knew the benefits of running that business. This situation was observed among Cameroonian Francophones as well as among Cameroonian Anglophones.

4.5. Linkages with Cameroon and the wide Cameroonian diaspora

In this section, I look at the active role played by remittances in the lives of migrants in general, particularly the lives of Cameroonian, both Francophones and Anglophones living in the inner city of Johannesburg.

Remittances have been happening through out the World for years. They are defined as the monies transmitted from one place to another. Although remittances can also be sent in-kind, the term "remittances" usually refers to cash transfers[35].

All the respondents in this study maintained some form of linkages with Cameroon and other Cameroonians in other parts of the world. Regardless of the length of time they had lived in Johannesburg or their linguistic group, all migrants kept in touch with family and friends either through phone calls (everyone) or by email (the latter to a lesser extent). Five respondents informed me that they send money or remittances to Cameroon amounting to an average of $150 per month. There was no gender difference of the remitters. At the same time, other Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones informed me that they receive money from their friends or relatives living either back home or in Europe. This reflects the importance of remittances which are becoming an increasingly crucial source of income for Cameroonians.

Those who were most likely to send money to Cameroon were those living in Johannesburg without their immediate families, such as interviewee 2 who sent around $150 per month to his wife in Yaoundé. Remittances are sent to immediate families like spouses, children and parents. Remittances sent by Cameroonian migrants were primarily used for everyday expenses like education of children and other relatives, and medical expenses (especially in the case of ill parents). It was only in one case where I observed that money was sent for investment purposes (interviewee 9).

[35] This definition is borrowed from Judith Van Doorn, ILO

In some cases, remittances sent were also used to fund movements of family members to South Africa or to other parts of the World. Interviewee 10 who was a member of the Southern Cameroon National Congress (SCNC) informed me that he used to send money towards his wife's education in Cameroon (at university), also for his wife and their son's fare to join him in Johannesburg.

Sending remittances is not always a one-way traffic. Cameroonian migrants who informed me that they could not afford to send anything back home received help from their families in Cameroon and Europe. But the number of those who rely on remittances is not as big as the number of who support themselves. Overall, the study revealed that most Cameroonian migrants (Anglophones and Francophones) do not send remittances to their country of origin. When asked if they do send money to their relatives outside South Africa or Johannesburg, the majority of the respondents said they did not.

4.6. Role of Church and social organization in the lives of Cameroonians

Religious associations are major features of contemporary urban life in Africa (Simone 1998). When asked if they belong to any religion, the majority of the respondents reported that they regularly attend Catholic Church, or other evangelical churches. Some reported to be Muslims. Despite the fact that respondents acknowledged that the church can only be of limited assistance, they also provide a field of strong interaction of various natures between members. The fact they attend services together creates a sort of solidarity and trust among members that can facilitate material exchanges.

Attending church services can be beneficial as indicated by one of the respondents. He informed me that churches can be a source of support in times of needs at the same time a source of information about jobs and livelihood opportunities for their members. Respondent 11 informed me that she works as a waiter in one of the restaurants in town, as a result of information that she got from a member of her church. Churches have been of great importance for the respondents since they serve as a place where assistances and information can be obtained. Not only are churches of great help for Cameroonian migrants, they also play a crucial role in the lives of Cameroonian migrants as social organisations.

When asked if they belong to any organization or clubs to which they make a financial contribution such as members' fees or dues, the majority of the respondents informed me that they did belong to such organizations. Only a few of the respondents, regardless of their linguistic group, informed me that they were not members of any organization. To assess the importance of these organizations, respondents were asked to state the source of their support if they wanted to borrow money. The majority of the respondents informed me that they would borrow money from their organizations. Only one respondent informed me that she would borrow from a bank. Respondent No 3 stated that:

> *"As I belong to ARGMAS[36], I make sure that I pay all my due in case of problem, I may borrow money from them."*

[36] ARGMAS is a cultural organization of Francophone Cameroonians living in Johannesburg

It is important to note at this stage that although there are two main organizations, one of Francophone Cameroonians and another of Anglophone Cameroonians, none of my respondents informed me to be member of these organizations. The organizations that they referred to are those grouping people belonging to a particular ethnic group as I will show it in the next section of this chapter.

4.7. Interaction among Cameroonians

Participants in this research reported to interact with their fellow Cameroonians like most of the other communities in the inner city of Johannesburg. Although they are two big Associations of the two main linguistic groups in Cameroon (Francophones and Anglophones), none of the respondents in this study reported to be a member of both of them. This does not mean that Cameroonians do not belong to any of these associations. However, the majority of respondents indicated that they belong to associations which are composed of people belonging to their ethnic groups. In fact, most of the respondents associate with each other because of common ethnic language, or on the basis of tribe and not on national basis.

Further, the findings of the research established that there is not much interaction between Francophone Cameroonians and Anglophone Cameroonians. This was probably due to the political situation in Cameroon where Anglophones are considered to be members of the main opposition party in Cameroon and because there is a permanent rivalry between the two linguistic groups. One of the respondents had this to say:

"Our brothers (when speaking of Anglophone Cameroonians) considered themselves to be victims of injustice in Cameroon because the ruling party in Cameroon is led by Francophone Cameroonians which is not true. There are also English speaking Cameroonians who are members of the ruling party. What I do not understand is the fact that Anglophone Cameroonians are in good relations with Nigerians in South Africa than with Francophone Cameroonians."

These relations may indicate the nature of social networks in which Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg engage in, Francophones interact among themselves and Anglophones interact among themselves.

During the interviews, I noticed that there was lack of unity among the Cameroonian community living in the inner city of Johannesburg. When asked if they consider the Cameroonian community in Johannesburg to be close to each other, the majority (12 out of 17) thought that it was not the case. Only 3 respondents indicated that they were close to each other. The other two did not know. One of the respondents noted:

"We go along like separate wheels we have a tendency to isolate ourselves. To tell the truth, we're selfish among ourselves."

At the same time, participants in this research also felt that there was a severe lack of trust among themselves, with 11 saying that people did not trust each other, and only 6

saying that they did trust each other. This indicated that there was even less trust and unity among Cameroonians. Interviewee12 pointed out that:

> *"There's no trust because we as a people have a deep-seated mistrust, therefore some are with one group, and others with another and there's no unity between us, only division."*

It is important to mention that mistrust was more between Cameroonians coming from the two major linguistic groups. However, a sort of trust and unity was found among people belonging to a same ethnic group. In this regard, churches have been identified as one of those places where these people interact and trust each other.

Those who were united and trusted each other were either very close friends, especially if they shared the migration experience, or were members of same church congregations. This is illustrated by as follows:

> *"We support each other because we go there for the same reason. We understand each other"* (respondent 8).

Regarding interaction among Cameroonians themselves, for both Francophones and Anglophones, the study reveals that community solidarity is very closely associated with trusted friends, family and church members. There is no close interpersonal relationship between Cameroonians belonging to the two major linguistic groups (Francophones and Anglophones) living in the inner city of Johannesburg. This situation has an impact on

the lives of the respondents in that networks have not expanded because they do not trust each other.

4.8. Importance of kinship, close friends and relatives.

The majority of respondents in this study reported that they had either a close friend or relatives leaving in Johannesburg before they decided to leave their community of origin. It is obvious that ethnic ties are a vital link for Cameroonians, both inside and outside their country of origin, and many depend greatly on these linkages for survival. In Johannesburg, ethnic bonds have been a source of social support in numerous ways, and it is interesting to note that ethnic ties assist other migrant communities in very similar ways.

Respondent 9, who has lived in the inner city of Johannesburg for seven years now, said that many of his kin from his area of origin came directly to Johannesburg because they knew they had the support to depend on once in South Africa. Ethnic and kinship networks also form the basis for livelihoods and community organisation among Cameroonian migrants in Johannesburg. Not only do Cameroonian migrants from the same linguistic group try to live near one another, if possible, but they visit each other and employ each other.

4.9. Interaction and relation with the host community and other migrants

In this section, I argue that interaction between Cameroonians with the host community and other migrants have an impact on the livelihoods of Cameroonians living in the inner city of Johannesburg.The study reveals that interactions between Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones, with the host community seem to be positive, even though some concerns were raised by a number of respondents in this study. Contrary to some studies that argue that foreigners use South Africa as a stepping stone to other destinations (Crush 2001:8), most Cameroonians in this study came to South Africa because it was their last destination. None of them indicated that they were in transit to another destination other than South Africa. Although some respondents informed me that they originally planed to leave Cameroon for other destinations like Canada (respondent 15) or Sweden (respondent 8), due to difficulties in obtaining visas, they decided to come to South Africa. It is important to take note that the data indicates that the majority of respondents who were planning to go to other places rather than South Africa before leaving Cameroon are Francophones.

The study showed that a number of respondents, especially Cameroonian Anglophones are married to South Africans and those who are not married indicated that they were willing to get married to South African women if need be. This implies acquiring a South African citizenship which could have an impact on the lives of Cameroonians vis-à-vis their livelihoods. Those who are married to South African women benefit because they become eligible to obtain South African IDs that can be used to access credit from banks. Since most of the respondents in this study are self-employed, credit from banks can

boost their businesses. Marriage to South Africans can also have a positive impact in terms of their social networks, in that, those who are married to South African women can have an expanded social network as compare to those who are not. This can also be an important source of social capital. Aspasia Papadopoulou (2002), in his study on Kurds in Greece confirms this assertion; he claims that among the Kurds interviewed, it was those who had ties with Greeks who had more stable jobs and felt more integrated in Greece. He went on saying that Kurds married to Greek women managed to overcome boundaries, even ethnicity-based class boundaries.[37]

When asked if they had made friendship with South Africans, all the respondents indicated that they had friends. The majority of Francophone Cameroonians have friends from other African countries and most of them are French speakers. However some of them indicated that they had friends who did not come from French speaking countries. Most of Anglophone Cameroonians have friends from English speaking countries with some having friends from French speaking countries.

4.10. Language challenges and livelihood strategies

South Africa has eleven languages and only English seems to be common to Cameroonians both Francophones and Anglophones because all respondents reported to be able to speak it. The majority of the respondents in the present study indicated that they are able to speak English but only few reported to be able to speak at least one of the

[37] Papadopoulou, A.: Kurdish Asylum Seekers in Greece: the Role of Networks in the Migration Process.

local languages spoken by black South Africans, the majority of whom being Cameroonian Anglophones.

The major challenge for Cameroonian migrants in Johannesburg was language. They acknowledged the fact that of not being able to speak languages that are spoken by black South Africans. This brings difficulties in interactions on a daily basis and also contributes to them feeling of being discriminated against. Only 5 of the 17 Cameroonian migrants interviewed spoke one of the local languages fluently. This is not because they had migrated long time ago, but because they are married to South Africans and they have had an opportunity to be in touch with people who are speaking these languages on daily basis. Respondent 9 reported to be able to speak good Zulu and Xhosa. One of the respondents, who spoke Zulu fluently, said:

> *"It is very important to know at least one of those languages spoken by black South Africans as they constitute the majority of our customers. Every time a black South African is in front of your stand and you greet and welcome him/her in Zulu he/she feels comfortable even if she/he did have a plan to buy. Just because you are able to speak their language they buy, it is a commercial technique."*[38]

However, it is important to note that some Francophone Cameroonians informed me that they are learning South African languages. The majority indicated that they had tried at some point or were still learning because of the fact they are exposed to an environment

[38] This assertion was reported by respondent 12, who is an Anglophone Cameroonian.

where they are in touch with South Africans, especially blacks. One of the respondents had this to say:

> *"Every time you have a black South African customer, he/she usually speaks in one of the local languages that I can not speak and understand. I do not understand what they say, maybe they ask how much my goods cost or maybe they ask me something. But I do not get them. How can I run properly my business facing these difficulties? That is why I decided to start learning Zulu which is the most spoken language by black South Africans."* (Interview with one of the Francophone respondents)

Language, not only allows Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones, to structure their social networks but also plays a crucial role in their livelihoods. This was indicated by respondents. This is because the majority of Cameroonians who were running their own businesses, especially those selling fruits and vegetables, were able to speak at least one of languages spoken by black South Africans is a key element for their livelihoods. Local languages were a concern to those who were selling on the street rather than for those who own internet café or public phones for instance.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This chapter presents in a summarized form and the major findings of the present study in relation to its aims and objectives. The purpose of the present study was to investigate the impact of language on the livelihoods of Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones, living in the inner city of Johannesburg. Specifically the study set out to look at the type of social networks Cameroonian migrants engage in to earn their livelihoods.

This report provides insights, albeit on the basis of a small sample, into the lives and living conditions of Cameroonian migrants in the inner city of Johannesburg. The research report highlights how and why Cameroonians have ended-up migrating to Johannesburg, which has been for a mixture of both political and economic reasons.

This study on Cameroonian migrants residing in the inner city of Johannesburg forms part of a wider study of migrants and refugee population settled in South Africa and in neighbouring countries. It is useful to recall some of the starting points in this study regarding Cameroonians migration.

The above situation presumes that Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones, chose to settle in Johannesburg for reasons that range from economic, political and visas reasons. Cameroonian migrants, while certainly facing massive exigencies on arrival and settling into Johannesburg life, have been active and creative agents who have developed innovative and enterprising strategies that have allowed them to make a living.

In the process of determining the impact of language on the livelihoods of Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones, living in the inner city of Johannesburg and to assess the kind of social networks they engage in, this study has succeeded in revealing some important trends of the respondents' experiences regarding their livelihoods strategies.

The study reveals that during the entire process of leaving Cameroon to the settlement in Johannesburg, English, as the most spoken language among migrants did not matter, especially for Cameroonians coming from the French speaking area of Cameroon. This is because all the respondents in this study informed me that they were able to speak both French and English and the two languages were learned back home. However, language played a crucial role in structuring social networks in the sense that information about jobs, for instance, was obtained within linguistic group.

Social networks played an important role regarding the choice of settlement and the first assistance received by respondents on arrival. The choice of Johannesburg as a destination has predominantly been determined by economic opportunity and existence of networks whether ethnic or kinship as was revealed by the majority of respondents. This is couple with the fact that South African visa was easy to get as compared to visas from European countries, the USA and Canada for instance.

During the entire migration process, it was established that Cameroonians from the two linguistic groups made use of social networks from the time they left Cameroon to the

time they settled in the inner city of Johannesburg. Once they are established in Johannesburg, Cameroonians face many challenges similar to those faced by other migrants living in the inner city. Among these include problems associated with shelter, employment, food, etc. In order to overcome all these challenges, they rely on relatives to make a living. These networks are based on the linguistic group to which these people belong to. Francophones network with other Francophone Cameroonians and Anglophones network with other Anglophone Cameroonians.

Cameroonian migrants' interaction with local South Africans may have had an impact on the lives of Cameroonians both Francophones and Anglophones in terms of expansion of social networks that appears to be a very important component in the lives of migrants. However, the degree of interaction differs according to the linguistic group where these people belong to. For the majority of Francophones, their relation with South Africans is not as much as that of Anglophone Cameroonians. None of the Francophones in the sample was married to a South African woman, whilst all Anglophones who reported to be married, are married to South African women. As such, I also agree that relations between Cameroonians with the host community impact on the livelihoods of the respondents in the sense that those who are attached to South Africans may have advantages that those who are not do not have. Such benefits include such things as documentation that can allow people to access credits from banks to boost their businesses. Another advantage is related to the knowledge of the local languages which is one of the factors that also contribute to the growth of their businesses.

The main conclusion of this study is that language is a key element for the livelihoods of respondents as the majority of the respondents in this study were self-employed. The fact that they interact with South Africans, especially blacks, shows that those who are able to speak at least one of the languages spoken by black South Africans expanded their networks as compare to those who can not. Marriage seems to be one of the most important components in the process of learning these languages, because those who reported to be able to speak South African languages are those who were married to South Africans.

The political situation of Cameroon has an influence on the type of social networks that Cameroonians, both Francophones and Anglophones engage in. Cameroonians in the inner city of Johannesburg use intra-linguistic group social networks for their survival and there is a sort of mistrust between people belonging to the two major linguistic groups.

Another related finding was that, contrary to ideas that say that Johannesburg is used as a stepping stone or as a point of transit to the developed countries, in the case of people I interviewed, South Africa was their final destination.

It is more realistic to expect migration between Cameroon and South Africa to be an ongoing phenomenon, which will continue even in the absence of political and economic crises in Cameroon. This is because South Africa has turned to be an alternative to migration to the west for many African migrants.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire

Interview number: ……

Interviewee linguistic group ……

To be read to all before the beginning of the interview

My name is …… from the Graduate School for the Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am conducting a study that seeks to understand and to analyze the kind of social networks Cameroonians use for their income generation and the factors that influence their choice. I don't work for the government or any aid organization; this study is mainly for academic purposes. Please note that, apart from my appreciation, I don't promise any form of compensation for you participating. It is your free choice to participate in this study and you are free not to answer questions you don't feel comfortable with or to stop the interview at any time. The information that you will give me and your identity will be kept in strict confidentiality. The interview will take between 30 and 45 minutes.

Would you like to continue? **Yes** ……; **No** ……. (Mark where applicable)

If the answer to the question above is yes, the interviewer should complete the following questions:

Questions 1-7 to be filled by interviewer

1. Date of Interview

……

……

2. Neighborhood/Interview area

……

……..

3. Start Time

……

……...

4. Finish Time

……

……

5. Total Minutes spent on the interview

……

……

6. Respondent sex

……

……

7. Housing type

……

……

1. Background of respondents and legal and Regulatory Encounters

100. In which country were you born?

……

……

101. How old are you?

……

……

102. How long, in total have lived in South Africa? If this is not your first time in South Africa please tells me how long you have lived altogether.

……

……...

103. When you were thinking of leaving your country of origin, did you consider going to live anywhere else other than South Africa?

……

……

104. Where else did you consider going?

……

……

105. Why did you choose to come to South Africa?

……

……

106. Why did you choose to settle in Johannesburg?

……

……

107. What is your linguistic group? (Francophone or Anglophone)

……

……

108. What is your legal status, what kind of ID do you use?

……

……

109. What is your current marital status?

……

……

2. **Social Network and Group Organizations**

200. When you were thinking about leaving your community of origin, did you already have relatives or close friends living in Johannesburg?

……

……

201. Who were they?

……

……

202. Were you in contact with them before you left?

……

……

203. Did they encourage or help you to come to South Africa?

……

……

204. What kind of help did they give you?

……

……

205. Do you have friends that you meet here in Johannesburg?

……

……

206. Where are they from?

……

……

207. Which language do they speak?

……

……

208. If you have one, what is your religion?

……

……

209. Do you belong to any organization or clubs to which you make a financial contribution (e.g. membership fees or dues? If so, can you tell me what kind of organization?

…….....……

……

210. I am interested in knowing where you would go if you want to borrow money

……

……

211. Once you were in South Africa, who did you first make contact with?

……

……

212. With whom did you stay for your first week in Johannesburg?

……

……

3. Language Skills and Other Languages

300. Which languages can you speak and understand?

……

……

301. Which one of these would you consider being your mother tongue?

……

……

302. Did you start learning any of these languages after coming to Johannesburg?

……

……

303. How important is it to know to speak English?

……

……

304. How important is it to know to speak any of South African languages?

……

……

305. Are you planning to improve the level of your English?

……

……

306. Are you planning to learn to speak South African languages?

……

……

307. Do people you live with speak English?

……

……

308. What main language do you speak in your family (at home)?

……

……

309. What language do you speak when interacting with people from your country of origin?

……

……

310. What language do you speak when interacting with South Africans and other migrants?

……..……

……

4. Housing and area

400. In which area of Johannesburg do you stay?

……

……

401. For how long have you been staying in this area?

……

……..

402. Why did you choose this area?

……

……

403. Whom do you stay with?

……..……

……

404. How many times did you move since you come to South Africa?

……

……

405. Are you a tenant or do you own the flat?

……

……

406. If tenant, how much do you pay a month?

……

……

407. Did you encounter any kind of problems in getting this flat?

……

……..

408. Who help you to get this flat?

……

……

409. Did you receive any form of assistance in getting this flat?

……

……

5. Education Detail

500. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?

……

……

501. Apart from that which you have just described, have you had sort of additional training or education?

……

……

502. Do you have any plan of studying in South Africa?

……

……..

503. If studying or have studied, what kind of study did you or are you currently doing?

……

……

504. How do you think it is important to continue your studies in South Africa?

……

……

505. Have you or any member of your household encounter any problem in obtaining education or training here in South Africa?

……

……

506. If yes, what did you do or what are you planning to do?

……

……

507. Did you obtain any form of help before you start your study and what kind of help?

……

……

508. Who helped you?

……

……

509. What kind of relation do you have with him?

……

……

510. What language do you use to interact with him?

……

. ……

511. What is the level of education of your spouse?

……

……

6. Employment Detail

600. Were you working before you come to South Africa?

……

……

601. If yes, what kind of job did you have?

……

……..

602. Are you currently working?

……

……

603. I would like you to tell me whom you worked for when you come to South Africa?

……

……

604. If you are working or doing odd (piece) jobs now, what group does the person or people for whom you work belong to? If working for a company or institution, please tell me your boss' nationality or linguistic group

……

……

605. Have ever worked as a volunteer since you settle in Johannesburg?

……

……

606. If yes, did that job help you to get a paid employment?

……

……

607. How long did it take you to get your current job?

……

……

608. How would you define your current employment status?

……

……

609. Who helped you to get your job, is he a Francophone or an Anglophones?

……

……

610. Depending on the answer 609, do you think it would be different if it were a Francophone or an Anglophone who helped you and why?

……

……

611. When you spoke to your current boss for the first time, in which language did you communicate?

……

……

612. In which language do you interact with your co-workers?

……

……

613. Before you started your current job, were you working? If yes for whom; if not how did you support yourself during that time?

.....……

……..

614. Are you satisfied with your current job?

……

……

615. Does your spouse work and how did he/she get the job?

……

……

616. What kind of help did he/she obtain to secure that job?

……

……

617. Did he/she obtain it from a Francophone or an Anglophone?

……

……

7. Income

700. What did you do to make money when you first came to Johannesburg?

……

……

701. Are you the primary wage earner in your household (close family or people with whom you regularly share resources)?

……

……

702. If you don't mind me asking approximately how much money does your household (People who you support or with whom you regularly share money /resources) earn per month from all resources of income combined.

……

……

703. Approximately how much money per month does your household spend on accommodation?

……

……

704. Approximately how much does your household spend on food and clothing?

……

……

705. Do you ever receive money from your family or friends outside of South Africa/Johannesburg?

……

……

706. From whom do you usually receive money?

……

……

707. Where do the people who send you money live?

……

……

708. Approximately how much money do you receive per month?

……

……

709. Do you send money to your relatives or friends outside South Africa? Johannesburg?

……

……

710. How much money did you bring in savings when coming to South Africa?

……

……

711. In general, how can you describe your family' financial situation?

……

……

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

Appendix II: Profiles of the Participants

Interviewee1:

The first respondent was a female Post-Graduate student, 29 years old of age, Anglophone. She was interviewed on 24 11 2005 at Wits. The interview conducted in English lasted 48 minutes; shi is single and has been living in Johannesburg for 10 months at the time of the interview.

Interviewee 2:

This male respondent, 34 years of old, was interviewed on 28 11 2005 in Hillbrow, the interview conducted in English lasted about 45 minutes. This respondent is using a refugee ID and had lived in Johannesburg for 14 months at the time of the interview, he is a married man and father of one child.

Interviewee 3:

The second male respondent, was 28 years old, he was interviewed on the 29 11 2005 in Hillbrow, conducted in English, the interview lasted 60 minutes, he is a permanent resident, he has lived for 20 months in Johannesburg. He is running his own business and married at the time of the interview.

Interviewee 4:

This male respondent, was 30 years old, he was interviewed in Yeoville on the 30 11 2005 conducted in English lasted 61 minutes. This respondent is using a refugee ID, he is single and had lived in Johannesburg for 3 years.

Interviewee 5:

The fourth male participant, was 29 years old and was interviewed in Braamfontein on the 01 12 2005. The interview was conducted in English, lasted 43 minutes. This respondent has lived in Johannesburg for 5 months, he is married and father of 2 children.

Interviewee 6:

The 6th male participant, was 37 years old, he was interviewed on the 3 12 2005 in Braamfontein. Conducted in a mixture of English and French, the interview lasted 45 minutes. He reported that he has lived in Johannesburg for 18 months in total. This respondent is single and is using a temporary residence.

Interviewee 7:

The second female participant was 30 years old, she was interviewed on the 3- 12 –2005 in Braamfotein, the interview was conducted in English, lasted 39 minutes. The respondent is married living with her husband, she reported that she is using a refugee permit, she has lived in Johannesburg for 7 years.

Interviewee 8:

This respondent was 32 yeas old, he was interviewed on the 30-11-2005 in Johannesburg down town, and the interview was conducted in English and lasted 32 minutes. This respondent is using a refugee ID, he is married and had lived in Johannesburg for 8 years.

Interviewee 9:

This respondent was 45 years old, he was interviewed in Johannesburg down town, the interview lasted 48 minutes. The respondent is married and has been living in Johannesburg for 7 years.

Interviewee 10:

The 10th respondent was a male, aged 33 years old, he was interviewed on the 4-12-2005 in Braamfontein. The interview conducted in English, lasted 36 minutes. This respondent is a post-graduate student, he is married and has been living in Johannesburg for 5 years.

Interviewee 11:

This respondent was a female, age 25 years old, single. She was interviewed in Braamfotein on the 6-12-2005. Conducted in English, the interview lasted 46 minutes. She reported that she is using a refugee status and she is single, she has been living in Johannesburg for one year.

Interviewee 12:

This participant was female, age 37 years old, she was interviewed in Johannesburg down town on the 8-12-2005. Conducted in English, the interview lasted 49 minutes. She reported to be a permanent resident, she is married and she has been living in Johannesburg for 6 years.

Interviewee 13:

This participant was a female, age 27 years old; she was interviewed in Rosettenville on the 13 December 2005. Conducted in English, the interview lasted 38 minutes. The respondent reported to be temporary resident and she is married, she has been living in Johannesburg for 3 years.

Interviewee 14:

A female respondent was interviewed in English on the 16-12-2005 in Berea. This 29 years old respondent holds an English degree, she is married. She reported that she is using a refugee status and she has been living in Johannesburg for 5 years.

Interviewee 15:

A 33 years old male respondent who has lived in Johannesburg for 5 years was my 15th interviewee. He was interviewed in English on the 16-12-2005, he reported to hold a diploma in Bible studied. Conducted in English, the interview lasted 44 minutes and he reported to be a temporary resident.

Interviewee 16:

This 34 years old female was interviewed on the 6-01-2006 in Yeoville and has been living in Johannesburg for 4 years, she is a refugee and single, the interview lasted 38 minutes.

Interviewee 17:

This respondent is a permanent resident, married and has been living in Johannesburg for 4 years. Conducted in English, the interview lasted 43 minutes. He is 32 years old. This interview was conducted in Braamfntein on the 8-January-2006.