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"You can only claim your Yard and not a Country": Exploring Context, Discourse and Practices of Cosmopolitanism amongst African Migrants in Johannesburg

Dissertation in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Forced Migration Studies, Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand

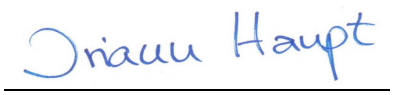
August 2010

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work and that recognition has been given to the references used. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.



Iriann Haupt
20 August 2010
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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my wonderful and proudly African husband, Simon Freemantle. I would never have been able to complete this dissertation were it not for his unfailing support, challenging thoughts and the hundreds of heated discussions we had on the impacts of migration and the ever-changing nature and meaning of belonging in Africa and the world.

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Abstract

Adopting a social constructionist methodology, this research explores the contexts, discourse and practices of cosmopolitanism amongst African migrants in Johannesburg, South(ern) Africa's economic hub and top migrant destination. The research argues that the central function of this cosmopolitanism is to serve as a counter-narrative to an exclusive South African nationalism and as an expression of a more general struggle to overcome the unwarranted limitations of being born in a country which does not provide enough opportunities. On the basis of both qualitative and quantitative data collected between 2006 and 2008 in Johannesburg, this study challenges the still widely held assumption that cosmopolitanism is not for those whose mobility is 'unprivileged' and argues that this assumption becomes particularly unsustainable once situated in the contexts of Africa's unachieved nation-states, hyper-diverse urban centres and multiple alternative systems of belonging and identity. Instead, this study argues that it is exactly these conditions that have actually allowed a particular type of cosmopolitanism to emerge rather than having suppressed it. The three empirical chapters explore how migrants' counter-narrative to discourses of nationalism, exclusion and pathologisation of migration constructs notions of mobility and space in particularly cosmopolitan, de-territorialised terms; generates a concept of cultural diversity and the engagement with the Other as normal, enriching and unproblematic; and establishes a more inclusive and multifaceted cosmopolitan social order that is claimed to be morally superior to that of nationalism. Finally, the conclusion provides some pointers towards three central imperatives for future research on cosmopolitanism: firstly, the imperative to address the present disconnect between cosmopolitanism from above and from below – and as part of that the lack of attention to empirical forms of cosmopolitanism; secondly, the importance of paying more attention to the social, cultural and economic contexts in which forms of empirical cosmopolitanism are embedded; and, thirdly, the need to overcome the three 'isms' that the majority of research on cosmopolitanism and migration remains stunted by: ethnocentrism, class-centrism and, somewhat ironically, methodological nationalism. The study argues that if we want to know more about how individuals become cosmopolitan agents of change and reformulate social orders 'from below', we should begin to treat migrant populations, and particularly those who move within and across the African continent, as a crucial source of knowledge about how to negotiate both the uncertainties and the opportunities that are intrinsic to more de-territorialised, post-national forms of social organisation and identity.

Keywords: South Africa, Johannesburg, Migration, Cosmopolitanism, Discourse Analysis

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1

Introduction

"You can only claim your Yard and not a Country": Exploring Context, Discourse and Practices of Cosmopolitanism amongst African Migrants in Johannesburg

1.1 Setting the Scene

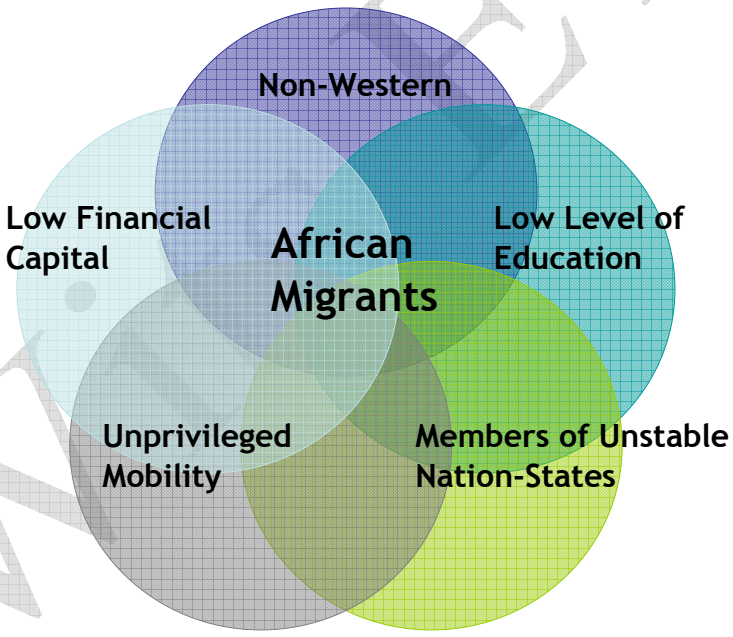
Cosmopolitanism as an attitude or practice of individuals is commonly conceptualised as an openness towards Otherness and cultural difference. This study explores the context, discourse and practices of an *empirical* type of cosmopolitanism that is located where no one would usually look for it: amongst ordinary African migrants[1] in an African city. In fact, given the literature's major ethno- and class-centric biases, there are probably few other populations that have been as overlooked in research on cosmopolitanism as those who move within the African continent. This is because cosmopolitanism still remains closely associated with several types of *privilege* – most prominently, being a citizen of a stable nation-state (see Ignatieff 1993:9, Calhoun 2002:873), being moneyed and being well educated. Ignatieff (1993:9) for example argues that 'a cosmopolitan post-nationalist spirit will always depend, in the end, on the capacity of nation-states to provide security and civility for their citizens.' Given the fact that in the Western world the number of people in such a position is significantly higher than in the developing world, cosmopolitanism is thus conceived of not only as a matter of class, but also as a matter of location – as something that 'belongs in the center, in the affluent urban North of the world' (Hannerz 2005:205). Cosmopolitanism is often seen as an intrinsically Western concept that in its very essence fails to appeal to non-Western societies altogether, as 'a discourse centred in a Western view of the world' (Calhoun 2002:873), thus believed to be distant and removed from African realities. Often, the ability to 'transcend' one's own locality and culture and connect to a larger world is seen as both undesirable and somewhat unattainable for those millions of inhabitants of weak or 'dysfunctional' states in the global South (see Grovogui 2005:105). However, most discussions of cosmopolitanism continue

[1] In this context, *ordinary* is meant to denote non-professional migrants who have no or only basic formal education and are engaged in low-income occupations. Henceforth, they will be referred to as *African migrants* in this thesis.

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to linger in a theoretical realm without any, or only very limited, empirical evidence to substantiate these claims about cosmopolitanism's alleged elitism.

While cosmopolitanism is inherently linked to the notion of mobility, the *nature* of one's mobility is assumed to be crucial for the development of a cosmopolitan disposition. Those who travel out of a position of privileged choice (and thus with a secure place to return to), such as (Western) business elites, moneyed travellers, academics or foreign correspondents, are commonly considered as being *cosmopolitan* (see Hannerz 2007, Kanter 1995, Calhoun 2002). On the other hand, those for whom the nature of their mobility is unprivileged, i.e. dictated by necessity or even forced, such as migrants and refugees, are conceived of as either people 'out of place' or as *transnationals.* The multitudes of Africans who move within and beyond the continent because their home locales fail to provide stability and opportunities for survival are thus, again, excluded from being cosmopolitan. Taking all of these 'exclusions' from cosmopolitanism together, it is possible to visualise how African migrants are positioned in exactly the intersection of all five groups of people assumed *not* to be cosmopolitan:



Furthermore, while a manifold literature on cosmopolitanism is rapidly expanding, it is largely characterised by much conceptual ambiguity as well as by a striking lack of empirical grounding. In particular, we still have very little insight into the 'actually existing' (Robbins 1998a) forms and natures of cosmopolitanism, particularly amongst one of the groups that is, as Rushdie describes so evocatively, a major catalyst of hybridity and 'newness' entering the world: migrants. Owing to the resilient yet empirically under-researched hypothesis that 'ordinary folk' (Roudometof 2005:114) have little or no potential to be cosmopolitan, the case of migrants (and refugees) is usually dismissed

without much further enquiry. In this thesis, I argue that the existing scholarship underestimates cosmopolitanism's universal fundamentals and neglects the fact that people negotiate and live vernacular versions of cosmopolitanism everywhere in the world on an everyday basis. Against all ethnocentric views, vernacular forms of cosmopolitanism express inherently *human* ideas in different languages, within and across continents, nation-states, social classes, religions, ethnic groups, cities et cetera.

This study is set in the South African city of Johannesburg, which is not only the 'economic powerhouse' of South Africa alone, but undoubtedly that of the entire region and a key destination for migrants from all over Africa. Johannesburg is the provincial capital of Gauteng, South Africa's smallest yet richest and most densely populated province, which is estimated to contribute over 33 per cent to South Africa's GDP and about 10 per cent of the GDP of the entire African continent (Gauteng Provincial Government 2005:10, Gauteng Tourism Authority 2010). As I describe in more detail in Chapter 4, ever since its founding as a gold mining city in the late 19th century, Johannesburg has been shaped, and, to a large extent, sustained, by migrant labour, especially from its northern neighbouring countries. While the permanent settlement of migrants in urban areas such as Johannesburg was prohibited during the entire apartheid era (on the basis of the overarching goal of keeping different racial groups within South Africa both socially as well as spatially as separate as possible), these policies of exclusion became gradually more relaxed and were eventually abandoned in 1994. Since then, Johannesburg has witnessed an increasing influx of both internal as well as international migrants, seeking opportunities emanating from South Africa's re-insertion into, and growing status within, the global economy. Having been at the forefront of the apartheid struggle for the right to the city, South African citizens thus 'have been forced to re-imagine Johannesburg not as belonging to all South Africans or to them alone but shared with others in a new African cosmopolitanism' (Tomlinson et al. 2003:XIII, see Tomlinson 1999, Landau 2006:130, Gotz and Simon 2003:128). This has created tremendous tensions between citizens and migrants, and Johannesburg's historical status as a prime location of racial exclusion during the apartheid era, combined with its undisputed status as the commercial hub of the region, has turned it into a particularly contested site today. It is a place in the midst of a powerful dialectic between the forces of an exclusive nationalism (and resulting xenophobia and exclusion) aimed at reserving the city's opportunities and resources for citizens only and the more cosmopolitan 'ways of being' of its manifold and transient populations of international migrants (see Landau 2006:128).

Johannesburg is thus a perfect setting to study what Beck (2002:17) has evocatively described as the 'dialectics of conflict' between cosmopolitanism and 'its enemies' which are constitutive to the process of *cosmopolitanization*, 'internal globalisation, globalisation

from within the national societies' (Beck 2002:29). Until now, little is known about how cosmopolitan counter-discourses of unboundedness engage with and challenge hegemonic discourses of exclusion within specific arenas embedded into particular cultural, social and economic configurations. Also, while these conflicts are carried out simultaneously in multiple domains, ranging from the supra-, inter- and intra-state levels to the 'man on the street', it is particularly to those lower echelons of the quotidian, of the everyday lives, practices and discourses of 'ordinary people' that little attention has been paid so far, given the literature's scarcity of cosmopolitan views and voices 'from below'. With this present study, I hope to be able to inform broader questions relating to the future of cosmopolitanism by bringing it 'back to the ground'. I explore the voices and everyday worlds of migrants who, just like displaced Mozambican migrant Manuel (Nr.52E)[2], contend that essentially "nobody has a right of claiming that a country belongs to them, [that] you can only claim your yard and not a country", and through this pursue a 'cosmopolitics' from below, challenging the very fundamentals of nationalism and its exclusionary practices. However translated, the dialectics of conflict between the forces of territorial closure, identity politics and cosmopolitan openness *is* a universal process. While it may be difficult to acknowledge the ruptures and contradictions of empirically existing cosmopolitanism as it takes on local shapes and conforms less with the ideal-typical norms the philosophers have outlined, I think that, ultimately, research on cosmopolitanism can only gain from such an empirical grounding and be propelled forward through it.

In terms of data, this thesis draws on three sources – one of primary and two of secondary nature – collected amongst different groups of migrants (qualitative interviews with street traders, qualitative interviews with migrants displaced by the 2008 xenophobic violence and a survey conducted amongst inner city residents) in Johannesburg. Through this, it hopes to address some of the most critical conceptual and methodological biases in existing scholarly thought on cosmopolitanism, as discussed above. In fact, this study argues that if we take African migrants as a 'test case' for the ethno- and class-centred logic underlying the transnational migrant/cosmopolitan elite distinction, we find that this thinking is flawed and that a particular form of cosmopolitanism exists amongst African migrants in Johannesburg precisely *because of* their relatively 'disadvantaged' contexts of high social and economic insecurity, the unprivileged nature of mobility and the prevalence of largely 'unachieved' nation-states across the continent.

As the data shows, the discourse produced by and the practices of respondents can meaningfully be analysed and summarised by cosmopolitanism as an analytical concept

[2] Interview with displaced migrant Mozambican Manuel Mucavel, (Nr.52E), conducted on July 12, 2008 at the Rand Airport Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.

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through which to make sense of the respondents' narratives. Although not without its own ruptures and contradictions, the discourse produced by the migrants interviewed for this thesis is still predominantly characterised by ideal-typical cosmopolitan positions of openness, de-territorialisation and unboundedness vis-à-vis notions of place, mobility, cultural difference and identity. The central function of this discourse is to serve as a counter-narrative to hegemonic discourses of exclusion through a legitimisation and normalisation of migrants' practices of constant engagement with, and openness towards, cultural difference, Others and Other places. Essentially, it becomes appropriated as a language of resistance, although not as political mobilisation as such. It is a discourse that emerged as a response to both an exclusive and at times violent South African nationalism as well as an expression of a more general struggle to overcome the unwarranted limitations of being born in a country which does not provide enough opportunities for mere survival, let alone for prosperity. While showing many of the core tenets of 'ideal-typical' cosmopolitanism – for example a willingness to learn about the Other, an emphasis on shared human identity, an ability to manoeuvre cultural difference and to transcend one's own culture and *home* actively - this migrant version of it is of an underlying nature fundamentally different to the aesthetic, consumerist or elite cosmopolitanism that the literature has predominantly focused on so far. This cosmopolitanism is one that is geared towards providing the individual with crucial skills, knowledge and opportunities. While by extension this cosmopolitanism makes claims on behalf of all migrants everywhere, its main concern is its specific here and now. Motivated by the individual's personal aspirations, strategies and interests, it is not a 'luxury', but born out of necessity and the constant quest to de-territorialise one's life chances beyond the African city (see Simone 2001).

The remainder of this introduction proceeds in six sections. On the basis of a literature review, I begin with a very brief overview on cosmopolitanism and its relationship with three key areas, or conceptual fields, pertaining to it. In the second section, I discuss how the literature qualifies certain forms of mobility as cosmopolitan and others as not, and through this establishes a categorical distinction between the transnational migrant and the cosmopolitan Western elite – a distinction which I challenge in this thesis. In the next section I then introduce some of the central tenets of the social constructionist methodology this study adopts. Thereafter, I give some brief information on the three data sources used (which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2). Then, I provide an overview of the structure of this thesis and explain how my argument is presented throughout the three empirical chapters and the conclusion. Finally, I address the limitations of the scope of this study.

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1.2 Cosmopolitanism

In his book *Imaginary Homelands*, Salman Rushdie (1991:393) proclaims that 'melange, hotchpotch, a bit of this and a bit of that is how newness enters the world. It is the great possibility that mass migration gives the world.' Without a doubt, there is growing recognition that the increasing mobility not only of people but of goods, tastes, cultural practices, ideas and patterns of consumption radically transforms the nature of nation-states, borders, economies and cultures across the globe. For social scientists, these developments give rise to a number of most fundamental questions: How do we conceptualise identities and trajectories of individuals, larger communities and organisations in a world 'coming at each of its local points to look more like a Kuwaiti bazaar than like an Englishmen's club' (Geertz 1986:121)? What is 'happening' to core concepts of the social sciences such as *territoriality, sovereignty, identity* or *society*, to name but a few? Which of our many 'common-sense' understandings and scientific paradigms need to be re-conceptualised or even radically conceived of afresh, and how? And how can we think about new forms of political community, governance, citizenship and democracy under such ever-globalising conditions?

In face of these challenges, the 'long sidelined' (Vertovec and Cohen 2002:1) concept of cosmopolitanism has attracted renewed interest since the late 1990s (see Skrbis et al. 2004, Calhoun 2002:870). Efforts of defining cosmopolitanism can be compared, as Beck (2002:17) has aptly stated, to the attempt of 'nailing a pudding to the wall' (see Fine 2003:452). Even just a cursory view of what is by now a proliferating and interdisciplinary literature shows that there is a variety of different ways in which the notion of cosmopolitanism has been used. While some argue for a radically post-modern perspective on cosmopolitanism and claim that any attempt at definition is in fact 'the most un-cosmopolitan thing to do' (Pollock et al. 2000), most scholars acknowledge the concept's extraordinary flexibility and agree that 'no single conceptualisation is adequate' (Vertovec and Cohen 2002:3). In this sense, there is an increasing acknowledgement that there are multiple cosmopolitanism*s*.[3] It is probably fair to say, though, that in its three most frequent scholarly uses, cosmopolitanism is understood as either an openness towards cultural difference, as a normative ideal acknowledging the moral worth of the individual regardless of origin or as a new type of political project addressing the limitations of the nation-state in a globalising world.

On the basis of my literature review, I have identified, and chosen to structure my empirical enquiry along, three key areas pertaining to cosmopolitanism that are

[3] See Vertovec and Cohen (2002) or Holton (2009) for overviews of existing taxonomies of cosmopolitanism.

acknowledged throughout most of the existing research (and roughly correspond with the three most frequent conceptualisations mentioned above): *place, mobility and rights; culture, difference and the Other;* and *identity, morality and belonging.* These key areas are only briefly sketched here by way of introduction - each of the three empirical chapters provides a more detailed literature review of the relationship between these key concepts and cosmopolitanism in the respective beginning of each chapter. Importantly, notions of openness, unboundedness and de-territorialisation are at the very heart of cosmopolitanism (see Werbner 1999:26, Hannerz 1996, Urry 2000) and its relationship with these three conceptual areas. In this thesis I seek to ground and contextualise such cosmopolitan openness and specifically investigate in which ways, for what reasons and towards what and whom migrants' openness is directed in this context. It is important to note as well that, while such distinctions between conceptual areas pertaining to cosmopolitanism are useful and I believe necessary in structuring and organising empirical material, they are not to be understood as mutually exclusive but rather as interrelated conceptual fields.

Place, Mobility and Rights

Cosmopolitanism rejects the idea that a person is – or should be – exclusively defined by place of origin, neither in his or her character, disposition nor entitlement to rights. Rather than seeing individuals as 'rooted' in a particular 'soil', cosmopolitanism maintains that individuals are characterised by, and able to maintain, complex affiliations and relations to different places. Instead of conceiving of the world as divided into mutually exclusive, bounded and homogenous entities, cosmopolitanism views places everywhere as inherently interconnected and interdependent through global flows of capital, communication, people and information (see Beck 2008:34). Cosmopolitanism is thus inherently linked to various forms of physical, virtual and symbolic mobility connecting individuals, communities and institutions to a larger world beyond the confines of the original home or locality. From a cosmopolitan perspective on justice, mobility and the right to reside in a country one is not 'from' are inalienable rights (see Delanty 2006:359,361, Hudson 2008, Moellendorf 2002). Whereas the nation-state bestows rights on particular individuals by virtue of a shared collective past and inherited membership in a territorially defined community, cosmopolitanism thus emphasises the primacy of *individual* and *human* rights. Cosmopolitanism questions the legitimacy and naturalness of nationalism as a normative principle of integration and community and challenges the nation-state's logic of exclusion and privileging of citizens over non-citizens (see Heater 2002:73). From a cosmopolitan perspective, states not only have a moral responsibility for their own citizens but are obliged to protect the rights of all people - for example through humanitarian intervention - as well as of those seeking opportunities or sanctuary within their own borders. With regard to institutions, cosmopolitanism seeks to respond to the limitations of the nation-

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state and move towards the building of appropriate global institutions, acknowledging that, through processes of globalisation, governments across the world are faced with multiple inherently border-crossing challenges – such as crime, climate change or migration. Moving beyond nation-state-centred paradigms, cosmopolitan calls for a ire-definition of structures and levels of governance, concepts of membership and citizenship, and democracy (see Calhoun 2002:873, Bauböck 2002, Pogge 1992, Beck 2002, Hannerz 2005:201).

Culture, Difference and the Other

In its cultural dimensions we can understand cosmopolitanism as both a particular type of 'socio-cultural condition' (Vertovec and Cohen 2002:9) as well as the ability and willingness to engage with cultural difference. In the former version, cosmopolitanism refers to the mixing of tastes, practices of consumption, images and ideas in an interconnected, globalising world (see, for example, Szerszynski and Urry 2006, Nava 2002). Culture is thus not conceived of as territorially bound and static, but as non-essential and unbounded: elements of cultures far away can be and are (increasingly) experienced - and consumed - both through actual physical mobility as well as through virtual channels (see Bowden 2003:245). In the latter version, cultural cosmopolitanism is often described as being both an attitude towards and a practice of managing cultural difference, characterised by a heightened sense of reflexivity, curiosity, tolerance and openness (see Skrbis et al. 2004:117, Hannerz 1996). The encounter with the Other is thus not only normalised, but actively promoted and conceived of as something enriching. The cosmopolitan respects and promotes the 'equal validity of other cultures, other values, and other mores' (Werbner 1999:498) and diversity is conceived of not as a pathological condition or 'impurity', but as something to be appreciated and even celebrated. For the cosmopolitan, the Other is always encountered as both different and inherently similar – while his or her difference is acknowledged, valued and appreciated, a strong sense of common humanity is recognised as the most profound bond between any individuals, regardless of background or culture.

Identity, Morality and Belonging

Cosmopolitanism does not conceive of identity as firmly rooted in territory and singular, but as inevitably multiple, fluid and overlapping in nature (see Vertovec 2000). It argues that individuals are always characterised by multiple and complex attachments, political identifications and plural affiliations (see Vertovec and Cohen 2002:12, Hollinger 1995:3-4, Erskine 2000:575). As Hudson writes, for the cosmopolitan, 'the logic of identity/difference imposes a false unity on groups defined by difference' (Hudson

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2008:279). Instead, cosmopolitanism rejects the idea of essentialised identity as well as the idea that the moral worth of individuals is determined by their membership in exclusive collective communities such as that of nationality, ethnic group or race. Cosmopolitanism focuses on shared humanity and recognises the fundamental sameness of all human beings, taking the individual as the 'ultimate unit of concern' (Pogge 1992:48, see Bowden 2003:241, Hannikainen 2009:47, Lu 2005:401). One of the most central debates in the literature on such cosmopolitan identities has been on how to reconcile belonging in particular communities with a general cosmopolitan vision and morality, and it is often argued that an identification with humanity as a whole is too thin, and too abstract to be able to fulfil human beings' natural need for community, belonging and sense of responsibility for others. However, while some have described and advocated so called thin forms of cosmopolitanism, characterised by an 'ironic form of distance from current cultural attachments' (Roudometof 2005:113), others have described (and/or argued for) thick or rooted versions of cosmopolitanism that bring together loyalty to the nation or specific cultures with a simultaneous 'openness towards difference and otherness' (Roudometof 2005:122, Appiah 1993, 1998). According to Werbner, cosmopolitanism thus 'does not necessarily imply an absence of belonging but the possibility of belonging to more than one ethnic and cultural localism simultaneously' (1999:34).

1.3 Transnational Migrants and Cosmopolitan Elites?

According to the logic of the nation-state, people have a particular place in the world. Being ontologically sedentarist in nature, the nation-state system is built on the idea that the whole of humanity is divided into natural, distinct communities of peoples (*nations*), each inhabiting a territorially bounded homeland and sharing a common history, culture and collective identity (see Calhoun 1993 Smith 1986:1,5, Mills 2006:373, Bauman 1999:xxx). The state, then, enclosed the national territory and gave it a political form (Olwig and Hastrup 1997:4). Subsequently, discourses of nationalism frequently evoke arborescent images of roots and soils or metaphors of family such as *fatherland* (see Malkki 1992:27, Deleuze and Guattari 1987). Through this, the nation-state is constructed as 'something to which one is naturally tied' (Anderson 1983:131). Accordingly, those who are on the move (i.e. not in their *natural* place) interrupt this territorial logic and pose a challenge to the very foundation of the nation-state and its deeply entrenched beliefs about the boundedness of community and the 'natural' link between people and place (see Malkki 1992:34). In order to reproduce the master narrative of nationalism, the migrant - and even more so the refugee - is thus constructed as irregular or even pathological as 'pollution in need of purification from the social body' (Bretherton 2006:50).

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The case of refugees presents the strongest example of such pathologisation. Being forcedly uprooted, the refugees' 'loss of bodily connection to their national homelands came to be treated as a loss of moral bearings' (Malkki 1992:33). In a system where citizens have their proper place in their own homeland, refugees represent 'an anomaly requiring specialized correctives and therapeutic interventions' (Malkki 1992:33). In this view, the only existing identity for a refugee is the one he has 'lost' the moment he was torn apart from his homeland. Accordingly, refugees are not seen as capable of being cosmopolitans, as the idea of being able to achieve emotional wellbeing and a stable identity in anOther place is not provided for in common conceptualisations of *dis*placement as an 'inner, pathological condition' (Malkii 1992:33). Kanter (1995:25), for example, argues that refugees 'not only lack the free will to move but may even consciously prefer to be locals and parochials – anything, in fact, rather than suffering the tragedy of their supposed cosmopolitanism.' Rather than being at home anywhere in the world, they are conceptualised as being at home nowhere.

While ordinary labour migrants are not seen as being quite as 'abstractly naked' as displaced refugees, they are still conceived of as being closely attached to their native cultures. Although not being quite as violently 'forced' to leave their native countries as is often the case with refugees, the migrants' mobility is still largely seen to be dictated by necessity rather than free choice. This original nature of migrants' mobility is seen as crucial for their subsequent attitude towards cultural difference in their host country. From the most extreme perspective, cosmopolitanism is seen as completely out of bounds for migrants owing to their inherent unwillingness to move *beyond* their own cultural 'enclaves'. Hannerz, for example, argues that migrants create a form of an encapsulated 'surrogate home' amongst compatriots in the host country, keeping the involvement with other cultures 'as low as possible' (Hannerz 1990:243). This ethnic retentionist thinking is not only found in scholarly literature, but also forms the basis for an ongoing popular *angst* about the rise of 'parallel societies' in European cities, full of foreigners believed to be intrinsically averse to 'integration.'[4]

However, even when conceptualised from a more progressive, transnational perspective – a paradigm that emerged in the 1990s in response to the shortcomings of such ethnic retentionist theories and amidst increasing globalisation – the migrant is still disqualified from the unboundedness so characteristic of cosmopolitanism. Despite acknowledging that the focus needed to be shifted towards the ways in which migrants' practices, trajectories and identities are embedded and mediated in *trans*national social fields (see Levitt et al 2003:567, Faist 2000, Basch et al. 1994:22, Pries 2002:20), their movements, relations and

[4] See, for example, Pötzl (2008).

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identities are still conceived of not as global and de-centred in nature, but as largely 'bilateral' (Turino 2003:59). As Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002:324, emphasis in the original) have rightly pointed out, 'trans*national* semantically refers to the nontrans*national* or simply to the national as the entity that is crossed or superseded.' Transnationalism leaves intact the idea that there is in fact such a thing as a 'national society', and, despite acknowledging hybridity and bricolage, conceives of migrants as bounded by these national societies – as 'people who move and build encapsulated cultural worlds around them' (Werbner 1999:19-20). Kennedy (2009:20), for example, writes:

> *Economic migrants from poor countries tend to bring skills and cultural resources that do not always find a ready market and they may face racism and discrimination. Consequently, they tend to forge 'highly particularistic attachments' (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004:1178) which replicate the primordial affilitations they knew at home while building multi-faceted transnational links across territorial borders. Thus, we find multicultural societies which stitch the North and South together but in ways that produce mostly separate social enclaves.*

So, who are those people believed to be the 'real' cosmopolitans then? Throughout most of the literature, the type of mobility considered 'cosmopolitan' continues to be conceived of as being 'the luxury of social, economic, or cultural privilege' (Anderson 1983:268). Global business elites, international news correspondents, academics and generally educated Western jet-setters and travellers who, 'by virtue of independent means, expensive tastes, and a globe-trotting lifestyle' (Robbins 1998b:248), are thus, as opposed to other groups of mobile people discussed so far, the only groups classified as *cosmopolitan* (see Werbner 1999:19-20, Mau et al 2008:6, Rantanen 2003:25, Skrbis and Woodward 2007:731, Kanter 1995, Beck 2002:17, Kirwan-Taylor 2000, Calhoun 2002). Hudson (2008:284), for example, gives the illustration of a jet-setting Danish businessman at home anywhere and everywhere in the world eating 'Indian food in China and French food in India' (Hudson 2008:284, citing Beck 2006:5-6). This, Hudson (2008:284) claims, manifests 'the *prototypical* cosmopolitan identity, a pick-and-mix of globally available ingredients of identity, building a progressive and inclusive self-image.'

In summary, the lack of a certain kind of privilege is seen as the central element inhibiting refugees and migrants from genuine cosmopolitanism: the freedom of choice to be mobile or not, and to be so for however long or as often as one chooses (see Calhoun 2002:108, 893, Skrbis et al. 2004:120). Germann Molz (2008:329) writes that for travellers who become homeless voluntarily, 'their efforts at feeling at home may not be fraught with the same sense of urgency or constrained by the same obstacles as other mobile groups.' The 'unprivileged' or 'choice-less' migrants and refugees are seen to be the products of, and somewhat internally confined to, their own cultural realms, despite a physical 'displacement', whereas those who have the choice and unrestricted freedom to move are

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conceived of as 'easily entering and exiting polities and social relations around the world' (Calhoun 2002:872-873).

1.4 Challenging the Link between Cosmopolitanism and Privilege

Fortunately, in recent years a noticeable trend towards challenging the often taken-for-granted ideas about the link between privilege and cosmopolitanism can be seen. However, despite this trend, there is little empirical research on such forms of non-elite cosmopolitanism. Arguing against concepts of a Western abstract and singular cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitanism has now increasingly begun to be thought of in the plural and as a multifaceted, 'glocalised' phenomenon joining 'contradictory notions of local specificity and universal enlightenment' (Werbner 2006:496). Importantly, such ideas of vernacular or 'discrepant' cosmopolitanisms emphasise that 'the project of comparing and translating different travelling cultures need *not* be class- or ethno-centric' (Clifford 1992:107, see Grillo 2007**,** Bhabha 1996, Werbner 2006, Clifford 1992; 1997). These ideas bring to the fore forms of marginal, non-Western cosmopolitanisms, of unprivileged or even forced mobility (Pollock et al. 2000:582) and 'the routine barely documented cultural encounters of diasporic life' (Nava 2002:89). Werbner (1999:26), for example, has argued that there is a form of 'working class cosmopolitanism', which is also characterised by an 'openness to strangers and strangerhood or difference' but which results in different types of cultural hybrids than the elite forms.

Few studies have been conducted on such forms of unprivileged cosmopolitanism in African settings so far. Of the few existing studies, it is interesting to note that all of them have worked on cosmopolitanisms of an instrumental nature, as an attitude or discourse adopted in order to achieve certain goals or as a tool of resistance. There is, for example, Scheld (2007:233), who studied the symbolic and material use and exchange of clothes amongst young people in Dakar and discovered a form of youth cosmopolitanism. Scheld (2007:233) describes how marginalised young people 'negotiate and shape overlapping material, symbolic and aesthetic elements of the city in transnational contexts that transcend cultural, national, and economic borders' amidst processes of rapid urbanisation, lack of social services and changing generational dynamics. For Scheld (2007:232), this cosmopolitanism is adopted by young people in Dakar 'to make their lives and a life for the city'. Then there is White's (2002) work on rumba (a musical style influenced by Afro-Caribbean, Western and traditional African music) in the Congo. White describes how through the listening to, and producing rumba music, a rooted cosmopolitanism emerged that allowed both a sense of being 'being connected to somewhere else through music (…) yet filtered through a sonic experience that was already in many ways familiar'(White 2002:673). Interestingly, White explains that the particular appeal of the Afro-Cuban mix

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that it was in many ways a form of resistance to the rigidness and racism of Belgian colonialism: 'it provided urban Congolese with an alternative to a particular form of cosmopolitanism - Belgian colonialism - that was strict and stiff, if not cruel and in many ways anti-cosmopolitan.' (White 2002:678). He continues that 'despite its multiple influences and mediations, Afro-Cuban music was cosmopolitan without being European - or more accurately *without* being Belgian' (White 2002:682, emphasis in the original).

Another example of a more 'instrumental' form of cosmopolitanism in Africa is the 'involuntary' cosmopolitanism explored by Vokes (2007), underlying the recent proliferation of charismatic leaders broadcasting in Uganda and Rwanda. Vokes (2007:815) describes how radio hosts in Uganda not only based their authority on their own experience of travelling, but also fostered a sense of global consciousness by discussing problems relevant to Ugandans with constant references to other places around the globe. In this sense, he argues, listeners of the programme, even in remote villages, became cosmopolitan 'involuntarily', as it encouraged them to understand their own actions and issues as something 'which could not be understood with reference only to the household itself, but which only made sense in relation to things that go on everywhere else as well. Thus, *knowledge of those other places became essential*' (Vokes 2007:816, emphasis mine). However, while the listeners' cosmopolitanism may be somewhat involuntary, or unconscious, the radio hosts' cosmopolitan discourse certainly was not – in fact, it was actively deployed – similarly to the discourse I describe in this thesis. Vokes' work has also explored the ways in which presenters of the 'infamous' Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines before and during the genocide in Rwanda portrayed the Tutsis as *cosmopolitans*, able to draw support from a huge transnational network of both Tutsis abroad as well as Western NGOs and governments (to be turned into a primary reason that the Tutsis allegedly posed a threat) (Vokes 2007:818-819). As Vokes describes, Tutsis were constructed as 'wily' cosmopolitans, having learned various foreign behaviours abroad, and thus as 'almost certainly successful in duping their unsuspecting international partners' (Vokes 2007:819) into destroying the Hutus. In order to 'defend' the Hutus and to 'uncover Tutsi mistruths wherever they were to be found' (Vokes 2007:819-820), the presenters then had to emphasise their own 'cosmopolitan credentials' to appear 'so well placed to counter the foreign Tutsi threat to the country' (Vokes 2007:819-820). The insight we gain from this work is that we might have to acknowledge that there is even a 'dark side' to the mobilisation of a 'purposeful' cosmopolitanism that will be important to explore in the future.

With regard to cosmopolitanism and migration in the African context there is even less research available. Landau and Freemantle (2009) have described organisational strategies and practices of migrants in Johannesburg with the notion of 'tactical cosmopolitanism', a

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mish-mash of rhetorical and organisational tools drawing on a diversity of more established discourses and value systems and negotiating inclusion and belonging that transcend ethnic, national or transnational paradigms. A study by Malkki (1992:36) shows how the empirical reality complicates even the categorical exclusion of forcibly 'uprooted' people from cosmopolitanism. Malkki found that a group of Hutu refugees from Burundi, which had settled in a small town in Tanzania instead of going to a refugee camp, developed an identity that was much more inclusive than those of its camp counterparts. In fact, 'they tended to seek ways of assimilating and of manipulating multiple identities - identities derived or "borrowed" from the social context of the township.' Instead of adopting essentialised national or ethnic identities, they conceived of themselves as cosmopolitan 'broad persons'. This shows that the nature, or cause, of a migrant or refugee's mobility is insufficient in explaining whether cosmopolitanism develops or not, but that there is a possible range of other factors important to consider, such as the particular host contexts and varying needs and characteristics of people *other* than class and location.

Taken together, the works cited above have opened up a promising field for explorations of the cosmopolitanism of those groups of mobile people presently 'excluded' from it. These works show that overcoming the barriers of methodological nationalism, as well as ethno- and class-centrism, is crucial if we do not want to continue missing much of what 'actually existing cosmopolitanism' (Robbins 1998a) may look like. What these studies show us is that the reason many think cosmopolitanism is an elite phenomenon is not the fact that migrants are *inherently* characterised by localist, parochial outlooks but rather has to with how the metaphysics of the nation-state continues to exert its influence on our thinking, the 'territorialised' nature of our questions and the units of analysis we base our research on as well as a lack of attention to specific contexts and conditions – all biases and shortcomings that I hope to address in this research.

1.5 Social Constructionism, Language and Discourse Analysis

In this section I introduce the social constructionist approach and analysis that have been adopted in this study in order to explore how, within so contested a space as Johannesburg, particular discourses of both nationalism and cosmopolitanism emerge, engaged in an ongoing 'dialectics of conflict' (Beck 2002:29) about access to space, goods, opportunities and the primacy of competing moral orders. This thesis is interested in the processes through which migrants construct particular versions of truth conducive to their own life trajectories and aspirations vis-à-vis the practices and discourses of exclusion they encounter in their everyday lives in South Africa. Discourses of nationalism, by necessity of nationalism's very claim to existence, construct the 'floods' of migrants entering the

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country, and subsequent diversity as a threat to the security and welfare of and opportunities rightfully 'belonging' to South Africans (see Crush 2000b:21). On the other hand, migrants' narratives are aimed at presenting us with a different, much more inclusive and positively connotated version of how their presence in South Africa could be 'read' and interpreted. If the nation is, as Anderson (1983) has famously claimed, an 'imagined community' with a socially constructed shared identity, then we can approach such local, embedded versions of cosmopolitanism that stress the non-essentialism of identity and evoke a sense of community beyond the nation as a particular kind of social construction as well. Both discourses (of South African nationalism and of migrants' cosmopolitanism) lay claim to representing social reality accurately and of reporting the *one* version that is true (see Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:333).

The framework specifically concerned with the exploration of such 'multiple and divergent rationalities' (Shweder 1986, Foster and Bochner 2008:92) is Social Constructionism, and thus has been adopted as the methodology informing this research. Constructionist analysis does not aim at revealing a singular truth or reality, but rather focuses on the ways in which different social actors produce *versions* of reality in the form of knowledge and representations of the social world 'in discourse', that is through their talk and interaction with others (Berger and Luckman 1967). While Positivism conceives of reality as external and objectively measurable, for Social Constructionism versions of reality and meanings are constantly (re) constructed and (re)-interpreted within the socil realm (see Harris 2008, Blumer 1969:2,6). Social Constructionism emphasises that people's interpretations are not situated at the level of the individual, but always 'conditioned by social and physical constraints' (Harris 2008:233-234).

Whereas Positivists conceive of language as representational in nature, and as an accurate depiction of the world and social life within it, Social Constructionists see language as constituent to social reality rather than being separate from it (see Terre Blanche et al. 2006a:278-279, Foster and Bochner 2008:92, Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Social Constructionists maintain that what people say and how they describe their experiences and actions form more than just an account; language always 'does something'. Whatever people talk about, there are always a number of alternative modes and ways an experience, event, action or opinion can be represented. Social Constructionism is then interested in *the end to which* people choose a particular version, and what discursive practices they adopt to achieve this end (see Wooffitt 1993:297, Harris 2008:242, Potter and Wetherell 1987). Importantly, whatever version an actor chooses to convey is always related to, and in direct engagement with, other such possible versions. In this particular study, for example, migrants are acutely aware of the ways in which their presence is constructed as a pathology by South Africans, and aim their way of giving meaning to their stay in South

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Africa in direct relation, and counter-argument, to such exclusionary discourses. In this thesis, I focus on the processes through which migrants discursively construct particular versions of *truth* conducive to, and legitimising, their own life trajectories and aspirations vis-à-vis the practices of exclusion they so frequently encounter.

Given the centrality of language in how people make sense of their lives and act, control over discourse – about what and how something is represented –is seen as a vital source of power by Constructionists, especially those working on its 'darker' and Foucauldian nature. Discourses can be understood as 'the limits of acceptable speech' (Butler 1999: xxviii, xxix, see Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:328). Language is so powerful that it is able to construct 'realities that preserve existing power structures and thus obliterate alternate ways of seeing and being in the world' (Foster and Bochner 2008:93), enabling or promoting certain practices, experiences and actions while inhibiting or restricting others (Terre Blanche et al. 2006a:282). Often, hegemonic discourses, i.e. dominant discourses (or 'master narratives'), are able to evoke such a sense of normality, inevitability and naturalness that 'we subconsciously submit to the rules of the game' (Terre Blanche et al. 2006a:279, Pfohl 2008:645). Yet, all discourses operate in an inherently contested realm of disparate power relations; they can become dominant or marginalised, widely available and accepted or suppressed or rejected. Even the reach and control of master narratives are never fully achieved, but always subverted and used as a means of mobilisation and resistance (see Gramsci 1973). People who are pathologised, excluded and via language defined as 'outsiders' by the hegemonic narrative – those whose 'marginality defines the boundaries of the mainstream' (Delgado 1995:64 in Andrews 2004) - are often those who are active producers of such counter-narratives. Thus, discourse plays a vital role in the performance of resistance.

The detailed study of how discourse *works* is at the heart of social constructionist analysis. Discourse analysts critically analyse and examine texts for processes of reality construction in order to show 'how these constructions made possible particular sets of practices' (Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006:9). In order to conduct such an analysis of how African migrants construct their 'version' of reality, this study needed data of a predominantly qualitative nature, as this kind of data is collected through engaging people in the everyday activity of talking (i.e. *producing discourse*) and conversation, something 'normal and familiar to them' (Cameron 2001:15), and allows for a detailed textual analysis of migrants' narratives. In this thesis, the goal of the analysis was thus not only to examine the content of a text, but to explore how and why the text draws upon a particular linguistic and cultural repertoire, establishes certain binaries and oppositions, assigns subject positions and qualities to particular actors, and describes and classifies actions and behaviour. A detailed discourse analysis of the narratives was performed, which examined

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how and why the language and structure of the texts were designed in a particular way and what goal they aimed to achieve (Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:331).

1.6 Data Sources

This thesis draws upon three data sets, all collected in Johannesburg. The first and most strongly drawn upon data comes from interviews with migrant street traders, which interviews were specifically conducted by the author of this study in order to explore cosmopolitan practices and attitudes amongst this population. This first data set consists of a body of 79 qualitative interviews with street traders of a range of different (although largely Southern African) nationalities, ages and sexes, conducted in various locations throughout Johannesburg and including different types of traders from both informal and formal markets as well as informal, individual street traders. The interviews with the traders were specifically aimed at exploring the thematic area of cosmopolitanism. All interviews were conducted by the author of this thesis between 2007 and 2008, digitally recorded and later transcribed verbatim. All interviews were conducted in English.

The other two data sets used were not specifically collected for this research. They comprise secondary data that has been included in order to show that the discourse emerging in the street traders' data resonates in other data from migrants in Johannesburg as well, despite being 'produced' under different circumstances and by different individuals. The first of these secondary data sets was collected for a project entitled 'Documenting the Experiences of Xenophobic Violence' at the Forced Migration Studies Programme at Wits University in Johannesburg, for whom the author of this thesis worked as assistant coordinator and interviewer. The data was collected amongst migrants affected or displaced by the xenophobic violence in South Africa throughout May 2008, and recorded migrants' experiences of and views about living alongside South Africans in the time before, during and after their displacement. Throughout June and July 2008, field workers collected almost 100 narratives from migrants of a range of different nationalities. Data collection took place in a variety of different sites throughout Johannesburg, including government as well as private shelters, informal settlements and inner city suburbs. Research teams consisted of interviewers speaking a variety of different Southern African languages as well as Somali, Kiswahili, English and French. The themes explored within this data included migrants' conceptions of their rights as foreigners, of xenophobia, community and of relationships with South Africans.

Finally, the third source of data consists of quantitative data from a 2006 survey from the New African Cities Project[5], which was included in order to triangulate and explore the

[5] Hereafter abbreviated to 'NACP data' throughout the text.

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same themes within a data set that is numerically stronger than the other two smaller and qualitative sets. The survey sample included 847 migrant and South African respondents living in inner city Johannesburg. The survey was conducted in both English and several other African languages. While the survey itself covered a broad range of topics about migrants' personal and professional trajectories, income-generating strategies, and networks, attitudes and experiences within and beyond South Africa, questions were selected which pertained most particularly to cosmopolitanism, such as attitudes towards and relationships with the various 'Others' in the city or migration trajectories.

1.7 The Structure of this Thesis

After a chapter on the methods and methodology (introduced briefly above), I explore throughout three empirical chapters how migrants construct key notions of place, cultural difference and identity in a specifically *cosmopolitan* fashion, drawing on ideas of 'unboundedness', non-essentialism and interconnection. For easier readability, there is a more specific discussion of the particular dimension of cosmopolitanism and other related literatures at the beginning of each empirical chapter, as opposed to having one singular literature review in its own right. In Chapter 6, I conclude with a discussion of how this study can inform a future research agenda on cosmopolitanism.

Summary of Chapter 3:
Place, Mobility and Interconnection in Africa: Challenges to the Link between Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship in Stable Nation-States

Cosmopolitanism's inherent link with mobility, and thus the ability to engage with and connect to a larger world beyond the confines of one's own home and locality, is widely recognised. However, mobility is frequently qualified in certain ways in order to be viewed as cosmopolitan. In this chapter I show how the distinction between the *transnational* migrant and the *cosmopolitan* Westerner as purported by most of the literature becomes particularly unsustainable once situated in the African context, with its unachieved nation-states, permeability of borders and high levels of mobility. With nation-states that are unable to ensure even the most basic forms of social security and that do not provide enough opportunities, being mobile constitutes the only viable form of life trajectory for many Africans (Simone 2001). This, as I argue, has allowed the emergence of a particular type of cosmopolitan discourse - aimed at establishing migrants' right to mobility and residence in South Africa - rather than suppressing it. I argue that migrants' cosmopolitan discourse dialectically engages with and counters the legitimacy of hegemonic discourses

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of territorial exclusion in South Africa and challenges the nation-state's conception of the world as divided into mutually exclusive and bounded socio-political entities.

The empirical discussion proceeds in three parts. In the first section, I explore data pertaining to migrants' constructions of mobility, space and place. While the master narrative of nationalism constructs the migrant as being someone out of place and pathological, I show how migrants construct mobility as a positive norm and pragmatically position the Self within a global, unbounded space. Through this, they portray themselves as not being confined to their nation or 'out of place', but as cosmopolitans who are comfortable anywhere in the world. In the second section of this chapter I show how migrants render the presence of Others within the space of any nation-state a normal condition and call for the compliance to universally applicable standards of freedom, hospitality and quality. The presence of the Other is constructed as a universal norm through constant references to the global level. The normal and even natural condition of national space is constructed as being inclusive and heterogeneous, rather than exclusive and homogeneous. The third section explores how migrants claim that the nation-state cannot function without foreigners at all and how national space is constructed as critically dependent on external flows.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the findings vis-à-vis the notion of belonging and argues that if we consider the types of claims that migrants make in the discourse described in this study, we see that they are *not* actually about belonging to any place in particular. Migrants present themselves as neither people 'out of place' nor *of* a specific place. In particular, their claims towards their right to mobility and residence in South Africa are not claims towards inclusion in and belonging to the South African nation-state as such – instead, migrants portray themselves as cosmopolitans who, while comfortable in the world and claiming universal standards of hospitality and freedom, *prefer* to stay 'betwixt and between without being liminal (…) participating in many worlds without becoming part of them' (Friedman 1994:204, see Landau and Freemantle 2009, Landau 2006).

Summary of Chapter 4:
Knowledge (of the Other) is Power: Maximising the Engagement with Cultural Difference and the De-Construction of Diversity as a Problem

With regard to the engagement with the Other, cosmopolitanism here is often described as being both an attitude towards and a practice of managing cultural difference, characterised by a heightened sense of reflexivity, curiosity and tolerance. Cosmopolitanism's attitudes and practices are 'associated with a conscious openness to the world and to cultural

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differences' (Skrbis et al. 2004:117, see Hannerz 1996, Urry 2000) and to a conception of diversity not as a pathological condition, but as something to be appreciated and even celebrated. Until now, such processes of familiarisation with and managing cultural difference are, for the most part, only articulated theoretically and rarely observed and described in concrete, empirical contexts. In the pursuit of bringing cosmopolitanism 'back to the ground', this chapter looks at how African migrants in Johannesburg give meaning to their practices of engaging with Others.

After a theoretical section on cultural cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan attitudes towards diversity and the Other, my empirical discussion of migrants' engagement with cultural difference is divided into four sections The first section, *living in the diverCity,* considers migrant networks within the city and looks at how migrants construct the sharing of city space with people of different cultural backgrounds and languages as unproblematic. The second section looks at migrants' conceptions of *turning elements of the Other into Self.* In their encounters with Others, migrants assert not only their ability but also their great willingness and desire to learn about and assimilate selected elements of Other cultures. In the third section I look at *cosmopolitan skills.* While migrants claim that diversity is not inherently a source of tension or conflict, they still maintain that, as part of their permanent state of preparation for future destinations, knowledge about the Other is crucial to them, and being in Johannesburg, a 'diverCity' full of foreigners, in many ways epitomises the potential opportunities emanating from the engagement with the Other. The fourth section is dedicated to *cosmopolitan ways of 'being in between'.* Migrants suggested that, as they move through different cultural spaces, each time they easily and quickly adapt anew and, importantly, do so without 'losing their culture' but through accumulating 'extra' knowledge that can be drawn upon when necessary. Positioning themselves in a condition of permanent in-betweenness (see Friedman 1994:204) and always en route somewhere else - even if only mentally – most migrants suggested that they seek to acquire 'access-knowledge', rather than making attempts at full integration or belonging.

For these migrants, being cosmopolitan is seen as the key to gaining a competitive advantage in local markets as well as preparing themselves for a future in any destination abroad, living a cosmopolitanism aimed at enriching the individual with skills, knowledge and opportunities. In the discussion, I argue that, while some would claim that the cosmopolitan nature of migrants' networks and practices is somewhat 'superficial' or even inauthentic given that it is business-oriented and selective, empirical cosmopolitanism is characterised by much greater complexity and less cultural relativism than simply accepting other cultures as 'a package deal', as Hannerz (1996:103) has argued. People will, for a variety of moral or other reasons, select those elements of other cultures that they deem to be right or beneficial for themselves, and dismiss other elements that they do

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not (Skrbis and Woodward 2007). I also address the similarities and differences between this migrant cosmopolitanism and the kind of corporate cosmopolitanism increasingly promoted by big transnational organisations as the key to success in an ever-faster globalising world. I argue that, while these two forms share their purposeful, individualistic nature and associate the engagement with cultural difference with success, they differ fundamentally in the meaning assigned to cosmopolitanism.

Summary of Chapter 5:
Cosmopolitan (Post)-Identity Politics: Establishing Alternative Moral Orders

Contrary to essentialised notions of identity and community, cosmopolitanism promotes a system of moral principles that is based on the inherent worth of the individual human being, regardless of origin, race, religion, nationality or ethnicity (see Pogge 1992:48, Mau et al 2008:5). But how are these principles enacted and negotiated in the real world? In this chapter, I conceptually build on Lamont's notion of cultural repertoires, about which she has argued that rather than drawing on an abstract framework of universal cosmopolitanism, different groups of people have particular cultural repertoires available to them in which their own 'ordinary' versions of cosmopolitanism are grounded (Lamont 2000). While acknowledging the multifaceted nature of identity, I approach it in this chapter from a social constructionist and instrumentalist/circumstantialist perspective, assuming that identity is always socially constructed according to its continuously shifting relationship to other groups and is embedded in particular contexts and structures of power (see Butler 1999, Scott 1990, Cornell and Hartmann 1998, Crawford Young 1982:450).

After a theoretical section on moral cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan concepts of identity, the first empirical section of this chapter explores how migrants establish a counter-discourse to the language of nationalism (where space is constructed as belonging to an exclusive group of citizens) and instead construct South Africa as part of an inherently and rightfully *collective* African space, asset and collective opportunity. The second section focuses on how migrants construct a cosmopolitan order of divine nature through emphasising the inherently boundary-crossing nature of Christianity and their commitment and ability to coexist peacefully with everyone around them, based on a Christian ethic of love and the 'goodness' of all of those committed to their Christian religion regardless of their ethnicity, race or nationality. The third section looks at how, in the context of Johannesburg, migrants establish commonalities between all human beings owing to the general malleability of human identity and the capacity of each human to be good or evil. In this section, I suggest that the way the discourse constructs the distinction between good and bad people, rather than between people of different nationalities, serves its argument for inclusion in the following way: it imposes only one criterion on the right

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to reside in a foreign country, which is being a 'good' person (understood largely as non-criminal) and delegitimises any boundaries imposed for particular groups of people, such as those formulated on the basis of nationality or ethnicity.

On the basis of these considerations, I argue in the discussion that as a response to being relegated to the margins and pathologised as the Other, migrants' discourse is aimed at showing the commonalities between them and South Africans and at establishing a more inclusive social order that is deemed morally superior to that of nationalism. Thus, while it has been argued that the language of cosmopolitanism is 'antithetical to the struggle of minorities' (see Furia 2005:334, Kymlicka 1999, Ignatieff 1993), I suggest that migrants respond to the nationalist exclusion they face with their own kind of *cosmopolitan post-identity politics*, which speaks on behalf of an excluded minority, yet does so not through emphasising their right to difference, but from their very sameness to the majority they appeal to. In order to delegitimise South African nationalism in particular, migrants' discourse constructs xenophobic South Africans as the epitome of those who do not conform to the *morally superior cosmopolitan order* they proclaim to adhere to. On the other hand, African migrants place themselves right in the 'intersection' of all of the cosmopolitan orders they proclaim.

Summary of Chapter 6:
Bringing Cosmopolitanism (Back) to the Ground

The conclusion is dedicated to a discussion of how this present study has provided new insights and as such is able to provide some pointers towards three central imperatives for future research on cosmopolitanism. The first of these imperatives is to address the present disconnect between cosmopolitanism from above and cosmopolitanism from below - and as part of that the lack of attention to empirical forms of cosmopolitanism. I argue that, with the focus on what ought to be rather than on what already is, there is a danger that research on cosmopolitanism loses touch with reality and that the dearth of work on informal, individual and non-institutional forms of cosmopolitanism means that an important dimension of 'bottom up' cosmopolitanism is essentially precluded from entering our ways of thinking. This, in turn, stunts the advancement of our theoretical paradigms and precludes us from gaining valuable insights into the ways new social, cultural and moral orders of a cosmopolitan nature are being fashioned. The second imperative is to pay more attention to the social, cultural and economic contexts in which forms of empirical cosmopolitanism are embedded. I argue that we can conceive of cosmopolitanism not as a fixed disposition – neither of individuals nor of groups - but as a disposition that develops over time and can only be understood within the shifting contexts in which it arises, changes or declines. We particularly need to study how quotidian

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processes and discourses of 'cosmopolitanization' interact with discourses of nationalism, autochthony, racism and securitisation and how these discourses mutually impact on each other in an ongoing 'dialectics of conflict' (Beck 2002). The third imperative is to overcome the three 'isms' that the majority of research on cosmopolitanism is held back by: ethnocentrism, class-centrism and methodological nationalism. I argue that if we want to know more about how individuals become cosmopolitan agents of change and reformulate social orders 'from below' in an ongoing dialectic with forces of exclusion, we should begin to treat migrant populations, and particularly those that move within and across the African continent, as a crucial source of knowledge about how to negotiate both the uncertainties and the opportunities that are intrinsic to more de-territorialised, post-national alternative forms of social organisation and identity.

1.8 Limitations of Scope

This thesis aims to unravel and describe some of the dimensions of the cosmopolitan practices and discourse amongst different types of migrants living in Johannesburg in an exploratory fashion. While providing in-depth and original insights, the data is essentially 'ecumenical' in nature. Owing to the qualitative nature and interpretive methods of analysis as well as the selectiveness and non-representativeness of its data, this study does not aim to speak in any generalised way about Johannesburg's migrant population on the whole. While all samples drawn upon in this study include migrants of a variety of different nationalities, more in-depth research is needed to contextualise cosmopolitanism within and across different occupational, national, ethnic or religious groups. An important field of enquiry that goes beyond the scope of this study is the cosmopolitanisation of languages, exemplified, for example, by the emergence and constant configurations of a heterogeneous vernacular *tsotsi-taal*[6] in Johannesburg, which certainly requires further research in order to strive for a more 'complete' picture of cosmopolitanism in this context. Furthermore, many themes I came across briefly in the research for this thesis deserve much more research, for example themes on the issues of racism or inter-ethnic relationships and marriages. Also, the majority of respondents were from Southern Africa and were predominantly Christian, which is why the fascinating dynamics of Islam and cosmopolitanism are not discussed in this thesis. In this sense, this thesis explores a phenomenon and some of its constituent parts, serving to open up much space for further research, and does not claim to have covered all pertinent and related issues in the in-depth manner they deserve. Further, possible biases pertaining to sample selection, researcher bias, languages in which interviews were conducted, as well as epistemological and

[6] 'Tsotsi' is a Sotho word for a 'gangster' or 'thug' and 'taal' is the Afrikaans word for 'language'. 'Tsotsi-taal' is a pidgin language containing elements of Zulu, Tswana, Afrikaans, English, Sotho and various other languages, which is spoken mainly in townships across South Africa's Gauteng province.

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methodological limitations to the approach chosen in this thesis are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

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2

Methods and Methodology: Exploring Cosmopolitan 'Versions of Reality'

2.1 Conceptualising Cosmopolitanism

The vast scope of research on cosmopolitanism within an interdisciplinary field that ranges from political science, sociology and history to culture and literature studies brings about a difficulty in actually *defining* the concept in order to devise instru
ments to measure it empirically (see Skrbis et al. 2004, Roudometof 2005). Acknowledging that cosmopolitanism*s* are always articulated within particular social contexts that shape their nature in different ways, we can concede that it may not be possible to achieve a singular set of indicators that all those working on cosmopolitanism would agree upon. As Falzon (2009:38) argues, 'if all cosmopolitanisms exist within, and therefore take on some of the characteristics of, specific histories and geographies, this very specificity seems to preclude us from generalizing in any useful way.' However, I believe that outlining how cosmopolitanism is specifically understood in a particular research project embedded in a particular local context is both imperative and doable. The following section thus proceeds in three steps in order to conceptualise cosmopolitanism for the purposes of this research.

The first step is to define what kind of cosmopolitanism this thesis is concerned with. Morris (2010:8) argues that there are basically three dimensions of cosmopolitan scholarship. The first one is of a normative nature, and 'seeks to advance the values given expression by the principles of universal human rights'. The second element is methodological and contests 'the reification of society as a national space'. Finally, there is an empirical element that 'documents manifestations of cosmopolitanism in the contemporary world'. Contrary to the majority of scholarship on cosmopolitanism, this thesis is not concerned with the design of a normative, prescriptive cosmopolitanism, neither in terms of the outlining of what cosmopolitan virtues should be or how they could be instilled, nor how cosmopolitan institutions and layers of governance could be created and sustained. Instead, this is a study of empirical cosmopolitanism, i.e. a study of already existing cosmopolitan discourse, attitudes and practices – in this case, those of African migrants living and working in Johannesburg. In this research I also adopt a methodologically cosmopolitan perspective that 'takes the world and not the nation-state as

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its unit of analysis' (Fine 2007:5, see Berlin 1998 in Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002:304). From such a methodologically cosmopolitan perspective, concepts like *society*, *culture*, *collective memory* or *identity* are no longer conceptualised, explored and analysed as being nationally constituted or bounded, but rather as inherently border-crossing and de-territorialised in nature. As a paradigm, cosmopolitanism hus enables the exploration of the intricacies, complexities and ambiguities of the ways in which migrants engage both the local *and* the global on a daily basis, and how their lives and identities are configured 'translocally' (Mandaville 1999: 672).

Secondly, my concept of cosmopolitanism is in need of more concrete operationalisation. Despite much conceptual ambiguity and complexity in the existing literature, it is fair to say that at its most fundamental level, a cosmopolitan attitude is characterised by an *openness* towards cultural difference and the Other (see Werbner 1999:26, Urry 2000). This openness, as Holton (2009:114) writes, can be expressed 'in many modalities', 'from thought and identity to action, whether conducted by individuals, groups, communities, philosophers or travellers, political and legal institutions'. While cosmopolitanism in individuals can be observed in a range of attitudes and personal characteristics (Skrbis et al. 2004), most work stops short of actually outlining these beliefs and qualities in more detail and coming up with concrete indicators to measure them. This has left cosmopolitanism as an empirical concept largely rather ill-defined (Skrbis et al. 2004). Thus, I contend that, with openness being such an extremely vague concept (Holton 2009:114), it is important not only to define what cosmopolitan openness is directed towards but also how it then manifests empirically.

On the basis of literature discussions provided in the main empirical chapters (Chapters 3, 4 and 5) on cosmopolitanism's relationship with the key notions of *place, mobility and rights (Chapter 3), culture, cultural difference and the Other (Chapter 4)* and *identity, morality and belonging (Chapter 5),* more concrete indicators for an 'ideal-typical' cosmopolitan disposition towards these key concepts will now be defined. It is important to note as well that, while such distinctions between conceptual areas pertaining to cosmopolitanism are useful and I believe necessary in structuring and organising empirical material, they are not to be understood as mutually exclusive but rather as interrelated conceptual fields, as follows.

Place, Mobility and Rights

- Ability to maintain complex affiliations and relations to different places beyond one's own locale
- Interest in and curiosity about exploring new places

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- Positive conception of mobility
- Positive conception of the presence of foreigners within a country
- Ability to move confidently in between different places
- Emphasis on the right of the individual to mobility and residence within any country regardless of origin
- Understanding of place as inherently heterogeneous and interconnected

Culture, Cultural Difference and the Other

- Interest in, and willingness to learn from and about Other cultures
- Ability to engage with Others and make one's way into Other cultures
- View of diversity as enriching and normal
- Emphasis on and respect for the equality of cultures
- View of socio-cultural processes as disembedded from physical locations
- Views of culture as non-essential and heterogeneous

Identity, Morality and Belonging

- Emphasis on shared humanity and sameness
- Focus on the individual and individual identity as the ultimate unit of concern
- Establishment of a cosmopolitan morality
- Emphasis on the rights of human beings rather than those of citizens
- Emphasis on de-territorialised and non-exclusive forms of belonging
- View of identity as multiple, fluid and overlapping

By outlining these as 'ideal-typical' cosmopolitan positions I do not mean to establish a strict dichotomy between cosmopolitanism and other more local or parochial forms of encountering difference. Of course, existing social life does not follow such strict dichotomies but produces multiple alternative ways of doing things. As for example the work of Skrbis and Woodward (2007) shows, individuals are often neither strictly cosmopolitan nor local in their attitudes and practices, but alternate between the two positions, depending on the topic or situation at hand, sometimes even to the point of apparent contradiction (see Roudometof 2005, Holton 2009:114-115). In this sense, empirically, individuals can take up cosmopolitan or more local/parochial positions to varying degrees and intensities, differing from subject to subject and resulting in complex and flexible alternations between openness and closure. In this research, for example, we will see with regard to adopting elements of other cultures, migrants' accounts complicating the binary between localism and cosmopolitanism: their discourse avoids being on the extreme poles of the argument and instead strives for balance between

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detriment and benefit with regard to 'multiplying' and criss-crossing of cultures. We will also see that migrant respondents did not express the same kind of general and universal cosmopolitan 'openness' towards diversity and the Other when it came to South Africans as they did towards other people of different nationalities or origins. However, with the notable exception of the ways in which migrants largely 'exclude' South Africans from their own cosmopolitanism, this data showed that the emerging discourse *does* adopt a rather ideal-typical cosmopolitan position. As we shall see in this research, migrants' narrative in its function as a counter-discourse to nationalism and other forms of exclusion - with few exceptions - adopts such ideal-typical cosmopolitan positions in order to make the discourse as coherent and credible as possible.

While the discourse migrants produced adhered in an almost text book-like fashion to the concepts and values of cosmopolitanism, the data from South African traders interviewed showed much more ambiguity. To be sure, within the 18 South Africans interviewed, there were a few respondents that displayed quite consistently either more cosmopolitan views (emphasis on the individual, the equality of all regardless of origin and a general openness towards the Other) or those who defended the distinctiveness (and primacy of the rights) of citizens over those of non-compatriots. In the majority of the accounts collected amongst this specific group of South Africans, however, both the language and ideas of nationalism and localism as well as of cosmopolitanism (sometimes a 'glimpse' of it, sometimes fully blown) were operating simultaneously. The number of South Africans encountered in informal street trading over the course of this research was comparatively low. It is fair to say that South African informal traders are likely to be quite a unique minority. To begin with, they are engaged in what is commonly perceived as a lowly "job for foreigners" in South African public discourse, as many migrant traders as well as, for example, South African 'Kagiso' (Nr. 31)[7] explain: "If I am sitting there, to them [other South Africans] I look like a stupid. Why am I sitting on the street? (…) they want to work in the shop, nicely, but there can't be 10 people working in one shop." Then, it is not only the physical environments they work within but also the networks they draw upon to source the wholesale products they need (for those who do not sell food at least) that are characterised by increased engagement with non-nationals, as South African 'Vuso' (Nr. 19)[8] says: "The Ethiopians and Chinese, they know the connections with clothes and stuff, so we go there and buy clothes at a cheaper price and then we go and sell somewhere for more." These particularities might make these South African populations in some ways more amenable

[7] Interview with South African trader 'Kagiso' (Nr. 31), conducted on March 7 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.
[8] Interview with South African 'Vuso' (Nr. 19), informal trader, conducted on February 15 2008 in Balfour Park.

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to cosmopolitan orientations, but might also fuel xenophobia because of direct competition for space and access to customers.

On the basis of the fact that the South African data accounts only for about 25 per cent of the overall body of material collected in the most strongly drawn upon dataset in this thesis (the migrant street traders' sample), the bulk of the analysis and conclusions focuses on the insights gained from an exploration of the African migrant data. Having said this, I have chosen to include at least some of the South African data in a sort of snapshot fashion nonetheless. I have done so not because I think that the narratives from this particular group are representative of the attitudes of other South Africans towards foreigners (however, they can be used to illustrate attitudes that have been documented elsewhere as well) or because I seek to explain South African versions of cosmopolitanism (that is important work to be conducted at another time, but impossible to carry out in the absence of more data from South African traders as well as comparative data from South Africans of other socio-economic groups and occupations). I have included them because they give a fascinating insight into how the dynamics of openness and closure operate between and even *within* individuals and groups, exemplifying the fact that discourse and counter-discourse are always intertwined and 'touch' upon each other at various levels. As I have argued, migrants' cosmopolitan discourse generally is aimed at delegitimising South African nationalism and practices of territorial exclusion, and the direct juxtaposition of South African and migrants' accounts provides us with a fascinating, albeit of course preliminary and speculative, glimpse of how these different discourses interact directly and tangibly within specific arenas such as this one.

As a final step, it is important to clarify the nature of my concept of cosmopolitanism in terms of how the knowledge presented here is generated. Hannerz (2005:209) alerts us to the fact that it is important to differentiate between cosmopolitanism as an etic, analytic concept and cosmopolitanism as an emic term. An emic perspective of knowledge focuses on the cultural distinctions that are intrinsic to the members of a particular social group; an etic perspective on the other hand is one of extrinsic and analytic categories and concepts functioning as a lens through which to make sense of certain cultural practices (see Pike 1954 [1967]). As Hannerz argues, 'trying to use cosmopolitanism as an analytical category, then, we will apparently need to include some people who are not aware that they are cosmopolitans, or who even deny it, and it may be, too, that we will find reason to exclude some who claim to belong' (Hannerz 2005:210). In this present study, I provide such an *etic* account of cosmopolitanism. While respondents may not have been labelling their own practices, experiences and identities as 'cosmopolitan' or themselves as 'world citizens', I show how the discourse they produce can be meaningfully analysed and summarised by cosmopolitanism as an analytical concept.

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2.2 Cosmopolitanism as Counter-Discourse

In this study, cosmopolitanism is conceptualised as a discourse adopting a position of openness vis-à-vis the key conceptual fields of *place, mobility and rights; culture, cultural difference and the Other;* and *identity, morality and belonging.* At the heart of this discourse is the recurrent engagement and integration of a multiplicity of Others in attitudes, everyday networks, relationships and practices. Throughout this thesis, I will argue that the central function of this cosmopolitanism is to serve as a counter-narrative to hegemonic discourses of nationalism and exclusion through a legitimisation and normalisation of migrants' practices of constant engagement with cultural difference, Others and Other places. However, while in many ways characterised by almost text book-like cosmopolitan positions, the cosmopolitanism evoked here is of an underlying nature fundamentally different to the aesthetic, consumerist, or elite forms that the scarce existing literature on empirical cosmopolitanism has predominantly focused on so far: this cosmopolitanism is one that is geared towards providing the individual with crucial skills, knowledge and opportunities. Motivated by the individual's personal contexts, aspirations, strategies and interests, this cosmopolitanism is not a 'luxury', but is born out of necessity and the constant quest to despatialise one's life chances far beyond the African city. It emerged as a response to both an exclusive and at times violent South African nationalism and it expresses a more general struggle to overcome the unwarranted limitations of being born in a country which does not provide enough opportunities, either for prosperity and well-being or even for mere survival. While by extension this cosmopolitanism makes claims on behalf of all migrants everywhere, its main concern is its specific here and now.

This thesis is interested in the processes through which migrants construct particular versions of truth conducive to their own life trajectories and aspirations vis-à-vis the practices and discourses of exclusion they encounter in their everyday lives in South Africa. Whereas discourses of nationalism, by necessity of nationalism's very claim to existence, construct the 'floods' of migrants entering the country, and subsequent diversity as a threat to the security and welfare of and opportunities rightfully 'belonging' to South Africans (see Crush 2000b:21), migrants' narratives are aimed at presenting us with a different, much more inclusive and positively connotated version of how their presence in South Africa could be 'read' and interpreted. If the nation is, as Anderson (1983) has famously claimed, an 'imagined community' with a socially constructed shared identity, then we can approach such local, embedded versions of cosmopolitanism that stress the non-essentialism of identity and evoke a sense of interconnection and community beyond the nation as a particular kind of social construction as well. Both discourses (of South African nationalism and of migrants' cosmopolitanism) lay claim to representing social

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reality accurately and of reporting the *one* version that is true (see Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:333).

2.3 Social Constructionism, Language and Discourse

The framework specifically aimed at exploring such 'multiple and divergent rationalities' (Shweder 1986, Foster and Bochner 2008:92) is Social Constructionism, and Social Constructionism has therefore been chosen as the methodological frame of this project. Social Constructionism is one of the three major methodologies of contemporary social science (see Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006:7), the other two being Positivism and Interpretivism. Each of these three conceives of the nature of reality in a different way, and subsequently implicates particular epistemological and methodical approaches (see Mills et al. 2006:2, Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006:7). Positivism assumes that reality is external and objectively measurable. Researchers within this tradition conceive of their epistemological position as detached and neutral, able to provide 'an accurate description of the laws and mechanisms that operate in social life' (Terre Blanche et al. 2006a:277). Interpretivism and Social Constructionism, on the other hand, both assume that 'meanings are constructed, interpreted and constantly re-constructed by people observing the world' (Castles 2008:2) and that the researcher is as much part of those processes of construction as are, for example, the respondents of a study. However, the two approaches differ in their assumptions about whether the level at which these constructions take place is an individual (Interpretivism) or a social one (Social Constructionism). Interpretivism seeks to 'explain the *subjective* reasons and meanings that lie behind social action' (Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006:7, see Kelly 1955), whereas Social Constructionism emphasises that people's interpretations are 'guided by material and conceptual resources at the individual's disposal and conditioned by social and physical constraints' (Harris 2008:233-234). The meaning of things is assumed not to be inherent and singular, but pluralised and 'learned, used, and revised in social interaction' (Harris 2008, see Blumer 1969:2,6). Constructionist analysis is thus not interested in revealing a singular truth or reality, but rather focuses on the ways in which different social actors produce 'versions' of reality in the form of knowledge and representations of the social world 'in discourse', that is through their talk and interaction with others (Berger and Luckman 1967).

Social Constructionism is by no means a unified school of thought; however, according to Burr, it is possible to identify four strands within its ontology and epistemology that are shared by most approaches – or, as she phrases it, 'things you would absolutely have to believe in order to be a social constructionist' (Burr 1995:2). Firstly, Social Constructionism disagrees with the assumption that knowledge can ever be objective and adopts a 'critical stance toward taken for granted knowledge' (Burr 1995:2). Then, it

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contends that social reality is constructed via social interaction and discourse and that it is always historically and culturally situated (see Burr 1995:3-4). Finally, for Social Constructionism, 'knowledge and social action go together', meaning that particular ways of constructing concepts enable certain actions or practices and exclude or inhibit others (Burr 1995:5).

An important distinction to mention, however, is the one between what has been variously described as 'weak' and 'strong', 'light' and 'dark' (Danziger 1997:410) or 'micro' and 'macro' (Burr 1995:20-21) forms of social constructionist approaches. Burr (1995:21) suggests that for micro forms of Social Constructionism, 'multiple versions of the world are potentially available through this discursive, constructive work, and there is no sense in which one can be said to be more real or true than others.' Macro Social Constructionism, on the other hand, 'acknowledges that constructive power of language but sees this as derived from, or at least related to, material or social structures, social relations and institutionalised practices.' The latter, referred to by Danziger (1997:410) as 'dark' Constructionism, is very much Faucauldian in nature, arguing that individuals are dependent in the entirety of their (inter)actions on existing and well-established structures of power and domination. In the macro or dark view of Social Constructionism, there is no room for agency - the individual 'can be conceptualised only as the outcome of the discursive and societal structures' (Burr 1995:23). Light/Micro Social Constructionism, on the other hand, emphasises the 'constructive work of individuals in interaction', which 'implicitly affords us personal agency' and the ability to bring about social change (Burr 1995:23).

In this research I concur with Burr (1995:22) that these micro and macro versions should not be seen as mutually exclusive but rather as 'intimately intertwined and mutually constitutive'. Here, I will draw on a suggestion by Holstein and Gubrium (2008:376), who argue for a form of 'analytic bracketing' that allows the researcher to move between - yet include all - aspects of social constructions. This includes three different aspects of social constructions: firstly, *discursive practice* ('the domain of everyday interaction, dealing with the discursive procedures of reality construction', Holstein and Gubrium 2008:377-378); secondly, *discourse in practice* (the discursive resources 'from which social realities are produced' in interaction with other discourses, Holstein and Gubrium 2008:379); and, finally, the *conditions of construction* (referring 'to the circumstances of social construction, including physical environments and general social situatedness', Holstein and Gubrium 2008:384).

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Language, Discourse and Counter-Discourse

A Positivist view assumes that language works like a photograph of reality: as an accurate depiction of the world and social life within it. Language in this sense is seen as *representational* in nature. It is seen as something neutral and transparent, as separate from the object it describes. Social Constructionism, on the other hand, sees reality as being 'fundamentally constituted *in* language and that language itself should therefore be the object of study' (Terre Blanche et al. 2006a:278-279, emphasis mine, see Foster and Bochner 2008:92, Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Social Constructionists maintain that what people say and how they describe their experiences, actions etc. are more than just accounts; they always constitute a social action. Language always 'does something'. Each act of speech is, in Austin's sense (1962), 'regardless of what else it might be doing (…) a series of actions', and thus always of a performative nature (Wooffitt 1993:288). Language is seen as constituent to, rather than separate from, social reality.

Social Constructionism acknowledges that the way words and metaphors are chosen and arranged in people's descriptions of social reality are not random but aimed at fulfilling 'specific tasks in the world' (Wooffitt 1993:297, see Harris 2008:242). Discourses, here, are understood as 'broad patterns of talk - systems of statements' – operating in both written and spoken texts (Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:328). Discourses are designed to be functional, i.e. aimed at persuading their audience that their particular version of truth is legitimate and accurate (see Potter and Wetherell 1987). According to Butler (1999:xxviii,xxix), discourse can be defined as 'the limits of acceptable speech', delimiting what kind of things can be said and how they can be said. It determines which arguments and references are drawn upon, but also what points of view or alternative versions are to be omitted. Regardless of what people talk about, there are always a number of alternative modes and ways an experience, event, action, opinion etc. can be represented: 'for any state of affairs a potentially unlimited number of descriptions and explanations should be possible (…) *this is not to abandon our various traditions of truth, but simply to see them as optional'* (Gergen 2009: 5-6, emphasis mine). Social Constructionism is thus interested in why people choose a particular version, and what discursive practices they adopt to do so. Whatever version an actor chooses to convey is always related to, and in direct engagement with, other possible versions. In this particular study, migrants are acutely aware of the ways their presence is constructed as pathology by South Africans, and aim to provide 'their way' of giving meaning to their stay in South Africa in direct relation, and as a counter-argument, to such exclusionary discourses.

Given this centrality of language in how people make sense of their lives and act, control over discourse – about what and how something is represented – is a vital source of power.

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Language is so powerful that it is able to construct 'realities that preserve existing power structures and thus obliterate alternate ways of seeing and being in the world' (Foster and Bochner 2008:93), enabling or promoting certain practices, experiences and actions while inhibiting or restricting others (Terre Blanche et al. 2006a:282). As Cameron, drawing on Foucault, highlights, those 'who are licensed to define, describe and classify things and people' (Cameron 2001) possess and exercise great power and social control, based on their power over the use of language. Often, hegemonic, i.e. dominant discourses (or 'master narratives'), are able to evoke such a sense of normality, inevitability and naturalness that 'we subconsciously submit to the rules of the game' (Terre Blanche et al. 2006a:279, Pfohl 2008:645). As Andrews (2004:1) writes, 'the power of master narratives derives from their internalization. Wittingly or unwittingly, we become the stories we know, and the master narrative is reproduced.'

Yet, all discourses operate in a contested realm of disparate power relations; they can become dominant or marginalised, widely available and accepted or suppressed or rejected: even the reach and control of master narratives is never fully achieved, but always subverted and used as a means of mobilisation and resistance (see Gramsci 1973). As Scott (1985:317) argues, 'a hegemonic ideology must, by definition, represent an idealization, which therefore inevitably creates the contradictions that permit it to be criticized in its own terms.' Different discourses operate simultaneously and are always mutually constitutive of each other, engaged in an ongoing dialectic and 'neither fully oppositional nor untouched' (Tore et al. 2001:151, Pfohl 2008:646). As a result, social life is always a realm of contestation about which way of representing social reality is the correct one and thus which one should be adhered to and heard.

People who are pathologised, excluded and, via language, defined as 'outsiders' by the hegemonic narrative – whose very 'marginality defines the boundaries of the mainstream' (Delgado 1995:64 in Andrews 2004) - are often those who are active producers of such counter-narratives. Their counter-narratives serve as a form of resistance and challenge to the existing system. Resistance, as Scott (1985) has argued, does not necessarily have to be overt in nature, but can also be more subtle and hidden. For Scott, the 'weapons of the weak' are often manifested not in revolution but in quotidian strategies of dissent, subversion and disobedience. Similarly, Routledge (1996:415) has defined resistance as 'any action, imbued with intent, that attempts to challenge, change, or retain particular circumstances relating to societal relations, processes, and/or institutions'. Within these processes, *discourse* plays a vital role in the performance of resistance.

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2.4 Methods: Discourse Analysis and Coding

Given the centrality of language in Social Constructionism, it is not surprising that the detailed study of how discourse(s) *work(s)* is at the heart of its analysis. The type of data needed for such a social constructionist discourse analysis is qualitative in nature, as this data is collected through engaging people in the everyday activity of talking (i.e. *producing discourse*) and conversation, something 'normal and familiar to them' (Cameron 2001:15). Thus, constructionists work with textual data obtained from interviews, conversations or observations[9] which are then systematically analysed, organised and interpreted to explore the 'meanings of social phenomena as experienced by individuals themselves, in their natural context' (Malterud 2001:483). Discourse analysis of spoken, written or visual texts (see Cameron 2001:7) is probably the most dominant approach of constructionist analysis and 'can be defined as the act of showing how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific contexts' (Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:328, see Holstein and Gubrium 2008:389). Discourse analysts critically analyse and examine texts for processes of reality construction in order to show 'how these constructions made possible particular sets of practices' (Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006:9). Constructionist analysts do not present extracts of data to speak for themselves, but rather examine 'in considerable detail (…) what discursive work is being done by the spate of talk' (Holstein and Gubrium 2008:390). The main goal of this type of analysis is not only to examine the content of a text, but also to explore *why* its style and language – for example the words, themes and metaphors it uses, the structure it has, and the subjects it speaks about (or is silent about) – have been designed in a particular way, and how this design 'works to achieve certain affects' (Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:331,333).

In their construction of social reality, discourses create particular subject positions through language, which social constructionists set out to explore. They analyse how metaphors, structures, subjects, symbols and words are arranged and how relationships are established between certain subjects and topics. They investigate a text for the ways in which particular roles are assigned to various subjects, for example the role of agents or victims, or the position of superior or inferior, knowledgeable or ignorant, traditional or modern. Through this, a particular type of social world is invoked, a particular way in which events and actions should be understood. Discourse analysts scour texts for the topics the discourse is vociferous or silent about and interrogate what is emphasised and what is downplayed. They consider what kinds of notions are assigned positive meaning and are rendered normal and ordinary, and which ones are pathologised.

[9] However, visual material can also be read as 'text'.

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In this thesis, coding of the interview material was undertaken in two different steps. In the first step, coding was data driven, where I read through the transcripts identifying themes and topics emerging from the data itself, without imposing the theoretical framework onto the data yet. In a second step, coding was more concept driven, and involved identifying passages where respondents spoke particularly about key notions I was interested in and had identified on the basis of the existing literature. Combining these two types of coding methods allowed for a balanced mix of both letting the data 'speak for itself' and making sure that possible indicators of cosmopolitanism as defined earlier were explored appropriately. A detailed discourse analysis was then performed, based on the narrative material selected under the different codes. To rephrase, discourse analysis is aimed at exploring how and why the language and structure of a text were designed in a particular way and what goal they aim to achieve (Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:331,224). The following section outlines the major tools that were used for exploring discourse 'at work' through examining linguistic repertoires, binaries and oppositions, actions and behaviour, subject positions, footing and cultural repertoires.

Linguistic repertoires include metaphors, idioms, dominant motifs, style and recurrent terms that are used in a narrative (Wooffitt 1993, Potter and Wetherell 1987:149) In terms of style an important feature to look out for here is what Pomerantz (1986) calls 'extreme case formulations'. These are detectable by the use of terms such as 'never', 'everyone' or 'always' and are markers of a speaker's attempt 'to influence the judgment or conclusions' of his or her audience (Wooffitt 1993:300). They are aimed at convincing the listener that the narrator is telling the truth, giving validity to the narrator's argument and promoting certain ideas or values.

Then, looking at how *binaries and oppositions* are established in a text helps the discourse analyst to reveal how the respondent's version of social reality is the product of particular discourses (Tohar et al. 2007:65, Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:331). Sometimes explicitly, but more often in subtle and implicit ways, speakers continuously establish oppositions or classify concepts, identities, actions or ideas into binaries – such as *us* and *them*, moral or immoral, active or passive, parochial or worldly, individual or collective – producing 'a particular type of world' (Terre Blanche et al. 2006b:333-334) and, importantly, positioning the speaker in a particular way within that world.

Discourse analysts also look for *actors and subject positioning* within a text. Some of the key questions here are: Who are the actors that are mentioned, which ones is the speaker silent about, and how does this produce a particular kind of reality as opposed to other alternative versions? What qualities are assigned to particular actors? How are relationships between the speaker and other actors defined? What actors are spoken about

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the most? A speaker can also shift between multiple subject positionings within the same text, for example constructing him or herself variably as friend, professional, mother, lover, peer, superior, colleague etc. An important issue to explore is whether people are characterised as what Wood and Kroger (2000:101) call agents (able to decide and make choices and thus be held accountable for their actions), or as patients ('seen to suffer the consequences of external forces' and thus unable to be held responsible for their actions). How are actors labelled when there are multiple alternatives available, and why? For example, why does a speaker choose to refer to someone who crosses the borders without a visa as an *illegal* migrant rather than as an *undocumented* migrant, or vice versa? Why is someone referred to as a 'cop' rather than a 'police officer' (example taken from Wood and Kroger 2000: 204), or as fundamentalist rather than devout? These are all valuable clues for exploring the type of reality that is constructed by a speaker.

Another important dimension to explore is how *actions and behaviour* are described by a speaker. Here, the discourse analyst looks at types of verbs used in an effort to categorise them into semantic groups (Tohar et al. 2007:61,65). Such semantic groups can, to give a few examples from this research, indicate notions of agency (such as 'choose' and 'decide'), undue limitation (such as 'hinder', 'harass' and 'control') or community (such as 'help', 'share' and 'support each other'). Here, it is also important to explore how particular types of actions are linked to particular actors, and what the effect of this is.

Then, it is important to situate a narrative within its broader *socio-cultural or institutional context*. Discourse analysts look at the types of references a text makes to particular bodies of knowledge and communal thinking specific to cultural, social, religious, professional and generational groups (Tohar et al. 2007:59,61,66). Speakers draw upon those *cultural repertoires and discourses* that are available to them - in this research, for example, these were the language of Pan-Africanism, of Christianity and of Southern African solidarity during the apartheid struggle.

Finally, it is important to look out for instances of **'**footing', a term coined by Goffmann (1981) in order to describe the ways in which speakers specify the relationship between themselves and what has been said. For example, 'speakers may present themselves as responsible for their words or as merely passing on a report of the experience of others' (Wood and Kroger 2000:102). Footing constitutes an 'important notion in relation to accountability' (Wood and Kroger 2000:102), but also in relation to the legitimacy and credibility of what has been said. Referring to another source – for example other people, a newspaper article or a radio show as was done by some respondents in this study – can be used in order to make one's own account more convincing in so far as it portrays one's account not as subjective, personal knowledge but as 'public', more objective knowledge.

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2.5 Critiques of Social Constructionist Approaches

With regard to the general ontological assumptions of this study, an important criticism levelled against Social Constructionism is that 'no processes happening at the level of the individual have any explanatory power' (Burr 1995:179) as it assumes that the construction of reality is socially conditioned. However, taking the example of how 'the migrant' is and can be constructed in so many different ways in our social world, I believe that it *is* through talk with others, through interaction and negotiation, that 'new worlds' are brought into being (Gergen 2009:4-5). It is exactly this process of presenting a different collective version of how the world should be read and interpreted differently than it is in the mainstream that this thesis investigates. With Gergen (2009:6), I believe that 'relationships stand prior to all that is intelligible. Nothing exists for us as an intelligible world of objects and persons until there are relationships.' The voices I recorded during my research turned out to belong to a particular and distinct discourse community, and a common direction of arguments and claims was clearly discernible. Migrants *shared* a way of talking and a way of giving meaning to particular concepts, and it is these collective processes of meaning making that this thesis is concerned with.

A second criticism levelled against Social Constructionism is that it constitutes a way of looking at the social world that, if applied practically, leads to nihilism and relativism, as a ticket to 'anything goes' (for a discussion of and response to this critique, see, for example, Zielke 2006). This is because Social Constructionism is interested in the conditions of the emergence of discourses rather than in questions of *truth* or *falsity*. It is interested in why, how and by whom particular versions of social reality are constructed and not what is correct. However, as Gergen (2009:5) writes, Social Constructionism's critical stance towards knowledge and truth claims does not imply

> *that we must abandon all that we take to be real and good (…) but it is to say that we are not bound by the chains of either history or tradition. As we speak together, listen to new voices, raise questions, ponder alternatives, and play at the edges of common sense, we cross the threshold into new worlds of meaning.*

In this sense, it is exactly the fact that Social Constructionism does *not* acknowledge the existence of one truth, and instead focuses on the conditions under which objects, relationships, concepts and conditions are given meaning– and as such at the way power operates within and across discourses and counter-discourses - which gives this approach a strong element of political consciousness and critique. As Brenkman (1987:3) has put it, it is exactly this 'restless consciousness (…) that senses, in every work of culture, the facts and the effects of social domination' that is at the heart of social constructionist analysis.

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2.6 The Role of the Researcher in the Production of Knowledge. Limitations of a Qualitative and Social Constructionist Approach

As opposed to quantitative, hypothetico-deductive approaches aimed at testing hypotheses, qualitative research works inductively, seeking to generate hypotheses and thus 'construct[s] new ways of understanding, or new intelligibilities' (Kelly 2006:350, see Gergen 1985). Epistemologically, the position of the researcher in this kind of qualitative, constructionist analysis is much more constituent of the process of analysis than in other types of research, where the influence of the researcher is minimised as much as possible in order to achieve some form of 'objective' knowledge. From a constructionist perspective, on the other hand, the researcher is of course as much a part of processes of social construction of knowledge and versions of reality as are his or her objects of study. Thus, I do not claim that what I present in this thesis is *the* truth. If I take as the epistemological foundation of Social Constructionism that I, as every other human being, am born into a discourse community characterised by established socio-culturally specific systems of intelligibility, then of course I, in my endeavours to generate knowledge, am as much a part of, as well as confined to, this social construction.

To account for this subjectivity, it is important to acknowledge (and not ignore or hide the fact) that knowledge is always 'partial and situated' (Malterud 2001:484). In any kind of research setting, the researcher invariably has an effect on the data collected and on the analysis presented. As Geertz (1993:9) has so succinctly remarked, 'what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to.' Gibbs (2007:7) writes that 'some statements might appear to be objective descriptions of reality, but inevitably they are "theory-laden" and reflect our preconceptions and prejudices arising from our and/our respondents' constructions of the world.' In this sense, it is important that researchers are aware of and account for the implications of their own subjectivity, both when it comes to the ways in which data is collected and to its analysis. As Gibbs (2007:91) argues,

> *reflexivity is the recognition that the product of research inevitably reflects some of the background, milieu and predilections of the researcher. The scientific model claims that good research is objective, accurate and unbiased. However, those who stress the reflexivity of research suggest that no researcher can guarantee such objectivity. The qualitative researcher, like all other researchers, cannot claim to be an objective, authoritative, politically neutral observer standing outside and above the text of their research report.*

From this perspective, the 'reality' observed and the observer cannot really be separated. As Saldana (2009:4) puts it, analysing qualitative data and 'coding is not a science, it is primarily an interpretive act'. The researchers' own context and background inevitably

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affect any research and interpretive and analytic process, and he or she is always part of social construction. Researcher and the respondents are also mutually interdependent.

Thus, while intersubjectiviy in this sense can never be avoided, it needs to be accounted for in the sense of making one's own process of analysis and knowledge generation as transparent and defensible as possible. As Gibbs (2007:97) alerts us to, 'a good, reflexive research report will demonstrate clearly how it is grounded in the data collected and interpreted.' To acknowledge this, I have included substantial amounts of original interview excerpts in the actual text to give the reader direct access to the data, I have shown how the analysis has been undertaken, and I have thus made the process of analysis more transparent. Furthermore, the interview guidelines are also included, as are the survey questions that were used in order to show that the questions were always very open and non-leading, and that the cosmopolitanism described is more than an abstract construction unduly imposed on the empirical material. In addition, this research does not only rely on one data set, but applies the procedure of 'data triangulation' in order to strengthen the explanatory power of my argument. This research explores the same themes within three different data sets, produced by different groups of people in different circumstances, and has found the same trends within these data sets. Finally, the following section accounts for other potential biases inherent in this research.

Researcher Effects on Data Collection

While it is impossible to know for sure, being a white, European and female researcher amongst an exclusively black, African and predominantly male study population may have influenced respondents in ways that can neither be predicted and planned for nor retrospectively ascertained. My general impression was that the fact that I am female and (being 25-years-old) in a similar or younger age group as the majority of my respondents made it easier to gain the trust of respondents and to confirm the nature of this project as that of a *student project*. While my Europeanness may have had effects on what and how respondents told me about certain things, one could also say that the fact that I am white and not South African might have given me the advantage that people felt 'free' to talk about other African, including South African, as well as Asian people.

In addition to this, from a constructionist perspective, an ordinary everyday conversation is – in many ways – not fundamentally different to an interview, be it a survey or an in-depth qualitative interview. With every act of communication, people construct 'a certain representation of themselves', and talk 'is always produced with an eye to the situation and the person(s) to whom it is addressed' (Cameron 2001:14). In particular, I draw here upon an insightful methodological note in Lamont's work on racism (2000:22). While

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acknowledging that respondents may tailor their accounts on racism, depending on the varied audiences they encounter, 'each of these discourses can be tapped for what it tells us about the social representations that respondents have of the Other and of themselves. None of these discourses exhaust the reality of racism, yet each enriches our understanding of it.' In a similar fashion, while it is possible – and probably likely - that respondents would have produced and tapped into different existing discourses had they been interviewed in their home countries or by a South African or a fellow countryman, the discourse they 'produced' for me still represents a significant component of their social realities.

Other biases also need to be accounted for. With regard to the interviews with migrant street traders, the issue of language needs to be addressed. All interviews from the migrant street trader data set were conducted in English, meaning that the sample is biased towards those who speak this language. Ideally, I would have conducted the interviews in the first languages of the respondents. However, as I only speak English, I had to make a choice between conducting the interviews myself or making use of a interpreter. In this study, the advantages of using a translator would have been outweighed by the disadvantages of not having been able to conduct the interviews myself. While the claim that a conversation in one's mother tongue might reflect a respondent's view even more accurately and offer the respondent a broader variety of different ways to express her or his views is certainly a valid one, I nonetheless decided against using a translator for several reasons. The first and most important reason was that, while I had anticipated the proficiency of English amongst my respondents to be of a lower standard, it turned out that language was not as large a problem as I had anticipated. The generally high level of the command of English of migrants in Johannesburg is also documented by Landau (2006:130), who reports that almost 90 per cent of all foreigners and South Africans living in inner-city Johannesburg rely on English as the language for participating in the city's social and economic life. I found that most respondents spoke English comfortably and, for the most part, fluently, as the interview excerpts presented in this thesis clearly show.[10] Of the 98 people approached for interviews, only 10 people (two of Zimbabwean, six of South African and two of Mozambican origin) were not interviewed either because they declined owing to their lack of English, or because I noticed in the introduction process that the potential respondent's English was not sufficient.

Secondly, it needs to be acknowledged that while in some research settings it is unavoidable, using a translator can have several disadvantages, including increased misunderstandings, mistrust and, importantly, mistranslations (see Inghilleri 2004,

[10] Minor grammatical errors have only been corrected in very few instances, such as for a respondent who referred to 'women' as 'womans' and another who sometimes used 'don't' instead of 'doesn't'.

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Mackenzie et al. 2007:304, Temple and Edwards 2002, Hynes 2003:3, Zolberg 1989). While the argument that for a study so explicitly concerned with language it would be better to draw on data collected in people's mother tongues is certainly valid, this benefit is relative in that the translator also then chooses his or her own words (and not the respondent's words) to convey the content of what has been said to the researcher. While English might not be the respondents' first language, the data collected is at least migrants' *very own* words, their very own accounts. Then, there is also the issue of trust. A one-on-one conversation with the researcher creates a far more intimate, trusting atmosphere than with the presence of a third person. A lack of trust towards the translator and the challenge of possible ethnic hostilities between translator and respondent could jeopardise the trusting atmosphere necessary for a successful interview. Finally, there was the issue of time. I was conscious not to take away too much time from the traders, and the use of a translator would have prolonged the interviews significantly or, given that some people only had a certain amount of time, limited the number of questions and areas covered. In summary, the bias emerging from the data being derived only from street traders proficient in the English language can be considered as present, yet relatively minor in light of the qualitative nature of the study and the potential disadvantages of using a translator as outlined above.

In general, the biases of language and researcher effects on the discourse produced are also further relativised by the fact that a comparison of the 'trends' within the street trader data revealed that the same trends, themes and ways of talking about matters emerged as they did in the two other data sets drawn upon, which were both conducted in the respondents' mother tongues (if they wished this), were produced under very different circumstances and were collected by (predominantly) black and Non-South African researchers.

2.7 Data Sources and Instruments

This thesis draws upon three data sets. The first and most strongly drawn upon data comes from interviews with 79 migrant street traders that were specifically conducted by the author of this study in order to explore cosmopolitan practices and attitudes amongst this population. The other two data sets used – one from a large-scale survey conducted in inner-city Johannesburg, one from interviews conducted amongst displacees of the 2008 xenophobic violence in Johannesburg - were not specifically collected for this research. They provide secondary data that has been included in order to show that the discourse emerging in the street traders' data resonates with data from other migrants in Johannesburg, despite being 'produced' under different circumstances. The following section provides information about these study populations, the respective sample compositions and the instruments used to collect data.

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Data Set 1: Migrant Street Traders[11]

Migrant street traders (predominantly international African migrants, and, to a much smaller extent, internal South African migrants) were chosen as the main study population for a number of reasons. Firstly, they constitute a numerically very significant part of the overall migrant population. Ever since the mid-1990s, thus from shortly after the end of the apartheid regime, the number of foreign hawkers and informal street traders from the region and across Africa has visibly increased on South African streets (see Peberdy and Rogerson 2002:3, Hunter and Skinner 2001:3). According to Jacobsen and Landau (2003:7), approximately 21 per cent of the migrant population in inner-city Johannesburg earns its livelihood through petty trading and hawking, making this type of employment 'migrants' most significant occupation'. As Kihato (2004:7, see Morris and Bouillon 2001) writes, for many migrants, formal employment for both legal and undocumented migrants is difficult to obtain and thus 'many are involved in informal businesses such as selling vegetables, clothes and other goods on street pavements or municipal markets.'

Furthermore, it is important to note that many of the informal, individual traders interviewed for this project reported that they often had different occupations in their countries of origin and were only doing street trading for an interim phase until a different job in the area they hoped to work in became attainable. Also, many migrants said that they pursued other 'piece-jobs' if the opportunity arose, such as construction work, gardening or painting. In addition to this, curio markets are often frequented by young and newly arrived migrants, who look for any form of instant employment as assistants or helpers, and who then move on to find other types of work after a while. In this sense, the sample may well reflect views of an even larger part of the migrant population and is not exclusively specific to those engaged in trade.

The second reason for migrant street traders forming the main study population was that their informal and lower economic status is consistent with this study's interest in non-elite forms of cosmopolitanism. The third reason for choosing this population is that their workplaces - in which they spend every day of the week - are public and contested spaces shared by South Africans, people from across and from beyond the continent. While some might argue that the nature of their occupation might pre-dispose them to cosmopolitanism, I think this bias is relativised by both the objectives of this study and the fact that not all migrants who work as traders and hawkers have done so before or do so permanently (see above). This study sought to contextualise and obtain real, empirical insight into whether migrants' engagement with Otherness is conceived of in cosmopolitan

[11] Data stemming from this collection will henceforth be called 'migrant street trader data'.

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ways or not, and I thus needed a study population that does in fact have the opportunity to interact with multiple Others every day. Last, but not least, given the fact that they work in public spaces and often have long stretches between customers in which an interview can take place, street traders are a migrant group that is very accessible for a researcher.

Sample Composition

The sample comprises 79 street traders of 10 different nationalities – 61 of foreign and 18 of South African nationality: 34 Zimbabweans; 18 South Africans; 12 Malawians; four Congolese; three Kenyans; two Senegalese; two Nigerians; two Tanzanians; one Ugandan and one Mozambican-Zimbabwean. While reliable statistical data on the actual numbers of foreigners in South Africa is impossible to obtain (McDonald 2000:5), 'even the lowest estimates confirm that there are now more Zimbabweans in the country than any other migrant group in South Africa's recent history' (Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) 2007:5). In addition, it appears that Zimbabweans dominate heavily in both informal markets and individual informal street trading. Thus, with 34 respondents, Zimbabweans constitute the nationality most strongly reflected in the sample. In order to be as representative as possible of the estimated gender composition of Johannesburg's migrant stock – 29 per cent female and 71 per cent male (Landau and Jacobsen 2003:4) - the sample included 33 per cent female and 67 per cent male traders.Similarly to what Skinner and Hunter (2001:9) found in their work on street traders in Durban, the majority of foreign street traders encountered were male, with the majority of South African street traders being female. This is also reflected in the sample. For an overview on the 79 respondents in terms of trading location, type of trading, sex, age and origin please see Appendix 4.

Interview Locations and Interviewee Selection

Interviews were conducted in various locations within Johannesburg and included a range of different types of traders from an informal curio and furniture market in Bryanston; a formal food and retail market in the inner-city suburb of Yeoville; and a formal curio market in Bruma; as well as informal, singular street traders selling a variety of products such as handicraft, flowers, or small food items in the neighbouring streets of the Yeoville market as well as the Northern suburbs of Rosebank; Craighall Park; Balfour Park; Houghton; Waverly; Highlands North; Ilovo; Parktown North and Oaklands. As the focus of this thesis was to explore cosmopolitanism amongst non-elite traders, the majority of all interviews were conducted with informal traders. Compared to traders at the formal markets at which traders need to pay a monthly fee for their stalls, the informal traders tended to be those who stated that they could not afford to sell their goods at a 'formal' stall. As formal

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trading locations, the market in the inner-city suburb of Yeoville and the curio market in Bruma were chosen. However, in the latter, no interviews were conducted in the more expensive inside stalls. In total, 34 individual informal traders, 22 traders at informal markets and 23 traders at formal markets were interviewed.

This research does not aim to make generalisable claims about Johannesburg's migrant street trader or general migrant population, but rather aims to explore the cosmopolitan attitudes and practices of a comparatively small, yet heterogeneous sample of migrant street traders. Thus, a purposive sampling method was applied, 'a form of non-probability sampling in which decisions concerning the individuals to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher, based upon a variety of criteria' (Jupp 2006: 245, see Williamson 2006:87). In this study, the criteria included the type of trader (formal or informal), sex and age, aiming to be in line with demographic estimates of Johannesburg's general migrant stock as well as to include traders from a variety of different locations within the city, ranging from 'leafy suburbs' to inner-city areas. While this sampling method implies a certain form of bias, 'internal consistency between aims and epistemological basis of the research' (Jupp 2006:245) was given in this research because of the exploratory and qualitative nature of the study.

Instruments

The first pilot interviews conducted followed a relatively structured questionnaire, with many specific questions, and turned out to elicit rather short answers, rather than the narratives needed for in-depth qualitative analysis. Thus, the instrument was revised into a semi-structured thematic guideline in order to allow for a natural, conversation-like interview situation. The questions asked were typically open-ended and structured along the key notions of *place, mobility and rights; culture, cultural difference and the Other;* and *identity, morality and belonging*. The interview guideline which was used can be found in Appendix 3. Importantly, while I ensured that the same types of questions were asked with each respondent, the order of the themes was individually 'tailored' to each respondent and fitted into their own natural narrative flow, rather than following a predetermined order.

Safety for Respondents and Researcher

The anonymity of respondents and the confidentiality of the interview data, particularly with regard to legal issues, have been assured so as not to place respondents in any possible danger. Interview transcriptions as well as the original audio-files are accessible only to the researcher. As crime rates in Johannesburg (especially in inner-city areas) are particularly high, situations where the safety of respondents or the researcher could have been

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jeopardised were avoided as much as possible. Thus, interviews were conducted exclusively in public spaces and during the daytime. A male fellow student accompanied me while I conducted fieldwork in the inner-city suburb of Yeoville, and I always remained in regular visual and telephonic contact with him throughout the time spent on interviewing in this suburb.

Access to Respondents

Gaining access is a continuous process that is 'part of a more general process of active engagement with settings and social actors, and of recognizing the need to work at ethical research relationships' (Jupp 2006:1). Given the vulnerability of migrants in South Africa and generally, I had expected it to be fairly difficult to gain the trust of respondents. However, the overwhelming majority of respondents seemed not to be mistrustful at all, which was certainly helped by the fact that I always emphasised anonymity and the fact that migrants were completely free to disclose their legal status to me or not during the introduction. Hence, the process of making access to respondents was very straightforward. Apart from the market in Yeoville, where approval from the management had to be obtained in advance[12], I was able to approach respondents directly. Once I arrived at the chosen research sites, I walked around in the streets or at the market places and approached the traders directly. After greeting the respondents, I introduced myself with my name and student identity card. I then proceeded to explain the topic and nature of the research and the interview (please see Section 2.8 on informed consent). I then asked the respondents whether they would be interested in participating in the study. Most respondents were willing to do the interview immediately, while some others asked me to return to their stall or trading place at a later time or different date. From each respondent, I tried to learn a form of greeting in their native languages such as Shona, Kiswahili, French or Chichewa, which were then used to greet any future respondents from the same country. As many respondents generally emphasised the importance of greetings as a sign of respect, this functioned as an 'ice-breaker' and certainly facilitated access.

Data Set 2: Displaced Migrants[13] of the 2008 Xenophobic Violence

In 2008, Johannesburg became the epicentre of a series of unprecedented xenophobic violence incidents directed towards (mostly African) foreign nationals. The smouldering xenophobia that experts had been observing and warning about for years erupted in Alexandra, one of Johannesburg's townships, and quickly spread to several other informal

[12] A formal letter had to be written and signed by researcher's thesis supervisor at the FMSP and was handed to the market management, upon which approval was instantly granted.
[13] Data stemming from this collection will henceforth be called 'displaced migrants data'.

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settlements as well as inner-city areas in and around Johannesburg. Qualitative data from interviews with migrants displaced or affected by these attacks constitutes secondary data that is drawn upon in this thesis, yet was not specifically collected for the purposes of this doctoral research. It stems from a project entitled 'Documenting Experiences of Xenophobic Violence', which was carried out by the Forced Migration Studies Programme in the immediate aftermath of the attacks. While attention had been focused on the immediate humanitarian and legal needs of the people displaced, the project sought to document the individual experiences of people affected by the violence, including those who had been physically attacked and displaced from their homes and those who feared attack or who had been threatened but not displaced.

Being involved in this project as assistant-coordinator and fieldworker, I realised that much of what the displaced migrants talked about was highly relevant to, and in fact mirrored, discursive practices in the data from my own project on cosmopolitanism. Rather obviously, this group of displaced migrants is unique and likely to be much more politicised than their non-displaced counterparts. Subsequently, including their data in the analysis of this study might invite justifiable criticism regarding the 'exeptionalism' of this group. However, these narratives were included nonetheless – importantly, always highlighting their origin in that data set – for the following reasons: firstly, as migrant organisations in South Africa are usually short-lived (see Amisi and Ballard 2005, Landau and Freemantle 2009) and migrants generally rarely organise and mobilise politically (see Jinnah and Holaday 2009), this data set collected amongst the displaced migrants is a rare collection of migrants' voices speaking *explicitly* about their claims and their conceptions of their rights in South Africa. Secondly, this data provides unique insight into how migrants portray their experiences living cheek-by-jowl with South Africans in some of the most underprivileged areas of Johannesburg prior to and after having faced violent exclusion, i.e. having experienced the force of the 'enemies' of cosmopolitanism at its very worst. Finally, while of course this population is a very particular one and its claims might be more explicitly formulated than those of other groups, it nonetheless mirrors similar trends discovered in the migrant street trader data. Essentially, the discourse runs along the same lines as it does in the data from the migrant street traders (most of which was collected before the attacks) – i.e. the argument for the need for reciprocity, for Pan-African solidarity, the construction of migrants as text-book cosmopolitans etc.

Sample Composition

While this project collected more than 100 interviews, this study only draws upon the 77 interviews (46 of which were conducted within the shelters, and 31 out of the shelters) that were available at the time the analysis for this thesis was conducted. This sample included

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49 Zimbabweans; eight Mozambicans; four Malawians; nine Somalis; two Kenyans; one Nigerian; one South African and three Congolese. It included 61 males and 16 females. Information on age was not collected.

Interview Locations and Interviewee Selection

A group of post-graduate students at the University of the Witwatersrand (from a range of departments, including History, Political Science, Languages, Sociology, and Arts) was specifically trained to document the migrants' stories. Each fieldwork team consisted of four to five female and male researchers, with a range of different language skills to allow respondents to be interviewed in their mother tongues if they wished this. The languages spoken by the researchers included Shona, Ndebele, Zulu, French, English, Tsonga, Portuguese, Somali and Kiswahili. Interviews were conducted in three government shelters (Rand Airport Shelter, Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) Shelter and River Road Shelter) as well as in the Central Methodist Church in inner-city Johannesburg and two smaller inner-city shelters.[14] A fourth government shelter was initially selected and visited, but owing to increasing tensions between shelter residents and shelter management and the general politicisation of the camp conducting research at this particular site was deemed too problematic.

The research team followed a two-step process in making access in the shelters. Firstly, shelter managers were contacted via telephone. After the project was outlined to them in detail, the shelter managers were asked for permission for a first site visit. Once permission was granted and a date arranged, the project co-ordinators and group leader of the respective team of fieldworkers visited each shelter. At the site, they introduced themselves and the project to resident leaders. The aim was for shelter residents to voluntarily identify themselves for participation in the study, so resident leaders were asked to outline the project to shelter residents in the days subsequent to the research team's first visit. The resident leaders were then contacted by the group leader of the respective fieldwork team to arrange dates for interviews and to get introduced to self-identified respondents. However, this process of self-identification only worked in some cases. Often, fieldworkers walked through the site and approached shelter residents individually to ask them to participate in the study.

Interviews outside of the shelters were conducted in the townships of Alexandra and Diepsloot as well as the inner-city areas of Bertrams, Braamfontein, Hillbrow, Berea and Mayfair. For the out-of-shelter interviews, fieldworkers (mostly foreign Africans

[14] To safeguard the anonymity of respondents from these two smaller shelters, the names of the shelters are not disclosed here.

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themselves) were asked to use their own existing networks and area knowledge to approach possible respondents.

Instruments

There was no questionnaire or structured interview guideline, but interviews were guided by a list of general themes on which the respondents were asked to speak. The interview guideline covered many of the themes highly relevant to this thesis, i.e. migrants' conceptions of their rights as foreigners, of xenophobia, community and of relationships with South Africans. The themes were intended to elicit longer stories, not brief descriptive answers. The aim was to allow people to express their views, grievances, worries and expectations freely for as long as they felt comfortable. The interview guideline is included in Appendix 1. More detailed information on the project as well as the unedited and edited versions of the interviews are available on request from Tara Polzer, Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP), University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, at tara.polzer@wits.ac.za.

Data Set 3: Inner City Migrants: New African Cities Project Survey[15]

Finally, this study makes use of a third data source in the form of quantitative data from the 2006 New African Cities Project Survey, a collaborative project of the FMSP at the University of the Witwatersrand, Tufts University (Boston), the French Institute of South Africa and partners in Maputo, Lubumbashi and Nairobi. Given the qualitative and social constructionist framework of this research, the NACP data is not primarily included in order to increase representativity or generalisability, but to show that there are trends in the way certain 'truths' or realities are constructed by migrants in Johannesburg that are detectable in all the data sets used for this study. While, of course, quantitative data does not allow for discourse analysis as such, its use is still consistent with the general social constructionist framework, given the fact that, whether one talks in a conversation or interview or answers a survey, from a constructionist perspective a person is always assumed to convey a particular image of him or herself in every act of communication (Cameron 2001:14). In this sense, I am not treating the NACP data as an accurate representation of a singular truth as a positivist researcher would do, but rather as part of migrants' construction of a particular *version* of truth.

[15] Data stemming from this collection will henceforth be called 'NACP data'.

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Sample Composition

This research draws upon the Johannesburg sample (N=847) of the survey, which included 235 respondents from the DRC (29.9 per cent); 203 respondents from Mozambique (24 per cent); 186 respondents from Somalia (22 per cent); and a control group of 190 respondents from South Africa (22.4 per cent). The remainder of 1.8 per cent comprises respondents from other nationalities that were mistakenly included in the sample. A total of 59.7 per cent of the respondents were male and 40.3 per cent were female.

Interview Locations and Sampling Methods

Owing to the fact that reliable census data or other population estimates are impossible to obtain in South Africa – especially of migrant populations - the survey applied a combination of multi-stage cluster and interval sampling. As a first step, key informants such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working with migrants and refugees as well as city officials were consulted about Johannesburg's neighbourhoods with the highest densities of the target populations and nationalities. These were identified as Berea; Bertrams; Bezuidenhout Valley; Fordsburg; Mayfair; Rosettenville; and Yeoville. In a second step, 100 'enumerator areas' (Johannesburg's existing administrative units) were randomly selected. Aiming for a total of 1 000 randomly selected respondents, a total of 10 respondents (six non-nationals and four South African nationals) were included for each of the selected enumerator areas (Jacobsen and Landau 2003:298).

Interviews were conducted by students of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg who were able to converse fluently in the languages spoken predominantly by the target populations. Respondents were able to choose whether they would like to be interviewed in English or their mother tongue. In order to avoid biases resulting from intra-national or intra- or interethnic hostilities, respondents were interviewed by fellow language speakers but of different nationalities. For example, Congolese students interviewed Burundian respondents and Angolan students interviewed Mozambicans (Jacobsen and Landau 2003:299).[16]

Instruments

Data was collected by means of a quantitative survey consisting of 810 coded questions exploring a wide range of issues. There were three core areas the survey questions

[16] As Jacobsen and Landau (2003:199) highlight, 'the only exception to this was in the case of Somalis because it proved impossible to identify suitable (i.e., non-refugee) interviewers who could speak Somali but were not themselves Somalis. In this instance, it was specified that fieldworkers did not work in their areas of residence.'

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revolved around: migration trajectories, transnational links and networks, and 'the interactions and relationships between migrants and their host environment' (Vigneswaran 2009:444). The original questionnaire was written in English, however, incorporating insights from a pilot test with over 50 refugees, migrants and 'locals' in Boston. It

> *was then revised, retested in English, and translated into Amharic, Somali, Kiswahili, Portuguese and French by native speakers who had participated in the pilot testing. It was then back-translated into English by native speakers without previous involvement with the project' (Jacobsen and Landau 2003:198).*

The questions included in this thesis are found in Appendix 2. For a more detailed description of the statistical methods, limitations, contexts and theoretical assumptions underlying the design of the survey, please see Jacobsen and Landau (2003) and Vigneswaran (2009). For more general information and research based on the survey data, please go to www.migration.org.za/project/new-african-cities-project.

2.8 Researching Migrants: Ethical Considerations

Researching vulnerable groups such as migrants 'for the sake of academic interest' gives rise to a number of ethical problems that have to be accounted for, in particular 'inequalities of political rights, economic positions, psychosocial positions, gender and other social and cultural factors' (Hynes 2003:13; see Landau and Jacobsen 2003, Mackenzie et al. 2007). Migrants in South Africa – regardless of having legal documentation or not - are at permanent risk of police harassment, and (often arbitrary) arrest and/or deportation. Owing to this often insecure status, migrants 'may feel particularly vulnerable and/or powerless in the process of being researched.' As a researcher of migrants, it is crucial not to put respondents into any potential danger with regard to their staying or wellbeing in South Africa, and to be sensitive to and respect migrants' concerns, feelings or the traumas they may have suffered (Hynes 2003:13).

As for the migrant street trader project, this research strictly adhered to the principle of informed consent, the 'responsibility on the sociologist to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be disseminated' (Definition of the British Sociological Association , see also Mackenzie et al. 2007:301). Subsequently, all migrants interviewed were told about the academic nature of and motivation for the study. As respondents might have 'unrealistic expectations' of the ability of the researcher to assist them with legal or other issues (Mackenzie et al. 2007:303), they were also clearly informed about the fact that they would not receive payment or any other direct or material benefit for

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their participation. Interviews were recorded only if the respondents gave permission on these grounds prior to the interview. If respondents chose to, they remained anonymous, whereas others introduced themselves with their real names. However, pseudonyms were used in all cases in the published dissertation. The data obtained has been treated confidentially. Participants were also told that their participation was completely voluntary, and that even if they consented to an interview they were entirely free to skip any questions or to end the interview at any stage without any consequences. In the few cases where people refused an interview, I thanked them for their time, said good-bye and left to look for other interviewees. I was very concerned to not take away valuable 'work time' from migrant respondents. As pilot work revealed, migrant street traders often have long stretches of time in-between customers. Thus, the traders could be conveniently interviewed in their work places and in-between customers, which ensured that their normal pursuit of work was not disturbed. In order to downplay the power relations between respondents and researcher, and as part of general precautions against crime in Johannesburg, I wore very basic clothes and no expensive accessories such as jewellery during the fieldwork. I also mostly sat on the floor next to the respondents during the interview.

As for the data set on displacees of the xenophobic violence, much emphasis was placed on the notion of informed consent: respondents were not only sensitively introduced to the research project by the fieldworkers, but also received a comprehensive participant information sheet (translated into Kiswahili, Shona, Tsonga, Zulu and French). Each respondent was asked to give written consent to participate in the study. It was ensured that participants felt that they had absolute control over the degree of publication of their stories. Respondents could select from a variety of different options: whether their real name or a pseudonym of their choice would be used; whether they wanted their picture taken or not; whether they wanted their voice to be recorded or not; and, lastly, whether they wanted their voice recording published on the internet or used solely for the purposes of transcribing. Their preferences were recorded on the consent forms, which are archived at the FMSP. Given the vulnerability and generally insecure situation of migrants displaced or affected by the xenophobic violence, it was ensured that all students had extensive training in sensitive interview methods (how to approach a person for permission to record their story and the ethics of respecting privacy and the person's own way of story telling) as well as more general ethical considerations involved in research with vulnerable populations of migrants and refugees. Students were also trained in recognising basic signs of psychological trauma or other basic needs (such as health care or legal assistance), and where to refer people for further assistance. Referral points were arranged in advance, to ensure smooth service provision for respondents. Students were given sufficient cell phone airtime to get respondents and assigned referral persons in touch with each other immediately if necessary.

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Finally, for the New African Cities Project Survey, fieldworkers were also carefully trained and respondents were given full information on the nature and purpose of the survey and were asked for written consent before the interview.

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3

Place, Mobility and Interconnection in Africa: Challenges to the Link between Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship in Stable Nation-States

3.1 Introduction: Political Dimensions of Cosmopolitanism and Mobility

> *No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main (John Donne 1624, Meditation 17).*

Cosmopolitanism rejects the idea that a person is - or should be - exclusively defined by place of origin, either in his or her character, dispositions or entitlement to rights. Rather than seeing individuals as 'rooted' in a particular 'soil', such as that of the nation, home or village, cosmopolitanism maintains that individuals are characterised by, and able to maintain, complex affiliations and relations to different places. Rather than being creatures of, or confined by, their place of origin, cosmopolitans are assumed to move confidently within, across and between different places. According to Szerszynski and Urry (2006:114-115), the cosmopolitan relationship to place includes a curiosity about Other places and cultures, the ability to 'consume many places and environments en route' as well as 'some ability to reflect upon and judge aesthetically between different natures, places and societies'.

Cosmopolitanism's inherent link with mobility and thus the ability to engage with and connect to a larger world beyond the confines of one's own home and locality is widely recognised. This becomes particularly pertinent as processes of globalisation bring about massive improvements in the speed of modern travel and virtual channels of communication, resulting in 'a shift to a cosmopolitan relationship with place', meaning 'that humans increasingly inhabit their world only at a distance' (Szerszynski and Urry 2006:113). In this sense, global interconnections and interdependencies 'have intensified to the extent that the sense of spatial distance which separated and insulated people from the need to take into account all the other people which make up what has become known as humanity has become eroded'(Featherstone 1993:169). Rather than conceiving of the world as divided into mutually exclusive and bounded entities and territorialising the social, cosmopolitanism thus views places everywhere as inherently interconnected, interdependent and heterogeneous through global flows of capital, communication, people and information. From a cosmopolitan perspective, localities are always inherently

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shaping, and in turn shaped by, the global: the local becomes redefined 'in the light of the multiple connections cutting across places' (Beck 2008:34). Human mobility is an important aspect of these cross-cutting connections, and cosmopolitanism views the internal diversity and heterogeneity (embodied by the presence of various cultural and ethnic groups) of place as a normal and natural condition.

These concepts of place, mobility and interconnection also translate into cosmopolitanism's political agenda. Acknowledging that governments across the world are increasingly faced with multiple inherently border-crossing challenges– such as crime, climate change or migration – cosmopolitanism seeks to respond to the limitations of the nation-state, move towards the building of appropriate global institutions and re-define structures and levels of governance, concepts of membership and citizenship, and democracy (Calhoun 2002:873, Bauböck 2002, Pogge 1992, Hannerz 2005:201). In many ways, as Beck (2001) argues, we have moved into a 'world risk society', and cosmopolitanism seeks to translate the ideas of a singular global human community into the establishment of a world-wide legal and political order. As a political project, cosmopolitanism is thus characterised by a positioning of 'globality at the heart of political imagination, action and organization' (Beck 1998:29, cf. Delanty 2006, Held 2004:192). As Fine (2007:2-3, see also 2009:8) argues,

> *whilst international law has traditionally developed according to the principle that every state is sovereign within its own territory, cosmopolitanism endorses legal limitations on how rules may behave towards the ruled; and whilst international law leaves it to states to protect the rights of individuals, cosmopolitanism looks also to the formation of international legal bodies above the level of nation-states to perform this function.*

While few scholars actually advocate a central world government, most propose a restructuring and reassignment of appropriate levels of governance for particular issues, reaching from global to city levels. Held (2004:190), for example, argues that,

> *recognizing the complex structures of an interconnected world, it [cosmopolitanism] views certain issues – such as housing, sanitation and policing – as appropriate for spatially delimited political spheres (the city, region or state), while it sees others – such as the environment, world health and economic regulation – as requiring new, more extensive institutions to address them.*

Increasing human mobility and the influx of migrants also bring about a fundamental challenge to established concepts of membership, rights and the boundaries of political community. As Sassen (2008:839) argues,

> *migrants, refugees, stateless people – all of these have important implications for human rights in relations to citizenship. These social changes in the role of the state, the impact of*

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globalization on states, and the relationship between dominant and subordinate groups also have major implications for questions of identity.

Cosmopolitanism as a political project assigns absolute primacy to human rights, including the universal right to mobility. From a cosmopolitan perspective, mobility and the right to reside in a country one is not born in are inalienable rights each individual is (or better, should be) given by virtue of being human. Many of the ideas about cosmopolitan rights to mobility have their origin in the third article of Kant's famous essay 'Towards Perpetual Peace'. The right to travel and to be received in anOther country with hospitality (and not hostility), as Kant has argued, 'is not a question of philanthropy but of right' (Kant 2006:82):

Hospitality means the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another. One may refuse to receive him when this can be done without causing his destruction; but, so long as he peacefully occupies his place, one may not treat him with hostility. It is not the right to be a permanent visitor that one may demand. A special beneficent agreement would be needed in order to give an outsider a right to become a fellow inhabitant for a certain length of time. It is only a right of temporary sojourn, a right to associate, which all men have. They have it by virtue of their common possession of the surface of the earth, where, as a globe, they cannot infinitely disperse and hence must finally tolerate the presence of each other. Originally, no one had more right than another to a particular part of the earth.

However, as several critics – amongst the most prominent being Derrida (2000:75) - have pointed out, a strict, literal reading of Kant's work reveals fundamental limitations on the rights of the Other in its distinction between a right to visit and a right to take up residency (the latter being subject to a state's discretion and the establishment of an additional contract, according to Kant), despite Kant's general emphasis on world citizenship. As Derrida (2000:75, 2001:20-26) points out, there is an inherent contradiction between the conditions placed upon residency in a foreign country and the notion that all humans share 'common possession of the surface of the earth'. While Kant's concept of the right to hospitality allows for mobility, commerce across borders and social interaction between members of different polities, it limits cosmopolitan right to the right to *temporarily* reside within a foreign country and bestows the state with the right to decide who it allows to remain within its territory and who it does not. As Brown (2010:312) argues, from Derrida's perspective

for cosmopolitan right and the laws of hospitality to be meaningful, the conditionality of hospitality cannot remain the exclusive prerogative of state power, for this immediately creates borders, exclusionary practice, distinctions between 'us' and 'them', and limitations between political members and guests. Derrida seems to suggest that this distinction and line of demarcation between political participants is contrary to the spirit of cosmopolitan universality. For it violates the egalitarian conception of equal human worth as individual moral beings and repudiates the idea of a political realm without borders.

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Several other scholars have sought to address the limitations of, or at least elaborate and build upon, Kant's notion of hospitality and cosmopolitan right and establish the right to mobility and residency in another country as a basic human right central to notions of global justice. As Marchietti (2006:4) argues,

> *freedom of movement is usually included in the set of fundamental individual rights that are crucial for human dignity and for full participation in the political life of a community. Traditionally applied to the domestic domain only, the value of universal mobility is mostly evident when it is denied. An important criticism of dictatorial regimes concerns, in fact, their restrictive attitude toward mobility within and beyond national territory. As much as other domains of freedom of choice, freedom of movement remains a key component for the enhancement of individual, and thus of social well-being.*

As Moellendorf (2002:62-67) argues, proponents of the primacy of national communities and of the rights of citizens have argued against such cosmopolitan conceptions of individual rights to mobility in the following ways. Firstly, there is the conception that immigration is a matter of charity rather than, as cosmopolitanism maintains, of global justice. Secondly, 'harm' caused by immigration is assumed to include the rights of taxpaying citizens as harmed by non-taxpaying migrant competitors for jobs and resources, an entitlement to protection deriving from their monetary contribution which is not made by migrants. Thirdly, there is the argument that immigration harms the economic interests of citizens, with migrants competing for the same jobs but underbidding salaries and rates of citizens. Fourthly, there is the cultural argument, where national 'cultural survival' is assumed to be under threat by the influx of 'Others'. A final argument against cosmopolitanism advocates the 'protection' of just state institutions and their ability to cater for the needs of citizens, which might become strained owing to the influx of migrants (Moellendorf 2002:62-67). The master narrative of nationalism constructs the migrant as someone out of place and pathological. Faced with a variety of technologies of exclusion implemented by the nation-state, such as border fences; immigration and asylum laws; and policing, arrest and deportation, migrants are positioned as inferiors in an unequal power relationship. As Isin (2002:3) argues, 'the logic of exclusion presupposes that the excluding and the excluded are conceived as irreconcilable; that the excluded is perceived in purely negative terms, having no property of its own, but merely expressing the absence of the properties of the other.'

Yet, from a cosmopolitan perspective, the primacy of national membership is morally illegitimate and entirely arbitrary. A turn towards cosmopolitan norms then signals 'the eventual legalization and juridification of the rights claims of human beings everywhere, *regardless of their membership in bounded communities*' (Benhabib 2006:20). This includes the responsibility to protect both the human rights of people elsewhere, based on the idea that any state is subject to external moral scrutiny - for example through

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humanitarian intervention - and the rights of those seeking opportunities or sanctuary within one's own nation-state. Moellendorf (2002:62) argues that 'we can charge, without redundancy, restrictive immigration policies both with violating a principle of equality of opportunity and with violating a principle of freedom of movement' (see also Christiano 2008). Moellendorf (2002:54) also writes that 'restrictive immigration policies have the effect of denying noncompatriots the opportunities for development and advancement that an economy of a country offers to its citizens.' Such policies create 'inequality of opportunity' as they 'have the effect of distributing opportunities for personal advance in a morally arbitrary way' (Moellendorf 2002:61).

In summary, whereas the nation-state bestows rights on particular individuals by virtue of their shared collective past and inherited membership in a territorially defined and rooted community, cosmopolitanism thus stresses both the ability *and* the right of the individual to 'transcend and move beyond and between the territories of nations' (Delanty 2006:359,361). Being a migrant and residing in a foreign country are thus not pathologised or seen as an aberration from the norm, but, instead, as an expression of freedom and as a right rather than a privilege. Rather than seeing the world through the lens of the nation-state paradigm as naturally divided into mutually exclusive and bounded entities, cosmopolitanism questions the legitimacy and naturalness of nationalism as a normative principle of integration and community and challenges the nation-state's logic of exclusion and privileging of citizens over non-citizens (Heater 2002:73). As Beck (2008:31) writes, 'the clear cut dualism – between members and non-members of a (national) category or between humans and citizens – collapse[s]' (see also Soysal 1994). Delegitimising concepts of space as being territorially bound and rightfully belonging to members of specific groups only, cosmopolitanism emphasises the 'rights of individuals to migrate to where they can best flourish' (Hudson 2008, regardless of the reasons that made them move.

In this chapter, I explore how migrants formulate and express their personal experiences and justifications of cosmopolitan challenges to the nation-state's logic of exclusion - despite the fact that migrants are commonly excluded from holding such cosmopolitan attitudes. I argue that the logic underlying the distinction between the transnational migrant and the cosmopolitan Western traveller that is so entrenched in the existing literature is not only flawed in general, but becomes particularly unsustainable once situated in the African context with its unachieved nation-states, permeability of borders and high levels of mobility (which I discuss in the following section). I suggest that it is in many ways exactly the weakness of the nation-state in Africa that contributes significantly to the development of a particular *cosmopolitan discourse* claiming the right to freedom of movement and residence in a foreign country. However, these migrants' cosmopolitanism

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is not the result of privilege and luxury, but born out of the condition of permanent preparedness and the need to de-territorialise their life chances (Simone 2001:18) beyond the African city. On the basis of the empirical data, I argue that migrants' collective discourse dialectically engages with and counters the legitimacy of hegemonic discourses of territorial exclusion in South Africa and, by extension, *everywhere*. Migrants challenge the nation-state's conception of the world as divided into mutually exclusive and bounded socio-political entities and juxtapose this conception with a cosmopolitan perspective that views space as inherently interconnected, heterogeneous and inclusive. If nationalism conceives of migrants as pathologies and 'outsiders', this chapter shows how migrants' discourse challenges the hierarchical power relationship between the foreigner as the outsider, and the nation-state in three distinct ways.

Firstly, migrants' discourse constructs mobility as *positive* and pragmatically positions the Self within a global, unbounded context. Through this, migrants portray themselves as not being confined to their nation or *out of place*, but as cosmopolitans who are at ease anywhere in the world. Secondly, migrants construct the presence of Others as *normal* and portray their own home countries and cities as picture-perfect, cosmopolitan societies. This serves to show that South Africa is in fact deviating from a universally applicable 'norm' and forms the basis of migrants' claim for freedom and equality. Thirdly, the discourse not only shows that mobility is not pathological and that diversity is normal, but constructs national space as inherently constituted by and critically dependent on external flows. Through this, it challenges the nation-state's conception of the world as divided into mutually exclusive and bounded socio-political entities. I conclude with a discussion of the findings vis-à-vis the notion of belonging and argue that if we consider the types of claims that migrants make in the discourse described in this study, we see that they are *not* actually about belonging to any place in particular, *preferring* to stay 'betwixt and between without being liminal (…) participating in many worlds without becoming part of them' (Friedman 1994:204).

3.2 The Nation-State, Africa and the Permeability of Boundaries

In order to explore why in Africa 'nationhood itself is an ambition rather than a reality' (Mazrui 1982:23), we need to look at the origins and development of African nation-states and the ways in which they diverge from their European 'blueprints'. While Calhoun (2002:875) reminds us that 'we should recall how recent, temporary, and ever incomplete the apparent autonomy and closure of nation is' everywhere in the world, most of the key features of boundedness and integration of the nation-state model, 'theorized, designed, and imposed by the Europeans' (Herbst 1996:127) have always been particularly 'unachieved' in the African context. Amongst these are the ethno-culturally homogenous

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constituency of nations, the development of strong national identities and integration and the capacity of states to control and govern the territory that their 'nation' inhabits.

According to Anderson (1983:12), nationalism emerged in Europe at the moment when the previously dominating feudal system was on the decline, and the demise of Latin and subsequent democratisation of access to Christian and other writings caused a previously universal and sacred community to be 'gradually fragmented, pluralized, and territorialised' (Anderson 1983:19). Religion and literature were gradually made 'vernacular'. With both of these previously dominating cultural systems disintegrating, there was a need 'for a new way of linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together' (Anderson 1983:36). With the invention of the mechanical press and ability to produce books at a low cost, a huge market catering to the previously excluded, non-Latin-speaking new masses of readers (Anderson 1983:38) opened up for printing capitalism, leading to the creation of unified vernacular printing languages. These, so Anderson asserts, in many ways 'laid the basis of national consciousness' as they 'created unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin', integrating regionally varied dialects and relating vernaculars into a smaller number of common printing languages. Through this, distinct national language communities were created, territorially demarcated from each other (Anderson 1983:44,45).

However, the integration of the nation-state in Europe was not only pursued via language, but also through the establishment of unified education systems, military service and economic policies. Gradually, political, economic and coercive power became territorialised (see Brenner 1999:47, Malkki 1992:26, Gellner 1983, Giddens 1987:116,119, Hobsbawm 1990:9-10). Populations came to be counted, surveilled and granted rights and duties exclusive to citizens of the nation, whereas borders became patrolled and foreigners categorised as 'alien' elements with restricted rights (see Calhoun 1993:217, Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002:309). Calhoun (1993:217) succinctly writes about these processes that 'life homogenized within states and heterogenized among states' (see Tilly 1990:116,). As Lefebvre (1991[1974]:280) argues, 'each state claims to produce a space wherein something is accomplished, a space, even, where something is brought to perfection: namely, a united and hence homogenous society.' Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002:308) explain that:

> *Modern nationalism fuses four different notions of peoplehood […] the people as a sovereign entity, which exercises political power by means of some sort of democratic procedure; the people as citizens of a state holding equal rights before the law; the people as a group of obligatory solidarity, an extended family knit together by obligations of mutual support; and the people as an ethnic community undifferentiated by distinctions of honour and prestige, but united through common destiny and shared culture.*

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The origin of African nation-states, on the other hand, differs markedly from their European predecessors. African nation-states were drawn onto the map by colonial powers during a period of less than 20 years between 1885 (at the infamous 'Berlin West African Conference') and 1902. At the time, the forms of political organisation in pre-colonial Africa were of a fundamentally different nature to those subsequently imposed on the continent. This is not to say that there were no forms of statehood and kingdoms in Africa; yet, whereas the newly formed African nation-states were designed as mutually exclusive, sovereign entities, the previously existing multiple forms of governance and membership (reaching from villages to city states and empires) were based on concepts of territory as 'not well defined' and as overlapping and with shared notions of sovereignty (Herbst 1996:120, Crawford Young 1982). Furthermore, 'new frontiers often cut across pre-existing trade routes' (Nugent and Asiwaju 1996). As Harrow (2001:33) writes, 'cultural contacts, conquest, influences through borrowing, imitating, and expropriating marked peoples everywhere in Africa. Cultural isolation or frozen ethnic boundaries never existed.' In addition, Africa's many groups of nomadic people had never fitted the sedentary logic of the nation-state (Nugent and Asiwaju 1996:6), still 'moving freely from one nation-state to another to suit their individual advantage' (Blench 1996:124).

Nationalism as 'a theory of political legitimacy' requires the congruency of ethno-cultural and political boundaries (Gellner 1983:1). However, the colonial powers in Africa drew the borders of their subsequent nation-states with little regard for any kind of existing social organisation and communities (Katzenellenbogen 1996). As Félix Houphouët-Boigny, first president of independent Cote D'Ivoire,[17] has said about himself and other African leaders of post-colonial states, 'we have all inherited from our ancient masters not nations but states - states that have within them extremely fragile links between the different ethnic groups put together by the colonisers.' Cultural groups were dissected from each other, and different cultural groups were put together as new communities (Griffiths 1996:74). In Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia, for example, the Cheva and Ngnoi people were divided by the boundaries of three modern states (Griffiths 1996:74). In fact, apart from a handful of exceptions, most states formed by the colonial powers in Africa were inhabited by a multiplicity of different groups, thus not conforming to the idea of an ethnic nation at all (Neuberger 2006:522, Larémont 2005:24). Interestingly, the very concept of ethnicity was modified, or, as many scholars claim, to a considerable extent even 'invented' in order to serve the colonial interest. Whereas ethnicity in pre-colonial Africa was of a multiple, overlapping and fluid nature, with 'extraordinary layered complexity, fluidity; and degrees of interpenetration as well as conflict' (Crawford Young 1982:445, Southall I970, King

[17] Statement made on the Nigeria/Biafra Conflict by his Excellency Félix Houphouët-Boigny, President of Ivory Coast, on May 9 1968 at the Ivory Coast Embassy in Paris. Retrieved [14.09.2009] from www.biafraland.com/biafra_recognized_by_ivory_coast.htm

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2001), the colonial masters - for purposes of administration and control as well as to create the 'ethnic' basis required by nationalism - classified and categorised populations within 'their' territory into supposedly homogenous 'tribal' groups. As Crawford Young writes, 'the controlling image was of a natural situation where society was composed of discrete, territorially bounded units' (1986:444, see Rakodi 2006:314). However, 'the reality did not match the grid of colonial classification placed upon it' (Crawford Young 1986:444-445).

As Herbst (1996) describes, during the wave of independence across Africa, both the international community and the newly formed African governments themselves decided to keep the borders as they had been drawn by the colonial powers intact (see also Larémont 2005:25). The strict adherence to the inviolability of existing boundaries was seen as the only shield against possible instability and conflict caused by any form of secessionism, seen as dangerous to the development and security of the newly born states, the continent as a whole as well as the logic underlying the system of the modern international community. As Asiwaju (1996:255) writes, 'not only were the legal instruments inherited; the institutions, personnel and the procedures have either remained the same or were derived from the antecedents which Europeans have used in dealing with boundary problems.' The existent borders were to be upheld at all costs, with Western countries eager to provide assistance in supporting the new governments in suppressing any force within their territory that threatened the territorial integrity of even the most dysfunctional states (Herbst 1996:131). The new league of African leaders which emerged was also pushing strongly to maintain the status quo, mainly 'because there was no guarantee, if they began to experiment with different types of political organization, that they would continue to be in power' (Herbst 1996:120). The only criterion that these newly formed nation-states fulfilled was the clear demarcation of territory. All independent African states gained the United Nations status of 'sovereignty' by default. As Herbst writes,

> *the central paradox of the international treatment of African states is that although sovereignty was granted simply as a result of decolonization, it was immediately assumed that the new states would take on features that had previously characterised sovereignty, most notably unquestioned physical control over the defined territory, but also an administrative presence throughout the country and the allegiance of the population to the idea of the state.*

As Herbst (1996:129) continues, 'authority was not dependent on popular support or legitimacy', a fact which soon turned out to be fatal for many African states. Most African states lacked both the will and the administrative capacity to control their territories beyond the places in which power (and potential threats to it) concentrated, the capital cities, and were neither politically nor economically viable (Herbst 1996:120-121, Larémont 2005:24-25).

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According to Neuberger (2006:523), the strategies for nation-building in post-colonial Africa were similar to the usual 'toolkit' of nationalism: linguistic integration; the creation of centrally located capitals; the 'invention of a common history', the 'nationalising' of the tradition of the major ethnic group in the country; the establishment of a common ideology such as the Tanzanian form of 'African Socialism' *ujamaa* or Mobutu's *authenticité* campaign; and the unification of the citizenry by decreasing socio-economic gaps between the rich and the poor populations (Neuberger 2006:523). However, given the lack of both the administrative capacity to implement these policies of integration and the absence of actual sovereignty, it is highly questionable whether there really is such a thing as a 'nation' in Africa (see Giddens 1987:116). Rapid urbanisation, widespread poverty and migration massively contribute to the further relativisation of state power and weaken the binding force of the nation. Even a brief glimpse of the literature on African nation-states, societies and identities reveals that notions like 'crisis', 'fragmentation' and 'instability' have particularly high currency. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:67) argues, 'as a state ideology, nationalism increasingly lost its popular basis and appeal as it pushed the agenda of monolithic national identity underwritten by state prescriptions rather than popular mobilisation.' As many scholars claim, African states have actually failed 'to bind the citizens into the vision of the nation' (Meyer 2004:466).

As Harrow (2001:35-36) highlights, it is not only that the state is unable to provide for its citizens and is something that is not to be relied upon in the everyday struggle for survival, but it has actually become an enemy to its own subjects, 'little more than the dominion of the wealthy and powerful who are never to be confronted, or at best avoided, and, if necessarily encountered, to be importuned'. This view is supported by Neocosmos (2003:341), who argues that 'the peoples of the continent live and attempt to survive within a culture of violence and intimidation (rather than within a culture of debate), a culture which has characterised the relations between the state and its people since colonialism and which is seen as natural and thus beyond transformation.'

In addition, whether in the past or today, the majority of African nation-states are unable to provide either the most basic social services and stability or territorial control of their lengthy borders (Nugent and Asiwaju 1996:7, see Herbst1996:127, Rakodi 2006:313). Nugent and Asiwaju (1996:11, emphasis mine) write that 'in general, African boundaries have not represented physical barriers, but have functioned more as *conduits of the circulation* of people, animals and goods. Going further, one could say that borders represent *theatres of opportunity*.' African borders are, as Griffiths (1996:68) writes, 'essentially permeable, by which is meant that for most people of the continent, over almost the whole length of boundaries, there is no hindrance to cross border movement'. Given the length of African borders, there are relatively few border posts; the supervision

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of these border posts is at best patchy; and the low-income and general socio-economic profiles of border officials has encouraged the emergence of an entrenched culture of corruption. Williams (2006:5) describes how many citizens within the Southern African region 'have lost faith in, and increasingly bypass, a state system that neither delivers security nor satisfies a desire for community and (…) instead (…) have engaged in alternative forms of social intercourse (…) all of which show little respect for the political borders erected by southern Africa's states.' As Munslow and Davidson (1990:12,17) argue, 'if one looks at all the different regions in Africa, we can see that the peoples do not accept the frontiers (…) the only way to solve this problem is to accept that people have voted with their feet.' Similarly, Crush and Oucho (2001:155), writing about Southern Africa, argue that 'on the ground, migrants continue to make a mockery of the ineffectual controls designed to tame and corral them in particular places' (see also Crush 2000b:21). Many Africans display, as Gotz and Simone write, 'a remarkable capacity not to need fixed places' and are constantly operating 'across territories and disparate arrangements of power' (2003:125).

As the result of the vast internal heterogeneity as well as the tremendous levels of human mobility in Africa, 'ethnic heterogeneity, economic marginalisation, and pastiche are the empirical norms, not the exception' (Landau 2006a:4, see Simone 2001, 2004, 2006) in the continent's rapidly increasing urban spaces. African cities are powerful locations, revealing 'the energies, the rebelliousness, the ever expanding desire to extend the cultural and political space beyond the reach of the state' (Falola and Salm 2005:3). While little is known about new forms of social organisation and belonging that are emerging in Africa's urban spaces, the authors that have worked on these issues describe the emergence of alternative forms of belonging clearly formulated outside of the frameworks of the nation-state, with the African city being a focal point of a shift towards more individualistic and de-territorialised modes of social organisation. Rodrigues (2007:250), for example, writes about urban Angola that 'the growth of individualism and the possibilities of individual social mobility brought about by modernisation, by capitalism and by new social references, tend to build a new society in which values and ideological references are now more urban and cosmopolitan, part of an ongoing process of globalisation.' In particular, urban youth cultures and identities often transcend ethnic or national boundaries and become disconnected from rural cultural backgrounds through a creation of real or symbolic references to more urban and global (youth) cultures (see Sommers 2001, Coquery-Vidrovitch 1991:73-74).

The following discussion of the empirical material collected for this thesis provides crucial insight into how migrants – African migrants – challenge many of the established

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territorial notions of rights and de-construct the nation-state's logic of exclusion in order to legitimise their own practices of mobility.

3.3 "I like Going to Strange Places": Cosmopolitan Constructions of Mobility in the African City

With nation-states that are unable to ensure even the most basic forms of social security and do not provide enough opportunities as discussed in the previous chapter, being mobile constitutes the only viable form of a life trajectory for many Africans (Simone 2001). Gotz and Simone (2003:129) report that many Africans have prepared for future migrations since they were very young because 'life at home is simply untenable.' As Kenyan street trader John (Nr. 73)[18] argues,

> *"it is easy for you [Europeans] to want to live in Africa because you have the security. Most Africans, they just want to get out. We are just living every day, maybe today I get money, and if not today, then maybe tomorrow. Every day we are struggling."*

Domestic as well as international migrants are particularly drawn towards regional hubs such as Johannesburg, using these cities both as places to capitalise on the city's inherent links to the global to earn a living and as transit points towards destinations further abroad (see Simone 2001). Many African city dwellers are 'ready to migrate at a moment's notice, to change jobs, residences, and social networks with little apparent hesitation' (Simone 2001:18). In fact, calling African migrants 'hyper-mobile' is by no means an exaggeration, and many of the migrants interviewed for this study report that they are willing to travel and take up any kind of job in order to make a living, turning oneself into a "Jack of all trades", as Malawian migrant Peter (Nr. 70[19]) puts it. Indeed, the migrant traders interviewed for this thesis do not operate 'inside their cities' (Simone 2001:18). Instead, they are intrinsically connected to the rest of the world, not just through their own personal migration trajectories but also through those of their family members as well as of the people that they do business and interact with. Migrants continuously engage with multiple Others and Elsewheres and establish a sustained and strong discourse on the importance of ongoing mobility, be it within South Africa, the region, the continent or beyond.

However, while migrants position the Self within a global context and attach positive meaning to going abroad, their mobility is not the result of privilege and luxury, but rather quite the opposite. For them mobility is, to a large extent, the only viable form of a life

[18] Interview with Kenyan migrant 'John' (Nr. 73), conducted on September 26 2008 at a formal market in at Bruma Lake.
[19] Interview with Malawian migrant 'Peter' (Nr. 70), conducted on September 4 2008 at a formal market in Bruma Lake.

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trajectory. Their accounts reveal a general sense of life as unpredictable and an imagination of space as, in principle, unbounded, a sense that, as Zimbabwean migrant Thulani (Nr. 41)[20] says, "you can be somewhere else, any time, any day." With this group of migrants, there is always a range of past, present and future inclinations to move somewhere else – whether permanently or temporarily. Before coming to South Africa, as the NACP data shows, almost 70 per cent of all foreign nationals surveyed considered going to the United States of America (USA) or Canada, and more than half considered going to a European country other than England. Almost 40 per cent of all foreign nationals considered going to the United Kingdom (UK) instead of South Africa.[21] Given these ultimate aspirations, many African migrants see Johannesburg as a transit point towards some other destination (see Landau 2006). For example, Zimbabwean informal curio trader Honest (Nr. 28, emphasis in the original interview)[22] explains that he would like "to go and make it *everywhere*." Many migrants explain that whenever they are able to raise enough money they venture into other Southern African countries in order to explore new business opportunities (see also Matshaka 2009:72). Staying put in one place, even within the new host country, is perceived as too limiting, and mobility is associated with empowerment in the form of both success and autonomy.

This positive conception of mobility appeared to be a major difference between the African migrants and most South Africans who were interviewed. While the number of South Africans interviewed is comparatively small, it is notable that hardly any of them expressed a desire to go abroad. While for some the idea of leaving family members behind was unconceivable, such as for South African Kamohelo (Nr.3)[23], South African Elisabeth (Nr. 4)[24], for example, says: "I would like to go to Cape Town, but not outside of South Africa, only here. I don't like that far away." South African Nosiphiwe (Nr. 18)[25], who came to Johannesburg from her home province of Limpopo, in 1996 explains:

> *"Everybody must follow his culture. You must, it is your nature! You must follow your culture. When I live in a foreign culture, I can't* [follow my culture]. *I don't want to go anywhere, no no no no no, I am right here, and in Limpopo province, and I don't like this, going to other places. No no no. No no no, I don't want to leave my country. What I want is money. I don't want to travel, for me, not important."*

[20] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant (Nr. 41) 'Thulani', informal trader, conducted on March 10 2008 in Yeoville.
[21] For this question, multiple answers were possible. See Appendix 2, Q 220-222.
[22] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant (Nr. 28) 'Honest', conducted on February 25 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.
[23] Interview with South African 'Kamohelo' (Nr. 3), informal trader, conducted in October 2007 in Rosebank.
[24] Interview with South African 'Elisabeth' (Nr. 4), informal trader, conducted on October 15 2007 in Rosebank.
[25] Interview with South African 'Nosiphiwe' (Nr. 18), informal trader, conducted in February 2008 in Balfour Park.

As we will see, Nosiphiwe's narrative promotes a complete opposite approach to mobility and success to that of migrants. She constructs a binary opposition between inside (Johannesburg, and the province of Limpopo where she was born) and outside, both imbued with different meanings: Being *inside* is assumed to yield more opportunities than going *outside,* an exact reversal of what we see in migrant narratives – "money" is to be made in South Africa, and "travel" is not something she sees as a way of making money. Whereas for migrants going abroad is seen as vital and always an option to be pursued, for Nosiphiwe it is "not important" and she doesn't "like" it. While of course this needs to be seen in the context of South Africa's high level of development relative to other countries in the region, it is important to note that she does not actually use such an economic argument to base her stance on. Instead, she constructs being inside of South Africa as her natural place where she can "follow" her culture. Subsequently, being in a "foreign culture" is *un*natural as it would not allow her to "follow" her own culture (which is "your nature"), presenting herself as a 'creature' of her culture and place. Through this, going abroad means acting against her very essence, her "nature"– something very different for migrants, who claim to be comfortable anywhere in the world, as we will see.

Looking at past trajectories of migration, it turned out that many migrant traders interviewed had already stayed in no fewer than three foreign countries other than South Africa. Most of the street traders also have family members not only in several (mostly Southern) African countries, but also in Europe, the USA or Australia. For example, Senegalese migrant Yusuf (Nr. 57)[26], now working at an informal market in Yeoville, explains that not only has he stayed in France and Spain selling African masks before coming to South Africa, but his equally mobile mother "has a son in America, she has a son in France, everywhere she has a son", evoking a sense of a completely de-territorialised family structure. Comparing this to the NACP data, one can see that this phenomenon is not restricted to this group of migrant street traders, but is rather a marked empirical trend. Across all migrant nationalities interviewed for the survey, it was very common to have family members staying in the USA/Canada, England/the UK and other European countries: 66.3 per cent of all migrants report having family members living in other European countries; 39 per cent say they have family members in the USA and Canada; and 28.7 per cent have family members in England/the UK. The Congolese (from the DRC) appear to be in the 'pole position' when it comes to the strength of networks abroad. Virtually all respondents (93.3 per cent) report to have family members living in European countries other than England, and almost half of all Congolese interviewed (47.80 per cent) say they have family in the USA and Canada. The African countries in which family members stayed differed regionally between the national groups included in

[26] Interview with Senegalese migrant 'Yusuf' (Nr. 57), conducted on March 21 2008 at a formal market in Yeoville.

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the survey. Somalis had family members in Burkina Faso, the DRC, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Tanzania and Zambia, whereas Mozambicans had family members in Angola, Gabon, Malawi, Swaziland and Zambia. Again, the Congolese (DRC) seem to have the most globally extensive network compared to the other nationalities included in the sample - they reported having family members in no less than 19 different African countries.[27] The sheer scope of migrants' familial links within and beyond Africa clearly shows that these networks go far beyond the usual duality and boundedness of transnationalism, and instead are of a global nature.

In the following section I show how migrants construct mobility as *positive* and pragmatically position the Self within a global, unbounded context. Through this, they portray themselves as not being confined to their nation or *out of place*, but as true cosmopolitans who are comfortable *anywhere* in the world. Looking at migrants' constructions of their own practices and notions of mobility, we find that a presentation of oneself as a courageous person who is willing and eager to venture into unknown (*not yet* familiar) places is central to the discourse. Malawian migrant William (Nr. 22)[28] explains:

> *"I see a lot of people that say Johannesburg, Johannesburg, Johannesburg, others they don't talk about maybe Bloemfontein, or Cape Town, because maybe it is too far. But maybe the business will be fast there or good for you. But because it is too far, and you know, people are familiar with Johannesburg, which is why they flock in Johannesburg. Because maybe their relatives or their friends have been going to Johannesburg. But I believe in some other places there is business too so that is why I feel I will go to Canada (…) I don't like to sell here in Africa, I want to sell overseas. Because a lot of customers from us are from overseas. So by chance when they come here to visit then they buy, but when we go there it will be like a daily basis where they can buy all the time. So I'd like to go one day, not to work, but to go there for business. And I will do that."*

Here, the speaker establishes a contrast between himself and others, and between "a lot of people" who prefer to go to Johannesburg because it is "familiar" and "not too far" for them, because they have "relatives" or "friends" there and the speaker himself, who claims that he intends to go to Canada in order to do business there. While other people he refers to move within the realms of the safe, the known and the familiar, he himself professes to be willing to venture into the unknown and unfamiliar. Notable is his choice of the word "flock" to describe the actions of all these others, as it evokes images such as 'a flock of birds', indicating a group that is collectively doing the same thing, literally all going in the same direction. This is further emphasised through the triple repetition of "Johannesburg, Johannesburg, Johannesburg". Both elements of the quote serve to illustrate the

[27] Burundi, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Rep of Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Kenya, Lesotho, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
[28] Interview with Malawian migrant 'William' (Nr. 22), conducted on February 21 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.

inflexibility and narrow-mindedness of the other people, which is contrasted with his own willingness to explore places far abroad and his own *individual* actions. It is interesting to note that William does not speak about himself as part of a larger migrant or national collective. Instead, he presents himself as different from others in his sense of cosmopolitan courageousness, thus emphasising individual over collective identities – a central feature of cosmopolitanism. Exemplifying this contrast through the choice of two other South African cities, Cape Town and Bloemfontein, that, according to him, are even deemed as being "too far" for most people, and a country on another continent, Canada, emphasises the difference between himself and others even more. For William, the only criterion that distinguishes his choice of place is the potential for "good" or "fast" business. In this sense, he evokes a binary between emotion (a sense of familiarity, a fear of the unknown) of others, and his own pragmatism: "I believe in other places there is business too." What is interesting as well is that at no point in this excerpt or his subsequent narrative does he imply that he expects any difficulties or inhibitions in going to Canada – rather, he presents it as a matter of his own agency and choice, based on an inclusive view of space accessible to him: "I will go to Canada" and "I will do that." In a similar way, Malawian migrant Stanley (Nr. 52)[29] claims:

> *"I like to go to strange places, I mean new places, that is one of my things […] The way I do it, when I was new here, there is a taxi, I ask where is this going, it says to Pretoria, and I will just jump in there, go to Pretoria and then I just walk around, seeing things, then I come back […] I have been staying in many places, in town, in Germiston, Diepsloot[30], because business-wise, you know, my business needs to go to places, maybe like this place, like now it is quiet, I was thinking that maybe I go to Cape Town, maybe I have to change."*

Stanley's narrative associates the exploration of not only "new" but even "strange" places (strange being a word associated with the foreign, the different, the unknown or even mysterious or dangerous) with an easiness and straightforwardness, evoked through the use of the word "just" ("just jump in there", "just walk around, seeing things"). Mobility is presented in terms of both *necessity* and ease. Again, Stanley also emphasises his individual identity - what he suggests is that while this type of behaviour is something that most people might tend to avoid, for him it is something that characterises himself ("it is one of *my* things"). He evokes a sense of his own spontaneity, of almost adventurous courage, flexibility and willingness to "change" location if needs be – to "just jump" into the often dreaded South African taxis (of which he at a later stage of the interview says that the taxi drivers are difficult to deal with if you are a foreigner and can't speak the local South African language of Zulu). So this narrative works in a similar way as the one previously

[29] Interview with Malawian migrant 'Stanley' (Nr. 52), conducted on March 20 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.
[30] Germiston is a predominantly industrial area, part of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Area. Diepsloot is a conglomeration of both formal and informal settlements in the north of Johannesburg.

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discussed to convey both a unique cosmopolitanism on the part of the speakers, as well as a pragmatic attitude towards place and mobility – the speakers claim that they go where the business is; it is presented as being as straightforward as that.

An appreciation of the unknown, of the 'new' that can be discovered abroad, is suggested in many narratives, such as this one of Zimbabwean migrant Julius (Nr. 26)[31], speaking about his impression of Johannesburg:

> *"I just like the way the life is here […] there is a lot of entertainment in Johannesburg, and there is a big city, there are so many new things that I see all the time. Like new kind of houses that I had never seen, new cars, other commodities, and new types of furniture that I had never seen from overseas, from Indonesia, and from other countries, which is very rare to see in other places such as in Zimbabwe. And I like to see new things and get new ideas. For my own business and benefit."*

Julius' text establishes a binary between his country of origin, Zimbabwe, and Johannesburg. Through stating that in Zimbabwe it is "very rare" to see the "new kind of houses", "new cars", "other commodities" and "new types of furniture", he characterises his place of origin as limited in its access to the global, and, on the other hand, Johannesburg as a *prime arena* of such access. Here, he claims, he can see many things he "had never seen before", things from places "overseas", "other countries" or even from "Indonesia". Through saying that he likes this nature of Johannesburg ("I like to see new things and get new ideas"), he imbues the cultural and material heterogeneity of a place (and thus his encounter with the goods and ideas of Others) with positive meaning and associates the place with success and "benefit".

Migrants' narratives evoke a sense that one's own and other places, and one's own understanding are forever of limited nature, and that new ideas and creative stimulation arising from experiencing Other places are complementary to one's own knowledge and experience. Malawian migrant Peter (Nr. 70), for example, argues that "if you don't travel you can't learn, because only in travelling you learn other cultures and you get wise." Similarly, many migrants assign positive meaning to mobility in the sense that "to move is to learn" (Malawian migrant William Nr. 22) and "only when you go out, they open your mind" (Congolese migrant Lionel Nr. 64)[32], in terms not only of economic survival but also the acquisition of the skills necessary to manoeuvre and appreciate cultural difference. Mobility is also constructed as increasing respect and tolerance for Otherness. Migrants often argued that they are not able to 'judge' or discriminate against any other cultures

[31] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Julius' (Nr. 26), informal trader, conducted on March 17 in Rosebank, Johannesburg.
[32] Interview with Congolese migrant 'Lionel' (Nr. 64), conducted on March 9 2008 at a formal market in Yeoville.

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because through their travels they have learned that "to each person their culture is important" (Zimbabwean migrant Gladwell Nr. 40)[33].

Associating mobility with success and knowledge, the discourse frequently characterises and pathologises South Africans as generally immobile. Tanzanian migrant Baba (Nr. 75) explains that:

> *"If you see the whole road like this* [pointing to the row of market stalls next to him along the street] *you don't find South Africans. They should even have copied this, like let's say let's go to Tanzania, let's go to Malawi, to Zimbabwe, and then we buy these products and sell again, but nobody does that. They have to explore outside to find things like this. And nobody does that. You only find people from foreign countries that go and bring that stuff over here. And yet they are just looking and then they say these people are taking their money. Which is not true."*

This narrative contrasts the proactive, courageous foreigner with the passive, narrow-minded South African. The foreigners are characterised by the willingness to "explore", a word associated with both risk and promise emanating from venturing into the unknown "outside". Supporting his argument with reference to the physical fact that there are only foreigners trading in the street, he de-legitimises one of the central arguments of nativist exclusion in South Africa, i.e. foreigners are taking "their" jobs and, by proxy, the money rightfully "belonging" to them. For him, this is simply "not true": for him, his own way of making a living *in* South Africa is by virtue of his own mobility and autonomy not really *of* South Africa but the result of his own efforts to create new opportunities instead of "taking" existing ones. Remaining 'inside', and wanting to stay there, is associated with failure, whereas going outside is associated with success. Malawian migrant Peter (Nr. 70) says:

> *"South Africans need to get education, or else, they must take them outside so that they can see other people in other countries. They must travel. So that they can learn. South Africans think they got everything here, they see that other people are all coming here from other countries. They think there is nothing they can find outside."*

In Peter's narrative, the image of a perspective from inside (personified by South Africans) and outside (personified by foreigners) is constructed as a binary between knowledge and ignorance, and between unboundedness and limitation. Whereas the mobile migrants move inside and outside of various spaces, knowing that there are things to be discovered, South Africans are constructed as those who always stay on the inside, thus literally limited in their view and ignorant of the opportunities abroad.

[33] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Gladwell' (Nr. 40), conducted on March 7 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.

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Pragmatism about going abroad and being away from home is typical of migrants' discourse. Most migrants envisage returning to their countries of origin only at some undefined stage of their lives in which they have either accumulated enough capital or economic conditions 'back home' are favourable enough to make a living. One of the most important factors migrants usually expressed was the wish to be reunited with their families – the NACP data also shows that 93.30 per cent of all migrants still have members of their household in their country of origin. Some also describe their home countries as places to which one can retreat once in a while when business allows it and have a break from the hustle and bustle of making ends meet in Johannesburg or elsewhere. However, until such time of retreat or return has come for them, migrants display a considerably high level of pragmatism about being in a place that is not one's home place. While migrants often speak about the danger and threat emanating from Johannesburg, they qualify their statements by simultaneously characterising it as a place of opportunity and survival. Rather than constructing clear-cut binaries of 'positive/good equals home' and 'negative/bad equals Johannesburg', they construct the two places as different, yet equally important in nature according to the type of activity pursued in them. They approach their stay in the city, as in Other places in general, in a pragmatic manner:

> *"Ah, I like Johannesburg. I like also home. When I am here about what I am doing is business. When I am home, I am free, I am not thinking about business. What I like about here is the way I do my business. It is where I am getting my food; it is where I am getting everything."* (Malawian migrant Miles (Nr. 34)[34]

Zimbabwean migrant Kudakwashe (Nr. 39)[35], for example, evocatively claims that "I like Johannesburg because it is where I am working; it is where my dreams are." Congolese migrant Gloria (Nr. 66)[36] emphasises that "yes, there is crime, but Johannesburg is good. To me it is good because I am living nice here. I have got peace of my mind, more than where I come from." Whether it is the good business or, as in the following quote from Ugandan migrant Azeezah (Nr. 67)[37], the high-quality education their children could get abroad that makes people move, migrants construct the action of moving somewhere abroad as unproblematic:

> *"I would go to America or Canada, rather than in (to) Uganda. It can't be difficult. People, they are all the same. As long as the children can go to school, they can get education, it is fine, and I can live there. I will visit Uganda sometimes because I've got a large family, the aunties, the cousins, and I can't take all of them there. But I will be happy there."*

[34] Interview with Malawian migrant 'Miles' (Nr. 34), conducted on March 8 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston

[35] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Kudakwashe' (Nr. 39), conducted on March 9 2008 at an informal market in Bryanston.

[36] Interview with Congolese migrant 'Gloria' (Nr. 66), conducted on March 28 2008 at a formal market in Yeoville.

[37] Interview with Ugandan migrant 'Azeezah' (Nr. 67), conducted on 28 March 2008 at a formal market in Yeoville.

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What is striking here is the cosmopolitan emphasis on shared humanity rather than on difference between people. Her reference to the commonalities that all human beings share ("people, they are all the same") is used to sustain her claim that living in a foreign country – even the USA or Canada – "can't be difficult", rendering any sense of it being hard to stay abroad of no importance. Interestingly, she also presents the fact that she would have to live far away from her non-nuclear family ("the aunties, the cousins") as easy and straightforward. For her, it is just a matter of fact that she can't live where they live, but that she can still "be happy there", in her new destination, visiting them "sometimes".

Given the general unpredictability and insecurity of life in the African city, migrants construct space as inclusive and, in principle, unbounded. The discourse often even evokes a certain irrelevance of place, as it is done very explicitly in this narrative from Malawian migrant Miles (Nr. 34):

> *"It is up to where you want to live, it is up to you to go and visit your parents, to send them some things and some money if you've got [some], if you are married in South Africa, you've got your children here, your property, it is just the same. Because it is not very far. Even if you are in Europe, it is not far because you are in the world. It is just the same!"*

Quite strikingly, Miles evokes a strong sense of global space that can be inhabited in the same way as national space, or the space of home, where feelings of proximity or distance from one's original home are rendered a matter of personal attitude and choice - the phrase "it is up to you" emphasises individual identity and agency. For Miles, wherever you choose to reside, 'it is just the same', regardless of distance. He argues that even living on another continent "is not very far, because you are in the world". His narrative effectively de-territorialises crucial notions commonly associated with a *home* fixed in the place of origin such as 'family' ('marriage', 'children') and 'owning property'. A similar notion of rendering place, or distance between places, irrelevant is expressed by Tanzanian migrant Baba (Nr. 75)[38]:

> *"Nowadays it is very difficult for me to miss [Tanzania] because of communication (...) Always in the internet, you can chat, you can talk. Even by sms, you know everything! So you just feel like you are in one country, because of the communication system. My family they are in a lot of places, UK, Kenya, Botswana, South Africa, Uganda, so many. And with the communication now we are like one. There is no feeling of loneliness when you can communicate with your friends at any time. They can tell you everything that is going on. I can speak to them everyday."*

In Baba's narrative we find many of what Pomerantz (1986) calls 'extreme case formulations', which are terms such as 'never' or 'always' which are markers of a

[38] Interview with Tanzanian migrant 'Baba' (Nr. 75), conducted on September 26 2008 at a formal market in Bruma Lake.

speaker's attempt 'to influence the judgement or conclusions' of his or her listener(s) (Wooffitt 1993:300). His frequent use of such extreme case formulations – "always", "everything", "any time", "everyday" - relating to the type of connectedness he feels with his family and friends all over the world is striking as these formulations evoke a sense of being completely unrestricted in one's normal family practices even across vast distances. Again, this represents the cosmopolitan conception of spaces as inherently interconnected. What Baba calls to mind here is a powerful image of a collective unit –a "family", a group of "friends" – that is distributed globally, yet continues to function and interact easily, as "one" organism, just "like you are in one country". Noticeably, his narrative is silent about any form of limitation or detriment that arises from being apart, but is designed to convey exactly the opposite: a sense of connectedness and ease. Mobility is again portrayed as an ordinary phenomenon –that his family is spread all over Southern and Eastern Africa and even overseas is presented as a simple, straightforward fact.

In summary, migrants adopt a pragmatic attitude towards place, and emphasise that they will be able to live anywhere, be it temporarily, as for most, or (for some) permanently. With mobility so central to their own life trajectories, migrants' discourse constructs space as generally inclusive and interconnected. For many, a place is what you make of it, regardless of its location, thereby highlighting the contextual and relative importance of place as a 'product', rather than a given (see Turton 2005): "you have to work hard to get something to survive, it is not very easy, and everywhere you have to work to have something" (Senegalese migrant Yusuf, Nr. 57). About a quarter of all migrant traders, particularly the youngest ones, even expressed that they would like to settle down permanently wherever life is easiest for them, without specific plans of a permanent return to their home countries. Young Zimbabwean trader Wonderful (Nr. 6)[39], for example, says: "I would rather be in England, because I think everything I want I will find there." The NACP data shows a similarly pragmatic picture. Just over one-fifth of migrants expect to be living back in their country of origin in two years' time, with 13.1 per cent of those expecting to live in a part of their home country *other* than their community of origin. Instead, almost half of all respondents in the survey (47.1 per cent) expect to live in another part of South Africa in two years' time, and another 13.4 per cent of migrants expect to be still living in Johannesburg.

3.4 Claiming Equality and Freedom as a Universal Norm

In this section I show how migrants render the presence of Others within the space of any nation-state *a normal condition* and call for the compliance to universally applicable

[39] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Wonderful' (Nr. 6), informal trader, conducted on December 4 2007 in Rosebank, Johannesburg.

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standards of freedom, hospitality and equality. Through this, migrants challenge the nation-state's conception of the world as divided into mutually exclusive and bounded socio-political entities, juxtaposing this conception with a cosmopolitan perspective that views space as inherently interconnected, heterogeneous and inclusive. The presence of the Other is constructed as a *universal* norm through constant references to the global level, showing that diversity is not only a characteristic of some countries but in fact a universal condition: "in each and every nation there are foreigners inside. Even if you go worldwide you'll find foreigners." (Zimbabwean migrant Welcome Nr. 78E)[40].

The migrants interviewed here construct their cities or countries of origin as picture-perfect cosmopolitan locations. Many narratives evoke notions of equality and community between people of different origins and cultures, and are thus aimed at collapsing difference with foreigners. This particularly evocative account of Zimbabwean migrant Godfrey (Nr. 72)[41] is a very representative example of how the construction of the picture perfect cosmopolis works:

> *"Harare is a vibrant city, because we've got various people from all parts of Southern Africa, Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi, some as far as Kenya and Tanzania. And we've got people from all over Africa as well, but the big masses are people from Malawi and Mozambique. Like myself, I grew up with Malawians, and my wife's father is from Mozambique, you see? My next door neighbours are Malawians, and most of our classmates and neighbours, and the whole neighbourhood. To the extent of even speaking the language* […] *That is how that city is. You wouldn't say there is a clique of people, there is everyone. And everyone is everyone. And foreigners, not just in Harare but most of Zimbabwe, the cities and towns, there is a lot of foreigners, all the people that come into the mining towns, farming towns, farms and mines. Just like here, when you see in South Africa, most of the people who work in the mines are people from outside. So in each town and each city, by now, you find that 50 per cent of the home owners are so called foreign people, people from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia. But there is nothing like foreigner (laughs). We have already integrated to the extent of people marrying each other, you know growing up with each other from early age, from infancy, we've been together for more than 30 years, like me I am 38 now and most of the guys I knew them 31 years from primary school, and up to now we still mix and mingle. So, basically it is just one people there."*

Godfrey's narrative serves to construct his native city Harare as a place in which the unity and the 'blending into each other' of Zimbabweans, Mozambicans, Zambians and Malawians are so natural that they are hardly noticeable. The image of Harare he evokes constructs the peaceful coexistence of diverse people as normal and natural. The way this works in Godfrey's text is through the evocation of notions of unity and interconnection, and thus the challenging of notions of division and exclusion amongst people of different

[40] Interview with Zimbabwean displaced migrant 'Welcome' (Nr. 78E), conducted on August 6 2008 at the DBSA Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.
[41] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Godfrey' (Nr. 72), conducted on September 22 2008 in an informal market in Bryanston.

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origins: he claims that people learn and speak each other's language, that people "mix and mingle", and "intermarry" (even his own father-in-law is Mozambican); he cites people "growing up with each other", and talks of a place where there is no "clique", but "everyone is everyone", culminating in a somewhat ultimate statement of cosmopolitan unity that there is "basically just one people". The labelling foreigners as "classmates" and "next-door neighbours" emphasises this sense of closeness and community even further. Given the strong symbolic meaning of owning property or land, the statement that, by now, "50 per cent of the home owners are so-called foreign people" is clearly directed towards establishing and normalising a very inclusive notion of belonging to Zimbabwe of all of these foreigners and towards delegitimising any claims to the primacy of autochthonous rights elsewhere.

Evoking such a sense of community between foreigners and locals in contexts *other* than South Africa is in fact central to the discourse. Zimbabwean migrant Matthew (Nr. 54)[42] explains that, in contrast to South Africans who are not 'welcoming' towards Others, "if foreigners come to Zimbabwe […] we don't force anyone to learn our language. Foreigners, we just treat them like locals you see. There is no difference; we just treat them like friends." His narrative describes foreigners as people who are "friends", who are treated just "like locals", evoking a sense of equality between foreigners and locals, which is then directly contrasted with the emphasis on "difference" and inequality in South Africa, where the foreigner is forced ("force") to learn the local language. In effect, he contrasts two ways of encountering someone of another origin – as the Other, as the outsider, as someone who is different, or as someone who is equal to and the same as oneself. The choice of words in the discourse frequently evokes notions of friendship and peaceful coexistence and thus formulates a normative conception of society around cosmopolitan notions of worldliness, openness, hospitality and equality for all human beings. Zimbabwean Gladwell (Nr. 40) claims,

> *"Some South Africans they call us 'makwerekwere[43]' and 'aliens', you see, that is not such a good behaviour to call someone in such a manner, because all of us we are people. All people must live peacefully, not harass each other […] you can find out in Zimbabwe […] there are different tribes, and people from different countries […] I don't see any problem with that we are mixed here, because you can find out in all countries around the world you can never meet a situation whereby you are living only with yourself, you will be living with different kinds of people from all over around the world."*

His mentioning of both "different tribes" as well as "people from different countries" in his home country, Zimbabwe, constructs a mixed population within a national territory as the

[42] Interview with Zimbabwean 'Matthew' (Nr. 54), informal trader, conducted on March 17 in Rosebank, Johannesburg.
[43] Derogatory term used by South African nationals to refer to African foreign nationals.

result of both internal and external conditions and processes. The claim that diversity within the nation-state is normal is given credibility and legitimised through references to three different levels: to the local South African context, to the home country and finally to a global context. The effect of referring to all these levels is that Gladwell's claim has no territorial limitations; it is portrayed as a universal condition and standard. Through this three-fold reference, the speaker not only gives more weight to his argument, but also flaunts his global consciousness, or awareness of a global context.

Looking at the words Gladwell chooses in more detail, it becomes obvious that this claim is applicable not only everywhere but also to everyone: in fact, the claim could not possibly be formulated more inclusively, given his frequent use of extreme case formulations: "*all* of us, we are people", "*all* people must live peacefully", "in *all* countries", "*never* meet a situation whereby you are *only* living with yourself", "from *all over* around the world". His text juxtaposes two types of actions - "living together peacefully" and "harass[ing] each other". The choice of the word "harass" – frequently used by migrants to describe the behaviour of the South African public as well as the police – is indicative in its evocation of a sense of injustice and unfairness: it means to 'torment (someone) by subjecting them to constant interference or intimidation' or to 'make repeated small-scale attacks on (an enemy) in order to wear down resistance'.[44] On the other hand, "peaceful" means to be 'free from disturbance' and 'inclined to avoid conflict'.[45] His own inclusive way of thinking is then directly juxtaposed with exclusionary practices such as the calling of foreigners by derogatory terms like "makwerekwere" or "aliens". He also puts himself into a morally superior position through labelling these practices as "not such a good behaviour". A binary is thus established: on the one hand we have Gladwell, who has the knowledge and global perspective that heterogeneity of space is normal, as well as the moral insight that living together peacefully with Others is, by implication, good behaviour. On the other hand, there is the 'ignorant' South African population that refuses to accept and respect this diversity within its country. Through establishing that diversity is normal everywhere, he successfully singles out South African people's unwillingness to accept diversity and the resultant practices of exclusion as aberrations of an otherwise accepted norm.

Many migrants claim that, in their own countries, everyone is hospitable towards foreigners, and that the latter are "free" to work, move and do whatever they want as long as they do not break the law. Interestingly, Herbert et al. (2008:111) encountered similar descriptions amongst the Ghanaian migrants they interviewed in London. They rightly

[44] Oxford Online Dictionary, retrieved [01.01.2010] from www.askoxford.com/concise_oed/harass?view=uk
[45] Oxford Online Dictionary, retrieved [01.01.2010] from www.askoxford.com/concise_oed/peaceful?view=uk

interpreted this as a process of boundary-making in order to 'protect' a sense of 'self-esteem and dignity' and to sustain a morally superior position in the face of exclusion and discrimination. However, I argue that this type of construction is also central to sustaining migrants' argument for the free movement of people. In this sense, it is not just a construction of a defensive, protective nature as it clearly formulates a universally applicable, morally grounded and transformative claim for the right of the foreigner to be treated as an equal. Speaking about his experiences with South Africans, Kenyan migrant John (Nr. 73) argues that:

> *"Everyone in Kenya is fighting for himself. Nobody has got time to tell a foreigner to go back. Nobody got that time. You are just wasting your own time telling somebody to go back. I just came to hear here that foreigners take away jobs. If you visit Kenya you are going to see plenty of Somalis and Ethiopians have got businesses. There is no xenophobia* [smiles]. *There is just competition between individuals; people don't care where you are coming from."*

Once again, what is particularly striking in the discourse is the generally strong emphasis on the individual and individual identity. In the narrative above, this emphasis is expressed through the statements that "everybody is fighting for *himself*" and that "there is just competition between *individuals*", through which the speaker contests that diversity is an inherent or natural source of conflict or competition. Again, the narrative is produced in direct engagement with the exclusionary practices of South Africans. His statement that in Kenya "plenty of Somalis and Ethiopians have got businesses" serves to show the irrelevance of nationality or difference for the right to opportunities and success in his native country, Kenya. Through choosing the word "plenty" he ensures that the presence of foreigners is not presented as an exception but rather as the rule. This is directly juxtaposed with the xenophobic attitudes ("that foreigners take away jobs") and practices ("telling somebody to go back") of South Africans. His implication that "you are wasting your own time telling somebody to go back" whereas in Kenya "nobody has got the time to tell a foreigner to go back" seeks to show the futility of these actions as well as to emphasise that when you are busy with making a living (as opposed to 'lazy' South Africans) there are more important things to attend to. Another Kenyan migrant, Michael (Nr. 69)[46], also emphasises the welcoming of foreigners in his native country:

> *"In Kenya we have foreigners from other countries. They have been never harassed by anyone […] all I can say, the people they are friendly. They are helpful; they can help you with anything. They can accommodate you, they can direct you when you reach [arrive] there. Everything […] when foreigners come to Kenya, we treat them very well. Last year I was listening to Metro FM, they were celebrating something, I can't remember, but all those people working at Metro FM were making very good points about Kenyans, they said it is a*

[46] Interview with Kenyan migrant 'Michael' (Nr. 69), conducted on September 4 2008 at a formal market in Bruma Lake.

very good country, people are very friendly, that was South Africans saying that, people don't abuse other people just for nothing. And I was happy about that! We treat foreigners very good, there has never been a foreigner been beaten or violated in Kenya, like here. In Kenya, I was having many customers from Sudan in my business in Kenya, and even them, like all of them they are happy to be in Kenya, they are staying nicely. You can have and say each and everything you want when you are a foreigner when you are in Kenya. I never heard someone saying you are violating me, or not liking me because I am from a certain country, I never heard that […] We got Sudanese, we got plenty of Somalis, who become the citizens of Kenya, no one asks them, we have Tanzanians, Ugandans, on and on."

In this interview, held with Michael only a few weeks after the xenophobic violence had settled down, he constructs a binary between inclusion and exclusion through contrasting Kenya as a place that allows people 'in' (where people are "friendly", "helpful", "accommodating" towards foreigners, where Sudanese and Somali migrants are "happy to be" and are "staying nicely") with South Africa as a place that tries to keep people 'out' (where foreigners are "harassed", "abused for nothing" and "violated"). Particularly interesting is his statement that "you can have and say each and everything you want when you are a foreigner when you are in Kenya", expressing an absolute and complete equality between foreigners and citizens, where nothing, be it the right to freedom of speech and opinion or any material goods or opportunities, is out of bounds for non-citizens. This is a complete inversion of the language of nationalism, which links particular rights and goods to a territorially bound group of people, citizens. Michael also uses a number of extreme case formulations to emphasise the all-encompassing nature of his claim ("you can say *everything* you want", "I have *never* heard someone saying you are violating me", "*no one* asks them"). To support and legitimise his claim he makes reference to an independent, outside source (a South African radio programme he once listened to) - a change in *footing* where the relation between a speaker and what is said is specified (Goffmann 1981:128) - where even South Africans themselves "were making very good points about Kenyans".

Through migrants' collective discourse, South Africa is singled out and pathologised as the *only* place where diversity is conceived of as a problem, and where foreigners are not accommodated, and therefore as the only aberration from a global norm. This norm migrants 'expected' to find in Johannesburg as well; yet, instead of being treated as equals and free human beings, they feel controlled and limited. As the NACP data shows, nearly 70 per cent of foreign nationals have been stopped by the police since entering South Africa, and nearly half (47.5 per cent) feel generally restricted by their national identity. Zimbabwean migrant Matthew (Nr. 54) argues:

"They are refusing bank accounts for foreigners, banks are rejecting us, in the streets in Jo'burg you won't move 20 metres without being checked by police […] I am being stopped in Jo'burg all the time, it is so difficult to move. Every corner they want to see your paper. It is not safe, it is not comfortable. They even raid us in the place."

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His text evokes a sense of the invasiveness of the control he is subjected to. Even the most private place – one's place of residence - is being "raided". His formulations of "you won't move 20 metres without being checked" and "every corner they want to see your paper" are aimed at showing how exaggerated the control exerted over migrants in South Africa is.

On the basis of their disapproval of South Africa's failure to comply with their norms of hospitality towards the foreigner (as well as being fed up with crime), for many street traders an important reason for preferring their home country over South Africa is that at home they can be 'free' again. Being free is understood as being able "to do what you want"; most importantly this means not being permanently controlled and limited in one's movement and daily life. However, crucially, migrants do not link this freedom to their right as citizens of their country, but claim that where they come from this applies to everyone, regardless of nationality. In this sense, they claim the same right of 'freedom' for every resident of a country. Juxtaposing the freedom of her home country, the Democratic Republic of Congo, with the restrictions of South Africa, a Congolese migrant, Gloria (Nr. 66), emphasising her claim through using the same repetitive structure, explains that "foreigners in Congo, they are free. Doing business free. Making business free. Making money free. Buying a spacious house, free. We are not asking them: Where is your paper? Where is your permit? No!" Again, Gloria's text inverses the language of exclusive nationalism through establishing the absolute equality between foreigners and citizens and their rights to conduct business, earn money, own property within a country and move about freely. Malawian migrant Peter (Nr. 70) compares his experiences with the constant control of foreigners by the South African police to his home country: "foreigners in Malawi are treated nice, they are all welcome, we share everything, nobody will ask them for papers or deport him. In my township there were plenty of foreigners, from Burundi, from Angola, from Somalia. There was no problem." His narrative directly contrasts notions of equality and even community ("share everything"), applicable to everyone ("they are all welcome"), with South Africa's unwillingness to allow migrants to stay within its territory and to pursue their livelihoods. He establishes a contrast between Malawi, where foreigners are "welcome", thus received with friendliness and warmth, and South Africa, where the foreigner is permanently controlled and surveilled as the Other and even "deported", thus forcibly sent away. Through referring to the variety of foreigners staying in the township he grew up in ("from Burundi, from Angola, from Somalia"), he establishes that there was an equal level of diversity present as in South African townships; however, this resulted in "no problem" there. Through collectively constructing their various home countries as heterogeneous, cosmopolitan societies that allow diverse groups of foreigners to be 'free' and go about their business in the same way as citizens do, migrants establish this condition as the norm. South Africa, on the other hand, is

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constructed as pathological in its deviation from the global norm that migrants promote throughout their own discourse.

3.5 Reversing Power Relationships: The Construction of National Space as inherently constituted by External Flows

> *No country can produce everything it needs: whatever it has, it is bound to lack something (Herodotus Solon, quoted in Appiah 2006:6).*

In this section I explore how the discourse of the migrants studied takes the challenge to the nation-state's conception of the world as divided into mutually exclusive socio-political entities to a different kind of level. Rather than only claiming that diversity within a nation-state is normal and that, based on this, a general standard of equality and freedom should be granted to foreigners (as discussed in the previous section), migrants claim that the nation-state cannot function without foreigners *at all.* In fact, they construct national space as inherently constituted and critically dependent on external flows. Migrants' discourse thus 'reverses' the power relationship between the outsider and the insider and challenges one of the very pillars of nationalist thinking, namely the territoriality of socio-political and socio-economic processes. This discourse is aimed at showing that, while the nation-state might construct migrants as marginal, subject to its control and as a burden on its system, migration and linkages to Other places are so vital to the South African economy that it cannot exist without them. In fact, the discourse is aimed at exposing and emphasising the vulnerability of the South African state due to its limited capacity to sustain the country without the help of the Other. Drawing on both local and global references, the discourse serves to prove that South Africa as a place is not insular and independent, but, on the contrary, highly dependent on the presence of foreigners and thus interconnected to other places in the region and the world. It highlights the role of foreigners as an intrinsic and necessary component of all national economies everywhere and through this actively de-constructs the myth of a bounded national territory and replaces it with a cosmopolitan logic, arguing that such space is always inherently produced and constituted by external flows (see Brenner 1999:55). As Tanzanian migrant Baba (Nr. 75) explains:

> *"There is no any country who can say it doesn't want foreigners. It will never work* [laughs] *because the system of the globe has changed. Because it has come to a business culture. I mean business goes over the country* [border]*, you see? You cannot say that South Africans can only do their business within their country."*

The presence and involvement of foreigners are constructed as something beyond the control of the South African state owing to its integration into a global system ("system of the globe") connected through a "business culture" – and effectively collapse the distinction between a national inside and an international outside. His statement "it will

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never work", followed by a short laughr, serves to present the attempts of South Africa to resist these processes as utterly futile. Similarly emphasising the importance of foreigners, Kenyan migrant Michael (Nr. 69) argues:

> *"I can tell you, many people here come from foreign countries and they are lifting the South African economy so much. If you look here, we are only outsiders. All outsiders! If all of us decided to go home it will be a problem for South Africa […] If they don't want us here, then we must not come and go back to our country. But in one way or another, they will suffer. They will really suffer. Because I have done my research, I have read the newspapers, I have seen the big investors from outside, from England, from everywhere in the world (…) they are getting to Ghana, to Kenya, to Mombasa. So what about us? Even us we can go just like those big investors are going. And the people they are making, they are contributing so much in South African economy. So they will just suffer […]. If I look at the government I don't see anything serious the government, the South African government can do for their people."*

In this text, the actions of the foreigner are presented in terms of benefit: they are "lifting", "making" and "contributing". His narrative serves to prove that the foreign "outsiders" are actually crucial and even inherently "inside" of South Africa. Interestingly, despite the question to him being phrased as "What would happen if South Africa would expel all foreigners?" his response is not formulated in the passive form, but, on the contrary, he emphasises the agency of migrants through the choice of the word "decide": "if all of us decided to go". Migrants are presented as being in charge of this situation, free to leave South Africa whenever they choose to: "even us, we can just go." What is striking in this, as well as in many other street trader narratives, is that, while very vocal about the damage such an action would do to South Africa owing to the country's inherent dependence on the Other, the discourse is largely silent about the dependence of migrants. While formally acknowledging the legal right of the South African state to expel all foreigners ("If they don't want us here, then we must not come and go back to our country"), Michael immediately qualifies this statement by predicting that the country will only "suffer" from the absence of foreigners: "but in one way or another they will suffer", thus 'experience or be subjected to something bad or unpleasant'.[47]

To add credibility to his claim, he refers to an outside source – a change in *footing* again. This serves to 'back up' his claim: "Because I have done my research, I have read the newspapers; I have seen the big investors from outside." Through the likening of migrants like him to "big investors" he implicitly constructs the foreign investors from "all over the world" and individual street traders, like himself, as unitary and equally important forces, thereby empowering and elevating his own position. In a further step, he characterises the South African government as entirely unable to help its citizens: "I don't see anything serious (…) the South African government can do for their people." His use of the extreme

[47] Oxford Online Dictionary, retrieved [01.01.2010] from http://www.askoxford.com/concise_oed/suffer?view=uk

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case formulation "anything" emphasises the totality of this powerlessness. Thus, he creates a strong contrast between the autonomous, capable foreigner and the dependent, incapable South Africa(ns). This narrative effectively places migrants at the heart of the South African economy, and thus in a position of power vis-à-vis the South African state, rather than being relegated to a marginal position. Similarly, Zimbabwean migrant Godfrey (Nr. 72), who works at an informal curio market dominated by foreigners from Zimbabwe and Malawi, claims:

> *"You know, how can they not want it here? (…) Without foreigners, not even South Africa, but even Zimbabwe, Botswana, or even England would not be where it is (…) Without other people, even if you look at these building here, none was built by South Africans. Mostly Mozambicans and Zimbabweans. Who is working in the mines and the farms? And with the skilled people, who are the teachers, the architects, the nurses, the doctors, the engineers, the pharmacists, scientists, accountants, tool makers, mechanics? In Zimbabwe also, who would be doing the work that the Mozambicans and the Malawians are doing? Nobody. And in most of the municipalities it is foreign people, in Zimbabwe and here. Most of them are foreign people. Most workers in the city council are Malawians. So you can't do without foreigners. No man is an island. Mugabe, how can he say he can do without the white people, if he can travel to England and whatever?"*

The choice of professions he cites is worth taking a closer look at as these professions are used to support the claim that foreigners are constructed as a constituent element of a country's *entire* economic and social architecture. Through a sequence of rhetorical questions he implies that foreigners are those who provide truly essential goods and services to the South African population: food (farmers), helping to access its natural resources (miners), curing the sick (doctors), providing housing (architects), teaching their children (teachers). The reference to foreigners everywhere as "working in the municipalities", thus within actual administrative and formal organs of a nation-state, completely collapses the notions of inside/outside. While his narrative is aimed at criticising xenophobic sentiment in South Africa, his references are made to other countries, including an influential Western one ("Zimbabwe, Botswana, or even England") to maximise geographically the reach of his claim to the entire world and to establish the condition of 'insideness' of the alleged outsider as a global standard. His example of Mugabe's actions ("how can he say he can do without the white people, if he can travel to England?") serves to expose the hypocrisy behind claiming to dislike certain Others, yet needing them and drawing upon them nonetheless. Finally, his use of the well-known idiom "no man is an island" in this context indicates that the striving to isolate and close oneself off, as a person and as a country, is not only futile, but also unnatural and, essentially, undesirable.

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Migrants also highlight the importance of the role of migrants in relation to international tourism in South Africa. As Zimbabwean migrant Sundai (Nr. 27)[48], who sells various handicrafts, explains, the presence of artisan and artist foreigners and the products they create and import from across the continent make "their city well known in other countries", constructing the products of foreigners (and not those originating from 'within' South Africa itself) as a key attraction of the country. Many of the migrants interviewed after the xenophobic violence took place also claimed that South Africa's aptitude as a host for the 2010 FIFA World Cup must now be severely questioned by the international community. Mozambican displaced migrant Rolf Maruping (Nr. 55E)[49] said:

> *"We are nearing the 2010 World Cup yet foreigners are being evicted so what signals are we sending to the many foreigners we are expecting in 2010? They will fear coming here and say when we get there they will kill us. They are well-informed through the photos that the media is taking and spreading about the violence and they are showing them to the rest of the world. Whoever sees the pictures on the violence would stay away because they would not opt to go to a place where they will be burnt."*

Similarly to the narrative discussed earlier by Kenyan Michael (Nr. 69), this text constructs foreigners of all social classes and origins (here, tourists expected for the 2010 World Cup and migrants displaced by the xenophobic violence) as *one* group. With the obvious benefit the South African state will obtain from attracting tourists, its actions against other (from a South African perspective 'less important') types of foreigners are thus constructed as detrimental to South Africa's general and unambiguous interests regarding privileged foreigners.

3.6 Discussion

If we consider the types of claims that migrants make in the discourse described in this chapter, we see that they are not actually about belonging and about becoming part of the South African nation. Migrants present themselves as neither people 'out of place' nor *of* a particular place. Their cosmopolitanism formulates a social order in which people may move freely across borders, reside where they choose to and do so without being discriminated against as long as the laws and regulations of the host country are obeyed. The discourse constructs the migrant as a mobile, autonomous actor, for whom the South African state is only responsible in terms of creating an equal and fair environment enabling migrants to pursue their strategies for survival. They are cosmopolitans who, while comfortable in the world and claiming universal standards of hospitality and

[48] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Sundai' (Nr. 27), conducted on February 25 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.
[49] Interview with Mozambican displaced migrant 'Rolf Maruping' (Nr. 55E), conducted on July 5 2008 at the Rand Airport Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.

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freedom, *want* to stay 'betwixt and between without being liminal…participating in many worlds without becoming part of them' (Friedman 1994:204), as it is from this very position that they derive their existence.

Indicatively, the migrants studied in this thesis made no claims for citizenship, political participation, or access to free social services in South Africa. In fact, in order to sustain their own construction as independent actors creating their own opportunities who do not constitute a burden to South African social systems, migrants' discourse juxtaposed their own independence with the dependence of South Africans, whom they 'accused' of expecting the government to do *everything* for them. For example, Malawian migrant Ben (Nr. 13)[50] claimed that South Africans expect to be "spoon-fed" by their government, thus evoking the image of a little child utterly unable to sustain itself independently. Many migrants displaced by the 2008 xenophobic violence emphasised how they felt bad about having to be dependent on the South African government whilst staying in the designated camps. Mozambican displaced migrant Ramito Mahagadza (Nr. 53E)[51], for example, claims: "I used to live in my own shack but I now live in a government shelter. All I do now is just stay in my shelter waiting for food that is being dished out by government, like a sick man." Similarly, Zimbabwean displaced migrant Thabani Mkwanazi (75E)[52] explains: "After the attacks, I felt like my mind was dying. It's boring and embarrassing to get food, blankets and other things for free. At the end of the day, your mind starts adapting to a dependency syndrome." While a number of migrants displaced by the xenophobic violence claimed some form of compensation from the South African government, most migrants emphasised that all they needed was to obtain legal documentation that would enable them, as displaced migrant Manuel Mucavel (Nr. 52E) claimed, to "become independent again", and to pursue one's daily work without being "illegal and vulnerable" (displaced migrant Moses Phiri (Nr. 68E)[53]) to police harassment and deportation. Zimbabwean displaced migrant Peter T (Nr. 70E)[54] explains: "If people want to have a safe and good life, I think the only thing that they should have is that they should have valid papers." These are not claims for citizenship and they are not claims for the South African government to perform the role of a *provider* – they are merely claims towards establishing a framework in which foreigners as well as citizens can autonomously

[50] Interview with Malawian migrant 'Ben' (Nr. 13), informal trader, conducted on December 4 2007 in Waverly/Highlands North, Johannesburg.
[51] Interview with Mozambican displaced migrant 'Ramito Mahagadza' (Nr. 53E), conducted on July 12 2008 at the Rand Airport Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.
[52] Interview with Zimbabwean displaced migrant 'Thabani Mkwanazi' (Nr. 75E), conducted on 5 July 2008 at the River Road Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.
[53] Interview with Zimbabwean displaced migrant 'Milos Phiri' (Nr. 68E), conducted on July 6 2008 at the River Road Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.
[54] Interview with Zimbabwean displaced migrant 'Peter T' (Nr. 70E), conducted on July 14 2008 at the Central Methodist Church, Johannesburg, South Africa.

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go about their business in South Africa in an equal way, unharmed and without discrimination.

Also, as the NACP data and the migrant trader data shows, the vast majority of migrants are not politically active. Not a single respondent in the migrant street traders sample was a member of any organisation or party. This is supported by the NACP data, according to which migrants' political participation in Johannesburg is virtually non-existent. In terms of financial or other material assistance, 98 per cent of migrants do not support police or security committees; 98 per cent of migrants do not support organisations run by migrants, refugees and/or inner-city residents; 97 per cent of migrants do not support organisations that work with migrants, refugees and/or inner-city residents; and 92 per cent of migrants do not support cultural organisations. Migrants in South Africa do not demonstrate; they do not strike, and have not launched any campaigns similar to the '*sans papiers'* movement in Europe.

Now, while some would (validly) object that migrants' lack of political mobilisation has to do solely with the level of discrimination faced, the reality is more complex than such objections acknowledge. A recent study by Jinnah and Holaday (2009:35) found that the lack of migrant mobilisation in South Africa is the result of *both* limitations on their ability to mobilise effectively (discrimination, language barriers, lack of trust in institutions, fear of being deported etc.) *and* a conscious intention to avoid the 'reciprocal responsibilities which come with rights' (see also Landau and Freemantle 2009, Amisi and Ballard 2005). Furthermore, migrants' political 'non-engagement' also says something about how they view the role of the state, and what they believe an individual can expect from it. Coming from nation-states where citizenship amounts to little in terms of service delivery and social security, and arriving in a highly competitive city where everyone fights for him- or herself, it is not surprising that most migrants in Johannesburg may not see a great deal of sense in making claims on the South African government that transcend the assurance of basic individual 'freedom'. What migrants do claim is the right to mobility, to pursue their work or business without being harassed by the police, and to live peacefully amongst South Africans without facing abuse, be it of a verbal or physical nature.

As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, African boundaries and borders have been, and are essentially still, incredibly permeable. Nugent and Asiwaju (1996:9) raise a point particularly interesting to this study with regard to the movement across colonial borders in Africa: 'there is abundant evidence that Africans exploited the ambiguities of their border location to the full. Whole communities shuttled back and forth colonial boundaries in order to escape the tax gatherer' (Nugent and Asiwaju 1996:9). In a similar way as Nugent and Asiwaju (1996:11) describe how border communities in Africa enjoyed 'the benefits of

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both (or even more) worlds', using services in several places, sending their children to school in others or avoiding taxation through constant movement, the migrants interviewed here in many ways also prefer to live somewhat 'outside of belonging while claiming the benefits of it' (Landau and Freemantle 2009:381). If Nugent and Asiwaju (1996:11) are right in writing that African 'borders represent theatres of opportunity', then it is not just the straddling of physical boundaries in Africa that can yield tremendous advantages to the individual, both professionally and personally, but also those boundaries of culture, religion, language and race.

We need to come to terms with this rather unromantic, tactical form of cosmopolitanism and acknowledge the aspirations and rights of the people that 'live' such de-territorialised practices and trajectories without wanting to become part of the community they reside within. Rather than dismissing these realities and views because their liberal individualist tendencies do not fit into our normative concepts of cosmopolitan (political) community, they need to be incorporated in the ways we consider new forms of cosmopolitan mobility and rights. This is not to say that this is the case in every context – there are numerous examples where migrants make active claims for inclusion and political participation elsewhere - but the specificities of different groups of mobile people within different settings will certainly have to be acknowledged.

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4

Knowledge (of the Other) is Power: Maximising the Engagement with Cultural Difference and the De-Construction of Diversity as a Problem

4.1 Introduction: Cultural Dimensions of Cosmopolitanism

With regard to its cultural dimensions, cosmopolitanism has been conceptualised in two different yet interrelated ways. The first one is that of cosmopolitanism as a particular socio-cultural condition, the second one that of cosmopolitanism as the ability and willingness to engage with, and even celebrate, cultural diversity. In the former version, 'cosmopolitanism' refers to the mixing of cultural practices, tastes, practices of consumption, images and ideas in an interconnected, globalising world (see, for example, Szerszynski and Urry 2006, Nava 2002). Culture is thus not conceived of as territorially bound and static, but as non-essential and unbounded: elements of cultures far away can increasingly be experienced, consumed or even adopted - both through modern travel and through virtual channels (see Bowden 2003:245). A cosmopolitan perspective acknowledges that cultural practices, social relations and everyday experience have all become increasingly disembedded from actual physical locations. For Hollinger (1995:3-4), cosmopolitanism thus 'emphasises the dynamic and changing character of many groups, and is responsive to the potential for creating new cultural combinations.'

As Waldron (2006:97) has highlighted, 'if we really want to understand how the world is coming to be ordered by cosmopolitan norms, we have to look at the ordinary as well as the extraordinary, the tedious as well as the exciting, the commercial as well as the ideological.' In an effort to move towards more empirical and grounded notions of cosmopolitanism and to understand the actual quotidian processes of what Beck (2002:17) calls '*cosmopolitanization, internal globalisation'*, a number of scholars have begun to explore what has been labelled as forms of 'banal' (Urry 2000) or 'unreflexive' (Skrbis et al. 2004:128) cosmopolitanism. For some this is represented by 'omnivorous', cosmopolitan consumers who have developed a taste for foreign food, media, literature, fashion or music (Peterson 1992, Peterson and Kern 1996). For Robinson and Zill (1997), it describes an 'openness to cultural products regardless of their origin'. Moisander and Rokka (2007:3), for example, argue that forms of such banal or 'ordinary' cosmopolitan

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cultural identities are emerging within 'virtual consumer communities as sites of cultural production and mediation through which different versions of cosmopolitanism are produced and negotiated in the market.' While Calhoun cautions that these are 'all easy faces of cosmopolitanism' (2002b:105), the potential transformatory power of such cosmopolitanisms, according to Beck (2002:28), lies in the way 'in which everyday nationalism is circumvented and undermined and we experience ourselves integrated into global processes and phenomena.' Nava has argued that 'mundane' forms of cosmopolitan consumption and styles may accompany or even bring about much wider and more fundamental social change (Nava 2002:94 in Skrbis et al. 2004:130). For Mitchell (2007:707), this everyday cosmopolitanism brings about 'major changes in the cultural fabric of society leading to the erosion of the very notion of a bounded conception of the social.'

However, these socio-cultural concepts of interconnection, global cultural flows and exchange of information, people, ideas and cultural practices have not remained uncontested. Some argue that such an approach ignores questions of hegemony and imperialism. Given the uneven power relations between the West and the developing world, there is much scepticism that cosmopolitanism is nothing more than a thinly veiled imperial agenda of the West, aimed at distributing uniform, Western values and 'historically shallow, memory-less global culture' (Smith 1995:22). However, proponents of cosmopolitanism have argued that cosmopolitanism does not erase local cultures in order to create a uniform global culture, but in its pronounced emphasis on the value of cultural diversity creates new, complex and essentially hybrid social and cultural configurations.

In the second version of cultural cosmopolitanism, the term is used to describe particular ways of engaging with, and giving meaning to, cultural diversity and difference. With regard to the engagement with the Other, cosmopolitanism is characterised by a heightened sense of reflexivity, curiosity and tolerance. Cosmopolitanism's attitudes and practices are 'associated with a conscious openness to the world and to cultural differences' (Skrbis et al. 2004:117, see Hannerz 1996, Urry 2000) and to a conception of diversity not as a pathological condition, but as something to be appreciated and even celebrated. The encounter with the Other is thus not only normalised, but actively promoted and conceived of as something enriching. For the cosmopolitan, the Other is always encountered as both different and inherently similar – while his or her difference is acknowledged, valued and appreciated, a strong sense of common humanity is recognised as the most profound bond between any individuals, regardless of background or culture. The cosmopolitan respects and promotes the 'equal validity of other cultures, other values, and other mores' (Werbner 2006: 498). For Hannerz - in perhaps the most frequently cited description of cosmopolitan

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skills - cosmopolitan openness finds expression in the 'ability to make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting' (Hannerz 1990:239), or, as Friedman (1994:204 in Vertovec and Cohen 2002:14) has put it, an ability to shift between and participate 'in many worlds, without becoming part of them'.

Cosmopolitans are thus able to switch between multiple cultural codes, drawing upon knowledge that they have actively acquired through their familiarisation with, and immersion in, other cultures (see Skrbis and Woodward 2007:732-733, Hannerz, 1990:240). As the cosmopolitan moves through 'Other' social worlds, he or she is able to enhance 'a disposition and attitude that reduces the shock of the new or the different in other circumstances' (Binnie et al. 2006:8). The cosmopolitan is seen as being able to learn about and appropriate elements of previously 'foreign' cultures and in the process re-define the very notion of Otherness. For the cosmopolitan, 'if self is imperious towards "foreign influences", it risks remaining untouched and unchanged, insular and immune to the flow of life and its varying contingencies' (Blum 2003:118). As Jansen (2009:75) writes, 'cosmopolitanism's most frequent categorical hostile Other – that is the Other against which it is closed and against which it defines itself – is a discourse that homogenizes and fixes culture in place.' Hence, cosmopolitanism conceives of culture in strictly non-essential terms as inevitably being the product of mixture, cross-over and encounters with the Other (Hudson 2008:280-281).

Until now, such processes of familiarisation with cultural difference and the creation of a cosmopolitan socio-cultural condition are, for the most part, described only theoretically and have rarely been observed in concrete, empirical contexts. In the pursuit of bringing cosmopolitanism 'back to the ground', this chapter looks at how African migrants in Johannesburg give meaning to their practices of engaging with Others. In exploring what motivates these practices and how migrants conceive of these interactions, I show that they not only assert their ability to become familiar with selected elements of Other cultures, but also a great willingness and interest in doing so. However, their *motivation* for familiarising themselves with the cultures of Others is not of a consumerist, intellectual or aesthetic nature. Instead, their cosmopolitanism is driven by the need for and permanent quest towards developing and despatialising their own skills, knowledge and opportunities beyond the African city. For them, being cosmopolitan is seen as the key to gain a competitive advantage in local markets and to prepare themselves for a future in any possible destination abroad. Through my exploration, I provide an example of how, contrary to the commonly held assumption that migrants create a 'surrogate home' amongst compatriots in the host country and keep the involvement with other cultures 'as low as possible' (Hannerz 1990:243), these migrants actually seek to *maximise*, rather than to minimise, their encounters with cultural difference.

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My discussion of migrants' engagement with cultural difference within and beyond the city of Johannesburg is structured along four different areas of enquiry: *living in the divercity,* which will also give some more background to migration to South Africa and Johannesburg in particular; *processes of cultural hybridisation; cosmopolitan skills; and cosmopolitan ways of 'being in-between'*. I propose not only that migrants' accounts give us a unique insight into forms of purposeful cosmopolitanism that have not been described in the existing literature so far, but that the presentation of their own practices of engaging with difference transcends the simple presentation of an 'account' of their networks and attitudes. In fact, this cosmopolitanism provides the language for a counter-discourse to xenophobic claims and constructions of migrants as different and problematic. The discourse actively constructs the migrant as a text-book cosmopolitan who is an open-minded, multi-lingual, tolerant and flexible agent, and seeks to legitimise migrants' way of life as being superior to what migrants construct as a strong South African parochialism. Their representations are directly aimed at providing a counter-narrative to the multitude of xenophobic arguments so frequently levelled against their very presence in South Africa and Johannesburg. In response to such constructions, migrants' discourse seeks to show that arguments for the insuperableness of cultural difference and the impossibility of peaceful co-existence of people of different ethnicities and origins are unsubstantiated. It also de-legitimises South African xenophobia on the basis of it being based on ignorance (in the sense of both not knowing and not wanting to know) and on a *pathological* parochialism. This is not to say that South Africans do not have their own versions of cosmopolitanism, as for example Hannerz' fascinating discussion of resistance and cosmopolitanism in apartheid Sophiatown shows (Hannerz 1994): the point here is that migrants - through distinct patterns of discursive practice - *characterise* South Africans as decidedly parochial.

4.2 Living in the DiverCity: *eGoli*, but whose Gold is it?

While Cape Town, Pretoria and Bloemfontein are respectively the legal, administrative and judicial capitals of South Africa, Johannesburg is undoubtedly the economic heart of the country. It is the provincial capital of Gauteng, South Africa's smallest yet richest and most densely populated province, which is estimated to contribute over 33 per cent to South Africa's GDP and about 10 per cent of the GDP of the entire African continent (Gauteng Provincial Government 2005:10, Gauteng Tourism Authority 2010). Johannesburg is not only Southern Africa's regional hub but has also emerged as the continent's sole metropolis of 'world status' since South Africa's re-insertion into the global economy in 1994 (see Landau and Gotz 2004:13, Simone 2001). None too humbly, the city's own website reflects

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its own ambitions to be a 'world class city' and a 'gateway to Africa', emphasising both its connections to the world as well as to the African continent:[55]

> *Johannesburg is where the money is. And the action. It's the most powerful commercial centre on the African continent. It is an African city that works: the phones dial, the lights switch on, you can drink the water, there are multi-lane freeways, skyscrapers, conference centres, golf courses. If you should get lost, ordinary people on the street speak English. Cell phones are everywhere. You can send e-mail from your hotel room, you can bank any foreign currency, you can watch CNN, and should you fall ill, the hospitals have world-class equipment and doctors who can be trusted with a scalpel.*

Not surprisingly, given its historically high level of development, migration, as in global cities elsewhere (see Friedmann 1986:75, Benton-Short et al. 2005:948), is one of Johannesburg's most fundamental characteristics. Especially since the final stages of the apartheid state in the early 1990s, the city has been a major destination for both domestic and international migrants 'seeking either refuge, new opportunities, or both' (Landau and Gotz 2004:3). Southern Africa has been described 'a region on the move' (Peperdy et al. 2005:1, Crush 2000a, 2000b, McDonald 2000:2) and Johannesburg is the undisputed focal point of such migrations. Accurate numbers are difficult to obtain, but in 2005 migrants were estimated to make up approximately 6.2 per cent of Johannesburg's population (Balbo and Marconi 2005:3, Landau and Gotz 2004:13). However, while the post-apartheid area has been characterised by new types and increased volumes of migration, the immense cultural diversity in Johannesburg is not a recent development, but rather a long-standing historical feature. In fact, it is a place that ever since its foundation in 1886 has been shaped by continental and global flows of people, (cultural) products, images and ideas (see Mbembe and Nuttall 2004:378).

Johannesburg was founded in 1886 after gold was discovered in the Witwatersrand, a reef running through most of Gauteng and known as being the source of about 40 per cent of gold mined globally. Only a few years later, the city had become a full-blown mining city and the largest settlement in South Africa. Johannesburg - eEgoli, the city of Gold – and the province of Gauteng since then have increasingly attracted labour migrants from both within the country and the entire Southern African region to work in the mines of the Witwatersrand (see Oosthuizen and Naidoo 2004:1). Throughout the beginnings and prime of the apartheid era in the 20th century, such labour migration of both internal and international migrants was highly regularised and controlled, aimed at promoting circular migration and inhibiting permanent settlement in urban areas. The contracts of foreign migrants stipulated that they had to be repatriated at least once every two years and that they had to undergo a new recruitment processes should their labour be needed again in the

[55] City of Johannesburg, retrieved [01.01.2010] from www.joburg.org.za/content/view/392/52/#ixzz0e0fIY38Y

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future (see Spiegel 1980:115). Contract workers were not allowed to bring their families and spouses to live with them in their places of work, and were largely housed in barracks in townships at the outskirts of major cities. However, the influx of people from all over Southern Africa, as well as South Africa's internal ethnic heterogeneity and mobility, rendered Johannesburg a highly diverse place. As a caption above a picture of early 20th century 'cosmopolitan' Johannesburg in the entrance hall to the city's *Apartheid Museum* reflects, no other city within the region 'contained such a varied mix. It was this robust blend of nations, races, cultures and languages that gave Johannesburg its unique character. The energy that this generated was to drive much of South Africa's subsequent history' (see also Place 2004). Given its de-facto profound ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious diversity, it is fair to call Johannesburg a 'diverCity' of note.

With the demise of the apartheid regime and its restrictions on the movement and settlement of black South Africans, the previously 'forbidden' inner-city of Johannesburg witnessed an intense influx of all of those who up to that time had been excluded. From 1982 onwards a new ruling stated that 'it was illegal to evict tenants flouting the Group Areas Act without providing them with alternative accommodation' and the settlement of black South Africans to formerly almost entirely white inner-city areas such as Hillbrow increased rapidly (Chipkin 2005:92). Increasingly not only domestic migrants streamed into the city, but also an increasing number of migrants from the rest of the continent to tap into Gauteng and Johannesburg's ever-growing economy, and, since 1994, to benefit from the new opportunities brought about by the re-insertion of South Africa into the global economy. Thus, as Tomlinson et al. (2003:XIII) write, 'black South Africans have been forced to re-imagine Johannesburg not as belonging to all South Africans or to them alone but shared with others in a new African cosmopolitanism' (see also Tomlinson 1999). What is at the core of Johannesburg is that it is a place in which 'no single group can claim indigeneity', a city that is 'a frontier zone, a community of strangers' (Landau 2006:130), and it is, as Gotz and Simon write, 'a cauldron of diverse peoples and agendas' (2003:128).

Just as with many Western European and North American 'cosmopolitan cities', which have begun to capitalise on their cultural diversity and frame it as central to their 'sustainability, creativity and entrepreneurialism' (Binnie et al. 2006:2-3), Johannesburg too has been building its brand as a 'world class African city'. Addressing the International Migration Workshop held in Johannesburg in August 2008, Johannesburg's Executive Mayor, Amos Masondo, claimed that: [56]

> *The City of Johannesburg is adopting a progressive approach with regards to ensuring that migrants to this City feel that they are part of an 'inclusive city' (…) migrants also contribute*

[56] Cit y of Johannesburg, retrieved [01.09.2009] from www.joburg.org.za/content/view/2846/114/

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> *to enhancing the richness and cultural diversity of a city (...) the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of many of our cities provides a basis to more effectively promote the concept of 'strength in diversity' as we seek to build more inclusive cities.*

However, the city's rhetorical appreciation for the enriching aspects of diversity remains in stark contrast to South Africa's firm immigration policy and well-documented high levels of xenophobia throughout virtually all social strata (see Landau 2005, 2006, Crush 2000a, Peperdy et al. 2005). As in places elsewhere, discourses of exclusion frequently construct migration in terms of intrusion and threat, drawing on metaphors of *flooding, swamping, infiltration* or even *invasion* in relation to migrants, a 'disastrous' process that needs to be inhibited. Former South African Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, went as far as to state that 'if we are not coping with the influx of illegal immigrants and our people are being threatened, there will come a time when we will switch on the fence to lethal mode.'[57] As Crush and Oucho write, 'South Africa's primary post-apartheid migration goal has been to stop, not facilitate immigration' (2001:150). South Africa has been the major stumbling block in the development of a policy of free movement of people initiated by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in the 1990s (Crush and Oucho 2001:150). Arguing that the free movement of SADC citizens into South Africa would place a massive strain on social services, increase unemployment amongst local populations and constitute health risks, South Africa has so far refused to accept the *SADC Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons,* first drafted in 1995 in its original form, and only conceded to sign a much more limited and cautious version of the original protocol in 2005 – with the crucial shift from 'free movement' to 'facilitation of movement' in the title.

McDonald argues that a 'curtain of ignorance that South Africans have about people from neighbouring countries, that great void in the public mind north of the Limpopo' (2000:14) is fuelling many of the fears of the stranger amongst South Africans. Migration is still predominantly conceived of and portrayed as detrimental to South Africa's national interests, identity and security (see Adepoju 2003, Crush 2000, Landau 2005, Taran 2000, McDonald 2000:2, McDonald et al. 2000). McDonald reports that in attitudinal surveys conducted in South Africa in 1994 and 1997, the country had 'the highest level of opposition to immigration recorded by any country in the world where comparable questions have been asked' (2000:9), ranging from street level to government institutions. At the South African Department of Home Affairs, a government unit particularly ill-equipped with regard to both funds and human resources, refugees and asylum seekers are faced with major obstacles throughout the entire process of acquiring appropriate documentation to formalise or extend their stay in the country. Irregularities and a massive backlog of asylum applications considerably increase migrants and asylum seekers'

[57] Joe Modise quoted in *The Star*, Johannesburg, 6 May 1997.

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vulnerability to arrest, exploitation and deportation for months, sometimes even years (National Consortium for Refugee Affairs 2006, Vigneswaran 2008). However, it is not only those whose legal status is insecure who are endangered. As Kihato (2004:7) writes, even those who are in the country legally and have the right documentation state that they live in constant fear of often completely arbitrary arrest, and restrict their movements to avoid any encounter with the law.

The reasons for high levels of xenophobia in South Africa are complex and manifold. With the end of the apartheid state and the lifting of bans on black African urbanisation it was assumed that circular patterns of international migration would come to an end and people would become permanent immigrants rather than temporary migrants. As a result, fears about the strain these additional populations would put on South African social systems as well as about increased competition in times of high unemployment have resulted in pervasive xenophobic sentiment. However, as Crush (2000) has argued, most historical modes and patterns of migration to South Africa have not changed dramatically. People still come to work and earn money for a certain period and 'have very little interest in staying in the country permanently' (McDonald 2000:2-3). Despite this evidence, however, the dominant narrative continues to be that migrants come to South Africa to stay. Aside from staggering rates of unemployment and resulting competition for resources, high levels of crime and prevalence of diseases such as HIV/AIDS and unemployment (all of which foreigners are habitually blamed for), it has also been suggested 'that the isolation that South Africans experienced during apartheid means that they have no experience in incorporating other groups and tend to be intolerant of outsiders' (Morris 1998 in Palmary et al. 2003:114). The trauma of this era certainly runs deep: in order to enforce apartheid in South Africa, a number of policies were implemented to keep the four different 'racial groups' – white, African, coloured and Indian – separate from each other, socially as well as physically. One of the cornerstones of apartheid policy was the so-called Group Areas Act (1950), designed to ensure that each 'racial group' lived in areas specifically designated to them within urban areas. Together with the Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, as Morris (1999:669) writes, the apartheid government limited interracial contact to a minimum. The Group Areas Act was only officially abolished in 1991 (Morris 1999:669). A South African trader, Paul (Nr. 38)[58], spoke about his experiences of these policies separating black and white South Africans in the following way:

> *"In the apartheid time I could never talk to you[59] like this, I can never hold your hand, If anybody sees me he comes to me to kick me for holding your hand for just touching you. Which was wrong. I could not even look at you, somebody thinking that I have got feelings*

[58] Interview with South African 'Paul' (Nr. 38), conducted on March 9 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.
[59] referring to the white, female researcher.

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for you. I can get arrested for looking at you (…) You can't even remind yourself of it. Or your family. So you don't want to hurt yourself. Just to think that I can't even look at you, you are pretty, you are beautiful, I want to look at you but they can arrest me. What if I fall in love with you and we can be man and woman? But that was wrong for the other people. I could be arrested maybe for life just for looking at a white woman."

What is often less known about the apartheid era is that it was not only the separation between white and non-white that was enforced via official discourse and spatial practices, but also the difference between South Africa and the rest of the world, which was crucial for the apartheid state in order to maintain its legitimacy and identity. Klotz (2000:837) describes the situation as follows:

By blaming its domestic troubles on a communist insurgency backed by the Soviet Union, the regime painted a picture of a hostile outside world, using whatever means possible (military, economic, psychological, cultural) to undermine white rule. South Africa, policy makers believed, faced a 'total onslaught'. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, some of the most inflammatory imagery of total onslaught faded, albeit the sense of siege persisted as long as sanctions remained in place through the early 1990s.

The African continent was portrayed as anarchic, backward and politically unstable, as a destructive force that needed to be constantly monitored. As Klotz (2000:839) argues, these discourses of 'Africa as the mental location of the threat' have persisted far beyond the apartheid era and continue to fuel xenophobia towards African migrants in South Africa today.

While, of course, high levels of ethnic heterogeneity, social inequality, increased competition for resources and xenophobia are features of many other African cities as well, Johannesburg's historical status as a prime location of racial exclusion during the apartheid era, combined with its undisputed status as the commercial hub and key migrant destination for African migrants, has turned it into a particularly contested site today. Of course, it needs to be said that even while apartheid policies were in place, social reality did not always conform to their vision of separateness. The official production of separate racial groups was, in reality, riddled with contradictions, transgressions and inconsistencies. In Johannesburg, the suburb of Sophiatown, for example, became a site of physical and symbolic resistance, a vibrant, multicultural community of black, coloured, Indian and Chinese residents in which artists, musicians and writers flourished. While, by the 1920s, most whites had moved out, as Hannerz (1994:190) writes, Sophiatown remained a relatively multicultural space:

The Sophiatowners were confronted with an adversary - the government and all those supporting it - who was intent on inserting barriers of discontinuity into the cultural continuum of creolization, who wanted to redefine the situation as one of the global mosaic rather than the global ecumene. To the people of the township, a cosmopolitan esthetic thus became a form of local resistance. Accepting New York could be a way of rejecting Pretoria,

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to refuse the cultural entailments of any sort of "separate development". (Hannerz 1994:192)

Thus, neither in the past nor today we would do justice to South African realities by describing interethnic relations in South Africa in terms of ubiquitous mutual hostility and exclusion - intercultural or interethnic relations are always complex and ambivalent – a notion that I will come back to later when I discuss some of the data from the South African traders interviewed for this thesis. Sichone (2006:17), for example, is one of the few authors that have researched forms of contemporary cosmopolitan consciousness amongst South Africans and migrants in Cape Town. He points to 'the little studied phenomenon of xenophilia' and claims that it is particularly South African women 'who look after penniless migrants, give them homes, pay for their education and transform them from less than human babblers, makwerekwere, into citizens and fellow human beings' (Sichone 2006:31).

However, at the risk of oversimplifying things, we can say that exclusion of the Other is definitely the most dominant narrative in public discourses on migration, and it is the one that the migrants interviewed for this thesis appear to engage with the most. As Landau (2005:7, emphasis mine) argues, 'despite the country's ambitions to overcome past patterns of exclusion based on arbitrary social categories, xenophobic articulations in Johannesburg and elsewhere, starkly contrast with the country's commitments to cosmopolitanism (…) although attitudes vary, *one can safely report a generalist discourse of nativist exclusion.'* In another paper, Landau (2009:203) argues that, 'while not all South Africans share these views, international migrants' perceptions of South Africans are fundamentally shaped by these hostile and exclusive reactions.' In the presence of South Africa's own racial, religious and ethnic diversity and fragmentation, an exclusive nationalism has become the single dominant 'justification' for the right to the city. The *foreigner* is Othered and pathologised in order to deny her or him access to Johannesburg's opportunities. In 2008, the city became the epicentre of a series of unprecedented xenophobic violent attacks directed towards (mostly African) foreign nationals. The smouldering xenophobia that experts had been observing and warning about for years[60] erupted in Johannesburg's Alexandra Township and quickly spread to several other informal settlements as well as inner-city areas in and around Johannesburg. From there, it also spread to other places around the country. It is estimated that over the course of only a few weeks more than 60 people lost their lives, almost 700 were injured and an estimated 100 000 were displaced (see Misago et al. 2009). Johannesburg is thus in the midst of powerful dialectic forces, at once a 'critical, generative site for modern South African

[60] Sporadic violent and even fatal attacks on foreigners have been recorded ever since the mid-1990s.

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nationalism' (Landau 2006:127) and the 'temporary quarters' for a heterogeneous migrant population 'en route to, and from, an indefinable and dynamic elsewhere' (Landau 2006:128).

Speaking about their lives in Johannesburg (and beyond), migrants' discourse generally constructs diversity as unproblematic. The sharing of city space with people of different cultural backgrounds and languages is not portrayed as a source of conflict. Interestingly, diversity is further de-problematised through the downplaying of ethnic tensions (for example between the ethnic groups of Kikuyu and Luo in Kenya, or Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe) in their home countries. About these tensions the discourse was either completely silent or it portrayed them as *insignificant*, as rare exceptions to an otherwise accepted stable, tolerant order. The NACP data reflects these views of *diversity-as-unproblematic.* For example, only just over a tenth (11.2 per cent) of all foreign nationals interviewed thought that South Africa would be better off without its general foreign-born population, and even less (11 per cent) thought South Africa would benefit from all Indians leaving the country. A mere four per cent believed it would be a good thing if all the whites would leave the country. In all of these issues, migrants score considerably lower than their South African counterparts, of whom almost half (45.7 per cent) would prefer it if all foreigners would leave the country and almost 30 per cent think it would be good if Indians would leave. A total of 7.4 per cent of South Africans would prefer it if all whites would leave South Africa. While Johannesburg's inner-city areas are highly frequented and inhabited by migrants from all over the continent and beyond, asked about what it is that they disliked most about the area that they lived in, only 3.8 per cent of migrants cited having to live close by to people with undesirable traditions, and a mere 7.4 per cent of migrants disliked their area because of the varied mix of population inhabiting it. Diversity and cultural difference as such are not portrayed as problem factors impinging on the quality of life within these areas. Instead, the majority (71.4 per cent) blamed crime as the most pressing factor that made their area disagreeable. However, only 15.6 per cent of migrants believed that crime has increased because of immigrants (as opposed to 33.4 per cent of South Africans).

Overall, diversity is an integral part of the migrant traders' networks, echoing what Granovetter (1973) described as 'the strength of weak ties', the ability 'to span different groups, settings and classes'. The majority of migrants interviewed for this thesis have heterogeneous, business-related, and more personal networks involving customers, wholesalers, business partners, fellow traders, employees or friends from their own country (including different ethnic groups) as well as from a range of other nationalities. Throughout the city, traders who did not travel back and forth themselves between their home country and South Africa or within the region often sourced their products or

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materials not only from a range of other African wholesalers, but from white South Africans, as well as those of Bangladeshi, Indian, or Chinese origin. Customers in the curio trade included Europeans, Americans, Chinese and - albeit to a much lesser extent – wealthy black and white South Africans. At the Yeoville market, customers were mostly of African origin, many from Francophone countries, but also from Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya or Ethiopia (amongst many other countries).

The NACP data collected amongst Johannesburg inner-city residents supports this heterogeneity of networks and the comparatively low reliance on ethnic or national networks when it comes to making a living. Rather unexpectedly, given the often taken-for-granted assumptions about the importance of ethnic networks, upon arrival only one-fifth (20.8 per cent) of respondents worked for someone of their own ethnicity. In total, less than one-third (30.6 per cent) worked for a fellow national (of their own or another ethnic group). In comparison, a quarter (24.5 per cent) worked for a South African (only 2.6 per cent of whom worked for a South African of the same ethnicity). Combining all of those who worked for someone from a different ethnic group from their own country, a South African of one's own or different ethnic group, or for another non-South African adds up to almost half of all respondents (46.3 per cent).

Amongst the migrant traders, heterogeneous networks are established in an ongoing quest for the best wholesale price for plastic shoes or material for art made from beads and wire, the hardest-working shop assistant or the most authentic-looking, cheaply produced pieces of 'original' Kenyan Masai art (sometimes produced in Zimbabwe or Malawi, or by Zimbabweans or Malawians who have learned how to make them from Kenyans). The origin of the person interacted with, be they Chinese, Ethiopian, Malawian, Indian or Afrikaans, so migrants argued, is of little importance in the pursuit of doing business in the most lucrative way.

Migrants' networks are in the first instance strongly purpose-oriented in the sense that they serve to improve one's business and income. Yet, their accounts speak of many instances of successful communication and cooperation across different cultures and languages, which eventually create relationships in which both sides trust each other with something as critical as money. For example, a number of traders speak about being granted credit from their Ethiopian, Bangladeshi and Chinese wholesalers when they are not able to raise enough money to pay for new stock. However, beyond business transactions of buying and selling, migrants generally associate the creation of good relations and communication with Others with *being an asset*, and do so as a general principle and preferred mode of being. Malawian migrant Stanley (Nr. 52), for example, explains how he is always

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"moving around" at the informal curio market he works at to speak to the many Zimbabwean traders there:

> *"I have no problem, you always find me moving around, stand there, sit there, because I am friendly, it is a good part to be friendly, because the moment you have a problem, they will help you. If you are just sitting down there, and then you are wanting help, they say, ah, now you have a problem and want to get help, why?"*

In his text, Stanley juxtaposes his own actions ("move around", "stand there, sit here") with the inaction and passivity of others ("just sitting down there"). He presents personal benefit (receiving "help" for a "problem") as a direct result of his own efforts and characteristics ("I am friendly"). He emphasises how readily this help will be available for him by stating that it is provided "the moment you have a problem". Conversely, he argues, for those who are passive and (quite literally) immobile, such "help" will not be available. This association of sociability across ethnic or national boundaries with notions of usefulness and advantage was in fact central to the discourse. Explaining why he always makes an effort to be friendly to the people of other origins that he encounters in his everyday life, Zimbabwean migrant Wilbert (Nr. 23)[61] says:

> *"Why is it that all these superpower countries going around to their neighbours, talking to other countries, yes, there can be racism but they sit down and talk! The superpowers talk. At the end of the day, when you talk you come to an agreement. These countries have big industries; they sit down with foreigners, because at the end of the day they can get something out of it."*

In this narrative, Wilbert refers to the level of international relations between states in order to illustrate the importance of communication with Others. He presents the success and superiority of powerful countries ("superpower countries") as being the result of their willingness to go "around to their neighbours" and of "talk(ing) to other countries". He says that while there may be stereotypes or even "racism", these "superpowers" still "sit down and talk" to Others. Their motivation is to reach an "agreement" from which they can benefit: "at the end of the day they can get something out of it." Through this, he constructs the ability and willingness to communicate with Others and to find common ground ("come to an agreement") as an inherent source of strength and power. By referring to a different authority (here, governments of powerful countries) which, as he claims, in principle *acts like he does*, he seeks to increase the legitimacy, power and credibility of his argument.

[61] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Wilbert' (Nr. 23), conducted on February 21 2008 at an informal market in Bryanston.

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4.3 Turning Elements of the Other into Self

In their encounters with Others, migrants not only assert their ability but also great willingness and interest in learning about and assuming selected elements of Other cultures. The migrants interviewed claimed always to ask the Other questions and were keen to learn about the locally specific business strategies of Others or new types of products, art or handicrafts. This is seen as enriching and complementary to one's own knowledge, conceived of as providing oneself with a competitive advantage in the market. However, it was not always just material products that migrants were interested in, but also possible "different ways of thinking" or "lifestyles".

The appreciation for the skills and ideas of Others is also expressed in how migrants speak about the purpose of friendship, which is very often explained as a practical one: migrants often refer to a good friend as being someone who can give good advice and ideas for business. In many ways, this practical meaning assigned to friendship may increase the desire to have foreign friends, as their knowledge and insights are valued so highly. Migrants claim that no culture is essentially good or bad but always contains both elements and that in principle each culture offers valuable knowledge literally waiting to be discovered and to be benefited from. No culture or place (with the possible exception of those of South Africans) is *a priori* prejudiced against or dismissed as not having the potential for new insights.

With an ambiguous conception of Johannesburg as a place of both great risk, danger and uncertainty as well as an access point to the global, a place to gain new skills or tap into new networks with Others and Elsewheres, migrants portray their lives in the city as a constantly selective process of admitting and/or preventing the influences of Others on one's own individual identity, culture, 'lifestyle' or value system. This process has to be carefully managed as benefits as well as possible 'corruptions' and confusion can be the consequence. Complicating the neat binary between localism and cosmopolitanism, the discourse avoids being at the extreme poles of the argument, and rather strives for balance between detriment and benefit with regard to 'multiplying' and criss-crossing of cultures. However, most migrants constructed hybridising processes as something predominantly positive, not only natural and desired but a sign of progress and modernisation. Very few linked it to general uniformisation, but rather saw it as the creation of new, individual combinations. Zimbabwean migrant Julius (Nr. 26), for example, explains that:

> *"There is always something good, so it is good to adopt that from people, like you see Indians are good at that thing, so you follow it, people from Pakistan are good at this thing, so if you combine it with yourself you will be a better person […] I recognised white people […] they treat their family very fair, which is different in other cultures. Especially in the*

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> *Shona culture […] some of the black people they are very cruel to their women. I have seen it from the white customers here […] most of them when they are buying, they all need to agree on the thing they are buying, which is something good. And this is something different from other cultures, where the father is the mastermind, whatever he decides is what you should buy. This is in my culture, and I don't think that is a good thing."*

In his narrative, Julius chooses one element of his own culture – the way women are treated – and describes it as "cruel". This is then juxtaposed with the "fair" way women are treated in other cultures (here, that of the "white customers" he observed). What is particularly interesting here is the concept of incompleteness, or even imperfection of one's own ways, indicated by his own distance to, and disapproval of, an element of his own culture through which a key element of cosmopolitanism is expressed, i.e. not seeing one's own culture as superior to that of Others. His choice of the words "adopt", "follow", and "combine" when talking about his relationship to other cultures evokes a sense of compatibility and non-essentialism – the idea that elements of culture are *interchangeable*. For him, "there is *always* something good (…) so if you combine it with yourself you will be a better person", suggesting that something Other can become part of the Self, and that the result of this is superior, rendering oneself a "better" person. The choice of such diverse examples, such as Indian, Pakistani and 'white' people, emphasises the all-inclusive and non-territorially bounded nature of his claim. In this sense, a curiosity and interest in new practices and ideas, regardless of their origin, are suggested. Along similar lines as Julius above, Zimbabwean migrant Matthew (Nr. 54) explains that:

> *"Where I live it is full of Nigerians, sometimes we share ideas, how they live in Nigeria, how we stay in Zimbabwe, we compare. The way how they are doing in Nigeria, how they survive there, their economy, comparing to our economy in our country. Like your country is better than ours, then you say why don't you teach our country the way you are doing in your country."*

Through mentioning that where he lives "it is full of Nigerians", who, of all migrant groups in South Africa, are probably stereotyped the most as the 'archetypical antagonist and Other' (Landau and Freemantle 2009:4) and that he discusses and shares ideas ("sharing ideas") with them, Matthew constructs himself as worldly and tolerant. His statement that "your country is better than ours (...) why don't you teach us the way you are doing" not only suggests that the practices, or knowledge, of Others are applicable to one's own locality, but also indicates a certain humility about the limitations of one's own practices. If the aim is to 'survive', the *origin* of ideas to alleviate a problem is presented as unimportant - even if these ideas come from the one migrant group that is as frequently negatively stereotyped as the Nigerians in South Africa.

Migrants fully capitalise on the inherently diverse nature of the city and of its nature as a place of encounter, creativity and transfer of knowledge (see Amin and Thrift 2002:59).

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Being in Johannesburg, a 'diverCity' full of foreigners, in many ways epitomises the potential opportunities emanating from the engagement with the Other. Within Johannesburg, there are countless possibilities for acquiring knowledge that might one day open hearts and doors in a yet unknown destination, or constitute a competitive advantage when the migrant eventually returns to his or her home country, equipped with 'Other' ideas and strategies. Malawian migrant Peter (Nr. 70) explains:

> *"You share your experiences, and you prosper. Because you learn how other people are doing in their country, and they learn from you, and you put them together* [forms an imagined pile with his hands while explains this]*, and from that you make one new thing which is higher. It is like a new born child that is wiser, moving fast."*

Strikingly, his text associates the appropriation of foreign elements and notions of combination and exchange ("share", "learn from") with improvement and progress ("be a better person", "prosper", "higher", "wiser", and "moving fast"). With the emphasis on exchange ("you learn how other people are doing (…) they learn from you"), Peter's narrative constructs culture as inherently non-essential. The result of this process is something heterogeneous, both novel and superior: like "a new born child which is wiser".

To emphasise their own cosmopolitan 'open-mindedness', migrants' narratives create a frequently recurring and distinct binary opposition between their own cosmopolitan practices and attitudes towards the culturally different and a pathologised, parochial South African attitude, associated with narrow-mindedness and, most importantly, ignorance (understood as both unawareness and unwillingness to know). The pathologisation of localism or parochialism is very similar to, and supports, what has been described by Binnie and others as that 'some argue that elite cosmopolites gain their status and ability to develop global attitudes and skills through a pathologisation of those groups who are somehow fixed in place and for whom local or national loyalties still pertain' (Binnie et al. 2006:10-11). Malawian migrant Stanley (Nr. 52) expresses this contrast structure in a particularly evocative fashion:

> *"Here in South Africa, they don't like. In Malawi, we like foreigners. I am talking about Malawi because that is where I grow up. We like foreigners, and we admire them. Someone from another country, he is like an angel or something. You feel good; you want him to be your friend. He can tell you about Zambia, in our country we do like this, like this, but here, when you are foreigners, they don't want. They don't want to hear anything from you. They just ignore it. They think they know better than you and that you can't tell them anything. Maybe you say in Malawi we eat fish, and I say 'Come and eat fish', they say 'Aahhh, you eat this? Are you guy's crazy?' And then they laugh at you. But of course, for me, most of them, me I can eat. I wouldn't mind trying their food, but like the guy I am staying with, [he] is a Pedi, from Northern province, and I cooked and he said 'Ah, these funny vegetables, hey my brother, you can't force me to eat these things, I have never eaten it since I was born, how do you know maybe when I eat it I get sort of a disease, a skin disease, because I never*

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tasted it before.' I gave him an example, [I said] when they give you snake or a crocodile; he said 'I can't eat.' I said 'No, you mustn't laugh [at] *them, it is their own culture.' You see?"*

This narrative builds up a clear binary structure between Stanley's own cosmopolitan openness towards what is new and different, and South Africa's 'closedness' and parochialism. While his South African neighbour refuses even to try his Malawian "vegetable" dishes because he has "never eaten it since he was born" and other South Africans think it is "crazy" to eat "fish" (both two rather common types of food) Stanley portrays himself as someone who can find understanding for even such seemingly strange traditions and habits as the eating of "crocodiles" or "snakes". He thus presents himself as profoundly tolerant, and South Africans as intolerant, of Other cultures. While he himself "respects" foreign cultures and "wouldn't mind trying" Other food, his South African neighbour has an irrational fear of them (thinking he might get a "skin disease" from the foreign food) and "laughs" about them. Similarly to his portrayal of himself as a cosmopolitan person, Stanley contrasts Malawi as a place in which foreigners are "friends" and "treated like angels" with South Africa where the Other is "laughed" at. Thus, while the foreigner has equal ("friends") or vastly superior status ("admire", "treated like angels") in Malawi (and by extension for him), he is rendered unequal and inferior ("they think they know better than you", "harassed") in South Africa. He supports his argument by saying that he has grown up in Malawi, therefore can legitimately say that he knows what the situation there is like. He contrasts his own willingness and eagerness to learn with South African ignorance: "He can tell you about Zambia, in our country we do like this, like this, but here, when you are foreigners, they don't want. They don't want to hear anything from you. They just ignore it."

Migrants often highlighted that, unlike themselves, South Africans refuse to learn something from a foreigner. Many highlighted that South Africans could overcome unemployment and dependency on social welfare if they would only stop seeing street trade as an unworthy "job for foreigners" and would learn from the migrants to make and sell handicrafts, arts or furniture. Congolese migrant Celestine (Nr. 71), for example, claims that those few who *are* willing to learn already enjoy a better life, "building their houses, they are driving, just working by themselves […] so I can see, change is there, there is a hope." However, while most migrants display their willingness to share knowledge and cooperate, they characterise South Africans as so ignorant of this opportunity that collaborations rarely happen in reality. As Zimbabwean migrant Wonderful (Nr. 6) says "we have tried to educate them but they don't want to learn."

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4.4 Cosmopolitanism Skills

While migrants claim that diversity is not inherently a source of tension or conflict, they still maintain that, as part of their permanent state of preparation of future destinations, two types of knowledge are crucial to them. The first is information about a place and its opportunities. The second is knowledge about locally appropriate ways of "how to live with people" (Zimbabwean migrant Gladwell, Nr. 40), including language, habits, "likes and dislikes", in order not only to co-exist peacefully with these Others but also to maximise their benefit from interactions with them. Malawian migrant Stanley (Nr. 52) explains that:

> *"All over the world is here* [in Johannesburg], *I am sure, almost every nation is here. Of course, the good thing is that you learn their things, maybe food, or how they greet, you know, you learn something from them. That is the good part of it. I mean, as a human being you need to know most of the things in the world, how people live in China, how people live in India. It is common thing, it is common knowledge. How can I put it? As a human being, you listen to the radio, you read the papers, you want to see what there is in other countries. When it is good, you want to learn it. When it is bad you think 'Ay, this place I cannot go'."*

Most striking in Stanley's narrative is the claim that "as a human being you need to know most of the things in the world", and the sense of the self-evidence of this behaviour that is evoked throughout the text, classifying knowledge about places as far away as "China" or "India" as of "common", rather than of, say, specialised or exceptional, nature. Stanley positions himself as a global actor with a global consciousness – for him, a constant stream of news and information about the world is crucial for his own decision making, also highlighting his own agency and choice, not only with regard to what elements of Other cultures he learns but also concerning possible future destinations for him.

Stanley is not alone with his desire for news: in addition to the information they receive from Others, migrants also read the newspapers, emphasising that they always want to be updated - they want "to know what is happening in and around. In and around means here in South Africa, and even abroad. Anywhere. Information is power", as Malawian migrant Peter (Nr. 70) explains. However, most information about Other places migrants claim they receive from their direct engagement with the various Others they encounter in Johannesburg in their everyday lives. In order to acquire the knowledge necessary to function in a new environment, foreign friends are assumed to take on the role of a 'cultural broker' who can provide 'local' information in the first weeks.

The vast majority of migrants claimed that they had friends from different countries, and almost everyone had at least one South African friend. This, again, is echoed in the NACP data: 58.6 per cent of all foreign nationals said that they have many or some South African

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friends (17.9 per cent of migrants said they had many South African friends and 40.7 per cent said they had some). Mozambican-Zimbabwean migrant Marvellous (Nr. 33)[62] describes how what he has learned from his Malawian friends prepares him for visiting the country:

> *"I learned to communicate with many people in their own language. So I learn what they want, what they like. I know their traditional things. If you are at home, you must do like this, or do like this. We treat our elders like this, so I learned a lot like this. And when I am in Malawi, definitely, I will leave my Zimbabwean things aside and share with them, to be family with them. And they will be surprised when they see me going to the farm to start ploughing with them. They will be surprised, how have you becoming so Malawian? I have learned a lot, you know."*

What is interesting here is the speaker's suggestion that through learning about "what they want, what they like" and putting his "Zimbabwean things aside", his adaptation, or even transformation, would be so accurate that Malawians would wonder how he has become so much like them ("How have you become so Malawian?"). The evocation of the notion of being 'family with them' is particularly powerful in this context: Family is commonly understood as a natural, given unit and his suggestion that it is possible for him to form such a unit, and "share" with a previously foreign people anywhere through his own cosmopolitan behaviour *fundamentally* challenges essentialised and exclusive views of culture and community. While the importance of finding local friends is applied universally, it was emphasised particularly in the context of South Africa, as Malawian migrant Stanley (Nr. 52) explains:

> *"You have to join forces with good guys, with good South Africans. As I said, not all South Africans are bad. Some guys are good, so you have to choose which guys you have to be friends with. And them, they are going to teach you how to be a South African. You have to copy - you are going to copy their lifestyle, and what you have learned from them. And the South Africans, they will respect you. Because you hear when you go in a taxi, they greet: How are you? Which in our country, we don't do that. In Malawi, if you stop a taxi, you jump in and you just go. Here when you go in the taxi they say 'how are you?' And so you learn. If you go maybe Durban or Cape Town, they do the same thing. So you have to copy from good friends, with good manners. Then you are going to avoid so many things. They will tell you don't go this side, don't go to this tavern, there you are going to get killed […] You must have some friends from here, from Zimbabwe, from everywhere, because if you only have friends from Zimbabwe, you are going to act like you are acting at home, and then you can get violated. Because you never know what this South African guy is thinking, because the way you are thinking is Zimbabwean. You don't know how the South Africans think."*

While the ability to get along with Others in a foreign place is always presented as important, in this text Stanley renders it a matter of life and death – failing to "copy their lifestyle" may result in getting "violated" or "going to get killed". On the other hand,

[62] Interview with Mozambican-Zimbabwean migrant 'Marvellous' (Nr. 33), conducted on March 8 and March 22 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.

methods of familiarisation ("learning" and "copying") win him the "respect" of South Africans and "you are going to avoid so many things." Particularly interesting is that, while his narrative is originally aimed at talking about the South African context, he then states that "you must have some friends from here, from Zimbabwe, from *everywhere*", indicating that he always needs to obtain knowledge for possible destinations abroad. While he is generally prejudiced against South Africans, his narrative also makes room for the possibility of "some" South Africans being "good guys" – and it is their knowledge that he says he needs. What is crucial is that he portrays this process not merely as observation, but as an active asking of questions and a conscious association with South African "friends" – as without the information from locals, it is impossible to know "how the South Africans think".

Apart from behaviour, the migrants interviewed place great emphasis on the importance of language. They stress the importance of English as a global *lingua franca*, but at the same time acutely emphasise its limits amongst large parts of the population they encounter. They highlight the need to be familiar with the *essentials* of as many languages as possible in order to communicate with each other, wherever or amongst whomever one might end up. The most commonly cited linguistic 'element' of other cultures that one has to be able to perform is greetings, regarded as a universal sign of respect and, according to most migrants, the ultimate 'key' to ensuring people's goodwill. Malawian migrant Chisulu (Nr. 51)[63] explains that if you are able to express a greeting "you are not going to have problems. Because whenever you go in another country, first thing is the greeting. I mean even you[64], you come from Germany, the moment you came here, you greeted me." Most migrants portrayed themselves as adaptable and as "quick learners". They stressed that learning languages was *very* easy for them. Congolese migrant Gloria (Nr. 66) says: "It is very easy for me to learn, if I stay with you for two weeks, and I hear your language, I speak small [*a little bit*] I have this one blessing from God, to hear many languages. I stay in Zambia for two months, I speak Zambia language." Zimbabwean migrant Godfrey (Nr. 72) explains how he learned some of the languages spoken in Malawi from his friends:

> *"We speak their languages, like there in Malawi, I was able to learn it. A very common spoken language is Nyanja from Malawi. You know, followed by mainly Chichewa and Yao. Yao is a very difficult language, but we also learn the very difficult languages from them, in the way like learn a greeting, and some of the words that you basically learn in every language."*

In Godfrey's text he displays and normalises his own worldliness and cosmopolitan skill, as he not only characterises himself as someone who is willing and *able* to learn even a

[63] Interview with Malawian migrant 'Chisulu' (Nr. 51), conducted on March 9 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.
[64] Here, Chisulu directly addresses the researcher, who is of German origin.

challenging foreign language, but claims that there are some words that "you basically learn in any language" – which constructs learning some elements of many (even "every") language(s) as something obvious and normal for him – even when the language is "very difficult". Zimbabwean migrant Christopher (Nr. 43)[65], for example, explains that "I was working for a Chinaman. Sometimes I was asking him for words and asked him to explain what is this and what is that. He was very nice." As a young Kenyan migrant at the Yeoville market, Eva (Nr. 59)[66], explains, the reason that she tries to learn many languages is to accommodate and please her customers: "Sometimes the people are more comfortable in Zulu, or the Congolese women in French, so I speak in their language with only a greeting and some words. Then I get stuck but now I can switch to English because by then people feel comfortable with me already." Congolese migrant Epaulette (Nr. 35)[67] explains that "When you go somewhere you have to try to speak that language, you have to make (an) effort; you see I am French speaking, my English is not perfect, but I am trying, I am trying."

The sense of 'making an effort' to accommodate the Other in terms of language, and the profession of compliance with that obligation, even against the difficulties, invoked in these narratives are other central tenet of the discourse. Strikingly, as in the narrative of the Congolese female migrant presented above, this is usually evoked with reference to a global context – the 'making of an effort' is applied to every place, constructed as a universal *norm* that the migrants are aware of and comply with, not only South Africa. Celestine (Nr. 71)[68] also emphasises that linguistic difficulties can always be overcome:

> *"Maybe language is difficult, but even by hands you can understand them if you love them. And it is not really a big deal […] Sometimes when I go to the shop it is not easy the one who speak Zulu or whatever to really serve me well the way I want. But in the meantime I just get whatever I need and I go. I can't just change in one day. But also we foreigners, we must have love. Even if somebody says 'Why don't you speak my language?' say 'Please, I am learning it, if you can give me one word, and maybe the next day I will heart it* [learn it by heart] *and I will speak it to you.' You need to be humble as well when you come to their country, you understand? And then also they will be humble too. They say the way you give to a person is the way that person will give to you. All of us we need to be humble to connect with each other."*

Celestine's narrative juxtaposes notions of "connection" and separation, of communication and misunderstanding or estrangement, stressing the importance of individual willingness and effort from both foreigners and South Africans. She stresses the importance of being

[65] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Paul' (Nr. 43), informal trader, conducted March 9 2008 in Yeoville.
[66] Interview with Kenyan migrant 'Eva' (Nr. 59), conducted on March 21 2008 at a formal market in Yeoville.
[67] Interview with Congolese migrant 'Epaulette' (Nr. 35), conducted on March 8 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.
[68] Interview with Congolese migrant 'Celestine' (Nr. 71), conducted on September 4 2008 at a formal market in Bruma Lake.

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"humble", i.e. 'having or showing a modest or low estimate of one's own importance'[69] as a prerequisite for truly "connect[ing] with each other", and of not asserting one's superiority but rather trying to accommodate the Other. Rather than stressing incompatibility, she emphasises how the common human nature between people and universal standards of appropriate respectful behaviour can be used to communicate and bridge differences with Others. To do so, she refers to two universally human ways in which differences across all cultures can be bridged: through gestures ("by hands") which every human being is capable of, and through her recurrent evocation of the notion of "love" as something that connects human beings and as a universal language beyond words – if you "have love", you will be able to *understand* across all other boundaries. Through this, she completely dismantles any argument for the insurmountablility of cultural or linguistic differences between people of different origins.

The issue of their own cosmopolitan command of and approach to language is often used particularly in order to highlight South African parochialism. In reference to South Africans' unwillingness to speak English to her, Ugandan migrant Azeezah (Nr. 67) explains:

> *"You see like in Uganda, they don't say that Uganda language will be compulsory, because they know it will lead you nowhere, you must learn English. Like here, if you try to go to the hospital, the sisters there say 'No, we are not white people, you must speak our language.' And then I say 'I am not a South African, I don't know any languages of South Africa, what must I do?' International language is English with that you can always speak to someone. And even Luganda, not everyone speaks that, in northern Uganda, I have my own language which they won't hear in Kampala. So now in English we shall communicate, you see?"*

Interestingly, Azeezah evokes a contrast between isolation and connection through the use of the image of a local language that "leads you nowhere" as opposed to the "international language" of English with which "you can always speak to someone" and "communicate." She constructs her ability to speak English as a tool to connect to the world, whereas South Africans are portrayed as using their own language (and their unwillingness to speak English) as a method of separation and isolation. Whereas migrants stress their own multilingualism and command of English, South Africans are portrayed as speaking neither other African languages nor the global *lingua franca*, English. Migrants claimed that they are often accused of "trying to be different" (Zimbabwean migrant Memory, Nr. 42[70]). They said that they are often asked the question "Are you a white man?" when they address South Africans in English, sustaining the image of South Africans as refusing to

[69] Oxford Online Dictionary, retrieved [08.01.2010] from www.askoxford.com/concise_oed/humble?view=uk

[70] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Memory' (Nr. 42), informal trader, conducted on March 9 2008 in Yeoville.

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acknowledge the boundary-crossing and global nature of English appropriated so fully by migrants, and instead using their own language as a tool to exclude foreigners from South African soil and in more general terms to separate different groups of people (here, white and black) from each other. As Landau (2006) reports, almost 90per cent of all foreigners and South Africans living in inner-city Johannesburg rely on English as the language through which to participate in the city's social and economic life. This 'reliance on a colonial language that is almost no-one's mother tongue illustrates, more vividly than any other single indicator, the degree to which Johannesburg is a frontier zone, a community of strangers' (Landau 2006:130). As Tsoi (2004:2) claims, the use of different languages 'separates people into different groups, each not being able to understand the others. Lacking channels of communication, we typically identify others as being 'different' from us (…) thus if you speak one particular language, you belong to that particular society.' In this sense, the attempts by South Africans to 'force' migrants to speak Zulu rather than the global *lingua franca* of English, described by the migrants interviewed but also documented elsewhere, are active attempts to demarcate and territorialise Johannesburg as a national, exclusive space, whereas migrants, through their emphasis on, and use of English, emphasise that Johannesburg should be an inclusive, cosmopolitan space accessible to all.

4.5 Cosmopolitan Ways of 'Being In-Between'

An idiom at the centre of the discourse and frequently referred to by migrants during the interviews was "when in Rome, do as Romans do", and was used by migrants to express their ability to adapt and conform to the rules, rights and lifestyles of the local population: "whenever you are here, you do what the people here are doing […] I mean, of course, this is their country, I have to know their life, their language" (Malawian migrant Chisulu, Nr. 51). Migrants frequently stress their flexibility, as Tanzanian migrant Baba (Nr. 75) does:

> *"I always tell people I am a flexible person. I can fit anywhere. I can adapt anywhere, I can go anywhere. I don't like to stick myself to things. It helps me a lot, because it doesn't give me stress. You know how it is when you stick to something, and it is not possible then you have stress* […] *There are a lot of things which you are going to lose a lot of opportunities. Because you are sticking on one thing. But if you are flexible, there are a lot of opportunities in life."*

We find the triple use of extreme case formulations in his claim: "I can fit anywhere. I can adapt anywhere, I can go anywhere", which completely 'de-territorialises' him as a person: he does not present himself as someone with roots or as attached to a particular place, but rather stresses his flexibility ("fit", "adapt"), detachment and re-attachment. He does not present himself as a creature of his own cultural environment, but rather as a true citizen of the world, at home anywhere. This cosmopolitan mode is then associated with a positive

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effect: it doesn't give him "stress", it "helps" him, and it provides him with "opportunities". This mode is strongly contrasted with inflexibility, "stick(ing) to something", and the loss ("lose") of "a lot of opportunities". Gain and loss of opportunities are thus constructed as a function of one's own (in)flexibility. Strikingly, being able to "fit", "go" and "adapt" anywhere echoes Terence's[71] famous claim that 'I am a man, I hold that nothing human is alien to me' – it evokes the sense that he is completely unbounded and comfortable in his movements amidst people and places that are different to him and the place he comes from.

Being flexible also means tolerating other people's habits that are different from one's own, or changing some parts of one's own previous lifestyle. Malawian migrant Chima (Nr. 14)[72] explains: "Like me, I am not drinking, but some of my friends from Zimbabwe, they are drinking. So we are friends, but sometimes we can't help each other nicely. But because I am a human being, I must have some friends." The last sentence is particularly interesting, as it expresses that even across differences (in this case the different drinking habits of his Zimbabwean friends) what is more important is being in the company of other *human beings*; thus, shared humanity is always more important than difference. Flexibility is stressed in other contexts as well. If the business doesn't allow it, the much cherished attendance of Church has to be replaced by reading the Bible in-between customers at the marketplace. Congolese migrant Lionel (Nr. 64)[73] explains that, when he arrived in Johannesburg, the French-speaking church was simply too far away from where he stayed, which required him to attend the service in English – a language which he has now mastered completely, yet struggled to speak at the time. In some cases, even fundamental religious principles have to be overcome and compromised on, as in the case of Ugandan migrant Azeezah (Nr. 67). She describes how she used to stay at home with her children, and how, now, owing to her husband's inability to find a job, she spends her days alone, outside, selling underwear at the Yeoville market – leaving both her husband and Allah similarly "unhappy" with her for the time being.

Migrants suggested that, as they move through different cultural spaces, they easily and quickly adapt every time anew and, importantly, without 'losing their culture' (as the NACP data also shows, almost 80 per cent of migrants believe it is better for immigrants to *maintain* their customs and traditions whilst in South Africa), but through accumulating 'extra' knowledge that can be drawn upon when necessary. Positioning themselves in a

[71] Publius Terentius Afer, Roman playwright. Translated from the Latin 'Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto'.
[72] Interview with Malawian migrant 'Chima' (Nr. 14), informal trader, conducted on December 4 2007 in Waverly/Highlands North, Johannesburg.
[73] Interview with Congolese migrant 'Lionel' (Nr. 64), conducted on March 9 2008 at a formal market in Yeoville.

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condition of permanent 'in-betweenness' (see Friedman 1994:204), and always being en route to another place, even if only in imaginary ways, most migrants suggested that they seek to acquire 'access-knowledge', rather than attempt at full integration or even belonging. Tailored to their specific needs, being a cultural 'Jack of all trades' is considered as both absolutely necessary but also sufficient. For most, it is not about 'becoming' someone else or belonging to somewhere else, but learning enough for the purposes of functioning relationships and positive interactions with Others. For example, Malawian migrant Peter (Nr.70), who works seven days a week at a curio market almost exclusively visited by international European and American tourists and rich South Africans, explains that, for him, the need to learn a local South African language properly is less pertinent, and that it is more important to perfect his English or learn something about European culture and language. Exemplifying the constant engagement with possible Other places to be travelled to, and the positioning of the Self within a potentially unbounded global space, Congolese migrant Celestine (Nr. 71) explains that "if you learn only Zulu, if you move from here to another country, you cannot meet Zulu, but English you can meet it in different parts of the world. So better you learn first English." Considering which language offers her greater access to the world, Celestine opts for English, emphasising her status as a 'global actor' rather than as someone who is concerned only about their current local context.

4.6 Discussion

The kind of socio-cultural condition of cultural exchange and engagement with the Other that is created through this kind of cosmopolitanism emerges in a very different guise than both the moral cosmopolitanism and the cosmopolitanism of consumption and taste described elsewhere. Some would argue that the cosmopolitan nature of migrants' networks and practices is somewhat 'superficial' or even inauthentic owing to their survival-oriented and selective nature. To be sure, this cosmopolitanism certainly shares its purposeful, individualistic nature and conception of 'transcendence of place…as rational and progressive' (Halsall 2009:141) with the kind of corporate cosmopolitanism increasingly promoted by big transnational organisations as the key to success in an ever-faster globalising world. What these cosmopolitanisms also share is an awareness of 'the necessity of presenting oneself with a particular identity for a particular time and set of circumstances' (Halsall 2009:144).

Hannerz has disqualified this form from being authentic cosmopolitanism owing to its being 'just a skill or competence acquired for the purposes of a job' (Hannerz 1996:103). However, while in both forms, the engagement with cultural difference is linked to being

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successful, they differ fundamentally in the meaning assigned to cosmopolitanism. Corporate cosmopolitanism is merely aimed at rendering cultural difference 'superfluous' through controlling and rationalising it away (Halsall 2009:146) On the other hand, the migrant cosmopolitanism presented in this thesis, while prioritising the overarching sense of *common* humanity and emphasising the possibilities for selective exchange and intercultural communication, still acknowledges cultural difference as *inherently* beneficial and seeks to benefit from the engagement with it.

While Hannerz (1996:103) argues that 'the cosmopolitan does not make invidious distinctions among the particular elements of the alien culture in order to admit some of them into his repertoire and refuse others; he does not negotiate with the other culture but accepts it as a package deal', this chapter has shown that empirical cosmopolitanism is characterised by much more complexity and less cultural relativism than that. People will, for a variety of moral or other reasons, select those elements of other cultures that they deem to be right or beneficial for themselves, and dismiss others that they do not (Skrbis and Woodward 2007). As Appiah (2006:7) writes, 'cosmopolitans […] know they don't have all the answers. They're humble enough to think that they might learn from strangers; not too humble to think that strangers can't learn from them.' In existing forms of cosmopolitanism there is rarely such a thing as accepting other cultures as 'a 'package deal '(Hannerz 1996:103), and cosmopolitanism that is purpose-oriented and selective/eclectic is not necessarily less authentic – it simply is of a different nature.

Furthermore, for these migrants, being cosmopolitan is the only viable form of a life trajectory and of survival. In contrast to that, the corporate cosmopolitanism of the 'card-carrying members of the world class (…) with passports or air tickets serving to admit them' is *predicated* on high status and is to a large extent already an expression of unlimited access to the global. It does not have a transformative agenda; it is not based on a critique of existing power relations; it does not struggle. This migrant cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, serves as both a facilitator *and* claim to access to a wider world in order to legitimise migrants' practices in a world that has both dealt them an unjust card in terms of life chances and pathologised their very existence once they move and try to overcome the limitations of the place they were born into.

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5

Cosmopolitan (Post)-Identity Politics: Establishing Alternative Moral Orders

5.1 Introduction: Cosmopolitan Identities and Morality

While nationalism territorialises identity within the bounded political community of the nation and conceives of national identity as paramount over any other possible affiliations, cosmopolitanism understands identities as inevitably pluralised, de-territorialised, fluid and overlapping in nature (see Hollinger 1995:3-4, Vertovec 2000, Vertovec and Cohen 2002:16). Contrary to any essentialised notions of identity that define the members of a community or other group as those who share specific and unique characteristics such as language or ethnicity, cosmopolitanism argues that 'the logic of identity/difference imposes a false unity on groups defined by difference' (Hudson 2008:279). While the concept of citizenship as it exists today translates the idea of national identity into a political form and makes the rights and responsibilities of individuals dependent on membership of *one* exclusive and territorially bounded community – the nation – cosmopolitanism rejects the idea that the moral worth of the individual is determined by membership of any community other than that of the whole of humanity altogether. Instead, it takes the individual human being as the ultimate and 'central unit of concern' (Pogge 1992:48, see Bowden 2003:241, Mau et al 2008:5, Kleingeld 1999:507). Cosmopolitanism maintains that every human life is worth the same and that we all have the very same moral duties towards those that live far away from us as towards those who are closer to us, such as fellow citizens or co-ethnics (see Hannikainen 2009:47, Lu 2005:401). From a cosmopolitan perspective on morality, the idea that our primary allegiance should be with our compatriots and that certain rights should be reserved for citizens only is conceived of as both arbitrary and morally illegitimate, and, in fact, as unjust.

Such concepts of cosmopolitan morality have been critiqued from a number of different perspectives. Some dispute its empirical existence beyond academia altogether, arguing that as an idea it 'appeals to almost no one but the rationalist philosophers who articulate it' (Furia 2005:331). From this angle, the imperatives and aspirations of cosmopolitanism as a type of inclusive morality are deemed 'unreal, floating on the air of vague utopianism'

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(Heater 2000:180). Amongst those critics who do acknowledge the empirical existence of such a morality, cosmopolitanism is, however, often seen as lacking a popular mass base or consciousness, only supported by a comparatively small group of intellectuals and philosophers (see Cheah 2006:486). Related to this criticism is one of the most central debates in the literature on cosmopolitan identities, namely the question of how to reconcile belonging to particular communities with a cosmopolitan vision and morality. Here it is often argued that an identification with humanity as a whole is too thin, and too abstract to be able to fulfil human beings' natural need for some form of tangible community and belonging.

Furthermore, given the ontological bases of the existing international system, it is argued that there is a tension between cosmopolitan morality and the 'moralities of individual states' (Craig 1998:122, see Hayden 2005:101, Lu 2005). Critics of cosmopolitanism dispute that the same obligations and duties should apply with regard to those who are not our fellow citizens, and maintain that 'special duties of domestic justice – and thus partiality to compatriots – are primary.' (Hayden 2005:101). Another strand of critique associates cosmopolitanism with a certain selfishness. Closely related to debates on the respective merits and values underlying liberal and communitarian concepts of community (Bowden 2003:236), cosmopolitanism has been criticised as the embodiment of 'all the worst aspects of classical liberalism – atomism, abstraction, alienation from one's roots, vacuity of commitment, and indeterminacy of character' (Waldron 1992:764-765). Lasch (1995:46), for example, warns about a 'darker side of cosmopolitanism', where privileged elites come to identify more with their wealthy counterparts abroad than with their local communities, try to avoid any responsibilities towards their homelands and cease to pay taxes or contribute to democratic life – wherever they end up residing. As Erskine (2000:569) sums up these different strands of criticism, 'cosmopolitanism as an ethical imperative is variously viewed by its detractors as being deeply pernicious and simply unrealisable.'

However, in a response to the criticism that cosmopolitanism inevitably creates complete detachment and as such is neither socially desirable nor realisable, given the assumed human need for community, Werbner (1999:34), for example, argues that cosmopolitanism 'does not necessarily imply an absence of belonging but the possibility of belonging to more than one ethnic and cultural localism simultaneously.' Some authors seek to include the nation and national identity within a broader cosmopolitan vision, arguing that there are also thick or rooted and not just thin and detached forms of cosmopolitanism. Variably referred to as, for example, 'liberal nationalism' (Bowden 2003:240) or, most prominently perhaps, 'cosmopolitan patriotism' (Appiah 1998, 2006), these forms of cosmopolitanism bring together loyalty to the nation or specific cultures and an 'openness towards

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difference and otherness' (Roudometof 2005:122). These authors argue that a patriotic or local identity does not necessarily have to be ethnocentric and exclusive (see Bowden 2003:240). With regard to the alleged tension between duties and obligations owed to fellow citizens and those owed to non-compatriots, it has been argued that these need not necessarily be mutually exclusive. Rather than conceiving of one of them as being primary, Hayden (2005:101), for example, suggests that 'duties to compatriots and duties to noncompatriots form a single whole of various, nested obligations (…) neither dues of global justice nor duties of domestic justice are primary in some a priori way'. Similarly, Moellendorf (2002:45) argues 'we have duties of justice to those persons whose moral interests are affected by our business of living. There maybe some correlation between those who are affected and their distance from us, but it is the effect, not the distance that is the basis of duty.'

Others acknowledge the individual's embeddedness in particular communities, yet do not assign the nation any paramount status within these. As Vertovec and Cohen (2002:12) write, 'gender, sexuality, age, disability, "homeland", locality, race, ethnicity, religion – even cultural hybridity itself – are among the key identifications around which the same person might at one time or another politically mobilize.' An important contribution to this debate has been made by Erskine, who conceptualised a form of 'embedded' cosmopolitanism, emphasising its overlapping, multiple, non-primordial and profoundly deterritorialised nature that rejects the notion that 'the morally constitutive community [is] spatially bounded' (Erskine 2002:469, 2000:575). For Erskine (2000:575), such an embedded cosmopolitanism

> *offers an alternative to a strictly state-centric or spatially bounded interpretation of the morally constitutive community by combining an account of the moral agent as embedded in particular ties and loyalties with a powerful critique of the communitarian penchant for invoking associations with borders, set territories and given memberships.*

But how are these principles of cosmopolitan morality enacted and cosmopolitan identities negotiated by 'ordinary people' in a world beyond academic discussions and theories? In this chapter, I conceptually build on Lamont's notion of *cultural repertoires*. Lamont (2000) argues that, rather than drawing on an abstract framework of universal cosmopolitanism, different groups of people have particular cultural repertoires available to them in which their own 'ordinary' versions of cosmopolitanism are grounded. For example, in Lamont's study, the repertoires of the North African workers in France were characterised by strong notions of solidarity inherent in French republicanism and socialism as well as in the Qur'an. On the other hand, black American workers 'appeal to market mechanisms, and more specifically to socioeconomic success, to establish the equivalence of races' (Lamont 2000:3). In this chapter, I explore two of the most dominant

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cultural repertoires drawn upon by migrants, namely that of *being Christian* and that of *being African* and how these identities are evoked to build 'bridges between "us" and "them"' (Lamont 2001:21). I also explore how, in the context of Johannesburg, a third and quintessentially cosmopolitan and universal moral base of claiming inclusion emerges, which emphasises individual identity when it comes to issues of human goodness, trust and conflict.

While acknowledging the multifaceted nature of identity, I approach it here from a social constructionist and instrumentalist/circumstantialist perspective that assumes that identity is always socially constructed according to its continuously shifting relationship to other groups and embedded into particular contexts and structures of power (see Butler 1999, Scott 1990, Cornell and Hartmann 1998, Crawford Young 1982:450). As Oommen (2002:23) has argued, 'to sustain boundaries is to maintain identity.' Hall argues that identities are 'more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of identical, naturally-constituted unity' (1996:4). For Worsley (1984:249), 'cultural traits are not absolute or simply intellectual categories, but are invoked to provide (…) identities which legitimise claims to rights. They are Rostrategies or weapons in competitions over scarce social goods.' By now there are numerous studies available, for example, that document how 'ethnicity appears to come into being most frequently in just such instances when individuals are persuaded of a need to confirm a collective sense of identity in the face of threatening economic, political, or other social forces' (Wilmsen et al. 1994:348).

In an instrumentalist/constructionist reading, identification is considered purposive, i.e. individual actors are assumed to make a conscious decision about whether their membership in a group is useful to them or not for achieving particular social, political or economic goals (Hempel 2004:253). Thus, instead of assuming that identity is unchanging and essential, this type of reading emphasises the processes of *boundary making* (or *breaking)* between different groups rather than the actual 'cultural stuff' that is enclosed by them (Barth 1969). Boundaries are defined by the use of membership markers such as language, territory, particular values or behaviour, and establish similarities between members and difference in contrast to non-members. Exclusive boundaries impose restrictions on access to a group; inclusive boundaries use markers that make access possible to a wide range of different people. Instrumentalist/constructionist approaches are interested in *how* and *why* the boundaries of a group are narrowed or enlarged, and closely study how discourses express and structure these processes of defining and delineating boundaries.

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On the basis of these considerations, I argue that as a response to being relegated to the margins and pathologised as the Other, migrants' discourse is aimed at showing the commonalities between them and South Africans and at establishing a more inclusive social order that is morally superior to that of nationalism. Thus, while it has been argued that the language of cosmopolitanism is 'antithetical to the struggle of minorities' (see Furia 2005:334, Kymlicka 1999, Ignatieff 1993), I suggest that migrants respond to the nationalist exclusion they face with their own kind of *cosmopolitan (post)-identity politics*, which speaks on behalf of an excluded minority, yet does so not through emphasising their human rights that stem from their difference, but through emphasising their very sameness with the majority they appeal to. This has fundamental consequences for the conceptualisation of the relationship between people, territory and rights: their discourse constructs migrants as having the moral right to access, and reside within, South African territory. As Hechter writes, 'individuals are more likely to identify strongly with a group when they are dependent on that group to access valued resources. When alternative means exist outside the group for accessing the same goods, identification is not as strong' (Hechter 1987:46). In the case of these migrants, it is not only that alternatives and opportunities exist outside 'their' group (their home, their city, their country), but that the *majority or even entirety* of these are located in anOther group and place. Thus, it does not make sense for migrants in South Africa to endorse either of the languages of nationalism or ethnicity. While South Africans create exclusive boundaries around a national community in order to 'protect' themselves and their resources from the alleged intruders from 'up North', migrants' discourse is aimed at enlarging these very boundaries through a delegitimisation of the very notion of the territoriality of identity and rights. Faced with the imposition of boundaries between 'national' spaces, of which some do not provide enough security and prosperity and others offer seemingly endless opportunities, their (post)-identity politics establishes a discourse of resistance against this inequality of life chances through a de-construction of the essentialism and naturalness of national identities and resulting practices of exclusion.

5.2 The African Family: "You can't just let your Mother starve"

> *Africa is one continent, one people, and one nation. The notion that in order to have a nation it is necessary for there to be a common language, a common territory and common culture has failed to stand the test of time or the scrutiny of scientific definition of objective reality.* (Kwame Nkrumah, first president of independent Ghana, Nkrumah 1970:87-88).

The kind of thinking that migrants' discourse works against – that there is a fundamental difference between South Africans and other Africans and that non-nationals have no basis for claiming access and opportunities in South Africa - is countered by migrants through a pronounced emphasis on a fundamental shared Africanness, a continental sense of

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community and the moral 'irrelevance' of official borders between countries in Africa. The following narrative from South African trader Lundiwe (Nr. 8)[74] is an example of the kind of territorial thinking that migrants' Pan-African, cosmopolitan discourse is aimed at countering:

> *"Many people from Zimbabwe, they like freedom, but people in Zimbabwe if they don't want their country to be low they must fight, because Mandela bring (brought) freedom for us, themselves they must fight for their freedom for themselves, myself I tell them to not come in South Africa anymore because you know Lucky Dube? He was killed by what? By people from outside. Like Zimbabweans."*

Rather than promoting a sense of connectedness between all Africans, Lundiwe establishes a clear distinction between "us" and "them", between South Africa and those "outside" of it. She explains that each nation is responsible for its own destiny and that the fact that Zimbabwe is "low", i.e. does not offer enough opportunities, is no reason for Zimbabweans to conclude that they can legitimately benefit from South Africa's stability and economy instead of their own country: while for South Africans "Mandela bring (brought) *us* freedom", for Zimbabweans "*themselves* they must fight for *their* freedom." Through delimiting a sense of responsibility to the South African nation alone, she seeks to deligitimise claims towards Pan-African solidarity. She continues to say that she is against migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa ("myself I tell them not to come in South Africa anymore"), not only because of what she said before but through also linking "people from outside", Zimbabweans, to crime. (Lucky Dube, a South African reggae star, was murdered in Johannesburg just days before this interview took place. In the aftermath, four men (two Mozambican and two South African nationals) were arrested, of which three were eventually sentenced to life.) Her narrative thus not only demarcates South Africa as belonging to citizens on the basis of a notion of a territorially bound political community and shared destiny alone, but also through the construction of African foreigners as a direct threat to South African citizens. Such discourses of fear and threat (and as such the need for separation from the rest of the continent) are also very forcefully expressed in the following text by a South African trader[75], describing foreigners as a destructive force ("they *fuck* South Africa up", "they come here to *destroy* the youth of this country") within South Africa and as such as justifiably warranting South African hatred towards them ("we *hate* them", "they suck"):

> *"Foreigners from Africa? We don't like them. We hate them. They suck! They fuck South Africa up. To us they are KwereKweres, South Africans will never like foreigners from Africa. These guys come here to destroy the youth of this country."*

[74] Interview with South African 'Lundiwe' (Nr. 8), informal trader, conducted on October 22 2007 in Rosebank.

[75] This text comes from a South African trader who walked by, overheard part of an interview conducted with another South African trader in Rosebank and then made this statement.

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The idea that jobs, goods and opportunities within South African territory are often seen as literally belonging to citizens only is well illustrated by the way Zimbabwean displaced migrant Patience (Nr. 94E[76]) describes an incident of confrontation between herself and South Africans during the xenophobic violence in May 2008. Patience reports that she fled her home in an informal settlement at the onset of the violence. Once the first wave of attacks appeared to have settled down, she and her sister returned to the settlement in the hope of recovering some of her belongings from her shack:

> *"We entered the squatter camp after three days. And they wanted to beat us, they asked us 'What are you still doing here? Why don't you go to your place?' They said 'Put all the money down here.' They just take all the money and then they let us go and said 'We don't want to see you here anymore.' It was a group of boys, four or five, with sjamboks[77] (…) And then they started to say that 'We told you we don't want you here.' We said 'We want to look for our things.' They said 'What things, did you come with something from Zimbabwe?'"*

The question posed by the South African to her: "What things, did you come with something from Zimbabwe?" constructs what is generated *within* South African territory as *belonging to* South Africa, and to South Africans only – whatever a foreigner like Patience earns is not really rightfully hers.

In response to these efforts of excluding, stigmatising or denying responsibility for the foreigner and of demarcating South Africa as separate from the rest of the continent, migrants' discourse draws on notions of a collective history and responsibility (all prototypical language of nationalism) almost without exception in reference to being *African,* and not with regard to the nation. Drawing on existing discourses of Pan-Africanism, migrants construct Africans as a de-territorialised 'family', a notion that as a bond between people who are not biologically related certainly has particular metaphorical power, as a family is commonly perceived as the smallest collective unit people are the most closely and naturally embedded in. Enlarging that notion beyond this inner circle, beyond ethnicity and nationality to the entire continent symbolically collapses the congruity between family, nation and territory and brings near what is far. As Nussbaum writes, the cosmopolitan task is to 'draw the circles somehow towards the centre, making all human beings more like our fellow city dwellers, and so forth' (Nussbaum 1997:9). This vernacular form thus addresses one of cosmopolitanism's greatest challenges, i.e. translating a very abstract idea into a concrete context people can relate to and that has meaning for them – after all, almost everyone everywhere has first-hand experience of what an ideal-typical family looks like and how it functions – as a community where

[76] Interview with Zimbabwean displaced migrant 'Patience' (Nr. 94E), conducted on July 5 2008 at the Rand Airport Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.
[77] A *sjambok* is a heavy leather whip.

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people love, look out for and provide at least some sense of security and stability for each other.

Establishing that kind of Pan-African community is then connected to certain moral claims organised around notions of reciprocity. If all Africans are a family, and, as such, responsible for each other, South African practices of exclusion are constructed as a failure of morality, as turning one's back on those who should be dearest to oneself. Zimbabwean migrant Wonderful (Nr. 6) argues that South Africans need to share at least some of their prosperity with other Africans:

> *"I think that we should do that for the benefit of Africa, Africa is a family, just to uplift Africa as a whole, as a continent, I think if it is us Africans, we should uplift one another, for the benefit of us as a family. You can't just let your mother starve."*

The speaker here uses the metaphor of 'family' and as part of that, 'mother', to describe the relationship between the African continent, its people and South Africans. His use of the personal pronouns "us" and "we" also emphasises the community of all Africans. His evocation of letting "your mother starve" as a metaphor for a lack of a Pan-African solidarity conjures up a particularly cruel image: that of denying or neglecting the very source that gave birth to you, of which you are an intrinsic part and without which you would not exist. The metaphor also has particularly high power in the African context where respect for the elders is traditionally held in very high regard. These notions of cruelty and denial are then juxtaposed alongside notions of support: "uplift" and "benefit". This relationship of support is also created as a mutual one – it is about uplifting "one another" - and constructs uplifting the continent "as a whole" as a shared goal and duty of all Africans. While the emphasis is on shared African identity, it is worth noting that a global reference constructing the whole of humanity as family is often added as well, as the following quote shows:

> *"If you believe, there is someone from South Africa, from Malawi, from each and every country, you should treat them equally. He is like your brother. Tomorrow, you never know, the same guy helps you. Just treat him like your own blood, your own sister, your own brother, your own mom. Because I got a lot of mums here, but my own mom is in Zimbabwe. But if I meet a lady, and I tell her my problems, she accepts me like her son, I like that, so I am far away from home but I got a lot of support. I respect people and they give me respect as well. So, that is what I believe." (Mozambican-Zimbabwean migrant Marvellous, Nr. 33)*

While referring explicitly to African countries ("Malawi", "Zimbabwe", "South Africa"), the narrative constructs the whole of humanity as a family. Marvellous uses extreme case formulations in order to maximise the reach of his claim, i.e. to de-territorialise it: "from each and every country" completely. The relationship of family members amongst each other is constructed as one of equality ("treat them equally"), helping each other ("helps

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you"), "respect" and "support." His statement that he has "got a lot of moms" in South Africa is extremely interesting, as the concept of mother ("mom") usually only exists in the singular - a person can only really have one mother. Yet his narrative pluralises and de-territorialises this notion through claiming that he can find the same relationship between "mom" and "son" anywhere, in any "lady". Through this, his physical distance from his original "home" is rendered almost irrelevant, given the nearness and "support" he experiences abroad. It also fundamentally de-essentialises identity as it constructs something as natural as familial relations as something that can be experienced with another, biologically unrelated person. Through applying this to a person of another nationality, the essentialism of national identity and the naturalness of ties between citizens are de-constructed simultaneously. What is also striking is that Marvellous' normative standard of treating everyone "like your own blood" is not so much *explicitly* justified by morality (as it is more implicitly through the metaphors of family and motherhood), but is rather presented more directly as a matter of personal benefit as well. Because of his own attitude, he is able to get "support" and can talk about his "problems" with someone. This also becomes very clear in his statement "Tomorrow, you never know, the same guy helps you", implying that treating people with respect and as equals creates a crucial support base and, in a way, 'pays off'. Through this, Marvellous bases his claim to his right to be in South Africa both on a normative argument that appeals to morality and on an instrumental argument of personal interest and benefit. Another Mozambican, displaced migrant Manuel Mucavel (Nr. 52E), explains:

> *"We are all black people but only separated by languages and how can we fail to be united like the termites which will always be working together and sharing tasks. Nobody has a right of claiming that a country belongs to them, you can only claim your yard and not a country. Why would you hate somebody because they are Zulu or Xhosa or Shangaan? And who will assist you tomorrow?"*

Manuel's likening of Africans to "the termites which will always be working together" is a powerful metaphor to evoke a sense of natural unity amongst Africans, similar to that of a family. Notions such as "working together" and "sharing tasks" construct Africans as a natural community sharing common goals, and through this a "fail(ure) to be united" is, by implication, something *un*natural. Given this, Manuel's rhetorical question "why would you hate somebody because they are Zulu or Xhosa or Shangaan?" further serves to demonstrate the absurdity and senselessness of such discrimination. His statement "nobody has a right to claiming that a country belongs to them, you can only claim your yard and not a country", itself formulated like a law and with an extreme case formulation ("*nobody* has a right"), is the exact reversal of any nationalist ideology, which claims a particular territory for a group of people defined by exclusive boundaries. Also, similarly to the text by Marvellous above, Manuel adds another dimension to his claim through appealing to

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South African self-interest: if you discriminate against foreigners today, "who will assist you tomorrow?" Further elaborating on such notions of African community, Zimbabwean migrant Douglas Bungu (Nr. 58E[78]), also displaced by the xenophobic violence, explains:

> *"I used to stay and freely as well as happily interact with all kinds of South Africans. I even assisted those who requested my assistance wholeheartedly. There is this elderly South African man I used to keep at my place for free after his very people failed to take care of him who is around 65 years. I told him that he could stay with me since he had nothing and he would just do that and go to work and return in the evening and we shared meals. He even used to commend me for being more caring than even his sons (…) You see these people were just heartless as I used to even assist some locals with money from my business if they had problems. I treated them as brothers."*

In this text, the common 'roles' within a family are again de-territorialised, but not in an abstract way but rather embedded within the speaker's own experiences in South Africa: the Zimbabwean takes on the role of a "caring" "son" to an elderly South African man, whereas the man's own sons, "his very own people", failed to take care of him. Douglas' own actions are presented as "caring", "assisting" and "sharing". Families share accommodation and food, and no member of the family usually has to pay rent to stay in the family place. This is exactly the image he conjures up, however in relation to someone who is related to him neither by blood nor by nationality, but only by their shared humanity. Douglas also presents his service to the elderly South African man not as something that he is doing begrudgingly, but, instead, as something he does "wholeheartedly". Interestingly, a little later in his narrative, Douglas describes the actions of those people who attacked migrants during the xenophobic violence: "these people were just heartless as I used to even assist some locals with money from my business if they had problems. I treated them as brothers." Thus, his narrative establishes a contrast between his own "wholehearted" assistance and the "heartless" betrayal by people whom he used to help and "treat as brothers". With the heart being the symbolic location of the human capacity to love, this contrasts his own notions of sympathy and love with the xenophobic South African attackers' cruelty and inhumanity.

If family relationships are presented in terms of *mutual* support, this narrative (as do many others) establishes that the speaker himself has *fulfilled* the role of a good family member. Now, it is argued, it is time for South Africans to do their part, and the xenophobic violence is perceived as an expression of South African unwillingness and failure to do so. This is often presented as an issue of having destroyed trust that was vested in them by migrants. A Mozambican shop-keeper and displaced migrant, Zacks (No. 54E[79]), says: "I

[78] Interview with Zimbabwean displaced migrant 'Douglas Bungu' (Nr. 588E), conducted on July 3 2008 at the Rand Airport Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.
[79] Interview with Mozambican displaced migrant 'Zacks' (Nr. 54E), conducted on July 3 2008 at the Rand Airport Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.

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trusted plenty of South Africans. I lived with South Africans like they are my brothers. But then, when this thing happened, I lost my trust. I don't know now if I can gain this trust, because of this war. I never can trust them again."

However, it is not only the xenophobic violence that is used to contrast and emphasise the notion of mutual support and related norms of familial reciprocity. Many migrants claim that South Africa owes something to fellow African nations and their members, based on the support many apartheid exiles received from their neighbouring countries during the long years of the liberation struggle. With regard to help lent to South Africa during the apartheid regime, migrants thus evoke a sense of what Levy (2004:180) has described as cosmopolitan memories, which 'rather than presuppose the congruity of nation, territory and polity (…) are based on and contribute to nation-transcending idioms, spanning territorial and linguistic borders' (see also Levy and Sznaider 2006:660). Given that apartheid was ongoing during many migrants and their parents' lifetimes, this reciprocity is not abstract, as in some historical debt, but rendered direct – migrants emphasise that they were quite literally part of it. As Zimbabwean migrant Gladwell (Nr. 40) explains:

> *"In Apartheid […] plenty of South Africans came to Zimbabwe, and Zimbabweans were very friendly to them, it was such a good thing, and also I was living with South Africans, it was such a good thing to live with somebody and to have a relationship with him, to listen to his views to hear what makes him come here in Zimbabwe. It was a very good thing, I still remember it. Because that time Zimbabwe was a very good country, the economy was much better, everything was fine in Zimbabwe, but you see now in Zimbabwe we are meeting problems. So I also come here, it is like that, that is life."*

The narrative establishes three issues central to the reciprocity aspect of the discourse, and through these establishes a 'mirroring' of the past into the present, only that the roles of the two countries are now reversed. The first is that South Africans were received with "friendliness" and interest ("listen to his views to hear what makes him come here in Zimbabwe"). Secondly, he suggests that Zimbabwe was also "a very good country" at this stage, which serves to establish that the situation back then was of a similar nature – someone from a country where conditions were untenable was being allowed to enter into and live in a country that was doing well. The third aspect serves to provide a legitimate conclusion: given that the situation was exactly the same, and the fact that South Africans were treated well in Zimbabwe, South Africa now has a duty to reciprocate – it owes the same 'friendliness' to Zimbabweans. To emphasise this argument, Gladwell not only speaks about Zimbabwe in the abstract, but makes sure to mention that he himself "was living with South Africans", which then allows the reciprocity to be extended to him directly as well: "So I also come here", evoking a somewhat irrefutable logic upon which his claim is based.

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The following narrative by displaced Mozambican migrant Arlindo Mayie (No. 51E[80]) evokes a sense of solidarity that now needs to be reciprocated by South Africa in an even stronger fashion:

> *"Mozambique used to host South Africans [freedom fighters] who were chased away by the Apartheid government. In the 80's, the Apartheid army used to come in search of the freedom fighters, and they would attack everybody including Mozambicans because white soldiers couldn't separate black South Africans who were in exile in Mozambique from local Mozambicans. We never said South Africans should go back to their country because Mozambicans were being killed because of them."*

Again, a notion commonly linked to nationalism – dying for one's country – is de-territorialised. What his text suggests is that, even in the face of the ultimate sacrifice a human being can make for a cause, the solidarity of Mozambicans with South Africans has not failed as Mozambicans literally died for South African(s) during the apartheid struggle. Implicitly, the text puts Mozambicans (and by extension the speaker) on the moral high ground – if dying instead of a South African did not shake Mozambique's commitment to help South Africa, then every argument levelled against foreigners in South Africa is clearly diminished through the comparison, as nobody has to give their lives for them. He continues:

> *"Why are we being chased away from Africa? People choose where they want to stay; I chose to stay in South Africa in the same way that some South Africans choose to stay in Mozambique or America. If you go to Maputo, you will find a lot of South Africans. Nobody is chasing them away!"*

Here, Arlindo adds another level of justification for the notion of reciprocity he established before. He formulates freedom of movement and choice of residence as a universal right, i.e. constructing the issue of migration as an issue of a basic, undeniable freedom, applicable worldwide: "people choose where they want to stay." Also important to note is his use of the term "chasing away" for what happened to South African apartheid fighters, as migrants often use the same term in order to describe what happened to them during the xenophobic violence.[81] Through this, a parallel is drawn between migrants and their treatment by South Africans and the past, where a group (of black South Africans) was also unfairly suppressed, discriminated against and excluded. This is then contrasted with his statement that such things do not happen in Mozambique: in Maputo, "nobody is chasing them away."

[80] Interview with Mozambican displaced migrant 'Arlindo Mayie' (Nr. 51E), conducted on July 30 2008 at the DBSA Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.
[81] See interviews Nr. 15E, 22E, 23E, 8E, 28E, 47E, 49E, 50E, 51E, 54E, 55E, 61E, 64E, 65E, 66E, 70E, 73E, 75E, 78E, 80E, 82E, 83E, 88E, 94E.

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However, it is not only the past that is drawn upon when it comes to the issue of reciprocity. Many migrants emphasise ongoing mutual dependence and thus establish the centrality of a need to realise that all African countries need each other to exist. They also appeal to South African self-interest: "you never know, one of these days, South Africa is seeking help again" (Zimbabwean migrant Achieve, Nr. 5)[82]. Malawian migrant Chisulu (Nr. 51) explains that, while South Africans have the legal "right" to prevent foreign children from going to school or foreigners from working in "their own country", he asserts that "they (South Africans) are not supposed to do that, because, all of us, we are Africans. We are all African; this is the continent of Africa. They don't even know that, all of us, we are the same people." Through this, Chisulu establishes an alternative order built on sameness (i.e. shared Africanness), which is morally superior to the exclusive logic of nationalism. Hlatshwayo Ndebele, (Nr. 61E)[83] a Zimbabwean displaced by the xenophobic violence, says: "I want the perpetrators to be seriously punished because Africa is for all of us. They must be sent to jail." His text establishes a counter-narrative to the language of nationalism (where space is constructed as belonging to an exclusive group of citizens) and thus constitutes one of the strongest and most succinct claims imaginable in this context. The statement "Africa is for all of us" constructs the continent as an inherently and rightfully collective African space, collective asset and collective opportunity. Those who fail to accept this, he asserts, must be "seriously punished".

5.3 A Divine Order of Cosmopolitan Nature

> *There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male or female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus (*Galatians 3:28).

The ever-rapid spread of Pentecostalism in Africa (and the continuously growing number of Pentecostal/charismatic churches in its cities) is a particularly prominent example of ways in which Africans formulate their identity and belonging in de-territorialised ways beyond ethnicity and the nation (see Meyer 2004:466, Larbi 2002, Hunt 2002:187). Most of the migrants interviewed in the street trader sample were members of such Pentecostal churches, which sprang up in numerous forms all over the African continent during the 1970s and 1980s (see Hunt 2002:187, Larbi 2002). The rhetoric of these Pentecostal churches can be described as cosmopolitan and egalitarian, aiming to transcend the boundaries of race, nation or ethnicity (Hunt 2002:187, Meyer 2004:461). Being internationally oriented - and often funded – the churches are part of a global network and 'deploy notions of identity and belonging that deliberately reach beyond Africa' (Meyer

[82] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Achieve' (Nr. 5), informal trader, conducted on December 1 2007 in Rosebank, Johannnesburg.
[83] Interview with Zimbabwean displaced migrant 'Hlatswayo Ndebele' (Nr. 61E), conducted on July 1 2008 at the DBSA Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.

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2004:453, Middendorp 2002), offering a 'formulation of alternative imaginations of community' (Meyer 2004:466) opposed to national or autochthon conceptualisations of belonging.

The majority of street traders interviewed consider themselves *practising* Christians, with many of them attending a church service at least once a week. Many of the migrants' narratives contain expressions of how important their faith is in guiding and protecting them during times of hardship and struggle. The NACP data from inner-city residents confirms the vital role religion plays for migrants in Johannesburg: almost half (49.6 per cent) of all survey respondents claimed that they support a religious institution in Johannesburg in financial or other material form. This stands out in particular when compared to respondents' support for any other social or political organisation, which is consistently below eight per cent (see also Jinnah and Holaday 2009).

Migrants stressed three elements that are central to their Christian faith: firstly, the inherently boundary-crossing nature of Christianity; secondly, the commitment and ability to co-exist peacefully with everyone around them, based on a Christian ethic of love; and, thirdly, the 'goodness' of all of those committed to their Christian religion regardless of their ethnicity, race or nationality. Zimbabwean migrant 'Bonapart' (Nr. 29[84]), for example, explains:

> *"If I am taking from what Jesus is teaching, the greatest thing, the greatest law according to Jesus is love. So, love has got no boundaries, I think, it can go through boundaries, anyone can go to church, anyone can help anyone, that is what I believe […] with Christianity in my life, I can break through any traditional barriers, ethnic barriers, I can get through those."*

This text establishes a contrast structure between notions of separateness ("boundaries", "barriers") between people and notions of connectedness due to the power of Christian faith ("love", "break through" "help"). The speaker emphasises the all-inclusiveness and non-territorial nature of his claims through the use of extreme case formulations: "anyone can help anyone" and love can cross "any" boundary, including "ethnic" or "traditional" boundaries. The centrality of "love" to the Christian ethic is emphasised through the use of a superlative, twice repeated, when labelling "love" "the greatest thing, the greatest law according to Jesus".

Many migrants also claim that their Christianity fulfils the function of a *home* anywhere in the world, as Tanzanian migrant Baba (Nr. 75) explains:

[84] Interview with Zimbabewean migrant 'Bonapart' (Nr. 29), conducted on February 2 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.

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> *"the advantage to me is being a Christian. It makes people united somehow. For example in my church, when I am in South Africa and go to the church I find there is no difference. I have a lot of friends there, my colleagues are there, I just feel at home, because I don't feel the difference. I can mix with them, we can discuss a lot, and I feel that I am at home. I don't feel so lonely. I am not so much isolated, because of Christianity, because of my faith. My church is everywhere all over the world, anywhere you go you find it."*

The speaker establishes a contrasting structure between notions of connectedness and inclusion ("feeling united", being "at home", "not feeling the difference", a place where there are "friends", of being able to "mix" and "discuss" with others) and notions of division and exclusion ("lonely", "difference", "isolated"). Being Christian is portrayed as an "advantage" – as something that puts oneself into a favourable, even comfortable position. In this case, the speaker constructs his own membership in a global Christian community as the source of his flexibility and cosmopolitan being-at-ease in unfamiliar spaces. In fact, he de-territorialises and pluralises a crucial notion usually conceived of as fixed in place and singular: "feel [*ing*] at home" – he can have this feeling "anywhere". In a variant of this, Kenyan migrant Eva (Nr. 59) explains that while she is not born in South Africa "it is also my country from God. Because *everywhere* is the country of God." The use of the term "my country", a notion usually associated with national belonging, is here de-territorialised, based on the unboundedness of religion and 'omnipresence' of God, in the same way as it was done with the notion of 'home' in the previous narrative of Tanzanian migrant Baba.

As one of the central features of their faith, migrants cite that their religion teaches them to live in peace and harmony with everyone around them, including non-Christians, regardless of cultural or other differences. Their own ability to 'love' the Other grounded in their Christian values is frequently juxtaposed with South African absence of belief in God and thus failure to co-exist peacefully with Non-South Africans. With regard to such ways of acting and behaviour, Lilly, a Zimbabwean migrant (Nr. 92E)[85] displaced by the xenophobic violence, explains:

> *"We are all human beings, no matter we come from Zimbabwe or no matter you come from whichever country. They should treat us like they treat whoever from their culture (…) Maybe they don't go to church. If somebody doesn't go to church, he cannot feel sympathy for somebody. Because in church, they teach us good things. How to live with others."*

The claim that Lilly makes here is very strong, rendering the embracing of Christianity as a precondition for being able to "feel sympathy for somebody". The choice of words is crucial here – sympathy describes 'feelings of pity and sorrow for someone else's misfortune' as well as 'understanding between people'. In this narrative, Christianity is

[85] Interview with Zimbabwean displaced migrant 'Lilly' (Nr. 92E), conducted on July 5 2008 at the Rand Airport Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.

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presented as the key, even the *only* key, to awareness of the shared humanity that binds South Africans and foreigners together. The narrative also makes a moral judgement in its association of the ability to co-exist with Others peacefully ("how to live with others") with being a 'good thing' – and, by implication, casts the speaker, a committed Christian, in a morally superior light.

On the basis of their reference to these principles of peaceful co-existence and non-discrimination as being of *divine* and not human origin, migrants are also able to establish the Christian cosmopolitan order as morally superior to any man-made identities or laws. Zimbabwean migrant Wilbert (Nr. 23)[86] says:

> *"I am a black guy and you are a white lady. But in reality God created a man and a woman, he never said this is black, this is white, but we are only human beings […] that thing with fighting is all over the world, it is there. But as I said before, you pray to God. If you don't know God, just like you and me, if I don't know God that is the cradle of everything, I will say 'No, I can't talk to you, you are a white lady'. But God tells me every human being you have to talk to."*

Evoking a contrast between those "who know God", i.e. those who believe, and those who do not, faith is associated with a realisation of the truth that "in reality, God created a man and a woman", regardless of race. Disbelief, on the other hand, is linked to ignorance of that truth - and thus racism. Note the way the speaker speaks about the origin of this knowledge: "God tells me...". Through this, he presents himself as enlightened (in the sense of having superior knowledge) as his insight into the equality of all human beings comes *directly* from God, without being mediated by any other messenger. This works similarly in the following text by Nigerian migrant Jeremiah (Nr. 63) in the context of inter-ethnic or inter-national relationships and marriages:

> *"God started telling me the truth. So now I started knowing the truth that I can marry anywhere. Jesus said 'Who is my mother my brother, my sister?' It is where the love is. Is it not because of where I came from."*

In this text, Jeremiah not only de-essentialises and de-territorialises the notion of *family* through saying that your "brother", "sister", "mother" are not where you "came from", but "where the love is", he also, just as in Wilbert's text above, evokes this binary of truth/knowledge and ignorance. As seen in both quotes by Wilbert and Jeremiah, being the recipients of a direct message from God is probably one the strongest arguments of the cosmopolitan discourse in relation to Christianity. This is because it draws its legitimacy directly from the highest authority possible: If Jesus, or God, does not discriminate against people of a certain ethnicity or race, how can humans do so? Through these claims, the

[86] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Wilbert' (Nr. 23), conducted on February 21 2008 at an informal market in Bryanston.

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Christian ethic of love and non-discrimination is transferred to a level beyond human judgement or influence and religion is used as the source of a claim to moral superiority. In the following narrative by a Congolese migrant Gloria (Nr. 66), the speaker even likens herself to Jesus: "I like everyone. Everybody. Like Jesus likes everybody," again drawing on this ultimate authority to explain and justify her own actions. If Jesus likes everybody, any kind of earthly, man-made divisive and exclusive identity can only be inferior and illegitimate. This becomes even more obvious in the following narrative by Malawian migrant Richard (Nr. 77)[87], who recalls an incident of being stopped by a policeman and addressed as 'makwerekwere':

> *"I am in Africa how can you tell me I am a foreigner in Africa? And I was asking who brought that law? And for what reason, and for whose benefit? Because I don't seem to have any benefit from this kind of law. It is against me. According to my God, I have no sin. To you I have done a crime, but to my God it is not a sin, it is nothing. So it is your guy's law. Sometimes you have to bring yourself before God also and try to confer who you are, and what is happening really. What would he say?"*

What is fascinating in the above text is the complete renouncement of the power of the earthly law restricting the movement of people on the basis that only God has moral authority. Richard contrasts the notions of "crime" with "sin". A crime is an offence committed against someone or against a state, which is punished by a man-made law. A sin, on the other hand, is an action that constitutes a violation of a divine principle, presented as morally superior to man-made laws. Through his assertion that "according to my God I have no sin," Richard renounces the authority of South African immigration law. In this sense, he appeals to the South African policeman to also "bring yourself before God…what would he say?", suggesting that once they too have realised the truth they will also understand the truth of the divine message, understand "what is happening really" as the whole notion of foreignness collapses.

Migrants' discourse constructs all those who worship God as a heterogeneous, cosmopolitan community of decent, good people who are seeking the truth and committed to the principles of the Bible. Migrants' narratives of how they became Christians are usually centred on being 'saved' from bad and destructive ways of life such as drinking or the consumption of drugs. Attending sermons and learning about "God's message" regularly, many migrants emphasised how the church serves as a constant reminder of the "right path". Zimbabwean migrant Matthew (Nr. 54) explains: "I used to do bad things, but now when I go to church, they control you every day, if you don't go to church for two weeks you forget about the rules and regulations, but if you go to church they remind you."

[87] Interview with Malawian migrant 'Richard' (Nr. 77), conducted on October 10 2008 at a formal curio market in Bruma Lake.

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Hence, if in all other social contexts of Johannesburg individual identity is usually emphasised when it comes to the issue of trust, a Christian identity is portrayed as a good indicator of someone's intentions. Zimbabwean migrant Bonapart (Nr. 29) contrasts the safe space of the church – frequented only by those with decent behaviour and good intentions - with the danger and ambiguity of the city surrounding it:

> *"If I meet a new person, it depends on the area. Say, if I meet a new person in the middle of Johannesburg, I won't trust him for the first time because there is a lot of crime there. But if I meet a new person maybe in a church, I can trust."*

Even when relationships and interactions with the local population are often described as tense or difficult, this 'inherent goodness' of Christian identity is extended to South Africans who attend the church. Again, notions of connectedness ("cooperative", "friends", "speak and talk to them") rather than those of separateness are evoked, as Zimbabwean migrant Kudakwashe (Nr. 39) explains: "You know, those South Africans that come to my church are cooperative people, if you have got a problem we speak to them and talk. We are friends."

Migrants base their own actions on the "law of God" as the superior authority, delegitimising the racism and other forms of exclusion on the basis of ethnicity or nationality as the attitude of those who do not know the 'truth' yet (as they claim to do, because of their faith). South Africans are frequently constructed as irreligious (see Landau 2009:207) and thus non-compliant with such Christian values of love for the Other. Emphasising that those who go to church are "good people", migrants also stress their own identity as that of "good people" owing to their commitment to their faith. The emphasis on the peaceful, tolerant, communicative dimensions of Christian identity and the divine authority of a Christian, cosmopolitan ethic of non-discrimination thus serves as another argument that migrants draw upon in order to claim their right to mobility and residence in South Africa and other foreign countries.

Interestingly, even some of those South Africans who generally tended towards local or even xenophobic sentiment displayed more cosmopolitan orientations when it came to fellow Christians. Exemplifying the 'inconsistencies' of empirical cosmopolitanism, the following two examples of South African accounts recorded here are particularly ambiguous. One the one hand, Patrick, a South African trader (Nr. 65), constructs the co-existence within a delimited space of people of different origins as somewhat 'unnatural', and as such as there being an essentialised difference between South Africans and foreigners:

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> *"South Africans and foreigners, it is like cows, buffalos, rhinos, tigers and lions and put them into one place, do you think there will be peace there? So! That is what I am trying to say. There will be no peace there."*

He likens South Africans and foreigners within the country as somewhat incompatible, as essentially different and natural enemies that have to be kept apart from each other in order to ensure "peace". However, he makes an 'exception' from this essentialising discourse when it came to migrants who are practising Christians: "People who consult the church are normal, people that use to go to the church, they behave good. They don't come with funny things." His use of the word "normal" to describe the behaviour of Christians of all origins is striking as it indicates that the shared faith is able to serve as a universally agreed upon, de-territorialised order or standard of behaviour accessible to *everyone.* In this sense, even while many of the South Africans interviewed tended to be more or less xenophobic, they also do not completely support essentialised views of identity. Instead, they acknowledge that there are indeed foreigners who are good people, owing to their Christian faith through which South Africans feel able to relate and establish commonalities with them as people who are "normal", i.e. people who act and think just *like them*selves. Another South African, Nosiphiwe (Nr. 18), also generally talked about foreigners along the lines of xenophobic rhetoric, constructing foreigners as causing misery for South Africans ("making us suffer here"):

> *"Crime is 95 per cent from foreigners, and five per cent from South Africans here (…) most of them they create problems because they make crime. Most of them they are here for crime. The foreigners. The government should take them home because they are making us suffer here. Better they go to Zimbabwe, or Nigeria, where they come from. They must leave and leave the place for South Africans. The government must send them all home."*

Drawing on xenophobic discourses of threat emanating from, and an essential criminal nature of, the foreigner, she demarcates the boundaries of community along territorial lines. For her, people have a place they need to be and stay in, and trespassing on the territory of others is something that needs to be addressed: "better they go to Zimbabwe, or Nigeria, where they come from. They must leave and leave the place for South Africans. The government must send them all home." South Africans are constructed as a largely non-criminal community which is threatened by extremely criminal outsiders: "Crime is 95 per cent from foreigners and five per cent from South Africans", thus implicitly assigning criminality as an inherent and essential characteristic of foreignness. Yet, after we talked about how the people that attend her church come from all over Africa, she says:

> *"The ones who come into my church they don't make crime, they just want peace. That is the thing. If everyone would be like that there would be no problem (…) they come they want to be alive like me, most of them they come to the church because they need help like me. I am going to tell you from myself, if I am ill, ne, I go to the church and they help me, and I am*

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going to survive. They pray for me, they just let it be right (…) if they would close the borders, for the people in my church, I am going to feel pain for them."

While Nosiphiwe constructs all other foreigners as criminals, as people who are destructive to her own and South Africa's wellbeing (to "us"), she establishes commonalities between her and churchgoing foreigners on the basis of shared values ("they just want peace") and the joint condition of needing "help" and wanting "to be alive like me". Thus, when it comes to Christian, churchgoing migrants she selectively discards these notions. A Christian identity cutting across borders and nationalities is rendered superior to an essentialised Otherness, establishing a de-territorialised conception of community and identity.

These two narratives from Nosiphiwe and Patrick show how even entrenched discourses aimed at establishing an essential difference between South Africans and migrants and through this the denying of access to the country are suspended once certain conditions are met. Here, this condition is of being Christian. As we see in the next section, the South African data also provided insight into other instances and ways in which which otherwise rather xenophobic South Africans shift towards a more cosmopolitan approach to identity and belonging and actually *de*-construct rather than promote a sense of essential difference.

5.4 Emphasising Individual Identity and Human Goodness

The rates of violent crime, including murder, rape and armed robbery, in South Africa are amongst the highest in the world (see Gastrow and Shaw 2001:235,245), and Johannesburg, as the country's economic hub, epitomises these social ills. It is a place driven by fierce competition and self-interest, a place 'where the jarring mismatch between extreme wealth and abject poverty has contributed to an enduring sense of unease and discomfort' (Murray 2008:XI). Looking at migrants' perceptions of danger in Johannesburg, the NACP data reveals that more than half of all foreign nationals (55.3 per cent) believe that crime has increased in the last 10 years in Johannesburg, and 66.1 per cent of non-nationals (or the people they live with) have been victims of crime. In this context of Johannesburg – a place that former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill quite unnervingly described as 'Monte Carlo on top of Sodom and Gomorrah'[88] - migrants establish commonalities between all human beings owing to the general malleability of human identity and the capacity of each human to be good or evil, that essentially each person can be or become 'anyone' and 'anything'. Johannesburg is perceived as a place where everyone can, for better or worse, change. While in this climate of general distrust and anxiety a certain closure towards the outside world becomes necessary to survive

[88] Attributed to Winston Churchill (quoted in Kruger 2001:223).

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without harm; a particular form of opening of cosmopolitan nature is brought to the fore by migrants: a focus on individual, rather than on collective, essentialised identity. Crime is presented as the result of individual character and not as inherent to particular ethnic or national groups, and sometimes the very notion of Otherness (i.e. essential difference) is collapsed, de-constructed and dismissed as an explanatory framework for conflict between people.

I suggest that the way the discourse constructs the distinction between good and bad people, rather than between people of different nationalities, serves its argument for inclusion in the following way: it imposes only one criterion on the right to reside in a foreign country, which is being a 'good' person, and delegitimises any boundaries imposed for particular groups of people, such as on the basis of nationality or ethnicity. In this sense, migrants provide a direct counter-argument to a claim that is omnipresent in public discourse on migration in South Africa: that acting in ways that are detrimental to the security and prosperity of South African citizens is something essential and inherent to being a foreigner. Where the foreigner is in many ways the antagonist or enemy figure of the nation-state, the enemy here becomes the person who is harmful to all human beings. Through their general construction of themselves as tolerant, open-minded and unproblematic cosmopolitan agents (see Chapter 4) and, of course, 'good Christians' (discussed above), the migrants who produce this discourse match the criterion of the good person who is allowed to come 'in'. Thus, the basis of exclusion has been shifted from ethnic, religious, racial or national Others towards those who pose a threat or harm to humanity – here represented by a heterogeneous community of citizens and migrants within South Africa - *as a whole*.

A frequent response to questions about the qualities or characteristics of other foreign nationals present in South Africa was that "some are good, some are bad" (Zimbabwean migrant Wonderful, Nr. 6). However, even among those respondents who recount certain stereotypes about other nationalities (most prominently, Nigerians were associated with the trafficking of drugs and a certain 'rudeness'; Mozambicans with expertise in weapons, cruelty and 'numbness' towards killing owing to their prolonged exposure to civil war; and Zimbabweans with thievery), most of these statements were immediately qualified similarly as is done in Zimbabwean migrant Edgar's narrative (Nr. 47) [89]:

> *"There are those who are here to support their families, and those who are here to spoil the country. Like all over the world, not all of them they are bad. Those who are good are those who know what they want in South Africa, but those who are here to kill and destroy, they are bad."*

[89] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Edgar' (Nr. 47), informal trader, conducted on March 9 2008 in Yeoville.

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As opposed to creating a binary opposition between people from different countries, this text contrasts "good" and "bad" people and distinguishes between those "who know what they want" (understood as those who only come to make a living in a hardworking, decent way) and those who are "bad", those who are "here to kill and destroy". His reference to the global ("like all over the world") constructs this distinction between good and bad people as a universal and general condition. Even where stereotypes of particular nationalities exist, most migrants explain that, triggered by the high level of insecurity experienced in urban Johannesburg - a place where essentially everyone fights for him or herself to make ends meet - there is not much point in judging a person's character on the basis of her or his nationality, race or ethnicity. They base this on the belief that, in principle, every human being has the capacity to be both good and evil: anyone can be a potential criminal or a future friend regardless of where he or she comes from. Zimbabwean migrant Clinton (Nr. 7)[90] explains:

> *"If you judge somebody, don't judge on where he comes from, and if he didn't do bad to you, don't hate him. Because you hear that Zimbabweans are no good, Congolese are no good, but you must treat that person as a man not as a foreigner."*

This narrative formulates the principle of non-discrimination not from a personal position, but rather as a norm, indicated by the use of the imperative and tone of instruction: "Don't judge where he comes from", "Don't hate him", "You *must* treat that person as a man not as a foreigner." The last sentence is particularly powerful as Clinton contrasts a relationship that is based on inequality or difference (foreigner vs citizen, or different nationalities) with a relationship characterised by an inherently accepted equality of shared humanity. He claims that what is important about a person is his essential humanity (being a "man") and not any ascribed identity or difference ("foreigner"). His text establishes that the only reason for "hating" someone is if they do something "bad" to you, and renders all other motivations of excluding someone or being prejudiced against someone *illegitimate*. Similarly, Malawian migrant Miles (Nr. 34) explains that:

> *"Maybe you can have a friend, a good friend of yours, from Malawi, and you don't know what he was doing there in Malawi. And you might be starting to follow his attitude. And you end up being a thief; you end up being a drug dealer. And you end up being whatever. All those things. And maybe sometimes you end up being a churchgoer. So it can be both."*

In this text the argument for human goodness does not only gain weight and legitimacy through reference to the global, but also increases its coherence through using the example of one's own national group or even family. This creates a detachment, a critical stance towards one's 'own' people, which is an important feature of cosmopolitanism (see Turner

[90] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Clinton' (Nr. 7), informal trader, conducted on December 7 2008 in Rosebank, Johannesburg.

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2002:57). Similarly, Congolese migrant Epaulette (Nr. 35) said, "even in a family of five brothers, there can be one that is a liar", or as Malawian migrant William (Nr. 22) says, "even back at home you get disappointed by friends." Both Epaulette and William's statements de-construct and challenge the 'givenness' of a 'natural' bond of trust between people of the same nationality or even family. Zimbabwean migrant Christopher, a Shona[91], (Nr. 43)[92] says: "I can't trust because he is Shona, because I don't know what he can think in his mind, because if I am a Shona, and that guy is a Shona, that is nothing, but honest[y] is what is important in life. It is easier to trust each other because of communication." What is striking in Christopher's narrative is the complete renunciation of the meaning of ethnicity for trust: "If I am a Shona, and that guy is a Shona, that is *nothing*." It rejects any sense of an inherent, shared value system or an inherent superiority of one's own ethnic group. Along the same lines, Zimbabwean migrant Julius (Nr. 26) explains: "To be honest, I trust nobody. People's hearts are so corrupt. And nowadays people are only thinking evil; they are only doing evil things […] Even a Shona, can also be a dangerous person to me, because if he knows that I have 20 000 Rand and he only has 1 Rand he will be thinking about taking that from me." What this text does is to construct the capacity to be and think "evil", to be "dangerous", to have one's heart - a metaphor for the core of a person, and symbolically the location of kindness and love – corrupted as an utterly human capacity.

While a smaller group of migrants responded that they do in fact trust their co-ethnics or co-nationals more, a common cultural background or inherent, distinctive values were rarely referred to as a 'source' of this trust. When probing the reasons for this increased trust towards their compatriots, Zimbabweans in particular often argued that the reason that they trusted their fellow nationals more was their shared experience of the punitive power of their own state, as for example Zimbabwean migrant Belinda (Nr. 55)[93] claims: "people in Zimbabwe, they fear, people in South Africa don't fear. In our culture, it is difficult to rob someone, so I trust them." However, this was often relativised by saying that many Zimbabweans 'change' as soon as they evade the grip of the Mugabe regime and enter what is perceived as a much more laxly governed and controlled country in terms of crime, South Africa. In this sense, not being criminal is not portrayed as something inherent to Zimbabweans, but as something that emerges or is suppressed under different types of government. Again, the discourse essentially runs along the same argument, i.e. that essentially everyone can be everything, depending on the circumstances.

[91] The Shona are the largest ethnic group in Zimbabwe.
[92] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Christopher' (Nr. 43), informal trader, conducted on March 9 2008 in Yeovillle.
[93] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Belinda' (Nr. 55), conducted on March 1 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.

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The NACP data reflects these non-essential attitudes towards identity and trust as well. The notion that any group of people can be 'generally' trusted is not supported by almost half of all migrants in the survey, who feel that they can neither generally trust people of their own ethnic group (44.7 per cent) nor their fellow citizens (47 per cent). In comparison, the number of South Africans who claimed that they can trust their fellow ethnics as well as compatriots is much higher at about 80 per cent. Just over 20 per cent of all migrants claim that they generally trust South Africans. Migrant and South African opinions are the closest when it comes to generally trusting other foreigners in South Africa: only a little less than one-third of migrants and a little more than one-third of all South Africans feel that they can generally trust foreigners living in South Africa. Strikingly, Mozambicans appear to be the most 'suspicious' migrant group. The number of Mozambicans that claimed they trusted their compatriots is only about one-tenth; the number trusting their South African hosts is a mere four per cent; and only 2.3 per cent generally trust other foreigners.

Whereas a few migrant traders believed that foreigners are more prone to crime owing to their elusive, 'uncaptured' or economically marginal status and ability to "easily run back to their countries after they committed the crime", as Zimbabwean migrant Fortune (Nr. 25)[94] explains, the vast majority of migrants argued that it is both foreigners and South Africans committing crime, again emphasising individual character, and not the belonging to a particular national or ethnic group. Many describe crime as a phenomenon naturally occurring "everywhere in the world where there is a rich, developed country" (Malawian migrant William, Nr. 22), and, through making this global reference, further emphasise the universal character of *being criminal* amongst all kinds of nationalities. Instead of blaming a particular group of people, most migrants attributed the high rate of crime in Johannesburg to poverty, unemployment and the large gap between the rich and the poor. As Zimbabwean migrant Christopher (Nr. 43) claims, "if you suffer for a long time you do things that are wrong. *Everyone* is doing crime, *everyone*." This is echoed in the NACP data: almost 60 per cent of migrants believed that economic conditions cause crime, whereas only 15.6 per cent believed it is because of immigrants and 13.5 per cent attributed it to a general population increase.

Individual identity is not only referred to when it comes to the issue of trust, but also when it comes to explaining conflict. The role of diversity in creating conflict is largely dismissed by migrants' discourse. Rather than attributing conflict or friction to cultural differences, the discourse associates it with characteristics of individuals, providing us with another instance where one of the key features of cosmopolitanism, an emphasis on

[94] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Fortune' (Nr. 25), conducted on February 21 2008 at an informal curio market in Bryanston.

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individual identity, can be observed. The tendency to "get into trouble" is characterised as something that can be found across all groups, and is instead frequently associated with the general effects of dense proximity in the places where they stay and to the 'funny' or 'dirty' things' that happen in big cities, including the consumption of alcohol. In general, the opinion of Zimbabwean-Mozambican migrant Marvellous (Nr. 33) was shared by the majority of migrants: "*everywhere, anywhere*, even in Zimbabwe, people fight, people argue. But if you are not involved in it you can just live your life the way you like it." Once again, Marvellous emphasises his argument and maximises the territorial reach and applicability of his claim with another inclusive extreme case formulation: "*everywhere, anywhere*".

While most migrants stated that they are aware that relations with the host population are often tense and difficult, they nonetheless emphasised their own ability to manage these encounters – again based on their own individual qualities. For many, whether one experiences problems with South Africans or not is due in large part to personal behaviour, attitude and choice. Zimbabwean migrant Achieve (Nr. 5) explains that "it all depends on how you come across." Malawian migrant William (Nr. 22) states that "anywhere in the world there is a friend, you meet a friend everywhere and if you humble yourself you are going to stay comfortable." Zimbabwean migrant Honest (Nr. 28), who stays in an informal settlement at the outskirts of Johannesburg, explains:

> *"The other people that live there, they are locals. And we are socialising very well. If you don't give a problem then you don't have a problem. Once you make a problem, you also get a problem. You see, some other people drink, they don't behave themselves, end up causing a quarrel, so they can't stay with you like that. So myself, I don't drink and I don't get into trouble"*

In this text, as in many other narratives, getting into trouble or a "quarrel" is linked to the consumption of alcohol, which is presented as a way of losing control over your own behaviour: "they don't behave themselves." Conflict is thus presented as a matter of your own behaviour and the effect your behaviour has on others. The text emphasises the notion of individual agency and choice. This point is particularly stressed through the repetition of the same content in slightly different form: "If you don't give a problem then you don't have a problem. Once you make a problem, you also get a problem." What is important is that conflict is not presented in terms of "local" versus migrants, but as something that can happen amongst all kinds of people (in his case, when they drink alcohol). In fact, the speaker himself claims that he is "socialising very well" because he doesn't drink and thus

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can't get "into trouble" with the South Africans in his informal settlement. Similarly, Zimbabwean migrant Bomani (Nr. 74)[95] explains:

> *"It depends on your social life. If your social life is being in quiet places, than your life becomes like that. But if you are out in the pub, and in the clubs, and you are raving and pumping and drinking every day, that is the kind of life that you are. Even as a citizen, and then your blood always runs […] But me, actually, I went to Alexandra, just before the xenophobic attacks. Even now I go to Alexandra, I can stay there until 2 o' clock in the night, I can drive alone in my car, there in Alexandra. I don't feel foreign at all. Me, I can go anywhere. I have ventured into Soweto. I have ventured into many places as a Zimbabwean guy. I have ventured into Khayelitsha. That notorious place there. I was staying there, and I was staying there peacefully"*

Bomani's narrative establishes a similar contrast structure as in the previous quote, making conflict contingent on one's own agency and control. His statement "I have ventured into many places as a Zimbabwean guy" is particularly interesting. Despite being "a Zimbabwean guy" he can "go anywhere", rendering his nationality irrelevant. His use of an extreme case formulation, "anywhere", again maximises the geographical and social reach of his claim: he can go to *any* place and stay amongst *any* kind of people. The notion of 'to venture' somewhere means 'to dare to do something dangerous or risky'[96], which is further illustrated with choosing three places commonly known in South Africa for being unsafe and dangerous: Alexandra, a township in Johannesburg; Soweto, a conglomerate of about 30 townships close to Johannesburg; and Khayelitsha, a township on the outskirts of Cape Town in the infamous and crime-ridden Cape Flats area. With Alexandra having been the place where the xenophobic violence erupted first in May 2008, Bomani claims that he not only went there just before the attacks, but in fact still goes there. He even claims that he drives there, at night, "alone in his car" – a kind of behaviour which, in a country as crime-ridden as South Africa, is known to be basically asking for trouble. He also juxtaposes the "notorious" Kayelitsha with his own living there "peacefully", and produces a stark contrast that prioritises personal agency over any kind of (social) environment when it comes to explaining trouble or conflict.

A particularly compelling account that is particularly effective at quite literally 'de-constructing' and dismantling the notion of difference according to *nationality* is given by Zimbabwean migrant Godfrey (Nr. 72):

> *"I am sick of the people saying foreigner, foreigner, foreigner. It doesn't work. And there is no such thing as a foreigner in Africa. If you go to Europe, if you go to India, or China, it is a little easier. But even you* [referring to the researcher], *are you a foreigner? You don't look foreigner, you don't act foreigner. You can be anyone from anywhere, you can be born in*

[95] Interview with Zimbabwean migrant 'Bomani' (Nr. 74), conducted on September 26 2008 at an informal market in Bryanston.
[96] Oxford Dictionary, retrieved [02.01.2010] from www.askoxford.com/concise_oed/venture?view=uk

> *Pretoria. You can be born in that house* [points to a house close by]. *So where is the foreigner thing coming from? It is a way of dividing people I'd say. Because if I look at you as a white girl, then already I have built up something. But if I look at you as Iriann, this woman that we have met, or this girl that we have met, who is our friend. I don't think there will be anything. But if I look at that guy as a Xhosa, not as that guy as a man, already I have created a boundary. So it all becomes from the way you judge other people that you become a foreigner or that you see someone as a foreigner."*

In the above account, the constructedness of the category of the "foreigner" is directly addressed. The speaker expresses his frustration with being labelled a "foreigner", saying that it makes him "sick", thus likening it to a disease, or, in more abstract terms, to a kind of mental pathology. His triple repetition of the term 'foreigner' is used to indicate that he hears this term all the time around him, and applied to him. He says that "there is no such thing as a foreigner in Africa", a statement that, while a little less radical, sounds similar to the famous slogan used by migrants in Europe that "no one is illegal." To say that there is no such thing as a foreigner challenges the whole architecture of the nation-state, where the distinction between who is in and who is out, who is a citizen and who is a foreigner, is so very crucial to its ontology. While Godfrey concedes that "if you go to Europe, if you go to India or China, it is a little easier" to speak of "foreigners", he qualifies this statement immediately through a reference to the researcher herself: "You can be anyone from anywhere."

Through his statement "You don't look foreigner, you don't act foreigner", Godfrey constructs difference and foreignness as something that is *artificial*, something that is "built up" and "created". He juxtaposes two ways of possibilities in which he could define the researcher. Firstly, as "a white girl" - through this, the researcher would, as a person, be *defined* primarily by her (physical) difference to him. Secondly, he suggests that he could simply perceive of her in a way that does not emphasise difference, but connectedness and sameness. In this version, he would be judging her by her relationship to him as a "friend", a far more neutral and inclusive notion. In classical cosmopolitan fashion of prioritising individual and human identity over any kind of ascribed collective identity, Godfrey claims "if I look at that guy as a Xhosa[97], not as that guy as a man, already I have created a boundary." What is important is that he does not refer to boundaries as something that actually exist and that one chooses to adhere to or not, but as something that is inherently artificial and "created". He completely deconstructs the notion of foreignness – both "becoming" or being a foreigner and seeing someone as a foreigner - as a matter of definition and "a way of dividing people", and *not* a natural, given fact.

[97] The Xhosa are one of the major ethnic groups in South Africa.

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Crucially, migrants' emphasis on the individual delegitimises the imposition of any restrictions on movement or residence in South Africa for particular *groups* of people. If the only indicator of trustworthiness and 'goodness' is an individual's behaviour rather than his or her membership in an ethnic or national collective, this logically imposes only *one* criterion on the right to stay in a foreign country: being a 'good' or 'valuable' person, regardless of one's place of origin.

On the basis of this claim, and their constructions of themselves as 'good' people, many migrants call for a reform of visa regulations and better management of migration in South Africa. However, none of the migrants interviewed argued for a complete opening of borders, but rather emphasised the importance of a 'selection' of migrants, based on the premise that they would not "hurt" or "provoke" the country. To "hurt the country" was used as a metaphor for anything criminal. Their discourse clearly distanced itself from endorsing undocumented immigration, arguing that unchecked mobility leads to crime that is unable to be "trace[d]" owing to the elusiveness of the undocumented migrant. Thus, they endorse the state's right to control access to its territory, however not on the basis of nationality. Instead, migrants claim, there should be unrestricted access to, and freedom of movement within, South Africa for those who do conform to the image of the beneficial, law-abiding 'good' migrant (including, of course, themselves). The "people come here without any papers, and without anything to do here" (Kenyan migrant Michael Nr. 69), on the other hand, so the narrative goes, should be prevented from entering South Africa, as they would be likely to commit crime. Zimbabwean migrant Christopher (Nr. 43) argues that

> *"I think they don't want people to come because sometimes when you leave your country and go to another country, and I don't have any papers and I make crime here, how are they finding me? But if I have my passport here then there is no problem […] Those who are coming here must come here with good plan, with papers, with passport, then there is no problem. But if you come illegal, they are thinking "Why are you here, [do] you like to make crime in South Africa?" So if you come with the law there is no problem […], if you would like to open a business they want to see your papers. That is fine, no problem."*

Moses Jafta, (Nr. 67E)[98], a Zimbabwean migrant displaced by the xenophobic violence, says that he is "encouraging the South Africa's government to register all those who are living here so that if I commit a crime they can easily catch me." Through this, Moses makes those who don't follow the official process of documentation the only group of foreigners who should be excluded. These attitudes echo those reported in McDonald (2000:8), who found that African migrants 'do not expect South Africa to throw open its doors to whoever wants to enter, but they do want to see a just and transparent immigration

[98] Interview with Zimbabwean displaced migrant 'Moses Jafta' (Nr. 67E), conducted on July 5 2008 at the Rand Airport Shelter, Johannesburg, South Africa.

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policy that facilitates, rather than obstructs, short-term, purpose-orientated migration activities.' Through this, the discourse deals with and seeks to dispel fears of the elusive, untraceable, uncaptured cosmopolitan that might not work in favour of migrants' claim for the right to mobility and residence in South Africa. To sustain the viability of that claim, they often make reference to their own places of origin where, according to them, such a policy is already implemented:

> *"They are welcome, they are people. They have cells, they all have brains. We are all human creatures. They can come. Malawian police they are friendly, they are nice, they don't have time to do that, because all of us are humans, all of us are people. We are all black, we are all African, we can go anywhere. Now, those are the policies of the Malawian police. Unless you are provoking the country, if you are just visiting you are free, as long as you don't bring the bad manners. But if you come there good minded, you are welcome. As long as you are not stealing, or maybe teaching other people how to rob, or how to steal, that is provoking the country, because you are the one who makes other people to this."* (Malawian migrant Chisulu, Nr. 51)

Chisulu's narrative was the answer to the question regarding how foreigners are treated in his home country. He refers to irrefutable biological, tangible facts in order to emphasise and prioritise the sameness, rather than difference, between human beings: non-Malawians also "have cells, they all have brains." Then, he constructs him and non-Malawians as an inclusive group: "*we* are all human creatures" and "*all of us* are humans, *all of us* are people." Again, Africa as a whole is constructed as a space belonging to all Africans: "we are all black, we are all African, we can go anywhere." He uses the terms "welcome", "friendly" and "nice" to describe how migrants are received and treated by the Malawian police, which is an implicit yet obvious contrast to the way migrants feel they are treated by the South African police. The only restriction imposed on access to Malawi - and by implication on how it should be in South Africa as well - is if "you are provoking the country", or if you "steal" or "rob".

Interestingly, although mostly presented in more ambiguous terms as I have explained before, we can find similar arguments as those put forward by migrants echoed in some of the South Africans' narratives. A particularly complex 'mix' of xenophobic, nationalistic and cosmopolitan attitudes towards identity, exemplified by her marriage to a Nigerian despite a strong dislike of the generally "rude" Nigerian character, similar ideas to those of migrants discussed in this chapter, can be explored in the following narrative by South African Sandi (Nr. 62)[99]:

> *"Zimbabweans, those people ohhhh, I really don't know, for me personally I don't go well with them. They are not different, we are even speaking almost the same language. (…) I think it is because they like stealing, you know when a person is hungry they just steal little*

[99] Interview with South African 'Sandi' (Nr. 62), conducted on March 9 2008 at a formal market in Yeoville.

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things which have no meaning, that is what I am seeing in them. I don't like the way they are doing their life. Stealing….and those they can mistreat you, people say they mistreat you when you work with them, me, I never worked with them, I went to school with them in nursing college, and they mistreated me to hell there (…) I think it is not all the countries, it is only them which have got funny behaviour. Congolese, they are a little bit better, and what I like about them they are not violent people. They don't have any issue against anybody. I don't know I am not friends with them, my only talking to them is hallo how are you, but I noticed with them that they have nothing to do with anything bad with any other human being. They can't accuse you [of] anything, they can't insult you. But Nigerians, I don't know why the Nigerians are like that I can even ask my husband he says that is just like they are. Finish. That is how he used to tell me. He said that is how my people are, they are rude, they have something against everybody everywhere, any minute. I can't say how they are with other peoples, I can just speak about the South Africans because it is not just me, it is many people that complain."

In Sandi's narrative, we can see how categories and essentialised identities are continuously de- and re-constructed. One the one hand, what is obvious is that the category of 'foreigner' is disaggregated as a singular group, yet she claims to rather categorically dislike or like members of *certain* nationalities. For her, "Zimbabweans, those people, ohhhh (…) for me personally, I don't go well with them." However, while she has some negative stereotypes about Zimbabweans saying that they "like stealing" and that they "mistreated" her "to hell" while she went to the same nursing school with Zimbabweans, she also does not promote an inherent essentialised difference between Zimbabweans and South Africans: "they are not different, we are even speaking almost the same language." Instead, she blames general conditions of poverty for Zimbabwean affinity to thievery: "you know when a person is hungry they just steal little things which have no meaning, that is what I am seeing in them." However, she does not dislike all foreigners – "it is not all the countries, it is only them which have got funny behaviour." For her the Congolese, for example, are one of those groups that she likes, because they "are not a violent people". In order to emphasise this generally good character of the Congolese, she uses a number of extreme case formulations: "they have *nothing* to do with *anything* bad with *any* other human being. They can't accuse you [of] *anything*, they can't insult you." Nigerians on the other hand "are rude, they have something against everyone everywhere, every minute", a statement for which she uses a triple form of *footing* in order to make her claim more convincing– her own experience, the experience of her husband, a Nigerian himself, as well as that of South Africans in general "because it is not just me, it is many people that complain" about Nigerians. Yet, she herself is married to a Nigerian man, however, "who is different to the other Nigerians", as she explains in another passage of the interview. Finally, despite all these qualifications and her focus on the wellbeing of South African citizens, it is also not doing crime and, importantly, being a "good person" that should be the defining criterion to access to South Africa – everyone can come, as long as they behave well:

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> *"For me personally it is a good thing to accept people from other country, but the way they come and mistreat citizens of South Africa, for me I am not happy with it. For them to be here with us, I am happy with it, but if it was in my hand I was going to request control from a person who is a foreigner that you don't mistreat a person you find as a citizen or abuse a person who is a citizen. That is my personal opinion. Not disrespecting, Not insulting, no hatred towards South Africans, because they got a lot of hatred towards South Africans, that is what I noticed especially here in Yeoville, since we are mixed."*

Another example is the narrative from South African Tebogo (Nr. 61)[100]. As I began to talk to her about how she felt about the presence of foreigners in South Africa, she began her account drawing some of the rather typical rhetoric of an exclusive South African nationalism and xenophobia: the concept that foreigners take jobs from South Africans "and then the job is gone, how do *we* survive?", that they are unreliable and untrustworthy (and for that reason should never be considered as husbands) and that they are the singular most dominant perpetrators of crime in South Africa, "the Zimbabweans here are all tsotsis." However, once she explained her opinions, some interesting qualifications emerged that echoed some of what Zimbabwean migrants themselves had explained as discussed above.

> *"People have to be punished, when your baby wants to stand on the table you must take the belt, and it will know that it has to sit on the chair and not on the table – the new government is too soft, that was better with the old government. That is the best way to learn and we Africans learn best like that (…) government is too soft so that why there is crime, the law in Zimbabwe is good. The people do not do anything in Zimbabwe but they do crime here, because the government is too soft."*

What is fascinating here is the way in which her narrative attributes her impression that Zimbabweans commit so much crime in South Africa not to some inherent Zimbabwean character, but instead to the "softness" of the South African government, whereas "the law in Zimbabwe is good." In this sense, it is again rather a structure that causes criminal behaviour, and not some inherent trait of character or culture. Through her categorical statement that "*we* Africans learn best that way", she also establishes a general similarity between all Africans, and thus implicitly between South Africans, including herself, and foreigners. As we conducted the interview, a few of the people she knew at the market came past, and I observed her chatting and laughing with them. Later I asked her where these people were from, and it turned out they were all foreigners from Malawi and Zimbabwe. She also says that she really enjoys the Nigerian music that is played loudly a few stalls further down the street, and that she likes eating a type of spinach that comes from Zimbabwe that she hadn't known before. I asked her about how she can reconcile what she said earlier about all Zimbabweans being criminals with having Zimbabwean friends. She answers in the following way, emphasising the primacy of *individual* over an

[100] Interview with South African 'Tebogo' (Nr. 61), conducted on March 9 2008 at a formal market in Yeoville.

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essentialised national identity when it comes to having "a good heart": "South Africa and me, it is not the same, everyone has his own life. It is the heart, if you have a good heart, if you have a bad heart, so I can't say if he is Nigerian he is bad or if he is Zimbabwean he is bad."

5.5 Discussion

Cosmopolitanism seeks to extend the moral boundaries of the political community beyond the nation-state (Linklater 1999:7, see Benhabib 2006:20, Soysal 1994). For Beck, the transition into a cosmopolitan 'second modernity' brings about a 'revolutionary' shift of principles: human rights now precede international law (Beck 2002:65), collapsing the inside and outside, the domestic and the foreign, the Self and the Other. Of course, this raises a crucial question: is it possible to enlarge the boundaries of moral community without the exclusion of the Other?, or as Kaldor (2004) asks, 'can we have democracy without enemies?' Kaldor argues that, within the nation-state model, 'domestic order was achieved through a mixture of coercion and consent and the latter depended on the notion that the state defended the citizen from external threats from a fearsome "other"' (Kaldor 2004:153). Within a cosmopolitan project, on the other hand, nationalism and the privileging of citizens over non-citizens are stripped of their moral base (see Heater 2002:73). Instead, every person has the right to be included by virtue of being human.

In the data I have presented in this chapter we can see these theoretical deliberations paralleled, as migrants' discourse seeks to enlarge the boundaries of community in a way that is more inclusive than nationalism and redefines the boundaries through the construction of the *virtuous insider* and the *immoral antagonist*, who harms the community of those 'good' people who stick to the rules of respect for the lives, wellbeing and dignity of Others. Migrants construct their membership in multiple, de-territorialised communities as superior to that of national membership, and their discourse constructs xenophobic South Africans as the epitome of those who do not conform to the *morally superior cosmopolitan order* they proclaim. As a response to being relegated to the margins and pathologised as the Other, migrants' discourse is aimed at showing the commonalities between them and South Africans and at establishing a more inclusive social order that is morally superior to that of nationalism. Thus, while it has been argued that the language of cosmopolitanism is 'antithetical to the struggle of minorities' (see Furia 2005:334, Kymlicka 1999, Ignatieff 1993), migrants respond to the nationalist exclusion they face with their own kind of *cosmopolitan post-identity politics*, which speaks on behalf of an excluded minority, yet does so not through emphasising their human rights that stem from their difference, but through emphasising their very sameness to the majority they appeal to. While South Africans are alleged to create exclusive boundaries around a national

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community in order to 'protect' themselves and their resources from the alleged intruders from 'up North', migrants' discourse is aimed at enlarging these very boundaries through a delegitimising of the very notion of the territoriality of identity and rights. Faced with the imposition of boundaries between 'national' spaces, of which some do not provide enough security and prosperity while others offer seemingly endless opportunities, their post-identity politics establishes a discourse of resistance against this inequality of life chances through a de-construction of the essentialism and naturalness of national identities and resulting practices of exclusion.

In Erskine's (2000:576) conception of embedded cosmopolitanism, 'the significance of this understanding of the embedded, or radically situated, moral agent is that it does not entail that being a member of any one community requires seeing a non-member of that particular community as being outside the scope of moral concern (…) not only does this stance avoid establishing a determinate group of "outsiders".' Yet, in contrast to this theoretical construct, migrants' discourse here does formulate an excluded group and constructs South Africans as the embodiment of non-conformity with the morally superior cosmopolitan order migrants promote and proclaim to adhere to. This is not to say that their cosmopolitan order does not in theory incorporate a concern for, and include, South Africans – after all, the discourse acknowledges that South Africans *are* Africans, that they *can be* Christians and that they *can be* good people. Yet, at the same time, South Africans are *de-facto* excluded as somewhat not part of their cosmopolitan community owing to their failure to comply with its norms and values: from the Pan-African view, South Africans fail to live up to their moral responsibilities within the *family.* From a Christian perspective, they do not respect a divine order and stick to earthly and thus forever limited and inferior laws. From the perspective of human goodness or malice, South Africans refuse to accept that *the virtuous* form a group cutting across all nationalities, races and ethnicities and that there are no reasons to exclude the foreigner on the basis of his or her difference alone. While the discourse always *theoretically* allows for the possibility of South Africans to be part of the de-territorialised communities established (and we can see from the South African narratives that there is the possibility for both opposition to and congruity with what migrants say), it tends to position South Africans as outside of the cosmopolitan orders that migrants promote. As we have learned in Chapter 4, migrants construct South Africans as parochial in mindset and uninspired when it comes to business owing to an inherent unwillingness to learn from Others. In the realms of moral orders and norms as discussed in this chapter, however, migrants construct - and implicitly and explicitly justify their dislike of - South Africans not on the basis of such essentialised difference, but on the basis of their failure to comply with the cosmopolitan rules and standards that migrants establish as legitimate and righteous. While South Africans are constructed as morally wrong on three different accounts, migrants position themselves in

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the intersection of (thus indicating full compliance with) all of these cosmopolitan orders. Thus, we can see that once all these different discursive practices are applied simultaneously, this does not come without its own contradictions: on the one hand, South Africans as a collective are heavily stereotyped; on the other hand, a cosmopolitan morality emphasising individual identity and non-essentialism is promoted.

Then, once compared with normative and philosophical versions of cosmopolitanism, it also becomes apparent that, while the bounded, de-territorialised and tolerant nature of Christianity and the focus on the individual fit rather neatly with cosmopolitan ideals, Africanness (despite its internal heterogeneity) *is* a territorially limited concept. While migrants deligitimise the 'natural' ties that bind citizens together, these are not completely abandoned but shifted and re-produced at the level of the continent. However, what we can learn from this is that empirical cosmopolitanism always emerges in a particular context and draws on cultural repertoires available to it. Pan-Africanism is such a repertoire, and the fact that cosmopolitan ideas are expressed through its language does not automatically render it inherently exclusive in nature. Given the aims this discourse pursues, I think it is merely used to render the idea of a cosmopolitan community less abstract by embedding it in a framework that is assumed to have special meaning to Africans, including South Africans (at least rhetorically). Also, as we have seen, broader references to shared humanity are often added within such narratives using Pan-African language. As part of a discourse of resistance, migrants' accounts simply seek to maximise its reach and power through drawing on *different* kinds of moral bases for support.

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6

Bringing Cosmopolitanism (Back) to the Ground

6.1 Introduction

With this study, I have challenged two of the most entrenched assumptions about the nature and 'cast' of cosmopolitanism: firstly, that unprivileged mobility is not conducive to the emergence of cosmopolitanism and, secondly, that cosmopolitanism is an inherently Western discourse that fails to appeal to members of unstable nation-states. While it is often argued that racism and xenophobia engender migrants' 'withdrawal' towards ethno-cultural enclaves and the forging of 'highly particularistic attachments' (see Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004:1178), in this study we have seen how the xenophobia and socio-economic marginalisation that African migrants encounter do in fact elicit a *cosmopolitan* response. On the basis of the insights and arguments this study has provided, this conclusion is dedicated to a discussion of what I believe to be three central imperatives for future research on cosmopolitanism: firstly, addressing the present disconnect between research on cosmopolitanism from above and from below; secondly, paying more attention to the social, cultural and economic contexts that forms of empirical cosmopolitanism are embedded in, and, finally, overcoming the three 'isms' that the majority of research on cosmopolitanism is still stunted by: ethnocentrism, class-centrism and methodological nationalism.

6.2 Linking Top-Down and Bottom-Up Processes, Reducing Normativity and Incorporating Empirical Research.

As I and others have argued, most attention has so far been dedicated to the exploration and elaboration of cosmopolitanism as a normative political ideal. While I agree that the work of those conceptualising how levels and structures of governance, democracy and citizenship should be re-formulated on the basis of cosmopolitan values is a vital task, there is a major, and I believe growing, disconnection between grand theoretical elaborations and the empirical realities 'on the ground'. With this focus on what ought to be rather than on what already is, there is a danger that research on cosmopolitanism loses touch with reality. Furthermore, the focus has been on the design and policies of institutions, rather than on the attitudes and practices of individuals. As Nowicka and

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Rovisco (2009:1) argue, 'individuals are often deemed only significant as abstract subjects of an emerging cosmopolitan world order and there is little sense of the role that ordinary individuals and social groups play in the making of a new cosmopolitan order'. Waldron (2006) invokes cosmopolitanism as an ongoing, multidimensional process of social change, and highlights the transformative power of everyday practices which can produce cosmopolitan orders or laws through continued iteration. Hence, the current disconnection from informal, individual and non-institutional forms of cosmopolitanism influences the advancement of our theoretical paradigms and precludes us from gaining valuable insights into the ways new social, cultural and moral 'bottom-up' orders of a cosmopolitan nature are being fashioned.

In this thesis, I have provided an account of empirical cosmopolitanism, of which, as I argue in this chapter, we need many more. The migrant voices and views explored here give expression to cosmopolitanism's fundamental rejection of the idea that a person is exclusively defined by location, ancestry, citizenship or language (Waldron cited in Englund 2004:294). However, while the migrants' cosmopolitanism adopts many of the concept's 'ideal-positions', it is not the result of philosophical or normative considerations. Rather than being in the first instance inspired by a concern for the Other, it is motivated by the interests of the individual and born out of circumstance and necessity. While by extension this cosmopolitanism makes claims on behalf of all migrants everywhere and formulates an alternative social order that in its core is universally applicable, these migrants' main concern is *their* very own here and now. These migrants' very existence is dependent on their worldliness and ability to span multiple linguistic, cultural, social and economic borders and boundaries. It is, quite literally, about ensuring a 'foot in the door' of as many places as possible. Cosmopolitanism's language is embraced and drawn upon to de-construct the legitimacy of nationalist exclusion and to build a case for migrants' *own* rights to mobility and residence in an*Other* country. Emphasising sameness and de-constructing essentialised notions of difference while celebrating and appreciating cultural diversity - an agenda so crucial to cosmopolitanism - is at the very heart of migrants' claim in order to enable their own de-territorialised practices and life trajectories. In sum, the kind of socio-cultural condition of cultural exchange and engagement with the Other that is created through this kind of cosmopolitanism is created under a very different guise from both the moral cosmopolitanism and the cosmopolitanism of consumption and taste described elsewhere.

Ungrounded in empirical data collected on informal, individual and non-institutional forms of cosmopolitanism, it is easy for concepts of cosmopolitanism to remain coherent and pure and to keep their 'nice, high minded ring to it' (Himmelfarb 1996:77). Once we bring cosmopolitanism back to the ground, however, as I have done in this study, for example,

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we immediately find ourselves entangled in contradictions, paradoxes and inconsistencies. The local-cosmopolitan binary has been exposed as oversimplifying or even misleading, and many commonly held assumptions about the types, location and class of *cosmopolitans* are slowly but surely dismantled and exposed as the trappings of class-, state- and ethno-centred thinking (see Section 3 in this conclusion). In this thesis, in Chapter 3, I have argued that rather than dismissing the realities and views of the migrants this thesis has presented owing to the fact that their liberal individualist tendencies do not fit our normative concepts of cosmopolitan (political) community, they need to be incorporated in the ways we consider new forms of cosmopolitan mobility and rights. Also, as I have maintained in Chapter 4, empirical cosmopolitanism is characterised by much more complexity and less cultural relativism than Hannerz's suggestion of cosmopolitan acceptance of culture as a 'package deal' implies. People will, for a variety of moral or other reasons, select those elements of other cultures that they deem to be right or beneficial for themselves, even if this may produce inconsistencies. While preliminary in nature, the data from the South African traders shows how the dynamics between openness and closure, and between non-essentialism and essentialism, operate *within* and not only between individuals and groups, exemplifying that discourse and counter-discourse are always intertwined and 'touch' upon each other at various levels. Finally, in Chapter 5 I have argued that in its function as a discourse of resistance and establishment of a new moral order, empirical cosmopolitanism always emerges in a particular context and draws on the cultural repertoires available to it.

In summary, we have seen in this thesis that once cosmopolitanism is used as a language of resistance, it applies a variety of different strategies and uses different kinds of arguments - some moral and some more economic and instrumentally oriented in nature - in order to be the most persuasive it can be, i.e. to meet and rebut the claims of nationalism and arguments for the exclusion of migrants at as many different levels as possible. In Chapter 3, I have described how migrants make a predominantly economic argument for the need for foreigners within every nation-state, and thus the right to mobility. In Chapter 5, on the other hand, I have described how various moral arguments are being put forward in order to justify and legitimise their own practices of mobility. Thus, different and sometimes even seemingly contradictory discursive practices are applied to the same end.

Incorporating empirical insights into both our scholarly and more policy-oriented frameworks - however complex and multifaceted they may be - is an important step with regard to a future research agenda of cosmopolitanism. By dismissing forms of cosmopolitanism that are deemed inauthentic, inconsistent or 'incomplete' according to our normative assumptions of what cosmopolitanism *should* look like, we blind ourselves from exploring and understanding more about 'really existing' cosmopolitanism. Rather

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than continuously avoiding addressing the challenges 'real' cosmopolitanism will be faced and confronted with (see Furia 2005:335), we will need to accept that grounding cosmopolitanism will demand adjustments and will question some, if not many, of our preconceived notions of 'picture-perfect' cosmopolitan values, forms of membership and identity. While some argue that cosmopolitanism becomes diluted as it takes on local shapes, becomes appropriated or even contradictory as a language of resistance, I think that, ultimately, research on cosmopolitanism can only gain from such empirical grounding being propelled forward.

This is particularly important because, as Falzon (2009:37) has so correctly pointed out, empirical forms of cosmopolitanism are those that presumably have actual consequences 'as opposed to utopias, which are just that'. In particular, I think it is often the more instrumental forms of cosmopolitanism, such as the one this thesis has described, that are too readily dismissed and thus not further scrutinised, but that we should turn our attention to, in particular those where cosmopolitanism is used as a discourse of resistance or claim for inclusion of marginalised and underprivileged groups. As Scott (1985) has argued, the resistance of subordinate groups does not always take on forms of overt revolution, but often takes more mundane 'everyday forms of resistance' constituting a 'prosaic but constant struggle' (Scott 1985:29) against domination and hegemonic ideologies. Language and the establishment of counter-hegemonic discourses constitute an important part of such forms of subaltern resistance (Scott 1985:38). In this sense, migrants crossing borders, be it documented or undocumented, overstaying visas, or claiming city and township space despite widespread xenophobic sentiment are just as much part of such 'everyday forms of resistance' to the hegemony of South African nationalism as are their cosmopolitan discourse and accompanying practices of intercultural exchange and engagement with the Other. Studying such discourses allows us to explore how migrants actually give meaning to their practices as well. Migrants' discourse establishes the inherent sameness of outsider and insiders and promotes a cosmopolitan social order that is morally superior to that of nationalism. Thus, while they may not contest existing boundaries and borders in open revolution, the transformatory power of their de-territorialised practices and cosmopolitan claims to space lies in the way in which, steadily and pervasively, in its everyday character 'nationalism is circumvented and undermined' (Beck 2002:28, see Appadurai 1993:421). I believe it will be to a large extent through such 'cosmopolitics', as Ossewaarde (2007:379) writes, that 'the global order is constructed from below, through inter-cultural exchange, in which beliefs clash to open new horizons and new criticisms.'

While more attention needs to be paid to cosmopolitanism's empirical manifestations, this does not mean that the knowledge gathered from this cannot and should not be used to

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inform normative discussions of designs for more inclusive, diverse and peacefully co-existing communities across the globe. On the contrary, knowledge about any form of cosmopolitanism that exists in the real world and how it might impact on the development of successful intercultural communication and integration of diverse and heterogeneous societies will be crucial for realising cosmopolitan ambitions. As Hannerz (2005:204) argues,

> *the ability to make one's way into other cultures, and the appreciative openness toward divergent cultural experiences, could be a resource for cosmopolitical commitments (..) if these two senses of cosmopolitanism must not simply be conflated, there could be at least a kind of elective affinity between cosmopolitan culture and cosmopolitics.*

If respect for the cultures of Others can develop from or alongside the 'coarse consumerism' (Vertovec and Cohen 2002:14) of global cultural products, why could it not also develop from such practical forms as described in this present study? Indeed, perhaps the development of respect for other cultures in the cases studied in this thesis may be even more advanced than we may think, given that the Other is never regarded as inferior, but always valued as a real asset. As such, forms of banal cosmopolitanism as well as more instrumentally oriented forms such as the one described in this thesis play important roles in processes of cosmopolitanization. Nava, for example, supports this view and has argued that 'mundane' forms of cosmopolitan consumption and styles may accompany or even bring about much wider and more fundamental social change (Nava 2002:94) than one would expect.

A central question in the debate on the possibilities of a cosmopolitan political project as an alternative to the nation-state model (which is, depending on one's point of view, either completely doomed or at least in need of fundamental reform) is whether or not people can realistically imagine themselves as part of a more de-territorialised or even global social and political community. In fact, the endeavours of those who work on conceptualising how new cosmopolitan institutions; forms of democracy; and political communities could practically 'work' are criticised from various angles. Many claim that the aspirations of cosmopolitanism are 'unreal, floating on the air of vague utopianism' (Heater 2000:180). Cosmopolitanism is often seen as a project lacking a popular mass base or consciousness, only supported by a comparatively small group of intellectuals and philosophers (see Cheah 2006:486). Many argue that an identification with humanity as a whole is too thin, and too abstract to be able to fulfil human beings' natural need for some form of community and belonging. Additionally, the ability of the cosmopolitan project to reflect and be based on a truly *global* constituency is questioned. For Bowden (2003:243), for example, 'it is fair to assert that as much of humanity does not enjoy this sense of security or civility (as experienced in the West), we are well removed from an era in which

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cosmopolitanism's appeal encircles "humanity as a whole."' Given the uneven power relations between the West and the developing world, some are sceptical that cosmopolitanism is nothing more than a thinly veiled imperial agenda of the West, aimed at distributing uniform, Western values and culture. Often linked to USA/Western transnational companies and the resulting cultural and economic uniformity and mass consumerism, cosmopolitanism is, some argue, merely 'colonialism under another banner' (see Skrbis et al. 2004:132).

Whether one thinks it is possible or not, it is clear that the realisation of a cosmopolitan political project depends critically on how meaningful its contents are to its various subjects. As Nowicka and Rovisco (2009:5) argue, 'the international human rights system can only set the ground for the development of a more cosmopolitan world order if ordinary people are able to identify themselves with the values that constitute that system.'For a cosmopolitan political project to succeed, it needs to be anchored in the everyday lives of people and, for this reason, has to appreciate and make room for the heterogeneous conditions and realities in different places of the world. To be truly sustainable, institutions incorporating cosmopolitan ideals might not have to overlap entirely with forms of cosmopolitanism that are already in existence, but must still contain crucial elements in them that connect to these forms. Exploring real cosmopolitanism empirically will thus also be able to provide crucial insights into why some of the already existing cosmopolitically informed policies might fail to appeal to large parts of the world's population, or provide an insight into the practicalities of how new institutions and policies could be designed in order to be meaningful to the people they intend to serve and apply to.

6.3 Exploring Contexts, Temporality and Fluidity of Cosmopolitanism

In this thesis I have argued that the cosmopolitanism of the migrants interviewed emerges out of a particular context of high social and economic insecurity, the unprivileged nature of mobility, as well as the prevalence of largely 'unachieved' nation-states across the African continent. It arose out of a position of subalternity within the dominating system of nationalism that keeps migrants at the margins, and is the active attempt to re-define or even collapse some of the very boundaries that are currently in existence and in due process to render them more inclusive. Interestingly, when cosmopolitanism (to our knowledge) was first articulated in ancient Greece, it came into being amongst *metics*, resident foreigners and social outsiders who were 'not part of the citizen body', and was 'propounded mainly by *people who were marginal and powerless'* (Fine and Cohen 2002:138-139). Just as then, in this study it is exactly the status of being the *foreigner,* the *outsider*, the one who is *excluded* that allows a distinctly cosmopolitan discourse to

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emerge. After all, it is the excluded for which proving that essentially we all share the same humanity and offering us a different version of how the story of identity, territory and rights could be told is the most pressing and vital. Similarly Hannerz (2005:208), drawing on Nava's (2002) work, argues that 'groups with reason to be dissatisfied with their positions and experiences in the established local order of things may seek alternatives elsewhere, and may therefore be open to other cultures and their expressions.'

With regard to what motivates cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitanism might be embraced particularly strongly when one's own position within an existing system is vulnerable and the benefit to oneself in protecting diversity, dialogue and tolerance is particularly obvious. An interesting fact emerging from the NACP data was that the percentage of migrants reporting they would fight to protect the rights of tribes or religions other than their own was a strong 45.9 per cent. The percentage of those claiming that they would even fight to protect their host country, South Africa, was almost 40 per cent (39.2 per cent). In light of the hostility and xenophobia migrants face in South Africa as well as migrants' general transient status, these somewhat surprising findings begin to make more sense once we consider what Landau (2008:4) has written about the remarkably strong response and high level of compassion of white civil society to the xenophobic attacks: 'for many', he writes, 'defending tolerance to migrants already in the country becomes a proxy claim for themselves in a diverse South Africa.' It is not unlikely that the migrant responses in the survey are also linked to the fact that, by proxy, protecting the rights and interests of Others means protecting their own. The point here is that the contingent nature of such forms of cosmopolitanism might mean that the migrants interviewed here might try to keep newcomers out of South Africa if, through a shift in both policy and public opinion, their own position within the country were to be made more secure. It is possible that the same individuals interviewed in their home countries would have produced a very different kind of discourse. The same people might express other attitudes when they are at home and where the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are structured along different kinds of identities.

This, of course, raises the question of the durability of this cosmopolitanism. Along with this emphasis on the contexts in which particular discourses come into being, it is thus important to stress the fluidity and, possibly, temporality of this particular discourse: if cosmopolitanism emerges out of and is sustained by a particular context or situation, it is just as possible that it changes its shape or nature once circumstances change as well. Thus, cosmopolitanism as a counter-discourse and claim for inclusion might be a temporary one, contingent on how the parameters of exclusion and individual needs and aspirations are structured. We can conceive of cosmopolitanism thus not as a fixed disposition – neither of individuals nor of groups - but as one that might develop over time and can only be

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understood within the shifting contexts it arises from, or changes or declines within. There isn't just 'real' cosmopolitanism and 'banal' cosmopolitanism; in reality they intersect, and to explore the spaces and conditions under which such shifting takes place (in and out of it, over time etc.) would advance our knowledge tremendously. In this sense, there is an urgent need for more comparative and longitudinal empirical work on the cosmopolitanism of different groups and different locations.

In short, if we understand cosmopolitanism as a discourse enabling certain de-territorialised practices as I have argued, we cannot understand it in isolation. In order to understand how new social and moral orders of a cosmopolitan nature are being fashioned, it will be important to look at how 'everyday' processes and discourses of cosmopolitanization interact with discourses of nationalism, autochthony, racism and the securitisation such as seen for example in the building of 'fortress Europe' or the Mexican-American border and how they mutually impact on each other in an ongoing 'dialectics of conflict' (Beck 2002) at policy as well as 'street level'. It will be as important to explore how the language and contents of discourses of 'ordinary people' such as the migrants presented here interact with human rights discourses and official political endeavours to improve regional integration and the free movement of people, and where these discourses intersect or diverge from each other – and, fascinatingly, *why* this might be.

6.4 Overcoming the three 'Isms' in Research on Cosmopolitanism and Migration: Class-Centrism, Ethnocentrism and Methodological Nationalism

If we take African migrants as a test case for the ethno- and class-centred logic underlying the transnational migrant/cosmopolitan elite thinking, we find that this thinking is flawed in a number of ways. Firstly, based on the data presented here, I argue that in the African context (and possibly beyond) the absence of a strong state and the relative 'involuntariness' of mobility does not provide an adequate explanatory framework for being cosmopolitan or not, as this would conflate the fact that the original reason for moving is *necessity* with the notion that any subsequent engagement with Otherness can only be characterised by reluctance and unwillingness. There is no sufficient logical link to this claim: it (prematurely, as I demonstrate in this thesis) precludes the possibility that the very necessity for mobility and engagement with difference might *foster* cosmopolitan dispositions rather than inhibit them.

Secondly, an ethnocentric view on cosmopolitanism bases its assumption that Westerners are more amenable to cosmopolitanism on the fact that, as a concept, cosmopolitanism has historically been formulated and theorised in the Western world. This is then conflated with the assumption that it is an idea that is necessarily *alien* to societies in the developing,

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Non-Western world. However, the fact that most scholarship on, and documentations of, cosmopolitanism are 'centred' in the West has probably more to do with the entrenched ethnocentrism of historiography and with whose voice is considered 'worth' listening to than it has with the actual absence of cosmopolitan ideas in the Global South. Grovogui (2005:105, emphasis mine) succinctly suggests that this kind of thinking is based on 'the *illusion* that others outside the West lack the political will, moral faculty and mental capacity to envisage political agency beyond the state or native communities.' It implies that those who are unprivileged are able and want only to concentrate on their very local concerns and contexts and prefer to stay within the localities they are familiar with. Also, cosmopolitanism is conceived of as something that needs to be embedded in a strong institutional framework in order for its values to be upheld – which is *not* the case in cities across the 'weak' nation-states of the Non-Western world. Instead, as I have argued, it is exactly the absence of such strong nation-states that has fostered cosmopolitanism for the African migrants studied here.

Finally, the logic behind the distinction between transnational migrants and cosmopolitan travellers also essentially adopts a double standard in its reproduction of nationalism's constructions of roots and boundedness when it comes to migrants and refugees (albeit to differing degrees) and its dismissal of these assumptions concerning a Western Elite. To assume that unstable and weak nation-states and home localities are the source of a stronger and more strictly adhered to sense of *belonging to a particular place* than the stable, ideologically far more accomplished and secure states in the West in such a cut-and-dry fashion strikes me as somewhat counter-intuitive. While ideas of autochthony and territoriality are often conceived of as providing a safe haven in times of growing global insecurity in some contexts (of course, in Africa too), the response of these African migrants to the insecurity of life and the economic inequality they face has not been the strengthening of a sense of belonging to a particular place, but rather the adoption of clearly *cosmopolitan* outlooks, discourses and practices. The cosmopolitanism described in this study shows us that we have to approach cosmopolitanism not as the sole privilege of those in power, but also as a language of resistance adopted by those who are pathologised and as a tool to improve the situation of the marginalised individual.

This thesis has thus shown that neither the class-centrism nor the ethnocentrism of the literature is justified. It has shown the importance of a methodologically cosmopolitan perspective of migration, where concepts like 'society', 'culture', 'collective memory' or 'identity' are no longer conceptualised, explored and analysed as being nationally constituted or bounded (see Fine 2007:5, see Berlin 1998 in Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002:304). As Calhoun reminds us, 'we should recall how recent, temporary, and ever incomplete the apparent autonomy and closure of nation is' (Calhoun 2002:875). While the

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debate surrounding the need for a cosmopolitan turn in the social sciences is highly theoretical (see Beck and Sznaider 2006, Beck 2004), there are certainly few other places in the world where such notions of unachieved 'closure' are more empirically evident, and the need for an appropriate paradigm that fully reaches beyond the national more pressing, than in Africa. In these contexts of weak nation-states and heterogeneous, multicultural cities, the practices and subjectivities of African urban migrants provide us with a unique insight into how the master narrative of nationalism is challenged through offering a different version of how the story 'could be told' (Delgado 1995:64, see Andrews 2004:3). Their discourse juxtaposes the nation-state's assumed boundedness and fixedness with notions of openness, interconnection and interdependence of identities and places – an insight which can only be revealed through adopting the ontological assumptions of a cosmopolitan methodology.

Freed from the confines of ethnocentrism, it is becoming increasingly obvious that vernacular cosmopolitanisms express inherently *human* ideas in different languages across and within continents, nation-states, social classes, cities and ethnic groups. However translated, people negotiate and live out their versions of cosmopolitanism everywhere in the world on an everyday basis and the dialectics of conflict between the forces of territorial closure, identity politics and cosmopolitan openness *is* a universal process. It has long been acknowledged that cities are realms of ongoing social contestation and conflicting visions from which, eventually, novel identities, ideas and forms of social organisation emerge (see Simmel 1950, Durkheim 1951 (1897), Weber 1958) The city is, as Sassen argues, '*the* strategic site for understanding major new trends that are reconfiguring the social order' (Sassen in Bounds 2004:II, emphasis mine, see Sassen 2008:81,89, Georgiou 2008:223, Benton-Short et al. 2005:945). For Beck (2008:31), the city is an inherently 'cosmopolitan place'; it is 'a huge cultural reservoir and resource valued for its complexity and its incalculability. While the nation is about stability and continuity, the cosmopolitan place offers important possibilities for cultural experimentation.'

Given the growing recognition of the need to research the ways in which quotidian forms of cosmopolitanism are shaped by and themselves shape the nature of the city (Binnie et al. 2006:22), we need to begin to treat cities of the Global South as valuable locations for gaining new insights about the urban post-national condition in general, rather than continuing to see them only as aberrations of the normative Western city (Robinson 2003:260). As White (2002:667) so evocatively asks, 'why can Africa never seem to get past its status as something of the past, something authentic, something originary, something before or outside of history?' Especially with ongoing efforts towards regional and global integration in a variety of different places – the EU is one the most prominent

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examples - what we can observe amongst migrants in Africa might pioneer new forms of non-national allegiances and social organisation that could provide crucial insights into what has been termed the 'post-national' condition elsewhere as well. While, of course, one can say that Africans have to a certain extent 'skipped' the era of the nation-state, there are lessons that can be learnt for other places in the world as well, and studying African migration could contribute significantly to the new conceptual grammar, methodology and theory needed to make sense of what Ulrich Beck (2002a:61) calls the 'second age of modernity', an age characterised by a fundamental shift of the relationship between political identity, community and territory. As we have seen, migrants' discourse de-territorialises such crucial concepts such as *family* and *home*, de-essentialises identity and de-constructs the territorial boundedness of culture. Hirst and Held (2002) argue that a new type of citizen is needed 'who is no longer anchored in fixed borders and territories'. The African migrants studied here (and many others across the continent) certainly fit this new kind of cosmopolitan subject (despite it not being new in their own context), in their active and ongoing claims to the right ot mobility and avoidance of being territorially bound in their life trajectories. If we want to know more about how individuals become 'cosmopolitan agents of change' (Skrbis et al. 2004:124) and reformulate social orders 'from below' in an ongoing dialectic with forces of closure and exclusion, we should begin to treat the African continent, and in particular those who move within and across it, as a crucial source of knowledge about how to negotiate both the uncertainties and the opportunities that are intrinsic to more de-territorialised, post-national alternative forms of social organisation and identity.

6.5 Concluding Words

This thesis has shown that the categorical distinction between the transnational migrant and the elite Western traveller has far more to do with the ethno- and class-centrism of the social sciences and of historiography, and with whose voice is considered worthy and interesting to be learned from, than with how people really make sense of and relate to their worlds. If Rushdie (1991:394) is right, then migrants are catalysts of newness entering the world. As such, we should explore their trajectories, embracing a new set of questions and new methodologies, rather than replicating the methodological nationalism we by now know – and which this study supports - to be so fundamentally misleading in our quest to understand the social world.

As the final words of this thesis were written, threats of a new wave of xenophobic attacks after the FIFA World Cup has ended were again looming large in South Africa (CormSA 2010). Just over a week after the tournament had ended, several foreigners were attacked and foreign-owned shops looted in the township of Kya Sands in Johannesburg (*Mail and*

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Guardian 2010, BBC 2010a), sparking fears of more violence to come amongst refugee and migrant communities across the country. A Zimbabwean, quoted in the *Pretoria News* (2010), reported of pamphlets being distributed in Johannesburg's inner-city suburb of Hillbrow that warned foreigners of new attacks, reading: "Zimbabweans we don't like you. You must go back to your country. You took everything that belongs to us, our jobs and our women... We Zulus are going to beat you up after the World Cup." Around the same time, but at the other end of the world in Arizona, the most restrictive immigration law in the history of the state had just been passed in an effort to 'protect American citizens', requiring the police to target Hispanic minorities in search for undocumented migrants (BBC 2010b), 'a disturbing pattern of legislative activity hostile to ethnic minorities and immigrants' (OHCHR 2010) which has caused widespread uproar amongst migrants, human rights activists and official bodies such as the UN.

Cosmopolitanism will have to continue to fight tough battles against the forces of territorial exclusion and xenophobia in the future. Whatever our motivations as scholars are – be they descriptive or normative in nature - it will be our challenge and vital task to document and understand how these dialectics of conflict are carried out at various levels (from the bottom and the top, in a multiplicity of contexts and locations, at policy and street levels and within as well as between different individuals and groups), if we want to understand what cosmopolitanism *really* is and how, in both dialogue and conflict with its enemies, it transforms the world(s) we live in.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE 'DOCUMENTING THE EXPERIENCES OF XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE'

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE 'DOCUMENTING THE EXPERIENCES OF XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE'

Good morning! I am [*insert name*] from the University of the Witwatersrand. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study about experiences of xenophobic violence. I would like you to tell me about your experiences in South Africa before, during and after the xenophobic violence in May this year. Feel free to tell me as much as you like, and feel free to talk about anything you think is important to you.

If the person was directly attacked or displaced, or where there were attacks in the area where they lived:

- Can you cast your mind back to the time when you decided to leave [*name of township/suburb*] Did you learn of any threats to you or members of your nationality before you left?
- What happened, in detail, on the day/night that you were attacked?
- Did you sustain any injuries as a result of the attacks? What happened?
- Did you see anyone being hurt or threatened? What happened?
- Did you lose any property or was your home affected? What happened?
- Did you personally know any of the people doing these things?
- Can you explain why you decided to leave? How did you reach this decision?
- Can you describe your journey since first leaving [name of township/suburb]?
- What has happened to you, in detail, since the attacks and the displacement?
- What kinds of assistance did you receive, and what do you think about the ways in which the South African government and other organisations have dealt with xenophobia and violence?

If the person was not directly attacked or displaced:

- Has anything changed in your daily life because of the violence? How have you felt and what have you been doing differently?

All:

- What are your plans and hopes for the future?
- Under what conditions do you think you could have a safe and good life in South Africa?
- What should be done to prevent future xenophobic attacks and what should be done for the people who are now displaced?

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APPENDIX 2: SELECTED SURVEY QUESTIONS USED FROM THE NEW AFRICAN CITIES SURVEY

To be read to all before beginning interview:
Good evening/day/etc. My name is _____. I am working on a project with the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) in Johannesburg, that seeks to understand the experiences of people living in various parts of Johannesburg. I do not work for the government of any country or a development agency. If you agree, I would like to ask you a series of questions about your life and opinions. This is not a test or an examination and my questions do not have 'right' or 'wrong' answers. I only want to know about your life and your own ideas. Please tell me what you honestly think and remember, you are free to not answer questions or to stop the interview at any time. Your responses will help us to develop a better understanding of the needs and ideas of people living in your area. What you say will be kept confidential and will not be given to the government or the police. Since I do not work for the government or an aid organization, I can not promise you anything for your participation except my appreciation All together this survey should take just between 30 and 45 minutes to complete. Are you ready to go ahead?

Q 219 When you were thinking of leaving *country of origin*, did you consider going to live anywhere else other than South Africa?

Q 220-222 Where else did you consider going? *Record up to three countries/communities*

Q 332 Are there still members of your household from country of origin living in your country of origin?

Q 347 Are there members of your household from *country of origin* living in a country other than *country of origin* or South Africa?

Q 402 Can you tell me where the person you worked for when you first came to South Africa came from. If you know their tribe or clan, please tell me if it is the same as yours:

Q 430-40 I am going to read you a list. I would like you to tell me if you have ever provided money or other material assistance to any of the following since you came to Johannesburg?

Q 515 Many people have said that crime has increased in Johannesburg over the last ten years. Do you believe this is true?

Q 516-518 Why do you think crime has increased? *Do not read.*
Codes: Economic conditions in South Africa
Political change/Democratisation
Immigrants/Foreigners
Cultural change/no respect for values/Greed
Population increase, shifts
Availability of weapons
Bad policing/courts
Law is too lenient
Corruption
Ethnicity
Lack of education
Other

Q 524 After you were already in South Africa, have the South African police or military ever stopped you?

Q 700-2 What are the three things you dislike most about the area in which you are living?

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Q 703-8 I am going to read you a list. I would like you to tell me if you would fight to defend any of the
following:
Circle one answer for each line.
703 South Africa
704 *Country of origin/Community of Origin*
705 Your Tribe/Ethnic group
706 Your religion
707 To protect rights of tribes or religions other than your own
708 To protect family/clan members

Q 709-20 I am now going to read you a series of statements. Please tell me if you agree, disagree, or if you don't have an opinion.
709 I am proud to identify with my tribe or ethnic group
710 I feel as though I am part of South African society
711 I am proud to identify as a citizen of *country of origin*
712 I feel restricted by my tribal or clan identity in Joburg
713 I feel restricted by my national identity
714 I want my children to consider themselves members of my ethnic group or tribe
715 I want my children to consider themselves citizens of *country of origin*
716 In general, I trust people from my ethnic group/tribe
717 In general, I trust the South African police
718 In general, I trust South Africans 1 2 3 0
719 In general, I trust foreigners living in South Africa
720 In general, I trust people from *country of origin* living in South Africa

Q 721 Do you believe it is generally better for society if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions or if they adopt the customs of the country where they live?

Q 725 If most of the whites left South Africa do you think it would it be good or bad thing or would it not matter?

Q 726 If most of the Indians left South Africa do you think it would it be good or bad thing or would it not matter?

Q 727 If most of the refugees and immigrants left South Africa do you think it would it be good or bad thing or would it not matter?

Q 728 How many friends do you have in South Africa who are South Africans? Would you say none, some, or many? *If respondent says all, code as many.*

Q 804 Where do you expect to be living two years from now? *Do not read list. Record one answer only.*

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APPENDIX 3: GUIDELINE FOR INTERVIEWS WITH MIGRANT STREET TRADERS
*Questions marked with * not to be used in interviews with South Africans.*

1. Introducion of researcher and project and information on participation in the study

Place, mobility and rights

2. Could you please tell me a little bit about the place you lived in for most of your life?
3. Have you been to any other countries apart from South Africa?
4. Can you tell me a bit about each place, and about what you experienced there?
5. What is it like to live in a country that is not the place that you are from?
6. What is your experience with entering South Africa? *
7. What is it like to live in South Africa? *
8. What is your plan for the future? Where would you like to live?
9. If you could freely chose to live wherever you wanted in the world, where would you go?
10. Do you read the newspaper? Did you use to read it in your home country? Why (not)?

Culture, Cultural Difference and the Other

11. Please tell me a little bit about the people who
    …you work with or do business with
    …you live in the same location/neighbourhood as you here in Johannesburg
    …you lived with in the same location/neighbourhood at home
    …attend the same church as you do here in Johannesburg (if applicable)
    …you are friends with here in Johannesburg
    …you are/were friends with when you were still living in your country.*
    If not addressed: Do you think it is good to have friends from other cultures?
12. Many people from different countries and cultures come to Johannesburg. What do you think about that?
13. If you compare the way you behave when you are in your home country to the way you behave when you are here, are there any differences?*
14. Do you think foreigners have to follow the culture of the locals?
15. Is it easy or difficult to get along with people from other cultures?
16. How many languages do you speak?

Identity, morality and belonging

17. Tell me a little bit about yourself…what kind of a person are you? What are the values that are important for you in your life? Probe in depth: meaning of these values and identitities.
18. Do you feel at home in South Africa?*
19. Do you think that South Africa has a right to stop people from coming here?
20. Do you think that South Africa should help other African countries? Why (not)? In which ways?
21. Who do you think is responsible for most of the crime in South Africa?
22. Here in Johannesburg, when you meet someone for the first time, how do you decide that you can trust her or him?

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APPENDIX 4: MIGRANT STREET TRADER SAMPLE

Interview Date	Pseudonym	NR	Age	Sex	Ethnicity	Country of Origin	Year of Arrival in Jo'burg	Trading Location	Type of Trading	Place of current residence	Items sold	Religion
October 2007	Thomas	1	27	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2002	Houghton	informal	Park Station	bead and wire art	Christian
October 2007	Mafuane	2	32	female	Sotho	South Africa	1995	Rosebank	informal	Hillbrow	peanuts, chips, sweets, cigarettes	no religion
October 2007	Kamohelo	3	27	female	Sotho	South Africa	2007	Rosebank	informal	NC	peanuts, chips, sweets	Christian
15.10.2007	Elisabeth	4	24	female	Xhosa	South Africa	2001	Rosebank	informal	Rosebank	peanuts, chips, sweets, cigarettes	Christian
01.12.2007	Achieve	5	28	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2004	Rosebank	informal	Central Johannesburg	wind chimes	no religion
04.12.2007	Wonderful	6	21	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2006	Rosebank	informal	Central Johannesburg	plastic toys, plastic lighters, key rings	Christian
07.12.2007	Clinton	7	30	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2003	Rosebank	informal	Central Johannesburg	wind chimes, plastic toys	no religion
22.10.2007	Lundiwe	8	18	female	Tsepedi	South Africa	2007	Rosebank	informal	Hillbrow	peanuts, sweets, cigarettes	Christian
05.11.2007	James	9	24	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2004	Parktown North	informal	Joubert Park	bead, tin and wire art	Christian
05.11.2007	Allan	10	22	male	Chewa	Malawi	2007	Parktown North	informal	Parktown North	bead and wire art	Christian
09.10.2007	James	11	25	male	Zulu	South Africa	2006	Craighall Park	informal	Tembisa	vetkoeks, cigarettes, sweets	Christian
09.10.2007	Molo	12	23	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	NC	Craighall Park	informal	Tembisa	vetkoeks, cigarettes, sweets	no religion
04.12.2007	Ben	13	26	male	Timbuka	Malawi	2005	Waverley	informal	Booysens	flowers	Christian

04.12.2007	Chima	14	35	male	NC	Malawi	2004	Waverley	informal	Illovo	flowers	Christian
14.02.2008	Sarah	15	20	female	Zulu	Zimbabwe	2007	Melrose	informal	Central Johannesburg	peanuts, sweets, cigarettes	Christian
14.02.2008	Tom Tom	16	30	male	Metusa	Tanzania	2004	Melrose	informal	Hillbrow	haircuts	no religion
February 2008	Mandla	17	30	male	Tsepedi	South Africa	born in JHB	Craighall Park	informal	Lenasia	cell phone accessories	Christian
February 2008	Nosiphiwe	18	42	female	Sotho	South Africa	1996	Balfour Park	informal	Balfour Park	peanuts, chips, sweets, cool drinks	Christian
15.02.2008	Vuso	19	32	male	Xhosa	South Africa	1998	Balfour Park	informal	Balfour Park	cell phone accessories, t-shirts, umbrellas	Christian
February 2008	Dikeledi	20	25	female	Xhosa	South Africa	2005	Waverley	informal	Bramley/Alexandra	peanuts, sweets, cigarettes	Christian
February 2008	Baruti	21	25	male	Venda	South Africa	2005	Balfour Park	informal	Randburg	cell phone accessories	Christian
21.02.2008	William	22	31	male	NC	Malawi	2003	Bryanston	informal market	Bridgetown	wooden animals and figurines	Christian
21.02.2008	Wilbert	23	50	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	NC	Bryanston	informal market	Diepsloot	wooden chairs, woven baskets	Christian
21.02.2008	Farai	24	24	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2005	Bryanston	informal market	Fourways	NC	Christian
21.02.2008	Fortune	25	27	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2007	Bryanston	informal market	Soweto	wooden furniture	Christian
21.02.2008	Julius	26	27	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2001	Bryanston	informal market	Diepsloot	wooden carvings	Christian
25.02.2008	Sundai	27	29	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2003	Bryanston	informal market	Soweto	wooden furniture	Rastafari
25.02.2008	Honest	28	24	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2001	Bryanston	informal market	Kraalfontein	NC	Rastafari
25.02.2008	Bonapart	29	28	male	Manika	Zimbabwe	2006	Bryanston	informal market	Tembisa	wooden furniture	Christian
07.03.2008	Lesedi	30	23	female	Zulu	South Africa	2003	Oaklands	informal	Marlboro	NC	Christian

									trading			
07.03.2008	Kagiso	31	31	female	Zulu	South Africa	1994	Bryanston	informal market	Diepsloot	wooden carvings	Christian
08.03.2008	Kefilwe	32	20	female	NC	South Africa	1995	Rosebank	informal	NC	vetkoeks	NC
22.03.2008	Marvellous	33	30	male	Ndebele	Zimbabwe	1998	Bryanston	informal market	Melville	Beanbags	Christian
08.03.2008	Miles	34	27	male	Ilongo	Malawi	2005	Bryanston	informal market	Diepsloot	wooden woven chairs	Christian
08.03.2008	Epaulette	35	NC	female	NC	DRC	2000	Bryanston	informal market	Bryanston	wooden carvings	Christian
09.03.2008	Dumisai	36	25	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2006	Bryanston	informal market	Diepsloot	metal flower buckets	Christian
17.03.2008	Chipo	37	38	female	Shona	Zimbabwe	2005	Rosebank	informal	Fourways	metal flower buckets	Christian
09.03.2008	Paul	38	43	male	Tsepedi	South Africa	1984	Bryanston	informal market	Fourways	picture frames	Christian
09.03.2008	Kudakwashe	39	24	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2001	Bryanston	informal market	Midrand	wooden furniture	Christian
07.03.2008	Gladwell	40	28	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	1998	Bryanston	informal market	Bridgetown	wooden carvings, wooden animals	Christian
10.03.2008	Thulani	41	28	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2008	Yeoville	informal	Yeoville	wooden carvings, wooden animals	Christian
09.03.2008	Memory	42	23	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2008	Yeoville	informal	Yeoville	peanuts, sweets, cigarettes	Christian
09.03.2008	Christopher	43	29	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2008	Yeoville	informal	Yeoville	sweets, cigarettes	Christian
09.03.2008	Anesu	44	23	female	Shona	Zimbabwe	2008	Yeoville	informal	Pretoria	peanuts, sweets, fruit	Christian

09.03.2008	Alice	45	39	female	Shona	Zimbabwe	2008	Yeoville	informal	Yeoville	peanuts, sweets, call cards	Christian
09.03.2008	Jean	46	45	male	NC	Senegal	1999	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	shoes	Muslim
09.03.2008	Edgar	47	19	male	Ndebele	Zimbabwe	1999	Yeoville	informal	Yeoville	car accessories	Christian
09.03.2008	Banga	48	21	male	Ndebele	Zimbabwe	2004	Yeoville	informal	Yeoville	car accessories	Christian
09.03.2008	Piet	49	23	male	Zulu	South Africa	1999	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	cell phone chargers for cars	Christian
09.03.2008	Freda	50	29	female	Shona	Zimbabwe	2005	Yeoville	informal	Yeoville	vegetables	Christian
09.03.2008	Chisulu	51	27	male	Ilongo	Malawi	2005	Bryanston	informal market	Diepsloot	wooden carvings	no religion
20.03.2008	Stanley	52	35	male	NC	Malawi	1995	Bryanston	informal market	Diepsloot	wooden furniture	Christian
09.03.2008	Osborn	53	30	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2001	Bryanston	informal market	Diepsloot	NC	NC
17.03.2008	Matthew	54	39	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	1999	Rosebank	informal	Joubert Park	wooden carvings	Christian
01.03.2008	Belinda	55	54	female	NC	Zimbabwe	NC	Bryanston	informal market	NC	food (stew and mielie pap)	Christian
08.03.2008	Julietta	56	28	female	Shona	Zimbabwe	1998	Bryanston	informal market	Park Station	food (stew and mielie pap)	Christian
21.03.2008	Yusuf	57	37	male	Wolof	Senegal	2000	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	shoes	Muslim
08.03.2008	Roberta	58	34	female	NC	Nigeria	2005	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	vegetables, nuts and spices	Christian
21.03.2008	Eva	59	NC	female	NC	Kenya	NC	Yeoville	formal market	NC	passport covers, bags, shoes	Christian
09.03.2008	Amalia	60	29	female	Shona	Zimbabwe	2004	Yeoville	informal	Yeoville	necklaces	Christian

09.03.2008	Tebogo	61	45	female	Zulu	South Africa	1999	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	vegetables	Christian
09.03.2008	Sandi	62	42	female	Zulu	South Africa	1988	Yeoville	formal market	Bramley/Alexandra	vegetables	Christian
09.03.2008	Jeremiah	63	48	male	Igbo	Nigeria	1999	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	vegetables	Christian
09.03.2008	Lionel	64	50	male	NC	DRC	2005	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	photographies	Christian
09.03.2008	Patrick	65	47	male	Tsepedi	South Africa	1985	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	second hand books	Christian
28.03.2008	Gloria	66	31	female	NC	DRC	2004	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	DRC ingredients, spices etc.	Christian
28.03.2008	Azeezah	67	31	female	NC	Uganda	1999	Yeoville	formal market	Yeoville	underwear, t-shirts	Muslim
04.03.2008	Paula	68	23	female	NC	Zimbabwe	2008	Yeoville	informal	Yeoville	second hand clothing	Christian
04.09.2008	Michael	69	NC	male	Luo	Kenya	NC	Bruma	formal market	NC	wooden carvings, jewellery	Christian
04.09.2008	Marlon	70	NC	male	Chewa	Malawi	2006	Bruma	formal market	Tembisa	wooden carvings, jewellery	Christian
04.09.2008	Peter	70	28	male	Chewa	Malawi	2007	Bruma	formal market	NC	painted pottery	Christian
04.09.2008	Celestine	71	47	female	NC	DRC	1995	Bruma	formal market	NC	jewellery made out of beads	Christian
22.09.2008	Godfry	72	38	male	Shona	Zimbabwe	2004	Bryanston	informal market	NC	wooden carvings, wooden animals	Rastafari
26.09.2008	John	73	NC	male	Luo	Kenya	2004	Bruma	formal market	Malvern	painted pottery	NC
26.09.2008	Bomani	74	42	male	Chewa	Malawi	2003	Bruma	formal market	Bryanston	wooden furniture	Rastafari

26.09.2008	Baba	75	50	male	NC	Tanzania	NC	Bruma	formal market	Malvern	jewellery, wooden carvings	Christian
01.10.2008	Melinde	76	NC	female	NC	Zimbabwe	2007	Bruma	formal market	NC	wooden and bead jewellery, key rings	NC
10.10.2008	Richard	77	22	male	Chewa	Malawi	2007	Bruma	formal market	NC	wooden carvings	Christian
03.10.2008	Olson	78	40	male	Chewa	Malawi	NC	Bruma	formal market	Alexandra	wooden carvings, wooden jewellery	Christian

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