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*'Ethnic Enclave of a Special Sort?' Mozambicans in La Rochelle, Johannesburg**

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Although Mozambican migration to South Africa has a long history, it is only recently that scholarly literature has begun to shift slightly from the defining albatross of the contract labour migration system to provide a much more incisive analysis of the everyday circumstances of individual migrants. Focusing on the suburb of La Rochelle in Johannesburg, we argue that, while this shift represents an important insight for migration research, it remains particularly thin on matters of urban space and migrant spatial decision-making. We look at the spatial presence of Mozambicans in La Rochelle, use property-ownership and interview data to engage in the global discourse on ethnic enclaves, and discuss the peculiar circumstances of the development and life cycle of Johannesburg's La Rochelle ethnic enclave. Our findings suggest that the Portuguese language has remained central to the development of La Rochelle as an ethnic enclave, though the suburb has taken an atypical trajectory since the end of apartheid that hardly fits the traditional ethnic enclave classification. Importantly, immigrants who move into ethnic enclaves often establish a permanent presence, but the Mozambicans in La Rochelle have forms of permanence in aggregate terms only, as the individual migrants remain transient within La Rochelle and the greater Rosettenville area.

Introduction

Mozambican migration to South Africa has a long history, and has traditionally been understood in terms of the contract labour system facilitated by government-to-government agreements between South Africa and the former Portuguese authorities in Mozambique, and, later, the Mozambican government of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO).[1] Together with Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and Swaziland, Mozambique stood as the key traditional supplier of labour to the South African mines and farming

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1 J. Crush and W. James, 'Depopulating the Compounds: Migrant Labor and Mine Housing in South Africa', *World Development*, 19, 4 (1991), pp. 301–16; J. Crush, 'Fortress South Africa and the Deconstruction of Apartheid's Migration Regime', *Geoforum*, 30, 1 (1999), pp. 1–11; C.W. Stahl, 'Migrant Labour Supplies, Past, Present and Future: With Special Reference to the Gold Mining Industry', in W.R. Bohning (ed.), *Black Migration to South Africa* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1981), pp. 7–44; G. Brochmann, 'Migrant Labour and Foreign Policy: The Case of Mozambique', *Journal of Peace Research*, 22, 4 (1985), pp. 335–44; S. E. Katzenellenbogen, *South Africa and Mozambique: Labour, Railways and Trade in the Making of a Relationship* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1982).

communities.[2] Due to these different agreements,Mozambique became the biggest and longest supplier of foreign labour to the South African economy,[3] and effectively became the backbone of a migrant labour system that ensured the profitability of the South African mining economy.[4] At the peak of the gold mining industry in South Africa, Mozambique supplied as many as 100,000 contract workers, which was the maximum set in 1928; a roughly equivalent number worked clandestinely on the farms.[5]

In addition to the movement driven by contract labour, the civil war in the 1980s forced large numbers of Mozambican refugees into South African territory. Most of these settled in the provinces of Mpumalanga and Limpopo, owing to the language affinity with the South African Tsonga populations.[6] At the end of the conflict, approximately 240,000 Mozambicans chose to remain in South Africa.[7] The greatest and most enduring movement, however, occurred in the post-civil war period, which coincided with the democratisation of South Africa. Increased numbers of Mozambican immigrants moved to South Africa to escape economic hardships in Mozambique, whose economy had been devastated by the civil conflict and by sabotage on the part of apartheid South Africa.[8] This movement has not been limited to the border areas; it has extended further afield, to cities such as Johannesburg.

A number of academic writers have recently started to deviate from the overarching contract labour migration debates and engage more critically with the everyday circumstances and nuances of Mozambican immigration. Madsen, for example, has looked at the tactics that a group of Mozambican migrants employ in the Johannesburg central business district (CBD) to evade the police and minimise contact with the lower reaches of the South African state. The Mozambican group studied by Madsen maintain a transient and placeless presence in the city without making claims over physical territory.[9] Ostanel adds that the lack of proper documentation has continually influenced the migrants' use of space, and effectively deposed them to a perpetual state of deportability.[10] Vidal has underscored the transient status of the Mozambican migrants in Johannesburg, and argues that they lack overarching collective representation in South Africa; rather, they are characterised largely by individual self-interest.[11]

The common thread among academic writers is that Mozambicans, given their long presence in Johannesburg and other South African cities, can be found almost everywhere in the city. The 2006 African cities survey, conducted by the African Centre for Migration and Society, indicated a concentration of Mozambican migrants in the inner city suburbs of Rosettenville, Bertrams, Bezuidenhout valley and Berea.[12] Other academic writers have

2 Stahl, 'Migrant Labour Supplies'.
3 Brochmann, 'Migrant Labour and Foreign Policy'.
4 R. First, *Black Gold: The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasant* (Sussex, Harvester Press, 1983); B. Maharaj, 'Economic Refugees in Post-Apartheid South Africa – Assets or Liabilities? Implications for Progressive Migration Policies', *GeoJournal*, 56, 1 (2002), pp. 47–57.
5 Stahl, 'Migrant Labour Supplies'; Brochmann, 'Migrant Labour and Foreign Policy', p. 337.
6 N. Johnston, *The Point of No Return: Evaluating the Amnesty for Mozambican Refugees in South Africa* (Cape Town, SAMP, 2001).
7 T. Polzer, 'Adapting to Changing Legal Frameworks: Mozambican Refugees in South Africa', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 19, 1 (March 2007), pp. 22–50; Johnston, *The Point of No Return*.
8 A. Adepoju, 'Continuity and Changing Configurations of Migration To and From the Republic of South Africa', *International Migration*, 41, 1 (2003), pp. 3–28.
9 M.L. Madsen, 'Living for Home: Policing Immorality among Undocumented Migrants in Johannesburg', *African Studies*, 63, 2 (2004), pp. 173–92.
10 E. Ostanel, 'Practice of Citizenship: Mozambican Immigration Within the City of Johannesburg', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33, 1 (January 2012), pp. 23–38.
11 D. Vidal, 'Living In, Out Of, and Between Two Cities: Migrants from Maputo in Johannesburg', *Urban Forum*, 21, 1 (2010), pp. 55–68.
12 L. Landau, 'Passage, Profit, Protection, and the Challenge of Participation: Building and Belonging in African Cities', *Urban Forum*, 21, 3 (2010), pp. 315–29.

suggested that Mozambican migrants find the townships habitable because of their ability to converse in local South African languages, such as Tsonga and Zulu.[13]

While the literature shows a diverse spread of Mozambicans across Johannesburg, La Rochelle constitutes a cluster of Mozambican migrants, and has a peculiar history of having been a Lusophone cultural enclave for an extended period. The Portuguese presence in the suburb provided the initial foothold for Mozambicans, first as backyard dwellers in the service of the white Portuguese employers, and then as tenants in the main houses in later years. We therefore draw on this history and discuss the link between the current Mozambican migrant preference for the suburb and the previous development of the area as a distinctly white Portuguese space. We do this through applying the concept of ethnic enclaves to the clustering of Mozambican migrants in the Johannesburg suburb of La Rochelle. We begin the discussion with a look at the conceptual foundations of the ethnic enclave and the debates that have shaped its development in the literature. We then discuss the development of La Rochelle as a white Portuguese ethnic enclave, and how it has provided a bridgehead for the settlement of Mozambicans in the period since 1994, and we conclude with a critique of the ethnic enclave discourse, arguing that the discussion overlooks the diverse circumstances of migration in the African context.

A Note on Method

The study utilised a number of data sources, including ownership data from Lightstone (a company that compiles ownership information from the deeds registry office), and data from old Rand–Pretoria telephone directories for selected years between 1945 and 1979. In addition to the ownership data, we conducted interviews with current Mozambican residents of La Rochelle, and 'key informant' interviews with religious ministers and some former residents. We conducted the fieldwork between July 2011 and June 2013; we did not aim for a representative sample but sought key informants to provide us with in-depth data. We identified individuals who have lived in La Rochelle for extended periods, at any point in their lives, and have knowledge of people living in the area and of the changes that have taken place while they were resident in particular streets. We used the deeds registry data (1993–2012) and archival data (1945–1979) to determine the country of origin of the owners and patterns of sales and property transactions in the suburb of La Rochelle. The interviews and group discussions with Mozambican migrants focused on their spatial decision-making, and obtained first-hand accounts of the participants' daily lives, their sense of place in La Rochelle, and the circumstances of their presence in the suburb and any connections that they retain with the previous white Portuguese residents of the area.

Introducing Ethnic Enclaves

According to Emberling, members of an ethnic group view themselves as having common ancestry, constructions of a shared past, and a common language and background.[14] In terms of this understanding, ethnicity denotes conscious social processes of identification and differentiation rather than inherent attributes of individuals or groups.[15] This understanding

13 J. Greenburg, 'The Spatial Politics of Xenophobia: Everyday Practices of Congolese Migrants in Johannesburg', *Transformation*, 70 (2010).

14 G. Emberling, 'Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives', *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 5, 4 (1997), p. 304.

15 *Ibid.*

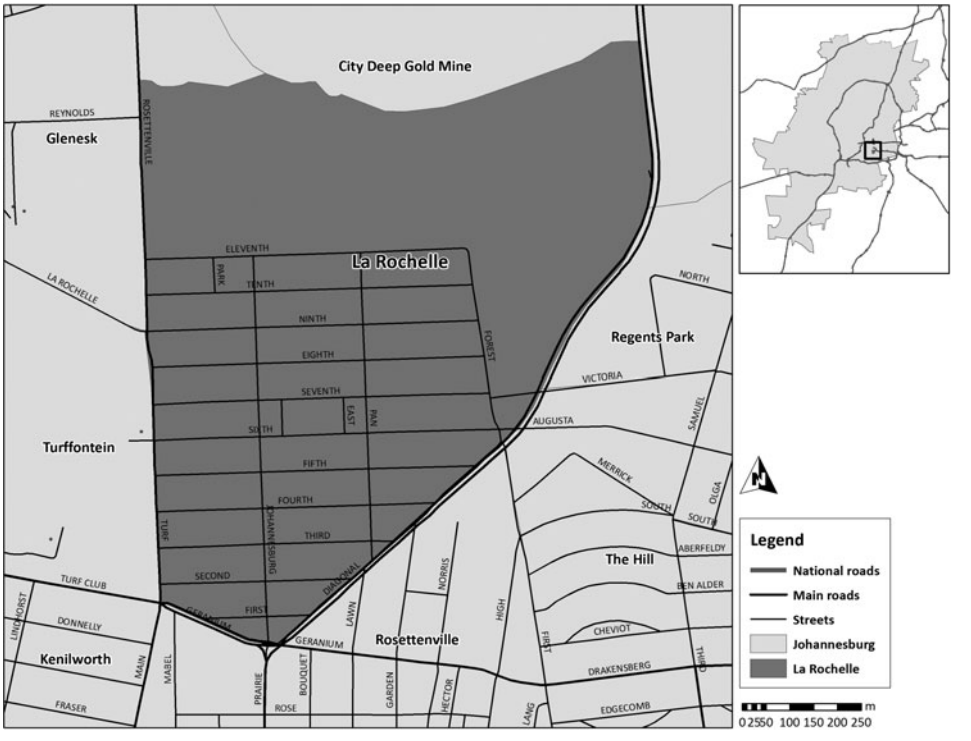

Figure 1. Map of La Rochelle and surrounding areas.

territorialises ethnicity in both physical and social space, which Sinisa Malesevic problematises, arguing that such notions of ethnicity and ethnic identity create the impression of an ethnicity that is fixed in time and space and 'inevitably imply stability, rigidity and staticism which does not reflect the realities of the social world' [*sic*].[16] Ethnicity therefore remains contested terrain, and it is in this context that in the following sections we explore how this convoluted concept challenges our understanding of the ethnic enclave, as we know it, and leads us to intimate that La Rochelle has possibly developed into an ethnic enclave without the ethnic. An 'enclave' according to Marcuse, 'is an area of spatial concentration in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political and/or cultural development'.[17]

The ethnic enclave, therefore, is a function of distinguishable traits among a people, collectively packaged as ethnicity and such ethnicity being the basis for the coalescing of that particular group of people in physical space. Moreover, the ethnic enclave derives from an association between ethnicity and the possession of certain attributes that set a given ethnic group apart from the surrounding population. Ethnic enclaves emerge as a function of both economic disadvantage and arriving immigrants' desire to maintain their cultural and religious institutions.[18] This happens in cases where the immigrants' cultural and religious

16 S. Malesevic, *Identity as Ideology: Understanding Ethnicity and Nationalism* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 27.

17 P. Marcuse, 'Enclaves Yes, Ghettos No: Segregation and the State', in D.P. Varady (ed.), *Desegregating the City: Ghettos, Enclaves, and Inequality* (New York, State University of New York Press, 2005), p. 17.

18 R.J. Johnston, M.F. Poulsen and J. Forrest, 'The Ethnic Geography of New Zealand: A Decade of Growth and Change, 1991–2001', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 44, 2 (2003), pp. 109–30.

practices are fundamentally different from those of the host country, and it becomes desirable to opt for spatial separation.[19] Chiswick and Miller note that immigrants may differ from host populations in 'the foods they eat, the clothing they wear, the holidays they celebrate, the religion they practise, the media they read or hear (e.g. newspapers and radio)'.[20]

The Early Developments of La Rochelle

The development of La Rochelle, like most of Johannesburg, followed the fortunes of the emergent gold-driven industrial development of the late 19th century in the greater Witwatersrand area.[21] In the first three years (1886–89) of gold mining, the residential areas of Johannesburg grew apace, corresponding with the exponential growth in gold exports, from £67,500 to £1,496,700 in the same period.[22] Since the 1890s, the northern district of the Witwatersrand became fashionable for such members of Johannesburg's elite as Lady Florence Philips. As Hart noted,

> Another factor which applies in a general sense to the residential market in Johannesburg is that the more southerly locations of houses have always been associated with people of lower status, and the more northerly ones with people of higher status.[23]

La Rochelle came into existence in 1895 as part of a cluster of suburbs including Ophirton (1886), Booysens (1887), Rosettenville (1889), Turffontein (1889), Regents Park (1904) and Kenilworth (1907), to the south of the CBD, collectively known as the southern suburbs.[24] Like other similar suburbs in the south and east of Johannesburg, the stands were between 500 and 1,000 square metres in size, which contrasted with other developments in northern Johannesburg, which extended to as much as 4,000 square metres.[25] Because of the smaller size of the plots, and its location to the south of the mining belt at a time when the north was gaining more prominence, La Rochelle essentially became an English working-class suburb, which, as noted by Bob Hepple:

> was inhabited by white working-class people, most of the men working in the gold mines, others for engineering works or the state railways. There were hardly any Afrikaner families in the area, and the few who were there had been anglicised. The eastern and southern suburbs of Johannesburg were something like a small industrial town in England, although not as crowded.[26]

Thus La Rochelle and the rest of the south remained working-class areas, nurturing a nascent working-class identity among the white English and Afrikaans working class of the time.[27]

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19 *Ibid.*
20 B.R. Chiswick and P.W. Miller, 'Do Enclaves Matter in Immigrant Adjustment?', *City and Community*, 4, 1 (2005), p. 8.
21 G. Hart, 'The Emergence of the Victorian Housing Market of Johannesburg', *South African Journal of Economic History,* 4, 1 (1989), pp. 34–46; K.S.O. Beavon, *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City* (Pretoria, University of South Africa Press, 2004); P. Harrison and T. Zack, 'The Power of Mining: The Fall of Gold and Rise of Johannesburg', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30, 4 (2012), pp. 551–70.
22 Hart, 'The Emergence of the Victorian Housing Market', p. 36.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
24 *Ibid.*
25 South African History Online (SAHO), 'Residential Development in Johannesburg', available at http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/residential-development-johannesburg, retrieved 28 March 2013.
26 B. Hepple, *Alex Hepple: South African Socialist. A Memoir by Bob Hepple* (Cape Town, South African History Online, 2011), p. 18.
27 P. Harrison and T. Zack, 'Between the Ordinary and the Extra-Ordinary: Socio-Spatial Transformations in the "Old South" of Johannesburg', *South African Geographical Journal*, 96, 2 (2014), p. 183.

The Making of Johannesburg's 'Little Portugal'

The consensus in the Portuguese migration literature is that the late 1960s and early 1970s saw increased white Portuguese immigration into La Rochelle.[28] The reasons given for this upsurge vary, and an understanding of the broader context of Portuguese migration into South Africa during this period brings insight. Clive Glaser, for instance, has noted that the Portuguese came into South Africa in three overlapping waves.[29] The first and longest wave, from the late 19th century to the 1970s, was composed of Madeiran islanders; the second wave involved Portuguese migrants from mainland Portugal and spanned 1940–1980, intensifying during the 1960s and 1970s; the final wave was composed of Mozambican and Angolan ex-colonial refugees.[30] The intensity of the second and third waves had consequences for La Rochelle, as the mainland Portuguese settled in the south and east of Johannesburg, areas that had always possessed a working-class identity (see Figure 2).

The low cost of land and the close proximity to the city, combined with the Portuguese migrants' low socio-economic and financial conditions, were important in the initial choice of La Rochelle and similar suburbs.[31] With a foothold in the suburb, the settled Portuguese invited their families from Portugal, setting off the process of chain migration.[32] At the time of Cohen's study (1971), white Portuguese ownership of property in La Rochelle was estimated to be around 30 per cent, with indications that the actual Portuguese presence could have been higher, when considering that migrants often move into an area initially as tenants rather than property owners.[33] Cohen surveyed 154 Portuguese households in La Rochelle, and found that 87 per cent of the male respondents were from mainland Portugal, and 86 per cent of the migrants had settled in Johannesburg on arrival, while the remainder moved to La Rochelle from elsewhere in South Africa. Ninety per cent of the Portuguese immigrants, according to Cohen, were artisans, while the Madeirans, by contrast, '… found work with fellow Madeirans who had established themselves in South Africa over several decades, mostly as farmers, market gardeners and greengrocers'.[34]

Da Rosa and Trigo argue that the gravitation of the Portuguese to La Rochelle and similar semi-exclusive neighbourhoods followed mainly upon rejection by the largely English- and Afrikaans-speaking residents of South Africa's urban centres. Most Portuguese were Roman Catholic, an affiliation that marginalised them among whites in an era when Afrikaner nationalists regularly denounced 'die Roomsegevaar' ('the Romish menace'). Attitude and opinion surveys of the time show that the Portuguese and other southern Europeans were the least preferred as neighbours; Afrikaners gave high preference to Dutch, Flemish and Germans, while the English preferred their fellow British.[35] This meant that the mini-revival of La Rochelle in the mid 1970s ensured that the area became increasingly attractive as an enclave of sorts, and provided an environment where Portuguese culture and lifestyle could be freely practised. As the Portuguese continually moved in, the previous Afrikaner and

28 S. Cohen, 'Clustering Characteristics of a Migrant Population in the Core of a Primate Centre' (Honours thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1971); V.M.P. da Rosa and S.V.P. Trigo, 'Islands in a Segregated Land: Portuguese in South Africa', in D. Higgs (ed.), *Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective* (Toronto, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1990), pp. 182–99.

29 C. Glaser, 'Portuguese Immigrant History in Twentieth-Century South Africa: A Preliminary Overview', *African Historical Review*, 42, 2 (December 2010), pp. 61–83.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 61; S. de Jong, 'Post-Disaster Public Health in Refugee Camps' (no date), available at http://desastres.unanleon.edu.ni/pdf/2003/Enero/pdf/eng/doc1953/doc1953-5c.pdf, retrieved 30 March 2014.

31 Cohen, 'Clustering Characteristics'.

32 *Ibid.*; Glaser, 'Portuguese Immigrant History'.

33 Cohen, 'Clustering Characteristics'.

34 Glaser, 'Portuguese Immigrant History', p. 68.

35 Da Rosa and Trigo, 'Islands in a Segregated Land'; C. Glaser, 'White But Illegal: Undocumented Madeiran Immigration to South Africa, 1920s–1970s', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 31, 1 (May 2012), pp. 1–25.

Figure 2. Growth of Portuguese property ownership in La Rochelle in comparison with the declining ownership of the English and Afrikaans. (Data source: Telephone directory entries for selected years between 1950 and 1980.)

English working-class residents progressively moved to other nearby areas. At the end of the 1970s, the Portuguese constituted the largest group in the area by property ownership, which stood at 190 units; English people owned 173 units and Afrikaners 116 (see Figure 2).

Rosa, a Portuguese woman who worked in La Rochelle as a doctor's receptionist for 40 years and lived a significant part of her life in the neighbouring suburb of Turffontein, recalls her early years in La Rochelle, when a significant number of Afrikaans- and English-speakers lived in the neighbourhood. She explains that the relationship between the Portuguese- and Afrikaans-speakers was characterised by a playful rivalry, as they would tease each other about their respective languages, but there was no underlying hostility between the groups. 'It is funny that we were closer to the Afrikaans than we were to the English who lived in La Rochelle; the English were more arrogant and had an air of superiority', Rosa explained.[36]

Rosa attributed the gradual disappearance of the English and Afrikaans community to a lack of a sense of belonging: 'maybe they felt like there were too many of us and did not feel comfortable any more.' She notes the mid–late 1970s especially as the time when there were more Portuguese people than she had ever seen before. The political upheaval in the two Portuguese colonies (Mozambique and Angola) had a direct impact on La Rochelle's Portuguese population. Since South Africa assisted the displaced people, members of the existing Portuguese community volunteered many services needed. As a Portuguese speaker, Rosa assisted the doctors in their voluntary service at the refugee camps in Cullinan, Pretoria.[37]

36 Key informant interview with Rosa, a Portuguese woman who works as a clerk at a clinic in La Rochelle, La Rochelle, 5 April 2013.

37 For details on the refugee situation, see de Jong, 'Post-Disaster Public Health'.

There are a number of salient points in the development of La Rochelle into a Portuguese ethnic enclave known as 'Little Portugal'. The first is that, despite the changing profile of residents – from English to a mixture of English and Afrikaner and eventually a dominant Portuguese presence, it remained a working-class suburb and did not shake off this identity. The second, and most important in the context of this study, is that the suburb, in addition to sustaining a working-class identity, added another dimension to its identity in the form of the Portuguese language. Since the cumulative presence of the Portuguese immigrants in La Rochelle followed a chain migration pattern, the Portuguese language and culture became more prominent as a magnet to other Portuguese immigrants who had limited English and Afrikaans language competence. Furthermore, the Portuguese were keen to preserve their identity and cultural preferences, and La Rochelle provided the perfect place to do so, both spatially and aesthetically. Importantly, the Portuguese made a spatial imprint on La Rochelle, and effectively owned the suburb aesthetically.

In addition to the residential function of La Rochelle during the Portuguese era, it nurtured a nascent entrepreneurial class among the Portuguese residents. This is consistent with observations on the behaviour of immigrants in ethnic neighbourhoods, where the large population of co-ethnics incubates the entrepreneurial trade in ethnic goods.[38] The Portuguese traded in ethnic goods not only among themselves, they also served the greater Johannesburg area, as the suburb enabled the growth of Portuguese restaurants, bakeries and fruit and vegetable shops.

The area had a certain ambience and a nascent cosmopolitanism, with a mix of different cultures, though the aesthetics of the area showed a certain Portuguese dominance. The older residents and business owners of La Rochelle speak nostalgically of its glory days when the area was a commercial hub and attracted people from around Johannesburg. One of the oldest business owners in the area remarks: 'this area was like Sandton; people would come from other areas to do their shopping here, there was high-class clothing sold here'. Other evidence of the former vibrancy of this area lies within its social calendar of the 1970s; writers mention the frequency with which *Fado* (a traditional Portuguese music) artists would perform in La Rochelle, at the Cathedral of Christ the King and at St Patrick's Parish Hall.[39]

Archival data suggests that the idea of 'Little Portugal' emerged within a diverse group of people, with racially mixed property ownership. The English and Afrikaans working-class families did not leave the area entirely; some of them lived side by side with the Portuguese, as shown in the property ownership statistics and old census data.[40] Other minority white groups, such as Greeks, Italians and Cypriots, also lived in the area, together with Indians and a handful of black Africans, who worked mainly as domestics.

Crime, Grime and White Flight

Clergy and business people in La Rochelle perceive the changes in the population, particularly the emigration of white Portuguese to other suburbs, as the result of an increase in

38 K.L. Wilson and A. Portes, 'Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the Labor Market Experiences of Cubans in Miami', *American Journal of Sociology,* 86, 2 (September 1980), pp. 295–319; J.M. Sanders and V. Nee, 'Limits of Ethnic Solidarity in the Enclave Economy', *American Sociological Review*, 52, 6 (December 1987), pp. 745–73; R. Waldinger, 'The Ethnic Enclave Debate Revisited', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 17, 3 (1993), pp. 444–52; R. Waldinger, 'Networks and Niches: The Continuing Significance of Ethnic Connections', in G. Loury, T. Modood and S. Teles, *Ethnicity, Social Mobility and Public Policy: Comparing the USA and UK* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 342–62.

39 M.D. Nunes Nabarro, *The Background and Development of Fado in Moçambique Up To 1973* (1973), available at http://macua.blogs.com/o_fado_e_portugal/2004/08/, retrieved 30 March 2014.

40 Central Statistical Service, 'Population Census 1991: Social Characteristics' (Pretoria, Central Statistical Service, 1992).

criminal activities in the area. Others believe that the presence of a Nigerian community has resulted in the peddling of drugs, which has driven the white Portuguese out of the suburb. A religious minister, for instance, said, 'La Rochelle became a little dangerous after 1994; we have a Nigerian community, and right here on the street corner drugs are sold on a daily basis'.[41] An outfitting-business owner in the area believes that some of his Portuguese customers went back to Portugal, while others moved to the neighbouring suburbs. He further explains, 'I still have Portuguese customers, but they are frightened to come to this area; crime is bad. Just because I know this area, nobody will hurt me. At night you cannot stay in this area, that is why I sold my own property, I had my own property and I just sold it'.[42]

A former resident of the area adds that things began to change around 1994; those who had children and roots in Johannesburg chose to move to newer areas in the south, further away from the city centre, which had become more Africanised.[43] Some Portuguese families, whose children had bought houses elsewhere, decided to make money from their properties by renting them out to incoming black families. 'They thought that it was a way to preserve the houses and that eventually they would return to La Rochelle when the changes brought by the post-1994 dispensation had stabilised'.[44] However, the mainly Mozambican and black South African families who moved into the suburb did not match the economic status of the departing Portuguese, and practices such as sub-letting and overcrowding began to proliferate in the area, prompting more Portuguese owners to sell their properties.

The Strong Mozambican Presence in La Rochelle

So far, we have discussed, in accordance with our understanding of the concept of ethnic enclaves, how La Rochelle developed into little Portugal. Now we will look at how Mozambicans found their way into La Rochelle. Anna's personal account of the Mozambican presence in La Rochelle goes back to the 1980s:

> She arrived in La Rochelle for the first time, enticed by her cousin, who had managed to find them both jobs at a salon [that] operated out of a garage of a Portuguese woman's home. Anna reminisced about the way everything looked back then, all the houses were organised and people knew each other, she moved into the Portuguese woman's backroom and worked for the salon. A financial crisis at the salon forced her to find another job, this time at a restaurant in La Rochelle, owned by a Portuguese man. Anna was unsatisfied with the job, so she changed jobs again as soon as an opportunity to be a caretaker of a church arose. As caretaker, she managed to maintain the same job for 19 years and lived in one of the church's quarters. This is where she has spent 19 years of her life, and met her husband, had children and later became widowed. Anna experienced the change from one extreme to the other during the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa, she noted how after the end of apartheid in 1994, the church membership changed from majority white Portuguese to black (migrants and black South Africans). She explained that many of the Mozambicans she had met had either left the place or died and that there were a lot more faces that are new.[45]

A report, '*Migrants in the City of Johannesburg*', noted that, before the 1990s, areas like Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow provided accommodation mainly to the white middle class, and that this has changed in the post-1994 period. 'Today, they (migrants) are largely black

41 Key informant interview with religious minister in La Rochelle, 25 March 2013.
42 Key informant interview with a business owner in La Rochelle, 4 April 2013.
43 Interview with former Portuguese resident of La Rochelle, 5 April 2013.
44 *Ibid.*
45 Summary from notes of a key informant interview with Anna, a female Mozambican who works as caretaker at a Portuguese church in La Rochelle, La Rochelle, 30 May 2013.

Africans from elsewhere in the city, South Africa, and Africa'.[46] New living arrangements have also emerged in the inner city; for example, sub-letting and shared housing have spread throughout the city of Johannesburg, particularly to areas that have greater concentrations of migrants, such as Yeoville, Hilbrow, Bertrams and Fordsburg.[47] Previously, white Portuguese migrants and a few smaller groups, such as Greeks, occupied La Rochelle, while today Mozambicans and other African migrants occupy it. We note that the area's attractiveness to migrants has remained the same.

While Anna's story captures the dimensions of the Mozambicans' presence in La Rochelle over time, there is difficulty in pointing out the exact date when the first black Mozambican migrant arrived there. According to the 1970 census, of the 4,400 residents of La Rochelle in 1970, 358 were black Africans.[48] The numbers do not specify whether these were native South Africans or immigrants from other African countries. In spite of this lack of clarity, former residents of the area suggest that the Mozambicans had a foothold in the area owing to their knowledge of the Portuguese language and the high likelihood of finding employment from the white Portuguese as domestic workers. Many Mozambicans, like Anna, found their way into La Rochelle through this avenue, initially living in the backyard dwellings working for the Portuguese. A priest in one of the Portuguese Catholic churches in La Rochelle reported that,

> Many Mozambicans already lived here before all the changes in government. At that time, they did not own houses, as they were not permitted. They were also not permitted to live in this area, but they have always lived here in rented houses, that either belonged to their bosses, or the Portuguese would rent to a family member and the Mozambicans lived in the backrooms. There have always been Portuguese and Mozambicans here.[49]

The 2011 census data shows that SADC-born residents constitute 20.7 per cent (1,063) of the total population of La Rochelle (5,131), while the South African-born population constitutes 58.4 per cent (2,999) of the total.[50] There is also a large number of immigrants (761) with unspecified place of birth, constituting 14.8 per cent of the total population, and, given the difficulty of enumerating undocumented migrants, it is possible that Mozambicans make up a significant proportion of this category. Our field research suggests a relatively strong presence of Mozambican migrants in La Rochelle, with indications that 50 (25.5 per cent) out of the 196 properties where we obtained data had Mozambican tenants, mainly living in the same properties as black South Africans.

The profile of Mozambicans currently living in La Rochelle has changed substantially from Anna's generation of backyard dwellers and domestic servants. Most of the Mozambicans currently living in La Rochelle arrived in Johannesburg in the 21st century. The living arrangements, however, have not changed, as the majority still live in backrooms (cottages) or rent a room in a house. Many of them are in their 20s and 30s, experienced an interruption in their education at high-school level, are neither married nor living with a partner, have young children in Mozambique, and came to South Africa with the intention of seeking work.

Interestingly, La Rochelle does not possess 'target area' status; that is to say, few Mozambicans migrate to South Africa with the intention of living in La Rochelle. Many knew

46 S. Peberdy, J. Crush and N. Msibi, *Migrants in the City of Johannesburg: A Report for the City of Johannesburg* (Johannesburg, Southern African Migration Project, 2004), p. 31, available at http://www.joburg-archive.co.za/corporate_planning/migrants.pdf, retrieved 28 October 2014.

47 *Ibid.*

48 Department of Statistics, 'Statistical News Release: Population Census 1970' (Pretoria, Department of Statistics, 1971).

49 Key informant interview with religious minister in La Rochelle, 25 March 2013.

50 Statistics South Africa, 'Census 2011' (Pretoria, STATSSA, 2011).

little about La Rochelle before coming to Johannesburg, and relocated there from other parts of Johannesburg rather than from Mozambique. When asked why they had moved to La Rochelle, our study's participants' responses were surprisingly uniform. Most learned about the suburb through a network, and were motivated by employment. A group of waiters discussed this point openly. The participants believed that living there made it easier to find jobs, because it is close to the places where people seek services, be it hair braiding or odd constructions jobs. One participant said:

> I think there are so many Mozambicans here because we think that this is the best area for business, the preference is due to business because it works really well. Although rent is expensive but business is good. I do not know why the rent is higher, they tell us about water and electricity and we do not know, they just say it is expensive, they have to pay Eskom and so on, and they are the ones who know.[51]

So the key determinants for moving to La Rochelle include economic considerations and Portuguese-language competency, which constitutes a form of capital for Mozambican migrants, owing to the presence of white Portuguese-speakers in adjacent neighbourhoods. The decision to live in La Rochelle stems from a considered cost–benefit analysis: more work opportunities in neighbouring areas and reduced transport costs offset the higher costs of accommodation. The men perform odd construction jobs for companies and private clients, known as *conta propria* (self-employment), while women might opt to braid hair in downtown Johannesburg, or to become waiters, particularly in Portuguese restaurants, or domestic workers, particularly in Portuguese households. La Rochelle offers convenient rental accommodation to this category of migrants who live in the backrooms and in close proximity to part-time jobs where knowledge of the Portuguese language provides a competitive advantage. Describing his *conta propria* work, one Mozambican migrant indicated that he gets work because people call him for jobs:

> I get them because they like my work, my clients are Portuguese and white South Africans, they are in Sandton, South Hills and Bassonia. I got into this business through another company where I used to work. There was a Portuguese person who was a partner in the company, but he decided to leave and took his belongings and started his own company; from that point, every time he got contracts he would call me to work, so I built my business from there.[52]

There is, thus, a continuing connection between the previous white Portuguese presence in La Rochelle and the current strong Mozambican presence. The Portuguese language, which enables communication between the two groups, emerges as a significant draw for the Mozambican migrants, who indicate that 'they seek them [white Portuguese] out wherever they are because they communicate better with them'.[53] For our participants, the point of entry into the labour market in South Africa hinges almost exclusively on networks that lead them to Portuguese employers, and there is agreement that the common language facilitates their attempts to find employment. We found that their employment record consisted of mainly Portuguese employers, even after they had become familiarised with local languages, which suggests a tendency to pursue cultural proximity, thus the 'communication' in question does not limit itself to mechanical language but extends beyond this to a sense of homeliness.

The presence of this initial attraction has enabled the creation of a self-reinforcing mechanism, where the presence of compatriots provides motivation for other Mozambicans to move into the area. A few Mozambicans attest to this point, as they indicate that they have

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51 Anonymous interview A with male Mozambican migrant living in La Rochelle, La Rochelle, 10August 2013.
52 Anonymous interview B with male Mozambican migrant living in La Rochelle, La Rochelle, 10 May 2013.
53 Interview with Mozambican Migrant Organisation representative, Johannesburg, 25 September 2012.

found La Rochelle homely and possessing a comforting environment that is similar to Mozambique. For example,

> Mozambicans come because of the language, gastronomy – it is easy to get stuff from Mozambique here – the environment, even the neighbourhood. You see the place where I am staying, there in 9th Street, even if I am standing inside the yard you hear people that pass all the time speaking Shangaan or Portuguese. So it's comfortable, it's safe, you feel warm, no matter where you go you find a Mozambican. Everything is one side, Mozambican side.[54]

The economic considerations, the language factor, the proximity to the middle-class suburbs in the new South and the cumulative presence of compatriots emerge as important factors in the choice of La Rochelle. However, the nature and dimensions of the Mozambican presence in the area contrasts with that of the previous white Portuguese, and entreats an exploration of some of the reasons this has obtained in La Rochelle, the pertinent issue being why La Rochelle has not been transformed into 'Little Maputo'.

Why 'Little Portugal' Has Not Become 'Little Maputo'

Discussing the evolution of ethnic enclaves in Canada, Qadeer and Kumar have argued that, 'mere living side by side without any community bonds and shared sentiments does not make an ethnic neighbourhood'.[55] The critical points in the conversion of an existing suburb into an ethnic cluster include the development of formal and informal community networks and symbols. While, in some respects, Mozambican migrants in La Rochelle possess forms of common identity and shared notions of a Mozambican home and non-belonging in South Africa, it is imperative to caution against any conception of national identity as suggestive of coalescence. It is therefore important to clarify that Mozambican migrants in La Rochelle do not constitute a homogeneous ethnic group, but have divisions based on the areas they come from in Mozambique, and the languages they speak. For example, among the Mozambicans we interviewed in La Rochelle, the majority are from Maputo and speak primarily Portuguese and Ronga. A few come from the outskirts of Maputo, and from the rural, agricultural province of Gaza. The population from Gaza commonly speaks Shangaan and (those who attended school) Portuguese, and have a long history of migration to South Africa's mining towns.

Wenonah Lyon, however, has argued that the conception of ethnicity has an implicit duality.[56] While a group may have a common country of origin and, on the surface, project an image of oneness, it will still contain divisions. We have followed the assumption that, while Mozambicans may not be homogeneous, it is plausible to consider their country of origin as their defining distinction in the destination country. Far from being oblivious of the many differences among Mozambican migrants, we are simply attempting a nationality-based ascription of difference that gives credence to the title of this article; the nature of the Mozambican presence in La Rochelle is acephalous and constitutes an ethnic enclave not centred on common ethnicity. For example, among the migrants from Mozambique, we found no connections to suggest a close-knit community resembling that of the previous white Portuguese residents of the area.

Madsen identified in inner-city Johannesburg networks based on place of origin, and observed among Mozambican immigrants moral communities of inclusion and exclusion.[57]

54 Anonymous interview C with Mozambican migrant living in La Rochelle, La Rochelle, 21 September 2012.
55 M. Qadeer and S. Kumar, 'Ethnic Enclaves and Social Cohesion', *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 15, 2 (2006), p. 2 (supplement).
56 W. Lyon, 'Defining Ethnicity: Another Way of Being British', in T. Modood and P. Werbner (eds), *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity and Community* (London, Zed Books, 1997), p. 187.
57 Madsen, 'Living for Home'.

The collective fibre among the migrants studied by Madsen involved the tactics of invisibility to the state, the fear of arrest and the impending return to Mozambique as accomplished immigrants.[58] This, to Madsen, is what held the community together, and the fear of exclusion from the network served as a mechanism to maintain discipline and collective conscience within the group.[59] The Mozambican presence in La Rochelle, however, differs from the flexible forms of community studied by Madsen. The few pockets of connections we observed do not go beyond dyadic and small groups of friends who gather at weekends over a few bottles of beer and, sometimes, a barbecue. Notions of community and hierarchical forms of leadership seem not to permeate everyday discussions among Mozambican migrants in La Rochelle. As for the sense that one belongs in a community, opinions of the residents interviewed indicated an awareness of fellow migrants, but most people immediately distanced themselves from talk of commitment to friendships, stating clearly that their encounters with neighbours are purely casual.

The Mozambican presence in La Rochelle does not suggest the chain migration similar to the forms of white Portuguese movement into the area wherein the men came first and then sent for their families to join them in Johannesburg.[60] The white Portuguese immigrants had the essential community building-blocks centred on family, and common language and traditions. The Mozambicans, on the other hand, do not have the same systems, and have traditionally lacked the foundations of cumulative immigration similar to the waves of white Portuguese arrival in Johannesburg. The Mozambicans who arrived as contract labourers in mines were either deported or repatriated at the end of their contracts, and had no formal pathways to citizenship within the apartheid system. Effectively, they had to remain within the circulations of migration. This has continued in the post-apartheid dispensation, as indicated in the work of Madsen and of Ostanel,[61] and corroborated by input from our interviews, that the Mozambican migrants see themselves as not belonging to South Africa but in a permanent state of flux and transience.

When asked where 'home' is, the response by most Mozambicans was an abrupt 'Mozambique', followed by an explanation of how their situation was merely a temporary arrangement, a means to an end. One, for example, indicated that:

> My future is in Mozambique but life is easier here, I do suffer, each person has big dreams but I have to think about what is possible to do. I think of buying land and building a house at home. It is not that things are not going well here, but here I am not living well, I live in a small room, just to raise my children but my future is at home.[62]

This excerpt illustrates the point that the impending return to Mozambique is a powerful influence on the decisions that Mozambicans make regarding their future in La Rochelle. Johannesburg, to them, is a place where they can achieve their dreams, yet it is not seen as a place of permanent sojourn, and they are content to live in small, crowded rooms pending a return to the proverbial home in Mozambique.

Movement and the Lack of Permanence among Mozambicans in La Rochelle

The decisions made by Mozambican migrants regarding residential space reflect the ambivalent state of temporality and permanent transience built into the bigger notions of circulation highlighted in the foregoing discussion. We found the lack of permanence and

58 *Ibid.*
59 *Ibid.*
60 Glaser, 'Portuguese Immigrant History'.
61 Madsen, 'Living for Home'; Ostanel, 'Practice of Citizenship'.
62 Anonymous interview D with Mozambican migrant living in La Rochelle, La Rochelle, 3 December 2012.

frequent movements within the Mozambican households in the area quite striking. For the Mozambican residents, La Rochelle is a temporary home, which contrasts with the basic tenets of the ethnic enclave debates, where residents eventually have permanent homes in the areas of settlement. Mozambicans in La Rochelle typically share living quarters, such as sub-let rooms in a house or cottage, to reduce living expenses. When probed about the reasons for moving as often as they do, participants cited rental hikes, lack of security, and personal disputes with landlords. The following excerpt illustrates this point:

> I first lived in Rosettenville, on High Street. This is the fourth house. My first house was a cottage; the second house, I had a room; third house, I was sharing a garage with my brother, and then we decided to split. I now live in a flat that I share with other people; it has five bedrooms, we are renting the flat from the owner, and we pay the rent at the Standard bank. The owner is South African, his business is buying and renting out property … the first house where I lived belonged to a Mozambican, the second belonged to a Zimbabwean and the third house belonged to a Congolese.[63]

This story reveals an important component of the way of life in La Rochelle. The frequent movements within La Rochelle itself, and in the greater Rosettenville area, somehow mirror the broader conception of impermanence among Mozambican migrants in La Rochelle, and the greater state of temporariness of Mozambican migrants in Johannesburg and South Africa generally. Notably, the movements take place within the greater Rosettenville area rather than out of the area, which indicates that the area does not diminish in its attractiveness, but that intra-household dynamics and cost adjustments result in the frequent movements. The lack of property ownership also plays a part, in that individual migrants do not feel attached to specific residential quarters, though they instrumentally see the need to remain within the area because of access to employment opportunities.

While most ethnic enclaves throughout the world are composed of migrants who have settled, most cross-border migrants in South Africa are temporary, and circulate between Johannesburg and the home country. The temporary disposition of Mozambicans in La Rochelle has implications for the ethnic enclave, as in its design it caters for immigrants that come to the destination country to settle and over time assimilate into the destination country's norms and ways of living.[64] The Mozambicans' state of temporariness seems to go on forever, despite the existential state of mind always positing temporariness in the destination and permanence in the return to the home country. The mainstream ethnic-enclave discourse has not tackled this issue among migrants in the African context, who have a history of migrant circulation.

Property Ownership and Entrepreneurial Mismatch

Mozambicans in La Rochelle lack the spatial imprint characteristic of the previous Portuguese presence in the area, as they have limited property ownership and entrepreneurial functions in the area, with most of the businesses in the hands of other immigrant groups, such as

Nigerians, Congolese or Ethiopians, as well as a remnant white Portuguese. This is in spite of an observed numerically significant Mozambican presence in the area, and contrasts with the white Portuguese, who dominated both residential and entrepreneurial functions of the suburb. The figures are also indicative of the Mozambicans' preference for *conta propria* in technical fields, rather than street trading and operating small shops, a domain of the Congolese immigrants.

63 Anonymous interview E with Mozambican migrant living in La Rochelle, La Rochelle, 3 December 2012.
64 Waldinger, 'The Ethnic Enclave Debate Revisited'; 'Networks and Niches'.

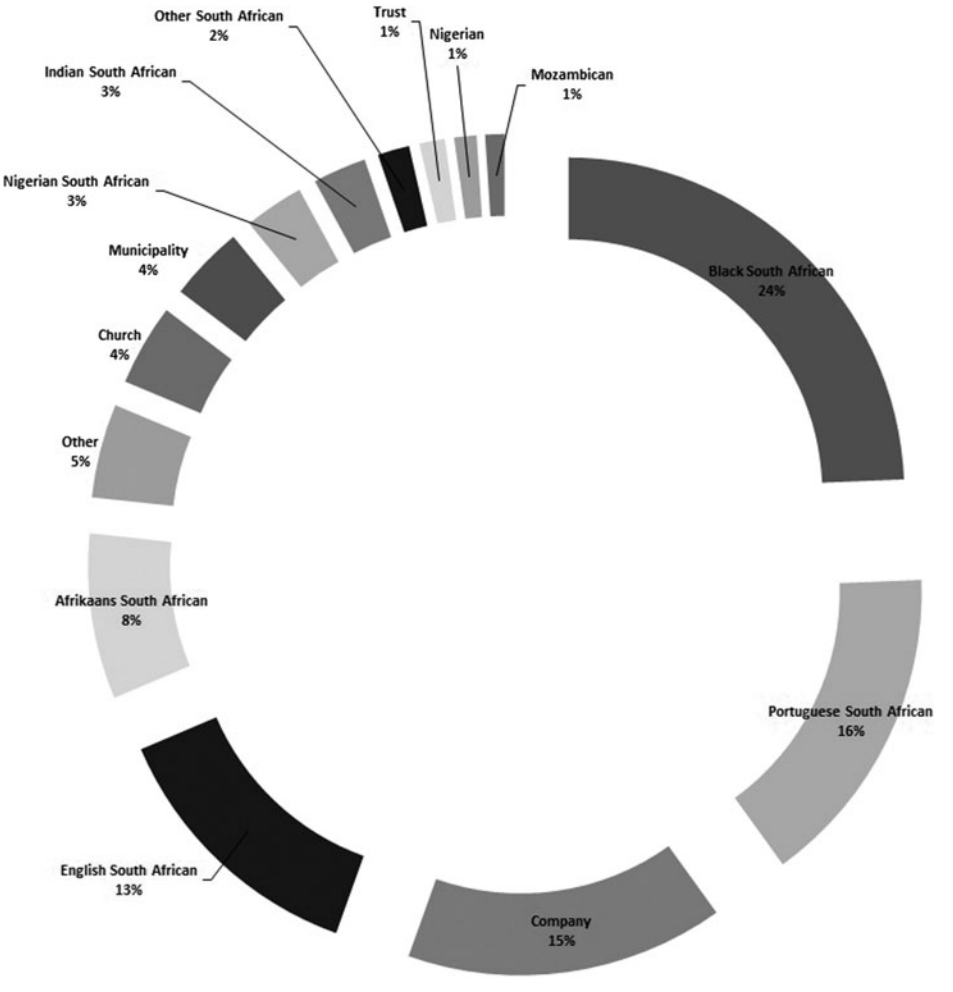

Figure 3. Property ownership in La Rochelle as of 2012, according to nationality. (Data source: Lightstone Property data.)

As shown in Figure 2, at the beginning of the 1980s the Portuguese owned more properties in La Rochelle than any other population group. A significant proportion lived in rented properties, which indicates that their numbers were more than the ownership statistics suggest. The mismatch in the residential occupancy of the Mozambicans without property ownership, therefore, is indicative of the class mismatch between the previous white Portuguese, who were mainly artisans, and the current Mozambicans, who mainly do *conta propria*, and, for the most part, cannot afford to buy property in the area. The deeds registry data (Figure 3) show that black South Africans own the highest number of properties in La Rochelle, followed by companies and a remnant of white Portuguese.

The property ownership mismatch adds to other forms of difference between the previous Portuguese residents and the current Mozambican presence in the area. We have found an example in the development of Toronto's Little Portugal, which exhibits similar characteristics to the La Rochelle ethnic enclave, but, as noted by Carlos Teixeira, the immigrants from former Portuguese colonies have moved into the area and effectively

ensured that it retains its Portuguese enclave identity.[65] In Johannesburg's Little Portugal, the chances of a similar thing happening have been limited because of factors such as the social and economic class mismatch between the previous white Portuguese immigrants and the current Mozambican immigrants. In Teixeira's account, the immigrants from former Portuguese colonies have economic statuses similar or comparable to that of the Portuguese, and have had no difficulty in taking over from the departing or ageing Portuguese population.[66]

Identity, Religion and Cultural Intimacy on the Streets

During the Little Portugal era, the Portuguese houses in La Rochelle were distinguishable from the non-Portuguese by their renovations and better maintenance.[67] However, the opposite is true for current Mozambican-occupied houses, which are distinguishable by the widespread dilapidation and illegal secondary structures at the back of the main properties. The cultural markings of Portuguese presence included visible affixing of traditional Catholic figures, such as the Virgin Mary, on the entrance of houses, and shops clearly marked with Portuguese names, such as Lisbon Shopping Centre and Dias Mall. Historicising the development of ethnic enclaves in Canadian cities, John Zucchi suggests that the visibility of an ethnic neighbourhood depends on how the group perceives itself as well as how people outside perceive it.[68] The relationship between the group and the streets is in many ways a barometer of the extent to which a particular group 'owns' the streets and expresses its ethnic identity on the streets' spatial fabric. According to Zucchi, contact with the streets is an important aspect in the visibility of the ethnic enclave, and 'stores, travel agencies, newspapers, religious institutions' mediate the intensity and depth of such interaction.[69]

This intimacy with the streets is absent among the Mozambicans in La Rochelle, who prefer to remain invisible and lead quiet lives out of the public eye. Thus, by their own admission, they are not always on the streets, as are the Congolese, who run tuck shops and do most of the street trading in the suburb. This is a result of the *conta propia* work they do in other suburbs, and a deliberate choice of ambivalence and negation of presence, a kind of dialectical relationship with the street, in which they have usufruct rights, but are reluctant to accentuate their presence visibly. Thus, they have no incentive to spend extended hours on the streets, as they do not make a living through activities that necessitate such street presence. This contrasts with Mozambicans in other areas of Johannesburg, such as the CBD and townships where they are involved in trading or car repairs on the streets. For example, in 2005 a newspaper correspondent identified the township of Ivory Park, north-east of Johannesburg, as a 'Little Maputo' because of the scenery, which resembled the heart of Maputo.[70] In particular, he observed that 'jokes are cracked in Portuguese, Shangaan and other Mozambican languages, while hawkers display dried, smoked fish that provides a taste of home for those who once lived along Mozambique's coast'.[71] Such street presence is absent among Mozambicans in La Rochelle, which, to some extent, offers reasons why Little

65 C. Teixeira, 'Toronto's Little Portugal: A Neighbourhood in Transition', *CUCS Research Bulletin*, 35 (2007), pp. 1–8.
66 *Ibid.*
67 Cohen, 'Clustering Characteristics'.
68 J. Zucchi, *A History of Ethnic Enclaves in Canada* (Ottawa, Canadian Historical Association, 2007).
69 *Ibid.*
70 L. Ledwaba, *Migration–Africa: In Johannesburg, a Little Maputo* (Inter Press Service, 30 August 2005), available at http://www.ipsnews.net/2005/08/migration-africa-in-johannesburg-a-little-maputo/, retrieved 31 March 2014.
71 *Ibid.*

Portugal has not become a Little Maputo. The carpenters, welders, car repairers and street traders in the township do their work on the streets, while in La Rochelle they do the work in the neighbouring areas for mainly Portuguese clients. Studies on foreign migrants in the city of Johannesburg have identified areas of ethnic enclaving along religious and entrepreneurial lines. Examples include the Ethiopian business enclave in the CBD,[72] the Somali religious enclave in Mayfair,[73] and the Chinese immigrant enclave in Cyrildene.[74] These enclaves develop on the basis of shared ethnicity, entrepreneurial endeavour and close networks, a characteristic that is absent among Mozambicans residing in La Rochelle.

In terms of the religious institutions in the area, there is an enduring institutional service to the white Portuguese living in La Rochelle and neighbouring suburbs. The religious institutions have retained a white Portuguese membership as well as having a strong Mozambican membership, mixed with migrants from other countries and black South Africans. The main Portuguese churches include the Roman Catholic Church, the Portuguese Evangelical Church and the Assembleia de Deus. Restaurants in the area also invoke a nostalgic Portuguese antecedence in terms of their identity and menus. These include the highly successful Parrerinha and São Vicente on 6th Street, and the Perola do Atlantico on Johannesburg Road. The restaurants serve only Portuguese food, and attract patrons from within La Rochelle itself, the new southern suburbs, and the greater Johannesburg area. Pareirinha restaurant on 6th Street appears to be the most popular, as one Mozambican immigrant shared: 'they are even on the internet and their customers are people who know the restaurant and others find it on the internet, they surf on the internet, find it and come'.[75] While the names, the food outlets and the renovations showed a distinct Portuguese feel during and after the Portuguese dominance of the area, there are no distinguishable visible imprints of Mozambican presence and identity in the area.

Conclusion

The underlying assumption of the ethnic enclave model of neighbourhood development is that the incoming inhabitants purchase property in the new area and cumulatively trigger the departure of the existing residents through chain migration.[76] We therefore conclude our discussion with a few observations and questions. First, we note that, while the Portuguese presence in La Rochelle had all the features of an invasion and subsequent domination of the suburb, the Mozambican presence in the area is strong but does not have the dominance that characterised the white Portuguese era. Looking at the basic tenets of the ethnic enclave hypothesis and ethnic neighbourhood transition model, we have struggled to connect the current Mozambican migrants' occupation of the area to the previous white Portuguese presence, apart from both groups' common language. The white Portuguese presence in the area intensified over time, and chain migration enabled whole families to reside in close proximity, thereby fostering a sense of Portuguese identity and community that was manifested in the aesthetics of the area and the development of particular religious institutions to serve the nascent community. Mozambicans, on the other hand, filtered into the

72 H. le Roux, 'The Ethiopian Quarter', in G. Gotz, P. Harrison, A. Todes and C. Wray (eds), *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg after Apartheid* (Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2014).

73 Z. Jinnah, 'Making Home in a Hostile Land: Understanding Somali Identity, Integration, Livelihood and Risks in Johannesburg', *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*, 1, 1 (2010), pp. 91–9.

74 P. Harrison, K. Moyo and Y. Yang, 'Strategy and Tactics: Chinese Immigrants and Diasporic Spaces in Johannesburg, South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 38, 4 (2012), pp. 899–925.

75 Focus group discussion with 5 female waiters working at a Portuguese restaurant in La Rochelle, 5 June 2013.

76 Å. Bråmå, '"White Flight"? The Production and Reproduction of Immigrant Concentration Areas in Swedish Cities, 1990–2000', *Urban Studies*, 43, 7 (2006), pp. 1127–46.

suburb through work as domestic servants in Portuguese households, with common spoken language playing a pivotal role. However, the dimensions of the Mozambican presence in the area differ from the Portuguese, owing to the differences in class and access to resources, as well as notions of community and permanence in La Rochelle. Mozambicans have maintained a largely subservient relationship with the Portuguese, and do not have enabling resources to own the suburb and express their domination, hence a 'Little Maputo' has not materialised on the ashes of 'Little Portugal'. La Rochelle does not seem to encourage an ethnic enclave development similar to that of the Portuguese immigrants, as there is no coherent reflection of the set of characteristics that Mozambicans possess. In this regard, it has continued to provide a residential function for working-class Mozambicans, and an entrepreneurial platform for immigrants from other African countries.

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