**(Re)Creating 'home', (Re)Defining identity: Transnational migration of South Africans of Indian descent to Australia**

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Science

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October 2022

## <u>Declaration</u>

I, Subashini Govender, hereby declare that the work submitted is entirely my own unless so indicated in the text and that no part of this work has been submitted for a degree at any other University.


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# **Acknowledgments**

# Abstract

Research on international migration of South Africans of Indian descent to Australia is limited. This study therefore set out to understand the experiences of transnationality, identity, and 'home' of this group of people. As people move from one country to the next, their identity and notion of 'home' are disrupted, it is thus these aspects which are examined in this thesis. Narrativity serves as both the theoretical framework as well as the methodological approach in this study as it provides a holistic account of migrant's experiences, gives attention to the temporal and spatial dimensions of their story, and understands that participants are active agents who are given a 'toolkit of options' which they use to shape their own lives. In-depth interviews were conducted to solicit biographical information on participants' journeys from South Africa to Australia, their settlement experiences and how they negotiate their identity and 'home', while simultaneously having strong transnational networks with South Africa.

The key findings indicate that amongst South Africans of Indian descent, the main driver of migration is the wellbeing of children. Therefore, a trend of 'family migration' is created where the nuclear family immigrates to permanently settle in Australia. While participants are able to integrate into the social structures of Australia, it is difficult to form meaningful social connection with Australians, thus South Africans of Indian descent tend to form their own social networks amongst themselves which allows them to practice their culture and express their identity. Transnational networks of care are also important to enable South Africans of Indian descent to integrate into Australia. Thus, South Africans can adapt into the new society while concurrently having strong family ties to South Africa. Since the social interaction with Australians and other immigrants reveals that the identity of South Africans of Indian descent is racialised, they take an active stance to challenge the many taken for granted racist ideologies surrounding their identity. In Australia, South Africans of Indian descent experience varying degrees of overt, covert, institutional and cultural racism, which masks 'white' domination and 'white' supremacy that suppresses people of colour. The identity of South Africans of Indian descent is multiple and fluid. They come to identify themselves as South Africans, living in Australia, with an ancestral 'home' in India. These multiple identities show their attachment to multiple places and people. They attribute haven and hearth to their Australia 'home', while South Africa imbues the ideology of 'heart as home', suggesting that despite not living in the country any longer their belonging and identity is still linked to being South African.

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
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| **AA** | Affirmative Action |
| **ABS** | Australian Bureau of Statistics |
| **ANC** | African National Congress |
| **BBBEE** | Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment |
| **BBC** | Broadcasting Complaints Commission |
| **BCM** | Black Consciousness Movement |
| **BEE** | Black Economic Empowerment |
| **CCMA** | Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration |
| **CEDT** | Certificate of Exemption from the Dictation Test |
| **COVID-19** | Coronavirus 19 |
| **CVE** | Countering Violent Extremism |
| **DTI** | Department of Trade and Industry |
| **EU** | European Union |
| **FIFO** | Fly-In/ Fly-Out |
| **GAA** | Group Areas Act |
| **GBV** | Gender-Based Violence |
| **GDP** | Gross Domestic Product |
| **HECS** | Higher Education Combination Scheme |
| **ICT** | Information Communications Technology |
| **IORA** | Indian Ocean Rim Association |
| **MEC** | Member of the Executive Council |
| **MLTSSL** | Medium to Long-term Strategic Skills List |
| **MOU** | Memorandum of Understanding |
| **NIC** | Natal Indian Congress |
| **NP** | National Party |
| **NSW** | New South Wales |
| **OECD** | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| **PAC** | Pan African Congress |
| **PRASA** | Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa |
| **SAA** | South African Airways |
| **SAE** | South African English |
| **SAHRC** | South African Human Rights Commission |
| **SAIC** | South African Indian Congress |
| **SAIE** | South African Indian English |
| **SARBS** | South African Reconciliation Barometer Survey |
| **SASO** | South African Students Organisation |
| **SFS** | Scanlon Foundation Survey |
| **SKA** | Square Kilometre Array |
| **TIC** | Transvaal Indian Congress |
| **UK** | United Kingdom |
| **UKZN** | University of KwaZulu-Natal |

| UN | United Nations |
| USA | United States of America |
| WA | Western Australia |
| WIFI | Wireless Fidelity |

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# Chapter One

## Rationale for Researching South African Indian Identity and Notions of 'Home' in Australia

## 1 Introduction

The main aim of this dissertation is to examine the effect that migration has on the construction of identity and feelings of 'home' amongst South Africans of Indian descent[1] in a transnational setting. The thesis investigates the immigration of South African Indians[2] to Australia, examining how the disruptive process of migration creates a deeper awareness, introspection and interrogation of their identity and 'home'. Research has revealed that for the immigrant, migration disrupts and destabilises their sense of identity and 'home' (Bauman 2004; Caldas-Coulthard and Iedema 2008).[3] As people move from one place to another notions of identity and 'home' become more complex as migrant's attempt to (re)define themselves and (re)create their 'home' in a new social setting and in relation to those around them. However, in a globalised world characterised by technology and mobility, transnationalism stretches identity

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[1] I have considered the different nomenclature that have been used to name this group such as those used by Desai and Vahed (2019). After a careful review, I have selected South Africans of Indian Descent. This name catches the geo-cultural heritage of the group as well as their present nationality. Furthermore, in South Africa, the terms South African Indian and Indian South African has a racialized connation to them. In a pursuit to deracialize the term and provide an explicit indication that South African Indians are citizens of South Africa and have belonging to South Africa, the term South Africans of Indian descent is used.

In the term Indian South African there is an assumption that by placing Indian in front of South Africa that the population is considered Indian first and thus belonging is giving to India. In the term South African Indian, the Indian is seen as a homogenous racialized group. To avoid such assumptions, I have selected South Africans of Indian descent.

Definitions are sometimes treated as facts, but definitions are socially constructed and is an act of political power. There is a need to recognize the artificial nature of this social construction. All definitions are constructed and represent arguments in pursuit of specific goals. All definitions contain within them a degree of ambiguity, with certain cases falling into the contested space that the definition occupies. The same is true of the definition put forward here. One could think of South Africans of Bangladeshi, Pakistani or Sri-Lankan of South African descent. These could be considered borderline cases for the South African of Indian descent label.

[2] The classification 'Indian' is assigned to people of Indian descent in South Africa. This category was legitimised by the former apartheid government and was based on "physical external appearance and the initial unproblematic combination of group arrival from 1860 onwards, and hence bureaucratic labelling" (Pillay 2014:1). This category is nevertheless still employed in contemporary South Africa as it is regarded as an 'official' racial category by the state (Christopher 2002). The post-apartheid official category has been Indian/Asian with Indian combined with other people of Asian descent. Due to the ambiguity that this combination can create, however, it is still common to use the term 'Indian' people.

[3] Home is seen as a dynamic concept in transnational studies. As people move, the way they come to perceive their home changes. Home is no longer fixed to one physical place but is reworked to come to mean multiple attachments to places, family, community, and nation (Al-Ali and Koser 2002).

and 'home' across borders. It creates links which bind one to the country of origin through familial, socio-cultural, economic, or political ties. Since identity and 'home' are both fluid and open to appropriation and renegotiation within and across borders, it is complex, multifaceted, and multifarious. These ideas are manifested as South Africans of Indian descent embark on a new migration journey to Australia.

This dissertation focuses on how South African Indian immigrants in Australia negotiate their transnationality, reconstruct their identity and re-establish their sense of 'home'. It will show how this group negotiates its transnationality while concurrently creating and maintaining possible ties to their host country. South Africans of Indian descent living in Australia are a unique community and a particularly interesting subject of study. They are the progeny of Indians that arrived in South Africa more than a hundred years ago (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000; Ebr.-Vally 2001; Pillay 2014; Vahed and Desai 2010). Throughout South African history, people of Indian descent have contributed to the economic, political, social, and cultural landscape of South Africa and made a home for themselves in the African country, especially in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. They have in-turn been shaped by the various political laws that have imbued them with the classification of 'Indian'.

This chapter opens with a brief discussion of the relationship between South Africa and Australia and India with reference to the migration of Indians particularly to South Africa. A brief history of South African 'Indians' is discussed, contextualising their past and present circumstances. This chapter then moves on to discuss the precarious position of South African Indians and their migration to Australia. Lastly the chapter elaborates on the rationale for this research, highlighting the research questions, aim of this research and the structure of the dissertation.

## 2 Contextualising the study

South Africa and India are connected by a history of migration. Substantial immigration into South Africa from India began in 1860 as part of an indentured labour migration system.[4] From

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[4] These were not the first Indians to arrive in South Africa. Although the bulk of the Indian population traces their arrival to this period, persons of Indian descent had arrived in South Africa before 1860. Around a third of enslaved people who were sold in the Cape were of South Asian descent. Some people in the Western Cape can still trace their heritage back to this early slave population (for further discussion see also Worden (1985:41-46)).

1860-1911 South Africa recruited Indian indentured labours to work on plantations (Bhana and Brain 1990:15; Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). In 1870, 'passenger Indians', who consisted of professionals and traders, arrived in South Africa as they saw an opportunity to become entrepreneurs (Bhana and Brain 1990:34). People of Indian descent endured considerable hardship but persevered in creating a home for themselves in South Africa. Although some returned to India, the majority decided to stay in South Africa and the population of South Africans of Indian descent grew naturally. With a history spanning more than 160 years, South Africans of Indian descent have over time carved out a place for themselves economically, politically, and socially in South Africa. Statistics South Africa (2021) estimates that there were 1.5 million South African Indians living in the country in 2021, with some generations extending towards its seventh cohort. There has been a steady increase of South African Indian international net migration between the period 2001-2016 (Statistics South Africa 2021). The Community Survey found that Australia was the most popular immigration destination for migrating (Statistics South Africa 2016). This is significant as it marks the movement of Indians to South Africa, the formulation of a South African Indian cultural group and the migration of this group to Australia. It is unknown how this new cohort of migrants come to identify themselves in Australia or what attachments they form with South Africa. Moreover, we do not know how they live their lives in a new country, especially a culturally diverse country such as Australia. It is crucial to contextualise the lives of South African Indians as it unearths valuable information relating to their identity and belonging in South Africa and it would play an important part in how they receive their new 'home' in Australia.

The migration of people of Indian descent into South Africa during the 19th century took place against a backdrop of growing global domination by the various European powers. Historically, the 19th century was a time when the European powers (and most especially the British Empire) seized countries and conquered territories. This military expansion opened the pathway for international sea trade and the migration of people between the colonised territories. It was an era characterised by forced indoctrination of ideas of 'white' racial supremacy (Geschiere 2009). European colonialism spread ideals of white hegemony and 'white' racial superiority across annexed countries and colonies. The 19th century was a time pervasively characterised by racism, discrimination and oppression towards 'non-white' indigenous people and immigrants (Hirschman 2004). In India, South Africa, and Australia, those classified as 'non-white' were persecuted, and their freedom was suppressed through tyrannical laws. 'Race' was the ultimate factor that was used to justify such treatment which

elevated 'white' British subjects as racially superior to all other 'races'. The colonisation of territories also meant that the land conquered now belonged to the British Empire, and Indigenous and immigrants of colour had to surrender their freedom to imperial rule.

Over centuries, the racialised ideology of white supremacy[5] have prevented or denied people of colour from truly belonging or being accepted in the country they had immigrated to, and politically denying them a 'home'. For instance, Indians were second-class citizens in their own country as 'white racial' superiority was used to justify the control and domination of India. This made it acceptable to use Indians as a source of cheap indentured labour for plantations in many British territories including South Africa. The 1800s saw the arrival of the first group of Indians to the country, and those that decided to stay are the ancestors of the present generation of South Africans of Indian descent. Although Indians are a heterogenous group of people with diverse language and religious affiliations, in South Africa they were racialised under the label of 'Indian'. The result given for this racialisation is their brown skin and the fact that they originated from the same country was used as a marker of 'race' which homogenised a diverse group of people (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:14; Kuper 1956:15). 'Indians' in South Africa were treated appallingly by 'white' farmers. Conditions on the sugar-cane plantations were harsh, with labourers complaining of low wages, insufficient amenities, and abuse by 'White' sugar barons (Bhana and Pachai 1984:2; Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:11). The indentured labour system was seen by many as a form of slavery (Bhana and Pachai 1984:2). As the indenture contracts expired 'Indians' acquired farming land, established productive farms and grew economically and traders began to establish and became prosperous in their businesses. The economic mobility of 'Indians' was viewed negatively by 'White' businessmen who perceived that 'Indians' had become a threat to their livelihoods (Calpin 1949:17). Research points out that although a few 'Indians' became wealthy, most 'Indians' lived in impoverished conditions (Naidoo and Naidoo 1956:37). Nevertheless, strict laws were enforced that prevented 'Indians' from progressing economically, which further sank the 'Indian' population into destitution (Bhana and Pachai 1984:30; Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:16-17; Ebr.-Vally 2001:82-83; Palmer 1956:7). The label of 'Indian' which combined a heterogenous people into one collective group, also began to provide solidarity between people

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[5] Rather than being a fringe extremist ideology, white supremacy endures as a significant force within social, economic, and spatial relations in many parts of the world. White supremacy has, of course, had many different meanings over the last few centuries (Mills 2003). For our purposes, however, it can be considered to constitute the supposed superiority of 'whiteness', however defined, and the subjugation (whether cultural, economic, or political) of people of colour. We will return to the definition of white supremacy in Chapter 2, section 3.2.

of Indian descent. Many 'Indians' united to fight against the oppressive laws, with minimal effect (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:22-25).

Similarly, in Australia, the 'White Australia' policy of 1901 created a 'white' Australia by limiting the number of people of colour entering the country (Richards 2008:37). Like South Africa, Australia also created racialised legislation to prevent the economic progression of Asian people, including Indians, in the country by controlling the influx of migrants (Richards 2008:37). Before the start of the White Australia Policy, many Indians voluntarily came to Australia for the purposes of economic advancement. This group was also subjugated to racialised laws which prevented them from not only becoming successful in their trade but only denied them recognition of belonging in Australia (Lepervanche 1984:25; Macintyre 2000:143; Maclean 2015; Richards 2008:47).

The British controlled territories denied people political, economic and in some cases even social rights. Laws were imposed to discourage any economic activities and thus hinder any process, development, and social mobility. 'Indians' had limited rights or say in the political sphere and were denied rights and privileges offered only to 'Whites'. The power relations prevalent at that historical time positioned 'non-whites' as inferior to 'Whites'. The political and economic structures denied Indians in South Africa and Australia the right to belong on a land that they toiled for.

During the 1950s social attitudes began to change in Australia as people came to realise the injustice of the 'white' Australia policy. Restrictions placed on immigrant groups were steadily loosening and this policy was finally abolished in 1973 (Australian Government Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2017). As Australia was turning its strategy around to create a multicultural society which accepted migrants from around the world including India; South Africa was plunging into apartheid. The 'white' Afrikaner apartheid government of 1948 further segmented an already divided South African population through racist laws which meant that people were only allowed to live amongst their 'race' group and marry within their 'race' which fostered divisions, distrust, and prejudice between 'race' groups. The Population Registration Act of 1950 racially divided the population into 'Blacks', 'Coloureds' 'Indians' and 'Whites' and all groups were allocated separate areas in which to live. Resources were also unevenly distributed amongst 'race' groups with 'whites' benefiting more than other groups

(Seekings and Nattrass 2005). 'Indians' were relocated and confined to 'Indian townships'[6], constrained within "racial silos" (Pillay 2014:233). Separate development further reinforced the 'Indian' identity and created the 'Indian community' separate from other communities. Racial ideologies permeated the consciousness of people, influenced how they lived their lives, who they interacted with, and a hierarchy of belonging was created that pitted 'race' groups against each other (Pillay 2014).

South Africans of Indian descent played a prominent role in the struggle against apartheid. Consider, for instance, the history of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) established by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. During the early twentieth century the NIC explored multiracial alliances with other organisations, looking to support an inclusive opposition to apartheid. NIC President Dr Gangathura Naicker issued a joint declaration of co-operation in the fight against racism between the Black African and Indian populations as early as 1947 (Bhana 1997). Known as the 'Doctors' Pact, Dr Naicker was joined by Dr Alfred Xuma from the African National Congress (ANC) and Dr Yusuf Dadoo from the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC). The Defiance Campaign launched in 1952 was the first mass joint anti-apartheid campaign that was supported by both groups. The NIC and the TIC would later be central in the formation of the United Democratic Front. Members of the Indian minority worked to promote non-racialism within the anti-apartheid movement (Ramsamy 2007). The South African Indian Congress, for example, worked with other organisations, as part of the Congress Alliance, to help draft the Freedom Charter in 1955.

After decades of struggle against the apartheid government a new democratic government was ushered in in 1994, however racial categorisation of people and racial rhetoric was not abolished with apartheid. The same racial categorisation used during apartheid is still present in South Africa and is used by the government in policy redress (Christopher 2002; Pillay 2015; Seekings 2008; Vahed and Desai 2010). Past 'racial' labelling and 'race' thinking is still prevalent in the society which fosters racial group identities, propagates racial dissention, and spurs racial tension amongst population groups. People of Indian origin continue to face racism in South Africa. Data from the 2019 South African Reconciliation Barometer Survey (SARBS) showed that many Indian adults report experiencing racism in their daily lives. Potgieter (2019)

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[6] The term 'township', in this context, refers to an underdeveloped racially segregated urban area reserved for Indians, Africans and Coloureds. The ideological demands of apartheid required that these townships be situated on the periphery of white towns and cities and acted as 'labour reserves' for these spaces (Rogerson 2000).

noted that Indian respondents scored 2.1 out of 5 on the self-reported racism scale. This indicates a significant proportion of this group reported experiences of racism to SARBS fieldworkers. There have, of course, been sporadic incidents of anti-Indian prejudice in post-apartheid South Africa.[7] Focus group data from the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation and Gauteng City-Region Observatory showcases the depth of anti-Indian sentiment in the country. Nyar (2012) demonstrated that antipathy towards 'Indians' was troublingly common in all 18 focus groups and cut across the fault lines of class, age, and gender. The focus group data reveals that South Africa still struggles with issues of 'race' and the position of 'Indians' in the country.  In recent years, the political rhetoric of race has been mobilised to create divisions around race that seeks to divide South Africans of Indian descent from the Black African majority.[8]

Australia and South Africa share similarities in that the British control in both lands denied the indigenised and 'non-white' migrants from belonging to a country. Tyrannical legislation was passed which made people of colour feel racially inferior, to be subordinated and to deny them a right to citizenship, belonging and acceptance and a place to call 'home'. Australia and South Africa are historically similar in that 'white' imperial rule was used to subjugate people of colour to discrimination and oppression. However, once both countries became democratic their social stance to multiculturalism differed. Australia appears on the surface to welcome migrants from across the world as Australian immigration legislature makes no use of racialised language or overt autochthony. Nonetheless, there is still a prevalence of 'white' cultural superiority and domination in the country (Dunn et al. 2004; Forrest and Dunn 2007). In South Africa although the racist ideology of apartheid has ended, and the country has adopted a progressive constitution, 'race' thinking is still pervasive in the country through legislation and discourse. 'Race' thinking is linked to autochthony, with indigenous ethnic groups claiming to

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[7] A notable instance of such anti-Indian sentiment concerns the song 'AmaNdiya' produced by Mbongeni Ngema. The song was labelled as hate speech against persons of Indian origin by the Broadcasting Complaints Commission (BCC) of South Africa who banned the song.  In their statement, the BCC stated that it "promoted hate in sweeping, emotive language against Indians as a race and incited fear among Indians for their safety" (Baines 2006). In a similar fashion, the band AmaCde also promoted anti-Indian hate speech with their 2014 song Umhlab'Uzobuya (The land will return). The song included lyrics such as "Black people let us stare them [Indians] in the eyes and tell them to go back and cross the ocean. If they refuse, it is time for action" (Mngoma and Cole 2014). These statements propagate the ideology of autochthony as it perpetuates the notions that only those who originated in South Africa truly belong to the nation. It also denies those who have migrated and the successive generations acceptance and belonging as citizens of South Africa.

[8] In 2018, for example, the politician Julius Malema made disparaging comments against 'Indians' at a Youth Day event held in the North-West which Michael Morris, from the Institute of Race Relations admonished, pronouncing it as "one of the greatest threats to South Africa's social fabric was demeaning statements of the kind made by Malema about Indian people"(Mngoma 2018).

be the rightful heirs of South Africa, with the 'Indian' 'racial' group perceived as not truly belonging to the country (Pillay 2019).

## 3 The precarity of South African Indians

South African Indians occupy a complex position in the country. South Africans of Indian descent are a heterogenous group of people having diverse religious, class, and cultural backgrounds. In spite of this diversity, the racial discourse and identity of being 'Indian' confines them to belonging to a distinct homogenous group which they have come to see themselves as (John-Naidu 2005; Pillay 2015; Vahed and Desai 2010). Furthermore, the historical spatial segregation, for the most part, still confines South African Indians into racial silos which functions to delineate South African Indians into specific 'Indian communities' which further creates the notion of a separate, detached group of people within South Africa. South Africans of Indian descent are also the only population group in South Africa to be referred to as a diaspora, indicating that they are attached to a 'mother-country' outside of South Africa. This reinforces the notion that they come from somewhere else, and their sense of belonging is attached to India (Pillay 2014:7). Although South African Indians feel that South Africa is their home; their racialised identity of 'Indian', the creation of 'Indian communities' and the perception of a deep attachment to India has created the misnomer that South Africans of Indian descent do not truly belong in the country. In addition, the emergence of globalised transnational Indian entertainment and shopping industry attracts the attention of the South African Indian consumer, which provides a connection to the Indian sub-continent and further provides a sense that South Africans of Indian descent have a deep attachment to India and do not truly belong in South Africa (Vahed and Desai 2010:15).[9] However, the consumption of Indian media and goods is more about reaffirming religiosity and providing a positive image of 'Indians'[10] and not about re-establishing roots with India.

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[9] In comparison, 'white' South African's are acknowledged and recognised as South African with no diasporic connection to Europe although they consume media and entertainment from Britain and United States of America.

[10] There is minimal representation of South African Indians in South African television which creates feelings of underrepresentation and not being part of the South African society. South African Indian's may watch foreign Indian entertainment to gain a positive self-image of themselves as their representation is lacking in South African television media. However, South African Indians also consume a diversity of television media which is predominately produced in the United States of America.

The South African government introduced a series of racial redress policies that aim to address the country's legacy of white supremacy. This includes interventions that advance various forms of positive discrimination in the labour market (Seekings and Nattrass 2005). Public opinion data shows that many South African Indians have a negative view of policies like this (Roberts 2014). There is a belief that government's policies of redress limit access to job and educational opportunities for South African Indians. These sentiments are sometimes echoed in the popular press. [11] These kinds of sentiments could be described as a migratory 'push' factor that encourages people to seek better opportunities outside of South Africa. But, of course, there are other factors that could be considered. These include the economic downturn of the country (Statistics South Africa 2018, 2020a), high unemployment rate of 29.1% (Statistics South Africa 2019), struggling public services and institutions such as hospitals and schools (Fourie and Poggenpoel 2017; Maphumulo and Bhengu 2019; Mouton, Louw, and Strydom 2013), distrust in the efficiency of the government (Faull 2019), high crime rates making it an unsafe place to live in (Sicetsha 2018) and the corruption within the government (More 2018) are some of the factors that have pushed South African Indians to immigrate to countries which are more politically, economically and socially stable such as Australia and the United Kingdom (Statistics South Africa 2016). Although it is common knowledge amongst the 'Indian community' that there is widespread migration to Australia, minimal research has been conducted on the migration experience.

## 4 Rationale for the study: A new migration journey

According to Statistics South Africa (2016:53), Australia is the leading international migration destination for South Africans. In Australia, South Africans are the largest migrant group from the African continent, and the eighth largest migrant group in Australia, with an estimated 200 000 South Africans residing in the country (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2020). Wasserman (2018) indicates that that there is a history of South African Indian migration to Australia with South African born-ancestry data indicating that there were 6.2% of people of Indian ancestry before the 1980s; this total rapidly increased to 16.7% from 1980-1989, 20.5% from 1990-1999

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[11] For example, the technology news website My Broadband (2016) reported on how universities in South Africa limits the intake of Indian applicants. The authors of the article argued that this limitation restricts opportunities for those local Indian students who want to study in the medical field. Dr Neville Alexander was quoted in the article condemning the University of Cape Town's race-based admission policy stating, "that it was 'quite ridiculous' and lead to prejudice towards 'White' and 'Indian' students". Media articles such as this showcase how negative sentiments about racial redress policies are propagated amongst the Indian minority in South Africa.

and 48.4% from 2000-2009, in 2011, 5586 South African emigres stated that they were of Indian ancestry.[12] Wasserman (2018) acknowledged that her research on South African Indian migration to Australia was limited and thus called for further research to be conducted on the South African Indian migrant population as their historical experience of disadvantage in South Africa would shed a different light on their motivation for migration, settlement, and other migration experiences compared to the 'White' South African population researched by the author.

Al-Ali and Koser (2002:5) argue that the nation state, in both sending and receiving countries, play a vital role in shaping the transnational lives of people as legal, economic, political, and social aspects provide opportunities and constraints which shape their outlook and actions and provide a context within which they construct their identity and homes. Given that their identity is racially constructed as 'Indian' and that identity denies them inclusive belonging to a 'home' they feel they belong to, how do they now forge their identity and remake 'home' when they migrate to Australia, a multicultural country, and 'home' to migrants from all over the world including India?

Forrest and Dunn (2007:700) point out that in Australia multiculturalism co-exists with an array of racisms which include "Anglo-Celtic cultural dominance, intolerance of diversity, antagonism towards cultural groups and xenophobia". Researchers indicate that there is varying Anti-Islamic, Anti-Asian, Anti-Jewish and Anti-Refugee and Asylum Seeker sentiment in Australia (Baas 2015; Dunn et al. 2004; Forrest and Dunn 2007; Itaoui 2016; Ramsay 2017; Rashid 2007). Australians also hold a contradictory viewpoint towards multiculturalism. Although they favour cultural diversity, they tend to grapple with how nationhood, national identity and belonging can be established in a culturally diverse society and thus tend to favour cultural assimilation where newcomers should adopt the dominant 'Anglo-Celtic' culture which is oppressive to racial minorities and ethnic groups (Dunn et al. 2004; Forrest and Dunn 2007). Forrest and Dunn (2007:707) point out that migrant's express intolerance towards other cultures while Vahed (2007) argues that there are subtle tensions between the Indian diaspora and those nationalities of Indian descent.[13]

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[12] Australia, unlike South Africa, does not capture the 'race' of a person through its census. It uses the category of ancestry and citizenship to understand the nationalities and descent of people.

[13] Here Vahed (2007) makes a distinction between migrants from India (i.e., the Indian diaspora) and those persons of Indian descent from other countries (such as Fiji, Sri Lanka, and South Africa) which he refers to as 'nationalities' of Indian descent.

This leaves questions of identity and 'home' open to deliberation for South African Indians who emigrate to Australia. Coming from a society where their identity is racially forged and moving to a multicultural society where there is tension between cultural acceptability and cultural intolerance, it is uncertain how South African Indians would come to reposition their lives and (re)define their identity, 'home' and belonging in their new 'home' while being attached to an old 'home'.

Research on South African Indians living in Australia is sparse with only a handful of studies conducted (Faria 2001; Jagganath 2008, 2014; Naidoo 2005; Singh 2006; Vahed 2007). These studies tended to either focus on the sending country perspective (Singh 2006), include a variety of receiving countries, and feature only women returning from various countries (Jagganath 2008, 2014), or incorporate the South African Indians as part of the Indian diaspora living in Australia in their analysis (Faria 2001; Naidoo 2005; Vahed 2007). Although the above-mentioned research provides a starting point, the unique experiences of South African Indians in Australia, remains minimal. Since there is no adequate research on the transnationality, identity construction, and notions of 'home' of South African Indians, this study aims to address these gaps in the scholarship.

This research aims to understand, through the narratives told, the complexities, continuities and changes in identity and 'home' and how they come to construct their lives in and across societies that tend to marginalise minorities. The literature reveals that the unique experiences of South African Indians in Australia remain minimal. Since there is no adequate research on the transnationality, identity and 'home' construction of South African Indians, this study aims to address these aspects, and thus make an original contribution to the body of knowledge in this area.

**5 Research Questions**

The following overarching question serves as the basis for this study and informs the investigation:
**How do South Africans of Indian descent navigate their identity and notions of 'home' as they settle down in Australia while simultaneously having attachments to South Africa?**

1. How do South Africans of Indian descent establish a sense of 'home' in Australia, while being connected to South Africa?
2. How are their identities constructed through everyday interaction with the various groups in Australia (such as Australian citizens, migrants from South Asia and the Indian diaspora) and how does it differ from the home country?
3. How to migrants conceptualise 'home' and (re)define their identity and what is the interplay between these two concepts?

## 6 The aim of this research

The research objectives in this study are divided into three interconnecting parts, that of, understanding the transnational links, identity construction and notions of 'home'.

One of the aims of this research is to understand what links South African Indians have with the country of origin, be it familial, cultural, social, educational, political, or economic and why maintaining these links are important to them. In addition, how South African Indians live in their new country is also taken into consideration. Understanding how their lives are shaped by a new political, economic, and social-cultural system allows for an understanding of settlement and integration experiences. This research provides insight into how they deconstruct and reconstruct their identity in a new environment. By understanding the cross-border linkages that they maintain and how they adapt in a new environment allows for new knowledge to be generated on how people are able to live cross-border lives, how situations in distant places affect them and how they in-turn affect situations in distant places.

Identity is understood to be fluid and flexible. Moving from one country to another while still holding ties to the country of origin brings about multiple identity formations. Of significance is the type of society that South African Indians have been born and raised in and the ideologies and identity acquired and how this is played out in a new society different from their own. Questions of what identities they hold on to, renounce, negotiate and take on come to the fore. This sheds light on how they contend with the structures of society (in both locations) as well as social interactions they have with multiple cultural inhabitants in the new society.

In this research, 'home' is also understood as a flexible concept. It is viewed as more than a physical place, but it also gives a feeling of stability, care, and nurturing (Blunt and Dowling

2006). When one moves from a rooted place, the sense of home is disrupted. When people try to re-root themselves in a new place, questions begin to emerge on *where* their 'home' is? Will they re-make their previous home or integrate into the new society and make it their home? Is home still the place they once were rooted or is home multiple places and belongings within and across nations? Since home is more than 'place' in a mobile world what other attributes do they prescribe to 'home'? Is 'home' for South African Indians living in Australia found in objects, relationships, or networks across places or some other aspects yet to be known. Also, important, is to elucidate in this particular context how participants identities are expressed through 'home' and how they strive to re-make 'home'. The relationship between identity and 'home' in a transnational setting will help to understand the ways they are able to express their identities through 'home' making practices. This will provide insight into how they gain a sense of belonging in multiple places in a mobile world.

## 7 Structure of Dissertation

Chapter 1 has laid out the purpose and importance of this study, provided a background and context for the study, and has explained the study objectives and key research questions. Chapter 2 introduces and discusses the key concepts of the study. The concepts of transnationality, identity and 'home' is analysed in great depth as they are the fundamental tenets in this study. Chapter 3 focuses on the literature of this study. The literature review examines the history of South Africans of Indian descent in South Africa, focusing on how their identity has transformed over a 160-year period under different political, economic, and social-cultural circumstances and how they have created a 'home' for themselves in South Africa. Chapter 4 examines the history of South African migration to Australia, particularly examining South African Indian migration to the country. It aims to explicate the migration history of Australia, its current policies towards immigration as well as the migration program and public attitudes towards immigration.

Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the theoretical framework and research methodology. This chapter explicates that narrativity in this research is used as both a theoretical framework and methodological approach. Narrative constructionist theory is elucidated with particular attention given to the use of narrative theory from a sociological perspective. Narrative inquiry as a methodological approach focuses on how this research method was used to expound

narratives from participants of their journey out of South Africa to Australia and their experiences in Australia.

Chapter 6 through 9 presents the analysis of the research. The research questions are answered in these chapters. Chapter 6 provides context as to the motivations and migration strategies used by participants to migrate to Australia. This chapter provides the context upon which the following chapters are built. Chapter 7 interrogates the settlement experience of immigrants. This chapter focuses on the concessions and compromises participants had to make to ensure that they are able to economically integrate into society. Chapter 8 is concerned with why participants recreate the South African 'home' in Australia. Chapter 9 examines the social interaction between South Africans of Indian descent and Australians, fellow South Africans of European descent, and Indian nationals. Narrative construction theory was used to understand how the current social relations are shaped by examining the past histories of these relationships in different spaces. Finally, Chapter 10 summarises the findings of the research and consolidates the arguments in the conclusion**.**

**8 Summary**

This chapter compared the historical Indian migration experience between South Africa and Australia. Both countries were colonised by the British who spread ideas of 'white' racial superiority which was used to justify tyrannical racialised laws and the persecution and oppression of Indigenous and 'non-white' people. In South Africa, 'Indians' who hailed from diverse backgrounds were 'racially' categorised and homogenised under the label of 'Indian' and were politically and economically oppressed under that identity. Although Australia abolished racialised polices and do not use 'race' in its legislature; South Africa on the other hand still retains remnants of the old system of apartheid. The government still reinforces 'racial' self-identification through racial categorising and using 'race' as a criterion in redress policies, which encourages 'racial' division and fuels racial antagonism. In South Africa 'Indians' are still seen as a racialised group and have endured hate speech and Affirmative Action policies. In addition, ideas of autochthony promote the perception that they are a diaspora and do not truly belong in the country although generations of South African Indians have lived in the country for than more than 160 years and have economically, politically, and socially integrated into the country and have come to call South Africa their home.

Recently, there has been a steady increase in the number of South Africans of Indian descent migrating to Australia. It is interesting to understand how these new emigrates negotiate their identity in relation to the Australian society, especially since they have come from a racialised society and moved to a society where 'racialised' identity and rhetoric is limited. This research will examine the case of South African Indian migrants in Australia, their lives and experience in a new country and asks pertinent questions on how they now come to identify themselves in relation to many others in Australia and examine their notions of 'home'.

Since there is sparse research on this subject area in respect of transnational experiences, identity and construction of home, this research searches for knowledge into this area to provide a deeper understanding of the dynamic relationships between people and the societies they live in.

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**Chapter Two**

**Understanding Transnationalism, Identity and Home**

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## 1 Introduction

Transnationalism brings into question the conflation of 'home' and identity as fixed to specific physical localities. As migrants move from country of origin to resettle in another country, their notion of identity and 'home' becomes dismantled as they encounter a new environment. Over time identity and 'home' are reconfigured as migrants adapt to living in a new society. However, in addition to adapting to a new society they simultaneously hold on to ties from the 'home' country, thus embedding 'home' and identity both 'here' and 'there'. Since transnationalism, identity and 'home' are complex phenomena is it important to understand how each are conceptualised and interrelated. This chapter clarifies the key concepts used, especially in relation to migration. The aim of the following chapter is to provide a critical discussion of transnationalism, identity, and 'home'. In doing so, the chapter will demonstrate how these terms are operationalised in this research.

## 2 Transnationalism: Delineating the key components

In the context of this study transnationalism refers to the process whereby migrants, as active agents, forge varying familial, economic, social, political, and cultural relationships by creating social networks which link them to the country of origin  (Basch, Schiller Glick, and Blanc 1994; Faist, Fauser, and Reisenauer 2013; Levitt and Schiller Glick 2004). This process occurs while migrants simultaneously attempt to adapt to their new host country. In the past, the image of the 'immigrant' evoked a permanent rupture from an old society and the assimilation in a new society. But, as  Castles, de Haas, and Miller (2014:41) argue, vast improvements in transportation and especially telecommunications, such as the mobile telephones, internet, and global banking systems, have made it easier for migrants to create and sustain relations with their home country.  Immigrants have come to "develop networks, activities, patterns of living, and ideologies that span their home and the host society" (Basch, Schiller Glick, and Blanc 1994:4). Vertovec (2009:3)  states that

> When referring to sustained linkages and ongoing exchanges among non-state actors based across national borders – businesses, non-government-organizations, and

individuals sharing the same interests (by way of criteria such as religious beliefs, common cultural and geographic origins) – we can differentiate these as 'transnational' practices and groups (referring to their links functioning across nation-states). Their collective attributes of such connections, their processes of formation and maintenance, and their wider implications are referred to broadly as 'transnationalism'.

This means that a significant aspect of transnationalism is the sustained links to the home country by migrants. Immigrants tend to anchor themselves in one nation-state and sustain connections with one or more states, facilitating and sustaining linkages and movement of capital, ideas, information, culture and people across specific geographic regions or states. Portes (1999:464) also states that for a process to be transnational it must occur "on a recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants". It must be noted that not all immigrants engage in transnational activities and transnational networks (Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Vertovec 2009). Migrants have a choice to engage in transnational practices. Therefore, migrants can no longer be conceived of as "passive reactors manipulated by the world capitalist system" (Brettell 2000:104) but as active agents as they "build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders" (Basch et al. 1994:8). Migrants are able to upend the socially constructed boundaries and borders established by nation-states by forging their own social networks that traverse borders.

Levitt (2009:1225) states that "immigrant incorporation and enduring transnational practices are not antithetical but simultaneous processes that mutually inform each other". This indicates that migrants can engage in the transnational social networks while simultaneously integrating into the nation-state. Penninx (2005:141) defines integration as "the process of becoming an accepted part of society". The broad definition takes integration to be a process rather than an end goal and by not stating the "particular requirements for acceptance by the receiving country…makes the definition more useful for the empirical study of these processes, allowing us to capture more of its diversity". For immigrants to effectively integrate into society, structural integration (such as housing, employment, education, health), cultural integration or connection to society as well as political rights should be met (Koirala 2016; OECD/EU 2018; Penninx 2005).

Tsuda (2012) theorises four different relations that immigrants forge with their host country and 'home' country. Firstly, the zero-sum relationship indicates that "increased immigrant engagement in one society reduces or discourages participation in the other" (Tsuda 2012:635).

This occurs when migrants are marginalised in the destination country and come to form more connections with the 'home' country, which means that there is minimal integration into the host country. Secondly, "immigrant engagement with the home country can simultaneously co-exist with participation in the host society without one having much influence over the other" (Tsuda 2012:635). In this scenario integration with the host country and connection to the 'home' country occurs simultaneously, with neither one influencing or affecting the other. The third relationship between the host and 'home' country are positively reinforcing, this means that the "greater immigrant engagement with one society simultaneously encourages or enables increased engagement with the other" (Tsuda 2012:635). For instance, acquiring resources in the host country might stimulate more cross-border connections, likewise more engagement with the 'home' country may help migrants to integrate into the receiving country. The fourth prospect is when the relationship with both the host and 'home' country deteriorates. In this case negative relations in one country may lead to negative relations in the other or migrants may become isolated from both countries for different and separate reasons (Tsuda 2012). Examining immigrant's relations to both the host and 'home' country provides a holistic account of migrant's lives. It is important to understand how migrants negotiate adaptation into the host country while at the same time understating their creation and sustaining of transnational ties with their 'home' country. Levitt and Schiller Glick (2004:1007) emphasise that "social life is not confined within by nation-state boundaries" that people are active agents able to forge relationships within and across nation-states. This research opposes methodological nationalism[14] by considering the various multiple relationships people forge both within the host, 'home' and other countries of settlement and why these relationships are important and continued to be sustained.

In this research a transnational lens was important for understanding the migration experience, as it subverts the idea that migrants' lives are bounded within a specific nation-state by examining how migrants negotiate their lives across borders. Fluck (2011:375) states that transnationalism has the "potential for forging new identities". Castles et al. (2014:41) similarly state that transnationalism "has increased the ability of migrants to foster multiple identities". As migrants move, they rearticulate their identity in relation to the host and 'home' country forging new and multiple identities over-time. A transnational lens is appropriate in

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[14] Levitt and Schiller Glick (2004:1007) refer to "methodological nationalism" as the "tendency to accept the nation-state and its boundaries as a given in social analysis".

understanding the lives of South Africans of Indian descent who have emigrated as it considers the cross-border relationships as well as how they incorporate their lives in Australia. It also positions them as active agents able to negotiate their own cross-border relationships.

## 3 Identity

Oyserman, Elmore and Smith (2012:69) state that "identities are the traits or characteristics, social relations, roles and social group membership that define who one is". Identity is important as it gives us a sense of ourselves and lends meaning and understanding to who we are. It provides us with information of our character traits, the roles we play, the groups we are part of and share a common interest in. Knowing who one is, provides the self with meaning and purpose. It creates feelings of belonging, attachment and connection to oneself and the wider society. Knowing who one is provides the self with confidence and self-esteem which encourages the self-fulfilment of one's potential (Parekh 2008).

In the context of immigration, the identity of a person is brought to the forefront as she/he comes into contact in a new society and culture[15] that may be different in many ways from the society that they have come from. Being in a new country, the immigrant is confronted with negotiating their identities in relation to macro social aspects and micro interactions within the new country. The country one migrates to plays a significant role in how migrants come to reconstruct their identity. The social environment impacts the immigrant's identity formation and regulates how migrants come to live their lives in the new society. Since migrants are also active agents, they can make their own choices on how to live their lives, but they do so within the social framework of the host country. In addition, living in a globalised world, the migrant can also make a choice to form transnational networks which reconnect them to their 'home' country which can also reaffirm aspects of their identity. This means that their identity comes to be shaped within and across societies. It is essential to examine identity formation and how society and dominant cultural discourses (such as racial, class, patriarchy) come to impact the construction of identity.

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[15] According to Fay (1996:55) "a culture is a complex set of shared beliefs, values, and concepts which enable a group to make sense of its life and which provides it with directions for how to live".

**3.1 The interaction between self, society, and culture in identity formation**

How does one acquire an identity? How does one come to understand who one is? It was initially believed that identity or who you are, "arises from deep within us, is singular, integral, harmonious and unproblematic" (Calhoun 1994:13). However, the rise of social constructivism in the 1980s challenged this essentialist view of identity.  Social theorists (Calhoun, 1994; Fay, 1996) rejected the deep-rooted and enduring essentialist view that identities arise from 'essences' within us.  Instead, these theorists posit that identity is created through interaction between the self and others within a particular social context. They argue that identity is socially produced in interaction with others within a specific social environment.

To understand how identity is socially produced there is a need to understand how we can create our identity and how others become a part of that process. Mead (1934:134) states that

> it is by means of reflectiveness – the turning-back of the experience upon himself (sic)– that the whole social process is thus brought into the experience of the individuals involved in it; it is by such means, which enable the individual to take the attitude of the other toward himself (sic), that the individual is able to consciously adjust himself (sic) to that process, and to modify the resultant process in any given social act in terms of his (sic) adjustment to it.

Mead (1934) argues that the formation of the self is a reflective process. It is the capacity to be self-reflective and self-aware that enables the creation of the self. As people interact with one-another they think over and deliberate about the interactional experience and come to form opinions and assessments based on that reflection. We become aware of other's attitudes and reactions towards us and form thoughts and views of oneself based on that. By reflecting or thinking over in one's mind about the exchanges we have had with others in the social world we come to evaluate the kind of person we are, the characteristics or traits we have which provide us with a sense of self (Fay 1996).

Fay (1996:42) proceeds to theorise that

> At its inception self-consciousness is therefore essentially social. You become aware of yourself as a consciousness only through your becoming conscious of another's consciousness of you. That is, only when you become aware of yourself as an object to another you become aware of yourself as a self. Your being is *your* being (that is, a being for you) only so far as it is a being for another. In this way, your being is

necessarily tied up with my being: *the being of one's self and the being of an other are interrelated.*

We become self-conscious, self-reflective, and self-aware, only when others come to recognise or acknowledge who we are. Others in the social world view us as an object, or another consciousness, and act as mirrors we can see ourselves in. We achieve self-awareness only when we become aware of others awareness of us. This implies that we need others to become aware of who we are.

Fay (1994:48) states that self can gain knowledge by dialectically interacting with others. Taylor (1994:79) makes a similar point by stating that human life is fundamentally dialogical. This means that through dialogue with others we can gain a sense of self and identity. As others talk to us, they describe how they see us by using words to describe our various characteristics, traits, roles, and social positions. As people describe us, we come to reflect on what they have said, and we are able to form an identity. Thus, it is the language used in discourse with others that we come to understand who we are and gain an identity. As Taylor (1994:79) argues

> We become full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining our identity, through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression…not only covering words we speak, but also other modes of expression whereby we define ourselves, including the "languages" of art, of gesture, of love, and the like. But we learn these modes of expression through exchanges with others. People do not acquire the languages needed for self-definition on their own. Rather, we are introduced to them through interaction with others who matter to us – what George Herbert Mead called "significant others". The genesis of the human mind is in this sense not monological, not something each person accomplishes on his or her own, but dialogical.

It is through the various forms of 'languages', as explained above by Taylor (1994), that we are able to gain a sense of self. In addition, Elliott (2001:7) captures the permeability and porousness of identity by stating that "because the self is not a fixed entity, but is rather actively constructed, individuals are capable of incorporating and modifying knowledge that accounts for the substance of their personal identity". The permeable and porous self is open to receiving new knowledge gained through the process of social interaction. However, as we self-reflect, we do not merely accept other's interpretations of us but deliberate over and make judgements based on such exchanges (Fay 1996). People use their self-reflective capacities as they think to

themselves about other's responses to them, and "assess what they see, and within limits choose to accept or alter or abandon what they perceive" (Fay 1996:34). We are active in the process of self-construction as we deliberate over our social interactions. The self is "is constituted and refashioned through reference to a person's own understandings, opinions, stocks of knowledge or cognition and emotion" as the self constantly engages in social interaction with others (Elliott 2001:5). Since the self can be 'refashioned' it is able to change, people are thus able to redefine themselves or transform their identity. Therefore, "the self is a dynamic process, which is never complete: we do not simply 'have' selves but rather 'do' or 'make' (and re-make) them, through constant reflection" (Scott 2015:5). This means that the self does not have a core, nor is it an integral whole, rather is it dynamic.

Fay (1996:36) draws our attention to an important point on identity change by stating that "…we are different in different settings. Perhaps there isn't a "true self" at all; instead maybe the self is rather a way of being which is created anew in the very process of interacting with others and with one's environment". This means that as we come into contact with a number of people who interact with us in different ways, we come to have a collection of knowledge of and decide how to interact with each person based on their interaction with us. For instance, we have a different social interaction with our parents as opposed to our friends or acquaintances and strangers.[16] This means that we react and interact differently to different people based on previous knowledge of interaction. Therefore, instead of having a 'true-self', the self is being 'made' and 're-made' in interaction with others. This means as we interact with different people in different settings, we also come to be different with different people. Layder (2004:159) reminds us that these are "not different selves they are different facets of the same individual". Burke and Stets (2009:10) also state that "each of these smaller 'selves' within the overall self is called an identity". This also means that the self does not have a single identity, rather the self has multiple identities. Since the self is dynamically changing, the past, present, and future self, come to be different selves. The self is not a single, fixed, or

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[16] Thus, one can be a witty in one interaction, critical in another interaction, a student in another, a teacher in another, a spouse in another and so forth. As these identities become routinised, we come to think that they are stable entities. For instance, if many people around you state that you are artistic, you come to see yourself as an artist. Your role as a teacher, spouse, or parent is also brought on by the situation and relations that you engage in. You interpret the understandings of these roles and act to create the images of these roles. It is similar with being artistic, to maintain the creativeness you engage in activities that would make you creative such as taking art as a subject, engaging in painting, or drawing as a hobby or partaking in art competitions to maintain the identity.

harmonious entity. Rather it is multiple and can change over time as it interacts with others within a changing environment.

Appiah (1994) argues that a person's identity consists of two parts: the personal and collective identity. Both identities are important in the constitution of the self. Although both identities are socially constructed through interaction, personal identity refers to the personal attributes of a person (such as being artistic). Collective identity[17], on the other hand, refers to the social classifications of people into groups such that the group acquires an identity. Through social interaction, individuals come to learn which groups they belong to and which groups they do not through dialogue and in conversation with others. Collective identity is also socially constructed through engagement with others (Cerulo 1997; Eisenstadt and Giesen 1995).

Although micro-social interaction provides the language through which identity is formed, wider social structures and culture are also important in creating one's personal and collective identity. Appiah (1994:155) states that "we make up selves from a tool kit of options made available by our culture and society. We do make choices, but we do not, individually, determine the options among which we choose". We are able to make choices in the world, but we can only make it within an already existing framework. The making of one's identity and biography is confined by the conditions set by a society.

A crucial aspect of identity construction is the society and culture that one is embedded in that plays a significant role in how one comes to be who they are. Appiah (1994:154) states that "identity is crucially constituted through concepts and practices made available to me by religion, society, school, state, and mediated to varying degrees by the family. Dialogue shapes the identity I develop as I grow up, but the very material out of which I form it is provided, in part, by my society". Although it is dialogue with others that shapes the self, the substance of the dialogue is derived from the society that one lives in. Elliott (2001:6) states that "the self is not simply 'influenced' by the external world, since the self cannot be set apart from the social, cultural, political, and historical contexts in which it is embedded. Social processes in part

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[17] Pollettal and Jasper (2001:285) define collective identity "as an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of shared status and relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity. A collective identity may first be constructed by outsiders … who may still enforce it, but it depends on some acceptance by those to whom it is applied. Collective identities are expressed in cultural materials – names, narratives, symbols, verbal styles, rituals, clothing, and so on – but not all cultural material express collective identity".

constitute, and so in a sense are internal to, the self". The self is not merely 'influenced' by these aspects, but these aspects become internalised through routine social interaction such that it becomes a part of a person's life and identity. Elliott (2001:2) states that "society disciplines and regulates the self, so that feelings about ourselves and beliefs about our identities are shaped to their roots by broader social forces and cultural sensibilities". Through dialogues with others, society can condition us to think in certain ways about ourselves.

Burr (2003:73) states that discourses "can be seen to be tied to social structures and practices in a way which masks the power relations operating within society". Structures and institutions perpetuate certain cultural ideologies which become dominate in society. Dominate ideologies are infused in language and discourse which permeate society. Parekh (2008:31) states that

> every society is distinguished by a dominant body of beliefs and practices concerning the ways in which its members should lead their individual and social lives. It privileges some forms of life, social relationships and groups, and disapproves of and imposes different kinds of formal and informal sanctions on others. The latter understandably complain that the dominant culture denigrates their identity, requires them to conform to unacceptable norms, oppresses and humiliates them, traps them into restricted and alien mode of being, and inflicts varying degrees of psychic and other injuries on them.

Dominant cultures within societies privilege some within society while oppressing others. For instance, dominate ideologies such as racism, classism and patriarchy govern how people think, how people are positioned in society, how people act and interact with one another and thus this also shapes one's identity. These ideologies are usually established by dominant groups within society which control, subordinate and oppress other groups. By using these ideologies dominant groups position themselves as powerful, subordinating other groups in the process. A division is created between the dominant group and the subordinate group. The power inequalities that are created are widely endorsed and as such are maintained within society (Burr 2003). Elliott (2001:11) points out that "social power and cultural domination works at the micro-level, not so much as a series of chain commands issued by particular elite groups or even one group of individuals over another group, but as a force that affects everyone, a force that operates through the textures of language, discourse and interpersonal interaction". Discourses create power divisions between groups which become entrenched within society, and they become internalised as people live and grow up in a certain society. The dominant ideologies created within larger structures and institutions are dispersed throughout society as

people engage in social interaction which in turn shapes one's identity, especially one's collective identity. As Taylor (1994:75) explains:

> The thesis is that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being.

Since we construct our identity dialogically through social interaction with others within a given culture and society, the people or society are also responsible for the abasement of one's identity. If individuals/collectives are not given the recognition that is needed a negative self-image is created. If people mirror a negative image to the self by using derogatory language or obscene gestures, the self will come to acquire a negative self-image. Taylor (1994:75) states that "misrecognition shows not just a lack of due respect. It can inflict a grievous wound, saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred. Due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need". Since identity is dialectically or dialogically created, what we say and how we behave towards others matters. Since our value and self-worth is communicated to us by others, we need others to show us that we are valued and worthy. If people/groups are not recognised as equals within a society, they might become dejected and might come to feel as if they deficient or worthless. It is harmful to have a negative self-image as it hinders the persons or groups potential and agency. Dominant cultural beliefs within society, misrecognise individuals and groups and come to oppress them.

For instance, Parekh (2008:31) states that "black people argue that the dominant racist culture reduces them to their colour, 'overdetermines them from without', views them as inferior or not fully human, and expects them to pursue goals and lead lives that conform to norms set by white people as a precondition of equality" and "women argue that the prevailing patriarchal culture views them as sexual objects, inferiorises them, expects them to live by norms that are set by and favour men, devalues their experience, and denies them the opportunity to express themselves freely and fully". Dominant cultures within society such as patriarchy or racism dictate the value given to individuals and groups, these cultural dominations are relatively produced such that 'women' and 'men', 'black' and 'white' come to be binary opposites and certain attributes are attached to each social category that dictates to society how we should

treat each group. This is problematic as negative qualities are attributed to certain groups who come to be treated in an unjust manner. Elliott (2001:13-14) states that "struggles over the politics of identity have intensified dramatically over the last couple of decades, with issues concerning gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, multiculturalism, class, and cultural style moving to the fore in public and intellectual debate".

However, it must be noted that the political, economic, and sociocultural spheres of society can change as collective action is taken to change these structures. New structures bring new ways of thinking and reflecting on the self, which also means new ways in which the self can be refashioned. Subordinated or marginalised groups within society can fight against dominant cultural practices for liberation against oppressive laws and practices. Parekh (2008:31-32) states that

> The groups involved demand not only equal civil, political, economic and other rights but also equal respect and public legitimacy or 'recognition' for their marginalised identities. Their struggles require them to organise themselves and pursue their objectives collectively. Since their objectives include not just rights and interests but also recognition of identity, their organisation and demands are based on a shared sense of collective identity. What was hitherto a category of classification is now made the basis of unity and gives rise to a more or less self-conscious identity group.

Oppressive social constructs can be fought against to form new liberal discourses that can change the positions, roles and actions/behaviour of actors which can also change how they see themselves. Elliott (2001:9) points out that "collective identity gains its power through the establishment and recognition of common interests, built upon forms of solidarity involving battles over, say, social exclusion, nation, class, and the like". Collective identity becomes legitimised and gains power as those who see themselves as members of the group are united to defend their common interests when it comes under attack from oppressive regimes. The unity that comes from fighting a common cause brings people together under a common identity. For instance, women's liberation movements have done much to curtail the erroneous and discriminatory social constructs that keep women in a subordinate position to men. However, it must be pointed out that collective identity risks essentialism as all within the group are perceived to be the same. For instance, Collins (cited in Cerulo 1997:392) states that

race and social class produce multiple variations of 'women' and 'men', distinctions that many societies use to build complex hierarchical stratification systems. The existence of multiple categories alerts us to the flaws of binary gender conceptualisations, focusing us instead on the ways in which multiple identity affiliations qualitatively change the nature of human experience.

It must be noted that although identities are relationally created and become binary constructs, a person's identity is varied and changes as a person interacts with a multitude of others. An individual's race, class, gender, religion, national identity, and sexuality (amongst other identities) intersect daily and is reconstructed through daily social interaction with others. One identity may dominate over others depending on who one interacts with or the type of actions that are carried out. Similarly, Parekh (2008:37) also states that,

> If we are to resist essentialising identities, we need to appreciate their plurality and interaction. Human beings have plural identities, and this is not a contingent but a necessary fact about them. Their identities, further, do not co-exist passively but interact and shape each other. Women, for example belong to different economic, cultural, political, religious, ethnic and other groups, and have different interests, aspirations, and views of their place in society. They articulate their gender identity differently, and give it different kinds and degrees of importance in their self-understanding. There is no inherently 'womanly' or 'feminine' essence that stays the same across religious, economic and other divisions.

In order to guard against the essentialisation of a group, there is a need to recognise and acknowledge the heterogeneity within the group. Essentialising identity also creates identities that are bounded or closed, such that "women and men, blacks and whites are sharply distinguished and supposed to share little of importance" (Parekh 2008:35). However, since identity is porous and permeable, it must be noted that

> blacks and whites differ racially, but might belong to a common religion, class or political community. Separate at one level, they are related at another. Indeed, fiercely opposed in terms of one identity, they might be closely bound together in terms of some other. Given the commonalities at various levels, relations between groups rule out sharp distinctions and polarisation (Parekh 2008:39).

This shows the overlapping or intersecting nature of identity, that although people differ regarding some identities, they may find that they are able to relate to one another based on other identities. Thus, there needs to be an acknowledgement that identities are multiple,

overlapping and that people give different degrees of importance to their multiple identity for sharp distinctions, polarisation and essentialisation of identities to be eradicated and for people to find common ground.

### 3.2 The incorporation of minority migrant groups into Western nation-states

The aim of this section is to understand how identity impacts the inclusion or exclusion of people/groups in the classical immigrant countries. The incorporation or exclusion of immigrants into the host country is primarily premised on the identity of a person. As people migrate from one country to another, the identities of a person become central in dictating how the public, institutions and the state come to interact with the migrant which shapes their experiences in the host country.

Although migrants have multiple identities, the physical appearance or 'race' of a migrant has come to be the most significant marker of identity. This racial identification has subsequently dictated the treatment of migrants to Western nation-states. Smedley and Smedley (2005:16) state that "race is a fairly recent construct, one that emerged well after population groups from different continents came into contact with one another". The use of 'race' as a category of identity used to differentiate, and subordinate groups of people has its roots in European exploration, conquest, and colonial expansion (Buechler 2008:129; Kivisto and Croll 2012:7; Smedley and Smedley 2005). As Europeans encountered civilisations different from their own, they "used their own civilization as a standard by which other civilizations would be judged" (Kivisto and Croll 2012:5). Europeans constructed their way of life as 'civilised' in relation to 'others' who they saw us uncivilised and barbaric (Kivisto and Croll 2012; Rattansi 2007). The emergence of scientific racism in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe was significant in expediating differences by creating racial categories and racial hierarchies based on phenotypical differences (Kivisto and Croll 2012; Smedley and Smedley 2005). People become classified into a hierarchy of human order with 'white' European phenotypical features being equated to refinement and intelligence and positioned as superior in relation to all other people of colour who were constructed as 'backward' and thus inferior (Buechler 2008; Smedley and Smedley 2005).

Although there are no biological and scientific foundation for creating categories of humans based on arbitrary phenotypical features, 'race' has nonetheless become real.[18] It has become a weapon used to oppress, exploit, control, discriminate and infer unequal opportunities to people of colour (Buechler 2008). This form of prejudice was contradictory to the values of equality, individualism, liberty, democracy, and justice that Western Europe was embracing during the Age of Enlightenment (Smedley and Smedley 2005). Buechler (2008:129) states that "colonisation only poses a moral dilemma if people are seen as equals. The social construction of race/racism defines the colonized group as inferior or subhuman. The more their humanity is denied, the more the brutality becomes acceptable". Thus, by constructing indigenous populations as inferior, 'subhuman' or a 'different species' it provides a justification for European colonialism, slavery and the subjugation and oppression of Indigenous people in Africa, Australia, Canada, America, and Asia by Europeans (Kivisto and Croll 2012:7).

European colonialism was brutal and inhumane. European colonialism precipitated the mass migration of Africans to work as slaves in coloniser plantations. Africans were treated with denigration and indignation (Rattansi 2007). They were denied basic political, economic, and social rights. The indentured labour system, a form of slavery, also subjugated 'Indians' to erroneous treatment and discriminatory laws based on their 'race'. Although, slavery was abolished between 1834-1865 in various colonies and the indentured labour system was abandoned in 1941, so called 'non-white' groups in these territories still endured racism and prejudice. This discrimination is predicated on their racial classification as inferior in relation to the dominant 'white' population (Castles and Miller 2009:82–83). For instance, multiple laws were enforced that created conditions of inequality for minority groups as they were positioned and contained on the lower brackets of society. A person's 'race' was used to exclude them economically, politically, and socially from participating in society as equals and relegated them to destitution on the margins of society.

In addition, not only was 'race' used by the state and institutions as an exclusionary device. But the fallacy of race over time become deeply rooted into the consciousness of people such

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[18] The simplistic view that race does not exist has been dismissed by most scholars, and social scientists have come to view the existence of race through lived social experiences. The idea that "race" is a social reality has, of course, itself been critiqued (Hochman 2021). However, the consensus view is that race is a social construct and that the experience of being racialised (i.e., of being categorised as a member of a specific "race" group) is quite real (Smedley and Smedley 2005).

that the 'white' populace was convinced of their superiority and 'blacks' were persuaded into believing in their inferiority (Smedley and Smedley 2005; Walton and Caliendo 2011:5). This naturalised and taken for granted assumption influenced how people in everyday life interacted with each-other. Derogatory discourses were aimed at minority groups that denigrated and devalued their identity which inflicted psychological harm on them. Our discussion of whiteness would not be complete without clearly defining 'white supremacy'. It is often associated with a fairly small and extreme political movement centred on racial hatred. This narrow definition, however, allows issues of structural and systemic racism to be sidestepped. Scholars frequently take a boarder definition, conceiving of it as a condition whereby the societal position and interests of white subjects are centred. As defined by Leonardo (2004:137), white supremacy is "a critical pedagogy of white supremacy revolves less around unearned advantages, or the state of being dominant, and more around the direct processes that secure domination and the privileges associated with it". The preservation of white supremacy depends on the dehumanisation of people of colour and the side-lining of voices and experiences critical of white power (Bonds and Inwood 2016). This analytic definition links the discursive production of 'whiteness' to the material, and structural production of white hegemony.

Furthermore, Western nation-states enforced migration policies aimed at preventing people of colour from immigrating into these countries. Castles and Miller (2009:14) state that "the USA, Canada and Australia[19] all had policies to keep out non-Europeans and even some categories of Europeans until the 1960s". For instance, Australia established the 'white only' migration policy as it was believed that only 'white' migrants could assimilate into 'white' Australia. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992:1) state that "race is one way by which the boundary is to be constructed between those who can and those who cannot belong to a particular construction of a collectivity or population". Australia, in an effort to appear non-racist, used culture as a determinant for migration entry and incorporation. It was believed that in order to maintain political stability within the nation-state, all migrants should easily assimilate into the dominate culture within society. 'White' Europeans were easily accepted into Australia, despite most coming from a different cultural background to Australians, as it was believed only 'white' Europeans could be easily incorporated into the nation-state. Thus, culture became conflated

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[19] This study considers Australia to be a Western nation. Although Australia is not geographically positioned close to other Western nation-states, it is nevertheless regarded as a Western nation as its political and legal institutions as well as its language and literature is derived from Britain and Europe (Donnelly 2020).

with 'race' and was insidiously used to mask exclusionary efforts to keep out those they demeaned 'undesirable'. It was only in the 1960s that attitudes towards migrants began to change. Racial laws and immigration policies were abolished as democratic governments debated how to incorporate immigrants who come from diverse backgrounds.

Nation-state policies towards immigrants and immigrant settlement are also important in creating non-discriminatory cohesive societies and communities in which immigrants feel that they belong at all levels of society. However, Castles and Miller (2009:41) indicate that "immigration of culturally diverse people presents the nation-states with a dilemma: incorporation of newcomers as citizens may undermine myths of cultural homogeneity; but failure to incorporate them may lead to divided societies, marked by severe inequality and conflict".

The nation-state is premised on the idea that people within a bounded political territory should also be culturally homogeneous (Smith 1991). Constructing the nation in this manner emphasises that a population is united by a common history, a universal linguistic system and collective myths, symbols and traditions which homogenises the population into a common culture (Smith 1991). This is problematic as it means eradicating or reducing all other cultural forms, histories, languages, traditions, symbols, and voices in the process. Although such a conceptualisation propagated by the elite was fictitious, as several cultural forms could exist within a territory, it captured the psyche of the citizenry. The nation, defined in this way, poses difficulties for those who have immigrated and even the descendants of those who have migrated centuries ago are still considered not to belong to the nation due to not culturally 'fitting in' to how nation-states conceptualise themselves (Benmayor and Skotnes 1994). Migration over centuries challenges the conceptualisation of the nation as a culturally homogenous territory since most nations have come to be culturally heterogeneous (Benmayor and Skotnes 1994). Western nation-states continue to hold on to the myth of a culturally homogenous nation, despite evidence that migration has considerably changed the culture of the nation.

### 3.3 Assimilation, multiculturalism, and the nation-state

Inextricably linked to the nation-states policies towards immigrants, is the identity construction of migrants. The dialectic between state responses to migrants, societal responses to migrants and migrants' responses to both these entities determines the identity construction of migrants (Geschiere 2009). It is in relation to structural, institutional and every day micro social interactions that migrants carve an identity for themselves which determines their interaction and experiences within the new society. How nation-states treat migrants affects the construction of this group's identities. However, since migrants are active agents, they have a choice as to how to refashion their identity. In addition, considering the impact of globalisation on the lives of migrants, migrants may come to foster transnational ties that link them to the country of origin (Kraidy 2005). Diasporic communities arise that also form connections with the 'home' country or migrants may form hybrid cultures within the host and even 'home' country.

In a number of Western nation-states assimilationist policies act as bulwarks against societal change, marginalising migrant identities and reaffirming the dominance of so-called 'native' culture. In his review of European policies of assimilation, Parekh (2008) argues that these legislative instruments demand immigrants trade their identity for pre-scripted sanctioned alternatives designed by their new host government. This so-called 'trade' forces people to abandon their old identity for a new identity so that they can fit in or conform to the dominant culture of the society. The central assumption underpinning these policies is that society cannot be cohesive and stable unless all its members embrace a common set of values and beliefs. Non-dominant cultural perspectives, practises and identities are disrespected, devalued, and dismissed. Assimilation policies of this type were particularly popular in Australia in the post-war period and appear to arise from an unwillingness to recognize and respect differences in opinions or beliefs as it tries to coerce out cultural differences (Markus and Taft 2015). This violates immigrants' freedom of choice and creates a power dynamic between citizens who belong and immigrants who need to change in order to belong.

Realising the long-term persistence of group difference, nation-states such as Australia, Canada, and the UK, changed to a multiculturalist social policy of incorporating immigrants (Castles and Miller 2009; Modood 2013:3). Multiculturalism refers both to the plural cultures within a nation as well as to polices and strategies governments implement to deal with the issues of a multicultural society (Hall 2019:96). Each country implements multicultural

policies in different ways, depending on what they perceive as just and appropriate with regards to the incorporation of migrants (Hall 2019). According to Castles et al. (2014:270) multiculturalism means that "immigrants should be able to participate as equals in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their own culture, religion and language, although usually with an expectation of conformity in key values". The idea of an ethnoculturally homogenous nation state is severely challenged by policies of multiculturalism which value and preserve ethno-cultural diversity.

In ideological terms, multiculturalism policies often frame the nation as welcoming to diversity and valuing difference. But despite these ostensive recognitions, policies of this kind frequently encompassed elements of exclusion and misrecognition. There is habitually a tension between individual rights and groups rights, as migrants' practice their culture in private there is a need for migrants to integrate into the dominant cultural and value system set out by the nation-state. Australian policies of multiculturalism have, traditionally, been informed by a strong assertion to maintain the country's Christian, Anglo-Celtic, English-speaking identity (Ghosh 2018). Although migrant groups may practice their religion and culture in private, they may not be given that right in the public sphere.[20] Thus, ethnic group rights tend to be marginalised and disregarded in the public arena.

Western nation-states (which are primarily informed by dominant 'white' hegemonic values) still debate how to contend with a diversity of migrants who spread their cultural identities and values as they move. There is a fear that the dominant national culture and identity is under threat as a diversity of foreign migrants come to be part of and spread their cultural practices within the nation-state, ultimately changing the culture of the nation. Because of this debate the policy term 'multiculturalism' has come to have multiple meanings and it is fair to say that there are many 'multiculturalism's' (Fleras 2009). Existing conceptualisations of multiculturalism are, however, often fixed within the bounded context of the nation-state. This conceptualisation does not allow for the transnational reality of many contemporary migrant communities. As a result, these policies frequently underservice these communities, harming their ability to build a sense of 'home' in their host country.

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[20] This is not just an issue with multicultural policies in Australia. Muslim women in France, for example, are prohibited from wearing the hijab in public as to give them permission to dress in their traditional wear is to favour their religion and lifestyle over all others (Delanty, Jones, and Wodak 2008:9). In Britain, Sikh policemen could not wear their turbans as it meant not wearing a protection helmet (Modood 2013) .

Multicultural policies have been regarded by governments, including Australia, as a method of promoting citizenship amongst resident migrant communities. The International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth, conducted in thirteen different countries, found that multicultural policies promoted the development of identification with a new national identity among ethnic minorities under certain conditions (Berry et al. 2006). But often diversity and immigration are becoming ever more complex. Many migrants, as aforementioned, occupy a transnational reality, operating social networks that stretch across national boundaries and even continents. Most multicultural policies tend to ignore this reality and tend to frame the migratory journey as having de-linked immigrants from their country of origin. But Karim (2007) has critiqued scholars for not going beyond the national context in their explorations of multiculturalism. The concept of cultural assimilation is becoming increasingly strained under transnational conditions and multi-layered forms of cultural attachment. For a growing number of migrant communities, the exclusive claim that the nation-state makes is at odds with their transnational linkages. We will return to the question of multiculturalism in Australia in Chapter 4, subsection 3.

### 3.4 Transnationalism and identity

The processes of international migration have resulted in multiple forms of cross-cultural encounters in many host countries, these encounters led to new kinds of belonging and self-identification. Migration and cultural studies have demonstrated an enduring interest in how these encounters disrupt existing kinds of belonging and self-identification (Pieterse 2015). The term hybridity is one of the most extensively debated concepts to have emerged from studies of transnationalism (Kraidy 2005). In Western countries cultural transformations in immigrant identities frequently bring about hybrid formulations (Bhatia 2007). These transformations are informed by ongoing contexts of social inequality and racial disharmony in the Western context. Immigrants often experience a sense of *dual* belonging and self-identification; their identities are not assimilated into the dominant culture of the host country but are different from those of their country of origin. Scholars of cultural hybridity often acknowledge that cultures are not homogeneous entities and cultural hybridity is never a mere assortment of pre-existent identities.[21]

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[21] For scholars like Pieterse (2015) all cultures in a host country (regardless of whether they are "dominant" or not) are always porous, manifold, inconsistent and unsolidified. As aforementioned, the creation of transnational migrant communities that extend across nation states presents a fundamental challenge to assume static

It is important to take transnationalism into consideration in understanding the identity construction of migrants. Migrants engage with the transnational networks that assist them in sustaining certain identities in their new environment (Basch et al. 1994). As people move across borders, their identity migrates with them through their culture, mannerisms, values, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and 'race' (Thomassen 2015:vi). This impacts how they construct their identity in the host country. However, since the world has become more globalised, transnational migrants can reconnect to their country of origin thus undermining identity construction which is bounded to a specific geographical territory or nation state (Rouse 1995).

Since the distance between sending and receiving countries have 'shortened', various relationships with the 'home' country can possibly be sustained (Brettell 2000:104). The extent and intensity in the flow of information, ideas, goods, services, and affective relationship from the 'home' country sustain social relations and affects the identity construction of migrants. Dirlik (cited in Fluck, 2011:375) states that

> Transnationalism, in other words, raises basic questions about the meaning of national belonging and identification, or cultural identity, when a population is dispersed broadly spatially, following different historical trajectories in different locations. It also assigns a formative power to encounters between people of different and national backgrounds, who are transformed by the encounters in different ways.

This is important as it brings attention to how migrants negotiate their identity living across borders. It raises questions of how migrants construct their national, personal, collective, and cultural identities as they simultaneously have relations with two or more societies with differing political, social, cultural, and economic structures. It brings to attention the many social relationships in the 'home', host and other countries of settlement which may impact the identity construction of the migrant. Furthermore, Tedeschi et al., (2020:3) state that "this process of meaningful relationship building is not static, but is continuously evolving and 'becoming', greatly contributing to the forging of people's dual or plural identities and sense of belonging". As social relations with people in the 'home' and host country change, so to do the identity of migrants. The identity construction of transnational migrants is in flux as they

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assumptions about essentialised nature of nations, and cultures. In fact, cultural hybridity reveals the unstable nature of all contemporary identities.

negotiate with multiple relations in the 'home' and host country. The identities of migrants tend to be complex and complicated as they draw on multiple sources in constituting the self.

An important aspect of migration incorporation into the host country is learning to live in a different culture from one's own. Fay (1996:59) states that

> Another important fact about culture is that they are essentially open. Cultures are ideational entities; such they are permeable susceptible to influence from other cultures. Wherever exchange among humans occurs, the possibility exists of the influence of one culture by another. Even when such influence does not occur it is because those in one culture consciously reject the foreign or strange culture: but this rejection is itself another way the alien culture interjects itself into the home culture. Human history is in part the story of the ways different cultural groups have rearranged cultural boundaries by expanding contacts, tolerating outsiders, and fashioning interactive arrangements. Even the creation of stricter boundaries involves mutual impact. The human world is not composed of a motley of independent, encapsulated, free-floating cultures; rather, it is one of constant interplay and exchange.

As people encounter each-other through social interaction, there is possibility for cultural exchange. Since identity and culture are both porous and open to influence, migrants can take on some aspects of dominant culture of their host country without necessarily relinquishing their own culture thus forming a hybrid cultural identity. However, migrants may wish to reject, for a variety of reasons, this dominant culture entirely. Even if hard boundaries are created between the dominant culture and those of immigrants, the situation will never be static. Cultural boundaries in the same geographic area are very difficult to keep separate and tend to influence each other. These interactions can lead to new cultural forms, resulting in unexpected intersections and transforming the identities of both immigrants and hosts.

In order to make a 'home' for themselves in the host country, migrants tend to recreate their old home in their new home. This will be explored in the following section.

**4 Home and migration**

Although the word 'home' immediately conjures up images of a house or a physical dwelling place, it is often the feelings or meanings that is attached to 'home' that is important. Scholars often describe 'home' as a multidimensional concept (Somerville 1997). For instance, the

words comfort, at ease, safety, sanctuary can all be used to describe 'home'. In our everyday lives the word 'home' enters our world in a variety of mediums and refers to various aspects of our lives. Duyvendak (2011:38) states that "this multiplicity is itself meaningful: to 'feel at home' is not a singular feeling but a plural and layered sentiment that travels from the individual, household via the neighbourhood to the nation, and from the house to the workplace". 'Home' can also be associated with one's country, referred to as the homeland or mother/father land, or 'home-making' which are the various practices such as decorating, refurbishing, and maintaining the house structure so that the inhabitants can live in comfort (Mallett 2004). People live in a dwelling which they call their home, they go home after work, it is a site of family habitation, a myriad of social relationships takes place at home, many catch phrases depict home as imbued with feelings such as 'no place like home' or 'home sweet home'. Migrants and mobile workers may experience a loss of home, homesickness, or nostalgia as they move from one place to another and may attempt to 'set up home' in various ways. The numerous television programmes, movies, songs, slogans, and phrases which are inspired by the various attributes of 'home' are testament that 'home' occupies a central and significant role in our everyday lives. The examples above indicate that 'home' is imbued with multiple meanings and is used in numerous ways to communicate various understandings of 'home'.

Blunt and Dowling (2006:2) state that "home is an idea and an imaginary imbued with feelings". The different meanings of 'home' used in our everyday lives indicates that the term is significant to the lives of people and plays a crucial role in conveying various meanings and feelings. 'Home', as Duyvendak (2011) has argued, can be understood in multiple ways which conveys multiple meanings. It is the manifold meanings of 'home' that makes it a complicated, fluid concept with no fixed meaning as the meaning changes with regards to the context it is used in and in relation to whom or what it is being referred to. 'Feeling at home' is an emotional connection to a particular place and these emotions are multiple and multi-layered.

In this study, 'home' is used from a sociological perspective. This lens is appropriate as it explicates the ways in which macro and micro factors influences how people create their home and the meanings they attribute to 'home'. In the sections that follow, the concept of 'home' is interrogated by firstly examining the different aspects of 'home' to provide a more holistic framework of the term. Thereafter, the multiple scales of 'house as home', 'community as home' and 'nation as home" are explored to understand how these aspects influences one's

identity. Lastly, the transnationalism of home is elucidated to understand how migrants create 'home' across borders.

**4.1 The haven, heaven, hearth, and heart of 'home'**

'Home' is an idea, a spatial imaginary but it is also real. Society has constructed 'home' to be associated with positive attributes. Let us consider how 'home' is associated with the following four concepts: (i) haven, (ii) heaven, (iii) hearth, and (iv) heart. Haven refers to 'home' being as a shelter, refuge or a place or sanctuary from the things that bring you distress, a place where one can feel safe, secure, and protected which is usually private and exclusive (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Duyvendak 2011; Mallett 2004). Heaven means that 'home' is a "public place where one can collectively be, express and realize oneself, where one feels publicly free and independent. Home here embodies shared histories; a material and/or symbolic place with 'one's own people and activities'" (Duyvendak 2011:38). Hearth denotes "a warm, welcoming, relaxing physical environment" (Mallet 2004:81). For Blunt and Dowling (2006) 'home' serves as a grounding for one's identity. The authors indicate that "home in this sense is much more than a house, and much more than feelings of attachment to particular places and people. Home is hearth, an anchoring point through which human beings are centred" (Blunt and Dowling 2006:11). Hearth comes to signify the grounding of one's identity. Lastly, heart signifies "loving, supportive, secure and stable environment that provides emotional and physical well-being" (Mallett 2004:82). Heart refers to the social relationships that bring feelings of love, support and belonging. These emotional attributes are important in understanding how people describe 'home' in different contexts.

Home has come to be ideologically and socially embedded in the psyche of individuals, so people tend to work towards making, having, and maintaining a home. It is an imaginative process as people imagine what 'home' is and take action to achieve it. People strive to have a 'home', as the idea of 'home' conveys a perfect place where one unconditionally belongs, a refuge against the harshness of the world, a place where one feels welcomed, loved, cared for, and accepted for who they are and it's a stable place where one can hang one's hat. Home represents rootedness, a place where one is anchored, grounded and stable and thus at peace. Having a house, dwelling place, or homeland to which one can belong conveys the feeling of being accepted, recognised, belonging and being at ease. Having a 'home' is important as it is linked to the physical, psychological, and social well-being of a person (Somerville 1997). According to Blunt and Dowling (2006:23) "home does not simply exist, but is made…This

process has both material and imaginative elements. People create home through social and emotional relationships". Therefore, people tend to make a concerted effort to make a 'home' for themselves. The ideology of 'home' is manifested by creating a physical place with social and emotional relations attached to the place.

'Home' as haven is attributed to a shelter/safe place; thus, place becomes important in understanding home. Blunt and Dowling (2006:2) states that "home is: a place/site, a set of feelings/cultural meanings, and the relationship between the two". A place can become a 'home' when feelings of haven, heaven, hearth, and heart are linked to the physical environment. 'Home' is a place that is imbued with feelings, and it is these feelings that renders a place 'home'. But how are these feelings towards a place created? How does one 'feel at home' in a place? Mallett (2004:63) indicates that "the boundaries of home seemingly extend beyond its walls to the neighbourhood, even the suburb, town, or city. Home is place but it is also a space inhabited by family, people, things, and belongings – a familiar, if not comfortable space where particular activities and relationships are lived". To address such a question, one needs to examine the activities and social relationships that occur within a place that confers feelings of 'home' within a place. A place becomes home when the activities and social relations within the place can confer feelings of haven, hearth and heart to the person participating in the activity.

For instance, to achieve 'feeling at home', 'home' is materially created through the actions of people on the environment. Blunt and Dowling (2006:23) indicate that not only is home ideologically constructed in the minds of people but "home is also materially created – new structures formed, objects used and placed". Therefore, to create a sense of 'home', there is an active engagement of the 'home-making' process by producing home through material objects. For instance, dwelling places are designed, decorated, refurbished, and maintained to make it as comfortable as possible for those who live in it. Rooms are set up to suit the needs of the people who occupy it, for instance a bedroom for a couple, baby, child, teenager or aged may be designed or decorated differently to suit the person's requirements and personality. Blunt and Dowling (2006:i) state that "the spaces and imaginaries of home are central to the construction of people's identities and are materially manifested in a wide range of home-making practices". One's identity is expressed through the material objects or cultural artefacts that is kept by the person such as clothing, religious apparel, items of remembrance such as photographs, items of achievements such as awards that convey the multiple identities of the

person inhabiting the space. These artefacts convey the person's identity and represents the person's changing identity as meaningful objects are replaced with other meaningful objects over time. These objects become historical artefacts in the life story or biography of the person. Spaces created serve as the haven and hearth for people to express themselves and feel like they belong and to root themselves in a stable place as everything outside is in constant motion and can be chaotic.

Somerville (1997:235) states that "the maintenance of identity requires continuity and stability of experience and therefore familiarity". Duyvendak (2011:37) also indicates that "places do not intrinsically have home-like characteristics (safe, secure, welcoming, etc.); we develop these feelings for places over time. This is evident when we look at 'familiarity' – so fundamental to feeling at home. Familiarity takes time". The concept of home also relates to familiarity. People 'feel at home' when places/ spaces are familiar to them. People create 'home' through the routine actions or interactions that take place within a space which overtime becomes familiar to the person (Duyvendak 2011). For example, a sports field can become 'home' as a person routinely practices activities either alone or with a group (which becomes part of their identity as a sportsperson) that cultivates familiarity and thus, homely feelings. A multitude of locations can become 'home' if one becomes familiar with it through routine activity and if the place is meaningful and holds an emotional attachment that brings out feeling of 'home'. People come to live out their lives within particular places and have experiences, create memories, and form emotional attachments to these places. The neighbourhood, community or a park bench can become 'home'. 'Home' is not a fixed place but can become multiple places. Furthermore, what 'home' means to people can change over time, over a person's life-stages and social experiences. Home is multi-layered and can mean different things to different people.

Another important facet of 'home' is the social relations that occurs within a place, that makes it a 'home'. Blunt and Dowling (2006:23) indicate that "home does not simply exist", it is created "through social and emotional relationships". Duyvendak (2011:38) states that "the material world in itself has no real 'home value'; for this it needs meanings and feelings to be attached. Home is grounded less in a place and more in the activity that occurs in the place". This means, a place can become 'home' when the social interactions that occur between people inhabiting a space/place produce feeling of home such as belonging, comfort, security,

protection, the ability to express oneself and feel rooted and stable. The social interactions within a place/space are significant in creating the haven, heaven, hearth, and heart of 'home'.

Social interactions, that occur within a place, are important for the construction of identity. As people encounter many others in different places, they come to learn who they are and through that knowledge they come to transform themselves. As a person moves through various places they come to learn if they belong or not through interacting with people and thus come to also learn if the place can be made into a 'home' for them. Therefore, place/space only becomes 'home' when the social interactions or social relations between people within the locality confers a sense of safety, comfort, peace, belonging and stability. It is important to understand how one's identity can be accepted or rejected by society which subsequently creates feelings of belonging or alienation in relation to 'home'.

This means that the ideology and imaginative components of 'home' as an ideal or perfect place imbued with feelings of haven, heaven, hearth, and heart contrast with the reality of 'home' which can be alienating and even oppressive. People strive to create the perfect place to belong, however the social relations within the place dictate if a person can belong, feel safe and put down roots. Mallett (2004) states that the idea of 'home' as haven can contribute to the creation of homelessness as those who are oppressed by family members can feel 'homeless at home'.

However, since the ideology of 'home' is deep-seated in the psyche of people, even in despairing conditions, people strive to make a 'home' for themselves. Duyvendak (2011:5) states that "we cannot separate questions of how people inscribe space with meaning from social struggles involving class, race, gender and sexuality". Through social identity struggles people can change the social structures that produce alienating social relations that take place within a space to try to carve out spaces of belonging. Thus, creating a 'home' involves both the micro-interactions and activities that one engages in as well as the macro-structures or wider social forces within society.

**4.2 The multi-scales of 'home'**

'Home' and 'feeling at home' are a multi- faceted and multi-scalar phenomenon (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Duyvendak 2011; Somerville 1997). Home can be understood within three interrelated spheres of 'house as home', 'community as home' and 'nation as home'. Within

these three scales, the social structure and social interactions between individuals and groups of people are elucidated to understand how identity is constructed in each sphere of 'home', which brings feelings of belonging or isolation. These three aspects are interrelated and influence each other, in creating places of belonging or alienation. Morley (2001:433) states that

> If the home, the neighbourhood, and the nation are all potential spaces of belonging, this is no simple matter of disconnected, parallel processes. Each of these spaces conditions the others ... because these spaces are simultaneously tied together by media messages, by the workings of the real estate market, and by macro factors such as the immigration policies of the state and the impact of the global economy.

In this research the interconnectedness of the four spheres of 'home' is considered in understanding how migrants construct 'home'.

### 4.2.1 House as home

The house or dwelling embodies the ideal representation of 'home' as it is associated with shelter, warmth and an abode for the family and a refuge from the outside world. Home is most often conflated to house, however, Mallett (2004:2) argues that "house and home are related but not conflated". Thus, a house is not a home, but can become a home, as the ideal home for its inhabitants are met by actively creating 'home' in the spaces of the house. 'Home' is created as the inhabitant/s actively engage with their house environment to make the physical space into a homely space. Through décor and home improvements, the house is turned into a comfortable place. The objects within the house represent the individual, social and cultural identity of the person or people within the household. For instance, class distinctions can be determined by the number of large household items and the worth of these items. Certain objects within a house are important as it represent the individual's self-expression, such as artwork, posters, or how the inhabitant/s choose to decorate the house. Religious articles within the household, for instance, represents the social identity of the inhabitant/s.  The home can be a place where the multiple identities of the person/people living there are expressed.

Blunt and Dowling (2006:15) state that there is a "recognition that home has something to do with intimate, familial relations and the domestic sphere". The design of the house with various spaces, inside and outside, are constructed for family living.  Home has also become conflated with family. Although, home is also associated with family, family is not home. Rather it is the relationship between family members that conveys sense of comfort and belonging. Blunt and

Dowling (2006:3) point out that "whilst house and household are components of home, on their own they do not capture the complex socio-spatial relations and emotions that define home". This means that it is not just the physical structure that make a house a home but the family relationships within the space and the emotions that are attached to the space that are of importance.

The meanings, feelings and values imbued in the conceptualisation of 'home' derives from the family interactions that take place within the home. Blunt and Dowling (2006:23) argue that "home is lived; what home means and how it is materially manifest are continually created and re-created through everyday practices". Through the social interactions between people within the household feelings of 'home' are constantly created which makes a house a home. The social relationships and family interactions that take place within the house are important as it brings forth feelings and emotions that we associate with home, such as warmth, caring, stability and refuge. 'Home' is both materially and socially created.

The social relations within a household space are significant in shaping identity, thus home is also a place where identity is formed. For instance, early childhood socialisation and identity construction occurs within the household as 'significant others' convey meanings to the child as they talk to the child (Somerville 1997). The child learns what a girl and boy is and who they are as family attaches certain attributes to the child. Through conversations between family members, people in the household come to know who they are. However, Blunt and Dowling (2006:10) indicate that

> Conversely, one can live in a house and yet not feel 'at home'. A house environment may be oppressive and alienating as easily as it may be supportive and comfortable, as shown by domestic violence, 'house arrest' and home detention as alternatives to prison, experiences of poverty and poor housing conditions, and the alienation often felt by young gay men and lesbians in parental homes.

The social relationships that occur within the house are important in creating a sense of belonging or non-belonging. Since social relations occur in a particular place, this also means that "people's sense of self is also expressed through home, though it is important to remember that these meanings of home vary across social divisions such as gender, class and race" (Blunt and Dowling 2006:9).

For instance, "gendered expectations and experiences flow through all these social relations and their materialities, and gender is hence critical to understanding home" (Blunt and Dowling 2006:15). Blunt and Dowling (2006) state that the household is a gendered space where women are responsible for domestic labour, establishing relations of belonging within the household and connecting the individual, household, and society. Women within a household are responsible for household chores, caring for and seeing to the needs of all within the family, and are responsible for childcare. This indicates that there is a significant difference between how work at home is divided between men and women, suggesting an unequal relationship between genders on the home front. Blunt and Dowling (2006:15) indicate that "home is a key site in the oppression of women. For many women, home is a space of violence, alienation, and emotional turmoil". This shows that for some women 'home' is not a place they consider 'home' but is a place of oppression, violence, and abuse. The unequal power relationships within the home influences the identity construction between men and women. Women are constructed as the home makers, nurturers, and carers while men are positioned as the breadwinner who goes out of the home sphere to earn a living. Home is not considered as a workplace for women and work done by women at home goes unpaid, thus emphasising the unequal relations between the sexes.

Blunt and Dowling (2006:16) indicate that "capitalism produces inequality in tandem with patriarchal relations and ideologies that position women as inferior to men". This means that ideologies which are pervasive in the public spheres are also present in the home, indicating that the wider social structures influence the social relations within the home. Although home and work were initially perceived as two separate spheres, these public and private spheres are interdependent (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Mallett 2004). This means that "the intimate and personal spaces of home are closely bound up with, rather than separate from, wider power relations" (Blunt and Dowling 2006:21). This negates the distinction made between 'home' as a private space or inside or enclosed domain which is secure and comfortable in relation to the public or outside space filled with danger (Mallett 2004). This means that house as home is also a site where dominate cultural ideologies from wider society are reproduced and performed. As Blunt and Dowling (2006:27) indicate "home as a place is a porous, open, intersection of social relations and emotions. As feminists have pointed out, home is neither public nor private but both. Home is not separated from public, political worlds but is constituted through them: the domestic is created through the extra-domestic and vice versa".

Thus, the domestic household is a place where one strives to create a homely environment, a place where one's identity is either formed, oppressed, resisted and a site where wider cultural forms are enacted or renounced. These emotional attributes are important in understanding how people describe 'home' in different contexts.

### 4.2.2 Community as home

Duyvendak (2011) argues that the conceptualisation of 'home' should move beyond seeing home as a house or dwelling. Since social interactions take place beyond the boundary of the household, the idea of 'home' is also extended to multiple places one feels at home beside the house environment. According to Calhoun (cited in Duyvendak 2011:63) communities can be defined as "dense, multiplex, relatively autonomous networks of social relationships. Community is not a place or simply a small-scale population aggregate, but a mode of relating, variable in extent". A community represents the social relationships that takes place between people. These social relationships vary as some relationships are strong, while others are weak and can change over time. Although community is not a place, it is the social relationships that take place within a particular place that is important; thus, community becomes related to place.

The social relationships between people at a community level is important as community values, rules, regulations, ideas, and ideologies are disseminated through the community through social interaction. These aspects assist people in developing the tools that enable them to socialise with one-another and influences one's identity construction. Through the social interaction with others in the community one comes to learn who they are and who they want to be.

Scholars indicate that social networks assist in the integration of immigrants in the destination country and community (Ryan 2011; Knight, Thompson, and Lever 2017). Putnam (cited in Ryan 2011:710) argues that both bonding and bridging networks are important for migration integration. Bonding networks refer to "ties to people who are like me in some important way – and bridging – people who are unlike me in some important way". Therefore, social networks created with both ethnic and non-ethnic groups are important to assist migrants to integrate into communities.

For people to feel at home in the community, others need to accept them as members of the community. For instance, certain values and ideologies within a community dictate what is

acceptable and what is not. People can be labelled and stigmatised if they do not conform to the communities' way of life (Duyvendak 2011). For example, for a homosexual person, life in a community may be harder to bear as certain negative labels are attached to their identity that may cause the person grievous harm. In this instance, a community does not provide feeling of belonging or a 'home' for people whose identities are vilified (Duyvendak 2011).

People might not always agree to the rules, values and regulations that are pervasive in their community or household and may seek to create a new set of social relationships for themselves to find belonging. People can also create their own community by bringing like-minded people together or groups with certain distinctive attributes. This can be seen in research conducted by Duyvendak (2011) into gays and lesbians who created their own community to establish a sense of acceptance and belonging which was a reaction to the negative identity construction expressed by the wider community.  Although people live in pre-established communities, they are free to actively create their own communities for themselves based on their own values, ideas, and a place/space to express themselves.

In addition, since wider values infiltrate the household level, people within the household learn to attach acceptance to certain people/groups and see others as not belonging to the community. This also influences interaction within the household as these values may be harmful to a person's identity within a household and thus the person may be made to feel that they do not belong.  Community values, ideals, and culture may influence 'house as home'. The nation-state is also significant in influencing people at the community and household levels.

### 4.2.3 Nation as home

The nation-state has also come to be constructed as a 'home'. Blunt and Dowling (2006:161) state that "discourses about the nation as homeland are often characterized by the gendered use of domestic and familial imagery". For instance, "images of the nation as fatherland correspond to the ordered and empowered spaces of governmental and sovereign belonging" whereas the images of the motherland evoke "protection, warmth, and emotional security…The figure of the mother is symbolically central to national identity and nationalist discourse, and national subjects are positioned in relation to the maternal nation as children" (Blunt and Dowling 2006:162).

Smith (1991:14) states that the commonly accepted components of a nation include the

idea that nations are territorially bounded units of population and that they must have their own homelands; that their members share a common mass culture and common historical myths and memories; that members have reciprocal legal rights and duties under a common legal system; and that nations possess a common division of labour and system of production with mobility across the territory for members.

By stating that a nation is a territorially bound population who have their own homeland asserts, according to (Smith 1991:9) that, "people and territory must, as it were belong to each other…It is, and must be, the 'historic' land, the 'homeland', the 'cradle' of our people.[22] A 'historic land' is one where terrain and people have exerted mutual, and beneficial, influence over several generations". This means that the population and the territory are historically bound and that people over generations have forged a history in the territory and as such belong to the territory. Somerville (1997:237) states that "the boundaries of nation-states have been created by histories of war and struggle, conquest and rebellion, diplomacy, and negotiation. Such boundaries are capable of being extremely durable, and the identities thereby conferred may be unusually strong and deep-rooted".

The nation encapsulates a "belief system based on common cultural ties" which "convey identity and belonging which may be referred to as national consciousness" (Castles and Miller 2009:42). Through having a common culture and sharing a common history, one comes to identify with and feel belonging to the nation-state. Thus, the nation is a place where one is historically and culturally rooted and becomes the 'hearth' or anchoring point for one's national identity. However, the nation-state understood in this way, precipitates discourses of autochthony, as belonging and identity is attached to historically and culturally originating from the land. Those who do not share the common history and culture are said not to belong to the land or nation. This leads to the exclusion of those who do not belong.

Discourses of 'foreigner', 'stranger', 'outsider' come to be created and used to signify the identity of people who do not belong to the nation-state and to indicate that the place/space is not their 'home'. The identity of a person is significant in determining if a person belongs and

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[22] In his seminal work on the origin of nationalism, Anderson (2006) argued that a nation community is socially constructed. The construction of this imagined community requires key interventions (such as public education or the mass media) by individuals or organisations. A 'historic land' can, therefore, be considered a deliberate invention. However, the experience of group attachment that individuals feel to the nation is quite tangible.

is accepted into the nation-state. For instance, the nation-state can propagate policies and laws to discourage people from entering based on their identity. Historically, racialised laws discouraged people of colour from immigrating to Western nation-states. Since policies propagated by the nation-state filters to the community and household levels, society comes to learn who to include, welcome and accept in their 'home' and who to exclude, bar out and shun.

This has encouraged the idea of the nation as 'haven' as the nation-states takes strides to protect citizens of the state and ensure the safety and security of citizens from foreign intrusion through state laws and policies. The state determines who is authorised to immigrate to the country. The nation-states immigration policies and laws, visa requirements, border controls, security checks at airports and seaports and the documenting of foreign arrival and departures are some of the ways in which nation-state attempts to control foreign 'imposition'. For certain immigrant population's whose identity has been repudiated through state policies and laws, leaving home, and going to a new home is marked by marginalisation, discrimination and even exploitation due to their identity which leaves them feeling that they do not belong in their new 'home'.

### 4.3 Transnationalism and home

Transnationalism destabilises the house, community and nation as a 'home' confined within a nation-state. Blunt and Dowling (2006:198) state that transnational migration can "destabilize a sense of home as a stable origin and unsettle the fixity and singularity of a place called 'home'. It was previously thought that as migrants move to a new country all ties to the 'home' were lost over time. However, it now believed that, through transnational processes, relationships are maintained with the 'home' country which brings the 'home' country closer in everyday life, closing the distance between 'home' and 'away' (Basch et al. 1994).

Transnationalism reconnects one to the homeland which means that 'home' can be reconfigured across national boundaries and becomes multiple connections. Transnational networks provide a means through which migrants can reconnect to their homeland, especially using telecommunications networks, which allows migrants to stay in contact with their homeland in their everyday lives. This means that as migrants come to negotiate living their lives in a new country they are still connected to their homeland. This means that 'home' is no longer fixed to places within a single nation-state but can become multiple places across the

globe which negates the static boundaries that have previously delineated the spheres of 'home'. Blunt and Dowling (2006:199) state that

> 'roots' might imply an original homeland from which people have scattered, and to which they might seek to return, 'routes' complicates such ideas by focusing on more mobile, multiple and transcultural geographies of home. On an individual level, roots figure as a referent of belonging, the position and place of a person; and routes as a referent of the lack of fixity and evolving nature of belonging

Instead of migrants becoming uprooted or being completely severed from their homeland, 'roots' and 'routes' provide an alternative image of transnational migrant's experience of being anchored in one place but forming attachments to multiple places as they move. Transnational migrants develop multiple meanings of home as they travel through 'routes'. Route's overtime become 'root' and 'root' may become a 'route'. Thus, one's sense of belonging can shift over time.

Immigrants may also experience a disruption in identity as the social relationships that keep them anchored, grounded, or 'rooted' which provided feelings of 'hearth' are no longer present. Al-Ali and Koser (2002:3) indicate that "as transport and electronic communications have grown, migrants have found it possible to have multiple localities and arguably also multiple identities". As a result, family and kinship ties have moved from a largely local to a global scale. Therefore, the social interaction that migrants engage in through transnational networks help migrants who were uprooted feel re-rooted. As identity is produced through social interaction, transnationalism enables immigrants to reconnect to social groups in the 'home' country. This provides migrants with a sense of identity and assists them in feeling grounded in a new place. Migrant identities may also become multiple as they socially interact with others in multiple locations.

As migrants physically traverse borders, notions of 'home' travel with them and are transplanted in the host country. As migrants move from their homeland to resettle in places abroad, 'home' travels with them as memories of people, places, and events. Furthermore, the psyche of migrants is embedded with the familiarity of places/people/objects, routine activities, cultural practices, and social interactions that brings forth feelings of 'home'. Blunt and Dowling (2006:202) state that 'home' for transnational migrants is "shaped by memories as

well as everyday life in the present". This means that migrants hold on to memories of their old 'home' and use it as a referent point in to understand what 'home' means.

Since feelings, meanings and understandings of 'home' are deeply entrenched in the psyche of migrants, they might wish to recreate their 'home' in the new society. Al-Ali and Koser (2002:7) state that "often a great sense of belonging to a specific place is accompanied by the wish to reproduce and/or reinvent 'traditions' and 'cultures' associated with 'home'. It is not only national, cultural, and social belongings, but also a sense of self, of one's 'identity', which corresponds to various conceptualizations of home".  The ability of an immigrant to recreate 'home' within their host country is informed by their position within existing socio-economic hierarchies. Those immigrants with access to significant material resources have more opportunities to reproduce 'traditions' associated with 'home'. This disparity in opportunity underscores how global class identities mediate a person's transnational understandings of home.

Migrants attempt to 're-make' their past 'home' in a new place to reconstruct feelings of hearth so that they feel anchored and grounded. In order to re-anchor identity to place and create feelings of 'home', migrants may attempt to replicate their old 'home' in the new 'home'. For instance, objects of significance and of sentimental value are brought with them on their journey to their new 'home'. This might be religious, cultural or signify an emotional attachment to people or events that happened in the old 'home'. Certain cultural practices, activities or even rules and values are upheld in the new 'home' which connects them to the old 'home' and brings them meaning in creating that 'home'. Reconnection to 'home' not only occurs through virtual spaces, but transnational processes also enable goods to be sent from the 'home' country to the host country so that migrants can partake in the things that make them feel at 'home'.

Brah (1996: 194) distinguishes between a 'homing desire' and a 'desire for homeland'. A desire for homeland means that migrants desire to recreate aspects of the former 'home' in the new 'home' such as their culture, religion, practices, routines, and aspects that are familiar to them in their homeland. The ability to fill their 'desire for homeland' can be especially influenced by the socio-economic resources available to the immigrant.  Those from the middle class have more resources that can be devoted to recreating aspects of the homeland. In contrast to 'a desire for homeland', a 'homing desire' means that migrants create aspects of 'home' for

themselves which does not involve recreating aspects of the homeland in order to do so. This means that migrants create their 'home' anew as they lack 'home' and desire to feel haven, hearth, and heart.

In a new country, immigrants may experience a loss of 'home' or 'homesickness' as they are dislocated from a place that they were 'rooted'. Blunt and Dowling (2006:204) state that homesickness is not only about a remembered and imagined home, but also about life in the 'here and now'. 'Homesickness' not only involves yearning for a 'home' left behind, but it is also about not feeling at home in the present locality. Depending on the character of the migratory route followed, experiences of 'homesickness' may be influenced by the socio-economic background of the individual. The global aesthetics of class divisions may allow better-off persons to navigate expectations of 'home' and maintain certain types of familiarity.

As migrants spend more time in the host country, their relationship to their 'home' country might change. The meaning of 'home' is reconstructed as people engage in different social relationships across time and space and as they enter different stages of their life. As Al-Ali and Koser (2002:6) note "it is not only transnational fields and practices, but also particular living conditions before and after migration in the country of origin and residence, which impact on migrants' articulations of 'home'". The living conditions of the country of origin and the country of residence must be considered in understanding what 'home' means to transnational migrants. This point is crucial in understanding 'home-making' practices of migrants. As South Africans of Indian descent migrate to Australia is it important to take into consideration their experiences in the country they came from and the how they negotiate their lives in a new country under different living conditions.

## 5 Conclusion

The transnational lens is important in understanding how migrants experience their lives living in one country while being socially, culturally, politically, and economically connected to another. No longer are people severed from the country of origin when they migrate as transnational networks connect people to 'homes' across the globe. This also moves the concept of 'home' away from being bounded within one territory to be unbounded and globally spread. In addition, it highlights the concept of identity, as identity is acquired from social

relations in particular places, as migrants move, they both acquire new identities and reaffirm the identities they have. Since identity is integral to a person, they might choose to recreate aspects of their identity as they move to another country in the form of 'home-making' practices. As the country of origin is easily accessible due to modern technology and communication networks there is a greater chance of 're-making' aspects of their 'old' home in a new home. However, the nation-state in the host country is also important in determining how migrants live their lives as certain polices may hinder their incorporation into the host country which also influences identity construction and how they intend to make their 'home'. As South Africans of Indian descent migrate to Australia, it is important to take these aspects into account in understanding their transnational experiences, identity construction, and notions of 'home'.

**Chapter Three**

**Part 1: Shifting homes: 'Indians' in South Africa**

## 1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive history of South African Indians. The chapter will show that, despite a tumultuous history, this group has created a home for themselves in South Africa. While tolerating years of oppression and discrimination, they have adapted to South Africa by drawing from India, South Africa, and western cultural forms to become cultural hybrids. As a result of this adaptation, South Africans of Indian descent have become culturally different from other Indian communities elsewhere in the world. This is important as it highlights the transformation of a diaspora from one which has strong ties to the home country, to a diaspora where the host country has become the home country and the ancestral home has become an imagined home. South Africans of Indian descent have over the years transformed their lives in relation to the various structures within South Africa, thus when they encounter people from the Indian diaspora, their lives, narratives, and identities are vastly different. As South Africans of Indian descent move to Australia, it is imperative to understand that these emigrants are culturally different from Indian nationals as well as people of Indian descent from other nationalities. Thus, their lives and social experiences as they meet Australians and other immigrant groups (especially of the Indian diaspora) would reveal unique interactions as they attempt to reposition themselves to re(create) their identity and re(make) home in a multicultural country.

This literature review is divided into two parts. Part 1 examines the migration of Indians to South Africa, how their identity is shaped as they contend with racialised political, economic, and social structures in an ongoing struggle to be recognised as South African citizens. It proceeds to examine the cultural transformation of the group into cultural hybrids drawing from different cultural sources to constitute the self, thus exhibiting a uniquely South African cultural entity. It also provides understanding of how over a period of 160 years, South Africans of Indian descent created a home for themselves in the country and view South Africa as their home country with India as an ancestral 'home'.

Part 2 provides a background to the migration of South Africans to Australia. Since it is important to understand the society into which South Africans of Indian descent have migrated to, Part 2 provides an overview of the history of Australia's immigration policies and the

transformation of Australia to a multicultural society. It also examines Australia's multicultural policies, migration program and a history of South African migration to Australia.

## 2 The struggle to be recognised as South African

The story of South Africans of Indian descent starts with the emigration of Indian indentured labourers to South Africa. The story is one of finding a place to belong as Indian indentured labourers and generations that followed endured much oppression, discrimination and struggled to be recognised as part of the South African society; yet have strived to make a home for themselves in the country.

Indian indentured labourers came to South Africa at a time in history where the British colonised and dominated many nations. It was a time when the British Empire took control of several countries by commanding and oppressing the indigenous population and enforcing tyrannical repressive laws which benefited the 'White' colonists' economic desires. They used the myth of 'white racial' supremacy to justify their tyranny and persecution to dominate and colonise African and Asian countries. It was under this context that Indian indentured labourers were brought to South Africa (Genger 2018; Mahboob 2012).

After the abolishment of slavery in 1834, the British colonialists created the indentured labour system as a means of acquiring cheap labour (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). Calpin (1949) remarks that indenture labour was the cheapest labour in the world. The Natal government was eager to have indentured migrants to fill a demand in labour as Indians had skills and experience, especially in agriculture which was needed for the development of Natal. The Natal government urged the British Indian colonial government to send labourers to the Natal colony to work on the sugar cane estates, railways, coalmines and other industries and plantations (Bhana and Brain 1990; Calpin 1949; Palmer 1956). On 16 November 1860, the SS Truro arrived at the port of Natal carrying the first group of immigrants which consisted of "340 men, women and children on board" (Bhana and Brain 1990:28) who were "mainly South Indian Hindus, with a small number of Christians and Muslims" (Bagwandeen 1989:4). The SS Belvedere, which arrived on 26 November, was the second ship to land at Natal carrying 351 immigrants from Calcutta (Bagwandeen 1989:4). Labourers came to Natal at irregular intervals until 1866, when the world depression halted the acquisition of labour. Thereafter migration resumed in 1872 after the depression had subsided (Bagwandeen 1989:4). From 1860 to 1911, approximately 152 184 indentured migrants arrived in Natal, those that stayed are said to be

the ancestors of the South Africans classified as 'Indian' in contemporary South Africa (Bhana and Brain 1990; Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). The terms of indenture were initially set at five years but was revised to two terms of five years or ten years altogether, thereafter the labourer could choose to re-indenture, return to India, or become 'free Indians' by opting to have their own land in exchange for the passenger fare to India (Calpin 1949; Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). 'Free Indians'[23] became farmers in Natal and even moved to Transvaal,[24] Orange Free State and the Cape Colony[25] (Calpin 1949). The 1870s saw the arrival of 'passenger Indians' who paid their own fare to South Africa (Bhana and Brain 1990; Reddy 2015). This group, who comprised of professionals, tradesmen, craftsmen of various skills, saw the potential of trading and becoming entrepreneurs in Natal (Bhana and Brain 1990). Bhana and Brain (1990:36) records that by 1911 there was an estimated 30 000 'passenger Indians' in South Africa. Passenger Indians initially settled in Durban but later moved to the Transvaal and the Cape Colony as the gold and diamond mining opened new opportunities for them.

Indian nationals who came to South Africa were a heterogenous group of people from different religious, linguistic, caste and culturally diverse backgrounds. They were grouped together under the racialised label of 'Indian' in South Africa, which persists today, or the derogatory term 'Coolie'[26] or 'Arab'[27] (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000; Kuper 1956). From the outset indentured 'Indians' in South Africa were made to feel like strangers or outsiders with their only purpose to fill a labour requirement. Bhana and Pachai (1984:2) state that the 'Indian' indentured labourers endured harsh treatment and lived in restrictive conditions, "not too far removed from

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[23] Bhana and Brain (1990:43) state that 'free Indians' were referred to as such as "they had been issued with a free discharge certificate on completion of their indenture and were free to move around the colony or to purchase or rent property, to set themselves up in business, to practice a trade or to engage in an agricultural pursuit" but they were not free to leave the colony.

[24] The Transvaal was a province in South Africa from 1910 until 1994. It no longer exists but has been incorporated into parts of the provinces of Gauteng, North West, Limpopo and Mpumalanga (Kruger Park n.d.).

[25] The Cape Colony in contemporary South Africa has been divided into three provinces, i.e., Western Cape, Eastern Cape, and Northern Cape.

[26] Coolie is a term used in India to refer to porters or baggage carriers. It was also a bureaucratic term used by the British to describe indentured labourers. The word become a synonym to describe low wage labourers living in substandard housing, thus "the word Coolie become a derogatory word for "Asian"" (Gandhi 2013:n/a). Although the Coolie Commission recommended the removal of the term in of 1872, the term was still used in public discourse during that period (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:14). In present day South Africa, the term is considered a racial slur.

[27] This is a reference to Muslim passenger Indians who wore long flowing robes which resembled those worn in parts of the Middle East (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000).

slavery" and complained of "low wages, long hours, low rations, inadequate attention to social and medical needs and also of beatings". Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2000) also points out that indentured labourers were ill-treated by their 'White' employers and that the Natal colony experienced the second largest rates of suicides from all the colonies that indentured labourers. The Coolie Commission and the Wragg Commission received complaints from disgruntled employees with regard to "complaints of assault, inadequate food rations, non-payment or withholding of wages and variety of other matters" (Bhana and Brain 1990:60). Although a Protectors office was established to address these complaints, not much was done to change the living and working conditions of the indentured (Bhana and Brain 1990). The British imperial government did little to prevent white settles in its territories from discriminating against 'Indian' people (Bose 2014). When the first group of indentured labourers returned to India in 1871, they complained to the British Indian government about the harsh treatment received in the Natal Colony (Palmer 1956). The Indian government intervened on many occasions to put a stop to the ill-treatment of labourers and only in 1911 was indentured labour to South Africa completely abolished and by 1917 it was abolished in all other colonies (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000).

The anti-Indian sentiment in Natal and other provinces grew further as Afrikaner and English-speaking 'whites' began to view the presence of 'Indians' as an economic threat to their businesses, trade activities and livelihoods. Naidoo and Naidoo (1956) notes that as their indentured contracts ended, they sought new employment opportunities offering higher wages in agricultural holdings and became independent farmers. As agricultural opportunities dwindled, and farming became less viable, many sought employments in the growing industrial sector and commerce became a feasible option for many. Since employment opportunities were limited due to various restrictions placed which prevented 'Indians' from being gainfully employed, their options were limited which made commerce a viable choice for 'Indian' people. Naidoo and Naidoo (1956:37) citing the Natal Regional Survey report indicates that "to the casual onlooker the obvious wealth of some Indian traders with well-established premises and first-class fittings and stock is apt to give a wrong idea. The other side of the picture, however, shows many small back street traders whose turn-over is probably very low". Income levels show that although "a number of Indians are rich, the community as a whole shows a great deal of bare subsistence and poverty. Indian earning power is limited" (Naidoo and Naidoo 1956:41-42). Even though most were poor, the perceived wealth of a few induced

fear amongst 'white' business owners who saw this as a threat and a competition to 'white' domination.

While 'Indian' labour made a valuable economic contribution and the "prosperity of Natal…was built on the sweat and toil of Indian labour" they were now perceived as a threat, and a 'problem' (Cooppan and Lazarus 1956:62). Calpin (1949:17) indicated that Commissions of Inquiry into 'Indians' in South Africa had no objection to the labourer, "it was the trader and the free Indian they feared" as they were able make a success out of their enterprises; "that success was perhaps the sharpest thorn in the flesh of the European".  Hostile language was used to describe 'Indians', the most derogatory terms used were 'alien element', 'alien coolies', 'menace to European civilization in Natal'[28] and 'Asiatic menace' (Bhana and Pachai 1984; Calpin 1949; Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000; Ebr.-Vally 2001). The continuous use of the term 'alien' indicates that the 'Indian' population was excluded from being part of the nation. Although this group had lived in the country for a substantial period and 90% were South African born, they were still not accepted as citizens of South Africa (Bhana and Pachai, 1984:242).

'Indians' consequently faced a barrage of restrictive laws and regulations which disenfranchised them and further stifled their upward mobility, economic growth, and development. For instance, the Dealers' Licences Act (Act No. 18 of 1897), granted discretionary powers to licencing officers so they may choose to refuse trading licences if they so decreed (Bhana and Pachai 1984). In the Transvaal, a registration fee of £25 was issued if traders wanted to trade in specific streets, wards, and locations. 'Indians' found it difficult to obtain trading licences or trade in particular areas which deterred them from starting businesses and affected small mobile business entrepreneurship such hawkers or pedlars. In 1897, entry restrictions were placed on free 'Indians' entering Natal and this restriction was also extended to Transvaal and the Cape Colony which stymied traders from entering these areas (Bagwandeen 1989; Bhana and Brain 1990). In 1891, the agreement of free land in exchange of passage to India was discontinued to prevent 'Indians' from owning land and becoming traders and to compel 'Indians' to leave the country (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). A £3 tax was also imposed on indentured labourers if they wished to remain in the country as 'free Indians'

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[28] This was said in relation to the more affluent Indian classes by the Natal Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee in 1944 (Bhana and Pachai 1984).

after their indenture period. This law was also imposed on males over 16 years and females over 13 years. The law caused much hardship amongst the 'Indian' population (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000; Palmer 1956). These laws which were primarily enforced to suffocate 'Indian' economic activity so as to force their return to India, had the desired effect as 32 506 indentured labourers left the Natal colony and returned to India between 1902-1913 (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:16).

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who arrived in Natal in 1893, was a pivotal figure who fought against the oppressive conditions of 'Indians' set by the Union Government of South Africa (1910-1961). Gandhi started the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) on 22 May 1894 to "oppose the legislative restrictions placed on Indians and the deprivation of the Indians as British Citizens" (Bagwandeen 1989:5). Of note was the passive resistance campaign spearheaded by Gandhi from 1906 to 1913. This campaign resulted in 15 000 'Indian' workers going on strike in 1913 to oppose the tax laws and 2000 'Indians' marching from one province to another in opposition to restrictions placed on interprovincial movement (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:21).

The passive resistance campaign led to negotiations between the Union Government and Gandhi which culminated in the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement. The agreement ensured that Gandhi would suspend passive resistance action in exchange for adopting the Indian Relief Act of 1914. This act entailed the abolishment of the £3 tax law, the recognition of Indian marriage rites, and the entrance of women and children of domiciled 'Indians'. However, laws preventing the inter-provincial movement of 'Indians' and the settlement of Indians in the Orange Free State remained (Bagwandeen 1989). Although a small victory was made as the tax laws were abolished, most of the restrictions and laws remained when Gandhi left South Africa in 1914 (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000).

Anti 'Indian' sentiment reawakened after World War I, compelling the Union government to implement the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure and Trading Amendment Act to placate 'white' unease over the 'Indian' problem (Bagwandeen 1989). These laws resulted in no new trading licences being issued to 'Indians' and it prevented 'Indians' from owning property in Transvaal. Calpin (1949:40) states "the problem has passed in sixty years from how to attract Indians to Natal to a dilemma of how to get rid of them". 'Indians' founded the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) to protest these laws. This resulted in the Lange Commission which was appointed to investigate the 'Asiatic problem'. Following the recommendations of the

commission, the Class Act Bill was drafted. However, this Bill failed to be implemented as the Smuts Government was overturned in 1924. The Bill re-emerged as the Areas Reservation and the Immigration and Registration Bill which was reintroduced in February 1926. This Bill was in direct conflict with the recommendation of the Lange Commission (Maharaj 2003). The Commission asked for "voluntary segregation and voluntary repatriation" however the Class Act Bill "asked for compulsory segregation and the reduction of the Indian community to an 'irreducible minimum'" (Bagwandeen 1989:7). The 'Indian' community opposed the Bill and proclaimed a nationwide day of prayer on 23 February 1923, "in Durban 4000 Indians gathered in City Hall to pray for protection in their hour of greatest need" (Bagwandeen 1989:8). The Government of India called a Round Table Conference which the Union Government eventually agreed to which resulted in the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 (Thakur and Sundaram 2019). The Union Government agreed to the voluntary return migration of 'Indians' while the Government of India agreed to aid the return of migrants. In addition, the Union Government agreed to elevate the remaining 'Indians' to the Western standard of living (Bagwandeen 1989). However, this agreement was a compromise, and it did not settle the dissonance that 'Whites' had against 'Indians'.

Repatriation schemes were put into place to reduce the 'Indian' population (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000b).[29] Bhana and Pachai (1984:239) point out that "various forms of social, political, and economic pressure have been brought to bear on them to compel them to seek repatriation voluntarily". Although a total of 39 029 'Indians' were repatriated to India by 1940, Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2000:17) notes that "repatriation never quite made a dent in the size of the Indian population in Natal where numbers did count". Mabel Palmer (1956) also indicates that repatriation did not cause a significant decline in the population as there was a high birth rate amongst the 'Indian' population. Advocates for repatriation blame the Indian government for the failure of the repatriation scheme as they did not provide enough incentives for 'Indians' living in South Africa to return Cooppan and Lazarus (1956). The Indian government on the other hand believed that on signing the contract with the Natal Colony there was no obligation for 'Indians' to return to India when their contracts ended. Rather they envisioned the permanent settlement of Indians who would eventually become property owners Cooppan and

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[29] The 'Indian' population in Natal was higher than the 'White' population which caused fears amongst 'White' people as they envisioned that Natal would be taken over by 'Indians'. For instance, "the 1951 population figures for Durban showed 132 788 Europeans and 146, 825 Indians" (Naidoo and Naidoo 1956) and the same year in Natal there were 298 000 'Indians' in relation to 270 000 'Whites' (Burrows 1952:4).

Lazarus (1956). Another reason for the failure of repatriation was that 'Indians' saw themselves as South African. Although the Union Government did not recognise 'Indians' as part of South Africa, 'Indians' themselves felt that they were South African. For instance, Kajee (a businessman who was a politician from 1920 to 1940) stated that "we know no other land and to us India is a mere geographical term. We are part and parcel of this land, and we are proud that we are South Africans, and we ask that you treat us as that" (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:22).

Bhana and Pachai (1984:239) indicate that although European's settled in the province 30 years longer than 'Indians', "political propaganda has endeavoured to make the white electorate believe that the Indian is an alien, unassimilable element in South Africa". On the contrary, by the 1950s, 90% of the 'Indian' population were South Africa born, with the 'Indian' community extending towards its fourth or fifth generation (Bhana and Pachai 1984:242), and by 1960 Ebr.-Vally (2001:171) notes that 94.5% 'Indians' had been born in South Africa. Bhana and Pachai (1984:242) point out that

> the South African born Indian does not find the Western patterns of living so alien or unattractive. If the entire mass of Indians has not become more thoroughly westernised than it is now, it is because the European has segregated him and denied him full access to Western forms of living. It is not so much a question of the Indian refusing to adapt himself to Western standards of living, as the refusal of the European to permit him the economic means and social opportunities to do so.

This quote indicates that South African born Indians could easily and willingly adapt into the society, but their economic adaption was prevented by restrictive laws. Bhana and Pachai (1984:247) note too that

> In spite of certain observable differences in appearance and cultural practices, the Indian people are by birth, length of residence, acclimatisation, kinship associations, education, acculturation, and economic pursuits an integral part of the South African society.

In addition, 'Indians' who were born in South Africa had limited knowledge of what life was like in India, except for what they read in the newspapers (Bhana and Pachai 1984). It can therefore be argued that although the majority of South African Indians were born in the country, had adapted to life in South Africa, saw themselves as South African and had weak ties with India they were still not recognised as being South African by the government.

From the 1940s onwards there was a growing opposition and hatred towards 'Indians', as the scarcity of houses propelled affluent 'Indians' to purchase houses in European residential areas. Europeans detested the movement of 'Indians' into European areas and perceived it as a threat to European standards and domination (Bagwandeen 1989). Durban became the "eye of the anti-Indian storm" as 'Whites' decried 'Indian penetration'" [30] which compelled the Union Government to set more restrictive laws to pacify 'White' voters (Bagwandeen 1989:10; Maharaj 1997). In April 1943, the government introduced the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Bill which was later called the Pegging Act of 1943. It was a short-term measure intended to 'peg' the position of 'Indian penetration' in Durban (Raman 2017). The 'Pegging Act' represented a decisive step towards entrenching segregation.

When the Pegging Act expired the government put into place the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, which was passed on 2 June 1946, which was applied to Asiatics in Natal and Transvaal. This Act was commonly called the 'Ghetto Act' as it was perceived to drive Asiatics to live a ghetto lifestyle. The Ghetto Act promulgated that "in 'uncontrolled' areas no restrictions were placed in the acquisition or occupation of property by any race. In 'controlled' areas transaction of fixed property between Asiatics and non-Asiatics were prohibited" (Bagwandeen 1989:13).

The Pegging Act of 1943 and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 (also referred to as the Ghetto Act) further suppressed the 'Indian' population by restricting the purchase of land in Natal and Transvaal. According to Naidoo and Naidoo (1956) 'Indians' had acquired land from early on which gave them a sense of security as they were able to build homes, start businesses and farm on the land. The new laws prevented them from settling down in the country. These laws negatively affected 'Indians' and pushed many into impoverished conditions. Naidoo and Naidoo (1956:42) note that in 1943-4, 70% of the 'Indian' population lived below the poverty line in Durban. Data from 1945 – 1952 show that infant mortality rates and maternal mortality rates were high, 42.3% lived in overcrowded houses and 'Indian' areas were characterised by "poverty, undernourishment and the wretchedness of living conditions" Naidoo and Naidoo (1956:42).

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[30] The "attempt by Indians to acquire or occupy property in so called predominantly white areas was dubbed "Indian penetration"" (Bagwandeen 1989:10).

'Indians', however, did not take this treatment lightly, and opposed the legislature from the outset. Many protests and campaigns were organised by South African 'Indians' to fight these oppressive laws. Between 1946 and 1948 the passive resistance campaign was revived under the leadership of Dr G.M (Monty) Naicker and Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, in opposition to the Ghetto Act (Raman 2004). On Thursday 13 June 1946, Dr Naicker lead an "historical mass meeting of over 15 000 people" in 'Red Square'[31] in Durban and thereafter volunteers marched to the corner of Umbilo Road and Gale Street[32] and pitched tents on the vacant land in protest of the legislature (Bagwandeen, 1989:14-15). Although there was much activism these laws remained in-tact.

Though these laws were not overturned the resistance campaign gathered the attention of international observers and the treatment of Indians was put forward to the United Nations Organisation (UNO) by the Government of India (Lloyd 1990). The UNO General Assembly voted against the Smuts government as they saw the ill-treatment of 'Indians' in South Africa as an infringement of friendly relations between South Africa and India. The decision made by the UNO was viewed as "a moral victory and a revolt against racialism" by the South African Indian community (Bagwandeen 1989:16). However, it also had the negative consequence of intensifying the anti-Indian sentiment, blatantly defying the UN resolution. 'Indians' remained subjugated to racialised laws that economically, socially, and emotionally oppressed them (Bagwandeen 1989).

In the 20th century the white minority government sought to keep the Indian community divided from the 'African' population. Segregation was implemented across a range of different criteria and the two groups had differentiated access to housing and other public services (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). It could be contended that this policy of racial segregation and differential treatment promoted racial tensions between 'Indians' and 'Africans'. This was certainly the argument of NIC leaders as their position on this issue was clear following the so-called 'Anti-Indian Progrom' of 1949. A series of riots broke out in Durban on 13 January 1949, following

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[31] Red Square was an open-air space and large meeting place which existed until the Nicol Square parking garage was built (Desai and Vahed 2011).

[32] Gale Street has been renamed to Magwaza Maphalala Street.

the alleged assault of an African youth by an Indian shopkeeper.[33]  Dr Naicker of the NIC issued a joint statement on the riots with the Natal branch of the ANC (Vahed 1997).  In the statement it was acknowledged that the frustrations that drove the riots were the result of the undignified treatment they received by the government. Instead of their frustrations being directed towards the initiator of the system, rioters unfortunately targeted their fellow victims, people who shared the same dismal conditions as them.  The statement, in particular, lamented the government's treatment of 'Africans' in Natal which had compelled them to live in deplorable conditions by the state and denied them a decent lifestyle.

The 1949 riots gave the apartheid government further incentive to divide the population through racialised laws (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). The already created hierarchy of 'races' with 'white' being 'racially' superior to other 'races' was further emphasised and enforced through 'racialised' laws. A multitude of discriminatory laws was enforced that segregated people into racialised population groups. The Population Registration Act of 1950 officially classified and registered people as belonging to one of the four 'race' groups, namely: 'Blacks', 'Coloureds', 'Indians' and 'Whites' and once categorised, laws such as Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, Immorality Act of 1950[34] and Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950[35] prevented people of different 'races' from interacting with each-other to especially preserve the racial 'purity' of 'Whites' (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000; Terreblanche 2002). Resources were also unevenly distributed with 'Whites' receiving most of country's resources which led to further economic disparity and deprivation, plunging 'non-white' groups into destitution (Seekings and Nattrass 2005).

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[33] A description of the riots is provided by Nowbath (cited in Bhana and Pachai 1984:208-210). At midday 14 January 1949, "hordes of Africans, armed with a varied assortment of improvised weapons, swooped down on the Indian people and destroyed both property and persons in the wake" across the Indian business district in Durban. The riots "spread to the peri-urban areas where the outburst of the previous evening became an orgy of murder, arson, rape and looting" which abated on the morning of the 15 January.  The aftermath of the bloodbath was horrific with 142 deaths (87 Africans, 50 Indians, 1 white and 4 was unidentified); 1 087 people sustained injuries (541 Africans, 503 Indians, 11 Coloureds and 32 whites); of the injured 58 died; 1 factory, 58 stores and 247 dwellings were destroyed and 2 factories, 652 stores and 1 285 dwellings were damaged.

[34] The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 prevented marriages of people from different 'race' groups and the Immorality Act of 1950 prohibited sexual relations between people from different 'race' groups (Terreblanche 2002).

[35] The Group Areas Act of 1950 allocated areas for each 'race' group to live out their lives, and it made it compulsory for people to live within their designated 'racial' area (Terreblanche 2002).

The GAA was one of the central policy instruments employed to impose the ideology of apartheid. Maharaj (1997b) argued that the anti-Indian campaigning of the Durban City Council and its 'white' Natal electorate played an important role in the development of the legislation. A successor of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, the Act was "directed towards the economic strangulation of Indians affecting trading rights and the establishment of industries, their livelihood, their place and their security" (Bagwandeen 1989:16). Due to previous restrictions on the movement of 'Indians' to other provinces, the total number of 'Indians' living only in Durban in 1951 stood at 40.16% of the total population compared to 1.57% of 'Africans', 1.51% of 'Coloureds' and 5.01% of 'Whites' (Nowbath cited in Bhana and Pachai 1984:215). This meant that an estimated 75 000 'Indians' had to be moved in Durban when the GAA was implemented (Nowbath cited in Bhana and Pachai 1984:215). Local state authorities, especially in Durban, worked closely with the new apartheid state to implement the GAA. Scores of 'Indians' moved from the place they were currently living to new areas designated for 'Indians'. Terreblanche (2002:365) notes that "the implementation of this law resulted in large-scale social engineering and population removals that caused immense disruption and distress". Many lost homes, land, businesses, and friendships as they were ripped away from their old way of life that they worked hard to achieve and had to start afresh in new areas (Naidoo and Naidoo 1956). This devastated 'Indians' as losses were not recuperated by the government so many had to rebuild their homes, businesses, places of worship and schools anew.

Bagwandeen (1989:17) noted that "the Indian community even after 90 years in South Africa was still regarded as being alien to the country. The Government continued to cherish the hope that someday the majority of them would be repatriated to India". When Dr H F Verwoerd came into power in 1960 and withdrew South Africa from the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1961 creating the Republic of South Africa, the issue of 'Indians' becoming permanent citizens of South Africa was addressed. In 1961, one hundred years after the first 'Indians' arrived in South Africa, the apartheid government officially recognised 'Indians' as permanent citizens in the country. This was only done after many failed attempts to repatriate 'Indians' and was a means to stop the Indian government[36] from interfering in South African affairs (Ebr.-Vally 2001). Becoming a citizen of South Africa did not necessary mean that

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[36] 'Indians' in South Africa were considered Indian citizens, thus in 1947 when India became an independent nation, they tried to intervene to put an end to the oppression faced by 'Indians' in South Africa (Ebr.-Vally 2001).

'Indians' would be treated better, 'Indians' were still discriminated, along with other 'non-White' South Africans, under various apartheid laws.

South African Indians have a long history of organised worker action, and this was especially true of the mid-20th century with major strikes in Durban in 1937, 1942/3 and 1945/6 (Freund 1995). These strikes often involved Black African and Coloured workers and here a significant role was played by the Durban branch of the Communist Party of South Africa. South African 'Indians' fought alongside other South Africans against the oppressive apartheid laws. Various resistance campaigns were initiated by different political parties between the 1950s to the late 1980s (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). The SAIC, for example, joined the ANC in a Defiance Campaign on 26 June 1952 to oppose the discriminatory legislature, which marked the first time 'Indians' and 'Blacks' worked together in fighting these laws (Vahed 2013). Prominent South African 'Indian' activists such as Ahmed Kathrada, Billy Nair, Laloo Chiba, Mac Maharaj, Indres Naidoo, Shirish Nanabhai, Reggie Vandeyar, George Naicker, Ebrahim Ismail and Natoo Babenia, where amongst those imprisoned for their decisive roles in opposing apartheid (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000).

In the late 1960s a group of 'non-white' university students formed the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and began formulating an ideology called Black Consciousness. Many South African Indians (such as Asha Moodley, Vino Reddy, and Saths Cooper) joined SASO and played leading roles in the development of this new ideological framework (Desai 2015). The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) called for the unity of South Africa's oppressed, which they defined as African, Coloured, and Indian. The SASO's most iconic member, Steve Biko, sought to break the divide-and-rule strategies and proposed a new identity of "Black" to unite all groups which the apartheid system oppressed (Gordon 2008). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, young South African Indian activists, attending the University of Durban-Westville, identified themselves as 'Black' in recognition of the mutual oppression that all 'non-Whites' suffered under apartheid (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). BCM activists tried to disrupt attempts by the NIC to organise on the basis of an exclusive Indian identity and opposed the National Indian Council/South African Indian Council (1964-1983) created by the apartheid state.

The National Indian Council/South African Indian Council was unable to achieve the legitimacy hoped for by its creators. The Council was seen as exclusively benefiting the business class interests as it pushed agendas that promoted 'Indian' business people and

industrialists (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). Bagwandeen (1989:18) states that "a large coterie of the politically conscious Indian people in South Africa distanced themselves from such collaboration arguing that by participation they would in fact be entrenching apartheid and enhancing an instrument of their own oppression". Similarly, the Tricameral system, which gave limited decision-making power to 'Indians' and 'Coloureds', and no power to Africans, was also rejected by a majority of South Africa Indians. Their rejection of the system could be seen as a majority (80%) of South African Indians registered did not participate in voting for in the tricameral elections (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). Despite the divide and rule tactics of the apartheid state, it would appear that the majority of South African Indians vehemently opposed the tricameral system.

It was only in 1990, that negotiations were held between F.W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela that saw the dawn of a democratic South Africa in 1994. South Africans of Indian descent had to endure the discriminatory laws of the Colonialist Government, Union Government and Apartheid Government, and had to fight for their rights, freedom, equal opportunity, and an identity in a country which became their home.

In 1994 when South Africa became a democratic country, 'Indians' were included as an integral part of South African society. Although oppressive laws based on 'race' ended, 'race' thinking, racialised language and racial consciousness continues in South Africa. In South Africa, identity is still racialised, as state policies continues to promulgate 'race thinking' which makes the identity of South African Indians complex (Christopher 2002; Pillay 2015; Seekings 2008; Vahed and Desai 2010). For instance, although South Africans of Indian descent are a heterogeneous group of South African citizens, they are still racially categorised as 'Indian' by the democratic government and many people racialised as Indian continue to see themselves as such (John-Naidu 2005; Pillay 2015; Vahed and Desai 2010). In addition, their identity as 'Indian' is entrenched, as South Africans for the most part, still live-in racial enclaves created by the GAA.[37]

Under ANC leadership, especially after Mbeki became party president, the post-apartheid government launched a policy of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) to ensure the equitable

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[37] The Group Areas Act of 1950 authorized the demolition of existing communities where people of different 'races' lived together. The state in turn erected new townships designated for specific 'race' groups which is still evident in contemporary South African society.

redistribution of wealth (Tangri and Southall 2008). The Preferential Procurement Framework Act (No. 5 of 2000) was the first major BEE legislation, it mandated government preference for tenders from black-owned companies. Additional BEE legislation was promulgated in 2003[38] to encourage sector-specific 'charters' stipulating targets in terms of BEE arrangements.[39] BEE status affected the ability of firms to qualify for government contracts and soon became essential for doing business with the state. Beneficiaries of BEE deals typically included those individuals politically connected to the ANC and its affiliated organisations (Seekings and Nattrass 2011). The 'Codes of Good Practice', published in February 2007, signalled a shift in government policy on this issue. The new codes expanded the range of practices by which private firms could earn 'points' and comply with the BEE. These new codes were implemented in an effort to create a more 'broad-based' BEE policy within government.

BEE required firms to account for the racial composition of both firm owners as well as employees. Another policy that mandated the accounting of racial groups was the Employment Equity Act (No. 55 of 1998).[40] This legislation required the implementation of affirmative action measures to remedy existing disadvantages in employment faced by designated groups. When compared to similar programmes in Europe, the South African approach is a more substantive equality approach (Howard 2020). However, scholars who review the implementation of these measures suggest the successes of positive labour market discrimination has been mixed at best (Archibong and Adejumo 2013; Burger and Jafta 2010; Thaver 2006). Although the merits of the positive discrimination are well-known, the post-apartheid legislation of this kind demanded the preservation of existing racial designations. The racialisation of groups has perpetuated 'racial' divisions that spurs on 'othering' and an 'us' versus 'them' mentality which causes tension between 'race' groups.

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[38] According to the Department of Trade and Industry (2016:6) "The Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003 (B-BBEE Act) as amended by B-BBEE Act 46 of 2013 and Government's Amended Black Economic Empowerment Codes of Good Practice, aim to address inequities resulting from the systematic exclusion of black people from meaningful participation in the economy".

[39] This initiative was supported by legislation such as the Minerals and Petroleum Development Resources Act (No. 28 of 2002) which obliged mining houses to comply with BEE requirements for the renewal of their mining licenses.

[40] The Affirmative Action policy, which falls under the Employment Equity Act (Act 55 of 1998), states that as a result of apartheid and other discriminatory laws, measures are "designed to ensure that suitably qualified people from designated groups [black people [African, Coloureds, Indians], women and people with disabilities] have equal employment opportunities and are equitably represented in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce of a designated employer" (Government Gazette 1998:18).

Indian South Africans are beneficiaries of redress policies like Affirmative Action and BEE. However, in the years following the passage of this legislative agenda, there is an ongoing tension about how it has been implemented. It has been argued that the implementation of the redress agenda favours certain designated groups (i.e., Black Africans) over others. Reviewing the matter, Singh (2005:5) states that,

> while affirmative action and Black empowerment is selectively targeting Africans, it is simultaneously marginalising previously disadvantaged groups such as Indians and Coloureds – despite them being part of the rubric of "Blacks" during the years of anti-apartheid struggle as well as being catered for in the policies pertaining to affirmative action.

The criticism that the implementation of current redress policies undermines the socio-economic position of Indian South African appears to be strongly felt. It would appear that many South African Indians feel marginalised and neglected by the present redress agenda. This perception would explain low levels of support for the racial redress agenda amongst the Indian minority (Roberts 2014). Although current redress policies are stepping-stones in rectifying the racial and economic discrimination of the past, their implementation has created the perception amongst some that the interests of the Indian minority have been side-lined (Landy, Maharaj, and Mainet-Valleix 2004; Vahed and Desai 2010).

Some politicians have promoted racial differentiation between Indian and Black African groups for their ends. A clear example of this was at an eThekwini Municipality meeting held in 2009 to discuss the closure of the Early Morning Market, which was attended by traders and interested parties. Calls of "Hamba Khaya! Hamba Khaya! Uye Bombay (Go home! Go to Bombay!) enunciated at the gathering. Ngwane (2009) indicated that the 'racial' antagonism was a ploy to pit 'Africans' against 'Indians' and thus divide the groups for the Municipality to achieve its own objectives. Certain municipal politicians were able to create tensions between the groups as the ideology of 'race-ranking' was used to position groups in a hierarchy. Previously, 'Indians' were positioned in the middle and were perceived to receive better treatment than 'Black' people. These politicians emphasised the perceived positionality and treatment of the two groups during apartheid which angered and fuelled racialised taunts as this positionality is perceived not to be reversed in this democratic era. They were able to instigate 'African' traders against 'Indian' traders, so that 'African' traders can claim their

status, privilege, and economic advancement against 'Indians' by condemning them through racial taunts and alluding to their unwanted presence in the market area and the country.

This not only instigated anti-Indian sentiment, but also revealed sentiments of autochthony as proven by the enunciation of 'Go home! Go to Bombay!' which is also a reflection of how other South Africans see the place of 'Indians' in the country, that 'Indians' do not exclusively belong to South Africa and that they should go back 'home'. A similar pronunciation was made again in 2014 by singers of the group AmaCde as their lyrics contained hate speech against South African Indians with lyrics asking 'Indians' to 'go back across the ocean' indicating that South African Indians should return to the place their ascendants came from over 160 years ago (Mngoma and Cole 2014). These sentiments convey the idea that South African Indians are 'outsiders' who are not wanted or accepted as part of South African society. Although South Africans of Indian descent have a long history in South Africa and call South Africa their home, they are perceived as not 'truly' South African by other South African citizens (Pillay 2019).

Furthermore, South Africans of Indian descent are the only historic immigrant group in South Africa to be referred to as a diaspora thus inextricably linking them with India as their 'home' or 'motherland' (Pillay 2014; Statistics South Africa 2021). Vahed and Desai (2010:15) state that ties to India (which started to grow as South Africa became a democratic country) which is more about "religious experience and sensory enjoyment" rather than reattaching roots to India, continue to perpetuate the perception of these South African citizens as belonging 'elsewhere'. This conveys the idea that South African Indians do not rightfully belong in South Africa despite being born and sharing a long history in the country. South Africans of Indian descent still experience racism, prejudice, and constantly struggle to be recognised as a valuable part of the South African society.

In addition to public racist taunts, South African Indians also endured racism from prominent political figures over the years. For instance, in 2018, Premier of KwaZulu-Natal Willies Mchunu condemned the racist political rhetoric against South Africans Indians made by the political leader Julius Malema, stating that such utterances went against the creation of a non-racial society (Daily News 2018). Morris (Head of Media for South Africa Race Relations) stated that racist comments made to demean 'Indian' people are a threat to the social fabric of South Africa (Mngoma 2018). In March 2019, the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Arts and Culture, Faith Mazibuko, was exposed on a leaked audio recording to have made

disparaging racist comments towards her female 'White' and 'Indian' employees (702 2019; eNCA 2019). The MEC stated that they are lucky to have a job as no one is willing to employ female 'White' and 'Indian' women (eNCA 2019; Tlhabi 2019). Jacob Khawe, the Gauteng General Secretary for the ANC, speaking on behalf of the ANC, stated that the party was disappointed and embarrassed by the "inexplicably racist" comments made (702 2019; eNCA 2019). Although Mazibuko had made an apology, after she was told to do so by the ANC, her racial comments reveal the deep-seated issues related to the racialisation of employment opportunities.

## 3 'Indians' at 'home' in South Africa: The transition from host land to homeland

How did Indian South Africans adapt to life in the country and make a home for themselves in South Africa? To answer that question, in this section, I will assess how this group anchored themselves and set roots down in the country. This section will assess the period 1860-1994, examining how South African Indians were able to re-create aspects of their Indian home in South Africa. It will look at the various practices they used to adapt and acclimatise to the South African environment within these communities. This process of adaption required a certain level of westernisation. By making selective choices about when to embrace and incorporate certain Western cultural practices, modern Indian South Africans display a wide variety of cultural hybridisations. Scholars writing about this group in the 20th century demonstrated a lot of concern about the so-called westernisation of Indian communities. Although these scholars have essentialised and treated the 'Indian' identity as fixed, their writings are useful in understanding the changes that have occurred within the Indian community. The following sections will discuss the shifts and changes that this diverse and highly differentiated community underwent in the last century. The biases of those scholars chronicling the alleged westernisation of this group will be pointed out, providing insight into the conflicted nature of cultural hybridisations.

## 3.1 The creation of the 'Indian community'

As indentured Indians adapted to their new environment, some of the cultural values prominent in India changed or were discarded altogether such as the caste system. Kuper (1956:17) also emphasises that "in South Africa, colour, not caste, is the basis of exclusion from the acquisition of privileges". Although South African Indians abandoned their caste identity and established their own identity by using language as the criterion for group identification; the South African government homogenised and racialised this heterogenous group into the

'Indian' race. As discussed in the previous section, years of oppressive and discriminatory policies were meted out based on 'race'. Due to restrictions on movement, the majority of 'Indians' had no choice but to settle in Natal (present day KwaZulu-Natal), with a small portion who were able to migrate to Transvaal and Cape Province (Cooppan and Lazarus 1956). Due to these historical restrictions a majority of South African Indians still live in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Landy et al. (2004:209) point out that "early segregation policies" created "racially homogenous urban areas" in Durban for 'Indians' such as "Clairwood, Riverside, Umgeni, Grey Street area". 'Indians' also settled in towns south of Durban such as Isipingo, Umzinto and Umkomaas; north of Durban such as Verulum, Tongaat and Stanger and inner Natal such as Dundee, Newcastle, and Ladysmith.[41]

These restrictions were exacerbated by the apartheid government's racialised policies which spurred the creation of the 'Indian' community through racialised legislation. The Population Registration Act of 1950 and the GAA were pivotal in creating the 'Indian' community in South Africa. Firstly, the Population Registration Act registered and categorised people using 'race' as the basis for identification which created holistic racialised groups and collective racialised identities (Maharaj 1997). The state not only divided the population by racial categorisation but took a step further by allocating separate areas and resources for 'race' groups to live and develop separately and independently from each other. The GAA advanced the allocation of separate areas for different 'race' groups and advocated for separate development (Terreblanche 2002). Thus, 'Indians' were relocated to areas such as Chatsworth and Phoenix which contained "more than 200 000 inhabitants each" (Landy et al. 2004:209). This reinforced racial "spatial identity through reviving networks of neighbourhood, even though the process of relocation destroyed the joint family system as well as established cultural and religious networks" (Landy et al. 2004:209).

Despite their diversity, 'Indians' were placed in racialised communities which reified a racial 'Indian' identity through spatial separation which consequently fostered neighbourhood and community bonds (Landy et al. 2004). The collective identity of being 'Indian' had brought diverse people into united communities. Although they were from diverse backgrounds, the

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[41] Communities of Indian labourers were settled on the periphery of white owned agricultural estates (such as Cato Manor and Clairwood). This allowed the various communities to act as a labour reserve for the estates (Khan 2012). The main agricultural purpose of many of these estates was sugar although commercial crops were cultivated (Bhana and Brain 1990). Contemporary settlement patterns of the Indian minority on the coastal belt of KwaZulu-Natal reflect the legacy of this practice.

common thread of being oppressed and discriminated under the identity of 'Indian' built solidarity amongst this community. As Cooppan and Lazarus (1956:59) point out "the immigrants developed family ties in Natal, erected schools and temples, started various societies and associations, and gradually developed a coherent social organisation in the new land". Thus, over time, these communities became bustling townships which had economic centres for commerce and trade, places of worship such as temples, mosques and churches, schools, libraries, parks and sporting and recreation clubs. As 'Indians' worked together to build these structures and engaged in these activities they also built solidarity amongst the 'Indian' population, consolidated, and solidified their identity as being collectively 'Indian' and in so doing they also conjointly re-created aspects of a past 'home' in a new 'home' while adapting to the processes of westernisation and modernisation that South African was going through.

Scholars writing about 'Indians' in the mid-20th century were quite critical of the supposed effect that urbanisation was having on the cultural identity of different Indian communities in South Africa. Some of these academics, such as Cooppan and Lazarus (1956), alleged that the process of urbanisation had made these communities too western. Cooppan and Lazarus (1956:60) argued that Indians had come under the influence of urban life and stated that "[t]he South African Indian is orientated both to the East and to the West – more to the West than to the East, I think". The authors conclude that rather than being unassimilable in the western cultural milieu, South African Indians find western patterns of life attractive.[42] Naidoo and Naidoo (1956) are also fairly disparaging of the so-called westernisation of the Indian minority during this period. The authors trace this cultural change to the 1927 Cape Town Agreement.[43] Naidoo and Naidoo (1956:45) contended that "spiritually the great majority still hold their religious beliefs, pursue their mores and traditions, but externally and materially they are very western". These scholars were quite concerned that the South African 'Indian community' absorbed western cultural influences which distanced themselves from their prior historical roots.

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[42] Not all scholars in this period are so disapproving about the so-called westernisation of South African Indians during the 20th century. For instance, Dickie-Clark (cited in (Ramphal 1989:74) points out "Indians are very selective in their acceptance of Western ways. They have not abandoned their culture whole-heartedly and indiscriminately".

[43] See page 79 for a detailed explanation of the Cape Agreement of 1927.

## 3.2 Changes in the family system: From joint family to nuclear family

Initially, the joint family system,[44] which was adopted from India, guided the socialisation and behaviour of family members within 'Indian' families in South Africa. In a joint family system, "major family decisions are made by the "pater-familias" and there is a clear-cut hierarchy of intra-familial relations in terms of dominance-submission patterns. Obedience to family members, respect for them, and pursuit of family-orientated goals rather than individualistic ones are the norm in the joint family system" (Ramphal 1989:75). In a joint family system, the kin hierarchy determines an individual's place within the family and respect should be conferred based on that. Decisions are mainly made by the male head of the household or the senior males of the household. Individuals or couples in a household are not allowed to take any decisions by themselves without the consultation of the male elders of the household (Kuper 1956).

The members of the joint family system (especially male members) participated in the same occupation such as agriculture or running family business together (Kuper 1956). The proceeds of their work were given to the head of the family who would distribute food, clothes, and money amongst the kinship (Ramphal 1989). Senior male kin were obligated to "support his parents, assist other poor relations, educate the younger members, help in emergencies, and contribute goods and services at marriages and funerals" (Kuper 1956:22). Such obligation and responsibility posed a strain on male members as impoverished conditions limited their ability to assist their own household and the households within the joint family system.

Marriages were arranged by the kin to strengthen kinship alliances and the bride and groom, who were sometimes complete strangers to each-other, were chosen based on "family background, industry, temperament, health, occupation, and education" (Kuper 1956:23). Marriages occurred when girls and boys were at an impressionable age (Kuper 1956) and the young bride was taught the customs and traditions of her new family by her mother-in-law who is responsible for integrating her into her new home (Ramphal 1989). There was also a hierarchical relationship between husband and wife, with the husband seen as superior to his

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[44] The joint family structure followed a structured kinship unit where the household consisted of the patrilineal lineage, where the head of the household is the eldest male or "patriarchal head with his wife and unmarried children…his unmarried brothers and sisters, his younger married brothers, his married sons, and his brothers' married sons with their wives and children" (Kuper 1956:16). In some cases, the joint family is divided into separate nuclear units within the house, each having their own domestic and living areas. Married daughters and sisters were not considered to be a part of the family anymore, however kinship ties were maintained through marriage.

wife. In addition, there was a distinct division of labour between men and women in the household. Men were the breadwinners of the family while women in the joint family system usually stayed at home to take care of the household and children. However, domestic work "is not scorned and looked down upon by Indian men" rather "a woman has an honoured role through her appointment as guardian of the household hearth" (Kuper 1956:26). It was considered inappropriate for women to find employment outside the household, even if the immediate family was poor, as "for them to do so, indicates that men are unable to look after them properly and the whole family loses 'respect' in the eyes of the community" (Kuper 1956:25). Women who worked due to impoverished conditions were pitied by society but if women worked due to an ambition, they were condemned (Kuper 1956).

The break-up of the joint family system was largely precipitated by restrictive legislature which forced the majority of 'Indians' to live in slums, shacks and barracks that could not accommodate a large family (Kuper 1956). In addition, GAA forced 'Indians' to resettle in designated 'Indian' townships where they acquired houses aptly referred to as 'dormitories and cubicles' (Bhana and Pachai 1984:218). A large population was crammed into small pieces of land, resulting in people living in close proximity to each other in squalid conditions and in low quality houses. Ramphal (1989:81) states that under the GAA and Municipal Housing Schemes, houses were not "designed to accommodate the joint family pattern in life. A separate dwelling for each nuclear family unit was provided, thus discouraging the joint family household". Since families lived in small houses consisting of one room and in impoverished conditions it forced the joint family to split apart into nuclear family units to seek adequate accommodation for their family. As families were forced to live in nuclear units it "encouraged the isolation of households from their wider family groups; thus, obligation to kinsmen is difficult to fulfil" (Ramphal 1989:81). Therefore, familial bonds were weakened as the nuclear family gained importance over the joint family system structure, weakening the responsibility, values, practices, and bonds shared within the joint family.

Urbanisation and industrialisation also influenced the dissolution of the joint family system as the whole family had to move from rural areas, as agricultural sectors were dwindling, to urban areas as industrial work increased. Since 'Indians' did not have rural land where women and children could securely live when men went to urban areas to work, once urbanisation and industrialisation took hold, the entire family had to move to urban areas to live and work. A deep attachment to the kinship encouraged the movement of the entire 'Indian' family to urban

areas. Since houses in urban areas could not accommodate the entire joint family, nuclear families lived in homes in crowded 'Indian' urban areas close to industrial business areas (Kuper 1956). Urban industrialisation also brought new opportunities for men to work outside the joint family system and to become wage or salary earners which increased their independence (Kuper 1956; Ramphal 1989). Kuper (1956:30) states that "a man's control of his earnings, however meagre, gives him the opportunity for independence". Living in a nuclear family gave men more autonomy in household decision making and more control of his income.

In addition, since 'Indians' lived in a society were 'white' or western values and practices were dominant in education, the economy, media and in the public sphere, 'Indians' began to adopt these practices which made it easier and more acceptable to espouse the nuclear family structure perpetuated by the society that they lived in. Westernised education also played a role in new couples choosing to live in a nuclear family system rather than a joint family system. For instance, since females could now be educated, they cultivated an independent outlook on life which would at times conflict with the new family, especially with the mother-in-law who was deemed responsible for instilling the family values and practices to the new daughter-in-law (Kuper 1956; Ramphal 1989). To avoid conflict within a family, and to promote a lifestyle for the couple that favours individuality, independence and autonomy, a nuclear family was preferred.

Furthermore, as 'Indians' acclimatize to western ideals, ""romantic" love is seen as a more effective basis from which to launch a marriage than the judgement of one's parents" (Ramphal 1989:76), which has resulted in the diminishing of arranged marriages. Since kinship ties are no longer sustained through marriage, adults are more willing to find a partner from across the linguistic, religious, caste and even the 'race' divide. Ramphal (1989:86) states that

> it is no longer necessary for the husband to marry a wife who will fit in with the many and varied relationships of the joint family. He is more at liberty to select one who fits in with his own personality…It is also important for them to have strong feelings of affection for each-other, for these will be the main cementing elements of the whole family unit. Romantic love is increasingly becoming a basis for marriage.

In modern times marriages are based on romantic relationships rather than arranged marriages, with the new couple starting a nuclear family and adopting the Western standard of living rather than living within the joint family structure.

Additionally, Ramphal (1989:75-76) also states that "the educated wife is influenced by Western conceptions of equality, democracy and companionship in marriage" and that "the relationships between husband and wife, in general, are much freer and more informal than in traditional life. In general, the wife today is less subservient to her husband". The relationship of husband and wife has transformed from a very traditional one where the wife is the 'helpmate' to the husband to one where the wife is the 'partner' to the husband (Ramphal 1989). South African Indian women lead more independent, autonomous, and liberal lives and are freer to choose for themselves their partners, their careers, and their lifestyle when compared to the past. Women are able work outside the household so as to maintain a good lifestyle and raise the standard of the nuclear family (Ramphal 1989). The role of men has also changed in modern times as Ramphal (1989:79) points out that "although in most South African Indian homes, there is still a rough division of labour between men's and women's tasks, men often help with domestic chores as well". In more modern times, men have increasingly been participating in the household tasks as women seek employment opportunities outside the home.

Kuper (1956) points out that instead of the family unit breaking and crumbling due to repressive laws and modernisation, families have remained flexible and have adapted. Although the extended family became less significant, the nuclear family system became an important unit of socialisation through which values are instilled. It is these values, responsibilities, and religious practices that are important and binds the family together. The conjugal family thus becomes the site of 'home'. However, husbands and wives, still feel that they have a responsibility towards assisting their family members and may help in times of need. For instance, elderly parents may live on their own or with one of their married children, preferably the eldest son. Jithoo (1991:352) explains that "segmentation does not necessarily lead to the loosening of kin-ship ties which may even be strengthened". Jithoo (1991) confirmed that in her study, conducted amongst 'Indian' families in Durban, kinship ties were sustained through the family by worshipping together, having meals, through family visits and other family obligations. Although the nuclear family system became a more important unit for

socialisation, bonds between kinship continued to link families across 'Indian' communities. Kuper (1956:30-31) also explains that

> …Indian family continues largely because of the role of the women in the lineage structure. They act as the cement that binds together the different domestic units into which the lineage splits, through the housing shortage and growing economic individualism. The women, by their enforced attachment to the home, their constant influence over the children, and their adherence to the traditional rituals, retain the family as the emotional and social anchor of Indian life.

It is 'Indian' women who have retained the role and identity of homemaker, family carer and carriers and transmitters of religious practices, culture, traditions, and values that have held the family unit together through times of change. 'Indian' women play a significant role in keeping the family together as through her efforts the values of the kinship system, which is distinctive to 'Indians', are reinforced and perpetuated within the family and over generations. Ramphal (1989:79) states that in comparison to traditional lifestyle where the male as the head of the household makes all the decisions, in modern and complex urban families "the responsibilities of family peace-keeper and overall organiser, certainly in Hindu homes, fall mainly on the mother". Thus, the role of women has changed drastically over time. Women are now able to pursue careers and earn a living for themselves, but at the same she also takes control of the household not only in domestic duties but also plays a key role in keeping the family together and making decisions in the household. Kuper (1956:21-22), writing about the joint family, states that

> Women are primarily responsible for the care of the home and family, and, especially in urban economy, where men are free only at weekends, it is the women who keep relationships alive. Social visits extending over a few days, or even weeks, are frequent, and there are the duty visits in times of trouble.

Although many roles of women have changed in present day, women also continue to play an important part in connecting separate nuclear households together. Women may call upon the extended family network in times of need. Even if extended family members live apart from each-other, some relations are still maintained and can be initiated in times of joys and sorrows. A sense of connectedness is retained through family visits, joining together for special occasions such as birthdays, weddings, funerals, religions festivals which not only brings family together but also the community together.

An important aspect to be noted is that when extended families disintegrated into nuclear families, these families kept in touch with one another forming familial networks within and across the designated 'Indian' areas. These communities became an anchor as people began to engage with one another and carry out various social and cultural activities within these designated areas.  These communities became a place where families felt they belonged as restrictive laws barred them from entering other places and communities. The community became an unrestricted place, a place where 'Indian' people were free to call it their own, a place where they felt safe, a place where they were free to express themselves and their identity through the construction of places of worship, schools, sports, recreational and cultural institutions. It was a place where the joys, trials and tribulations of its members were shared. It became a place where South Africans of Indian descent made a home for themselves.

**3. 3 Language shift: South African Indians adaptation to English**

An important aspect of how South Africa Indians adapted to South Africa is the gradual change of their language from an Indian vernacular language to English. Indentured Indians from the south of India spoke mainly Tamil and Telugu which formed the Tamil and Telugu vernacular groups. Those originating from the north of India spoke a variety of languages including Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Magahi, Kanauji, Bengali, Rajasthani, and Braj which "coalesced to form one South African vernacular, usually termed 'Hindi'" (Ebr.-Vally 2001:139; Mesthrie 2002b:161). Muslim indentured labourers spoke their "village language of their area as well as varieties of Urdu" (Mesthrie 2002b:161) and passenger Indians spoke Gujarati, Konkani and Mehmon (Ebr.-Vally 2001; Mesthrie 2002b:162). When indentured labourers and passenger Indians arrived in South Africa, they could not communicate in either English or Zulu. It was especially difficult for those who originated from the north to understand those who originated from the south (Mesthrie 2002b:163). The first generation of immigrants experienced social and linguistic alienation which is demonstrated through Prabhakaran's (1991:74) example of a woman who was assigned to an estate where she could not understand the language of the other labourers and nor could they understand her Telugu language which resulted in her becoming emotionally distraught as she was unable to communicate with anyone. To overcome this language problem, first generation Indians used the pidgin language Fanakalo to communicate with people who spoke Zulu and English as well as 'Indians' they could not understand and "bilingualism developed [amongst] Hindi/Bhojuri and Tamil speakers" especially of the second generation (Mesthrie 2002b:163). (Ebr.-Vally, 2001) points out that Indian vernacular languages started declining as English and Afrikaans became the prominent language of

communication in commerce, education and in professional activities. Ramphal (1989:78) states that people "often preferred the English language to their own, since they saw English as the bearer of the new, powerful, and sophisticated culture. It was also the key to well-paid and well-respected occupations". Since speaking English was associated with social mobility, the use of the language was encouraged. Mesthrie (2002b:165) states that although there was much multilingualism, there was no one Indian language that South African Indians could unite under, thus "English was in the end able to fulfil this role of 'horizontal' communication as well as of 'vertical' communication with the ruling class of colonial Natal". This meant that English was used by 'Indians' to communicate with each-other as well as other South Africans.

Restrictive laws passed by the state also facilitated the acquisition of English or Afrikaans. Laws such as the Immigration Registration Act of 1897 imposed a European language aptitude test to restrict immigration, especially of 'Indian' traders to the country. This requirement necessitated that 'Indians' needed to be proficient in English to gain access to the country (Ebr.-Vally 2001). Laws were also passed which required 'Indians' to undergo a European language test if they wanted to move to the province of Transvaal (Ebr.-Vally 2001). This restricted their internal mobility in South Africa and kept 'Indians' in the province of Natal. The Dealers' Licences Act (Act No. 18 of 1987) which was enforced to curb the participation of 'Indians' in trade, required all business account books to be kept in English, failing to do so would result in the cancellation of their trading licences (Bhana and Brain 1990; Ebr.-Vally 2001). This also encouraged the use of English amongst 'Indian' traders. The Cape Agreement of 1927 was the policy that ultimately encouraged the widespread adoption of English amongst South African Indians (Ebr.-Vally 2001). The agreement stated that the Indian government would assist in the repatriation of 'Indians', "provided those that remain would be given better educational facilities and living conditions" (Mesthrie 2007:6). It also emphasized the inculcation of 'European values' (Ebr.-Vally 2001:188) and "stressed the importance of English in the future of Indian South Africans" (Mesthrie 2007:6).

Mesthrie, (2002a:340) states for the first fifty years there was no formalised education system for 'Indians' who came to South Africa. European missionaries opened schools that admitted Indian learners in the early years, but it was the 'Indians' themselves who established schools for 'Indian' children and even recruited some teachers from Mauritius and India (Mesthrie 2002b). Naidoo and Naidoo (1956:45) point out that "as a community, much stands to their credit for they have helped themselves by providing educational facilities where the state has

failed to do so adequately". The government at this point in time failed to provide adequate education facilities to 'Indians'. It was only through community effort that enabled them to educate children in the community. Mesthrie (2002b:164) states that "the medium of instruction in these schools was English, with no Indian languages featuring at all. Vernacular education was at the beginning largely oral, with traditional wisdom and knowledge being passed on by elders". Once the Cape Town Agreement was implemented more schools were gradually built with the English language being the medium of instruction in these schools (Mesthrie 2007).

Initially, there was opposition to the language policy in schools as 'Indian' languages were absent in the teaching curriculum, however it was finally decided that English should be the mainstream language of education in schools while cultural organisations would teach Indian languages on a "part-time basis (after-hours) in schools, temples, mosques and community halls" (Mesthrie 2007:7). English was used as the main language of instruction in schools and thus school children adopted the language and began speaking, reading, and writing in English. Cooppan and Lazarus (1956:60) state that

> Though the schools are conducted on a segregatory basis Indian children are instructed through the medium of English or Afrikaans. The curricula and syllabuses are exactly the same for Indian and European children, and they appear for the same examinations. The underlying assumption in education is that the Indian child is being prepared to live in South Africa, in a milieu that is western in orientation.

Not only were 'Indian' children taught in English or Afrikaans, but they were also being socialised to live in South Africa through the western education system that advanced western ideology. Although 'Indian' children were being prepared for a life in South Africa, there were nevertheless segregationist laws that confined 'Indians' to particular areas and restrictions were placed on their social mobility.

In the 1950s when more educational facilities improved, children introduced English at homes and neighbourhoods and by the "1960s and 1970s English became the first language of a majority of Indian schoolchildren" (Mesthrie 2002a:340). Cooppan and Lazarus (1956:61) indicate that

another instance of the degree to which Indians have become South Africanised and westernized is the rapidity with which English or Afrikaans is replacing the Indian languages in the home and elsewhere. In an investigation now being carried out among 1 300 pupils in standard VI, VIII and X in twenty-five different Indian schools in Durban, nearly *every* pupil stated that he or she could read, write and speak *best* in English. Most of them could not read and write in their traditional Indian languages, but a few claimed to be able to speak them.

The education system was pivotal in encouraging the spread of English amongst South African Indians which created a language shift from an Indian vernacular language to English and in some localities Afrikaans. Indian languages were introduced in the curriculum in 1984 by the House of Delegates but interest in learning Indian languages was not strong enough (Mesthrie 2007). Although some Indian languages were taught in schools which had a majority of 'Indian' students, it was not enough to gain the enthusiasm of the youth or instil the language in their everyday practice (Ramphal 1989). The introduction of 'Indian' vernacular languages did not have a long-lasting impact as it did not encourage the common practice of the language or affect the number of students who could fluently speak, read, and write in the language being taught.

Mesthrie (2007) states that the Group Areas Act was also instrumental in halting the spread of Indian languages. Since the law propagated the creation of nuclear families, as houses catered for only one family unit, the joint family spilt apart. Indian languages, as a result, could not be adequately passed from grandparents to children. Mesthrie (2002a:340-341) also points out since "apartheid (1948-91) kept Indian children away from first-language speakers of English descent, in hospitals, homes, neighbourhoods, public facilities, schools and even universities" a unique form of South African Indian English (SAIE) developed. Mesthrie (2002a:341) states that while SAIE "is quite South African in some respects (aspects of lexis and phonology), it is a recognisably different variety of South African English (SAE)" and it includes aspects which was influenced by English spoken in India due to "shared mother tongues; input from a very small percentage of indenture workers (of Christian background) and traders from India and from the early English teachers specially brought from India". Since South African Indians lived in isolated communities apart from other 'race' groups during apartheid, SAIE was able to spread across the community and become entrenched in everyday use. However, Mesthrie, (2007:18) also points out that "like all dialects, it was not homogeneous, but further differentiated by class, education and (recessively) by ancestral language groupings". It is

through this amalgamation of Indian English with South African English that has enabled South African Indians to adapt to the South African society.

For instance, as young 'Indians' were able to go to school and socialise with peers from different 'Indian' backgrounds, SAIE began to epitomise modernity that was transmitted through the education system, and it also conveyed a sense of unity amongst a diverse 'Indian' population. SAIE was able to break-down barriers that was internally constructed within the group. The language "shift gave rise to a new sense of community that made some of the older values irrelevant to younger educated speakers" (Mesthrie 2007:10). For instance, old values of marrying within an 'Indian' linguistic group gave way to new values of 'interlinguistic' marriages. Mesthrie (2007:10) aptly asserts that "experiences in South Africa distilled a core sense of Indianness, a kind of unity in diversity. This was later to become – perhaps – diversity in unity". Previously the diverse 'Indian' groups politically united in opposing the racialised laws, but through the implementation of the Group Areas Act, close-knit 'Indian' communities were formed. Within these communities' people of diverse 'Indian' backgrounds came to socialise with each other on a daily basis and it fostered cultural solidarity (not only political), understanding across linguistic groups and togetherness which nurtured and advanced a sense of 'diversity in unity'.

In addition, "Indian South African English became the covert badge of identity representing the new solidarity. It signified that Indians were part of South Africa and not a transient Asian population identifying chiefly with India" (Mesthrie 2007:18). The development of SAIE as a new cultural form not only eased the barriers constructed between linguistic groups facilitating interlinguistic marriages and interaction and cultivating cultural understanding between the diverse 'Indian' groups, but it also bred a collective sense of solidarity as 'Indians' saw themselves as South African and began to differentiate themselves from Indian nationals. However, at the same time "Indian cultural identity can be said to have survived the revolution of language shift. Young speakers losing touch with their ancestral languages did not think of themselves as any less 'Indian'" (Mesthrie 2007:15). Embracing a new language created a distinction between South African Indians and Indian nationals. Nevertheless, the collective identity of 'Indian' amongst South Africans of Indian descent remains as racial labelling continues to create a distinction between South African Indians and other 'race' groups in South Africa.

### 3.4 Creation of home through religious practices

The first generation of Indian migrants brought with them various religious forms, which is presently grouped into Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Of the immigrants that arrived in South Africa between 1860-1911, "some 137 099 (90%) were Hindus; 12 935 (8.5%) were Muslims and 2 150 (1.4%) were Christians" (Pillay, Naidoo, and Dangor 1989:150). These religions have shaped the 'Indian' community and played an important role in helping 'Indians' adapt to the country. Initially, religious worship and practice were conducted in small home-based schools (Pillay, Naidoo, and Dangor 1989). Indentured labourers brought with them different forms of religions and began practising their religion at their abodes as they created shrines within the house and in their gardens. These shrines served to not only continue their religious practice but was also a way of creating an important aspect of home for themselves. Thus, through the practice of religious worship feelings of an old home was created in a new home.

Through individual and community effort, temples, mosques, and churches were erected which enabled them to continue their worship and to establish 'feelings' of home and a sense of belonging and brought the community together especially through festivals, rooting them to South Africa. By expressing their religious identity through the manifestation of temples, mosques, and churches, it has resulted in them changing the cultural milieu of the physical environment of South Africa, especially in the province of KwaZulu-Natal which most South African Indians live in. These temples and mosques are spread across the neighbourhoods of KwaZulu-Natal transforming it and adding an essence of India to it (Matthews 1989). By establishing places of worship, a sense of home was created, and it also inculcated feelings of belonging to the community and by extension to the country.

Though religious adherences were brought from India, South African Indians were influenced by the environment that they lived in in creating places of worship and adapted it for their own means. Scholars writing about the Hindu religion amongst the Indian communities of South Africa in the 20th century, expressed great concern about the so-called westernisation of traditional practices. Pillay et al. (1989:150) blamed the change in religious practices on state policies that privileged the usage of English in schools attended by Indian South Africans. Ramphal (1989:78) also express doubts about the impact of English, arguing that it resulted in the loss of oral tradition which undermined the intergenerational passage of Hindu religious teachings. The structure of Hindu temples also received criticism from this group of scholars.

Matthews (1989), for example, was critical of the design of these temples, arguing that there was an amalgamation of European and Indian designs. Another concern was traditional forms of dress as these had been westernised. Ramphal (1989:77) is particularly concerned about the behaviour of women in this regard, complaining that "young girls and young married women no longer wear saris except for formal evening functions, weddings and religious ceremonies".

Hinduism plays a crucial part in bringing many Indian communities in South Africa together during festival periods which solidifies the community bond. Religious traditions are still passed through the generations and Hinduism is still practiced at home in shrines inside the house and outside altars as well as publicly at temples. Chetty (2013) argues that the temple functions as a microcosm of South African Indian identity in the Hindu community. It can be understood as a means of comprehending the identity of this population. But one of the central concerns of scholars writing in this period concerned the secularisation of traditional Hindu communities and the loosening of traditional religious bonds. Ramphal (1989:82) was especially censorious of the Indian youth, arguing that this group displays "little interest in Indian music and cultural and religious festivals". The author believed that Western education led to the simplification of religious rituals.[45] Reviewing the situation from the vantage point of the 1980s, Pillay et al. (1989) are quite disdainful of this development. The authors contend that most have only a rudimentary understanding of Hinduism and express their religion only through the appeasement of deities via offerings.

Scholars writing about South African Hindu religious communities in the 20th century, sometimes compare these groups unfavourably with the Islamic communities. Pillay et al (1989:61) point out that "the Muslim community, in the main, fostered the kind of religious involvement and commitment among its members through the *practice* of religion that the other religions have not achieved".[46] This practice and commitment is fostered by the many mosques that have been built in South Africa, especially in KwaZulu-Natal, which have encouraged daily prayer, especially on Friday, the day of congregational prayer which is well attended (Pillay et al. 1989). In addition to prayer being held in mosques, the Muslim community also

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[45] Ramphal (1989) was, in particular, concerned about the length of Hindu weddings and how they have been shortened compared to previous generations and compared to India. The author was discouraged by the fact that certain rituals have been eliminated from the wedding ceremony.

[46] Only the Pentecostal groups have achieved similar religious involvement as the Muslim community (Pillay et al. 1989).

has madrasahs (religious schools) where youth are taught their faith and to understand and recite the Quran in its original Arabic language. Although English might be the lingua franca for many Muslims, the many institutions, mosques, and madrasahs facilitate religious teachings and practices in the original Arabic language.[47]

More contemporary scholars are less disparaging of the influence of westernisation on Hindu religious communities in South Africa.[48] Mesthrie (2007:17) also points out that "though young people at school or university may appear fully acculturated to western styles of dress, music, dance, language, and cuisine, many of them may express different preferences in the home setting or settings in which Indian culture becomes salient (weddings, funerals, and prayers)". For most South African Indians, a westernised lifestyle is carried out in the public domain as people follow international or global trends, particularly in fashion, music, and entertainment. However, in the private domain of the home, religious practices are performed as parents, especially the mother, enforce religious customs and traditions. A Hindu prayer calendar is followed, and days are set aside during the year for special prayer and festivals, which the family participate in together or in which the family joins the 'Indian' community in participation and celebration. The Hindu community continues to be actively involved in various forms of charity and philanthropy (Maharaj 2013). These religious customs, traditions and rituals still unite families and the community together.

## 3.5 Creation of home through food

Cooppan and Lazarus (1956:59) state that as Indian traders came to South Africa to cater for the needs of labourers they brought "condiments, spices, medicines, grains, clothing and trinkets they were accustomed to, and Natal was beginning to look like a second India to them". Thus, through traders bringing essential items to indentured Indians in South Africa, it made them feel as if a part of home was with them and made them feel more comfortable in the new environment which created a sense of home for them through these objects. However, over

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[47] There have been, of course, certain changes can be noticed as Muslims come to live in a secular society. For instance, there is a tendency to "regulate religion to a personal and private matter, a feature of secularism in the society in general" and "South African Muslims have adapted Western influences in dress and life-style only to the extent that these do not influence religious practices" (Pillay et al. 1989:161-162). Therefore, although Islam has continued, it is no longer encompassing every aspect of the lives of South African Muslims, living in a secular society has meant that there are changes especially in the lifestyle of Muslims, which makes them fundamentally different from Muslims living in India.

[48] Authors who have discussed the changing culture of South Africans of Indian descent have neglected to research how the black South African cultures have influenced this cultural group. Further research should examine this.

time Indians began to transform how they create home. For example, they began to incorporate local ingredients in Indians dishes. For instance, Vahed and Waetjen (2010:105) write that

> Women who immigrated from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as labourers and/or wives, under indenture or trading families, had incorporated imported and locally grown ingredients to make meals that tasted of home. The familiar savour of meat and vegetables prepared with jeera, arad, lavang, methi and other spices made daily nourishment for the body also a ritual of cultural reproduction and transmission.

Women, who are the cultural reproducers and transmitters, incorporated imported and locally sourced ingredients to replicate the cuisine of their 'homeland'. Since imported ingredients were incorporated with local ingredients a new variety of Indian South African dishes were created, which is a variation of the foods cooked in India. Ebr.-Vally (2001:29) remarks that a guest from India who had been invited to South African homes for authentic Indian food remarked that "the food, which they claimed was Indian, turned out to be vastly different from the type to which we were accustomed in India". Though certain Indian recipes and spices made its way to South Africa, they were transformed for local requirements and became authentically unique to South African Indians and thus South Africa.

In KwaZulu-Natal there are numerous spice shops, restaurants and take-away's that serve authentically South African Indian cuisine which are enjoyed by all South Africans. Of note is the renowned 'bunny chow' which is unique to Durban. It is made by hollowing out a loaf of bread, filling the bread with a South African Indian curry and placing the hollowed-out pieces of bread on top of the curry (du Rand and Fisher 2020). This also means that 'Indians' are influential in making an imprint in the society as they were able to pass on their culture by socially and physically transforming the milieu of KwaZulu-Natal, especially the city and suburbs of Durban, through cultural processes as they carried an essence of India to the country but at the same time they transformed it, adapted it, made it their own and made it their home.

Vahed and Waetjen (2010:110-111) writing about 'The Women's Cultural Group' and the recipe book created by this group entitled 'Indian Delights' indicates that this book showcases a variety of recipes from the diverse Indian spectrum of the population. A member of the group stated that:

One of the main ideas was to get the recipes down. As time goes on, people forget; they use modern recipes. We used the recipes of our mothers. Nowadays it is not mother's cooking. We wanted to retain this – retain how meals were prepared in 'them days'. The idea was to retain the old methods. Do you notice now that papad is a lost art and samosa pur is bought ready-made? All this is time-consuming and people don't have time. Most people buy rotis.

As contemporary lifestyles take over, certain recipes are lost or made simpler to accommodate the changing social lives of women. It was also noticed that the modern working mother also uses technology for convenience instead of old methods. For instance, instead of using banana leaves to wrap fish or meat for stewing, steaming or, baking, tin foil is used. The microwave and freezer make it possible and easier to have foods pre-prepared, as these foods could be frozen and then warmed whenever it is needed, rather than preparing food just before mealtime as was done in the past when no such technology existed (Vahed and Waetjen 2010). The Indian Delights cookbook also contained,

South Africanisms such as the word 'braai' and the use of ingredients such as springbok and gemsbok and recipes can be found for 'Namaqua Steak', 'Indian Biltong' and 'Cape Frikkadels'. A recipe for 'Chinese Springrolls' and several for 'putu', 'Roast Green Mielies' and 'Mealies with Sour Milk' reveal the cookbook's rootedness also in the South African social terrain. In these recipes, and others exchanges with various indigenous and immigrant communities make their appearance as an 'Indian' delight (Vahed and Waetjen 2010:114).

Thus, the cookbook comes to encompass aspects of indigenous South African cooking such as 'putu' as well as other cultural forms such as 'Chinese Springrolls' which the book comes to claim as also an 'Indian Delight'. Here we see an amalgamation of cultures as well as South African Indians incorporating other cultural forms for themselves and declaring it as food eaten by 'Indian' people. But to say every meal eaten by South African Indians would derive from India is misleading. Not every meal consumed is an authentically 'Indian' dish. South African Indians can pick and choose for themselves their own food preferences and meals such as pizza, pasta, roast chicken, and Chinese cuisine are also consumed in many homes.

South African Indians brought an essence of India with them through the aspect of food, which enabled them to replicate home in a foreign land. They were able to recreate home through bringing food items but at the same time changed it and made it unique to the community. As South African Indians adapted to the new environment, the foods consumed transformed,

which created a unique South African Indian cuisine. As spice shops and restaurants come to permeate public spaces they come to be consumed and enjoyed by other cultural groups in South Africa. Thus, South African Indians have played a significant role in changing the cultural, social, and physical milieu of KwaZulu-Natal. At the same time, food consumed by South African Indians has transformed as they live in a society that emphasised a 'Western' lifestyle and as they encountered other cultural groups in South Africa.

## 3.6 Weakening of relations between South African Indians and India

The relationship between South African Indians and India has evolved over the years.[49] As Pillay et al (1989:148) explain

> During the first few decades of their domicile in South Africa, some of the indentured labourers maintained ties with India, but these ties were soon broken. Their children were now South Africa-born and with inter-marriage among castes and the new commitments that ensued from setting up home in South Africa, reintegration into the society in India become impossible.

Initially, 'Indians' maintained ties with India, however these ties were broken as children or second generation 'Indians' were South African born and lived within a South African society which had a different political, economic, social, and cultural milieu from India and thus they became acclimatised to the South African environment. South African Indians began to set up home in the country which required their attention and effort, thus there was limited time to connect to relatives in India (Ebr.-Vally 2001). Setting up home, meant that 'Indians' were establishing roots, settling down and anchoring themselves to the country. Through the building of houses, furnishing their homes with cultural and religious artefacts, acquiring employment, setting up schools and other recreational facilities for the community they were able to establish and maintain a home for themselves.

In addition, as inter-marriage took place between people of different castes, they contravened the cultural and social rules set in India, thus jeopardising their place within the society if they returned. Ebr.-Vally (2001) also asserts that some Indians felt guilt that their caste position was

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[49] Contemporary research on the relationship between India and South African Indian is very limited. It is not clear how this relationship has changed in the democratic era; further research should be done to establish if there is a strong link.

compromised as they could no longer survive on a pure vegetarian diet on the ships and broke dietary codes which meant that their bodies were now 'polluted' which also meant that they would have polluted family members and caste members back home. They would not be received in a favourable light if they went back to India as they had broken or "transgressed fundamental cultural and social codes" (Ebr.-Vally 200:138).

Furthermore, to 'Indians' transgressing the caste system, (Ebr.-Vally, 2001:138) points out that "shame, disappointment and dishonour weighed too heavily on the immigrants to allow them to keep in touch with their families, fraternities and villages". 'Indian' immigrants felt disappointed that they could not improve their lives and prosper in South Africa as indentured labours. Their reality fell short of their expectations of wealth and prosperity, and they felt embarrassed to convey this message to family in India. Another possible reason why ties were not maintained with India was the illiteracy of many indentured 'Indians' who were unable to send letters 'home' and much time passed before receiving or remitting communication either way (Ebr.-Vally 2001). Information about family in India was not passed down the generations and thus familial ties were lost. In addition, since there were no telecommunications such as television, radio or the internet during this period, news, media, and information from India was very limited which prevented 'Indians' from keeping in touch with the current affairs of India. As family relations became distant and political, economic, and socio-cultural news became sparse, South African Indian engagement and interaction with India slowly deteriorated.

Calpin (1949) also notes that some that repatriated found the lifestyle in India difficult to lead and made many attempts to return to South Africa. For instance, Calpin, (1949) writes of Muni Gadi (who arrived in South Africa as a small child) and his three children (who were born in South Africa) who were repatriated to India and found life there to be difficult as they could not trace their relatives, the climate did not suit them, and their money spent on establishing themselves quickly depleted. They decided to return to South Africa and reached as far as Dar-es-Salaam. After their request to enter South Africa was rejected, they embarked on a 1000-mile journey to Natal, enduring much hardship along the way. On reaching the Natal border they were arrested, declared prohibited immigrants, and deported to India.

Passenger Indians, especially Indian traders, were able to keep some of their ties and generations after were able to some extent maintain such ties (Vahed and Waetjen 2010:2-3).

In 1946, the international embargo against the apartheid regime in South Africa meant that trade between South Africa and India was prohibited, however South African "Indians" were able to visit India (Landy et al. 2004:210). This meant that "Indian" traders had to find alternate means to source goods from India and some found Singapore and Mauritius as transit countries to source required goods. Since trade patterns were established with other regions there was no switch to trading with India when the embargo on South Africa lifted (Landy et al. 2004). Trade and familial ties passenger Indians shared with India weakened as the embargo prevented the continuous communication and interaction between the two countries.

In a survey conducted in 1998, amongst learners in public schools in former Indian townships/towns (Chatsworth, Phoenix, Tongaat and Isipingo), 80% of the 213 respondents indicated that they did not know the region in India where their ancestors came from (Landy et al. 2004). Of the 198 students who disclosed their religion, only 37% of Muslims, 19% of Hindus and 4% of Christians knew the place their ancestors originated from (Landy et al. 2004). This data indicates that information on ancestral origins have become lost through the generations as they are ceasing to be passed down. The data also indicates that the 37% of Muslim learners, who were able to state the region of ancestral origin, are descendants of the passenger Indians who were able to maintain economic and family ties with India, however, as Landy et al. (2004:210) states these "moorings are fading away".

From 1860-1946, India considered 'Indians' living in South Africa as British nationals or British Indians, who should be protected by the British Crown, and was thus committed to assisting them by fighting for their rights in the United Nations Assembly (Chattopadhyaya 1970). As the international embargo was enacted in 1946 against apartheid South Africa, interaction between South Africa and India ceased. Any bonds held between the two countries soon disintegrated. In addition, as India became independent in 1947, they ceased to recognise any Indian diaspora as nationals of India and was of the notion that the "Indian diaspora was supposed to merge with the local population to fight the remnants of colonialism in order to create new independent nations" (Landy et al. 2004:210). As 'Indians' became South African citizens in 1961 and India held sanctions against South Africa due to apartheid's racialised oppressive laws, ties between India and South African Indians weakened.

As South African Indians began to face their own political, economic, and social affairs in South Africa the gap between the two countries grew. As relationships between South Africa

and India became estranged, the unity and solidarity within the 'Indian' communities grew which formed bonds of connection which helped them to re-root their lives and become stable. South African Indians began re-erecting their culture through memories brought by the first generations and handed down to following generations such as religious traditions and customs, language, family structure and food. Indian traders brought cultural paraphernalia from India and elsewhere after 1946, which enabled the growth of Indian culture in South Africa. Through these cultural objects 'Indians' were able to create a home for themselves in South Africa. Cultural objects such as places of worship, markets that sold 'Indian' goods, spice shops, 'Indian' dress shops etc. also established a sense of belonging and they began to 'feel at home' in South Africa which enabled them to root themselves in the country. However, in South Africa these aspects were transformed as they began to adapt and integrate to the South African environment. Since they were left with minimal contact with India they began to change and adapt their practices in South Africa. Unhindered by familial rules or regulations set in India, they created a 'new' South African Indian cultural group, different in significant ways to that of India.[50]

## 4 Conclusion

This chapter elucidated the history of Indians in South Africa. At each historical period South Africans of Indian descent were denied certain freedoms and oppressed in different ways. As indentured labourers, this group faced many atrocities to build a life for themselves in the country. As their indentured period ended, they acquired land and that created a strong economic base for themselves. However, the initial economic successes were resented by the dominant party and thus a slew of acts and polices were implemented to curb the economic mobility of 'Indians'. 'Indians' faced destitution as these policies crippled their economic viability. Over the years numerous policies were enacted against South Africans to stall their integration into the South African society. However, although the political sphere presented many challenges, 'Indians' were active in creating a 'home' for themselves in South Africa. Although some cultural aspects changed as they interacted with the dominant Western culture, South Africans of Indian descent still formed close-knit community bonds. This bonding social capital assisted the community to overcome difficulties as well as navigating through the

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[50] It must be brought to attention that once South Africa became a democratic state there has been a resurgence of interest amongst South Africans of Indian descent trying to retrace their roots to India (Desai and Vahed 2019).

various cultural, economic, social, and political transformations that has taken place in South Africa. Since the South African Indian community has been through many changes over the years living in South Africa, they have come to adopt different cultural practices and perspectives as compared to their Indian counterparts. It is important to remember that this group comes from a different historical, political, economic, and socio-cultural background than Indian nationals. The following chapter focuses on migration to Australia.

# Chapter Four

## Part 2: Shifting homes: South African Migration to Australia

## 1 Introduction

As South Africans of Indian descent migrate to Australia, it is important to understand the migration policies, procedures, and public attitudes towards immigration, in order to explicate how they will be received in the destination country. This chapter examines the history of migration to Australia (specifically with regard to Indian migration) the current multicultural polices and social attitudes toward migration as well as the migration program. In addition, this chapter explores the historical migration of South Africans to Australia, with reference to the recent migration of South Africans of Indian descent to the country.

## 2 Australia: From discrimination to multiculturalism

The establishment of the federal government of Australia in 1901 saw the rise of the 'White Australia Policy'.[51] This policy was enforced as a protectionism scheme for British Australians against the migration of cheap Asian labour, as they perceived and feared that these migrants would undermine their economic positions.[52] It was also a racist policy to prevent non-Europeans from entering the country to maintain the nation's 'whiteness' (Richards 2008). Laws such as the Immigration Regulation Act of 1901 was implemented which restricted the entry of non-Europeans and 'non-whites' into the country. Although these policies were discriminatory and oppressive, the Australian federal government did not want to be perceived as racist. Thus, a dictation test of 50 words was carried out, creating the impression that entrance was based on those who could easily assimilate into the Australian society rather than on 'race'. The dictation test was initially in English but seeing that many Indians as well as other 'non-white' immigrants could speak English, the rules of the dictation test was changed in 1905 so that any European language could be used in the test which drastically hindered Indian immigration to the country (Macintyre 2009; Maclean 2015; Richards 2008). In 1902 only two Indians had passed the dictation test, in 1909 no non-European immigrant passed the

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[51] This law "extended anti-Chinese legislation to all 'Asiatics'" (Maclean 2015:116).

[52] Asians were already singled out as a threat to the economic activities of Europeans as they become socially mobile rising to become petit-bourgeoise (Lepervanche 1984:24).

test (Maclean 2015; Richards 2008). Australia favoured a pro-white and pro-European policy as white Europeans were recruited from many parts of Europe to ease the labour shortage in Australia. Australia's goal was to create a 'White' Australia, thus only 'white' Europeans were recruited as they believed that only 'white' people could assimilate into the Australian society creating a homogenous society where there would be minimal conflict between people.

The lives of Indians who already lived in Australia was precarious. Discriminatory laws were imposed on Indians restricting them from making a livelihood and progressing within the country. These laws included the Western Australians Factory Act of 1904, which prevented 'Asiatics' "from being involved in any form of manufacturing, even counting home residents as factories – when and only when – they were owned by Asiatics" (Maclean 2015:120). Indians and Afghans were prohibited from "holding a Miner's Right on the Western Australian goldfields", they were not permitted to "travel from state to state in search for work, except under the most stringent conditions", "they were denied re-entry to Australia after a visit overseas" and "they were unable to be naturalised" (Australian Government Web Archive n.d.). Hawkers were issued licenses to allow for them to trade legally within the country. Licenses were issued only on one day of the year and was expensive in some places such as Queensland – the entrance port, compared to other places, to discourage the potential hawker from taking up such activities (Australian Government Web Archive n.d.). It was also difficult for those who went to India for a visit to return to Australia. They required a Certificate of Exemption or Certificate of Exemption from the Dictation Test (CEDT) to be allowed to re-enter Australia and they had to "undergo quite rigorous scrutiny" to gain the certificate (Allen 2005:121). Although these certificates were generally approved, domiciled Indian migrants found it difficult to bring their wives to Australia and family reunification was delayed or impossible (Allen 2005). Indians in Australia responded to these laws by protesting and some left the country. These laws drastically reduced the Indian population in the country. In 1901, there was one estimate that claimed that there were 7637 Indian immigrants, by 1911 the population of people of Indian descent stood at 3698, while the census taken in 1954 placed the population at 2647 (Lepervanche 1984:24). The small number of Indians who were still living in Australia was dispersed widely throughout the country. This "made it difficult to resist assimilationist tendencies and precluded a forging of a pan-Indian identity" (Vahed 2007:38).

From the late 1940s there were some incremental changes to the Australian White Policy. For instance, in 1947, non-Europeans who were permitted to Australia for business reasons and

those living in the country for 15 years or longer could remain without being required to renew their permits (Opperman 1966:4). In 1952, Japanese wives of Australian servicemen were permitted to stay for five years with valid permits (Opperman 1966). In July 1956, conditions for entry and stay for non-European migrants were modified as follows

> persons already permitted to remain here without getting periodical extensions of their stay should be eligible to qualify for naturalization; certain non-Europeans already in Australia, who normally would have been expected to leave, should be allowed to remain for humanitarian reasons; distinguished and highly qualified non-Europeans should be admitted for indefinite stay; and the conditions for the admission of persons of mixed descent should be clarified and eased (Opperman 1966:4).

However, the first notable change came in 1958 when "the Revised Migration Act abolished the dictation test and simplified entry points" and "all references to race and nationality was expunged from official policy" (Richards 2008:238 and 241). Entry permits which replaced the "old, and legally shaky, structure of 'Certificates of Exemption'" (Opperman 1966:5), made the system easier to understand. In 1966 more reforms were made as non-Europeans were able to permanently settle in Australia based on "their suitability as settlers, their ability to integrate readily and their possession of qualifications" which were useful to Australia (Opperman 1966:5). Those who qualified were able to obtain a five-year permit, thereafter they could apply for permanent residency and citizenship. The wives and children, of those who were approved, were allowed entry as well, thus "avoiding the hardships of the 15-year rule now abolished" (Opperman 1966:5).

In addition, there was also mounting pressure calling for reform within the country and internationally. In Australia, the Immigration Reform Group, which was created by academics in 1962. They started to speak against the White Australia Policy and politicians began to accept that there was a place for Asians in the country although they favoured only those who were eminent and highly qualified (Richards 2008). Australia also anticipated that they might be voted out of the Commonwealth, like South Africa, if they did not change its racist policies. Australia was also berated by Asian nations such as India and Malaysia, as Australians could emigrate to these places, yet no Asian could work in Australia. The White Australia Policy not only affected the relationship between Asia and Australia, but international trade as well. In 1966 Australia signed the international convention on the elimination of racial discrimination (Macintyre 2009). Immigration policies were reformed to allow non-European settlement and

migration to Australia gradually started to begin in the same year. However, the Australian government emphasized and reiterated the homogeneity of Australia by stating that settlers should be able to easily integrate into the society. Opperman (1966:2) the Minister for Immigration, stated that

> It is cardinal with us that Australia though attracting many different people, should remain a substantially homogeneous society, that there is no place in it for enclaves or minorities, that all whom we admit to reside permanently should be equal here and capable themselves of becoming substantially Australians after a few years of residence, with their children in the next generation wholly so, however much they are fortunate to retain elements of their cultural heritage.

Although the government called for equality for immigrants, it also supported cultural homogeneity. It believed that settlers must conform to the Australian cultural system instead of allowing minority groups the freedom to express their cultural identity. However, this slowly changed as the policies set in 1958 and 1966 slowly dismantled the White Australia Policy, which formally ended in 1973. A new vision of what Australia wanted to become was encapsulated in Australia's Multicultural social policy (Australian Government Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2017). The abolishment of the racialised policy allowed for migration of people from many nations, including Indians and those of Indian descent of other nationalities such as Indo-Fijian and South African Indians, which continues in the present day (Voigt-Graf 2004; Wasserman 2018). Since 1945, more than 7 million people have migrated to Australia from many nations (Australian Government 2011). Modern day Australia can be described as a multicultural society with the population consisting of people coming from diverse backgrounds, with people speaking more than 260 languages and more than 270 ancestries can be identified (Australian Government 2011). "In 2018, there were 7.9 million migrants living in Australia" and 29% of the Australian population were born-overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2019). England continues to be the major source country of migrants to Australia, followed by China and India with 592 000 Indians moving to Australia in 2018 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2019).

## 3 Australia's Multicultural Policy

Australia's Multicultural policy, which was formally introduced in 1973, set out to build a cohesive and inclusive society where the values of equality, democracy and freedom are

enshrined (Australian Government 2003). The liberal-democratic government propagated a policy that called for non-racialism, non-discrimination, inclusiveness, and tolerance towards the culture, religion, and languages of all Australians (Australian Government 2003, 2017). The Multicultural policy, which still guides Australian society, has been constantly renewed over the years to show Australia's commitment to upholding the policy, especially in times of geo-political uneasiness, such as in cases of global terrorism and extremism (Australian Government 2017).

In 2017, the Australian government launched its newest policy statement termed *Multicultural Australia: United, Strong, Successful*. The statement purports to renew the shared values, rights and responsibilities that guides the actions of all Australian citizens. It also reiterates Australia's vision for its present and future society. According to the statement, the shared values that guide Australia's society are respect, equality, and freedom. *Respect*, as outlined by the Multicultural statement, encompasses being "committed to the rule of law and allegiance to Australia," respecting the "liberty and dignity of all individuals" and valuing "diversity and embracing mutual respect, inclusion, fairness and compassion" (Australian Government 2017:9). The Australian Government supports *Equality* which entails "equality for men and women," "equality before the law" and "equality of opportunity for all" (Australian Government 2017:9). The third pillar directing Australian social policy is *Freedom*, includes "freedom of thought, speech, religion, enterprise and association," a commitment to "parliamentary democracy" and a responsibility towards fulfilling civic duties (Australian Government 2017:9). The Australian government acknowledges that all citizens benefit from the "nation's economic success, cultural and religious freedom and diversity" and that "maintaining a strong commitment to its common values is in the best interests of the Australian people" (Australian Government 2017:9).

The Australian government is also active in formulating programs and policies that assist new migrants, especially refugees and humanitarian entrances. For instance, The Adult Migrant English Program, "supports eligible migrants and humanitarian entrants to learn foundation English language and settlement skills to enable them to participate socially and economically in Australian society" (Australian Government 2017:11). The Australian government's 'Multicultural Access and Equity Policy' ensures that all Australian citizens have access to programs and services (Australian Government 2017:11). In addition, the 'Pathways to Citizenship Program' encourages migrants to actively participate in society (Australian

Government 2017). The Australian government also supports "multicultural media through radio, print, online and television" (Australian Government 2017:11) which promotes representation of all people in Australia. In addition, Harmony Day which was established in 1999 "is now celebrated by thousands of Australians each year, spreading a message of inclusiveness, respect and belonging for everyone" (Australian Government 2017:11).

Initially Australia was divided on its nation building policy; on the one hand a multicultural policy was supported and on the other the old ideals of assimilation was preferred as people feared the 'Asianisation of Australia' (Richards 2008). The influx of migrants from diverse backgrounds, especially Asia, caused dissention regarding the establishment of a new 'Australian identity,' its "national identity, character and composition" (Richards 2008:292 and 294). Although a multicultural approach was endorsed, there was still an opposition to certain aspects of this approach. Many people still held on to the 'white Australia' assimilation ideology of the past and were concerned that Asians would take over the country and change the character of the country. In addition, there was a fear that Asian newcomers would not be able to assimilate into the Australian society and would upset white hegemony in the country (Richards 2008).

Although these sentiments linger, the multicultural policy slowly ushered a non-discriminatory and more accepting society. It is apparent from this public opinion data from the 2018 Scanlon Foundation Survey (SFS) that a significant proportion of the Australian public value the contribution of immigrants and are tolerant of diversity (Markus 2018). Consider, for instance, that 82% of SFS respondents feel that "immigrants improve Australian society by bringing new ideas and cultures" (Markus 2018:50). Four-fifths feel that "immigrants are generally good for Australia's economy" and around 60%-66% feel that "we should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in the country" (Markus 2018:50). In addition, a majority of 54% agreed that "Australia's openness to people from all over the world is essential to who we are as a nation" (Markus 2018:50). The general populace in Australia does not support providing immigrants with government assistance for cultural maintenance. 53%-58% disagreed that "ethnic minorities in Australia should be given Australian government assistance to maintain their customs and traditions" (Markus 2018:66). It is clear that a majority of the mass public think immigrants *should* assimilate into the dominant Australian culture. 60%-66% of SFS participants agreed that "people who come to Australia should change their behaviour to be more like Australians" (Markus 2018:66).

Although the majority of the Australian public favour cultural diversity, a significant minority seemed worried that immigration would undermine the dominant culture (Markus 2018). This can be seen if we look at the SFS data. 41% of SFS respondents were concerned that "Australia is too open to people from all over the world, we are losing our identity as a nation" (Markus 2018:50). The government makes certain requirements for migrants to adopt the 'Anglo-Celtic' culture of Australia and integrating into that lifestyle. Migrants coming to Australia must demonstrate their English language ability as a criterion for the issuing of a permanent residency visa. This is done to ensure that migrants are effectively able to integrate into the society (Australian Government 2017). Immigrants have a choice of assimilating completely into the Australian society by abandoning their culture or adapting to Australia while keeping some of their own culture.  Many try and strike a balance, integrating without losing aspects of their home culture that is of significance to them such as their language, food, objects, religion, or the attachment to people in their home countries.

After 46 years of the abolishment of the White Australia policy, Australia has made significant changes as the society has become more accepting, tolerant, and appreciative of cultural diversity. However, the issue was never resolved completely, and the nation continues to grapple with how nationhood, national identity and belonging can be established in a culturally diverse society. Many in Australia still favour cultural assimilation where newcomers should adopt the dominant 'Anglo-Celtic' culture which may be oppressive to minority and ethnic groups (Dunn et al. 2004; Forrest and Dunn 2007).

Along with the Multicultural Policy, Australia also has a progressive Anti-Discrimination Legislation which includes the *Sex Discrimination Act of 1984, Racial Discrimination Act of 1975, Disability Discrimination Act of 1992 and the Age Discrimination Act of 2004* (Australian Government and Attorney General Department n.d.) which purports to create tolerance. However, despite these laws being enacted there have been sporadic cases of discrimination, racialised attitudes and attacks. Forrest and Dunn (2007) state that in Australia multiculturalism co-exists with an array of racisms. Researchers indicate that there is varying anti-Islamic, anti-Asian, anti-Jewish and anti-Refugee and Asylum Seeker sentiment in Australia  (Baas 2015; Dunn et al. 2004; Forrest and Dunn 2007; Itaoui 2016; Ramsay 2017; Rashid 2007). For instance, Australia has made concessions regarding refugees and asylum seekers, however they frown upon the 'boat people' who enter illegally into the state (Richards

2008). Baas (2015) writes of violent and (allegedly) racist attacks against Indian students in Melbourne in 2009, while Itaoui (2016) has researched Islamophobia in certain public spaces within Sydney suburbs. The September 11th terrorist attacks that occurred in the USA in 2001, has created a negative perception of Muslims in Australia. Australia in support of the USA, also declared a 'War on Terror' as Australian troops were sent to Afghanistan and Iraq to fight terrorism (Wilson 2019). Discrimination and racial attitudes against Islamic groups in Australia have increased, "to the extent of producing anti-Arab and Muslim violence, as reflected in the Cronulla riot of December 2005, organised anti-Islam groups such as 'Reclaim Australia' and other forms of Islamophobic hate crime, racial vilification, and discrimination" (Itaoui 2016:262). Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, which was created in 1997 to oppose Asian immigration, advocates for religious discrimination of Islamic immigrants (Markus 2018; Westcott 2018). Hanson (cited in Markus 2018:56), who advocates for a Travel Ban on countries who are known sources of radicalism, states that "our Constitution prevents us from asking the religion of those who seek to migrate to Australia, but equally, we cannot ignore first, second and third generation migrants who violently reject Australia's democratic values and institutions in the name of radical Islam". Markus (2018:56) also states that "in recent years calls for discrimination have been primarily raised in the context of advocacy of a ban on Muslim immigration, but also with attention to African youth".[53] Since there have been no terrorist attacks claimed by Islamic fundamentalist groups in Australia since the 1980s, it can be inferred that the growing anti-Islamic sentiment are fuelled by global terrorist events that fuel panic, media sensationalism and government rhetoric rather than any actual terrorism in the country (Briskman 2015).

Australia fears being a victim of terror attacks which they perceive will be committed by Islamic terrorists. They did not fully comprehend that the corollary of their Islamic prejudice breeds white supremacy and terrorism against Muslims. For instance, the massacre of 51 worshippers at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand on 15 March 2019, was committed by an Australian-born man who self-declared as a white supremacist (Van Sant 2019). The perpetrator who "wrote an anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim manifesto before the attacks" has been charged with engaging in acts of terrorism (Hollingsworth 2019; Van Sant 2019). Wilson (2019) indicates that such acts are not only driven by the spread of white supremacy ideology

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[53] It is believed that Sudanese youth are perpetrators of crime in Victoria, Melbourne. However, "crimes involving Sudanese residents account for just 1% of Victoria's total criminal activity, with the vast majority of crimes committed by Australian-born residents" (Westcott 2018:na)

on social media and the internet, as the perpetrator was influenced by the idea of 'The Great Replacement'[54] and aired his acts of terror on social media, but Australian public institutions also contributed to the institutionalisation of Islamophobia. Wilson (2019) points out many instances where Australian institutions contributed to anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim sentiment. Firstly, in order to win the election, the conservative government refused to allow refugees rescued at sea to enter Australia. This tactic won the conservative government the elections as it responded to public anxieties and fear of being invaded by so-called 'terrorists'. Off-shore detention of refugees who arrive by boat has become a mandatory policy, despite condemnation from international bodies. Most refugees who are detained are Muslims and some politicians agree that detention is necessary as they fear some of them might be terrorists (Wilson 2019). Briskman (2015:115) states that Australia's "fear of invasion is shrouded in a security discourse that positions asylum seekers as potential terrorists" and the Australian government has come to link refugees and asylum seekers with Islam and terrorism. This portrays a negative image of refugees, and in particular refugees who are Muslim, to the citizens of Australia and contributes to fuelling anxieties and tensions within Australia.

Secondly, the terror attacks in USA also resulted in Australia strengthening its national security, and branches of the Australian government have come to define Muslim Australians as a source of danger (Wilson 2019). Briskman (2015:112) cites incidents where federal and state police embarked on a "gargantuan operation known as a raid" on Muslim households in an effort to combat terrorism, giving the impression that Muslims are unarguably linked to terrorism. The raids yielded only three arrests and provided no concrete evidence of terrorism against the accused. Thirdly, "two years after the war on Iraq commenced, the campaign of Islamophobia culminated in the country's most serious modern race riots" when 'white' men spent the afternoon on Cornella Beach beating and throwing bottles at those who looked brown in appearance (Wilson 2019:n/a). This indicates that the Australian governments support for the Iraqi war had the unintended consequence of spreading Islamophobia, violence, and hatred within Australia.

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[54] The Great Replacement is a 74-page document, advanced by the pan-European Generation identity movement, "which holds that the white Christian population is under threat from a deliberate effort to replace it through Muslim immigration" (Freedland 2019:na).

Fourth, according to Wilson (2019:n/a) News Corp[55] not only uses the media as a platform to "demonise Muslims" but also to "run campaigns on white nationalist talking points". For instance, a prominent Muslim Australian was hounded by News Corp media and conservative politicians after she drew attention to the suffering of Muslims all around the world on Anzac Day 2017, which resulted in her eventually leaving the country. News Corp's reporting of alleged plights of 'white' farmers in South Africa in 2018 was influential in provoking fears of a 'white genocide', resulting in an ephemeral proposal by the "immigration minister to give white farmers 'special attention'" (Wilson 2019:n/a). In addition, Andrew Bolt, an influential News Corp pundit stated that the country was under demographic attack claiming that "a tidal wave of immigrants [will] sweep away our national identity" (Wilson 2019:n/a). Australian media can be said to be prejudiced and biased as it plays exclusionary and identity politics, inciting discrimination against Muslims but welcoming white nationalist agendas. The media plays a pivotal role in disseminating information, influencing public opinion, and shaping how society should come to see itself. Thus, it is also influential in spreading prejudice against Muslims and promoting white supremacy.

Other prejudicial actions by politicians include Fraser Anning's statement that the victims of the Christchurch massacre are to be blamed for their plight; Mark Latham's statement calling for self-identified Indigenous people to undergo DNA testing before they can receive welfare and the conservative national government intending to run a race-based campaign (Wilson 2019). These scenes set the dialectic context of racism and white supremacy as Wilson (2019:n/a) states that "this is the environment in which Muslims, refugees and immigrants have come to be understood as the enemies of Australia. It may be an environment that has nurtured white supremacist terror".

Research conducted by the Scanlon Foundation indicates that racist views are held by a small minority (Markus 2018). Australia's legislature outrightly rejects racism in any form and the government's multicultural policies promotes and encourages tolerance and acceptance of all those who live in Australia. However, the Race Discrimination Commissioner, Tim Soutphommasane, while declaring Australia to be a highly cohesive and harmonious society also states that "racism continues to be a significant social problem" (Westcott 2018). Although, Australia has seen barbaric attacks, discrimination, and racism over the years, it is

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[55] Since News Corp has a monopoly in media markets it is influential in swaying public opinion (Wilson 2019).

said to be confined to a minority of the population. But commentators and government officials fear there is a growing trend of white supremacy and racism in the country (Freedland 2019; Westcott 2018; Wilson 2019).

**4 Australia's Migration Program**

Opperman (1966) stated that the country, at the time of his writing, should choose for themselves immigration intakes to meet the aspirations of their country. This sentiment is echoed in in the migration policies of present day. Australia has set a ceiling on the number of immigrants that can be accepted per year as environmental challenges, the economy and certain social issues impact migration intake.

In recognition of the social issues and needs that Australia faced, the Migration Program was created in 1945, for planned immigration into the country. In the 1950s immigration policy turned towards addressing environmental issues as environmentalists proclaimed that an overpopulation would have detrimental effects on the country. Australia sort to manage its population intake by "responding to the immediate needs of the economy and Australia's humanitarian obligations" (Richards 2008:297-298). Skilled migrant labour was favoured as a key criterion to be able to immigrate to the country. In 1945, the program focused on building the economy through immigration as well as creating a large defence force to protect the state in times of war (Spinks 2010:1). However, this program was aimed at attracting immigrants mainly from United Kingdom to increase the overall population of Australia.

Spinks (2010) indicates that the immigration polices fluctuated from seeking immigrants mainly from the UK to increase the population in 1945, to purposefully attracting skilled workers from all over the world (as the White Australia Policy was gradually abandoned) to meet labour market requirements. Spinks (2010:3) states that "the primary determinant of the migration policy from the 1980s has been a focus on the labour market outcomes". As Australia's population ages there are various labour demands on the society and as various skills are required in this globalised and technology driven world, there are numerous skill shortages in the labour market that the government aims to address by recruiting skilled immigrants to supply these labour demands.

The Migration Program Planning levels determine the overall permanent residence migration intake under each category. There are three main categories, namely: Skill Stream, Family Stream, and Special Eligibility; with the Skill and Family streams having subcategories as shown in Table 1 (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019). For immigrants to be issued a permanent residency visa, through the Skills Stream route, applicants must score points in such criteria as age, education level, skill, employability, and English language ability (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019; Spinks 2010). The Migration Program has developed a Medium to Long-Term Strategic Skills List (MTLSSL) that indicates the required skills in need. This list changes annually in respect of the skills required.

The Skills Stream, as shown in Table 1, is currently the most significant stream for Australia as it fulfils the mandate of bringing scarce skills that the country requires to attain economic growth. Of importance is the Employer Sponsored subcategory as this enables employers to source employment from other countries if the scarce skill on the MLTSSL is not found locally. In 2008/09 the Australia government shifted its focus from a 'supply driven' migration policy to a 'demand driven' one so that the necessary skilled labour needed for industries to progress is targeted (Spinks 2010:4). Consequentially, the Employer Sponsored subcategory receives more priority over the Independent Skills subcategory, as these immigrants meet the required labour demands which leads to enhancing the economic growth of the country.

**Table 1**: *Definitions of Migration Program Categories/Streams and Subcategories and Migration Capped Numbers for 2021/2022*

| Category | Definition | Subcategory | | Definition |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Skill Stream** | The Skill Stream is "designed to improve the productive capacity of the economy and fill skill shortages in the labour market, including those in regional Australia" (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019). | **Employer Sponsored** (22 000) | | Refers to immigrants who have an employer in Australia willing to employ them. This group fills the skill shortage in the medium and long term (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019; Spinks 2010:5). |
| | | **Skilled Independent** (6 500) | | Refers to immigrants who do not have employment already arranged in Australia and are free to live anywhere in Australia. Immigrants are chosen based on their age, skill, employability, English proficiency (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019; Spinks 2010:5). |
| | | **Regional** (11 200) | Skilled Employer Sponsored | Refers to immigrants who have an employer in Australia willing to employ them in a region other than major cities. |
| | | | Skilled Work Regional | Refers to immigrants who do not have employment already arranged in Australia but are willing to live in regions outside major cities. |
| | | **State/Territory Nominated** (11 200) | | Supports labour market needs by providing skilled migration specifically for states and territories (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019). |
| | | **Business Innovation and Investment Program** (13 500) | | Encourages successful businesspeople to settle in Australia and develop new business opportunities (Spinks 2010:4). |
| | | **Global Talent** (15 000) | | Refers to individuals with special or unique talents of benefit to Australia such as technology innovators, sports people, the arts, academia, and research (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019; Spinks 2010:5). |
| | | **Distinguished Talent** (200) | | |
| **Family Stream** | The Family Stream "allows Australian citizens and permanent residents to reunite with close family members, including partners, and certain dependent relatives" (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019). | **Partner** (72 300) | | "Allows Australian citizens, permanent residence, and eligible New Zealanders to sponsor their partner, parent, or carers, remaining relatives, or aged dependent relatives to live in Australia" (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019). |
| | | **Parent** (4 500) | | |
| | | **Other Family** (500) | | |
| | | **Child** (3 000) (Estimated number, uncapped, not included in the Family Stream total) | | Allows parents to sponsor their child who is outside Australia to come to the country. This category is uncapped and demand-driven (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019). |
| **Special Eligibility (100)** | Special Eligibility Stream "provides visas for those in special circumstances that do not fit into other streams, including former residents. The Special Eligibility stream is a very small component of the overall permanent Migration Program" (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019). | | | |
| **160 000 Total** | This number is set as a ceiling rather than a target. "This ensures that standards are not lowered to meet an overall number" (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019). | | | |

Recently, the regional subcategory, as shown in Table 1 above, is also becoming significant, as major cities such as Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Brisbane and Gold Coast face overcrowding and traffic congestion. The government is, therefore, finding alternative ways to limit the migration into these areas. The Regional subcategory then, provides a way to control migration into overcrowded cities and divert these migrants to other regions that are sparsely populated but in need of skills (Kainth 2019). A multi-faceted approach is taken to alleviate the overpopulation in major cities, as both the Regional and State/Territory categories under which individuals can apply, offers an opportunity to work in areas outside cities where skills are in short supply (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019).

In addition, Australia also recognises that they need to be competitive and stay abreast in global innovation. The state is willing to recruit people who can "support innovation, new technology, scientific research and entrepreneurship" (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019:4). Australia has created the Global Talent Visa under which businesses are able to sponsor individuals who would make a significant contribution to their business. Thus, "from 1 July 2018, all businesses have been able to sponsor highly skilled and specialised workers to grow their businesses and create more jobs, under the Global Talent Scheme pilot program (for established businesses and start-ups)" (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019:4). Global Talent can be differentiated with Distinguished Talents subcategory, as the latter refers to unique talents that can benefit Australia such as artists, sports persons and academia and the former refers to technology innovators and other talents required to be innovative in business.

Through the Family Stream the Australian government has taken the initiative of reuniting families as Australian citizens, permanent residents, and New Zealand citizens are able to sponsor family from abroad (Spinks 2010). Family members do not have to undergo a test to be granted a visa as is done for the Skills Stream (Spinks 2010). The Special Eligibility Stream, which does not have a subcategory, is the smallest stream and is reserved for special cases.

In addition, The Migration Program also allocates a ceiling for the number of migrants that can be granted a permanent residency visa through these streams. However, the ceiling is a maximum number of immigrants that Australia is willing to take, and not a target and "this ensures that standards are not lowered to meet an overall number" (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019:2). For instance, from 2011 the annual ceiling has been

capped at 190 000, with actual intake for 2015/2016 standing at 189 770, in 2016/2017 intake stood at 183 608, however in 2017/2018 actual intake fell to 162 417 (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019:7). Thus, the Australian government is at liberty to choose the best suited individuals for permanent migrancy. In 2021/2022 the migration ceiling was capped at 160 000 (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2022). The majority of placements are in the Skill Stream (79 600 places), in the Family Stream (77 300) places are reserved, with Special Eligibility receiving 100 places. The Child subcategory, under the Family Stream, is not capped, however an estimate is given annually. In 2021/2022, 3 000 estimated placements were allocated to this category in the program (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2022).

A possible reason for lowering the immigration intake ceiling is due to calls from the public concerning the high level of immigration to Australia (Markus 2018). As cities become overcrowded and congested, and as the unemployed are moving into urban areas, infrastructure such as roads, public transport and affordable housing became insufficient to accommodate the population living in the city. The public is aware that high levels of immigration will also have a detrimental impact on the cities. For instance, the Essential opinion poll conducted indicated that a majority of 62% agreed with the statement that "our cities can't cope with further population growth, and we should reduce immigration until the infrastructure is in place" (Markus 2018:42). In addition, the Australian elections were held in 2019 which also affected how the presiding party strategized over key issues such as city planning and immigration so as to win over the support of the public and remain in power. Thus, the Australian government has taken into consideration public opinion and lowered the immigration ceiling to 160 000, which will remain for the next four years (Kainth 2019). Since the ceiling has been reduced from 190 000 in 2018/2019 to 160 000 for 2019/2020, this will significantly affect the number of South Africans who will be able to permanently migrate to Australia, however individuals may pursue other avenues such as temporary migration by obtaining a temporary work visa to enter the country.

An important migration trend is the move from permanent settlement to temporary long-term settlement. Temporary migrants are uncapped, demand-driven and do not fall under the Migration Program (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019). Temporary migrants consist of those who come to Australia on holiday, visiting of family and friends, attending business, attending academic meetings and events, entertainment or media meetings

or collaboration, students studying in Australia and those working on a temporary basis in Australia. It is reported that "temporary immigration is an increasingly important part of Australia's economy, particularly international tourism and education: on any given day in 2017, there were around 1.7 million temporary migrants in Australia" (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019:3). Spinks (2010:9) states that the largest categories of temporary migrants to Australia are "overseas students and temporary skilled migrants, particularly those arriving on a (subclass 457) Temporary business (long stay) visa". The temporary work visa was introduced in 1996, "in response to the demand for avenues of temporary entry to Australia amongst overseas workers. It provides employers with a faster and more flexible avenue of recruiting skilled workers than is possible under the permanent migration program" (Spinks 2010:9). Temporary migration is able to fill short term demands in the labour market. Hugo (2009:35) states that the introduction of temporary migration has "facilitated the large-scale, non-permanent entry of skilled workers into the country". Spinks (2010:8) indicates that "temporary migration is increasingly becoming the first step towards permanent settlement in Australia for many people". Hugo (2009) states that a high proportion of skilled workers come from 'onshore' migration, that is people arriving in Australia with some other temporary visa who apply for permanent settlement through the Migrant Program. For instance, "in 2017-18, around half of all permanent visas were granted to people who were in Australia already on a temporary visa" (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019:3). Thus, South Africans who gain a temporary visa may apply for a permanent residency type visa once they reside in Australia. This is a likely avenue for those who do not meet the criteria for the Migrant Program permanent residency visa.

## 5 Passage to Australia: Migration of South Africans to Australia

South Africa and Australia are situated approximately 10 383 km apart, both lying towards the bottom of the southern hemisphere facing each-other, with the vast Indian Ocean linking the two countries. The two countries have shared 'very close diplomatic and economic ties' since 1947 (Department of International Relations and Cooperation n.d.). Relations between the two countries strained during the 1970s and 1980s as Australia, siding with the UN and other nations, held sanctions against the oppressive apartheid government. Australia implemented the "oil, trade and arms embargo" and supported the "sports boycott against South Africa" (Department of International Relations and Cooperation n.d.). Once South Africa became a democratic country in 1994, Australia's relations with South Africa resumed "and excellent

relations are currently enjoyed" (Department of International Relations and Cooperation n.d.). South Africa is Australia's largest exporter from the African continent and "South Africa is also Australia's most significant investment partner in Africa, with bilateral investment approaching 15 billion in 2017" (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade n.d.). In 2010 South Africa and Australia signed an MOU to commemorate the long-standing relationship between the two countries which was also aimed at strengthening the political and economic relationship between the countries (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade n.d.). South Africa and Australia are members of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA). The two countries also share scientific engagement connected with the vast geographical space and are involved in collaborating in projects that are beneficial to both countries. Both countries, for instance, jointly host the Square Kilometre Array (SKA) which is an astronomy radio telescope project.

Apart from political, economic and science collaboration, one of the main aspects that creates a connectivity between the two countries is the increasing migration of people, particularly from South Africa to Australia in contemporary times (Hugo 2009; Louw and Mersham 2001). Louw and Mersham (2001:303) state that Australia has become a popular destination for South Africans, with a sizable community forming a diaspora from the 1990s. Although there is a higher percentage of South Africans migrating to the United Kingdom (UK), it is not their first choice. Rather it is the "route of least resistance" as many South Africans of European descent have British citizenship it is easier to migrate to Britain than to Australia. Australia remains the destination of choice for many wanting to migrate (Louw and Mersham 2001:325).

## 5.1 Early Migration between South Africa and Australia

Although South Africa and Australia were both British colonies during the same time period, they shared no political relationship with each-other, rather both colonies reported directly to Britain (Tothill 2000:63). Tothill (2000) states that geography brought South Africa and Australia into contact with each-other as ships from Britain were likely to stop at Cape Town before embarking on the rest of the journey to Australia.

Early migration from South Africa to Australia began when people of European descent living in South Africa, attracted by the Australian gold rush, made their way to the gold fields in Australia. It was estimated that by 1891, 1400-1500 South Africans settled in Australia and 600 settled in Victoria. As the gold-rush in Australia came to an end, movement from Australia

to South Africa was precipitated by the discovery of gold at Witwatersrand in 1886 by the Australian George Harrison, as well as the Australia recession in the early 1890s (Tothill 2000). By 1896, thousands of Australians were living in Johannesburg, with towns boasting "Ballarat, Victorian and Melbourne bars and even an Australia brothel" (Davidson 2006:694). Along with Australian miners, there were a greater number of artisans, who seeing a lack of trade unions in the country, were committed to unionisation. Many of these artisans formed the South African labour movement (Davidson 2006). Davidson (2006:695) points out that "they brought with them racial attitudes of the 'White Australia', as they campaigned against Chinese labour and spoke of ousting Africans. However, the British had already racialised South Africa, as they enforced laws such as the Dictation Test used in Natal, which was directed at restricting immigration, especially of 'Indians', into the country and this law was borrowed by Australia for the same purpose". Since many Australians took interest in the affairs of South Africa, some 16 000 of the 30 000 colonial soldiers, fighting on behalf of Britain against the Boers in the Anglo-Boer War, were Australian (Davidson 2006; Tothill 2000). After the war many filled leadership positions in trade unions, which became the South African Labour Party (Tothill 2000). Davidson (2006:695) states that the "Labour Party was the first to emerge in South Africa with a thoroughgoing programme of racial segregation", with Kennedy (cited in (Tothill 2000:65) also asserting that Labour was "the most racist" political party in South Africa and was the first to promote racial segregation as it advocated for prohibition of marriages between 'Blacks' and 'Whites', which was similar to Queensland policy of banning the marriage or cohabitation of 'Whites' and Aboriginals (Davidson 2006; Tothill 2000).

Although some Australians found their footing after the Anglo-Boer war, there were some who were dissatisfied with their life in South Africa. Davidson (2006:659) states that "when the Australian Prime Minister Andrew Fischer paid a visit for the inauguration of the Union of South Africa in 1910, he was beset by 5000 unemployed and demoralised Australians begging for ships to be charted to take them back home". They were "unwilling to do black man's work" and when they tried, they were unsuccessful (Davidson 2006:695; Tothill 2000:65). From 1907-1909 there was considerable migration from South Africa to Australia and New Zealand (Tothill 2000). Migration to Australia continued with 760 emigrating in 1924, 544 in 1925, 455 in 1926 and 317 in 1927 (Tothill 2000:65).

**5.2 Five waves of migration from South Africa to Australia**

Louw and Mersham (2001) point out that over time there have been four migration waves from South Africa to Australia between 1950 and 1990. Each of these migration waves were the result of an outward 'push' due to internal political uncertainty, rather than a 'pull' from Australia. It was South Africans of European descent, which can be broken down into South African British/Anglos and Afrikaners, who comprised the bulk of these four migratory waves. The first wave of migration started during 1950 when the Afrikaner Nationalist government came into power which made South African Anglos anxious over the changes that came with handing over of power to the Afrikaners.

When the Afrikaner National Party (NP) unexpectedly won the 1948 elections, it set about challenging British influence over South Africa. Two thousand South African Anglos settled in Australia in 1950. The South African apartheid government severed ties with the British Commonwealth in 1961 becoming a republic which also coupled with the British decolonisation in Africa. This was perceived as a major defeat by South African Anglos and resulted in a significant wave of migration to Australia. In addition, heavy taxes were imposed on South African Anglo businesses to implement affirmative action policies aimed at uplifting Afrikaners (Lambert 2009). During the 1960s more than five thousand Anglo South Africans settled in Australia (Louw and Mersham 2001). This emigration wave may have also been influenced by growing instability in the country. In 1960, a peace demonstration took place in Sharpeville in opposition to the apartheid laws, the result was a massacre of protestors by police. Following the massacre, the NP quickly moved to ban those political organisations associated with the anti-apartheid movement. The second wave, which started in 1976 and ended in 1990, saw a significant increase in the number of emigrates to Australia from South Africa. The National Defence Force incited around 17 000 'whites' to settle in Australia between 1976-1984. Louw and Mersham, (2001) also point out that the second wave was different from the first wave as this time emigrates transferred their money first before they migrated to Australia suggesting that their stay was more permanent and that their return was unlikely. This emigration wave coincided with the Soweto Uprising and anti-apartheid campaigns of the 1970s and 1980s. These campaigns protested the racialised oppressive policies set by the apartheid government. It is the public *perceptions* of events, whether political or social, that function as the catalyst in motivating migratory decisions. As Lee (1966) has contended, the reality of events in the country of origin are of less importance for motivating decision-making than the perception that a migrant has of those events.

Louw and Mersham (2001) in their research of the South African diaspora in Australia also noticed that nationals from other African countries, especially Rhodesia (current day Zimbabwe), also considered themselves to be part of the South African diaspora. The third wave consisted of Rhodesians (who were British or South African citizens) who fled the guerrilla war in the country or left after the defeat of 'white' hegemonic rule in Rhodesia (Zinyama 1990). These immigrants from Rhodesia brought with them an anti-British sentiment as the British refused to declare independence in 1965 and blamed their British Rhodesian counterparts for assisting the 'black communists' in defeating the regime. These migrants considered themselves part of the South African diaspora as they socialised with South Africans and attended the same social clubs and shopped at the same stores selling South African food items (Louw and Mersham 2001).

The fourth migration wave from South Africa to Australia was fuelled by the civil unrest against apartheid that gripped South Africa from September 1984 to February 1990. President P.W Botha refused to enter into negotiations to end the civil war, stating that "whites were not prepared to surrender their country" (Louw and Mersham 2001:312). A state of emergency was called in 1985 which intensified the violence. In addition, 'white' males were recruited for the Defence Force regularly which also propelled many to migrate. During this period not only Anglos migrated to Australia, but 'Coloured', 'Indians' and Afrikaners also left the country. From 1986-1990 some 12 000 South Africans (excluding 'Black' South Africans) migrated to Australia. Reviewing the Australian and South African administrative data during this period, Rule (1994) isolates 1986 as the height of this wave, 3978 people emigrated to Australia in that year.

The fifth post-apartheid emigration wave began in the 1990s. This wave has been large, persistent and has resulted in the steady growth of the South African born population in Australia. Louw and Mersham (2001:323) state that "Australia figures on South African born permanent arrivals have shown a constant upward pattern: 3 211 between 1996-1997; 4 281 between 1997-1998; 5 024 between 1998-1999; 5 231 in 1999-2000". The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data shows a substantial growth of South Africans residing in Australia with 49 421 living in Australia in 1991; 55 755 in 1996; 79 425 in 2001 and 104 132 in 2006 (Hugo 2009). ABS census data for 2017-2018 shows that South Africans are the largest migrant group from the African continent, and the seventh largest migrant group in Australia, with an

estimated 189 000 South Africans residing in the country (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2018). The statistics above also reveal that Australia is a popular destination to emigrate to. Presently, there is still a persistent one-way flow of emigrates from South Africa to Australia.

The establishment of a South African community in Australia, primarily in Perth, provided an anchor to later migrants to the country (Hugo 2009). Since there was an already established South African community in Australia, migration for post-apartheid emigrants was much easier. Various economic and socio-political problems are typically given to explain the decision of so many to emigrate from post-apartheid South Africa to Australia. Arnold and Lewinsohn (2010) argued that this kind of post-apartheid emigration was abnormal because it was not first and foremost driven by professional or career progression. These problems include, among others, crime rates, the general economy and post-apartheid policies towards race relations. In their assessment of push factors using the Longitudinal Surveys of Immigrants to Australia, Forrest et al. (2013) note that social and political issues emerged as most salient. The socio-psychological conditions, of course, that inform emigration decision-making are often extremely complex and encompass a range of different interconnected variables. It is important to remember, as aforementioned, that the economic and socio-political problems of South Africa are less important for these decisions than how these problems are perceived by emigrants.

As has already been pointed out, the bulk of emigration from South Africa to Australia has been from South Africans of European descendent. Since 1994, the fifth wave also saw the first noticeable emergence of South African Indians as a new emigrate population to Australia (Louw and Mersham 2001). This migration has steadily increased over the years. Wasserman (2018) indicates that there is a history of South African Indian migration to Australia with South African born-ancestry data indicating that there were 6.2% of people of Indian ancestry before the 1980s; this total rapidly increased to 16.7% from 1980-1989, 20.5% from 1990-1999 and 48.4% from 2000-2009, in 2011, 5586 South African emigres stated that they were of Indian ancestry. In 2011, the population of South African Indians living in Australia was 5586 (Wasserman 2018). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Population Census, taken in 2016, revealed that the population of South Africans Indians in Australia has risen to 6149.

***Figure 1: Map of the population distribution of South African Indians in Australia***
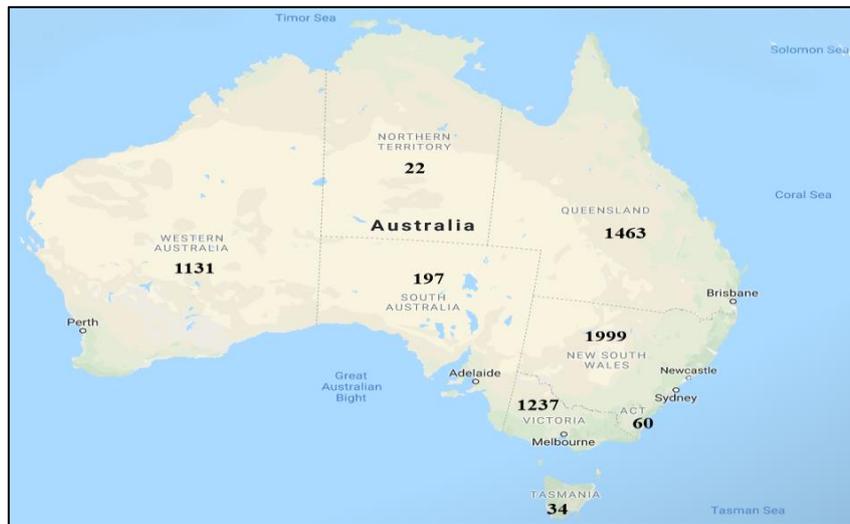


Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

Figure 1 shows the geographical distribution of South Africans Indians in Australia. This map clearly shows that South African Indians gravitate towards four main states, namely New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, and Western Australia. These states are the home to Australia's major cities of Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne, and Perth. The demographic information provided indicate that South African Indians arrived in Australia from 1966 onwards. There are approximately 6149 South African Indians, according to the 2016 Australian census. A majority of the population have become Australian citizens. There are 3123 females as compared to 3025 males. Initially there were more males migrating to Australia than females, however over the course of time, slightly more females have migrated than males. The average age of South African Indians living in Australia is between 40 – 49 years old. The three most prominent religions amongst South African Indians in Australia are Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam. Most South African Indians are married, while 1630 never married. Most South African Indians speak English very well, while a minority are able to speak English and another language well. South African Indians prefer living in the surrounding cities of Australia. However, there are some districts that South African Indians gravitate towards such as Brisbane South, Melbourne South East, Perth South East and Perth North West.[56]

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[56] Raw data from the Australian Census 2016, Census Population and Housing, was analysed using the ABS TableBuilder. Tables and graphs of the information is presented in the Appendix. A cross-sectional tabulation was conducted of those who identified as both South African-born and of Indian ancestry. It must be noted that there is a possibility of those of South African Indian descent not registering their ancestry which can skew the data.

Louw and Mersham (2001:326) interviewing South Africans in Sydney and Brisbane indicate that participants in their study felt that Australia looked "familiar and home-like" as they share certain similarities. For instance, "both cultures were built by transplanted northwest Europeans", thus the ideological, agricultural, political, and economic foundations seem to be similar (Louw and Mersham 2001:326). Participants in their study indicate that both countries are geographically similar, have similar climates, and play the same sports (such as rugby and cricket). This similarity creates a sense of familiarity making it easier to settle down. Although participants in the interviews recognised that there were differences between South Africans and Australians, they indicated that it was easier to "blend into Australian society because of the many cultural similarities" (Louw and Mersham 2001:326). Since it is easy to 'blend in' and adapt it is easier to settle down and re-root themselves in the country. Furthermore Louw and Mersham (2001) argue that Australia offers South Africans all the familiarity of home without the "violence, crime, racism, black empowerment policies, or a sense of marginalisation being experienced in South Africa". Furthermore, since large cohorts of South Africans emigrated to Australia since 1958, there is a substantial diasporic South African community in different parts of Australia, such as in Perth and Brisbane which makes it easier to adjust to the new country (Louw and Mersham 2001; Vahed 2007).

**6 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided a discussion on the history of migration to Australia, the current multicultural polices and social attitudes toward migration as well as the migration program. In addition, this chapter explored the historical migration of South Africans to Australia, with reference to the recent migration of South Africans of Indian descent to the country. The following chapter provides a detailed discussion of the theoretical framework as well as the choice of research design, methods and methodology employed in this study which aims to examine the contributory storylines that are being etched as South Africans of Indian descent begin journeys out of South Africa to Australia, (re)creating their 'homes' and (re)defining their identities; creating narratives that interweave their life story across nations and in relation with people from a different political, social, cultural and economic systems from their own.

<div align="center">**Chapter Five**

**Narrative as a Theoretical and Methodological Approach**</div>

## 1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive understanding of the theoretical framework and the methodological approach used in this research. It aims to elucidate why narrative constructionism is seen as an appropriate theory to understand the phenomena under investigation, what is narrative and the features of narrative from a sociological perspective. Thereafter, the chapter moves on to explain narrative inquiry as a methodological approach used in this research which links with the narrative constructionism theory. The methodology section explicates how the research was conducted, giving attention to the research method used, data collection procedure, analysis and ethics adhered to during the research process.

## 2 Rationale for using narrative constructionism as the theoretical framework

To conduct research, an appropriate paradigm[57] and theoretical framework[58] must be applied to guide the research (Creswell and Poth 2018; Denzin and Lincoln 2018). Braun and Clarke (2006) indicate that the theoretical framework must correspond with what the researcher wants to find out. Since this research set out to examine how migrants come to experience and understand their new 'home' and identity as they socially interact with others and the structures within a new society, the social constructionism paradigm is seen as adequately suited to examine this phenomenon. The social constructionist paradigm is applied when one wants to understand the social interactions between people and the experiences of people from their point of view (Burr 2015).

In addition, scholars of migration, identity and 'home' indicate that narratives are the most suitable way of understanding the social life of migrants (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Brettell 2003; Rapport and Dawson 1998). Narratives draw our attention to the spatial and temporal

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[57] Denzin and Lincoln (2018:45) indicate that paradigms "represents belief systems that attach the user to a particular worldview".

[58] According to Seidman (2013:3) theory provides "ideas about human behaviour and social life that would guide researchers".

context of social life (Riessman 2008). This means that the stories people tell of migration includes reflecting on their lives, lived in a past place and time, and how their lives have changed as they moved to a new social space. Through stories people can convey how living in different places at different times, have shaped their identity and sense of 'home' as they interact with numerous people, social structures, and institutions within specific social, cultural, and political contexts.

Thus, under the social constructionist paradigm, narrative constructionism is employed in this research. Since it falls under the social constructionist paradigm, it shares the same key aspects such as a critical stance towards taken for granted knowledge; historical and cultural specificity; an understanding that knowledge about the social world is created through daily social interaction between people and in particular through the language and symbols people use to communicate with one another and since there are a myriad of social actions this would translate into a multitude of social constructions of the world (Burr 2015:2-5). However, narrative constructionism takes it further by including the elements of temporality and spatiality in understanding experiences and social interaction. Through the stories that people tell each other when they socially interact, they are able to locate themselves and others in experiences which is temporally and spatially ordered (Chase 2008; Riessman 2008; Somers and Gibson 1994; Sparkes and Smith 2008).

Since, narratives provide a comprehensive account of people's lived experience, narrative constructionism is used in this research as it is deemed to be the most appropriate way of understanding how people experience changes in identity and notions of 'home'. This section provides a detailed exposition of narrative constructionism by examining narratives as the ontological[59] condition of social life, what is a narrative, the dimensions of narrativity and the features of narratives from a sociological perspective.

**3 Narrative as the ontological condition of social life**

Sparkes and Smith (2008:295) postulate that "a person is essentially a storytelling animal who naturally constructs stories out of life". Webster and Mertova (2007:3) indicate that "human

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[59] Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011:4) state that ontology "is a philosophical belief system about the nature of social reality – what can be known and how".

beings make sense of random experience by the imposition of story structures on them". This means that as we live our lives, we are inclined to arrange the various experiences of our lives in the form of stories in order to make sense and communicate to others the various happenings and provide an explanation as to why events occurred the way that they did. Thus, Somers and Gibson (1994:38) indicate that "social life is itself *storied* and that narrative is an *ontological condition of social life*". This means that we come to know and make sense of life in a storied way. Fay (1996:197) states that "we tell stories *in* acting and we continue to tell stories afterwards *about* the actions we have performed". As we socially interact with one another we produce stories, and we tell others afterwards about the stories that we produced.

Patterson and Monroe (1998:315) state that narratives "are the ways in which we construct disparate facts in our own worlds and weave them together cognitively in order to make sense of our reality". Thus, from a repertoire of occurrences and interactions we are able to pick those that are most important to us and string them together in a temporal sequence of events with one event relating to the next in order to understand and give meaning to what has happened in our lives (Erol Işık 2015:108). In doing so, we give our stories a beginning, middle and end with each part connecting to and relating to the next. Since our interaction is storied, our reality is shaped by stories we produce, we are told, we tell others and tell ourselves in reflecting. Thus, narratives are fundamental in our everyday interaction which shape how we view the world and act upon the world. People absorb knowledge and act towards the stories they are told and articulate the past, express the present, and imagine the future through stories. Somers and Gibson (1994:38) further state that

> stories guide action; that people construct identity's (however multiple and changing) by locating themselves or being located within a repertoire of emplotted stories; that 'experience' is constituted through narratives; that people make sense of what has happened and is happening to them by attempting to assemble or in some way to integrate these happenings within one or more narratives; and that people are guided to act in certain ways, and not others, on the basis of the projections, expectations, and memories derived from a multiplicity but ultimately limited repertoire of available social, public, and cultural narratives.

This means, the stories we are told and tell ourselves about our society and our lives are important. People think in a storied way, reflect, and make sense of their lives through stories. In reflecting people piece together the various events or happenings of their lives into a sequential story. Our multiple identities are produced through the stories we are told about

ourselves which we reflect on and produce a narrative about who we are. Stories also guide action as the stories we hear in society produces a certain reality, which we reflect on and use in interacting with others. We store knowledge of these stories as memories and act in some ways and not others based on the multiple but "limited repertoire of available social, public and cultural narratives" that are produced within society or a given social space (Somers and Gibson 1994:39). Thus stories, are not only about our own experiences, but wider social phenomena are also embedded in the stories we tell which subsequently guide our actions.

Chase (2008:65-66) also states that in "addition to describing what happened, narratives also express emotions, thoughts, and interpretations". Through narratives we are able to express the emotions we feel over situations in our life, the thoughts, views, and opinions about what had occurred and what will occur, and we are able to interpret circumstances from our own and other's points of view. This indicates that narrative is important and fundamental to human life as it enables us to wholly express ourselves, guide our social actions and interactions, think back, and evaluate our life by understanding the different circumstances that impinge on our life, and learn from past experiences so that we can change. Thus, through narratives we can learn much about ourselves and the world around us.

## 4 What is a narrative?

There is no one true definition of narrative, rather different disciplines conceptualise and theorise narrativity differently to suit their study objectives (Riessman 2008). In this study, narratives are used from a sociological perspective as the aim of the study is to understand how people experience their social lives and construct their identity and 'home' while considering time and place dimensions in the construction of their story. From a sociological perspective, Somers and Gibson (1994:59) state that "narratives are *constellations of relationships* (connected parts) embedded in *time and space*, constituted by *causal emplotment*". Thus, for spoken or written text to be called a narrative they must sequentially connect relationships, events, or actions; which are embedded in a specific time (history) and space (geographical location); and which are tied together through a theme or an explanation of how these events are connected which gives meaning to the entire text (Ewick and Silbey 1995; Franzosi 1998; Maines 1993).

Somers and Gibson (1994:60) state that "to make something understandable in the context of a narrative is to give it historicity and relationality…. when events are located in a temporal (however fleeting) and sequential plot we can then explain their relationships to other events". The temporal aspect of narratives invites the reflection of experiences, actions, social realities, and identities set in the past. Self-reflexivity is a dialectical process "composed of ongoing conversations between the self and the broader social context" (Mahoney 2013:186). To make sense of past events, we sequentially plot these events so that each event is related to the next in order to provide meaning as to what happened. This means that the plot strings together events in a time sequence, by providing meaning or explanation of how each event/action is related to the next, which taken together provides a holistic understanding to the whole narrative. Franzosi (1998:520) states that there is a "chrono-logical succession of events – that provides the basic building blocks of narrative" connection from one event to the next. As we tell stories, we convey how each account is related to the next which creates a meaningful explanation of the story.

There are four main features that together make-up a narrative (Somers and Gibson 1994). Firstly, there needs to be "relationality of parts" which means that in order for the story to make sense events need to be placed in relation to other events (Ewick and Silbey 1995; Franzosi 1998; Somers and Gibson 1994:59). The chronological and temporal order of events are important (Franzosi 1998; Maines 1993). Secondly, "causal emplotment" provides an explanation of why the events happened the way it did (Ewick and Silbey 1995; Somers and Gibson 1994:59). Riessman (2008:4) states it is the plot that enables "the ordering of the incidents which constitutes the life blood of the narrative". A story can be chronologically connected but it is the plot that gives meaning to the sequence of events and tells us why things have happened the way it has happened. The plot provides the explanation of how events/actions are sequentially and temporally connected. Maine's (1993:21) states that "stories have a point; they convey the central theme through the use of emplotment". Without the plot providing meaning, the narrative would be random and disconnected (Franzosi 1998; Riessman 2008). Thirdly, "selective appropriation" means that only those events that are pertinent to the story are selected and conveyed (Ewick and Silbey 1995:200). Somers and Gibson (1994:60) state that "in the face of a potentially limitless array of social experiences deriving from social contact with events, institutions, and people, the evaluative capacity of emplotment demands and enables *selective appropriation* in constructing narratives". Thus, amongst the multitudes of interactions experienced, only some acts qualify to be part of the

narrative as these experiences are temporally and relationally linked to a chain of events that taken together explain the wider situation that culminate in a narrative. The narrative demands that some events be included as they provide meaning in relation to other events in telling of a particular story (Maines 1993; Zussman 2012). Lastly, "temporality, sequence and place" places the story within particular time/s and place/s, such that there is a start and end to the story which takes place at particular places and times (Somers and Gibson 1994:60).

Since different stories emerge depending on who we interact with, a repertoire of stories can be constructed. We are able to selectively appropriate amongst a plethora of experiences those life events that are important and meaningful in the telling of a story. These events are 'emplotted' which means that it is sequentially, temporally, and spatially ordered so that each event relates to the next, and an explanation is provided which gives meaning as to why events happened the way it did.

## 5 Dimensions of narrativity

Somers and Gibson (1994) outline four aspects of narrativity, namely: ontological narratives, public narratives, conceptual narratives, and metanarratives. These four dimensions of narratives are examined in this section.

### 5.1 Ontological narratives

Ontological narratives refer to the

> stories that social actors use to make sense of – indeed, in order to act in – their lives. Ontological narratives are used to define who we are; this is turn is a precondition for knowing what to do. This 'doing' will in turn produce new narratives and hence new actions; the relationship between narrative and ontology is processual and mutually constitutive (Somers and Gibson 1994:61).

This means that social actors construct stories from their everyday experiences to understand and make sense of their social reality. As people self-reflect on their experiences within their social world, they form an interpretation and use narratives to express how events in their life happened. This also means that as people make sense of the world, they come to also position themselves in their story. They see events and happenings from their own perspective. Thus, they are actor or observer, narrator, and the subject of narration. Since "ontological narratives can only exist interpersonally in the course of social and structural interactions over time"

(Somers and Gibson 1994:61) it is through interaction with others that narratives are formed. Social actors come to observe and experience how they are positioned and placed in the social world by institutions and systems. They also come to experience how they are positioned in relation to others. Thus, through narratives they articulate stories of their experiences with others and their positions to or identity in relation to others. Somers and Gibson (1994:61) point out that "people act, or do not act, in part according to how they understand their place in any number of given narratives – however fragmented, contradictory or partial". Thus, understanding how they are positioned, enables them to act or suspend action.

Thus, once we make sense out of our world and our position in various social contexts through narrativity, we are able to act upon that world. As we produce new actions, we produce experiences which we construct stories out of which gives us meaning and positionality which enables us to carry out further actions. Thus, narrative and ontology are mutually constitutive, through narratives we make sense of our actions, experiences, and identities in relation to others as we socially interact in various contexts, times, and places; this understanding enables action which in turn creates further narratives and actions. Ontological narratives are thus a meaning making process which enables social action.

## 5.2 Public narratives

Sparkes and Smith (2008:300) indicate that ontological narratives are derived "from and intimately connected to and shaped by webs of relationality and interlocution" which is termed public narratives. According to Somers and Gibson (1994:62) "public narratives are those narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual, to intersubjective networks or institutions, however local or grand, micro or macro". For public narratives to be created, individuals within a group would interpret what had occurred and convey it through their networks. For example, members of a family would interpret a particular experience and share it with others. Since individuals are part of that family they would also be connected to the story, which influences their thinking and actions. Public narratives emerge from cultural institutions such as the family, workplace, religious institution, government, and nation (Somers and Gibson 1994). For instance, a country may select certain events to construct the story of how it became a nation.

The public narratives that circulate provide us with information and knowledge which influences our thinking, how we perceive the social world and our actions. Ewick and Silbey

(1995:197) argue that narrative produces "hegemonic tales – stories that reproduce existing relations of power and inequity – and subversive stories – narratives that challenge the taken-for-granted hegemony". It is important to note that narratives that circulate may have implicit biases in them that perpetuate and reinforce social inequalities and prejudice. Hearing the stories of the disempowered or marginalised provides counter-hegemonic narratives. Jackson (2002) states that stories of empowerment do not necessarily lead to a change in public narratives. It is important for the stories to infiltrate social and institutional context such as the nation-state and wider society to be recognised and authorised. Polletta et al. (2011:121) reiterates this point by stating that "powerful stories are reproduced through institutional routines". The nation-state and broader public become important vehicles for conveying particular narratives that may lead to the empowerment or disempowerment of certain groups. The subversion of hegemony narratives is necessary recognise social injustices. As public narratives change, so too do we adjust our ontological narratives in relation to public narratives. Thus, as new meanings are provided through stories, we in turn reconstruct our own story considering the new meanings interpreted to make sense of and act upon the world.

## 5.3 Conceptual narrativity

Somers and Gibson (1994:62) explain conceptual narratives as

> the concepts and explanations we construct as social researchers. Because neither social action nor institutional-building is produced solely through ontological and public narratives, our concepts and explanations must include the factors we call social forces – market patterns, institutional practices, organisational constraints.

Conceptual narratives refer to concepts that social researchers produce and use to explain the social world. By examining both ontological and public narratives, researchers are able to create concepts which provide meaning as to why social events occur the way they do. For example, the concept of capitalism is constructed by social scientists as it explains how the individual, family and workplace was impacted by the industrial revolution. In this research, I consider the narratives shared by participants in order to understand how they experience and understand 'home' and how their identity is shaped in a different social context, in order to conceptualise 'home' from their perspective.

## 5.4 Metanarrativity

Metanarrativity refers to the "'master-narratives' in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history" (Somers and Gibson 1994:63). These are the larger narratives that form the historical background in the lives of social actors. For instance, although colonisation and apartheid were past systems of oppression, the aftermath of these systems still lingers in the current period which forms the master-narratives or the overarching background to peoples lived experience. This also shows that metanarratives are imbued with ideologies of power and control which impacts the lives of people. People may not always be aware of how the larger historical context, in which they are situated, have come to influence their lives. For instance, Wainwright (2019:4) argues that "dimensions of racism, coupled with narratives associated with individualism (responsibility) and free markets (denial of corporate responsibility) produce disadvantage over time, slowly, dynamically, in undetectable ways". Ewick and Silbey (1995:220) state that "narratives instantiate power to the degree that they regulate silence and colonize consciousness".  Similarly, Fernandes (2017:6) also emphasises that "stories that we tell and are told create a polyvocal fabric that insulates the master narrative from critique". Thus, dominate hegemonic master narratives are reproduced in the telling of stories which come to impact how people think and act. Scholars advocate for counter hegemonic narratives to be articulated to break harmful ideologies and power relations that have a damaging impact on people (Ewick and Silbey 1995; Fernandes 2017; Jackson 2002; Wainwright 2019).

## 6 Features of narrative constructionism: From a sociological perspective

This section outlines some of the features that emerge out of narrative that can be used in sociological research to gain knowledge of how people experience their social world and act towards that world. Since narratives, or the stories we tell are an ontological condition of life, it provides a significant avenue through which we can understand the different dimensions of a person's life as well as the social world in which people are embedded. Some of the aspects that allows us to understand people and the social world will be addressed in the sections that follow.

## 6.1 Language as a condition for thought and social action

As discussed earlier, narrative theory falls under the constructionism paradigm (Sparkes and Smith 2008) and thus shares the common characteristics of constructionism theory. Proponents of constructionism argue that our knowledge of the world and social reality is created when

people engage in social interaction using language and symbolic gestures to communicate their ideas, thoughts, experiences, and reflections (Burr 2015). Narrative constructionism takes it further by adding that stories are constructed so that these experiences, thoughts, ideas, and reflections are coherently and meaningfully conveyed to others. Chase (2008:68) indicates that

> researchers are interested in how people communicate meaning through a range of linguistic practices…how they make sense of personal experience in relation to culturally specific discourses, and how they draw on, resist, and/or transform those discourses as they narrate their selves, experiences, and realities.

Therefore, language is an important vehicle through which people convey their stories of themselves in relation to others. It serves as a means through which various discourses prevalent in society are embedded in narrative form. The taken for granted ideas are carried through in the stories that people tell. Through narratives we are able to understand how people come to understand these discourses in relation to themselves, and draw on, resist, and transform these discourses as they articulate their identities, experiences, and social reality.

## 6.2 The temporal and spatial nature of narrative

Time and space are two aspects that are important features in one's life story. Somers and Gibson (1994:59) state that "narrativity demands that we discern the meaning of any single event only in temporal and spatial relationship to other events". This means that a single event can only be truly understood when it is connected to other events. Previous events give meaning to the present events or actions, and present events/actions give rise to future decisions to act, thus there is a temporal connection of events.

Maines (1993:23) indicates that people have "acquired temporality of the self" which means that the self has a relationship with time. This means that not only do people live temporally ordered lives in terms of being set within a time system (clocks, schedules, etc.) but time is also non-linear as people live their lives in the present, they are also able to call to mind past memories and think about what may happen in the future. They might not know the exact date or hour of the memory, but they may have an indication of the season, month, year, how long ago and how old they were when the experience happened.

Important in retelling of a memory is how it is told. People use narratives in order to communicate memories of past events or future scenarios. Riessman (2008:7) indicates that as "narrators structure their tales temporally and spatially they look back on and recount lives that are located in particular times and places". People use a story structure in order to narrate their memories. The temporality and spatiality within narratives are important as it is an indicator of when and where in a person's life that experience happened, and they are able to locate that particular memory amongst the multitude of memories. It also assists people to chronologically account the events in their lives.

Chase (2008:64) also indicates that "narrative is retrospective meaning-making". This means that as people reflect on past experiences, they also try to make sense of what has happened by using narratives to do so. The temporal sequence of events helps people to make sense of the many happenings in their life. From a repertoire of past experiences, people are able to sift out and actively select the sequence of events, linking one memory to the next, to provide an explanation and understand how events occurred the way it did. Thus, temporality and spatiality help people construct an emplotted narrative from memories.

## 6.3 Narrative identity

McAdams (2013: 233) states that "narrative identity is a person's internalized and evolving life story, integrating the reconstructed past and imagined future to provide life with some degree of unity and purpose". Somers and Gibson (1994) argues that rather than imposing identity categories on social actors, narratives can be used in understanding how people define themselves and the importance they give to their multiple identities. Narrative identity emerges through the relational settings that social actors are embedded in. For instance, Somers and Gibson (1994:70) elucidates that "a relational setting is a pattern of relationships among institutions, public narratives, and social practices. As such it is a relational matrix, similar to a social network. Identity formation takes shape within these relational settings of contested but patterned relations among narratives, people, and institutions". This indicates that identities are formed in relation to people, social and cultural practices, and institutions they are immersed in. As people construct narratives, they articulate their lives and experiences in relation to people, the public narratives, social practices, and institutions. Thus, interpersonal social relations or micro interactions and the larger social world (macro structures) are articulated through narratives (Loseke 2007). There is no duality as the relational matrix takes into consideration both micro and macro factors in affecting a person's life.

In addition, "joining narrative to identity introduces time, space, and analytic relationality – each of which is excluded from the categorical or 'essentialist' approach to identity" (Somers and Gibson 1994:65). Thus, not only is identity understood within a relational matrix, but the temporal and spatial dimensions of narratives allow for an understanding of how identities change over time in relation to the people, institutions etc. they interact with, within a particular social context and place (Ezzy 1998; de Fina 2003). Thus, "ontological narratives make identity and the self something one *becomes*" (Somers and Gibson 1994:61). Instead of identities being imposed, stable and fixed, they are constantly negotiated, contested, transformed, and accepted in relation to the numerous people and institutions they engage with over time and in different social settings. Since social actors engage with a wide range of people, public narratives, social practices and institutions, their identity becomes multiple in relation to who they interact with.

Somers and Gibson (1994:65) state that "the self and the purposes of the self are constructed and reconstructed in the context of internal and external relations of *time* and *place* and *power* that are constantly in flux". This suggests that power relations permeate the relational matrix. The dimension of power indicates that identities are constantly contested. As people question these power relations and the discourses that emerge from these power relations, they also come to reconstruct their narratives and narrative self (Ewick and Silbey 1995; Fernandes 2017). Furthermore, Riessman (2008:8) states that there is a

> complicated relationship between narrative, time and memory for we revise and edit the remembered past to square with our identities in the present. In a dynamic way then, narrative constitutes past experiences at the same time as it provides ways for individuals to make sense of the past. And stories must always be considered in context, for storytelling occurs at a historical moment with its circulating discourses and power relations. At a local level, a story is designed for particular recipients – an audience who receives the story, and may interpret it differently.

As people narrate their stories they reflect on the past and selectively appropriate memories in order align and support their present identities (Ibarra and Barbulescu 2010). Since their identities are multiple, people construct numerous narratives about themselves and their experience. This means that reconstructing narratives are a dynamic process as social actors choose the most significant and applicable memories in relation to their audience. Social actors also change the meaning of memories as they acquire more information through the relational

matrix or reflect on how events in their life transpired. Thus, narratives are constantly edited and reconstructed as new knowledge and experiences are gained. This also means one's identity is also in flux as it changes in relation to how one constructs their stories.

## 6.4 History and society in narrative

Narratives not only provide a way of knowing and understanding ourselves and our experiences but our social relations to others and the larger social world that we are immersed in are also conveyed through in narrative terms. For instance, Bruner (cited in Riessman 2008:10) states that

> narratives actually structure perceptual experience, organise memory, and segment and purpose-build the very events of a life. Individuals *become* the autobiographical narratives by which they tell about their lives. To be understood, these private constructions of identity must mesh with a community of life stories, or 'deep structures' about the nature of life in a particular culture. Connecting biography and society becomes possible through the close analysis of stories.

Thus, as we organise our lived experiences and memories to create purpose driven stories, we also include others and the wider society into the narratives we produce. Since we live our lives in relation to others and society, our narrative of identities is deeply intertwined with the society that we are immersed in. Therefore, our culture and society are enmeshed into our narratives of the self.

As the narrator reflects on their past experiences, they include aspects of society that are prevalent at that time and place, which brings historicity into their narrative. Thus, as people tell their story of their past, they position themselves within the historical context of that society. By understanding the historical (social, cultural, political, and economic) context as narrators tell their story we can come to understand how their personal troubles intersect with wider public issues (Mills 2000:8). Ewick and Silbey (1995:212) argue that "narratives do more than simply reflect or express existing ideologies. Through their telling, our stories come to constitute the hegemony that in turn shapes our social lives and conduct". In addition, collective counter hegemonic narratives can change ideologies which in turn change master narratives. Thus, to understand history and society we must look to narratives of the self and analyse how we are shaped by and in turn shape metanarratives in society.

## 6.5 Narratives convey social actions

Chase (2008:64) states that "narrative is a way of understanding one's own and other's actions, of organising events and objects into a meaningful whole, and of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time". Narratives allows us to make sense of our social actions and those of others. It presents a way of reflecting, interpreting, and organising memory into stories that are meaningful to us. Through these stories we learn how different aspects in our social world impacted our lives which influenced our thoughts, and which consequently influenced our actions.

Somers (1992:607) indicates that "social action can only be intelligible if we recognise that people are guided to act by the relations in which they are embedded". Since people are located in a relational setting, it is how they are positioned in relation to others and the wider social world that guides their actions. This narrative identity approach to social action implies that it is the identity of the person that is of importance and how that identity falls in relation to public narratives, social structures, institutions as well as micro social interactions that are significant in guiding action.

Polkinghorne (1995:11) further states that "human action is the outcome of the interaction of a person's previous learning and experiences, present-situated presses, and proposed goals and purposes". This means that in order to act, we gather information from the past, examine what is happening in the present and think about what will occur in the future. The stories that we create from past lessons and experiences, what we gather from our current storied interactions as well as the stories we imagine of future happenings together guides our actions. This ability to reflect on the past, understand the present and imagine the future gives social actors agency as they are able to decide for themselves as to how to proceed. Bruner (1991:7) states that "some measure of agency is always present in narrative, and agency presupposes choice – some element of 'freedom'". Through narratives social actors can express their agency as they decide for themselves how to proceed even if they are faced with constraining circumstances, they have the ability to make their own choices by accepting, resisting, or negotiating an outcome. Their actions and thus their story becomes unique to that particular individual, as s/he draws from different life experiences, current situations, and particular goals they want to accomplish in order to act.

## 6.6 Narratives are a catalyst for change

Narratives are used in facilitating social change. For instance, Riessman (2008:9) states that

> stories can mobilize others into action for progressive social change. Major resistance movements of the twentieth century (including civil rights, feminist, and gay and lesbian movements) where born as individuals sat together and told stories about small moments of discrimination. Commonalities in the stories created group belonging and set the stage for collective action.

Personal narratives of discrimination and marginalisation create awareness and exposes the social inequalities within a society. If many people are experiencing the same prejudicial behaviour within society, the probability arises for people as active agents to act and change society so that their identity can be recognised and respected. As Riessman, (2008:8) states "personal narratives can also encourage others to act; speaking out invites political mobilization and change as evidenced by the ways stories invariably circulate in sites where social movements are forming". Through stories told, people can mobilize against discriminatory acts by forming social and political movements to express their grievances against the intolerance within society and thus try to change the social, political, and economic landscape. Riessman (2008:8) therefore states that "narratives are strategic, functional and purposeful. Storytelling is selected over non-narrative forms of communication to accomplish certain ends". However, as previous pointed out, narratives can only provide meaningful societal change if sanctioned by government and social institutions. Narratives of the disempowered or marginalised must be recognised by the state in order for institutional change to be made to counter hegemonic narratives and social injustices (Jackson 2002; Polletta et al. 2011). The narratives conveyed by social movements may have an impact on government which subsequently produces social change.

## 7 Narrative inquiry as a qualitative research methodology

Methodology refers to the processes used in conducting research (Creswell and Poth 2018). Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:53) indicate that "the choice of methodological approach is primarily guided by the study's research questions and aims". A recap of the questions that inform this research is provided below:

**How do South Africans of Indian descent navigate their identity and notions of 'home' as they settle down in Australia while simultaneously having attachments to South Africa?**

1.  How do South Africans of Indian descent establish a sense of 'home' in Australia, while being connected to South Africa?
2.  How are their identities constructed through everyday interaction with the various groups in Australia (such as Australian citizens, migrants from South Asia and the Indian diaspora) and how does it differ from the home country?
3.  How do migrants conceptualise 'home' and (re)define their identity and what is the interplay between these two concepts?

Since the research questions asked in this study requires participants to talk about their social experiences from their point of view, to gain information, understanding and provide meaning of the phenomena under study, a qualitative research methodology is employed. Qualitative methodology is used if the purpose of the study is to explain, understand and describe the phenomena under study (Hennick, Hutter, and Bailey 2011). As well as to understand "the ways that people see, view, approach, and experience the world and make meaning of their experiences as well as specific phenomena within it" (Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl 2016:40). It is thus relevant for this study as the purpose of this research is to comprehend how South African Indians come to understand their experiences, construct their identity, and give meaning to 'home'.

In addition to the research questions and aims providing the means of determining the methodological approach, Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:53) also point out that the "existing theory and research" also influences the choice of methodology. Since this research takes social constructionism as its paradigmatic position and narrative constructionism as the theoretical framework and thus ontological means of understanding the phenomena (Somers and Gibson 1994; Sparkes and Smith 2008), narratives are thus subsequently taken as the epistemological orientation.[60] Sparkes and Smith (2008:295) indicate that "epistemologically, narratives have emerged as both a *way* of telling about our lives and a *method* or *means* of knowing". This means that since knowledge of the social world is produced through narratives, it can also be used as a source or method to gain information. Narratives are used as a means to gain insight into participants experiences, social interactions, and social context in which they embed themselves (Sparkes and Smith 2008). Pinnegar and Daynes (2007:5) state that

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[60] Epistemology refers to "how social phenomena can be known and how knowledge can be demonstrated" (Mason 2002:16). It thus refers to how knowledge of the world is produced.

since narratives can be used as a method for "analysing and understanding stories lived and told, it can be connected and placed under the label of qualitative research methodology". Narrative inquiry as a qualitative methodology is used in this study, as knowledge of the world can be known through stories.

Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl (2016:54) indicate that "narrative research methodology gives primacy to the lived experiences of individuals as expressed in their stories". This means that the main distinguishing premise of narrative inquiry is the use of stories (in the form of life histories, autobiographies, testimonies, life stories, personal narratives etc.) as methods in understanding the phenomena under study by gauging the experiences of people who embed themselves in a specific social world (Chase 2008; Clandinin 2007:xi; Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl 2016; Riessman 2008; Webster and Mertova 2007). It is based "on the assumption that we as human beings make sense of random experience by the imposition of story structures on them" (Webster and Mertova 2007:3). Thus, from a multitude of everyday experiences, we are able to reflect on our past and extract those experiences that are significant to us and arrange these experiences in a coherent manner, with a beginning, middle and end, such that we give meaning as to why events happened the way it did. People construct stories out of random experiences in order to make sense of their social reality, experiences and express their actions and identities through narratives (Chase 2008). Webster and Mertova (2007:3) state that since "narrative inquiry is set in human stories. It provides researchers with a rich framework through which they can investigate the ways humans experience the world depicted through their stories". Therefore, the use of narrative inquiry methodology is ideal as through stories, migrant experiences are made known which provides rich detailed interpretations of their lives and identities in specific contexts, across time and space.

## 8 Features of narrative inquiry

Since this research applies narrative inquiry as a research methodology, it is important to take into consideration the distinctive features. These following aspects have been considered and applied during the research process.

### 8.1 Locating stories

In narrative inquiry, the story setting, and social context of the narrative is taken into consideration as it provides context and binds the story to a specific time and place. For

instance, Creswell and Poth (2018:112) state that "narrative stories occur within specific places or situations. Temporality becomes important for the researcher's telling of the story within a place. Such contextual details may include descriptions of the physical, emotional, and social situations". Thus, as a person tells a story, they articulate where and when the story had taken place which allows the audience to locate the story both in terms of how long ago it happened and under what historical period it occurred, which provides significant background and context to the story. In addition, Chase (2008:65) notes that participants stories "are intelligible within the narrator's community, local setting, organisation and social memberships, and cultural and historical location". Thus, the story can only be understood within a particular social context that the participant is embedded in.  To gain full understanding of a story it must be located and contextualised within temporal, spatial, historical, and socio-cultural parameters.

## 8.2 The Narrator's Voice

According to Chase (2008)

> narrative researchers view narratives as verbal action – as doing or accomplishing something. Among other things, narrators explain, entertain, inform, defend, complain, and confirm or challenge the status quo. Whatever the particular action, when someone tells a story, he or she shapes, constructs, and performs the self, experience, and reality. When researchers treat narration as actively creative in this way, they emphasize the narrator's voice(s). The word *voice* draws our attention to what the narrator communicates and how he or she communicates it as well as to the subject positions or social locations from which he or she speaks. This combination of what, how and where makes the narrator's voice particular.

The narrator's or participant's voice is a significant aspect in narrative inquiry. The story told by the participant is seen as verbal action as they explain, describe, defend, and challenge what they observe and experience in interaction with others as they construct their social world. Thus, the story is told from the participant's point of view. This research considers what is said, how it is said and where is it said as important as it makes participants stories particular and noteworthy.

## 8.3 Interpretation

Webster and Mertova (2007:3) state that "narrative is not an objective reconstruction of life – it is a rendition of how life is perceived. As such, it is based on the respondent's life experiences and entails chosen parts of their lives". This means that when a person tells a story, they

understand and interpret what has occurred from their own position or perspective. Since their narratives are understood from their personal point of view it is a subjective account which can change over time (Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl 2016). People can choose which parts of the story to include or omit based on the who the audience is, thus stories are not fixed but changes in relation to the listener (Chase 2008). Thus, people can narrate multiple versions of the same story as they include moments and leave out others to tailor it for a particular audience. They might forget certain instances and come back to it once remembered. In addition, Webster and Mertova (2007:3) state that "stories are constantly being restructured in the light of new events, because stories do not exist in a vacuum but are shaped by lifelong personal and community narratives". This indicates that as people gain new information, it may alter how they perceive their past experiences which means that their perception of the event is changed and thus their story changes as well. Therefore, stories are not fixed, but can change over time as people interpret the events of their lives from different perspectives as they gain new information. Furthermore, Riessman (2008:6) emphasises different levels of interpretive work in narrative pointing out that "stories told by research participants (which are themselves interpretive), interpretive accounts developed by an investigator based on interviews and fieldwork observation (a story about stories), and even a reader constructs after engaging with the participant's and investigator's narrative". Thus, as researchers listen to participants stories, they develop an interpretation of the data and construct a story out of that data.

Interpretation implies that the creation of social reality through the telling of stories is a subjective process as meaning is constructed from an individual perspective. Terre Blanche et al. (2006:277) argues that "subjectivity is not considered the enemy of the truth, but the very thing that makes it possible for us to understand personal and social realities empathetically". As people tell their stories they position themselves in relation to the various social milieu in a particular time and place and narrate how the social world impacts upon their individual and collective identities. This is significant as through storytelling we are able to understand the person's point of view, how certain situations effected the person's life and why, and what response or actions was taken towards that situation. Through interpretive action we are able to gain first-hand insights of an individual's life, choices they have made and state of mind under certain circumstances, which is valuable and imperative in understanding one another.

## 8.4 Co-construction

Chase (2008:65-66) states that "a narrative is a joint production of narrator and listener, whether the narrative arises in naturally occurring talk, an interview, or a fieldwork setting". Thus, in this study, it is acknowledged that the story that has emerged in the interview is a co-construction between participant and researcher. Although it is the participant who tells his/her story, the researcher guides the participant to elicit certain stories so as to produce data on the subject matter under investigation. Thus, the stories produced are not random, but are based on the questions and follow-up questions asked by the researcher who directs the story in a particular direction. Therefore, the story is jointly produced.

## 8.5 Researcher as narrator

Chase (2008:66) explains that "narrative researchers, like many other contemporary qualitative researchers, view *themselves* as narrators as they develop interpretations and find ways in which to present or publish their ideas about the narratives they studied". As researchers gather information about the issue under investigation, they piece together and emplot a coherent narrative capturing participants experiences, actions and identities in temporal and spatial sequence thus making meaning of their interactions in relation to others and the social milieu. Therefore, as "investigators construct stories from their data", they become narrators (Riessman 2008:4). Creswell and Poth (2018:115) also state that "the researcher may take an active role and 'restory' the stories into a framework that makes sense. This framework may consist of gathering stories, analysing them for key elements of the story (e.g., time, place, plot, and scene) and then rewriting the stories to place them within a chronological sequence". Researchers take an active role in interpreting stories to reconstruct narratives to create meaning out of participants' stories. This also links to conceptual narrative postulated by Somers and Gibson (1994) as the researcher interprets data and creates concepts and themes to provide understanding of the phenomena under investigation.

## 9 Research method

Under narrative inquiry there are several narrative types of research methods such as biography, autobiography, life history, oral history, autoethnography and personal narratives (Chase 2008; Creswell and Poth 2018). This research uses personal narratives as a method to solicit information. Personal narrative was chosen over other narrative types as it is used to describe a topical narration (Chase 2008). Since this research specifically examines the topic

of 'home' and identity, the use of personal narratives is apt. Chase (2018:951) defines personal narrative as

> a distinct form of communication: It is meaning making through the shaping of experience; a way of understanding one's own or others' actions; of organizing events, objects, feelings, or thoughts in relation to each other; of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions, events, feelings, or thoughts over time (in the past, present, and/or future).

Through personal narratives, we learn how participants identities are constructed and how their life is shaped and changed through various political, economic, and social-cultural periods (time) in a variety of settings (location) in relation to the people they interact with (relational) and how as active agents they have overcome various social constraints. Through personal narratives the emotions and thoughts are also conveyed through the stories told.

Polkinghorne (1995:13) states that "the interviewer can solicit stories by simply asking the interviewee to tell how something happened". Thus, in this research a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions was used to invite participants to share their story. This allowed the researcher to use a set of questions while simultaneously allowing for "the conversation to flow more naturally, making room for the conversation to go in unexpected directions" (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011:102). In-depth interviews were conducted to draw out personal narratives. Polkinghorne (1995:13) indicates that participants "do not have to be taught how to tell stories; it is part of their cognitive repertoire and an ordinary way in which they make sense of and communicate life episodes". Thus, once I asked open-ended questions, participants were easily able to tell me their story. In-depth interviews allowed for the participant to speak about their experiences, issues, actions, identity, and social world in full detail, providing ample meaning to what they have seen, heard, and done (Elliot 2005; Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011). Data in the form of storied narratives was elicited during the interview process (Polkinghorne 1995).

## 10 Sampling

Chase (2008) states that in narrative research a small number of individuals are required to participate. Miller (2000:76–77) indicates that "comparatively small numbers are selected, and each person has been chosen because they are deemed to represent a certain type or group that

is considered *on conceptual grounds* to be important". I was able to solicit 20 participants who identified themselves as South Africans of Indian descent who are currently in Australia or have returned to South Africa after living in Australia to participate in this study.

Since there are no studies focusing specifically on the youth, adult and aged population of South African Indians in Australia, there is no justifiable reason to set an age criterion or age limit in the study. Therefore, this study examined the experiences of South African Indians who are above the age of eighteen years old. Since South Africans Indians began migrating to Australia from the 1960's, and there are no studies focusing on cohorts of South African Indians migrating at any particular time, this study was open to interviewing South African Indians who migrated to Australia from the 1960's. Thus, no migration period was set. Setting a period and age group would have marginalized the voices of South Africans Indians who wanted to participate in the study. I believe that setting too stringent an age and migration period would have also narrowed the focus of the research.

The sample of participants included adults of different age groups, genders, and geographical locations within Australia. The sample was large and diverse enough to gain a comprehensive understanding of the topic; understand the particular in all cases and be able to see how an issue impacts different people in different ways. It allowed for an in-depth understanding of the common and multiple ways people attach meaning to experiences and actions, how identity is fluid, contextual and relational, and how 'home' was disrupted and reconstructed.

In this study the non-probability sampling technique was used. Non-probability is used as the aim is to understand a "small collection of cases, units or activities [which] illuminates key features of social life" to "clarify and deepen understanding" (Neuman 2007:141). Two non-probability sampling techniques were used in this study. Firstly, the purposive sampling technique was used as this research seeks to locate participants with a "specific purpose in mind" that are "difficult to reach" (Neuman 2007:141). Snowball sampling, which requires participants to recommend other people, from the population group under study, to be interviewed, was also used in the study (Babbie 2007:185). In this study participants, friends, colleagues, and acquaintances were requested to refer the researcher to South African Indians who have migrated to Australia and those who have returned from Australia.

**11 Data collection in the time of Covid**

The first question that academics asked me about the study was how I intended to solicit participants? Since I lived in South Africa and the participants in Australia, how was I to contact and interview a group of people who were randomly dispersed across the Australia continent? The answer to the question was simple: almost every South African of Indian descent I spoke to about the research indicated that they knew of someone who had migrated to Australia. This observation led me to believe that there was still a strong connection between those who had migrated and their family and friends who were currently in South Africa. I decided, therefore, to use these transnational social networks to find participants. Since both South Africa and Australia have the necessary technological infrastructure and social media applications such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and Skype it was easy to use this technology to communicate across continents. At this point in time virtual interviews were frowned upon in favour of more traditional interviews and thus I was expected to go to Australia to interview participants. The intention was to find participants before I left South Africa, so that I could easily navigate the logistics of travel and accommodation in Australia. I emailed friends, family and colleagues providing details of the study such as who I was, the institution I was from, what the study was about, and my contact details and I asked them to forward this 'Call for Participation' to their relatives and friends in Australia. People who I spoke to suggested that I send them a WhatsApp message with details of the study as they found it much easier to send this to people in South Africa and overseas, in comparison to using emails. Initially, I used both emails and WhatsApp messages to inform people of my study and to ask them to convey the message. I also placed the message on my status bar on WhatsApp so that the contacts I had could view the message. By using this technique, I was able to solicit my first and only face-to-face interview in December 2019. I also received my first positive reply from Australia, but the person had postponed to January 2020 as December was the holiday and the festive season for both South Africa and Australia. I decided to robustly engage in soliciting participants in January as people were preoccupied in December. From January 2020 – February 2020 I was able to solicit a few more participants who preferred a virtual interview rather than face-to-face interviews in Australia.

From the month of December 2019, we began hearing news of a viral coronavirus disease (now commonly known as Covid-19) outbreak in China which was steadily spreading across the world. When the epidemic started in China, South Africa (and the world) did not anticipate the massive impact it would have on all facets of life. On 5 March 2021, Dr. Zweli Mkhize, the

Minister of Health, reported the first case of coronavirus disease in South Africa (Mkhize 2020). Although the first few cases were contained, returning travellers, especially from high-risk countries, were unknowing conduits of the disease; thus, the virus began to progressively spread through the South African population (Wiysonge 2020). Taking heed of the increasing number of infected people in South Africa, the worldwide rapid transmission of the disease, how other countries reacted to it and projecting the devastating impact it would have on the public, the South African government commenced on a nation-wide hard lockdown on 15 March 2020 (Wiysonge 2020). This meant that only essential services were operational such as grocery stores, pharmacies, banks, and petrol stations, while all other sectors and institutions were to close. People were to remain home and were only to leave for essential purposes such as buying food (Shaban 2020). Wearing masks, sanitising of hands and social distancing in public become mandatory (Wiysonge 2020). Gatherings in places such as schools, offices, religious institutions, parks, and beaches were prohibited, to reduce contact between people and thus to reduce the spread of the disease (Makou 2020). Non-essential personnel were ordered to work from home and students were to study from home (Makou 2020). This marked the start of an unprecedented period as never before in world history has a disease infected and affected so many countries, bringing parts of the world to a standstill and affecting every aspect of people's lives and subsequently altering the ways people live.

I was not exempt from this. My intended travel to Australia was put on hold as both South Africa and Australia banned international travel and prohibited non-essential travel (Department of Health Australian Government 2020; Health Department Republic of South Africa 2020). The University of KwaZulu-Natal issued notification to halt research that required contact between people, which meant that field work had to be postponed to a later stage. Another issue that plagued my mind was the psychological effects that Covid-19 was having on people. I worried that people would not be in a good state of mind to be interviewed, as the media was filled with stories about the rise of infection rates, the increase in the number of people who had passed, stories of prominent people locally and internationally dying from the disease and people losing their jobs as industries closed leading to the devastating consequences of unemployment, poverty and destitution (Asala 2020; Bohlman et al. 2021). I worried that potential participants were severely affected by the impact of Covid-19. With this playing out, I decided to stop field work temporarily until the situation improved.

In late April 2020, I received a message asking if I was still conducting interviews. It was a potential participant who was too busy in the beginning of the year, but now had the time to be interviewed. Taking my cue from this participant, I resumed the interview process once again. I confided in the participant that I was nervous and worried about conducting interviews as I was uncertain about the circumstances of people in Australia. The participant informed me that it was okay to start soliciting interviews as people were beginning to adjust to the new ways of living and working and would likely have more time as they now worked from home. I began to send out messages using transnational social networks. This time I also utilised Facebook as it has a wide membership and reach. I posted a message on my Facebook account, inviting South Africans of Indian descent residing in Australia, to participate in the study. This message was reposted on various Facebook groups by friends, family, and colleagues. After I gained permission from the administrator, I also posted messages on some South African community groups with the intention that the wider community would know people who had migrated to Australia. I was at first very apprehensive to use Facebook, but I was taken aback by the support, kindness, and encouragement of strangers. I received many messages of support and people reposted my message to other groups that I did not belong to. I also received a call from a person who was interested in helping people migrate to Australia, and the idea of starting a Facebook group for South Africans of Indian descent who lived in Australia emerged. We were not sure that it would gain a following but decided that we would try. I posted my message asking people to participant in the study on this group. This Facebook group is still running and is steadily acquiring more members. As people read my message on various Facebook platforms, I began receiving messages from people who were interested in the study. As I solicited and interviewed participants, they also sent my message via WhatsApp to those in Australia that they knew. Through these channels I was able to gather 20 participants. Thus, in the face of Covid-19, technology became fundamental in soliciting participants, exchanging messages with potential participants and interviewing participants.

Once I received a message from a potential participant indicating that they would be willing to participate, I proceeded to send them the consent form, interview questions, and a timetable listing the time difference between the two countries. Participants preferred using Facebook, WhatsApp, and email to receive these documents. The informed consent form gave them more information on the study and the ethical procedures followed in this research. I also sent them the interview schedule so that participants would know what to expect and reflect on these questions before the interview. Since many indicated that they were busy and did not have

much time, the interview questions helped as it narrowed the discussion to particular aspects that I was interested in. I provided participants with the interview questions in advance. This was done to establish that the interview was not meant to judge, criticise, or intrude but was used only as a means to gain knowledge of their lives. By providing the interview questions beforehand was also a way to gain trust as I was unable to meet and speak to participants in person.

Since I am based in Durban, South Africa and participants were based in various cities in Australia, the time difference between the two countries needed to be considered. As I searched the internet for the time difference between Durban and the Australian city the participant was based in, I found a website (**https://www.timeanddate.com/worldclock/meeting.html**) that provided an international meeting timetable outlining the time difference between the two countries in hour intervals. For the first few interviews I suggested to the participant what times might be appropriate for both of us. As interviews became more frequent, I decided to take a screenshot of the timetable, cropped it, saved the edited picture, and sent it to the participant. This was done so that they could see the options available to them and choose the time that suited their schedule as well as mine. This enabled an appropriate date and time to be established. Usually, I interviewed people in the morning while it was evening in Australia. The table below is an example of the international meeting timetable sent to participants.

*Figure 2: International meeting timetable showing the time difference between Durban and Sydney. The yellow and green shaded area shows the best times for both regions to meet.*

| UTC-time | Durban | Sydney |
|---|---|---|
| Monday, 1 June 2020, 21:00:00 | Mon 23:00 | Tue 07:00 |
| Monday, 1 June 2020, 22:00:00 | Tue 00:00 | Tue 08:00 |
| Monday, 1 June 2020, 23:00:00 | Tue 01:00 | Tue 09:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 00:00:00 | Tue 02:00 | Tue 10:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 01:00:00 | Tue 03:00 | Tue 11:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 02:00:00 | Tue 04:00 | Tue 12:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 03:00:00 | Tue 05:00 | Tue 13:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 04:00:00 | Tue 06:00 | Tue 14:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 05:00:00 | Tue 07:00 | Tue 15:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 06:00:00 | Tue 08:00 | Tue 16:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 07:00:00 | Tue 09:00 | Tue 17:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 08:00:00 | Tue 10:00 | Tue 18:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 09:00:00 | Tue 11:00 | Tue 19:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 10:00:00 | Tue 12:00 | Tue 20:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 11:00:00 | Tue 13:00 | Tue 21:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 12:00:00 | Tue 14:00 | Tue 22:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 13:00:00 | Tue 15:00 | Tue 23:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 14:00:00 | Tue 16:00 | Wed 00:00 |
| Tuesday, 2 June 2020, 15:00:00 | Tue 17:00 | Wed 01:00 |

Most of the interviews were conducted via WhatsApp voice or video call. Only two interviews were conducted through Skype. The participants preferred using WhatsApp as it was convenient and familiar to them as they used that media to communicate with family and friends. Either the day before the interview or the morning of the interview I confirmed the interview with the participant. Thus, the participant knew that I would be calling them at a particular time, so they anticipated the call. I also used WhatsApp to check if participants were ready a few minutes before the interview. WhatsApp proved to be a convenient way to communicate with participants as they quickly received a message from me, and I received a reply from them. I proceeded to call participants at the date and time scheduled. I used a digital recorder to record the interview. There were two participants who were busy but were willing to participate so they proposed filling in the interview schedule. Their responses were also taken into consideration in the analysis of this research.

Conducting interviews by using virtual channels proved to be effective and convenient. Since my partner and I now worked from home, we needed to install a Wireless Fidelity (Wi-Fi) network to use the internet for extended periods of time for work purposes. The cost incurred for monthly internet use was inexpensive in comparison to travelling personally to Australia. Since there were no travel costs, it was relatively inexpensive to conduct research. The logistics of scheduling and conducting interviews were simple and easy. One of my participants mentioned that it would have taken at least an hour to travel from one house to another, therefore it would have required much time and energy to travel from one place to another to interview participants. Another advantage of virtual interviews is that the date and time could be easily rescheduled which had minimal impact on both participant and researcher. One of my participant's changed the date and time of the interview as she did not want her partner to listen in on the conversation as she wanted to speak about intimate details of their life. Thus, by rescheduling the interview it allowed the participant to speak at a time when she was freely able to communicate her thoughts without being restricted by the others around her. This would have been an issue if I had travelled to Australia, as it would be difficult to reschedule interviews, considering the time frame I would have set and the travel distance between each participant. Sullivan (2012:54) states that the use of online methods is suitable in interviewing geographical dispersed groups of people. Virtual interviews allowed me to interview people from five different cities in Australia, namely, Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, and Perth. This would not have been possible if I had travelled to Australia as my budget would have limited me to one or two cities. Interviewing people from different cities has allowed me

to gain several perspectives of participants' lives. Since each city is different from the next, it shapes and influences their perspectives in different ways, which enabled me to gain a broad understanding of their experiences.

Interviews ranged between one to one and a half hours. I interviewed most participants once as many indicated that they were busy. I used a digital recorder to record the interview. Technical issues also needed to be considered in online interviewing (Sullivan 2012). In most cases the internet reception was good which meant that the quality of sound recorded was also good. Recorded narratives could, as a result, be easily listened to. There were a few occasions where sound quality was poor. In those cases, we tried to reconnect and if that did not help, I proceeded with the interview but confirmed aspects of their story that I had difficulty hearing. In some cases, the internet connection broke off, but we were able to reconnect and proceeded with the interview. Participants were very understanding and considerate when this occurred.

Chase (2008:65) indicates that "narrative researchers treat narratives as socially situated interactive performances – as produced in this particular setting, for this particular audience, for these particular purposes. A story told to an interviewer in a quiet relaxed setting will likely differ from the 'same' story told to a reporter for a television news show". Therefore, the setting and the audience is important. Since the interview took place in participants homes and offices, they were in comfortable and familiar environments which allowed them to freely communicate their thoughts, emotions, and experiences. Since researcher was the 'audience', and the interview purpose was to elicit stories about their migration experience, identity, and notions of 'home', they obliged and answered the questions posed, providing detailed accounts of their lives while keeping to the topic of the conversation. As interviews took place between 'homes' in comfortable settings, both the researcher and participant did not have to 'dress-up' to meet each other.

In addition, the researcher's identity is considered in the research process (Creswell and Poth 2018). Since narratives are produced in relation to the other, the researcher thus becomes the 'audience' for the participant. The participant takes the researcher into account when constructing their stories. Sharing the same collective identity as a South African of Indian descent, allowed me to have an 'insider perspective' as I am familiar with the diversity of cultural aspects, although I may not engage in all the cultural practices (Babbie 2007). Thus, when participants spoke about certain aspects of their lives, it could be easily understood.

However, since I have never visited or lived in Australia, I do not have any first-hand experience of the social dynamics of that country, which also makes me an 'outsider' (Babbie 2007). I made no assumptions about their lives and listened carefully to their stories to understand their migration experiences and issues of identity and 'home'.[61]

In the interviewing process, the power dynamics between participant and researcher also needed to be addressed (Creswell and Poth 2018). The researcher is seen as an authoritarian and knowledgeable figure in comparison to participants, however in this research, the culture of both the researcher and participants must be considered. In my culture respect is given to elders. Since the participants and I are from the same cultural background, and most of my participants were older than me, well accomplished in their respective fields, and I identified myself as a student researcher, respect for participants was culturally established. My participants also treated me with much respect. Thus, the mutual respect between participant and student researcher limited any power or authoritarian dynamics during the interview. I felt that all the participants were very forthcoming, very approachable, discussed their lives in detail, and very willing to provide me with information. I appreciated that they had taken the time to share their stories with me despite their busy schedules, in the midst of a global pandemic.

Altogether there were 20 participants,[62] I interviewed 18 participants, with 2 participants indicating that they were very busy and preferred answering the interview schedule. I interviewed 16 participants that were based in Australia and 1 participant completed an interview schedule. I interviewed 3 migrants who returned to South Africa permanently, and 1 answered through the interview schedule. In this study steps were taken to ensure credibility and trustworthiness such as documenting all procedures, verifying with participants during the interview process if the researcher's interpretation is correct and asking the participant for further clarification (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011; Silverman 2001). The table attached showed the demographics of all consenting participants interviewed. The participants were based in different geographical locations in Australia, consisted of both males and females, were of different age groups and came to Australia at different times. The diversity of voices

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[61] Not interviewing participants in their 'home' was a limitation as it prevented observations being made on how they recreated 'home' and their performances of 'home' when receiving guests in Australia.
[62] Altogether there were 21 participants, however, one participant did not fill in the informed consent form, thus that participants contribution is not documented in this research.

provided a broad understanding of the phenomena under study. It enabled me to understand the general in all their stories as well as the specific, which made each of their experiences unique.

There are six participants within the age cohort of 30 – 39, 40 – 49 and 50 – 59. There was only one participant between the age of 20 – 29 and 60 – 69. There were 11 female participants and 9 male participants. Participants migrated at different times from South Africa to Australia. The longest period of stay is 38 years, and the shortest period of stay is 3 years. This allowed for understanding how people adapted to life in Australia over time. During the interview, some participants mentioned moving from one city to another for job opportunities. The current or last Australian city that they lived in was cited as the city of residence. It must be noted that four participants have returned to South Africa. Initially, the study was to also focus on those who returned, however participants mentioned that few people returned and assumed that those that return do not tell the community of their return as it is seen as a sign of failure. Thus, I only received a few responses from those who returned. Since those that did return spoke extensively of life in Australia, I also analysed their narratives keeping in mind the research questions in the study.

## Table 2: Demographic information of participants

| Pseudonym | Age Group | Gender | Migration Year | Length of stay[63] | Australian city of residence[64] | Accompanying Composition[65] | Visa Type[66] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Radha* | 50 - 59 | Female | 2006 | 14 years | Adelaide | Partner and children | Permanent |
| *Tony* | 40 - 49 | Male | 2017 | 3 years | Adelaide | Partner and children | Permanent |
| *Kesi* | 60 - 69 | Male | 1983 | 37 years | Brisbane | None | Permanent |
| *Arthi* | 50 - 59 | Female | 1997 | 23 years | Brisbane | Partner and children | Permanent |
| *Deva* | 50 - 59 | Male | 1998 | 3 years (returned) | Brisbane | Partner and children | Work Visa |
| *Mohammed* | 40 - 49 | Male | 2001 | 19 years | Brisbane | Partner and Children | Permanent |
| *Yasmin* | 50 - 59 | Female | 2002 | 18 years | Brisbane | Partner | Permanent |
| *Veronica* | 30 - 39 | Female | 2008 | 12 years | Brisbane | Partner | Permanent |
| *Shaun* | 40 - 49 | Male | 2009 | 1 year (returned) | Brisbane | Extended Family | Work Visa |
| *Kerisha* | 20 - 29 | Female | 2018 | 2 years (returned) | Brisbane | None | Work Visa |
| *Keshan* | 40 - 49 | Male | 2000 | 20 years | Melbourne | Partner and children | Permanent |
| *Siva* | 50 - 59 | Male | 2007 | 13 years | Melbourne | Partner and children | Permanent |
| *Jayshree* | 40 - 49 | Female | 2013 | 7 years | Melbourne | Partner and children | Permanent |
| *Mukesh* | 30 - 39 | Male | 2017 | 3 years | Melbourne | Partner and children | Work Visa |
| *Danny* | 50 - 59 | Male | 1999 | 21 years | Melbourne | Partner and children | Permanent |
| *Divashnee* | 30 - 39 | Female | 2007 | 10 years (returned) | Perth | Partner | Permanent |
| *Pravisha* | 30 - 39 | Female | 2011 | 9 years | Perth | Partner and children | Permanent |
| *Kavitha* | 40 - 49 | Female | 2015 | 5 years | Perth | Partner and children | Permanent |
| *Trenesha* | 30 - 39 | Female | 2014 | 6 years | Sydney | None | Permanent |
| *Keshnie* | 30 - 40 | Female | 2017 | 3 years | Sydney | Partner | Permanent |

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[63] At time of interview

[64] At time of interview.

[65] At time of migration.

[66] At time of interview.

## 12 Analysis of narratives

The personal narratives gathered through interviews were transcribed verbatim as the focus was on the content of stories. The type of analysis was chosen based on what the research questions were trying to achieve (Braun and Clarke 2006). Since the questions required understanding the different perspectives and experiences of migrants, thematic narrative analysis was used. Thematic narrative analysis exclusively focuses on the content of what participants are saying (Riessman 2008). This type of analysis is not interested in the form of the narrative, rather attention is given to the "'told' – informants' reports of events and experiences, rather than aspects of the 'telling'" (Riessman 2008:54). Thus, the focus is on the meaning or 'point' of the story (Riessman 2008).

All interview transcripts were read and re-read thoroughly so that I could familiarise myself with the content. Thereafter, I searched for stories embedded in the personal narratives that would answer the research questions. Stories were selected across participants interviews to provide answers to the research questions. In thematic analysis the "primary interest is in generating thematic categories across individuals, even as the individual stories are preserved and grouped" (Riessman 2008:62). Thus, stories that had the same theme were collated together (Polkinghorne 1995). Themes emerged inductively which means that it developed "from the data rather than imposing previous theoretically derived concepts" onto the stories (Polkinghorne 1995:13). Common themes across personal narratives were reported (Polkinghorne 1995; Riessman 2008). Bounded segments or excerpts of the participants stories are presented in the analysis chapters to provide evidence of the theme and to explain their experiences, how they perceived their social world and why certain actions were taken and the outcome of those actions (Riessman 2008).

In some instance stories emerged that did not fit into a theme generated across transcripts. If it contributed to explaining the phenomena under investigation, I made exceptions and included it as their stories are particular and unique and needed to be included to provide a different perspective or rare insight of their lives. Where the experience is shared by most of the participants, I have written on it and included a quote to provide evidence of what was said. In instances, where the experience is very specific, I have included more of the narrative to indicate how that particular experience influenced the participants thinking and thus actions.

## 13 Ethics in research

In research, ethical procedures must be followed to prevent participants from experiencing harm during the research process and in the write up of research findings (Babbie 2007). In this research steps were taken at all stages of the research to ensure that it is ethically sound. Firstly, a research proposal and ethics application (which contained the interview schedule) were submitted to the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal who deliberated on whether the study met the ethical criteria that was set by the university. Only when ethical approval was obtained by receiving an ethical clearance letter, did I commence with soliciting and interviewing participants. During the Covid-19 pandemic the research ethics policy set by the University of KwaZulu-Natal changed which prevented face-to-face interviewing to reduce the transmission of Covid-19. The new ethics policy permitted research to be conducted only via virtual or online methods. Since I had stipulated that I would use online methods to solicit interviews in my initial application form, I did not need to resubmit my ethics application for approval. Ethics requires that all participation must be on a voluntary basis (Babbie 2007). When I sent the call for participation via social media channels, individuals contacted me and indicated their willingness to participate. Even when the snowball method was used it was individuals who were interested in contributing to the study that contacted me. There were a few occasions where I was given the name of a person in Australia and was told that I could contact the prospective participant. When I contacted them, I asked if they were willing to participate. This ensured that participation was voluntary. Before the interview I also ensured that I obtained permission to record their stories. All participants agreed to the recording of their stories.

I also strived to ensure that I disclosed all the information to the participant before the interview. The call for participation included the details of the study, including what the study was about and the purpose of the study which gave people an understanding of the research. When people contacted me, I provided further information on the research and sent them the informed consent form. The informed consent form included details of the study, my contact details, my supervisor's details, and the details of the ethics administrator so that either one of them could be contacted to address any queries the participant would have had. The consent form also stated that the participant could refuse to answer any question that they felt uncomfortable with and that they could withdraw from the research at any point in time. Before the interview I went over the informed consent form to assure participants that their identity

would be kept anonymous during the research process. This ensured that I fully disclosed what the research was about, and that the participant was aware of the ethics followed. Participants signed the informed consent forms and either scanned the documents or took a picture of the signed form and sent it to me via Facebook, WhatsApp, or email.

I also assured participants that their identity would be protected by using a pseudonym in the analysis of the research. All names/institutions mentioned by participants were also anonymised to protect their identity to prevent the public from identifying the participant or who the participant was referring to in the narrative. These steps taken ensured that ethical considerations such as, ethical approval by the ethics committee at UKZN, disclosing full details of the research to participants, obtaining informed consent from the participant, and ensuring anonymity of participant's identity, was applied, and adhered to in this research (Bulmer 2008).

## 14 Conclusion

This chapter set out to explain the theory applied and the research process followed to obtain data to study the phenomena under investigation. By examining the research questions set and the literature around the subject it was concluded that narrative constructionism was the most appropriate theory. Since the research required an understanding of the temporal and spatial movement of migrants, the historical and social contexts in which they are embedded in, understanding their social actions and agency, their experiences in a new social space and how their identity is relationally formed, narrative constructionism was seen as the most suitable to understand these aspects which consequentially emerges as individuals tell their stories.

Considering social constructionism as the paradigm of this study and narrative constructionism theory as the ontological stance, a narrative epistemology was therefore used in this study. A narrative epistemology entailed using narratives or stories as the means through which knowledge is produced. Since the research questions required answers that recounted individual's experiences and understanding from their point of view, rather than statistically based, a qualitative research methodology was applied. Under the qualitative research methodology, narrative inquiry a subset of qualitative research was used as it views stories as a means through which social phenomena can be known.

In this research personal narrative was used as a research method to solicit topical information on the experiences, identity, and notions of 'home' of participants. In-depth interviews were conducted, and open-ended questions allowed for participants to share their stories of the numerous experiences they had. The narrative inquiry approach requires a small sample size, thus 20 individuals who voluntarily participated were interviewed, with 2 filling out the interview schedule. Purposeful and snowball sampling techniques were used to find participants. Although the Covid-19 pandemic constrained data collection, as I was not permitted to travel to interview migrants, technology proved useful in finding participants and conducting interviews. Through Facebook and WhatsApp, I was able to send a call for participation which was forwarded by friends, family, and colleagues to their various social circles. Through this means willing individuals contacted me and I was able to set up interviews. Interviews were conducted via WhatsApp Voice/Video, and Skype. Using social media technology to interview people proved effective and efficient as I was able to save on travel expenses and easily schedule interviews and reschedule them, if need be. It also enabled me to interview participants from five cities in Australia and interview individuals in an environment they felt comfortable in, which assisted in allowing participants to talk freely and in depth about their experiences and views on the subject matter. The narratives obtained in the interview process was analysed using narrative thematic analysis, in which participants stories were examined and common themes were inductively constructed by the researcher, bearing in mind the research questions asked and the theoretical stance taken. Throughout the research, ethical procedures were followed to ensure that participation was voluntary, that participants knew their ethical rights during the process and to ensure that participants were protected during this research. This chapter delineated the theoretical framework that informs this study and how research was conducted to obtain data, the chapters that follow explicates the results of the analysis of narratives.

A Search for a New Home

## 1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to understand what motivated South Africans of Indian descent to migrate to Australia. This subsequently sets the context for the chapters that follow. Polkinghorne (1995:11) states that "human action is the outcome of the interaction of a person's previous learning and experiences, present-situated presses, and proposed goals and purposes". This means that to act upon the world, we gather information from the past, examine what is happening in the present and think about what will occur in the future. Participant's narratives capture the past experiences, and present events which conveyed that their current 'home' was no longer imbued with the homely qualities of haven, heaven, and hearth. Thus, their future goal was to find a new 'home' for themselves and their family. This inspired the decision to search for a new 'home'. This chapter focuses on the various aspects that led to participants feeling that South Africa can no longer be their 'home', why Australia was chosen as a place to create a 'home' for themselves and their family, and the family strategies adopted to ensure an easy migration to their new 'home'.

## 2 Drivers of migration

Movement from the 'home' country to the 'host' country is precipitated by a combination of factors that work together to drive migration. This section utilises the 'push-pull plus' theory in understanding the motivations of South Africans of Indian descent to migrate. Van Hear, Bakewell and Long (2018) theorizing contemporary drivers of migration indicate that the push-pull factors provide a narrow scope for understanding current drivers of migration. Rather they have put forward the 'push-plus plus' theory which uses the social structure and agency interactional approach to understand and analyse the how, why, and where of migration movement and settlement (Van Hear, Bakewell and Long 2018). The decision to migrate is premised upon an individual's ability to act in relation to the social circumstances they are enmeshed in. This means that agents can exert some control over their decisions as they encounter enabling or constraining social structures.

The 'push-pull plus' theory extends the former 'push-pull' structural aspects of migration by including predisposing, proximate, precipitating, and mediating drivers of migration (Van

Hear, Bakewell and Long 2018). Predisposing relates to broader context of economic, environmental, or political disparities between origin country and destination country, under which migration occurs. Proximate drivers derive from deep-seated structural factors that impinge directly on human agency. Precipitating factors are the observable and identifiable event/s that trigger departure. These precipitating factors are likely to produce emotional experiences which reinforces their aspirations and desire to migrate (Carling and Collins 2018). For instance, a country's economic downturn can invoke narratives imbued with emotional encounters of lived experiences of unemployment, poverty and strife which fuels the aspiration or desire to migrate. Thus, broader social structures impinge on the everyday life and biography of people which fosters the desire to move to a more enabling environment. Lastly, mediating drivers are those aspects that enable or constrain migration. Such enabling drivers such as transport, communication, information, and resources facilitate the migration process, while constraining drivers such as a lack of infrastructure or resources to move halts the movement of people (van Hear, Bakewell, and Long 2018).

### 2.1 The politics of the past

The 'nation as home' is "bound up with the politics of place, identity and collective memory" (Blunt and Dowling 2006:159). The politics of the home country determines how people are governed within the nation. Both the politics of the past and present have constrained the political and economic freedom of South Africans of Indian descent through various racialised legislation.

The politics of South Africa's past, under the apartheid regime, can be seen as a proximate driver of migration. Apartheids racialised laws sustained the racial inequality that was already present during the colonial period. The apartheid government (1948-1994), advanced 'white' supremacy by institutionalising oppressive racialised policies that systematically discriminated people of colour. The structures within the society were designed to deny people of colour economic, political, and social rights and freedoms (Terreblanche 2002; Clack and Worger 2011). The narrative below conveys the interconnectedness of history and biography (Mills 2000) providing evidence of how systematic racism affected their everyday lives.

> Kesi: Remember South Africa was still in the midst of its apartheid regime and where I worked it was a hopeless, hopeless place. I worked for the blood transfusion service in South Africa, it was a very racial organisation…so it wasn't a good place from a working environment to actually come over and my sister, you know, she came to Australia in 1978 as a nurse, so she sponsored me to come over in 1984, so that's how I came, I came, I was alone when I came, I was single when I came, so it was more for

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political reasons more than anything else, apartheid. Because otherwise why would you want to uproot and leave your family and all the friends you had and sports people you had and come away, you know, it was a big decision, it's a massive decision.

Scholars documented that the key driver of migration in South Africa before 1990 was the oppressive apartheid system (Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010; Ferreira and Carbonatto 2015). During the 1950's to 1970's those who migrated to international destinations comprised mostly of South Africans of British descent who felt disadvantaged by Afrikaner affirmative action policies, being conscripted, and fearing the political resistance of the 'black' population against 'white' hegemony of the apartheid government. During this period, 'black' political activists also fled to international and neighbouring countries to escape political persecution. It was only in the 1980's that a notable number of South Africans of Indian descent began to migrate overseas (Louw and Mersham 2001).

Castelli (2018) indicates that those who are most likely to migrate are skilled, educated and have financial resources. Due to the privileges espoused by the colonial and apartheid governments, those who were most likely to migrate were 'white' South Africans who had the necessary resources and capacities to move. Only a few people of colour had the ability to move during this period as their economic position constrained their capacity to migrate. This can also be seen in this study as only one participant indicated that they migrated towards the end of apartheid.

Mariotti (2012) indicates that as 'white' South Africans become educated and highly skilled, they moved from semi-skilled to skilled occupations. There was a labour market need to fill in semi-skilled positions. Since skilled and semi-skilled occupations were reserved for 'whites', those semi-skilled jobs that needed to be filled were reclassified and given lower status and pay so that 'black' workers could fill these positions. The upward mobility of 'whites', however, did not mean the acceptance of 'blacks' as semi-skilled workers. Rather, racism towards people of colour did not change. Although Kesi worked in a semi-skilled position at the blood transfusion centre, racism was still rife in the workplace. The economic and social oppression met out at the apartheid workplace can be seen as a proximate driver of migration. Kesi was motivated to migrate due to the structural constraints of the apartheid workplace which he describes as 'hopeless' and 'very racial'. His identity as a person of 'Indian' descent, subjugated him to discrimination and prejudice. Therefore, his reason for migrating was the political structure of the country which constrained his economic mobility and identity.

The participants' ability to migrate under such restraining circumstances can be attributed to the meditating factor of having a relative who migrated earlier. In Kesi's case, his sister was able to sponsor his migration which facilitated his migration journey. Although, there were constraints applied during apartheid, the mediating driver of having a transnational social network to assist in the migratory process had given him agency in a constraining environment (Czaika and Reinprecht 2020:22).

The narrative below also demonstrates that apartheid created structural constraints on everyday lives. However, it was both the experience of apartheid and the new democratic government's ideology that influenced the decision to leave South Africa.

> Keshan:    One reason was when we were growing up, I was quite aware of like the whole apartheid system and when I would apply say for medical school, most of the medical schools you could not apply to based on your race. The rest of them took like 1 or 2 students … So, when I was studying science…so I studied in Cape Town in Belfort in Athlone and so on, I used to live in Athlone. That was 1986. There was a lot of unrest. There were like what is called Trojan horse shootings, there would be like Casspir vehicles [armoured vehicles used by the army] in the street, helicopters, the place would be like… You know it was like a crazy war zone. And when I was at university I studied at the University of the Western Cape for a year. The police would be like on the campus firing teargas and baton charging the students and so on and…when I had sort of gotten into Natal University, we were quite active as the members of the medical students, the SRC [Student Representative Council] and it was in 1989, it was a state of emergency. So, we all got arrested; we got put in the Point Prison, so none knew where we were, and we ended up in the jail cells. And they used to call it CR Swart's way back in those days. And then they would sort of find out first-hand what the criminal holding cells look like. So, by the time we finished our university and then these sorts of the academics who were at the medical school at that time could not give me any leeway for being sort of politically active and that kind of thing. So, you, we sort of barely passed our courses because you did not get any marks because you were in jail and so they would not allow you any leeway. So, I did not really enjoy my time studying…I kind of felt like I was not obviously the worst treated person. Certainly not like politicians, like you know all the famous politicians who were on Robben Island and so on. But it certainly was not a nice experience growing up and studying I would say. And then once we had independence in '94 and so then I could see like a… if people saw that you kind of like looked up to the ANC and so on, maybe became overnight millionaires and like you also were taken over by the capitalistic ideas. And I kind of thought this is not a good idea to bring my kids up, I need to go and look elsewhere… That was sort of the origin of the idea to go and live somewhere else.

The participant reflects on and sequentially narrates his experiences of how apartheid impacted his life and the society around him. By reflecting on what occurred and placing selective events in chronological order, it has assisted in explaining his decision to migrate (Somers and Gibson 1994; Sparkes and Smith 2008; Webster and Mertova 2007).

Keshan's experience depicts the institutional racism within the higher education system during apartheid. Higher education institutions such as universities and technikons were racially segregated during apartheid. Bunting (2006) indicates that by 1985 there were nineteen higher education institutions designated for 'whites' only, six for Africans, two for 'Coloureds' and two for 'Indians'. The University of Durban-Westville and ML Sultan Technikon were the two institutions of higher learning reserved for education of the 'Indian' population. Legal constraints prevented institutions from enrolling students from other 'race' groups. Institutions could apply for permits, from the education department that they were answerable to, to enrol students from other 'race' groups. However, "permits were supposed to be granted only if it could be shown that the applicant's proposed programme of study was not available at any institution designated for the race group to which she/he belonged" (Bunting 2006: 37). Afrikaner institutions rarely used the permit system to enrol 'black' students (Bunting 2006). It was difficult for students to be educated at an institution not designated for their 'race'. Since the 'Indian' designated institutions did not have a medical school, Keshan had to apply to universities designated to other 'race' groups. Since 'white' institutions rarely took on 'black' students, Keshan had difficulties applying to medical schools. He was only offered a position at the University of Western Cape, an institution designated for 'Coloured' students. He later studied at the University of Natal, a 'white' English university, that started to become more liberal, after 1984, and used the permit system more loosely to bring 'black' students into the institution (Bunting 2006).

At both institutions Keshan recalls the violent unrest on campus as students protested the race-based policies that marginalised people of colour. Initially, 'African Universities' such as the University of the Western Cape and University of Durban-Westville, supported the ideology espoused by the apartheid government. Authoritarian structures instilled apartheid ideology within these institutions by ensuring that most of the academic staff and administrators were educated in 'white' Afrikaner universities. It was only during the 1980s that these universities started to reject these ideologies and historically 'black' universities became "sites of struggle against the apartheid regime" (Bunting 2006:45). Keshan witnessed what he describes as a 'war-zone' at the University of Western Cape as students rejected the apartheid intellectual agenda met out at these institutions. At the University of Natal, Keshan played an active role in trying to change the university into an inclusive institution. He recollects not enjoying his time at university. He joined the SRC to fight against a system that marginalised and oppressed him, only to face a traumatic experience of being thrown into jail. The racialisation of the

system meant choosing between fighting for his rights or studying in a class that perpetuated racism.

These traumatic incidents of the past still preoccupy his memories and forms part of the reason as to why he left the country. However, the catalyst for leaving resides in what happened after apartheid. The proximate factor that triggered his decision to migrate was the realisation of the limited social improvement in the country despite the country's democratic position. Although the country has a progressive legislature and is touted as a leader in Africa (van Hear et al. 2018), the dream of equality for all was thawed by the ANC's inability to create an equitable and socialist society that tended to the needs of the people. For instance, Emery (2006:6) makes a similar point by stating that "the struggles for substantive racial equality and social justice were not as rewarding. In the area of macroeconomic policy, the ruling ANC has forgone redistributive nationalisation and needs based growth in favour of a neoliberal economic agenda". This means that instead of the ANC progressing a redistributive policy which addressed the needs of the working class and poor, the ANC opted for a neoliberal capitalist economy to the detriment of the poor. The neoliberal stance put forward by the ANC only created a small pool of wealthy 'black' bourgeoise capitalists. This 'black' elite class included 'activist capitalist' or those with high political standings such as former political prisoners or leaders of anti-apartheid groups sympathetic to the ANC. Those who were employed to run large corporations and parastatals became wealthy political leaders while the poor saw a modicum of benefits (Southall 2006). Keshan uses the term 'overnight millionaires' to describe the change in ANC ideology to a capitalist one. Since he made sacrifices and endured hardships to change the country for the better, he saw his dream of an equitable society for all dashed by ANC policies which enhanced the political elite to the detriment of the majority of South Africans who suffered during apartheid. Since he opposed the change in ideology, he did want his children growing up in such a society. Thus, his aspiration to move centred around the upbringing of his children.

Kesi indicated if it were not for the harsh political environment, he would have no reason to move. This was also noted amongst other participants who stated that the structures of society made it difficult to live in the country and raise their children. For participants migration was a difficult decision to make as it meant leaving behind family, friends, and a community that they were deeply connected to. Most participants emphasised enduring a loss of extended family so that their children could have a better future in Australia.

## 2.2 The politics of the present

As South Africa emerged into a democratic state in 1994, it inherited high levels of poverty and inequality caused by the racialised policy that economically marginalised the majority of the population. Scholars indicate that after twenty-eight years of democracy, poverty and inequality remain a major issue facing the state (Francis and Webster 2019; Koelble 2022; Salahuddin et al. 2020). The narrative below also emphasises these major social issues which have come to be contributing factors pushing people out of South Africa.

> Keshnie: So at the time [2008] the political landscape in South Africa was deteriorating, government was riddled with corruption, there was poverty, crime and unemployment were on the rise and so all the advances South Africa had made, you know, since '94, it felt like more time, investment, better leadership and a new way of thinking was actually required to allow society to progress and as valiantly as we committed to doing our part to help drive the agenda, it didn't feel like it was enough.

Participants in this study indicated that they worked-hard to secure well-paying employment in South Africa. Thus, it was not poverty that these participants were escaping, but a state that was failing to effectively manage these social ills which created a 'deteriorating' social environment. Arnold and Lewinsohn (2010) also establish that post-apartheid migration was atypical as it was not stimulated by career progression but dissatisfaction with the government.

Participants reflect that their dream of South Africa becoming an inclusive and equal society has been unrealised. Gevisser (2021) writing about the mass looting and unrest that occurred in July 2021, recalls the poem 'The Dream Deferred' presented by former President Thabo Mbeki in 1998 at the opening of the parliamentary debate on reconciliation and nation building. The speech outlined that South Africa is divided between "two nations, one white and wealthy and the other Black and poor…if the two nations were not reconciled, economically as well as politically, the dream of equality and liberation promised by our constitution would explode" (Gevisser 2021:n/a). Widespread poverty, inequality, unemployment, government corruption and mismanagement of parastatals resulted in the deferred dream, that participants speak about.

Of major concern was the widespread corruption in the South African government (Khan and Pillay 2019; Koelble 2022; Madonsela 2019; Salahuddin et al. 2020). Madonsela (2019) argues that state corruption started post-1994. In an effect to redress racial inequalities of the past and uplift 'black' businesses the state shifted procurement of services of state-owned enterprises to the private sector so that 'black' owned businesses would benefit from such opportunities. However, such incentives did not benefit small and medium 'black' owned enterprises (Pike,

Puchert, and Chinyamurindi 2018). Rather, state politicians and private firms colluded to extort state funds for their personal gain (Madonsela 2019).

State corruption undermines the ability of the government to provide services needed for society to function well. This can be seen in the form of service delivery protests where communities in South Africa remonstrated the lack of electricity, water, sanitation, and housing (Koelble 2022). In addition, state corruption emasculates the economy as the mismanaged state parastatals such as Eskom power utility, South African Airways (SAA) and Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) have placed a burden on society rather than assisting in the growth of the economy. Furthermore, state funds meant for the upliftment of poor 'black' communities through the establishment of medium and small scaled businesses have been embezzled by state politicians. This can be seen in the case of the Vrede Dairy Project (Madonsela 2019). Thus, state funds allocated for the upliftment of impoverished communities and for the effective functioning of the economy have been misappropriated by politicians for their own personal gain.

The study conducted by Salahuddin et al. (2020), provides evidence that state corruption has a negative impact on poverty. Statistics indicate that in 2015 over half of South Africans (55.5% /30.4 million) were living in poverty (Francis and Webster 2019). The South African government is unable to reduce unemployment which currently stands at 34.4% as of December 2021 (Koelble 2022). South Africa remains one of the most unequal societies in the world with a World Bank GINI coefficient of 63 (Francis and Webster 2019; Khan and Pillay 2019; Koelble 2022). Thus, state dysfunction has hindered progress of economic and social repair. Although Keshnie, like other participants, were committed in assisting to build an equitable society, she felt that it was not enough. The deep-seated structural deficiencies of society perpetuated by government mismanagement needed robust interventions that the state failed to make. Since the society is deteriorating due to the debilitated state, participants no longer want to live in a 'home' that is economically, politically, and socially in decline. Thus, the dysfunctional state is a proximate driver of migration.

## 2.3 Future education and work possibilities for children

In addition to the dysfunctional state, participants also reflect on how the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy has placed certain constraints to their economic mobility. According to Krüger (2014:82) the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) defines BEE as

> an integrated and coherent socio-economic process that directly contributes to the economic transformation of South Africa and brings about significant increases in the numbers of black people that manage, own and control the country's economy…

The Black Economic Empowerment Act (BEE) was amended in 2003 to the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (BBBEE) (Wachira 2020). The BBBEE Act is a policy implemented to enhance the "economic empowerment of all black people including women, workers, youth, people with disabilities, and people living in rural areas through diverse but integrated socio-economic strategies" (Republic of South Africa 2004:4). Thus, BEE was a strategy implemented to redress inherent historical inequalities in society by providing economic opportunities to the vulnerable and those who were disadvantaged by apartheid policies. Although the policy was meant to rectify the past wrongs, narratives showed that these participants felt marginalised by the BEE policy.

> Keshnie: So, the corporate environment, which my husband worked in, you know, the BEE initiative helped people of colour get better jobs, however, progression seemed limited after a certain point in time, the environment had changed and behind the scenes it became more about balancing BEE numbers than affording...rather than affording opportunities based on a person's ability, qualification, and motivation.

> Jayshree: I think the main and deciding factors for me personally was that I found that the quality of life in South Africa was deteriorating. I felt that crime was on the rise. I did not feel it was an equal opportunity for everyone. I felt that you know the struggle for all races and when I say all races, I would mean all disadvantaged races that's the Coloured, classified as Coloureds in South Africa, Indians and Blacks were disadvantaged but I felt that Black Empowerment it was more geared around equality and equity for Black people as opposed to you know the other races that also went through the same struggle and disadvantage... My kids attended a private school back there. My husband and I had really good significant jobs you know. We made a contribution to the country that's what I believed because what we made and what we had we shared with the community…and we really tried our best. I just felt that my children would not have been given the same opportunities in terms of studies and I felt that their future would be limited.

BBBEE is meant to overcome the inequalities of the past "by increasing the number of black people in executive and senior positions as well as ensuring increased income levels of black

individuals within qualifying BBBEE companies" (Pike, Puchert, and Chinyamurindi 2018:1). Although 'black' is a generic term meaning Africans, Coloureds, and Indians (Republic of South Africa 2004), "the ANC has also interpreted BEE to relate particularly to the need for empowering 'Africans'" (Ponte, Roberts, and van Sittert 2007:935). Jayshree echoes this point as she feels that black empowerment is more geared to the enhancement of Africans as opposed to all that were disadvantaged during apartheid. While Keshnie indicates that BEE has assisted people of colour in being employed in better jobs, over time she perceives that progression to higher positions was 'limited'. Since participants feel that government has placed restrictions on their aspirations of career enhancement, they feel they can no longer live in such a country. The perceptions about the governments BBBEE policy can be seen as a proximate driver of migration. The perception that the policy will negatively affect them, and their children was a motivating factor to migrate.

Kruger (2014:80) indicates that since BBBEE outlines "a full array of policies, procedures, legal requirements, codes of good practice, and scorecards including punitive measures, such as hefty fines and even the possibility of imprisonment for non or partial compliance" it impacts the political, economic, and social lives all South African citizens. This indicates the potential for South Africans Indians being marginalised or constrained by the policy. In addition, research into the effectiveness of the policy indicates that the BBBEE policy is hampered by corruption, fraud, nepotism, mismanagement, poor accountability, and gross incompetence by public officials which places an economic constraint on the country (Pike, Puchert, and Chinyamurindi 2018; Shava 2017). Keshnie points this out by indicating that 'behind the scenes' it was more about achieving BEE targets rather than appointing a person based on skills and qualification. This further constrains the employability of South Africans of Indian descent. Research into BBBEE indicates that the policy has done little to assist historically disadvantaged individuals. Rather, BBBEE has resulted in "the emergence of powerful black individuals that manipulate the procurement processes at the local government level" which consequently heightens poverty and inequality (Pike et al. 2018; Shava 2017:168). This indicates that the policy has not advanced the lives of the majority of South Africans but has in some instances fostered corruption within a small 'black' middle class.

Since participants perceive that BBBEE poses a threat to their upward mobility, they also feared that their children would not have a good future and would be limited in terms of career choice and employability. The participants interviewed unanimously agreed that migrating was

part of a wider strategy to ensure that their children would have a better future. Although the participants in this study indicated that they had well-paying jobs in South Africa, they feared that their children would not have a future in the country. For instance, Jayshree feels that the future of her children will be 'limited' as the policy places constraints on their education and employability in South Africa. Similarly, Keshan shares Jayshree's sentiments with regards to educational opportunities for his children in South Africa.

> Keshan: I just felt I didn't see much of a future for myself and my children in terms of things like university access and so on and I felt it would be best to start afresh somewhere else.

The limits placed on education can be clearly seen in the case of quota's set for medical students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). Since UKZN medical school has place for only 250 first year students, racial quotas were implemented to decide on the number of students that could be accepted per 'race' group. The medical school could admit 69% of Africans, 19% of Indians, 9% of Coloureds and 1% of White pupils (Desai and Vahed 2019; My Broadband 2017). In addition, 'Indian' students needed an average of 90.83% in their final year of high school to be accepted into medical school. At the University of Cape Town, 'Indian' students had to score 90% in four subjects, 80% in two subjects and 80% in a benchmark test to stand a chance to be accepted into medical school in comparison to 'Coloured' and 'Black' students (My Broadband 2016). Prof. Neville Alexander and Prof. Willem Sturm both repudiate such 'race' based policies, respectively stating that it was 'quite ridiculous' and by setting the admissions criteria higher 'you are actually discriminating' (Govender 2010). Desai and Vahed (2019) also noted that their participants decision to leave South Africa was also based on the fear that Affirmative Action would pose limitations to the future of their children despite them living in a democratic country. However, they also point out that from 1991 to 2014 there has been a consistent percentage of South African Indians entering medical school. There is a perception of a decline in the number of South African Indians entering medical school in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. This plays out in the context of a high number of South African Indians who live in the same province and who were assured an opening of rather than a closing down of opportunities by the new South Africa (Desai and Vahed 2019).

These restrictions in access to education has resulted in bribery and corruption. For instance, in 2015/2016 UKZN medical school staff were allegedly bribed to change students' racial category from 'Indian' to 'Coloured' so that students could be enrolled at the medical school

(IOL 2016). In 2017, there were also allegations that a prominent family with connections to UKZN medical school 'sold places' to prospective medical students to the value of R500 000 (My Broadband 2017). The four-year probe into the selling of placement led to the suspension of 21 employees (Medicalbrief 2021). Thus, racial quota systems set up by the medical school places limits on 'Indian' students to achieve their desired career objectives of being doctors and contributing to the social and economic growth of the society. Such racial restrictions have also created an environment that breeds bribery and corruption. It is with these perceived limitations placed on the future of their children that parents have considered migrating to another country in the hopes that their children would receive fair and better future educational and work prospects.

## 2.4 The unsafe 'home'

Literature on the migration of South Africans indicate that crime is also a key determinant in influencing their decision to leave (Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010; Crush et al. 2014; Ferreira and Carbonatto 2015; Grant 2006; Rule 1994). This also holds true for participants in this study. Participants related their traumatic experiences of crime which resulted in their decision to migrate. The narrative below, is illustrative of the deliberation and decision-making process of participants, in relation to crime experienced.

> Subashini: So, tell me about your journey from South Africa to Australia. What motivated you to leave South Africa and go all the way to Australia? And why Adelaide as well?
> Tony: So, what motivated for moving across, I want safety and mostly because we had an incident that really sparked it, you know. You know, when it gets as close as that, then you sort of make the realisation and obviously there's young children…you've got to question at that point, is there a future for them? And you know, just at that point in time, the situation in the country was so…we made the decision, probably round about 2015. You know, to seriously start looking at also other options and it was more the incident in our complex and I'm aware that there was a break-in, a robbery and I walked into a robbery. And it was like in the movies, you know, it was just guns and balaclavas and all kind of things, and I walked into that robbery. And a lot of things flash back, and fortunately, I was able to get out and get to safety. And we lived in the complex, so you know, people around and so that was really, I think, I would say the tipping point. We've been thinking about it, but until it gets a bit close to home, you start really to look at various options quite seriously. My daughter was probably round about in year 10. So, we had to look at options for her safety and then also the situation in the country, where it started to affect us. Actually, with the former president [Jacob Zuma] and all the things that were going on at that stage and, it was quite disturbing, and we were just looking for a change, really. And that's really what sparked the, we started to the look very seriously to relocate.

Participants in this study relate their near-death experiences of being victims of crime. This proximate driver is one of the contributors to migration in South Africa. According to the World Population Review (2022), South Africa has the third highest crime rate in the world, with a crime index of 76.86. South Africa has a high rate of assault, rape, homicides, and other violent crime, which is attributed to high levels of poverty, inequality, unemployment, social exclusion, and a normalisation of violence (World Population Review 2022).

The Governance, Public Safety and Justice Safety Survey, GPSJS 2019/2020, showed that house breaking/burglary was the most common crime experienced by households, with home robbery being the second most experienced crime by households in South Africa. House breaking/burglary has increased over the years from 2.1 million in 2015/16 to 2.3 million in 2019/20 (Statistics South Africa 2020b:3). Thus, the high levels of crime experienced at the household level, indicates that 'homes' are no longer seen as safe places. Since the high level of crime is experienced over a long period, crime has become a proximate driver of migration as it has become a deep-seated issue in South Africa.

Crime can also be considered as a precipitating driver as the experience of crime triggered the departure of some participants. Tony's traumatic experience of crime, depicted in his narrative, was the 'tipping point' which 'sparked' his decision to move. The stories told by participants coincides with statistical data providing evidence of South Africa being an 'unsafe home'. Participants in this study did not feel safe as they have experienced crime in their neighbourhood or household, thus shattering the belief of their 'home' as a safe place. Their lives were intruded upon and threatened which rendered their abode no longer safe to live in. Therefore, the idea of 'home as haven' or "the sanctuary from society into which one retreats" is dispelled as crime not only occurs within their community but also within their personal space, creating a feeling of insecurity within one's home (Blunt and Dowling 2006:16).

In addition, Tony reiterates that crime has not only personally affected him, but he is also concerned about the welfare of his children, especially his daughters. The concern Tony raises is in relation gender-based violence (GBV) experienced predominately by women and girls in South Africa. GBV is a term used to describe the collection of crime perpetuated against women and girls such as femicide, abuse, assault, rape, and violence. GBV stems from the skewed gender power relations that are "reinforced and perpetuated by structural patriarchy" (Oparinde and Matsha 2021:2) GBV is a major concern in South Africa, with the country being

branded as the 'rape capital of the world' (Oparinde and Matsha 2021, Mgolozeli and Duma 2019). Thus, participants narratives reveal concerns and fears in raising their children or having children, especially female children, in a society that has a significantly high crime rate with women and girls being most vulnerable to GBV. Therefore, the decision to migrate stems from fears of being further victims of crime and thinking about the safety of children if they continued to live in a society that is unable to curb criminal activities.

In this study, crime has been identified as one of the key drivers of migration pushing people to seek better environments to live in. Thus, conflict stemming from political instability and civil unrest experienced during apartheid, is now replaced with violent crime. In comparison with other regions in Africa, population movements are triggered by armed conflict by extremist groups such as in Lake Chad basin (which includes Nigeria, Chad, the Niger, and Cameroon) the Central Sahel (consisting of Burkina Faso, Niger, and Mali) Central Africa (Central African Republic) and East Africa (South Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia) (Idemudia and Boehnke 2020; Linekar and Madsen 2021; World Migration Report 2022.). Although South Africa shares the same insecurity with the above-mentioned countries, the cause of insecurity differs. These migrants are fleeing political circumstances involving extremist groups while South African emigration is driven by violent crime perpetuated by individuals and organised criminal groups.

## 2.5 Escaping constraining households

Participants also mention that the 'house as home' sphere or micro interactions have also presented hardships that led to migration. In this study negative social relations or experiences at 'home' can also be considered the reason for migration. South Africa is considered a patriarchal society that has deep-seated gender inequalities which negatively impacts on the agency of women (Mshweshwe 2020). In this research gender inequality is a proximate driver of migration as it has negatively impacted the life of a participant. This is conveyed in the narrative below.

> Kavitha: And then to make matters worse both my husband and I were... We were taking care of his mother and my grandparents. So, in addition to running our own house, we were running three houses basically, right. There was just so much of responsibility. Like I wanted some sort of escapism. You know some people want to drink or drugs to escape something, I just wanted to get away from it all. I am so sick and tired of being tied down by everyone and everything and I am not generally like that. I am not selfish, I normally will put everyone else's needs before my own but for

once the pressure got too much, it just got too much you know. I mean there were four little people that depended on me and no one else could give them anything beside me. So, I had to make a call and I think that became the reason why we started the process and we moved.

The household as a site of 'home' is perceived as a place of warm family relationships (Mallett 2004). However, Blunt and Dowling (2006) point out that the household is not a 'haven' for all, as gendered power relations create inequality within the 'home' sphere. For those who still adhere to the extended family values of the eldest of the family taking responsibility of extended family households, the task can be difficult and overwhelming. For Kavitha, who had to take care of three separate households, the burden of care placed on her was much too great and she needed to escape. The instances of gender inequality within the home can be explicated through this narrative as Kavitha relates various experiences. Firstly, being a mother meant that she is responsible for the care of her four children. Her words "no one else could give them anything besides me" indicates that she is solely responsible for their care although her husband is present. Studies in gendered care of children indicate that the burden is placed on women to be the primary caregiver taking care of the routine activities of children such as feeding, bathing, putting them to sleep (Hatch and Posel 2018). In addition, Ophir and Polos (2022:202) indicate that "women have a crucial caregiving role and are more likely to provide intense, daily care for family members than are men". Thus, a gender disparity is seen as the burden is placed upon women to take care of children and family members.

Further to providing care for her four children and household, Kavitha's culture dictated that as a daughter she was also expected to take care of her elderly parents and her in-laws. Thus, cultural, social, and even religious norms embedded in society guide gender expectations of women being the primary caregiver, who should be dutiful, affectionate, and compliant in carrying out caregiving activities (Zygouri et al. 2021). This is reiterated in Kavitha's narrative as she indicates that she would normally place the needs of everyone above her own. Not only does she have financial obligations towards elderly family members, but care and support of the elderly becomes the responsibility of the eldest daughter of the household which can be physically and mentally taxing. Kavitha's words "so much responsibility", "tied down by everyone and everything", "pressure got too much" shows that these gendered relations were stressful to maintain and placed a constrain and burden on her to assist everyone to the detriment of her own agency. Zygouri et al. (2021:9) argue that as women engage in caregiving responsibility it is difficult to maintain a sense of self agency as they feel "socially restricted

in pursuing their interests, personal needs and career ambitions". Thus, Kavitha craved "escapism" from the responsibilities that constrained her agency. The key reason for her migrating was to escape the constraining circumstances in her life. For Kavitha, 'home' was a site of oppression as her gender and culture inhibited her ability to take control of her life as she was shackled by family obligation and responsibility.

## 2.6 Cultural and Structural Drivers

As South Africa was no longer a suitable 'home' to live in, participants actively searched for a new 'home' that would meet their requirements of a safe environment with more opportunities for their children. In this study participants sited both culture and education as important aspects motivating their decision to migrate to Australia. Since it was a difficult decision to move to another country, participants had to make certain that the country that they were moving to fulfilled some of the requirements that they were looking for. As skilled migrants, they had the resources, such as finances, that enabled them to actively search for a new 'home'. Some participants indicated that they came to Australia on holiday or a work trip and thus had first-hand experience of Australian society. In the narrative below, Jayshree explains that she had visited a number of Asian countries before deciding on Australia.

> Jayshree: We visited a few countries before, mostly Asian countries and again it was like we geared around my children and their education and what would be best for them and how well they would be placed. Australia was our deciding factor because of the climate. Firstly, it's very similar to South Africa in terms of look and feel, in terms of building, in terms of driving on the same side of the road like language wouldn't have been a barrier as it would have been in another country so we felt that we could integrate better and faster in Australia than we could in any other country.

Finances or wealth can be considered a mediating factor as this resource enabled migrants to actively search for a new 'home'. Participants searched for a 'home' that had similar cultural features in relation to the 'home' that they were living in, as noted in the narrative above. In this narrative, Jayshree puts forward the various reasons why Australia was a suitable place to live in. Since the migration was centred around the educational attainment for her children, the education system in the destination country had to be well established. Therefore, the educational structure of the host country is a predisposing driver of migration. Participants believed that their children would benefit from the education received in Australia which would enable them to obtain good work prospects.

In addition, it was important for the new 'home' to have some commonalities with the old 'home' in order to establish familiarity of the place (Duyvendak 2011; Mallett 2004). The culture of the host society can be seen as a mediating driver to migrate. Firstly, Australia had a similar climate and physical appearance to South Africa, and secondly both countries used English as a lingua franca thus they would be able to communicate with Australians which meant integration into Australian society would be easier. These geographical and cultural factors are important as it shows that to establish 'home' elsewhere, the new 'home' had to have some similarities with the old 'home' so that they could 'feel at home' (Duyvendak 2011). For those who did not visit Australia, their decision to migrate was based on the perception of South Africans cultural similarity (in terms of language, climate, resources available), employment opportunities and the perception of well-functioning social structures of Australia.

## 2.7 Job Opportunities for Skilled Migrants as a Driver of Migration

Some participants indicated that while searching for employment internationally a job opportunity presented itself in Australia which initiated their migration to the country. While others indicate that the multinational corporation which they worked for in South Africa had an opening in Australia which precipitated their emigration. This indicates that although it was important to have employment in Australia to be financially secure, there was no niche employment opportunities that drove migration to Australia. Rather, Australia's need to employ skilled individuals across a variety of industries, the job opportunities made available for skilled migrants, and the interconnectedness of transnational companies were mediating factors that contributed to these participants migrating to Australia (Laukova et al. 2022). However, for some participants the familiarity of 'home' is also a cause for concern. This is explicated in the narratives that follow.

> Radha: So, we were not actually coming to Australia because we were, decided, okay, my husband was over 45. So, Australia was, they had a cut-off at 45. But besides that, we, in the back of our mind, we thought Australia was, I thought Australia was racist. Because of the way they treated the Aboriginal people. So, I said to Neelan that we are not trading one racist country to come to another. So, I'm not going to Australia. So, we were going to New Zealand. So, we started our emigration process to go to New Zealand. We saw an agent and we were working through all that. However, my husband was head-hunted and offered a job to come to Australia. That's how we came to Australia. So, to cut a long story short. So, in 2006, January, we moved to Australia.

Radha's narrative shows the ambivalence towards migrating to Australia. Living in South Africa where one's life is shaped by the racial ideology of the past and present, Radha was

hesitant to trade one racist country for another, since the history of Australia is also steeped with systematic racism towards people of colour (Gatwiri and Anderson 2021). Although Australia was not her first choice, it presented her with an easier option as economic opportunities opened a pathway to the county. This sentiment is also echoed by other participants as they would have preferred New Zealand, however, Australia presented an easier route as there were more job opportunities available and the Australian government was more welcoming in receiving skilled migrants.

## 2.8 Migration Consultants in South Africa as a Driver of Migration

Participants mentioned that they opted to use a migration agent to assist them in acquiring visas to migrate. The narratives below provide evidence of the assistance migration agencies provide that facilitates migration.

> Jayshree: We went through a like an agency that helped us to submit our documents and process it for us and it was quite phenomenal amount that we had to pay to the agency, so the migration agency came to us and said listen Perth has an opening. Would you guys be keen to go to Perth, it's a Skilled Visa and you can get in.

> Tony: And at one stage in the process, we decided to, you know, it's so frustrating that we said, you know, just cut our losses and we will, you know, we'll have to make another plan. But we persevered and then the agency said why don't you look at the state sponsorship option.

The migration agencies present in South Africa is a mediating factor that assists people in migrating. Although participants indicate that the amount of money paid to migration agencies were exorbitant, their class position enabled them to afford these services. These agencies provide information on the migration process, country selection and visa requirements. Furthermore, the agencies help potential migrants navigate the cumbersome paperwork and procedures by giving advice on the correct documentations needed and submitting these documents to be processed. The agencies provide advice on which visa type is the most appropriate to facilitate an easier migration to Australia. They provide information on which countries are receiving migrants with their skill level and which states within Australia, migrants would be accepted in, thus channelling migration in a particular direction. They also liaise with the Australia Government on behalf of the migrants. The migration agencies play a significant role in providing information, support, advice, and processing of paperwork to obtain visas thus enabling the migration to Australia. This is also observed by Zhang and Axelsson (2021) as migration consultants have assisted Chinese migrants to navigate bureaucratic processes which helped them to migrate to Sweden.

**2.9 The Migration Program as a Mediating Factor**

Australia's Migration Program Planning determine the number of permanent residences it is able to accommodate each year. There are three main categories under which individuals can apply for a visa to permanently migrate to Australia. These categories are Skill Stream, Family Stream, and Special Eligibility; with the Skill and Family streams having subcategories (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019). Skilled migration to Australia fills in labour market gaps, which is essential to grow the economy. Gawiri's (2021) study revealed that African professionals use the skilled stream visa to enter Australia. In this study, it emerged that immigrants also preferred the Skills Stream with the Employer Sponsored, State/Territory and Regional (Skilled Work) as the main ways in which to apply for a visa to Australia. Only one participant in this study went through the Family Stream to obtain a visa.

**2.9.1 Family Sponsored (Family Stream)**

The Family Stream "allows Australian citizens and permanent residents to reunite with close family members, including partners, and certain dependent relatives" (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019). For Kesi, who migrated in 1984, his sister was able to sponsor his immigration. Kesi indicates that since he had a skill that was not in high demand in Australia, his sister had asked a friend to nominate him using the job nomination scheme. Thus, his sister sponsored him, and he was also nominated for a job which gave him a better chance of his application being accepted. Once, he had migrated to Australia, he was able to sponsor his elder sister through the family reunification programme. Thus, having such a program which facilitates family reunification serves as an enabling driver of migration. Kesi mentioned that family reunification is a favoured method, especially in bringing in elderly parents. In this case, migration social networks have also facilitated in providing information and assistance in the migratory process. Czaika and Reinprecht (2020:22) state that migration networks and transnational communities facilitates migration as information and assistance are offered. Participants mention giving advice to relatives, colleagues, and acquaintances on how to proceed with the migration process and their experiences of life in Australia. However, in this study, since only one participant indicated that they arrived through family sponsorship. This indicates that although family and friend networks provide information, it does not necessarily lead to the family nominating family in South Africa. Rather, migrants preferred the skilled stream to enter Australia.

### 2.9.2 Employee Sponsored (Skills Stream)

The Employee Sponsored Visa is a subcategory of the Skills Stream. This subcategory allows employers in Australia to hire people outside of Australia to fill the skills shortage in their workplace (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019; Spinks 2010:5). Through the Employee Sponsored Visa, participants were able to secure a job before immigrating to Australia. This can be deduced from the narrative below.

> Kerisha: Yes, so my job was already secured because I went on an Employers Sponsored Visa. So, they had to give me a job before they approved my Visa …

By having companies sponsor skilled workers from outside the country is an enabling factor that allows professionals to quickly enter the Australian labour market. Thus, companies also act as a mediating factor of migration.

### 2.9.3 State/ Territorial and Regional sponsored (Skills Stream)

Many participants opted for the State /Territory Nominated Visa under the Skills Stream. This subcategory fulfils labour market demands by providing skilled migration to specific states and territories (Australian Department of Home Affairs 2019). The Skills Stream is currently the most significant stream for Australia as it fulfils the mandate of bringing scarce skills that the country requires to maintain economic growth. Since it is the largest category, the potential for migrants to be selected is high.

In addition, through the state sponsored skills stream, migrants can be issued with a permanent residency visa. However, applicants must score points in such criteria as age, education level, skills, employability, and English language ability to be sponsored by the state (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019; Spinks 2010:5). Many participants mention the rigorous and stringent migration application process as well as the expense incurred going through this process. Thus, for those who wish to migrate to Australia but do not have the necessary resources, such as a high income or skills, have their mobility constrained by the Australian application procedures and criteria.

The narrative below provides reasons as to why participants choose the state sponsorship route, despite the process being long, cumbersome, and expensive.

> Jayshree: … so we were fortunate enough, so we got here. So, we were state sponsored so because we applied on a skilled Visa and what that means is we started a process in South Africa on a skilled Visa. When we come as a skilled Visa, you come as a

Permanent Resident, so we didn't come on a work Visa, we came on Permanent Residence Visa. So, when we come on a Permanent Residence Visa that means you are eligible to the benefits of an Australian citizen. Right, so we could apply for all the benefits that they are entitled for. The only thing that they excluded us from a citizen was the voting right, or the ability to vote which we were fine with. We didn't need to vote but at least we could get all the benefits so that was quite positive for us.

Jayshree explains that through the state sponsored route she would be awarded permanent residency, which came with many benefits but excluded the right to vote. Thus, if they could not find employment, the government could provide some social security in terms of money for groceries and pay a portion towards their rent until they found jobs. Other permanent residency entitlements include remaining in Australia indefinitely, working and studying in Australia, being able to enrol in Australia's national health scheme called Medicare, being able to apply for bank loans to buy property, sponsor eligible relatives for permanent residence, apply for Australian citizenship, if eligible, travel to and from Australia for as long as your travel facility permits, attend free English language classes and the possibility of working in New Zealand (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2021). The state sponsorship route affords migrants with permanent residency status, allowing them access to many benefits. Thus, participants have opted for this route as it provides many gains and cushions against the potential unemployability of new migrants.

Furthermore, the Regional Sponsorship visa is becoming a significant option to enter Australia. As major cities such as Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Brisbane, and Gold Coast experience overcrowding and traffic congestion, the government has diverted migration to other regions that are sparsely populated and in need of skills (Kainth 2019). Although Tony was unable to be sponsored by a major city, the Regional Skilled Visa assisted him to migrate to Adelaide. Participants indicate that Adelaide is fast becoming a migration destination as potential immigrants are redirected towards applying for a regional skilled visa.

Tony: Now, Sydney and Melbourne would be the natural destinations and then followed by Brisbane. If we'd not had any restrictions, we probably would have gone to one of those areas because we have family in those places and those were all the job opportunities lie. You know, so waiting for each of the states and for them to put up their sponsorships, will take long, so based on advice and some discussion, we decided to go to South Australia. Because South Australia, from a federal perspective is still considered a regional area in Australia. But it is the one space that is a lot more open to migration than the other states.

The narrative provides evidence on how government policies direct the flow of migration to certain regions which constrain migrants in their choice of location. For instance, Tony's first choice would have been a major city as he has extended family there and there would be more work opportunities in the city. However, since policy has restricted the number of migrants into major cities, migrants have opted to choose easier paths into Australia. Thus, rather than waiting for sponsorships from major cities, Tony and his family moved to the city of Adelaide in South Australia as it was easier to obtain a sponsorship as the region was 'a lot more open to migration' in relation to other states. Therefore, migration policies and programmes can be enabling and constraining mediating factors in the migration process.

## 3 Family strategies to move to Australia

Literature on the international migration of South Africans are mainly concerns with labour migration or the 'brain drain' of South Africans to settlement countries of Canada, USA, Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom (Crush 2002; Grant 2006; McNeil-Walsh 2004; Price 2009). Only a few studies on South African migration indicated that a contributing factor to international migration was the need to ensure a 'brighter future' for their children (Crush et al. 2014; Rule 1994:35). Literature on the internal migration of South Africans reveals the fragmentation of the family, as the migrant leaves behind family in the search for employment (Bennett et al. 2015; Katharine and Dorrit 2019). In addition, studies on international migration indicates that parents are willing to leave behind children so that their financial contribution will provide them a better life in the home country (Carranza 2021). However, in this study it was seen as imperative to keep the family in-tact, which meant the emigration of the entire nuclear family.

Since the key goal of migrating was to give their children a better quality of life with regards to living in a safer environment and having inclusive educational and employment opportunities, participants strategized to move the entire nuclear family abroad. In this study, twelve families moved across with their children.[67] Since most of the participants in this study uprooted their entire nuclear family to move abroad, this reveals a trend towards family migration. In addition, three couples[68] indicated that they later had children in Australia. Crush et al. (2014) investigating the emigration of South African medical professions states that over half of the participants surveyed indicated the need to migrate for the future of their children.

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[67] As shown in the demographics of participants in Table 2 page 146.
[68] This research considers a couple to be a family.

Rule (1994) in his study of South Africans emigrating to Australia also indicated that participants left South Africa so that their children can have a brighter future in Australia. Thus, migrating to another country for the future of their children has come to be a common practice amongst South Africans.

Castelli (2018) and van Hear et al. (2018) argue that rarely do the poor migrate. This was also proved true in this study as those that migrated indicated that they had prominent occupations or well-paying jobs. Their middle-class status enabled them to efficiently navigate the move to Australia. Since participants had well-earning employment in South Africa, this enabled them to strategize their transition into Australian society. As they anticipated that it would be difficult to find employment immediately, participants together with their partners planned how to navigate job-loss and earnings post-migration. In this research, it was deduced that families engaged in four strategies to successfully transition from one society to another. These strategies assisted migrants to mitigate loss of income so that they could be financially secure to ensure the family's provisions are met through the transition period.

The first strategy was for the entire family to migrate to Australia, but one spouse would still have a job in South Africa, so that if they were unable to secure employment, the spouse that had the job would return to South Africa and remit money to Australia.

> Jayshree:  …it was very hard and quite challenging because we left our jobs. Well I quit my job, my husband didn't quit because we weren't sure if we were going to find a job in Australia, so he still kept his contract, but he went on extended leave…so leave without pay…and our options were, if we couldn't find a job, if either of us could not find a job, then he would go back…and because I mean that was you know so that we could be financially secure …so he would go back until and just [remit] money here until I find a job.

Jayshree indicated that it was challenging being in South Africa and trying to find employment in Australia as they did not have the funds to constantly travel to look for work or go for interviews. Prior to migrating the couple saved to be financially secure for about six months keeping in mind that the Australian dollar is stronger than the South African Rand, thus life in Australia would be more expensive when they arrived. Jayshree states that 'it would be very unlikely if they could make it' indicating her scepticism and fear that they would not be able find jobs easily and quickly. This strategy ensures that there is a safety net for them as Jayshree felt doubtful in finding employment.

The second strategy entailed one partner going to Australia to look for employment, with the spouse following thereafter if employment was found.

> Keshnie: Okay so that was our approach, so or what my husband and I did was the plan was always he had to go first, settle down with a job and then I would follow thereafter, so what actually happened was he basically he left work in South Africa, and he moved across, he settled down and I think it was probably around five months it took him to find a job...

The decision taken by Keshnie's family centred on her husband moving to Australia first and finding employment. When he was financially secure and settled, she moved across. In this way it ensures that one spouse is still able to earn a living in South Africa, while the other is finding employment in Australia. It also enables the couple to reduce costs and save money as one person moved across instead of both. It was also a strategy to protect Keshnie from the stresses of migration as she was pregnant during the transition period and gave birth a few months after her arrival to Australia. Thus, she was able to fulfil her aspiration of bringing her child up in a 'better' environment. The first two strategies indicates that a connection with South Africa is maintained to ensure that they have a back-up plan in case employment was not found.

Thirdly, participants or their partners (six altogether) secured employment before migrating which made the transition to Australia much easier as they did not have to worry about their financial security. Keshan actively searched for a job before migrating:

> Subashini:  Did you go to the hospital to have an interview or when you arrived in Australia did you look around for a job?
> Keshan:  Oh no, I had the job from before I came so I had written to the hospital… I think I wrote to like about fifteen or twenty hospitals, and I think I got a reply from maybe two of them. And the other guys were negative. And I said Well that's too bad. And then about two months later one of the hospitals wrote back and said ahh… someone pulled out … and then can you come at a shorter notice...So, then I said: 'Yes I can'. So, you know I was probably a bit naïve, but we sort of packed all our bags and headed off. I had actually never seen the place. I had never been to Melbourne in my life before, so I had never been… I did not know what the hospital was like or anything like that.

The fourth strategy is riskier as it entailed both spouses leaving their jobs and finding employment in Australia.

> Tony: We didn't come to any jobs. So, basically, we walked into unemployment. We

gave up our jobs. Resigned about a month before and no jobs, because it is very, extremely difficult, not impossible, but very difficult when you're sitting 10 000 kilometres away in South Africa and to apply for a job here. You've got to be here; you've got to have a local address. You've got to be part of here, part of the environment here. Before you can apply for jobs. So, but we took the risk.

Although, this strategy involves risk, some groundwork was laid before the final departure so that the family could have a smooth transition to living in a new environment. Participants indicate that it is a difficult process to find a job while in South Africa. Apart from the expenses needed to obtain a permanent visa, participants indicated that not having an Australian address impaired their ability to acquire jobs from South Africa. Tony mentioned that part of his strategy entailed saving enough money in South Africa before they finally went abroad. In addition, he took his family to Australia prior to their final departure so that they could activate their permanent residency visa, 'get a feel of the place', find a good school for his daughter, secure a rental accommodation and bank accounts. This laid the groundwork for easily transitioning into society. Tony and his spouse were also prepared to change their careers, if need be, to secure employment and thus be financially stable. Although, the family 'walked into unemployment' the visit to Australia laid the foundation for the family to settle into Australia which cushioned the stress involved in migrating.

The middle-class status of participants has allowed them to effectively plan and execute their migration transition. It has allowed them to migrate to Australia with certain rights and finances that would prevent their destitution in Australia. This can be contrasted to refugees and asylum seekers who face a number of vulnerabilities in the host country (Carruth et al. 2021; Gilodi, Albert, and Nienaber 2022; Mendola and Pera 2021). Passardi et al. (2022:2) argue that Australia's policies towards asylum seekers and refugees have "violated its moral and ethical responsibilities defined by international conventions such as The Convention Relating to Status of Refugees". Asylum seekers and refugees to Australia mainly comprise of those fleeing conflict in Middle East and South East Asia. These migrants who arrive by boat are mandatorily and indefinitely detained offshore on the remote Pacific Islands of Nauru and Papua New Guinea. At these detention facilities these migrants are 'processed' to ascertain if they have valid documentation. If they are refugees, they are allowed to resettle in Nauru or Papua New Guinea. If medical treatment cannot be provided in these two facilities, immigrants are required to have treatment in Australia only if it is approved by the Australian Border Force. If medical treatment to Australia is approved, refugees will have to still stay at detention centres,

community detention or in the community provided. In addition, there is a final departure visa which must be renewed every six months. After treatment is received in Australia the refugee is to return to Nauru or Papua New Guinea for settlement. This form of 'processing', in which people are contained, shepherded from one location to another under tight security, removed from the wider community and endure abuse in detention are in violation of their human rights (Hartley, Anderson, and Pedersen 2019; Ibekwe 2021; Passardi et al. 2022). Refugees and asylum seekers are treated like criminals. As a consequence, these migrants suffer from mental health conditions such as depression, trauma, and post-traumatic anger (Hartley et al. 2019; Passardi et al. 2022). The process and policies for asylum seekers and refugees can be contrasted with policies for skilled migrants. Skilled migrants, such as South Africans of Indian descent, have the agency and resources to navigate their resettlement process, as discussed above, which contrasts significantly with asylum seekers and refugees who face major challenges.

## 4 Conclusion

For the participants in this study, 'home as nation', 'home as community' and 'home as household' were sites of oppression and personal constraint which they needed to move away from to lead a better life. For many participants it was a difficult decision to leave South Africa as it meant leaving behind extended family and a community that they were well connected to. This chapter demonstrated that proximate drivers or deep-seated structural issues that impinge or perceive to impinge the freedoms and rights of South Africans of Indian descent serve as the main driver of migration. The proximate drivers such as the structural impediments of the apartheid system, the current dysfunctional government that mismanages state funds, parastatals, and services to the public, the BBBEE policy which is perceived to disadvantage South Africans in the labour market and educational sector, crime and gender inequality are all proximate drivers of migration.

In South Africa, these participants experienced growing up in an apartheid society which denied them access to education and certain work opportunities based on their 'race'. In a democratic state these participants still feel marginalised as BBBEE policies and quota systems are still 'race' based with preference being given to 'black' South Africans in job selection and promotion. Although this policy is meant to remedy the discrimination experienced those who suffered during apartheid including 'Coloureds' and 'Indians', it nevertheless was perceived as

marginalising the 'Indian' population. This coupled with state corruption and various social ills such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, institutional deterioration and most importantly crime has left most participants yearning for a better quality of life. These constraining structures restricted their liberty, autonomy, and choice in the country. One participant related being dissatisfied with their 'home' life as gender inequality and constraining cultural values had placed pressure on her to support and care for their extended family. Thus, she wished to escape such a life. Keshnie summarises the different aspects that most participants are searching for in their new 'home'.

> Keshnie: So, as a family we were in search a better quality of life, more political stability, higher education opportunities for ourselves and for any children we may choose to have, better healthcare and I think a new adventure as well.

Overall having a better quality of life which means being in a country that is politically stable, where everyone is given an equal chance of improving their lot in life, having better healthcare and educational opportunities as well as a safe environment were important aspects that were perceived to be missing in South Africa. Of importance is the need to move their entire nuclear family as priority was for their children to have a safer environment to live in with future educational and employment opportunities. Most of the participants, indicated that they had well-paying jobs in South Africa and a well-established support system, but were willing to leave it behind because they feared that their children would be marginalised in South Africa. An aspiration for migration was the need to find a 'home' so that their children would live in a safe and secure environment and in a place where they are afforded equal educational and career opportunities. Since it was a key priority to move to a country for better opportunities for their children, they tended to migrate with the entire nuclear family. Participants made a concerted effort to find a new 'home'.

Mediating drivers, the second migration driver in this study, included the perception that Australia was culturally and geographically similar to South Africa, the availability of job prospects for skilled labour in Australia, permanent visa that offered benefits to migrants, and the assistance provided by migration agencies. Some participants indicated that Australia was not their destination of choice but presented an 'easier' migration route as the country was accepting skilled labour. Participants indicated that the migration process was long, expensive, and with a complicated and cumbersome administration process. Migration consultants were imperative in assisting migrants through the migration program. Participants decisively

planned their move to Australia. Their middle-class status enabled participants to effectively strategize their move to Australia as they could secure permanent residency visas and plan to be financially secure in the destination country. The chapter that follows details their settlement experience in Australia.

<center>**Chapter Seven**</center>

<center>**Settling Down in a New 'Home'**</center>

## 1 Introduction

Australia is regarded as a settler nation, this means that, as immigrants come to Australia there is a high propensity to re-root and create a 'home' in the nation (OECD/EU 2018:27). The migration experience is characterised by disruption of 'home' as one moves away from their homeland into an unfamiliar territory. The aim of this chapter is to examine how South Africans of Indian descent overcome their disruption of 'home' and attempt to settle into Australia. It is important to understand the migration integration experiences as they settle down into the host country as it exposes aspects of inclusion and exclusion (Penninx 2005).

This chapter predominately examines how immigrants integrate into the structures of society. Pietsch and Marshall (2015:40) state that the EU has "introduced a socioeconomic approach to integration and underlined the primary role of education, work, housing and health as areas of successful integration". Integration is seen as a two-way process where both the receiving society puts forward immigration policies to allow for the effective integration and immigrants take the initiative to participate in society (Ager and Strang 2008). Of significance are the social capitals (networks of relationships that provide support, information, and resources), human capital (knowledge, skills, education/credentials, stock of capabilities), financial capital (monetary wealth), and cultural capital (knowledge of cultural goods, values, environment) that immigrants have that would enable incorporation into the new society (Alencar and Tsagkroni 2019; Beel and Wallace 2020; Chai, Ueland, and Phiri 2018). These forms of capital, especially social and human, are important for the integration capacity of all immigrants (Brettel and Hollifield 2015). This chapter will show how study participants utilise various forms of social, human, cultural and financial capitals to integrate into the structures of society. It will consider the enabling and constraining aspects placed upon them and will primarily focus on how they obtain housing and employment. A plethora of literature focuses on how low-skilled migrants and refugees use social capital to acquire employment, housing and integrate into society (Alencar and Tsagkroni 2019; Hanley et al. 2018; Kaur 2015; Kindler 2015.; Spaaij 2012). Few studies examine what capital highly skilled immigrants use to settle into the host country (Thondhlana, Madziva, and McGrath 2016). This chapter will contribute to the existing body of knowledge on how skilled immigrants use various forms of capital to pursue integration.

**2 Setting up 'home'**

Narratives portray the reflective capacity of participants. As they look back, they are able to recall their experiences temporally and spatially in relation to certain events in order to make sense of various happenings of their lives (Chase 2008; Maines 1993; Riessman 2008; Somers 1994). As participants narrate their stories, they reflect on the initial years of their life in Australia and compare these memories to their lives in South Africa. They recall the difficulties they faced and what factors where important to them in settling down and how they overcame these difficulties to adapt to their new 'home'. The narratives portray how South Africans of Indian descent have managed to transition from one 'home' life to another, thus setting up 'home' for themselves. The narratives outlined by participants reveal the different journey's that were taken to adapt to society. While most participants related stories of the complications endured in the early years of migration and how they have managed to overcome certain obstacles faced, a few participants spoke about the ease of migrating into Australia.

**2.1. Cultural capital needed to transition into Australian society**

Participants narratives show a preconception about transitioning into a new society. An assumption was made that they had enough cultural capital to understand and navigate the various bureaucratic structures of society. This can be demonstrated in the following narratives.

> Danny: Look I think there's a kind of… maybe a misconception amongst people that, because Australia is in the southern hemisphere, and because Australia has sort of similar qualities and lifestyle to the rest of the Commonwealth countries, that it was going to be easy. But no, it wasn't.

> Mohammed: Initially, you coming into a new environment, you are new, you got to establish yourself again. I mean simple things, opening a bank account, buying a car, renting a house, all those things you take for granted in Durban, which you had to then think about, and it was that much more difficult but then you know, it gets easier...

Participants mention that Australia and South Africa share certain commonalities such as being commonwealth countries, being in the southern hemisphere which means that the climate is similar, as well as cultural activities enjoyed such as going to the beach, being interested in the same sports such as cricket and rugby and having a braai or barbecue, which makes it easier to adapt to the country. South African 'White' and 'Indian' students surveyed in South African universities revealed that they believed that South Africa and Australia share a similar culture, while 70% of Afrikaans speakers (both 'White' and 'Coloured') thought that they were similar

to Australians (Louw and Mersham 2001). Therefore, a public narrative is created that suggests that given that Australia and South Africa share certain commonalities it would be easy to adapt to the country. This, however, is a misconception as participants also needed to have a comprehensive understanding of how Australian society operates to adapt. Participants indicated that they had to 'establish themselves again', or 'had to learn everything' again. For instance, aspects that they had taken for granted in South Africa such as opening bank accounts, understanding how the public transport system works, buying a car, obtaining a driver's license, renting a house etc. all had to be relearned in Australia.

The sentiment of starting over again is also experienced by West African migrant women who stated that they had to "start from scratch and build up again" in Australia (Ogunsiji et al. 2012). This indicates that cultural knowledge is important for immigrants to integrate into society. This is also confirmed in the study conducted by Ager and Strang (2008) who also theorised that cultural knowledge is important for integration. In this study participants lacked the cultural capital needed to understand bureaucratic systems and procedures. Rather than have a surplus of cultural capital, they had a deficit which was an obstacle in integrating into society.

## 2.2 Social Capital Facilitating Initial Integration

Social networks provide the social capital needed for the initial transition into the country. The lack of social capital hinders integration, while the access to social capital promotes an easier transition into society (Kindler, Ratcheva, and Piechowska 2015) This can be seen in the narratives below.

> Radha: The other thing that was easy for us to come to, we moved to WA [Western Australia] first, was the fact that we had a family member that lived, that we knew of in Perth. So, that made it even easier because, generally, you go to a new country, you know nobody.
>
> Danny: Remembering the fact that we came here without having any friends or family. So, for us, this was just purely a move on our own. It was quite difficult. We had to learn everything. We had to learn about insurances, we had to learn about electricity, we had to learn about telephone contracts. We even had to redo our driver's license.
>
> Mohammed: …there were a few people we met, South Africans who have been here since the 70's and they were a great deal of support to us. And helped us through that transition period, you know, directing us in the right areas and made sure we got pointed in the right directions, you know, to help us.

The extract provided by Radha shows that having a social network present provided the social capital in the form of information which allowed her family to easily navigate the stresses of migrating and assisted in transitioning into a new society. Having a trusted family member also meant that a social connection to society is established, which assists in settling down. This indicates that the networks created are important as they facilitate the transition into the new country as they provide knowledge of the new environment, assistance, support, and advice (Frykman and Mozetič 2020; Knight, Thompson, and Lever 2017; Ryan 2011). In contrast, Danny's narrative demonstrates that since he lacked social capital it was more difficult for him to navigate society. Whereas Mohammed recalls successfully adjusting to society only when he came into contact with social networks that provided the necessary social capital he needed. This indicates that the social capital drawn from social networks are important in providing information and support that will allow for an easier transition into society. The importance of having social networks as support systems to socially integrate within society permeates participants' narratives. Social networks and social capital will be further explored in the next chapter.

## 2.3 The use of financial capital in establishing 'home'

Securing a decent household to live in is an important factor in settling into another society (OECD/EU 2018; Pietsch and Marshall 2015). Participants in this study indicated that it was relatively easy to find accommodation in Australia. Being skilled migrants who strategized their transition to Australia, these participants had the necessary financial capital to either rent or buy a house.

> Tony: …because you needed to get your family in order and work situation in order first. Yeah, that was it. The home life. Try and create that stability here, the balance and then get the work life going and so and we're still working on.

The narrative above indicates that having a 'home' was important to migrants as it facilitates stability in the transitional period. As skilled migrants who are financially stable and have obtained legal authorisation into Australia, it was easier for participants to secure accommodation. This facilitates the integration into society as having a physical dwelling place creates stability and security (Forrest, Johnston, and Poulsen 2013). In contrast, those who do not have the financial capital such as refugees and asylum seekers face a harder time in accessing decent housing and thus integrating into society. This can be seen in the study conducted by Ziersch et al. (2017) as refugees and asylum seekers in South Australia indicated

that living in poor housing conditions affected their health and wellbeing. Since participants in this study were financially secure, they had access to secure decent housing which assisted in their integration into society.

Participants in this study spoke about the importance of having a house. For Tony it was essential to have a place to create stability for his family. He prioritised getting his 'family in order' before he could even secure a job, which suggests the importance of having a dwelling. Mallett (2004:68) argues that 'home' is multidimensional, and shelter is one aspect of 'home'. Having a place or shelter, enables the family to create stability as they are not constantly moving around. It grounds them to a specific structure, where they can carry out their activities, build routine and familiarity as a family. Thus, for these participants it was important to have a physical place to settle in as it created stability and enabled them to start building a 'home life' (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Mallett 2004).

Forrest, Johnston, and Poulsen (2013) indicate that 67% of South Africans and 60% of Zimbabweans were homeowners after five years of living in Australia. Participants in this study also indicate that after living in Australia for a few years they could also purchase their own home. Participants also mention buying a house of their own as an important step in establishing themselves in the host country, as shown in the extract below.

> Mohammed: I can't pinpoint things, once you are established… after about three years we decided to buy a house and then you feel like a bit more like your own, it's your own.

For Mohammed, it was only when they acquired a house that he felt settled in. Having a house that he has ownership of is important as it means firmly putting down roots and anchoring himself and his family in Australia. Having a house to call their own is an investment in geographic space, tying them to Australia. It serves as a reference point to attach themselves to Australia in a more permanent way. He mentions having a house, or a physical place to call 'home', as the first aspect in getting established in Australia, thereafter other aspects such as personal safety, work and social connections follow, which enabled them to get settled into the new country. All these aspects together are important as it assists migrants to settle down and establish themselves and allows them to make a 'home' for themselves, which makes them feel like they 'belong'.

## 2.4 The constraints of social capital in establishing 'home'

Knight et al. (2017) argue that not all social networks are positive and assist migration adaptation. Wali and Renzaho (2018) indicates that social capital can also have negative consequences. In this study, although, participants emphasise the importance of bonding social capital in assisting their transition into society, there is a case where this social network was detrimental to the family. In this situation, the ill advice of an extended family member was a barrier in transitioning into society. This can be seen in the narrative below where Kavitha speaks of the misinformation about Australia given to her by her brother-in-law.

> Kavitha: Like in the initial stages you gave us all this false information and so only when we got to Australia now all these things start coming to light now about how things really are. Before you know it, my husband had been sitting at home for six months, no job. We were living on this guy's living room floor with my four children…

Since she was not correctly informed about job prospects and opportunities in Australia, it made it difficult for her husband to find employment. In addition, although she was promised rental accommodation by her brother-in-law, he did not honour the promise, thus the family of six had to live on the living room floor for ten months before they bought their own house. This shows that false information and promises not upheld by family members can jeopardise their integration into society.

Furthermore, Kavitha speaks of the control her brother-in-law has over the family. Her narrative indicates that patriarchal relationship exists between family members, where her husband's elder brother has much influence on the rest of the family. In the patriarchal structure the eldest male of the family takes the position as the head of the household and in this case the extended family. Patriarchy, within the family, gives men uncontested authority and power over others, especially women. Control over others forms a core value under which social life is organised (Mudau and Obadire 2017). This patriarchal family arrangement had a negative impact as it constrained the activities of other members of the family. This can also be demonstrated by Kavitha's narrative below as she explains the restrictions placed on her family in South Africa.

> Kavitha: And for years we had to wait until he moved to Australia so that we could move out of his mother's house to move to our property because he was like controlling everything with the mother and not letting us have our own lives and whatever.

Although the joint family system has declined amongst South Africans of Indian descent and is subsequently replaced by the nuclear family system, kinship ties remain strong (Jithoo 1991).

In this case the patriarchal family arrangement remains in-tact, exerting control and power over all other members of the family. The extract above demonstrates that the patriarchal structure has placed restrictions on mobility and the ability to create their own 'home'. This patriarchal relationship is still reproduced in Australia and affects the family's ability to establish a 'home' for themselves. This is seen in the extract below as Kavitha and her husband had to buy a house close to where her brother-in-law lived.

> Kavitha: So, eventually after 10 months we bought our own property, and we moved out 400 metres away from him.
> Subashini:   Why so close?
> Kavitha: Because he needs to be able… like when he is really drunk to walk back to his house. You know like the fear of driving so he can walk back to his house yeah.

The controlling influence of the older brother on the family has prevented Kavitha from having a firm say as to where they can purchase their home. Patriarchy has a negative impact on women as it erodes their agency in household decision making (Cheteni, Khamfula, and Mah 2019). Blunt and Dowling (2006) indicate that the socio-spatial relationship within the household is important in establishing 'home'. The relationship within the family system, in this case the extended family, is significant in either creating or inhibiting a homely environment. Kavitha's reveals that she feels that her brothers-in-laws' manipulation and control was detrimental to the family. In this patriarchal family arrangement, Kavitha feels unable to disclose her true feelings about the situation to her husband. This is revealed in the passage below when Kavitha discloses that she had changed the date of our interview so that her husband would not be privy to our conversation.

> Kavitha: This is the reason why I moved the meeting to tonight because my husband comes back home on Friday, and it has been very painful for me because I can see through what has happened and he cannot. And I do not want to hurt his feelings because these are people that he loves. I just do not want to create any pain for him…it is a sad situation where the brother has taken advantage of another brother and his family.

Kavitha's inability to share her thoughts with her husband is symptomatic of the inherent power relations that has kept her quiet. It is important to recognise and acknowledge that family relations, especially in an extended family situation, is also significant in creating homely and unhomely conditions, feelings, and experiences within the household.

**2.5 Changes in family dynamics**

Most participants indicated that the one of the biggest adjustments they had to make was within their own household. Since they did not have the financial capital to afford extra help with household chores and gardening as they did in South Africa, they had to rely on their own and their family members human capital to keep their household in order. This is reflected in the excerpts below.

> <u>Jayshree</u>**:**  This was one of the biggest things for us, like what do you mean there are no helpers?  We got to do everything ourselves, are you crazy?  Like seriously?  That was the biggest thing for me and maybe I was spoilt in South Africa in that you know we do have; we can get helpers to do the gardening.  You can get somebody to wash your car, you get people to fill your petrol, you get somebody to come and clean your house, like we're lucky like that.  In Australia we do everything ourselves because to hire a cleaner it's sometimes more expensive, it's like skilled labour…you can pay anything between $35 to $55 an hour. For a helper, that's a lot. That's a lot so yeah so that I think was a big adjustment for us that we had to do our own you know like cleaning after ourselves so that took away our weekend time.

> <u>Radha:</u> Whereas we have adapted in the sense that we all have to work.  I mean, my husband would mop the floor.  His sisters would have a heart attack if he did that in South Africa, you know.

In Australia, there are laws that protect the rights of workers such as the enforcement of a liveable minimum wage (Australian Government Fair Work Ombudsman 2021). Therefore, it becomes expensive to hire household help such as maids and gardeners which subsequently has an impact on how the household is run. This signifies that the wider society occurrences have an impact at the household level (Blunt and Dowling 2006a). In South Africa, there is a large pool of unskilled labour which was created as a result of colonial and apartheid policies of exclusion of 'black' people from the economy (Mariotti and Fourie 2014). Thus, the so-called privileges that South Africans miss abroad are also privileges created from a racist discriminatory regime. This is an aspect of society that South Africans have come to take for granted. However, living in Australia has made participants realise the need for support and that they have undervalued household assistance in South Africa.

The bridging networks present in South Africa that functions to assist in the sustainability of the household is no longer present in Australia. Highly skilled 'black' African women in Australia also speak of the loss of social capital experienced as there is no longer extended family to provide assistance and support. In Australia, they relied on their spouse for assistance.

(Gatwiri, Mwanri, and McPherson 2021). This is also noted in the case of South Africans of Indian descent.

Participants in this study revealed that their family lifestyle changed in Australia as their husbands and children[69] had to engage in household chores. For instance, Radha, mentioned that her husband also had to take care of the household. In South Africa, the traditional gender divide and patriarchal system is experienced within the household where women are responsible of taking care of the household, nurturing children, and caring for the elderly (Helman and Ratele 2016). However, in Australia, migrants are forced to deconstruct this gender binary as men also take part in caring for the household, subverting the socially constructed gender roles practiced in South Africa. Thus, to adapt to the Australian lifestyle, the strict gender disparity that they were used to in South Africa is being eroded in Australia which allows for men to take more responsibility in caring for the household and family. However, as men take more responsibility in the household, women have bigger burdens in settling down children, delaying their own career in order to set up the family in an environment where there is little support. This can be seen in the narrative on pages 197-198 as Jayshree delays her own career, to prioritize taking care of the emotional needs of her children and seeing that they settle down in the new society.

Gatwiri et al. (2021) states that since African immigrant families shared domestic work, they were able to overcome the challenging transition into Australia. Wali and Renzaho (2018) in their research on immigrant experiences in Australia also indicate that men from patriarchal 'home' backgrounds had to participant in household and childcare responsibilities in Australia so that their wives could work outside the household. Whereas Kuyini and Kivunja's (2020) research of African refugees in Australia, suggests that since it was difficult to uphold the patriarchal system it led to conflict and family break-up. Thus, living in Australia, were extended family assistance is limited, there is a need for immigrant men from patriarchal systems to also take responsibility of the household and childcare so that the family can adapt to living in the new country.

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[69] This study acknowledges that men and children might engage in domestic work in South Africa. In the context of the participants in this study, their families relied heavily on domestic help, therefore children's chores and men's' domestic assistance was limited in South Africa. In this study it was new for families to have their husbands and children do chores in Australia.

**2.6 Fly In – Fly Out work and the impact on 'home' life**

The last section examined the reconfiguration of family responsibilities which assisted the family to transition into Australia. For participants, whose husbands are mobile workers, this has presented unique challenges to immigration integration. Participants indicate that since their husbands have a fly-in/fly-out[70] organisational arrangement it has been difficult to adjust to not having a partner to assist with household and family responsibility. These participants have managed to navigate these difficulties by relying on bridging and bonding social capital networks in Australia to cope with their husband's absence. This is revealed in the following narratives.

> Kavitha: My South African Indian friends whose husbands are working like that and coming home like one week and they are away. It is a huge strain on the wife and the children, and they do not realise it. They just think I am earning so much more, double what I was earning in South Africa, and I am able to meet all of my obligations, so they think it is fine, you know.

> Pravisha:  Initially, when we got here, it was just flying solo. And with the little one, we enrolled in various playgroups and various activities, but he had his own issues with that move happening and Dad working away. He developed a sort of anxiety disorder. Because of the actual, even joining these different groups, he couldn't deal with groups of kids, so we had to withdraw from all of that. So, it was very isolating at the time. And we couldn't meet anyone, couldn't really, you know, foster friendships. But then further down the line, once he started school, his school happens to be very diverse. So, there's lots of other people from various countries.  His first big school, I think they had 22 kids in class, and they had 18 different nationalities. So, lots of lovely people and from that age of four or five. That's when I was able to really make friends and extend that circle.

The FIFO employment circumstances have caused a rift in family parenting roles and responsibilities (Dittman, Henriquez, and Roxburgh 2016). There is a conflict between duties of being the breadwinner of the family and a father who is present for his children. These extracts reveal that the FIFO work arrangement constrains family relations as the one parent is away for a considerable amount of time while the other parent has to cope with raising children and taking care of the household by themselves.

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[70] Mining operations established in the interior of Western Australia has led to the emergence of fly-in/fly-out work (FIFO). Those living on the coastal areas fly-into these mining areas and live there for an extended period and fly back 'home' to their family for a set number of days (Sibbel 2010).

Pravisha, who did not have any relatives or friends to assist her, indicates that having the support of other immigrant parents assisted in settling down as she now has a supportive network of friends she can turn to for advice and friendship. Participants mentioned forming support networks, socialising, and forming friendships with South Africans as well as immigrants from other countries through the schools that their children attend. Schools have become a space where South Africans can meet other migrants and establish social networks of support and grow friendships. In this way they are able to integrate into society as they have others to rely on for support, give and receive advice, and establish friendships with people from South Africa and other migrant communities. It is through these bonding networks and bridging networks migrants can support each other and in turn support their children in a new environment (Knight et al. 2017; Ryan 2011). In addition, Pravisha also indicates that these social networks have "continued to today" which suggests that long term continuous support is imperative to be able to cope with constraints. Although a constraint and absence are felt as their husbands are not present in the day-to-day activities of family life, these social networks are significant as it assists them to cope as support, advice and care are transmitted through these networks.

**3 Economic integration**

A report jointly published by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and European Union (EU) on migration, settlement and integration has determined that employment is "often considered to be the single most important indicator of integration" (OECD/EU 2018:24). Employment is thus deemed a necessary part of integrating into a new society or new 'home'. Because work life is a significant component of society, it is important to interrogate the transition into work in understanding if migrants are able to incorporate themselves into the new society and settle down. The narratives below trace the journey of how South Africans of Indian descent navigate the Australian labour market in an effort to secure employment. Udah, Singh, Hiruy, et al. (2019:1160) state that "access to meaningful employment is an important indicator of successful immigrant labour market integration, defined as securing a job appropriate to one's qualifications, skills, and experience".

Participants stories serve as a means of understanding the role of work as an aspect of integration into society. Being able to work in a job that suits one's qualification and experience is important as it contributes to wellbeing, self-esteem and being included within society (Udah,

Singh, Hiruy, et al. 2019). Since work plays an integral role in how migrants establish themselves and integrate into the new 'home', it is important to examine their work life.

### 3.1 Securing employment in Australia

In South Africa, many participants spoke of having well-paying jobs, good professions, and working in notable companies. Participants who were able to secure employment in South Africa before they migrated to Australia and those who were transferred to the Australian branch of the multinational corporation, they worked for were able to maintain their financial security. Participants who arrived without a job mentioned that it was relatively easy to find employment. Similarly, Forrest et al. (2013) in their study of middle-class South Africans and Zimbabweans found that only a few had any difficulty in securing waged or salaried employment. In this study most participants use human capital to secure employment. In addition, this study showed that some participants who came to Australia without securing employment, initially secured low paying jobs before they could obtain better paying jobs. These participants human capital was initially devalued in Australia, as shown in the excerpts below.

> Siva: Well, basically it was very difficult at first…They didn't want to acknowledge my work experience in South Africa, so I started working in a call centre and with my PhD and I was sitting in a call centre working with accounts and selling internet…then my break came in August of that year, when I got appointed to a junior lecturers position and then from there of course, I worked my way up to get up to my current position of senior lecturer.

> Jayshree: So, we went to Perth. We stayed there for about 8 months so I got a job in the first, in the first 3 months I think it was the second month, in the second month I got a job and it was a very low level job now I mean coming as a bank Executive and managing quite a few owned recruitment agencies and then starting from the bottom as a bank teller you know it was quite hard to accept that too but we needed to start earning dollars as soon as you could.

> Danny: So, when you come here, you can't expect to actually be in a senior role, you're going to have to take a role that's probably below you. And, so, if you have dignity issues, or if you're not humble, that can be hard. But what I then found was that, as you take those roles, and you show the organizations that you can do the job well, your promotions become quicker.

> Tony: What I do find with this society and maybe it's a little bit on the previous question. You need to earn your stripes here. So, you'll be given a chance, but you know, you do need to prove yourself. You need to show your value…once they gained the confidence in you then it opens up opportunities.

These excerpts reveal that these participants made a significant sacrifice as they lost income, job status and even their profession when they migrated to Australia. These narratives show that it was difficult for some participants to come to terms with acquiring a lower status job after they occupied prominent positions in South Africa. The theme of initially sacrificing titles, status and pay in the new society so that their children can have a better environment to live in is prominent in participants' stories.

The ease of securing a job indicates that the society is more accepting in providing job opportunities for migrants who possess specific skills. As the migration planning program recruit's individuals who have certain skills that are required for the country to be economically sustainable, it allows migrants to acquire work opportunities (Australian Government Department of Home Affairs 2019; Spinks 2010). However, since participants also mention having a difficult time securing a well-paying job in their field of expertise it suggests that the society is somewhat sceptical of their skills and ability to perform the job well. Nevertheless, a significant change occurs over time, as participants mention that as they prove themselves and employers' confidence in them grows, they are given the opportunity to secure better employment. This suggests that there is a reciprocal relationship between migrants and their employers, in that those who demonstrate their value and skills can acquire better employment over time. This is in line with Chiswick and Miller's (2007) study which revealed that immigrants to the US initially acquire low paying jobs and over time they are able to secure better and higher earning employment. The recognition that immigration is important for the economic growth as well as migrants taking the initiative to do well in the respective occupations is important for social mobility. As skilled migrants acquire employment, they experience an easier transition into society. As migrants receive an adequate income it allows them to sustain themselves in the new country which assists in building a foundation in the new 'home' country.

The OECD/EU (2018:24) indicates that securing a job of good quality is a "strong determinant shaping how immigrants find their place in society". For instance, in comparison to skilled African migrants in other parts of the world who have difficulty in finding work or stay in menial and lower paying employment (Idemudia and Boehnke 2020:130), these migrants are economically mobile. In addition, this also suggest that instead of relying on social capital to acquire jobs, as seen in the case of highly skilled Zimbabweans in the UK (Thondhlana et al. 2016) , these migrants can use their human capital to penetrate the labour market. Furthermore,

research into the integration of highly skilled 'black' African people in Australia shows that these migrants face employment discrimination and exclusion due to their 'race' (Udah, Singh, and Chamberlain 2019). Thus, it could be argued that employment opportunities are racialised, as Australia is more accepting of 'Indians' compared to 'black' Africans. In addition to understanding the dynamics between the state and labour market requirements in promoting employment opportunities, Australian social attitudes towards different migrant and 'race' groups also needs to be considered. Racism towards South Africans of Indian descent within the workplace is examined in Chapter 9.

## 3.2 Requalifying and retraining

Participants also mention that their qualifications were not recognised in Australia and the need to redo their qualifications so that their human capital would be accepted in the labour market. This can also be seen in the case of Keshan as he explained his transition to being permanently employed in his organisation. Initially, Keshan planned to stay in Australia temporarily. However, when his contract was renewed for twelve more months, he decided to make Australia a permanent 'home' for himself and his family. The extension of his contract opened by the opportunity for Keshan to consider permanent settlement in Australia. However, since his qualification as a surgeon was not recognised in Australia, he had to sacrifice financial capital to gain human capital, as seen in the following except.

> Keshan: So, anyway I put that whole system into process, and I had to do another set of exams and the salaries were not very good when you come as an overseas doctor, so it was sort of quite expensive to re-qualify so to speak. But that is common in many of these countries. It is like a way to keep people out of the system. I mean I am talking like you spend about almost 20 000 Australian dollars just to get all the qualifications and all the fees and so on you pay to the surgeon's college yeah.

Research indicates that skilled immigrants in Australia and Canada face challenges in securing employment in their profession as a result of non-recognition of overseas qualifications and experience (Cameron, Farivar, and Dantas 2019; Guo 2009; Osaze 2017). Studies into African migration to Australia also indicates that their skills where not recognised in Australia (Gatwiri et al. 2021; Ogunsiji et al. 2012; Udah, Singh, Hiruy, et al. 2019).

In this study, sacrificing financial earnings to acquire human capital was beneficial as it resulted in establishing himself within the system. He justified the sacrifice to financial earnings so that he and his family can benefit in the long run. The human capital gained enabled him to establish himself in permanent employment, thus economically integrating into society. Although,

attending college again was a sacrifice on his time and family, going through the process provided him with a new social network.

> Keshan: …working in the big hospital and then finishing up your professional qualification, it gave me like a cohort of people to move along with my career. So, after I finished then it was not like I was an Indian person from South Africa, it was like I was actually staff from the XY hospital you know what I mean. It was like if you substituted that for university say like all these people that graduated from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, they have something in common. When I finished up after 2 – 3 years at the XY hospital then I had like this bunch of people, like a cohort of associates and the people that I knew…and they all knew me in that context rather than someone who has migrated…

Keshan's identity of being a migrant, 'Indian', and South African was deconstructed as he immersed himself with the group of people, who like him, had to go through the training program to qualify in the medical field. As their perception of him changed, his identity was reconstructed as someone who is now part of the group and not an 'outsider'. By immersing himself and connecting to this college group he was able to establish bridging social networks which enabled him to integrate into this institution. Therefore, the social interactions and bridging networks created during his time of requalification was equally important in establishing a sense of belonging in his work life and thus integrating into society. Over time some migrants, such as Keshan, are able to become part of these 'inner circles' which enables them to progress in their occupation, but for those who are unable to do so they may experience economic insecurities and vulnerabilities (Cameron et al. 2019).

In this study, bridging capital networks that connects one to the host society is important. This can be seen in the excerpt below as Keshan contrasts his experience with a friend who migrated to Australia.

> Keshan: A friend of mine who is a gynaecologist he moved from Johannesburg to Melbourne when he was in his 50's. He did not do re-training and all of his qualifications were recognised and he set up practice and his practice was not very successful because no one knew him, he had no reference or referrals as a professional to be referred patients, you cannot see patients off the street…I think for me professionally because you kind of like injected yourself into professional life at a big public hospital and academic hospital yeah. So, it gave you a big base for referral. But if I just come in and set up my specialist practise no one will refer to you because no one knew you.

Since Keshan had 'injected' himself into the social networks within hospital he was known and thus received referrals. Although his friend had the human capital, this did not guarantee that he will be successful in Australia. In his profession, he needed strong bridging networks which would have allowed him to connect to the wider society and pool of potential clients. Putnam (cited in Ryan 2011:710) states that "outward looking bridging connections are important for 'getting ahead'". For many migrants who are making a new start, this poses a difficulty. Studies on African migration to Australia also indicate that establishing social networks in the host country are essential to gain employment  (Ogunsiji et al. 2012; Udah, Singh, Hiruy, et al. 2019).

In the extract below, Tony speaks of bridging networks being closed off for migrants which makes it difficult to secure employment and economically integrate into society.

> Tony: One of the things here is that the society sometimes can be closed. So, especially in terms of networks, it's all about networks and who the people you know. So, it's not always easy to penetrate networks as a migrant. So, even though they speak the same language, you understand everything, but trying to get into those networks, can be challenging. Because those are friendships.
> Subashini:  Why is it difficult to penetrate these networks, what are the barriers do you think?
> Tony:  Well, trust is one of those things. Ja, trust, one is trust, they aren't sure of you, and I think the other thing as well is in Australia and it is a well-known fact, you know, especially, it is difficult for migrants getting somewhere. There are elements of the population that view migrants negatively. There's a little bit of the population that do so.  I think often when people look at someone, they try and put them in a box to try to figure them out…and sometimes they aren't sure where you fit in so, until they do. And that is going to be part of the inner circle, that takes a bit of time.

Although understanding the same language has assisted South Africans to navigate the structures of Australian society, having that cultural capital did not guarantee the building of bridging networks with Australians. Since the Australian society does not trust immigrants and view immigrants negatively (Udah, Singh, Hiruy, et al. 2019; Udah, Singh, and Chamberlain 2019), this prevented immigrants from building bridging networks with this group.  Australian social attitudes towards immigrants are important in understanding the integration experiences of migrants. Although Australia permits the migration of highly skilled migrants, their skills might not be utilised due to not having bridging networks which is a barrier to economic integration.

In addition, skilled migrants also speak of the need to reskill in a different occupation to match labour market needs. This can be seen in the except below.

> Tony: So, the field that I was in was manufacturing, it's very low skill in this state. So, very few opportunities, very competitive and I have no local experience. Which is a big thing here. So, what I actually did is I've retrained during that, and I now work in one of the big fields which is aged care and disability... Eventually you realise that you've got to adapt, and you've got to adjust, and you've got move forward and that's where I found myself.

In the extract, Tony relates his experience with the Australia labour market. Since his skills did not suit the labour market in the state that he was living in, his human capital was not transferable in Australia. In addition, he reiterates that there were also few opportunities in his field which made it very competitive. Since he did not have local experience, this also made it difficult to secure employment. Udah, Singh, Hiruy et al. (2019) researching African immigration to Australia indicate that the lack of local networks and local work experience were also obstacles in securing employment and thus they had to retrain to acquire skills. This is also true in Tony's case as he also had to reskill to gain employment.

Although most participants in this study indicated that they were eventually employed in an industry that needed their skills, Tony was the exception as he had to reskill in a new occupation. The phrases used by Tony, 'eventually you realise', 'you've got to adapt', 'got to adjust' and 'move forward' indicates that he needed to adjust to the conditions in the new society to adapt. Furthermore, it also shows the agency of the participant as he is willing to move away from one industry to another to adapt. He also mentions the Australian government provided the necessary training that allowed him to switch occupations. Therefore, through the support of the government Tony was able to retrain to gain employment which enabled him to be financially stable and comfortable, and thus economically integrate into society. This conveys that the Australian government is willing assist in the integration of skilled migrants as various reskilling programs are available which are essential to assist migrants to adjust to labour market demands and thus adapt to society (AMES Australia 2021).

## 3.3 Subsequent internal migration of immigrants

In this study it was also noted that participants also tended to migrate to another city after their initial migration to Australia. Raymer and Baffour (2018) indicate that employment and building communities were cited as key reasons for subsequent migration in Australia. In this

study the two main reasons for internal migration were unsatisfactory work life conditions and better employment opportunities.

Workplace integration is needed for employees to lead fulfilling and meaningful lives. The type of work that employees do is important as it contributes to a rewarding experience. This was also the case for other skilled African migrants in Australia who indicated that the work that they were doing did not match the qualifications or skills that they had which created dissatisfaction and hampered integration (Udah, Singh, Hiruy, et al. 2019). In the except below, Kerisha explains that since her occupation did not fit her professionally, she decided to relocate so that she could find employment that added value to her life.

> Kerisha: So, I stayed in Sydney just about three months, I do not think changing and working for company X was the right fit for me professionally, or where I was going in my career, and given that I had moved alone and… I was pretty much there to do work. That laid a really big factor in my life, I was miserable at work and that kind of spilled over into everything else.

The narrative shows that the participant was unfulfilled with the type of work and unsatisfied with the quality of life she was leading. She also narrates that she could not live in the city of Sydney as accommodation was too expensive. She had a long commute to and from the suburban garage apartment which was not her ideal 'home' and a far cry from what she was used to in South Africa. The lack of financial capital in acquiring accommodation in the city made her life difficult as most of her time was spent commuting to her lodging.

After only working for three months in Sydney, Kerisha decided to move to another company in Brisbane. Since she worked in the same company in South Africa, she was easily able to adapt to the work environment. The extract below, indicates the importance of cultural capital and social capital in integrating into the workplace. This can be seen in the narrative below.

> Kerisha: I think one of the biggest factors was the Company Y so I was already familiar with how the firm works, the methodology…there was someone who I had not worked with directly but, we worked in the same office at Company Y Johannesburg…who when I moved to Brisbane it was at least a familiar face, there was a lot of other single girls from other countries that were living in and around the same area, in Brisbane I could afford to live pretty much in the city as did many of the other girls from Malaysia or Fiji or things like that we became a close circle of friends. That had a massive influence on being able to settle in a little easier and find my feet…because I had some background of how Company Y worked and how things fitted together, I think I could see myself adding value.

Kerisha's narrative reveals that there are many factors that assisted her in being more comfortable in Brisbane. Working in the same company as she did in South Africa created familiarity as she was used to the procedures and acquainted with 'familiar faces' which made adapting to the work environment easier. Duyvendak (2011) states that familiarity with place creates feelings of 'home', therefore these commonalities that she shared in South Africa made her feel more comfortable in her work environment.

Working at a job that gave her purpose was important as her reason for coming to Australia was fulfilled. In addition, establishing a 'close circle of friends' also made an enormous difference as she had people to converse with and rely on. Since it was cheaper to live in the city of Brisbane compared to Sydney, she was able to easily travel to work and interact with other single female migrants who lived in the city. Living in the city enabled her to create bridging social capital which helped her settle down as she now felt more connected to people and place.

As Kerisha identified herself as a single female migrant, she was able to find commonality and identify with others who shared the same identity as her. She was able to form friendships with people who were going through the same situation as herself. Being able to relate to others who she could identify with and who shared the same migration experience with was significant for her to cope in the new environment. Therefore, the familiarity of her work environment, feeling that she was adding value in her company, living in the city where she could easily commute to and from work, and most importantly having a support network made a difference in being able to adapt to society.

Relocation to another state is also determined by the job opportunities that arise. Some participants indicated that they would have preferred to stay in the same city as their relatives. However, due to employment opportunities being limited in their field of expertise in the state they were living in they had to relocate. This can be seen in the extract below.

> Jayshree: When we got there to Perth, because they had cousins, they were pretty much the same age as them [Jayshree's sons] and I think the way they welcomed and embraced us made us feel more comfortable…

> Jayshree: …so when we came to Melbourne, the decision to move to Melbourne was purely based on financial security…so we left Perth, we didn't know a single soul in Melbourne, like in nobody. It was fine so there was no rush for me to kind of go to work because part of that is yes financial security is important but also emotional security for the boys…that affected that too because again it was a big transition for

them, you know family and friends and then you know leaving Perth and then relocating here and not knowing anybody, so we didn't want to kind of you know put them under a lot of pressure so I decided to wait a little bit like to settle them in school before I got into another job and then I did. I waited for at least 4 months…Settle them in school, make sure that they were fine and then yes, then I secured a permanent position here.

Jayshree: …so part of me getting in here was to get them socially connected to people…and that was connecting through a passion of theirs which is cricket…so I joined, so before I even knew what suburb I was going to stay in here, I remember I phoned a cricket club, and I got the boys in a like in a cricket league

The extracts demonstrate that the family relied on their bonding social network in Perth to integrate into society, especially for the integration of their children. Her extended family provided the necessary support and comfort. In Perth, Jayshree's children interacted and socialised with their cousins, which created a support network which eased them into the new society. The move to Melbourne was purely based on 'financial security'. Participants indicated that they would have preferred living close to relatives as it created comfort. However, since employment opportunities in the field of expertise were minimal, families had to sacrifice their bonding social capital to gain financial capital. Since the bonding social capital was lost, Jayshree made a conceited effort to connect her sons to the new society.

Jayshree managed to find a cricket club for her children to join so that they could engage in an activity that they were passionate about. This indicates that in the absence of bonding social capital, Jayshree actively searched for bridging social capital so that her children could find a community connection in their new 'home'. She thus took an active role in assisting her children to transition into the new society. Educational and sport institutions can nurture social network formation amongst parents. Small (2009) has shown that such institutions encourage the building of child-related social capital. Recurrent interactions at school can accelerate the building and keeping of social ties between parents (also see Nast and Blokland 2014). Spaaij (2012) investigating Somali refugees in Australia, noted that sport can be used to build bridging networks to facilitate integration into the host society. If the parents engage in other education-related activities, such as after-school programmes for their children, the opportunities to build social networks will only increase. This appears to be particularly true of women, as Goodson and Phillimore (2008) found that women were more likely to develop social networks around schools than men. The significance that institutions play in the promotion of social networks for migrant communities is further emphasised in work by Wessendorf (2013) who studied

different groups of Vietnamese and Turkish speakers. These findings are similar to the research results by Chimienti and van Liempt (2015), looking at practices of Somali immigrants living in London.

Like Jayshree, many participants emphasised the importance of getting their children settled down in a new environment so that they could adapt and progress in the new environment. Through these narratives we come to understand that these migrants prioritise the financial security and the well-being of their children so that they can adapt and settle down in Australia. Being financially secure enabled migrants to adequately take care of their family, especially the needs of their children. However, both bonding and bridging social capitals are essential to assist immigrants and their children in integrating into the new country.

## 3.4 Integrating into Australian work organisation
Skilled migration to Australia is vital for the economic growth of the country as it alleviates skills shortage in the labour market (Laukova et al. 2022). The skills South Africans of Indian descent possess are necessary for the growth of the Australian economy. South Africans of Indian descent speak about their transferability of skills in Australia. Of importance, are the reasons for their human capital development and work ethic in South Africa. Their education and skills development were encouraged by parents in response to historic conditions of impoverishment and the harsh political system that subjugated 'Indians' to the fringes of society. This study shows that the human capital and cultural capital obtained by working in South African organisations assist participants to gain employment and promotion in Australia. This contributes to the economic integration of South Africans of Indian descent. These aspects come through in the narrative below as Mukesh denounces Australians for not appreciating the opportunities that they have.

> Mukesh: We're very different nation…when they come to work, people look at me and they're like, why are you so happy?  And I'd say we're happy. This is how we are…You know, we grew up in a very tough environment, but that makes us to enjoy what we have and here in Australia they literally have had everything provided by the government.  They don't understand the liberty of enjoying it…They don't have the resilience that South Africans have.  We are able to come out on top, if that's the way you wanna call that, and then Indian South Africans which is even worse, because your parents made you go to school and made you study, made you complete university. They don't understand the drive that your parents pushed into you as from the child. Here, if you don't go to school, you don't go to school.  It's just that mentality.

This extract highlights the history of racial and class struggle faced by South Africans of Indian descent. This story reveals the power dynamics within South African society, where South Africans of Indian descent had to strive that much harder to achieve the things that were denied to them. Mukesh and other participants in the study, trace their present ideology of working hard to achieve to not only to their own struggles within South Africa but also to the struggles of their parents and grandparents. Generations of South African Indians where denied equal opportunities and suffered under the various government regimes (Bhana and Pachai 1984; Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000; Pillay 2014; Bagwandeen 1983; Vahed and Desai 2010). For instance, Mudly (2011:172) in her autobiography writes on her family's history. She states that

> Our forefathers worked their fingers to the bone to ensure that we, their descendants, live a far better life than theirs. They persevered against all the odds stacked against them. They scrimped and they saved, and they put up with the worst indignities with us in mind. Their commitment, their resoluteness, and their pride in everything they did should serve as a reminder to all of us to strive for success in all aspects of our lives.

Living in a communal society made them witnesses to their grandparents and parents' strife. Thus, a great weight is placed on the value of education and working hard to achieve as generations of South African Indians were denied certain opportunities and had to struggle so that the future generation could live a better life. Therefore, the development of highly skilled South Africans of Indian descent is a response to the harsh political and economic conditions in the country. These memories, experiences of struggle, value of education and hard work is entrenched into their consciousness and carried over to Australia where the same values are applied. It is these aspects of their identity that they have retained in Australia.

Participants apply the same workplace cultural capital learnt in South Africa to the Australian society. However, for some participants the work-hard ethics applied in South Africa was a cause of concern in Australia, as can be seen in the following extract.

> Mukesh: And when I first got here, I was told to not work so hard and I was like, but this is how we normally do it. What are you guys talking about? This is normal… so it was a bit of a culture shock and I had a work colleague who was from Iran and he moved here as well, for the same company and he told me, listen, he pulled me aside once and said you need to calm down, because at the work rate that you're doing, a lot of people are gonna think you're trying to take their jobs. So, you just chill the hell out, and I, you know, but that's how they have been groomed here.

This implies that the degree of hard work applied in South Africa is much greater than in Australia. Participants had to learn new cultural capital to effectively integrate within the workplace. However, in Australia Mukesh's hard work ethic did not go unrecognised, as conveyed in the passage below.

> Mukesh: I've been recently promoted to a head of a division here in overlooking, overseeing Australia, New Zealand, and I really enjoy the work that I do… when we were working in South Africa, everybody knew that this was what we needed to do to get the job done.  Here, it's not my job, I'm not doing it, and it's a very different mentality, but it also comes from the fact that in South Africa…you're expected to do whatever needs to be done to get the job done and here it's not my job.  I don't get paid to do it, so I'm not doing it and, you know, in a way I can understand where they come from, because…we do still get taken advantage of especially as an Indian in South Africa. The work that I was doing there in South Africa is actually, if I, I don't even, I can be honest, I don't even do a third of the amount of work that I do here, and I've been promoted in three years. In South Africa, I had to wait probably about ten years to be promoted in the same company.  So, there's still that issue in South Africa whereas an Indian person, you are expected to just do the work and be happy doing the work and here you do get rewarded for it…but it's nice to be recognised for the work that you do, and in Australia you do get a lot of recognition for the work and in South Africa…you wouldn't necessarily get recognition for it and that's the big difference.

In the narrative above, Mukesh illustrates the difference working in Australia compared to South Africa. He indicates that in South Africa, more work is done while there is limited opportunity for promotion. This is contrasted to Australia, were he only works for the hours stipulated, yet there is more opportunity to be promoted. This points to unfair discrimination in South Africa. The South African Human Rights Commission (2016:7) states that "South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world, and the occurrence of discrimination in the workplace remains considerably high". Within this context, Mukesh feels "taken advantage of especially as an Indian in South Africa". His identity as an 'Indian' in South Africa, is a cause of discrimination. The high level of unemployment, together with government policies such as BBBEE and Affirmative Action has meant that South Africans of Indian descent may be vulnerable to exploitation and job insecurity. This implies that in order to remain employable South African Indians must work harder even if it means taking over responsibilities not meant for them. For the period 2014 – 2016, the majority of unfair discrimination complaints received by the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) related to persons not receiving equal pay for equal work value. Under this category, racial discrimination was the second largest grounds for complaint (South

African Human Rights Commission 2016). It is, therefore, common for South Africans to work harder or longer hours and not be compensated for it. A person's 'race' was also the reason for not receiving equal pay for the amount of work done. The SAHRC (2016) also points out that the statistics received by the CCMA might not be a true reflection due to non-reporting of unfair discrimination in the workplace. Non- reporting of unfair discrimination is more likely to happen in cases where employees are in vulnerable positions or precarious occupations (South African Human Rights Commission 2016). This implies that although South African Indians may work hard, there might not be any recognition or promotion which makes economic mobility difficult.

Mukesh appreciates that in Australia he is treated fairly and recognised for the hard work he has put in. Being in a different environment has allowed him to be acknowledged and valued for his efforts. The value of hard work that has been instilled, nurtured, and passed down from generation to generation by South African Indian families which pays off in a society such as Australia that rewards productiveness and industriousness. This contributes to the economic integration of these migrants which enables them to settle down more comfortably as they come to be financially secure.

## 4 Embracing Australian social structures

As people construct narratives, they are able to articulate their experiences of the wider social world or social structures in narrative form (Somers and Gibson 1994). Social structures provide a framework of society that guides human behaviour and provides directions and limitations on how one should act and interact with others (Henslin 2017:99). The narratives provided by participants shows how they perceive the new society has influenced their lives, behaviour and thinking towards aspects of their past 'home' in relation to their new 'home'. Participants indicate that over time it was easy to integrate into the structures of Australian society. They feel that they have successfully integrated into the structures of Australian society and have embraced some of the value systems set in Australia. This section discusses these aspects.

**4.1 Australia a more 'egalitarian' society**

Participants perceive Australian society as more 'egalitarian' as South African society. This egalitarianism is valued and has informed their adaptation. This can be demonstrated in the narratives below.

> Keshan:  There were several things which I liked about Australia, several things I didn't like about it. Some things I liked was that it was a more sort of egalitarian society. It was not a huge difference between like the richest person and the poorest person. Everyone was kind of dusted around the middle. It was more sort of informal and the people sort of did not really stand in a lot of ceremony in terms of like hierarchy. Yeah… so I thought it would be a good a place to bring my children up in Melbourne.

> Jayshree: …because the way we earn here our salary structure's very different to South Africa…you have to be a doctor, lawyer in South African terms.  Doctor, lawyer, professor, whatever to earn a certain income, here whether you're a cleaner or whether you a plumber, anybody who's good with their hands earns good money here.  So, there's no, there's no looking down on anybody because of what you do. So even people that are cleaners earn great money. People that work in like in retail stores earn good money because we have minimum wage here. There is no exploitation…no profession is frowned upon and then that then makes it better or I should say less pressure on kids to say "Oh you've got to be a professional" because what does that even mean…And I really love that about this country the fact that they did not look at people as inferior or superior. Because in South Africa what they do is they look at you, they look at your title, they look at your job, they look at your suburb, they look at the car you drive.

Living in Australia these participants have come to value the pay structure of society. Globally, South Africa is considered one of the most unequal countries, having the "greatest inequality of income in the world" (Francis and Webster 2019; Nqwane et al. 2021). In Australia, the minimum wage is higher in comparison to South Africa. Therefore, those who are working in non-professional occupations, such as the retail industry, also earn a good living wage (Australian Government Fair Work Ombudsman 2021). A survey conducted in Australia indicated that the majority of its participants considered themselves as middle-class (Sheppard and Biddle 2015) while the OECD report has categorised 58% of the Australian population as middle-class (OECD 2019). Seeing that Australia is a more 'egalitarian' society, both Keshan and Jayshree agree that is it a good place to raise children.

Since Australia is a middle-class country, this is also reflected in how people interact with one another.  Keshan says that interaction is 'informal' and 'people sort of did not really stand in a lot of ceremony in terms of like hierarchy', suggesting that as people earn more or less the same salary across all occupational groups a middle-class society is formed which erodes the

social hierarchy and thus people are treated with equality. This sentiment is reiterated by Kesi and Kerisha. Kesi also compares South Africa and Australia in relation to the flattened social hierarchy present in the country. He cites that a doctor can live next door to the garbage collector, thus neighbourhoods in Australia are not stratified according to high-income or low-income areas compared to South Africa. In South Africa, the place where one lives is determined by historic racial inequalities propagated by the apartheid system and the current income inequalities which also creates spatial inequalities (Plagerson 2021), however, in Australia since income is higher, there is a low level of residential segregation based on income.

> Kesi:..in South Africa, you know, if someone is a doctor you know they're on top of the world, here the doctor is living in the area with…the garbage cleaner is living on the other side of you, so there's no job reservation…and then when you go to work and you go to a hospital, that guy that's your boss is Dr Smith, you won't call him Dr Smith, you call him by his first name, so it is more casual in terms of the working environment over here and it's still like that. It's still like that, you know, in South Africa it's different, not to say one is better than the other, but there seems to be more of a class consciousness about South Africa, not just amongst the Indians, although the Indians are very much like that, but it was different here, it was easier to adjust.

> Kerisha: Um, I think – so there is no real hierarchy if I can call it that. Well, there is formal hierarchy for pay and things like that but, in terms of talking to someone, whatever rank they are it does not matter or whatever job they have it does not matter you talk to people with equal amounts of respect. I also I think in South Africa we do not really have that, I think, especially in formal environments the senior partners…nobody can talk to them, and nobody can do anything against them kind of thing, um, whereas in Australia it is not like that. I also think that there the cultures a lot more casual there is a lot more freedom, there are those pockets of people that are very rigid and set in their ways, but, in general I think there is a lot more casual freedom and things like that.

Kesi indicates that as there was no class-consciousness it 'was easier to adjust' to living in Australia. Whereas the work environment in South Africa is hierarchical, and there is 'class consciousness', making communication between senior and junior staff very rigid, formal, limited or even non-existent, thus communicating to implement effective change is difficult as 'nobody can talk to them' or 'do anything against them'. Kerisha reiterates the casualness and ease of interactions through the concept and value of 'mate-ship'.

> Kerisha: And I think it is just the, the nature or the way they do things is a lot more casual than the way we do things in South Africa. So, I think it just goes with that into the part of a casual conversation you just call them, "mate" or whatever works in that moment. I think when I first moved somewhere I read it must have been in one of those airplane magazines, I think where they said, "In Australia there is the concept of mate-ship," And when you get in a taxi you do not sit in the back seat, you sit in the front

seat because there is the conflict of 'mate ship' that the person sitting next to you is equal and not that anyone is less more than the other. You know the taxi driver is not your servant and you do not sit in the back and do not talk to him, you sit next to him, you have a conversation that is the spirit of 'mate-ship."

Kerisha considered the idea of 'mate-ship' to be an important one that Australians have imbued and live by in their everyday interactions. Reardon (2003:iii) states that "mate ship is widely considered to be an Australian convention that embodies egalitarianism in Australian culture". 'Mate-ship' considers every person to be seen and treated as equals as there is no class distinction between people based on their occupations. Kerisha recaps this concept through the example of how a taxi-driver should be treated as an equal and not a servant reiterating the encouragement of equality within society. Keshan's reflective piece elaborates that he views Australia as a more accepting and caring society as the Australian government has made a concerted effort to care for the aged and those with disabilities.

> Keshan:   And like for example when I was growing up … amongst men like gay people are discriminated against and they would kill people to make jokes about them that kind of thing. But people say okay, it is happening in Australia as well but with the way everything is in the society is towards acceptance of people who are minorities. The legislation on gay marriage that kind of thing… so that has kind of like helped me to understand and when you meet… more communities what I call like marginalised groups of people, and when you would meet and interact with them there is certainly changes any pre-conceived ideas or prejudices that you have…so what I found when I was in South Africa the society was sort of more communal and stratified. So, you interact only in your own community if you really wish to …. It was more communal than secular. So, looking back I regret for example not socialising with the people that I went to medical school with like African members of my class. And it was something we grew up with…so we would socialise with them on the campus but not outside the campus and that is very artificial. I was living in a strange society, but I felt very bad about it when you think back, I said this was a really sick society that we lived in…but we were kind of like living in this system where we did not really know that anything was wrong. I did not know how people lived elsewhere, respect for human life and so on. That is all different in different places in the world. When I went to places like India and Myanmar human life is not respected very well. People look after things more than human life and to a certain degree in South Africa as well. Whereas come to Australia I had seen like for example down syndrome, people with down syndrome were cared for and they would live well into their 40's and 50's. That would be interesting for me because I have not seen elderly people with down syndrome. In South Africa they die well before they got to that age from a variety of things. But that society here did value, and they have like the social network, the social care is big, or the network is bigger, caring for people. Mental disorder/intellectual impairment tolerates, integrates into the community. So, you would have people living in the community where I live where there is like some halfway houses where people who are intellectually disabled. But they are well known, and they often wander around the neighbourhood and that is all part of life. That people are not sort of upset or ashamed or they are not hidden away.

Keshan is reflective of the insular and communal society that he grew-up in in South Africa, where people were attached to their own community and social interaction with other groups were limited. These narratives show that participants reflect on the structures of South Africa and compare it to the current society that they live in. Since Australia is perceived by these immigrants as a more egalitarian, accepting, and caring society they have come to embrace and value these aspects.

This can be contrasted to experiences of asylum seekers and refugees to Australia who are escaping the conflict experienced in their own countries. These immigrants are 'criminalised' as they come to endure mandatory and indefinite detention at offshore detention centres, marshalled through 'processing', and only allowed to resettle in Nauru or Papua New Guinea if they have the proper documentation (Hartley et al. 2019; Passardi et al. 2022). Settlement in these two places indicate that they are not allowed to become part of the wider Australian society. This indicates that the 'egalitarian society' is permitted only for those who are seen as acceptable in the eyes of the Australian government and society.

**4.2 Valuing work life-balance**
In Australia participants have come to value the work-life balance lifestyle. Work-life balance is described as "achieving a balance between employees' family life and work life" (Jackson and Fransman 2018:4). Since work-life balance is achieved this has allowed them to spend recreational time with family. This is important as it facilitates adaption into society. For Kavitha and Jayshree, who are working mothers, work-life balance is important to them.

> Kavitha: And one of the things of my Australia lifestyle is there is an eight-hour work, an eight-hour rest and eight-hour leisure. So, there's work-life balance. And I've learnt to make the most of that. In the five years that I was at home, I enjoyed doing all of these extracurricular activities with the kids.

In South Africa, Kavitha relates that her work life, family life and extended family life was too demanding. Thus, her reason for leaving South Africa centred around escaping the demands of life, she fully embraced the work-life balance lifestyle in Australia. As a mother, she appreciates and values the work-life balance lifestyle as she has more time engaging in extracurricular activities with her children. Jayshree also compares her work-life in Australia to South Africa.

> Jayshree: I don't think it's as competitive and they have more flexibility in terms of accommodating people in terms of their work environment and their workspace and also taking into account family time because here you can have four days a week or you

can job share to help people. So, they're extremely accommodating and flexible like that because the company won't be losing anything. It's just that you have as opposed to having one person five days a week you'll have two people five days a week…and also like flexibility if they can accommodate you to work like flexi-hours like for some moms will say, I'd prefer to start work at 7:30 and finish at 15:30. They'd be like sure absolutely. So, they, not really rigid like they are in South Africa…you got to work from you know 8:00 till 16:00 or whatever. They very accommodating to family and quality of life.

Jackson and Fransman (2018:4) state that "flexible working hours appeared to be a tool to facilitate the flow of transition between work and personal life. Making use of flexible working hours enables employees to manage priorities on hand, either family or personal needs or organisational needs". Gross and Mostyn (2021) indicate that 70% of Australian workplaces have a flexible work policy. This flexibility has allowed immigrants to negotiate work times which enabled them to navigate running a household, caring for children and work effectively.

## 4.3 Community programs

The Social Development Department offers support to communities and vulnerable people through its many programs and services (Australian Government Department of Social Services 2021). Community programs assist immigrants to adjust to living in a new country. These programs offer immigrants a support system which enables them to integrate into society. Keshnie for instance speaks about the classes she has participated in.

> Keshnie:…the first year and a half we lived in Melbourne… and so during that time I wasn't working then, but I was introduced to….a community programme for new mothers, so I was, yeah, I was part of a mothers group, which was really nice because it gives you sort of that sense of belonging, with the fellowship and the connection to the community and that was nice… then moved to Sydney last year…I also find like, you know, the community programmes is very much like the one I enjoyed with the mother's group…that was really helpful in building communities, especially for someone who is new to Melbourne, new to Australia… there are also programmes for the elderly and this is also something I saw probably a few months ago but I was extremely impressed by their community programmes because they had programmes that are focused on bridging the technology gap, like maybe the elderly are not comfortable with using a smart phone or they might not be able to navigate on a laptop and understand okay what these particular programmes do, how do you work on social media, what are these concepts and how do you put them into practice in everyday life. So, there are actually community programmes in schooling the elderly that help them get up to speed about how to use technology in their lives…because like I've also got family in South Africa, they're still a little bit lost in terms of…how do you use a smart phone, yeah. So, it's those little things that make a big difference.

For Keshnie, the community group created 'a sense of belonging', 'fellowship' and 'connection

to community'. Community programmes thus promote bridging social capital. These community groups are essential as they create supportive systems, especially for those who have recently immigrated and who do not have family or friends to assist them in their integration process. Hyde and Chavis (2008) indicate that people have meaningful lives when "they experience feelings of belonging to their community". Since immigrants are able to access community programmes it creates supportive networks which assists in creating feelings of belonging to the community. This subsequently leads to integration into society. Keshnie comments that such community programmes assist in 'building communities'. As immigrants gain more information or cultural capital this assists them to live better lives and make informed decisions. This also builds solidarity and fosters social cohesion. For immigrants, community programs provide an avenue in which they can become more informed citizens and serves as a space in which they can connect to community members and form bonding and bridging networks which provides the necessary support to integrate into society. Keshnie states that "those little things that make a big difference", thus these community programmes have a significant impact on participants and contribute to bringing people together and creating inclusive societies.

## 4.4 Education system

One of the reasons participants cited as their motivation to migrate is to secure a better future for their children, especially with regards to access of equal educational opportunities. Therefore, the educational system in Australia is important for these migrants. Participants reveal that their children have successfully integrated into society as there are educational opportunities for their children. Jayshree, whose children have attended primary to tertiary levels in Australia, elaborates on her experience of the educational system.

> Jayshree: …and the support and empowerment for young people is amazing in this country is that they look at your disadvantage. They look at your circumstances. You are well supported in school, and you know for kids that have learning disabilities for you know kids that come from different countries, for children that have English as their second language the support is phenomenal. For every child is giving an equal and I think equitable opportunity, where everybody's not painted with the same brush you know.

Boyle and Anderson (2020:203) state that "inclusive education is a firmly established and recognised part of educational discourse and policy in Australia and has been for more than a quarter of a century". For instance, students who have learning disabilities and those children who come from different countries where English is not their first language are well supported (Boyle and Anderson 2020; Parliament of Australia 2017). The educational system is more

attuned to the needs of the child to uplift them so that they have an opportunity to flourish and integrate within the Australian environment, which according to Jayshree makes it a more equitable society. This inclusive education practice is also experienced at a tertiary level.

> Kesi: Every student in Australia has the right to go to university if they want to go to university. So, if you meet the entrance you can go to university and the government gives you a loan. Which is called HECS, H-E-C-S, it's the Higher Education Contribution Scheme…But if you're earning sixty thousand dollars you will start paying…through your tax system, every month as they take out your tax, they'll take out a little bit towards your contribution. So therefore, now nobody can say I cannot afford to go to university.

> Jayshree: ….so it's equal for everybody. It's fair, it's that it's a fair system because you're not disadvantaged by you know inter generation poverty or you know because your parents can't make it then you also don't have a future because your parents couldn't make it.

Marks (2008:71) states that "the core element of the HECS is a deferred, income contingent loan in which students are charged tuition fees but later pay back part of the cost of their university education through the taxation scheme". The 'loan' will be paid back through tax deductions only when their income earning reaches a certain threshold level. The HECS system thus "avoids the problem of fees creating a barrier to participation amongst poor (that is, cash constrained) but capable applicants" (Marks 2008:71). The system enables those who cannot afford the high tuition fees an opportunity to study the career of their choice. Jayshree also states that this is a 'fair system' as no one is disadvantaged based on their life circumstance as it provides an equal opportunity for all. It helps individuals overcome intergenerational poverty and creates a chance for those who are impoverished to succeed. Since access to education is a key factor to immigration integration, the children of these participants have access to education which ensures their economic integration into Australian society.

**4.5 Provision of health care**
Access to healthcare is one of the factors that leads to the structural integration into society (OECD/EU 2018). Since participants health and wellbeing are addressed, this contributes to their integration into society. Kesi, who is a part of the medical profession, speaks about his experiences with regards to the healthcare that he is receiving in Australia.

> Kesi: So, you go to hospital, every public hospital is free to every resident of Australia. So, you don't have to pay, unless you're going to a private hospital. If you want to go to a private hospital, like let's say you've got a fractured knee... If you go to the public

system, it might take you longer, but you will get your operation, however, if you're having a heart attack, whether you go to a public or a private place they're both going to treat you as quickly as possible anyway. If you're having a burst appendix...they will treat you in the public hospital just as quick as in the private hospital or even quicker in the public hospital because you've got a doctor on site. So, me, I have never had private health insurance ever. All my children... both my children were born through the public system. We didn't have to pay a cent we only go to doctors that are actually bulk bills, so we don't pay a cent and if we want to go for an X-ray or whatever we only go to an X-ray practice that are only bulk bill, so we don't pay the extra. So, from that perspective the health system is extremely good, and the public hospital system is excellent, absolutely excellent. Not words that I use very lightly because I've been involved in the system, I'm also one of the harshest critics but from the health perspective I know…I know for them to get health treatment now they have to go to King Edward Hospital or Addington [in South Africa], they go and sit there the whole day. Go at eight o'clock in the morning and come back at nine o'clock at night and they still haven't been seen. You know, so from that perspective I can truly and honestly say, and I know the systems of health in England with the NHS or the system in Canada, those are some of the good systems throughout the world, but I think Australia has probably got one of the best health systems in the world.

In Australia, the mandatory public medical health insurance scheme is referred to as Medicare. Medicare "provides healthcare coverage to citizens, permanent residents, refugees and citizens of a group of countries that have reciprocal healthcare coverage agreement with Australia" (Dixit and Sambasivan 2018:3). Medicare is financed through taxation by charging "1.5% of each person's income or 2.5% of the income of individuals and families who have not purchased private insurance and earn over an income threshold" (Dixit and Sambasivan 2018:3). Thus, when one goes to a doctor that operates on a bulk billing service, the doctor will recuperate costs through the government so that the patient does not have to pay. Doctors may also charge a gap fee to recover costs, however this fee is nominal. Since people pay towards the medical care system, there is low or no cost to access some health services (Australian Government Australian Services 2021). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has recognised the Australian healthcare system as one of the best in the world (Dixit and Sambasivan 2018:1). Survey data on the public experience of the Australian healthcare system show that "there are predominately positive views towards the Australian health system, and these have improved over the past decade. Almost half of Australians view their healthcare positively" (Ellis et al. 2020:101). Kesi reflects on and compares the Australian public hospital system with that of the hospitals he knew in Durban (South Africa), such as King Edward and Addington, where patients receive dismal treatment as they have to go to the

hospital early and wait for a long time to be given medical attention. This indicates that access to quality and affordable medical care contributes to the process of integration, as participants in this study are reassured that their health needs are taken care of which brings them a sense of comfort and ease.

### 4.6 A safer 'home'

As shown in the previous chapter, many participants indicated that crime was a major issue in South Africa that spurred their migration. Although participants acknowledge that crime does take place in Australia and have cited examples, the extent of crime is lower compared to South Africa, which makes them feel safer. This feeling of safety and security has facilitated their integration process. Since the environment is safer in Australia, participants tend to have a different lifestyle in Australia compared to South Africa.

> Kesi:  You can, not to say there's no crime here, but the probability of you getting mugged over here compared to over there is very different.... And then a lot of people don't have fences....over here. So most of the houses that we have here they have little picket fences, you don't even... you can step over it to get in, so you know, there's crime...cars get stolen from our neighbourhoods and people get broken into, like everywhere else, but you know, from a safety perspective it is a far safer environment to bring your children up in and to grow up in and to live in.

> Siva: I think the security is a big thing.  Here at my house, we don't have burglar bars and all that kind of stuff.  That's the other good thing.  I mean you do get theft and so on, my neighbour's house was burgled into when she went home to South Africa for a holiday.  You do get that, but that happens everywhere I think, theft opportunities as people look at it. My car, I also don't feel unsafe, I think I can even leave it open too and it's not a problem.  The freedom of movement I think is good…

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the safety of participants' children was a priority and a fear for their safety was a motivation for immigration, therefore living in safe Australian neighbourhoods meant that their children could grow up in a safe environment. A safer environment enabled participants to engage in outdoor activities. The state provision of outdoor recreational facilities has created an opportunity for families to engage in these spaces as seen in the extract below.

> Jayshree:  Well, here we do we get to do a lot of outdoor stuff so we can you know ride our bikes, take walks to gym, which is like very new to us, which is part of the state, so we have like a communal gym, swimming pool…facility here where we stay.
> Siva: I think one of the good things of Australia, not really home, but I think one of the good things is the fact that we have all these lovely bicycle parks, walking and running

parks. I really enjoy the recreation areas and the fact that you can walk anywhere at any part of the night or day and feel safe.

The Australian government provided many facilities that encourage people to lead an active and healthy lifestyle. Since outdoor facilities are accessible to the wider public, Jayshree and her family tend to do 'a lot of outdoor stuff', which she saw as something 'new to us'. In South Africa they did not engage in such activities in leisure and recreational areas. This could be due to criminal activity that occurs in parks rendering such recreational areas unsafe for families (Odeku and Sifiso Rudolf 2019). They have come to value their freedom of movement as they 'feel safe' to walk in their neighbourhood any time of the day and night, without any fear of being assaulted.

However, Siva comments that although he feels safe and his neighbourhood which offers much recreational facilities that he enjoys, he states that Australia is 'not really home'. This suggests that although South Africans of Indian descent have made concessions to adapt to the new environment and embrace many aspects of the Australia society, this does not necessarily make Australia 'home'. This sentiment is also shared by many participants interviewed. The creation of a sense of 'home' in Australia is analysed in the next chapter.

## 5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that immigrants have, create, and attain various forms of capital which they use to integrate into the structures of society. The unique stories of transition provided in this chapter show how participants overcame difficulties to integrate into society. While a few migrants integrated into society with relative ease, many indicated that the initial years of transition was difficult. There is an assumption that migrating to Australia is relatively easy as both countries share certain similarities, however the reality of migration is that one must establish oneself again and relearn the facets of the new society in order to adapt. The lack of cultural capital in the initial years in Australia impaired their ability to understand the systems of society which was an obstacle to integration. Over time as they learnt the functions of these systems, they were able to easily navigate society. Participants mentioned that having family or friends in Australia provided the necessary support, advice, guidance needed to navigate the new society. Those who did not have the necessary social capital felt it was more difficult to integrate into society compared to those who did. In one case the bonding social

capital was an obstacle in integrating into society. This indicates that having social capital in itself is not enough. The type of social capital that a person has is important. Positive (bonding and bridging) social capital leads to integration while negative (bonding and bridging) social capital hampers integration.

It was a priority for immigrants to have a physical dwelling place such as a rented accommodation or house to create stability for the family in a new place. Since immigrants were able to save enough financial capital before they departed South Africa, it enabled them to acquire rental accommodation or buy houses. Buying a house symbolised settling down and establishing roots in the country. Financial capital was also required to maintain the lifestyle that they had in South Africa. Since it was expensive to hire labour to work in the home, participants used their human capital to care for the household. This eroded the strict gender roles practiced in South Africa.

Compared to skilled African migrants in the UK who use their social capital to find employment, migrants in this study relied on their human capital. In this study it can be shown that participants human capital was devalued as they could initially only secure lower paying jobs or their qualifications were not recognised in Australia. This conveys a lack of trust and confidence in their capabilities. Participants speak of the concessions they made such as leaving their bonding social capital behind to move to another location so that they can obtain better employment opportunities or sacrificing financial capital so that they can gain human capital as they requalify for jobs. FIFO work also had an impact on the household as mothers experienced strenuous circumstances as they take care of household and family responsibilities. It was important for these immigrants to build bridging networks, for instance by assisting their children to join local crickets clubs and forming friendships with co-workers or other immigrant parents so that they could receive and offer the needed support, especially in the absence of bonding social capital.

Participants also attribute their successful economic integration to the values that they brought with them which were historically instilled through the generations. Coming from a society that oppressed their identity, they have learnt the value of hard work so that they could be economically stable. Many sacrifices were made in South Africa so that their children could live a better lifestyle and not be burdened with poverty. The hard work ethic passed through generations is also practised in Australia. Though their hard work they have come to be

recognised and rewarded for their efforts in Australia.

Participants embrace the various aspects of the Australian society such as the education and health systems, living in a safer environment and the values embedded in society. These aspects were perceived as lacking in South Africa. However, although participants have transitioned into the new society as they have supportive networks, have acquired well-paying jobs, and live in a country with enabling structures, many participants maintain that these aspects do not provide them with feelings of 'home'. This indicates that establishing a sense of 'home' is more than transitioning into the structural aspects of society. This is interrogated in detail in the next chapter.

**Chapter Eight**

**Recreating the South African 'Home' in Australia**

## 1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to understand how South Africans of Indian descent create a sense of 'home' in Australia, while they are still connected to South Africa. It was previously thought that due to the advancement and innovation of information communication technologies (ICTs), such as the internet and smartphones, immigrants would hold on to their strong ties with the 'home' country and thus not create feelings of 'home' in the destination country. In this chapter I argue in favour of Bash et al (1994) and Tsuda (2012) that immigrants are able to create a sense of 'home' in Australia, while they simultaneously create and maintain strong ties with their 'home' country. The concept of transnational simultaneity encapsulates the varying degrees of incorporation into the host country and connectivity to the 'home' country (Tsuda 2012). The previous chapter demonstrated that over time South Africans are able to integrate into the structural aspects of society, however this does not necessarily translate to feeling at 'home'. In this chapter I demonstrate that in order to feel at 'home' in Australia, South Africans of Indian descent recreate the South African 'home' by engaging in 'home-making' practices in Australia and that transnational networks facilitate the integration of immigrants. The chapter examines four ways in which South Africans reconstruct 'home' in Australia. Firstly, coming from a communal society, South Africans tend to replicate the close-knit familial structure by engaging in various social networks and activities. Secondly, having their personal items brought from South Africa plays an important role in recreating 'home'. Thirdly, the consumption of South African food brings them close to 'home' and finally connecting to family 'back home' fosters a sense of 'home' from a distance.

## 2 Why recreate South Africa?

The narratives provided by participants indicate two reasons as to why it is important for them to recreate their South African 'home' in Australia. Their stories show us that their lives in South Africa as well as their interactions with the host country are both important in explicating this phenomenon. The story by Kesi shows his "retrospective meaning-making" through narratives of life in South Africa (Chase 2008:64).

Kesi: We lived, in my days, in a very communal society. Communal because we all lived

in the same house, communal because we walked into the neighbour's house, communal because we all played in the streets together, you know, everything we did was communal...then I suppose in a way we are what we are and the success of what we are as a group, as South African Indians, is because of the system in South Africa, the way it was. They have put us together, it made us work harder, it made us strive harder, but I can tell you most South African people that's in Australia have got very, very strong work ethic. Although we know we had to struggle hard, my parents had to struggle hard to get to the point that they were. I spoke to a guy… he lived opposite us in Asherville...His father and mother lived in one bedroom with seven children. Seven children and they had like a double storey house, and it was the parent's house and every brother also lived there and each of the brothers had one bedroom and they all lived in there and they had one kitchen which they all shared… I was asking him how's his sister, how's Veronica and he says no Veronica has a PhD and she's lecturing at the University of X in Chemistry, you know, how good to hear that. You know and you think like how did we manage to do it, maybe that's the reason we did. You know when we stayed at home, both my kids are working now and look we are reasonably comfortable from a financial perspective, but I get my kids to pay every week a board, it's nominal, it's nothing, but I said to them don't look at it as you're paying me to stay here, in our house in South Africa we all contributed towards the household. Where everyone did because my dad died early so while I had to pay for this, someone paid for the telephone, someone paid for the light account, someone paid for the maintenance, we all contributed, we all lived like that, you know. I suppose we try to instil the same values in or kids over here not to take things for granted. And I suppose that's what made us. That's what made us; I'm not claiming from a success perspective, I'm claiming it from a values perspective.

<u>Subashini</u>: Is that same value brought to Australia?

<u>Kesi</u>: Yes definitely, definitely, but you know, it's not only the South African Indians and we talk to... I met quite a few South Africans where I work, I met so many South African whites...All medical people, doctors and stuff, that came and worked there, and they all talk about the values of South Africa as a country...common not as Indians or whatever, you know, they talk about discipline, they talk about schooling and how strict they were and how they were taught to respect the elders, that kind of stuff, so that is instilled across everybody.

Bruner (Riessman 2008:10) states that "connecting biography and society becomes possible through the close analysis of stories". Thus, since we live our lives in relation to others and society, our biography is deeply intertwined to the society we are embedded in. As people reflect on their past, they include aspects of society that are prevalent at that time and place, which brings historicity into their narrative. Therefore, as people tell their story of their past, they position themselves within the historical context of that society.

Kesi's biography reaffirms the history of South Africa at that point in time. The apartheid government (1948-1994) created racialised communities, such that all who were phenotypically seen as 'Indian' were required to live in designated 'Indian' areas such as Chatsworth and Phoenix (Bhana and Pachai 1984). Although 'Indians' come from different social, cultural, economic, and religious backgrounds, they were homogenised under the racial

identity of being 'Indian' (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000; Kuper 1956). These communities were significant in shaping their lifestyle and social interactions as depicted in the narrative above. Kesi's story tells of the struggles he and his family faced living under the apartheid government in South Africa. He relays that the system in South Africa has 'put us together' referring to the apartheid laws which categorised people according to 'race' and forced groups to live separately from each other in designated racial zones (Terreblanche 2002). The apartheid system also perpetuated many laws that disenfranchised South Africans of Indian descent (Bagwandeen 1989; Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). Kesi draws upon his own biography as well as his friends to reaffirm and reiterate the values borne and sustained through the oppression that was faced. Kesi speaks of his parents and grandparents struggling in South Africa. The household was further constrained by the death his father. In order to cope with the financial strain after the loss of his father, the members of his family mutually agreed to contribute to the maintenance of the household. Thus, by working together the family was able to sustain the household. Living under the apartheid system and losing a family member meant that Kesi had to work hard, and that his family had to support each other by pulling resources together to maintain the household. Living in a communal system enabled the family to survive during apartheid. Kesi emphasises that in South Africa he lived in a communal society as the family lived together, the neighbours could easily walk into each other's homes without being invited and children played on the streets together. It is this tight-knit community and family structure that Kesi grew up in that he draws his values from.

Kesi also relates the story of his friend, who lived in an extended family system in South Africa. Reflecting, he concludes that living in an environment where they had to struggle to survive motivated people to work harder to achieve their goals. Living in a communal society meant that there was a network of support from family, friends, and neighbours which contributed to the success of individuals. The value of hard-work, family and community cooperation are values that he brought to Australia. He also emphasises values such as discipline and respect for elders as important which the South African society shares. It is this value of family cooperation that Kesi wants his children to learn in Australia. He argues that these experiences and circumstances 'made us', indicating that the values learned through struggle still resonates with him and is deeply entrenched within him as a person. When he moved to Australia, he carried these values with him, and it still influences how he leads his life as can be seen by the way he tries to impart these values onto his children.

This indicates that in South Africa their lives revolved around their family, friends, neighbours, and wider community which was significant in shaping their identity and the communal lifestyle that they lived in. In addition, being part and parcel of a close-knit family and community assisted them through difficult circumstances such as the oppressive apartheid policies, poverty, and the loss of family members as the community and extended family unit worked together to assist one another in times of need. These communal settings play an integral part in shaping the lives of South African Indians as shown by Danny's extract below.

> Danny: But like us, and I think everyone who immigrates, one of the biggest things that we suffer with is the fact that we lose that family connection…Look, I think we sometimes take for granted the social structures that are available to us as a community here. And we definitely take our family relationships for granted. When you actually move away, you realize that you can't be there for that birthday party, you realize that you can't just drive over and say "Hello" to someone…initially the sparkle of emigration is actually great. But when the reality sets in, it tends to target your heart. And I think a lot of people miss that, they miss the big family gatherings, they miss the weddings where everyone's there, the festivities, they miss the celebrations of Diwali and Christmas and Eid and if I can put it into context, I mean we immigrated at the first week of October. And by the first week of December, we had already decided that we could not spend Christmas alone in Australia. So, we actually bought tickets, came back to South Africa, spent Christmas with the family, and then came back in January.
> Subashini: So, it's that deep connection with family that's one of the things that you'll miss the most?
> Danny: I think, yes, I think so. I think South African Indians are very tight-knit families. We tend to enjoy a social structure that actually keeps us protected and regulated. And I think when you move, particularly in our case, we move to no friends, no family, you tend to have to define those things again because you don't have a society that has that defined for you. And you have to make a choice, whether or not you're going to adopt the parameters from another society, or you're going to try and actually somehow maintain some of those parameters. And that, I think, is the challenge for anyone who immigrates.

Chadda and Deb (2013:299) indicate that "unlike western society, which puts impetus on 'individualism', the Indian society is 'collectivistic' in that it promotes interdependence and cooperation, with the family forming the focal point of this social structure". Therefore, in South Africa, Danny's life was structured around his family and extended family, which subsequently forms close-knit family structures. Sooryamoorthy (2012:2) also reiterates that the Indian family is "a strong, cohesive, integral and fundamental unit", which suggests that family bonds are strong. Therefore, as Danny and his family migrate to Australia, the tight-knit bonds to family are lost. It is this strong family connection that is missed.

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Participant's narratives show that they were open to engaging with the Australian community so that they could recreate the community that they had lost when they migrated. This suggests that they were trying to retain the communal aspects of South African society in Australia. The three short excerpts below reveal their interactions when connecting to Australians as they intended to recreate the society that they left behind.

> Kavitha: The other thing about Australian culture is that the people are very impersonal. It's like they will greet you, "yeah mate, how are you doing?" and like do not even go and stand there and be like yeah, I am okay, and but I had a small problem today, my car was not starting… They do not want to hear it. In South Africa you can have a conversation and you can tell your whole life story and the person on the other end is like tolerant and they are going to listen to you. These people they do not give a damn basically, they are just you know… If they ask you, how are you, they expect you to say I am good thanks and you? And that is it. So, it is very, very, impersonal.

> Mukesh: It's like, you know, I don't know how to explain it. I just miss it. I miss the people. I miss being able to just talk to someone about anything…in South Africa we're more relaxed. We enjoy life a lot. I think it comes from not having a lot, and when you do have something, you enjoy, you do appreciate it and that's what I think is really amazing about South Africans. We appreciate what we have. Yes, we may not have a lot and we may have a lot of problems, but we appreciate what we have…

> Keshan: So, I found the local Australians, they were not really that much interested in my story, or no one really would come and sit down and talk to you and say where are you from or that kind of thing or what are you doing here? You were just like a worker in the hospital so to speak.

In these excerpts the participants convey their experiences of socially interacting with Australians. In all three excerpts, the central point is the need to share their stories with Australians to establish a connection with them. Sharing their biographies is seen as a way to connect to and build relationships with Australians. Establishing relationships with Australians means being accepted which contributes to integrating into the Australian society. Participants felt that they were unable to sufficiently engage with Australians. It could be that immigrants to Australia do not have knowledge or cultural capital that would enable them to form meaningful relationships with Australians. In addition, although Australians recognise that immigration is necessary for the economic growth of the country, there is still negativity displayed towards foreigners. For instance, Khorana (2021) indicates that there has long been discrimination and racism towards people of Indian descent. Studies conducted also show

racism, discrimination and exclusion towards black African foreigners, refugees, and asylum seekers in Australia (Gatwiri and Anderson 2021; Ziersch, Due, and Walsh 2020). Thus, prejudice towards foreigners could be a reason for the lack of social engagement of Australians towards foreigners.[71] Endale (2016) in her study also indicated that due to the exclusionary attitudes of the host country, Ethiopian refugees, and asylum seekers to the USA where apprehensive of any social and cultural integration regardless of duration of stay and political and economic integration. South Africans of Indian descent find it difficult to create bridging social capital networks with Australians. Therefore, participants form friendships with other foreign immigrants thus creating bridging social capital networks that provide support. They also make a concerted effort to remake 'home' through bonding social capital networks with fellow South Africans, especially those of Indian descent. By connecting with fellow immigrants, they are able to restructure the communal society that they lost due to immigration. The section that follows demonstrate how South Africans of Indian descent reconstruct the communal 'home' in Australia.

**3 Creating and sustaining social networks**

Mallett (2004:63) states that "home is place but it is also a space inhabited by family, people, things and belongings – a familiar, if not comfortable space where particular activities and relationships are lived". Thus, there is a need to examine the social relationships and activities that are formed which contributes to creating a sense of 'home'. To produce a sense of 'home' in Australia, South Africans tend to create social networks to reproduce the relationships that they had back 'home'. Since most participants mention having no friends or family in Australia, they seek out South Africans to create these networks or find existing networks to establish the relationships that they left behind. Participants relate different ways in which they meet South Africans in Australia.

> Tony:…of course as South Africans you pick up the Afrikaans accent from a distance or from a mile, you know, you can pick it up or the South African Indian accent, you pick it up from a mile… when we are out in the public, or whatever the case, we also look out and listen for those accents. Certain key words, certain phrases…it's those things that you pick it up and we have been able to pick it up…And you'll hear the occasional things about Spur [a popular South Africa fast food restaurant], and you'll hear, so you know it's a better way. Of course, one of the easiest places to meet South

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[71] I will return to this aspect in the next chapter.

> Africans, if you really want, particularly in Adelaide, we picked it up is you just have to go to a Nando's. And you'll see lots of South Africans.

Tony's extract on meeting South Africans in Australia suggests that in the public sphere, South Africans can notice and identify each other mainly by 'picking up' accents and certain phrases that South Africans use. These cultural identifiers assist South Africans in finding each other. Another way that South Africans tend to meet is by visiting places that remind them of their South African 'home'. Duyvendak (2011:27) stresses the importance of familiar places and familiarity in the creation of 'home' for mobile people. Places that South Africans are familiar with such as Nando's and Spur, popular restaurant chains in South Africa, have a cultural connection to their homeland and thus there tends to be 'lots of South Africans' frequenting there. These places are important as not only does it serve as a place where their old 'home' is reproduced in a new place, it also functions as a space in which South Africans can connect with each other, thus creating 'home' through social relationships. Radha's narrative conveys the importance of social relationships in the creation of 'home'. She details how she managed to meet people and form networks while living in Perth.

> Radha: I can see this child is South African...and I spoke to him. I said, where are you guys from? He says, oh no, we're from South Africa. So, me, that's me. I introduce myself. So, the parents finished their work there. They came and spoke to me, and they invited me to tea, in their house that same day…And we met on the very first day. Where we introduced the kids at school. And up to today we are best friends …so much so that I consider her husband as if he is my Australian brother. And that was Perth. And then lots of people in Perth. We made friends. You get invited to functions or whatever…because during that time, 2006, 7, 8, was a mining boom in Australia. So, a lot of immigrants. People were just coming in. There was so much of job opportunities and what have you. So, when we used to know people, new people have come into Australia, go to Perth. You know, like for instance, someone that knows somebody that knows somebody. Say, oh, they'll call up and say, you know what, you know this person there, they are moving to Australia. Wouldn't you go call them? There's his number. You know my cousin's cousin? You know that kind of story? And when you give this call, this family has moved, we will go and meet them. We house them in our homes while they're finding places. That's the kind of people Perth has. They, where you would, you know if you got stuff, you help them to find a rental…with what little we've got, we lend it, while they are waiting for their container or they're buying. You know, that's what Perth is about, and they still are like that.

Marschall (2018:8) indicates that migrants "nurture and transfer memories of home and homeland culture". An important cultural practice in the communal life of South African

Indians, is inviting people over. Radha's statement "invited me to tea, in their house that same day" is significant as it means that they were engaging in a common custom practiced in South Africa where people open-up their 'homes' to others to share a meal and share stories, which lays the foundation for further interaction and the establishment of friendships.

Mudly (2011:132) sharing a memory of her childhood growing up in South Africa indicated that "barracks life was such that one can walk into any neighbour's home at any time. You were even welcome to share a meal with the family". This memory is important as it conveys the openness of social interaction and engagement of neighbours by opening their 'home' to them. Although, South African neighbourhoods have undergone much change, this cultural practice is etched in the collective memory of 'home' life. In this study, it can be shown that participants use their memory of the cultural practices of their South African 'home' to recreate 'home' in Australia. Therefore, in Australia, the simple act of inviting people over for tea is significant in recreating 'home'. It also implies that the person is welcoming them into their 'home' a personal, private space, thus breaking down formal barriers and inviting them to become familiar with them. For South African Indians, inviting people over is important as 'home' is seen as a place where connections and community are formed. Radha remarks that over time she was able to form a close friendship with the family, such that she considers her friends husband her 'Australian brother' indicating that these friendships have changed to resemble family ties, thus recreating the extended family structure, similar to how life was experienced in South Africa. This is significant as it indicates that South Africans of Indian descent, through their own agency and memories of their past 'home' are recreating their own communal structure and thus recreating the South African 'home' in Australia.

In addition, Radha's energetic narrative describes the rapidity with which connections are made. During 2007-2008, there was a mining boom in Western Australia which brought many immigrants, including many South Africans to the mining industry. As the number of South Africans increased, Radha was able to make friends with these new immigrants. She was invited to functions or celebrations by South Africans which is another way in which South Africans can meet each-other. Since immigrants were rapidly moving to Perth, she received contact information from people she knew who had relatives immigrating into the country. Radha's phrases 'of someone that knows somebody that knows somebody' and 'my cousin's cousin' gives an indication of the depth and extent of her social networks and subsequently the word-of-mouth transmission of contact details so that a connection can be made. As

participants mention, they received contact information of new immigrants from family, friends, or acquaintances in South Africa and Australia. These transnational social networks assist in forming local social networks in destination countries (Knight et al. 2017:58) thus enabling South Africans to connect with each-other to facilitate integration through the construction of community in Australia. Thus, transnational relationships with the 'home' country are assisting in creating local social support networks which can change to stronger ties over time (Tsuda 2012).

The narrative serves as an indication of the level of care that is being practiced as extended family and friends are trying look after the well-being of those that have migrated by helping them to connect with others who have settled down and who would be of assistance to them in the new country. This can also be seen in the way that Radha assists new immigrants. Although the people she was asked to call are unfamiliar to her, she makes the effort to call, meet and make their initial days in the new country comfortable by taking care of their immediate needs and concerns so that they can settle down into the new country with some ease. This is elaborated in the passage below.

> Radha: I meet the new South Africans that come. I introduce them to other people. I organise meet-and-greets. I've had dinners. Because I love to entertain. So, I'm still the same. This week, this Sunday, I had afternoon tea because I know it's Father's Day. People are sad. They're missing their families, so I invited them all for afternoon tea on Sunday. That's how I introduce South Africans. And you know what, they make, they've forged new friends. It helps them to settle. Good for them. That's it. I don't need anything else from that, you know what I mean…That's me. And I've always been like that. It's not a new concept. So, it's always been like that. So, I feel that was my reason to do that. To help people, mentor, you know, share, whatever it is. Make them feel comfortable. Because I can tell you what, moving overseas, the first few years or months is very difficult. We've got people that come here they don't, like people come here on a visa. They don't get jobs straight away. Some of them struggle, you know…. still have the South African hospitality. You can rock up, you know, and get a cup of tea. You wouldn't even have to say anything. You're not leaving without eating…As I say, I'm very different from many people. I'm little bit different, you know…. My dad was that kind of person. And my brothers, we're the same. We entertained a lot in South Africa as well, so we haven't changed when we came. We haven't changed when we came to Australia. We haven't changed.

This suggests that gatherings at 'home' provides emotional support for new immigrants. For these migrants' 'home' is also a space where social networks are created and sustained. The

social networks created through these gatherings help new immigrants to 'settle down' as they are no longer alone in an unfamiliar place. Ryan (2011) argues that bonding social networks that take place between people that share a similarity, such as coming from the same ethnic group, assists immigrants to integrate into the country. With regards to South Africans of Indian descent, bonding networks are actively created to support immigrants which enables them to integrate into society.

This passage also reveals how Radha's understanding of self emerges as she reflects on her past involving her family in South Africa and how that socialisation impacted her construction of self and expression of self. She recalls that her family, especially her father, invited guests to their 'home', and that value of hospitality to others is instilled in her and practiced in Australia as she still 'loves to entertain'. The phrases 'That's me. And I've always been like that. It's not a new concept. So, it's always been like that', indicates that she has retained her cultural identity of being sociable which she continues to practice in Australia. Since Radha has experience of immigrating to other countries where little support is offered, she is familiar with the struggles that immigrants go through in a new country, thus she is invested in helping and mentoring new immigrants. Therefore, her past experiences and interactions have shaped her present motivation to be hospitable. She indicates that she still has the 'South African hospitality. You can rock up, you know, and get a cup of tea. You wouldn't even have to say anything. You're not leaving without eating'. This shows that the hospitality practiced in South Africa is replicated in Australia. In Australia, Radha not only plays the role of hosting meet and greets, but she also plays the role of 'family' as she assists new migrants to settle down by caring for them and by connecting them to networks, which assists migrants to adapt into their new society. The cultural value of hospitality fostered in South Africa is practised in Australia which enables bonding networks to be created which assists immigrants to settle down in the new country as familiarity and a sense of 'home' is restored. In the extract below, Mohammed shows how transnational immigration facilitated his settling down.

> Subashini: So, speaking of belonging so only when you established yourself you felt like you belonged?
> Mohammed: Yeah, still feel South African, a part of me is still South African but once you dwell, build a house. But our case has been unique, because a year and a half after we moved my sister and brother-in-law moved and then six months after that my uncle moved and he his entire family with adult kids, they all came so as time went on it

became easier and easier to live here because we get together as an extended family and there is about 40 people.

Subashini: So, because of your family's network you were able to feel more comfortable?

Mohammed: Ja, that helped ja, that helped a significant amount…all of them are about 5-8km radius so they are not far.

Subashini: When they decided to move, did they have that in mind, living close to their family.

Mohammed: Yes, it was a conscious decision.

Subashini: So, you said it definitely helped you?

Mohammed: Oh ja, absolutely. It does have its problems. Family has its politics, but ultimately, it's, especially as Indian families, but generally it has been good.

This narrative captures the family migration trend as, in this case, entire nuclear families have migrated (OECD 2017). By connecting his nuclear family to his extended families, Mohammed was able to recreate the tight-knit family structure in Australia. Mohammed indicates that establishing a physical 'home' was important to feel anchored in the new country. However, just as important was having his extended family in close proximity to him, which enabled him to settle-down. Li et al. (2021) affirms this idea as their research provided evidence that family migration has a positive impact on social integration, however their study focused on the nuclear family. In this study it is the connection created with extended family that is important in assisting families and individuals to settle-down.

Mohammed's story is unique as his extended family was able to reside in the same area as him. For many migrants who do not have family in Australia, or their extended family is living far away from them in Australia, they managed to create their own 'family', thus also recreating the communal aspect of South African society. The following three excerpts reveal that South Africans of Indian descent in Australia have taken the initiative to create and join social networks amongst themselves, which is also an indication of the importance of creating 'home' through community engagement.

Radha: Because when I lived in America, Singapore, and Thailand or whatever, I didn't have South African friends. I made friends with the people from that country. So, having so many South African Indians here just made it easier. So, for me I created my own network. Even though I live in Adelaide, I can say at least three very good family friends in Perth who have become family. If anything happens to my husband and I or to our family, I know I can count on them to be there to help, you know, in whatever way. And they have always been there. When I lost my mum, when my husband lost

his mum, they would drive up to visit us to see how we're doing, whatever. That kind of relationship we have created for our self, which we value, and I suppose it's the way we did it in South Africa and that's why we're doing it here. And it's part of our cultural spiritual organisation that we belong to. We are that kind of people, so that's what I was looking for, I suppose. And that's what makes, for me, that's what makes Australia home and easier to adapt to for me. That's the reason, I think.

Décieux and Mörchen (2021:250) states that "empirical investigations regarding connections between migration, friendship formation, and friendship development are comparatively sparse". Amati, Meggiolaro, and Rivellini (2018:1) indicates that friendships "are an important source of support". Friendships provide a wealth of resources such as access to useful information, companionship, emotional support such as advice with a personal matter and instrumental support such as economic aid. Thus, friendships serve a significant purpose as it provides the necessary support needed to overcome negative or stressful situations such as navigating the settlement of a new country (Amati et al. 2018:3). In the narrative above, Radha has taken an active stance in recreating the family networks that she was used to in South Africa. However, since her family are not present, 'friends have become their family' and the functions performed by extended family is now taken on by friends. Wali and Renzaho (2018:8) researching immigrants to Australia from collectivist non-Western and non-English backgrounds, also found that they felt joy upon meeting people from similar cultural beliefs and background and "related to the community members as their extended families and close friends". In this study, participants also refer to South Africans, especially South Africans of Indian descent, who they have established close relationships with as 'family'.

Radha indicates 'that's what makes Australia home and easier to adapt to for me', indicating that by having South African Indian friends that substitute as family has allowed for the formation of supportive kinship networks and thus the feeling of being connected to community. This made it easier for her to integrate into society and create a sense of 'home' in Australia. This indicates that the social networks are vital in the creation of family and community which subsequently relates to the creation of 'home'. This is also reiterated in Jayshree's narrative.

> Jayshree:…our friends have become our family here so with regards when these things happen because we don't have immediate family so it's like none of us uncle's and aunties and you know close family here, there's very few of us that have family here now what happens is your friends become your family in the sense that if something should happen to me tomorrow, you could count on your friends to come in and do your

traditional prayer…know what our culture is, they know what they have to do, they can respect that, so and I think that's why I feel comfortable.

Subashini: Okay, it's also the culture as well that brings you closer.

Jayshree:  Absolutely. Absolutely.

'Friends who have become family' not only play a role in reproducing kinship support structures, by having South African Indian friends who practice the same culture and religion, immigrants are able to reproduce the cultural customs and traditions performed in South Africa. Friends who hold the same culture has allowed for and ensures cultural continuation. For instance, in the extract above Jayshree mentions that since she has friends who have taken the role of family, in an event of her death, she is assured that her traditional prayer would be respected and that a religious ceremony would be adhered to, which gives her comfort. As she is able to practice her religion and culture to the same extent that she was able to in South Africa, she is able to feel more at 'home' in Australia. This comes across in many of the stories from participants. For instance, Kesi, relates a story of how the community rallied together to support his sister in her time of need.

Subashini: So, has it been like that for the last thirty-six years where you kept your cultural values and cultural groups and people who are very similar to you?

Kesi: Yes. Yes, yes, I'll give you an example, my sister just came out of surgery two weeks ago, she had a mastectomy. And since the last two weeks she hasn't cooked a meal. All her friends have been cooking all, these are all South African Indians mainly from Durban. They all cooked food, they all took turns to cook food, they cook two days' worth of food, today and tomorrow, today, and tomorrow, so for the last two weeks she hasn't cooked anything, everyone's been coming and bringing food over. I would say similar sort of things happen if someone, there's a funeral in the house and someone informs someone else, we've been to funerals, to South African people's places that we didn't even know. Someone died, we need to go, so we sort of go and just offer moral support, you know, it's difficult and some people don't have families around here, so we try and rally around them at times.

Wali and Renzaho (2018:9) indicate that non-Western migrants in Australia experienced culture shock. Having contact with their own community members alleviated the fear of a loss of culture. In this study, participants did not mention fearing a loss of culture. However, there was still a need to maintain their culture and cultural practices. What stands out in this research is that participants explicitly speak about how cultural practices utilised in South Africa are reproduced in Australia which assists in supporting each other which in turn preserves that culture. This can be seen the narrative above.

Kesi, living in Australia for thirty-six years, states that cultural values carried from South Africa is still adhered to and practiced in Australia. The longevity of these cultural values suggests the importance and efficacy these values have in assisting immigrants to adapt and cope in the new society. His story also reveals that cultural customs in South Africa are producing aspects of support and care through 'friends are like family' relationships. An example pointed out by Kesi, is the bringing over of homemade meals by friends which ensures that his sister and her family are cared for and that she does not need to cook for the family when she is still in recovery. It also shows how women rally together in their gendered role of carers, in which care of family is extended from one household to another, which is an aspect also practised in South Africa.

Another cultural attribute cited by Kesi, is attending the funeral of community members. However, in Australia Kesi mentions that he attends funerals of people he did not know to give the family moral support. This indicates that he is still conveying support to community members despite not knowing the family. Kesi sympathises with the family as he understands what it means to live in a country without close family and friends.

Through these 'friends have become family' relationships and social ties, a community is formed which assists in replicating the support structures and preserving the cultural and religious practices thus recreating their South African 'home' in Australia. These social networks assist in "facilitating community formations and permanent settlement" (Ryan 2011). Since networks are sustained through 'friends are like family' relationships, it ensures the remaking of 'home' through social relationships, which provides emotional, cultural, and religious support needed to enable integration in Australia.

### 3.1 Recreating home through cultural activities

Sonn (2002:3), in his research of South Africans in Australia, emphasised the importance of "activity settings in which people spend time together and have the opportunities and access to resources that facilitates the integration of identities and cultures into the new context". Narratives show that activities that South African Indians practice in Australia are important. The excerpts below trace the various activities that South Africans of Indian descent engage in that assists with fostering a community, identity, and the establishment of 'home'. For

instance, Radha indicates that certain religious activities can be carried out as she has a close network of friends.

> Radha: When we lived in Perth, yes. People used to do the prayers. We used to get invited to at least three- or four-people's houses for porridge prayers [religious prayer]. But I don't know if they still do it. Because people are finding things very hard nowadays. The hard work that goes into it …It's the help of a function because when you're having a function, remember, in South Africa, in Australia we have to clean and do everything our self. So, having a, if you've got good friends, a good network of friends, then I think they make it easier. You know you get some people that say okay, let's do it for three years only. That kind of stuff. So, people have done it. So, now, some people may just do the one where they do it just their family. A small little porridge prayer and what have you. So, there might be some people still having big ones, I'm not sure because you know my friends, they don't do it now. So yes, to me, is about having assistance to do it, because it is a lot of work.

Ammen[72] prayer colloquially referred to as 'porridge prayers' is practiced amongst Hindus in South Africa (Naidoo 2020:134), has also found its way to Australia. This indicates that religious practices are being reproduced in the new 'home'. However, to carry out these religious practices the support of a 'good network of friends' is necessary to execute these traditional prayers in Australia. Radha mentions the difficulty of conducting such a prayer as a significant amount of assistance is needed as it is 'hard work', as they must do all the preparations by themselves. In South Africa, extended family members assisted in the preparation, however in Australia, 'a good network of friends' who stand in as family is needed to make the task easier. The social network is a resource as it assists in the facilitation of religious practices. These support systems enable the promotion of cultural and religious identities (Sonn 2002) as the activities performed together as a group allows for the expression of their religious identity and thus the continuation of that identity in a new 'home'. Radha mentions the decline in the practice of 'porridge prayer' and the negotiation to have the prayer for a few years or downscaling to a smaller version of the prayer with only immediate family present.[73] The lack of extended family assistance highlights the difficulties in practicing

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[72] The prayer is dedicated to the Goddess Ammen, who is revered "for having defeated a smallpox epidemic sometime in antiquity" (Naidoo 2020:134).

[73] Although Australia has a prominent number of Hindu Temples, the religion is less demanding on its members to participate in weekly communal prayer at the temple. Participants in this study do not mention attending weekly organized prayer at the temple. Therefore, in this study, there was no forming of social networks at the temple. Lakha and Stevenson (2001) indicate that Indian participants in their study also did not go to temple on a regular basis. They also point out that not all Hindu temples in Australia are the same "as differences between them have their origins in language, region and nationality" (Lakha and Stevenson 2001:257). This might discourage South Africans of Indian descent from attending organized prayer at the temple as they may not know the language or conduct the prayer in the same manner. Hindu religious worship should not be homogenized as there is a diversity of practices and languages used. Hindu participants in this study prefer to pray at home. One participant, who

specific prayers that need many people to lend a hand. This indicates the importance of having a strong social network in providing support so that certain religious practices can still be followed in the new 'home'. Similarly, in the study conducted by Holtmann (2018) also deduced that immigrant women in Canada also create ethno-religious social networks that assists them to negotiate their religious identity and practices by holding on to or emphasizing certain aspects and letting go of others within the Canadian context.

Sonn (2002:15) argues that the place where the activity occurs is important as "in the settings people have the opportunity to ensure the continuity of their cultural community, which, in turn, is central to the maintenance of an ethnic identity". Research on religion and migrant integration indicates that the religion institution such as a church where the religious activity takes place is important in facilitating integration of immigrants. Such places create a place of belonging, socialisation, individual and group identity reiteration, and resources (Agyeman 2011; Ambrosini, Paola Bonizzoni, and Samuele Davide Molli 2021; Annavittoria Sarli and Giulia Mezzetti 2020). However, in this study participants' narratives serve as testimony of the importance of 'home' as a setting or place where religious prayer is conducted. This can be further explicated in the extract below.

> Deva: And in our home was like an open home and so almost every weekend we had groups from the Sai coming… so, there was always food, so we brought a bit of what we did here into our Australian experience there, and they thought it was so queer, why would you do… spend all of this?
> Subashini: Oh, is this…?
> Deva: The Australians, yes.

The extract above suggests another important dimension of 'home'. Deva mentions that his home was like an 'open home', indicating that his house was open to all, especially with regards to inviting people to practice their religion together. Many participants mentioned inviting people or being invited to religious services that take place within the 'home'. Deva indicates that 'so we brought a bit of what we did here into our Australian experience there', suggesting that since religious prayer was practiced within the 'home' in South Africa, the same practice is undertaken within the 'home' sphere in Australia. Within the dimension of the 'house as home', the 'home' is an important site for religious worship amongst South Africans of Indian descent. Although this practice of inviting people over for religious prayers and providing

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attended prayer at the temple, related the tensions experienced in terms of socially interacting with Indian nationals. This is conveyed in Chapter 9.

meals for guests seems 'queer' to Australians, for some South Africans of Indian descent it is common practice. This suggests the significance of retaining their cultural and religious identity by practising it. The social networks created has assisted South Africans of Indian descent to sustain religious practices as they are able to perform rituals, prayer, and worship as a community. This is important as it suggests that establishing and making a new country one's 'home' also entails the ability to express one's religious and cultural identity in the new place (Penninx 2005). In the excerpt below, Radha also comments on the activities carried out at 'home'.

> Radha: My husband and I, like we can on our own entertain our self, you know. We can go out and, you know, but we do this, we open our home because I love to do it. So, he lets me do it because he knows it makes me happy. So, he lets me do whatever…Because it's like, it's as if, actually it's to me as if creating a little South Africa here. Because we have potjies.[74] We have bunnies[75]…. Braais,[76], you know we still love all braais. When I speak to a South African, I refuse to say barbecue even though, I don't know, fourteen years or something now in Australia, I still say braai. I refuse to say barbecue.

Blunt and Dowling (2006:27) point out that "home as a place is porous". This implies that for those South African Indians who come from a communal background the 'community' and 'home' are more fluid spaces, that is, 'home' is part of community life, and the community is part of their 'home' life.

Radha points out that through events, celebrations and religious and cultural activities that takes place within her 'home', 'a little South Africa' is created. Activities that are seen as South African such as having a 'potjie' are significant as it brings people together in a collective practice to reproduce activities performed in South Africa. 'Home' therefore also serves as a space where their South African identity is expressed, performed, and recognised. As South Africans socially interact with each other during these events they reaffirm their identity through shared experiences and stories of their South African 'home'. The retention of identity

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[74] A potjie is a round, three-legged cast iron pot placed on top of an open fire, in which potjiekos or stew is prepared. Thus, 'potjies' refer to the social gathering of friends and family to share the potjiekos prepared using the potjie (Pluses 2021).

[75] Bunnies or bunny chow is unique to Durban. It is made by hollowing out a loaf of bread, filling the bread with a South African Indian curry and placing the hollowed-out pieces of bread on top of the curry (South African History Online 2016)

[76] A braai is the South African version of a barbeque. However, a braai is different to a barbeque in that meat is grilled on charcoal and/or wood instead of gas which gives meat a distinct flavour. "The braai is an essential part of South African culture and brings family and friends together in celebration" (Trafalgar 2020:n/a).

is further noted as Radha refuses to say 'barbecue', rather she holds on to the South African word 'braai', reinforcing South African language used and her identity as South African. The excerpt below further reiterates the retention of identity through the activities performed as a collective.

> Siva:  I've got a lot of, there are a lot of South African Indians…like Diwali is spent together, or Cancer Function for one of our friends who lost his wife.  Most of our friends are South African Indians… my neighbour next door was a white Afrikaner guy, he was a very nice guy, we do have some friends, but most of them are from South Africa and most of them are Indians. We identify and feel more comfortable in that kind of environment and it's more about we like our South African music and that kind of stuff.  We can really share these things that we miss from back home.  Of course, there's always a lot of in fighting in that the one person doesn't like you or someone doesn't want to talk to you. That's been that way all along, you get that sort of jealousy that goes around, that happens.  I think it will happen in any environment for that matter.

Siva asserts that in Australia 'we identify with and feel more comfortable' surrounded by South Africans and South African Indians. Siva, like other participants, draw a distinction between South Africans and South Africans Indians. Although he gets along with South Africans, he is most comfortable being around South African Indians. The familiarity established with people who share similar past experiences brings comfort and creates closeness within a transposed community. Sonn (2002:13) in his study of South Africans in Australia also established that South Africans prefer the company of fellow expatiates so that their culture and traditions are maintained.

Eng and Davidson (2008:5) argue that "individuals and communities as a whole consciously choose what they want to remember and pass down to their future generations". The religious and community events remembered in South Africa are practiced in Australia. Many participants indicate that special events are shared by the South African Indian community such as religious events like Diwali, charity events to support fellow expatiates such as the Cancer Functions as well as South African national public holidays such as Freedom Day and Heritage Day. The celebration of South African public holidays serve as a way in which patriotism, nationalism and loyalty towards South Africa is expressed and practised. These celebrations in which South Africans get-together is important as it is through these events that a South African community is formed by practicing the things that they 'miss back home'. Similarly, Chinese migrants in Australia engage in a plethora of cultural practices, such as Lunar New Year, Mid-Autumn festival, Duan-Wu festival to name a few, to remember the 'home' that they came from and remake 'home' in Australia (Eng and Davidson 2008). Similarly, events and practices

of the 'home' country is recreated by South Africans of Indian descent in Australia. Through these practices a sense of 'home' is recreated.

Agnew (2005:3) argues that "memories establish a connection between a collective and individual past (our origins, heritage, and history). The past is always with us, and it defines our present; it resonates in our voices, hovers over our silences, and explains how we came to be ourselves and to inhabit what we call 'our homes'". Sonn (2002:13) points out that when South Africans in Australia interact, they tend to "reminisce and share stories about their lives in South Africa". Participants connect with each-other through the memories they have of the past and recreate events that are special to them. This enables them to foster a sense of identity which they link to being South African. The social interaction that occurs during these activities enable them to express and reaffirm their identity as South Africans and as South Africans of Indian descent. These activities enable them to recreate 'home' in Australia.

The excerpt below reveals that Facebook groups are also essential in creating and bringing community together for cultural and national events.

> Subashini: So, you said that there's a South African Indian community in Melbourne. Can you tell me a bit more about them? Do they live in a particular area; do they have like their own social group; do they get together for various like cultural events?
> Jayshree: Yeah, yeah, we do actually, so we they have a Facebook group, that we have so South Africans living in Melbourne so there's a huge group, I would say all races and all backgrounds from South Africa that are part of the group. They are placed in different suburbs so it's not just concentrating any specific suburb so it's quite widespread and yes there are community events so Freedom Day that will be celebrated or you know Heritage Day, you know things that are happening in South Africa that people resonate with, there'll be get-togethers for that so I think people still identify with South Africa, it'll always be part of us, part of who we are.

An important aspect that comes through in Jayshree's excerpt is the formation of a South African community in Melbourne. Although most South Africans do not live in the same suburb, Facebook groups ensure that South Africans are still connected to each other, and it is through this medium that events are communicated to the wider group. This type of communication medium keeps the community intact despite people not living in the same suburb. Participants also indicate that there are also South African Facebook groups formed by those who live in Perth, Sydney, Brisbane, and Adelaide, showing the need for South Africans to keep connected and to foster a South African community through events which allows them to express their South African-ness. South African Facebook groups serve as a way in which the South African community is connected and maintained as the virtual space can also be seen

as a 'communal space' as people interact, share, and offer support to each other. Jayshree also remarks that these special events 'resonates' with people and the practice of these events reaffirms their South African identity. Jayshree indicates that South Africa 'will always be part of us, part of who we are', suggesting that the time spent in South Africa was significant and has shaped who they are, and will always be part of their memory. Time is therefore spent recreating past events that are important in defining who they and reaffirms their sense of self as they interact with people who have a similar historical and social background.

Siva discusses different activities that he engages with friends that makes them feel closer to their South African 'home'.

> Subashini: Is there anything of significance that makes the place you live in feel more South African?
> Siva: We obviously have all South African things, we listen to South African music all the time, to bring back our memories. When our friends get together, we always end up playing that, and we would be playing "thunee"[77] of course when the guys are together. Almost every other weekend we do that, but since winter has been in and this virus thing and the lockdown, we haven't done it in a while. We always go out together, we booked a place maybe a three-hour drive away from here. We go to the beach we booked a place on that end, Great Ocean Road or something, or Philip Island or Penguin Island. So, we do all those things. We go to the resort once a year, we stay over near the mountain, so these are the things we do as friends, as South Africans.

One of the activities that Siva and his friends engage in on a regular basis is playing the card game 'thunee'. Since he had played it in South Africa, it reconnects him to his community back 'home' through the practice of these activities and the memory of it. He associates going on long trips to places such as the beach, island, and mountains as significant as it is an activity practiced together as South Africans which connects him to a remembered 'home'. Activities conducted with other South Africans fosters bonds of friendship, connects them to memories of a past 'home' and rekindles the community left behind in South Africa. Another activity that Siva and many other participants mention is that music connects them to 'home'.

> Siva: It's mixed. South African Indian, and then of course lots of English music, but it's more of my age group, rather than, so most of us that are in the fifties and so on, the forties, will play that type of music. Like PJ Powers or those kinds of stuff. We would normally play that at functions or when they come to the house and so on. We will play our kind of music here.

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[77] Thunee is a card game "thought to have its origins when indentured labourers arrived in South Africa" (Devan 2012:67). It was a popular game and leisure activity amongst South African Indian farmers. "The rules of the game were handed down in the oral tradition and the game is still played by young and old alike, from schools to pubs, from universities to homes" (Devan 2012:67).

Danny: We also listen to a little bit of, a lot more South African music. And I'm talking about like mixed fusion South African stuff, something with a little bit of a beat, an African beat. So, we do that… I've got albums by Ladysmith Black Mambazo, I was born in Ladysmith by the way. So that's why. Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Hugh Masekela. We actually have music by the Soweto String Quartet, Johnny Clegg and Juluka, that kind of music. And then we also listened to some of the comedy and the humour. So, we have Riyaad Moosa.

Listening to music at 'functions', or celebrations, or when they invite friends to their home reignites memories of South Africa and brings South Africa into their 'home'. They discuss the different types of music played which represents the diversity of cultures within South Africa. Music is also used as a device through which their memories of their South African 'home' is conveyed. South African Indian music is played as well as South African 'English' music from artists such as PJ Powers, as well as music which is seen as 'African' from artists such as Ladysmith Black Mambazo. The diversity of music played also indicates that South African Indians identify with these multicultural musical genres which they use to recreate the diversity of the South African 'home' in Australia. This is also a reflection of their multiple cultural identities that was constructed in South Africa.

## 4 Recreating 'home' through cultural and symbolic objects

Narratives show that as South Africans move to Australia, they tend to hold on to certain cultural objects that assists them in recreating aspects of South Africa within Australia. Blunt and Dowling (2006:23) argue that "home is also materially created". Therefore, to create a sense of 'home', there is an active engagement of the 'home-making' process by producing home through material objects. For instance, dwelling places or the physical house is designed or decorated to allow those who inhabit the space to feel comfortable. This also holds true for transnational migrants. As people move from one place to another, they attempt to re-make the old 'home' in their 'new home' through material objects (Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Blunt and Dowling 2006). The extracts below show how South African Indians attempt to remake their South African 'home' by using cultural objects in their 'home-making' practices in Australia. For Kesi and Kavitha religious objects brought from South African contributed to making them feel at home in Australia.

Kesi:…and you know, the first thing we do as a Hindu, you know you set up your lamp

and your shrine and then you make sure plant your tholsi tree,[78] you know, that sort of thing that actually makes you feel at home… Yeah, I mean we all, my wife, we still have our lamp over here, my wife still lights a lamp every day and prays…

Kavitha: …it's totally South African like in the lounge I've got pictures of my in-laws and it's, we just adapted it from being South African. I've got a prayer room with only my God-pictures, very large frames, my mother-in-law's pictures, the God-lamp. Actually, the God lamp is right at the door so as soon as you enter my house the God-lamp is right in front I've even got a big Ganesh picture in the front, we've got a big elephant on our post box. Things like that so we make it very obvious who we are.

An important aspect that both Kesi and Kavitha have conveyed is that these religious and cultural objects are also attached to their identity. Kesi states that as a 'Hindu you set up your lamp and shrine and make sure you plant your tholsi tree', thus as a person from the Hindu faith one of the first things that he did was to set up a shrine for his God lamp so that the family has a place to pray within the house. He indicates that 'that sort of thing actually makes you feel at home', therefore having objects that are culturally and religiously significant in and around the 'home' and by continuing to practice aspects of the old 'home', assists in recreating feelings of 'home' in Australia. Similarly, Kavitha mentions that she has a prayer room with large pictures of deities and her God lamp close to the front door so that it can be easily noticed when someone enters the house, indicating that her religion is important to her, and she wants guests to notice or acknowledge her religious identity. She also indicates that by having a large picture of the deity Ganesha in her house and a 'big elephant on her post-box' which represents the deity Ganesha, she 'make[s] it very obvious who we are'. These cultural and religious objects serve as an instrument through which their identity is conveyed. Thus, significant objects allow their identity to be grounded or anchored in place. Therefore, by bringing religious symbols to Australia is important for them as it assists in retaining and continuing their religions practices and it is an expression of who they are. These cultural symbols allow them to 'feel at home' as they are able to practice the same traditions in Australia as they have done in South Africa which enables them to maintain their religious identity as Hindu's.

Kavitha also mentions that their living room is adapted from their home in South Africa, where they have photographs of significant others in their lives. These photographs also make them 'feel at home' as they are replicating the aesthetics of the South African living space in

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[78] The Tulasi (Sanskrit, Hindi, Tamil), also pronounced Tholsi, or Holy Basil is a plant significant to Hindus in South Africa as it is used in religious prayer and as medicinal cures (Mudly 2011:147-148). Mudly (2011:147-148) states that "every Hindu home has a basil plant in the yard".

Australia while also conveying that family is important to them. Having pictures of family also creates a sense of remembrance and connection to those that they left behind in South Africa or have passed on. Thus, not only is their religion expressed but their identity as South Africans are also transmitted through various cultural symbols. This can also be seen in Arthi's home making practices.

> Arthi: So, I still have some cups from my wedding presents. You know how you get 50 different wedding cups for presents. I have a lot of artwork that I buy when I come back. I love my sheep skins, my animal skins…My African artwork throughout the house… I bought them when I came. Every time I go back, I bring one. I am allowed to bring one now, so I bring them. Yeah, my whole house is very much like an African Resort.

Being able to visit South Africa on numerous occasions and purchasing African artwork and skins has allowed Arthi to bring a sense of Africa into her 'home' in Australia. Her affinity for African artwork and animal skins conveys her deep cultural connection to South Africa, which she expresses by having these objects around her 'home'. These objects are also an expression of her identity as an African and her national identity as a South African. Having an 'African Resort' in Australia is her way of reconnecting to South Africa. Since these cultural objects are widely noticed in public and private spaces in South Africa, surrounding herself with these objects in her house brings South Africa into her Australian house and creates familiarity. Numerous participants mention bringing in items from South Africa which made them feel connected to 'home'. Through these objects they are able recreate their South African 'home' in Australia. Jayshree, Siva and Kesi also indicate that they have brought objects that are significant to them to Australia.

> Jayshree: Oh, okay alright, so there's a lot of things that I still hold on to as South African and one of it is our culture. So, when I say culture, I also mean part of the South African culture where we have a lot of spirit, so when we came here, we got everything, so we bought a [shipping] container we got everything from South Africa and that for me created the; that sense of at least I knew something's that you know that was familiar, so it was home away from home.

> Siva: Yes, we also brought most of our stuff in, we had a whole container, a twenty-foot container, and we shipped everything because, one we feel that the beds here are just not as good as in South Africa. The lounge suites are not good. So those, because generally it is very Chinese made and its breaks very quickly… If we are to do it again, I think we would probably, only bring certain items, like appliances are ok to buy here, furniture depends. We got a dining room table which is solid oak, we bought in South

Africa, so we still kept those, but most of the other appliances and televisions, you can buy here.

Kesi: A lot of the South African people that came here used to have the similar sort of furniture that we used to have in South Africa. It's funny, you know that like the wooden furniture with that like, I don't know the kind of style of material that they used to have in the lounge suite and a lot of the South African people have the same style. You know, go to someone's house you see that, and you think "Oh, we all sort of still cling to the memories of our home back home and we try to, sort of rebuild some of that, I think".

Jayshree mentions the preservation of culture through the objects brought to Australia. Jayshree and Siva both mention having 'shipped everything' over to Australia using containers. Advances in transportation and the logistics in shipping has allowed for migrants to take a large amount of their personal belongings to destination countries (Acciaro and Sys 2020). For Jayshree, having her South African items in Australia created familiarity, in an unfamiliar place, and made her new house feel like a 'home away from home' as she surrounds herself with familiar objects. South African Indians in Australia are reproducing what they are familiar with which contributes to adapting to Australia as they have created a comfortable environment which resembles their South African 'home'.

Blunt and Dowling (2006) state that 'home' for transnational migrants is "shaped by memories as well as everyday life in the present". This means that migrants hold on to memories of their old 'home' and use it as a reference point to understand and create 'home' in Australia. Kesi comments on having seen such furniture when he visits South Africans in Australia and reflects on how South Africans 'cling on to the memories of our home back home' and use those memories to 'rebuild' their 'home' in Australia. It brings them comfort surrounding themselves with personal belongings from South Africa or objects that are symbolic of South Africa. Having these objects reminds them of who they are as they establish a personal connection to the South African 'home'. These excerpts indicate that 'home' is recreated through the personal, cultural, and religious objects brought to South Africa and that people attempt to recreate their 'home' through what they know and how they lived in their previous 'home'.

## 5 Food, 'home' and identity

One of the surprising aspects that emerged in participants narratives was the discussion of consuming South African foods in Australia. As previously mentioned, when South Africans host events, one of the aspects that accompany the event are South African or South African Indian cuisine. Narratives provide evidence that food plays a significant role in the lives of

South Africans which is depicted in the way that participants extensively and enthusiastically speak of South African food products. Diner (2014:411) for instance argues that wherever migrants have settled "they have attempted to recreate elements of the food systems associated with their former homes". The following narratives indicate that food is also associated with the South African 'home' and the replication of those cuisines play an important role in the expression of identity.

**5.1 The transnationalism of food**
Transnationalism has allowed for proliferation of cultural commodities, such as food, to be transported from the country of origin to destination countries (Brain 2010). Participants in this study indicate that the multinational store, Aldi, and the local Australian supermarket, Coles, are decisive in importing South African food products such as Ouma rusks, Mrs Balls Chutney, Fry's Products, Marie Biscuits, Tennis Biscuits, ProNutro Cereal, biltong and dry wors, to name a few. These stores are pivotal in creating transnational food links with South Africa. Many participants indicate that these chain stores have a 'South African aisle' where certain South African products can be found. This suggests that Australian stores have recognised and are attuned to South African consumer needs and have met that need by supplying certain cultural foods to South African consumers. Since participants have mentioned that many chain stores stock South African consumable goods it serves as an indication that the demand for these cultural food products are high. Furthermore, advances in telecommunications have made it possible to shop online. Participants mention that South African food products can also be bought online from local stores. Brain (2010:1) notes that "cultural markers are important for transnational communities living abroad to show connection to their home country". Food serves as an important cultural marker connecting migrants to their 'home'. These chain and online stores play a pivotal role in connecting South Africans to their 'home' by reproducing the familiarity of 'home' through cultural consumable goods sold. Fischler (1988:275) argues that "food is central to our sense of identity", thus by purchasing and consuming South African goods immigrants affirm their cultural and national identities.

In addition to being able to purchase processed food from major retail and online stores, participants also mention that South Africans have also established their own food stores and restaurants which cater for the South African and South African Indian palate. Duyvendak (2011:31) states that when immigrants establish a "home away from home" they "often recreate places that look and smell, at least to a certain extent, like the places they left behind". Tony,

in the extract below, discusses the creativity of South Africans as they have established their "home away from home" through own grocery stores that supply South African consumable goods.

> Tony: Look, so what's really nice and that's a nice thing about South Africans, we are very resourceful people. You know, and that is true, and I really believe we are very resourceful, so a couple of things. So, South African products are quite readily available here. In Australia, particularly in Adelaide, so what we have here is we have what is called an 'SA in SA' store. So, South Africa in South Australia. So, yeah, so we have a lot of South African products such as the Ouma rusks as an example. The Tennis biscuit, you know, the, what's the other one? You get the biltong, you get all of that, so there are. One in Adelaide and the suburbs we have many of these 'SA in SA' stores. And you can't miss it, everywhere you pass you see the South African flag outside the store. So, you can't miss that.

Nyamnjoh (2018:27) maintains that "migrants' shops and restaurants in the host countries encapsulate the wholesomeness of home and work to create a transnational sense of identity while also retaining a sense of attachment and belonging to the home country". Therefore, immigrants are active in creating a 'home away from home' through the establishment of stores and restaurants, which in turn reaffirms their attachment to South Africa and their identity as South African. In addition, having the South African flag outside the store serves as a national symbol and identifier which South African immigrants can connect to, thus attracting them to visit the store to purchase South Africans goods. The need to preserve South African culture through food shows in the way that South Africans establish various stores, and make South African products such as boerewors, biltong, koeksisters, and bunny chows. The continual supplementation of South African products suggests the establishment and continuation of cultural repertoire through food products in Australia.


Furthermore, ICTs have allowed for the creation of social media sites such as Facebook which are able to bring a dispersed group together on one platform to share information. South African Facebook groups in Australia are also essential in helping migrants' source South African products.

> Tony: In Adelaide and I guess in the other cities you have that; we also have a Facebook group which is South Africans in Adelaide. So, it's quite a big Facebook group and that's South Africans of all races and things on, so that's quite a big group on Facebook. And some of the people on the group, have their own stores. Like butcher stores where they also sell biltong…. not very far that does samosas and things like that, where she does all the Indian stuff. And they have markets on Saturdays…there's a lot of markets.

Open markets that they have here. Either on a Saturday or a Sunday in different areas and often South African stores will be there, so you'll pick up the koeksisters and the samosas and all those things. So, all of that is available and yeah, and it's not difficult. And South African products are quite readily available.

Through Facebook groups South Africans living in Australia are informed of South African stores which serves as a way of promoting businesses, creating awareness of South African products and the location these goods can be purchased such as the Saturday markets. Not only are brand-named items produced in South Africa sold but cultural foods such as samosas and koeksisters which are associated with home cooking, reminding immigrants of their nation, community, and family home, are authentically made and sold. Such foods, captures the tastes and smells of home cooked meals which is associated with the South African 'home'.

In the excerpt above Tony uses the word 'Indian stuff' to distinguish between the South African Indian food sold and what is perceived as South African food. This indicates that there is a cultural distinctiveness associated with food as South African Indians eat specific types of food connected to their culture, as well as partake in foods that are seen as South African. This means that they indulge in both cultural and national foods which draws them to South Africa as a national home and 'home' associated with culture attached to their community and family.

The variety of products and the numerous places where South African consumable goods can be purchased indicates the interest and demand in having cultural food products in Australia. Tony elaborates on the significance of these products in the lives of South Africans in Australia.

> Subashini: So, you've been telling me about South African products in Australia. Has that made it easier to adapt to Australia?
> Tony: Oh, yeah, absolutely because when you look at it and you go out shopping and you know, sometimes, you know, one must never underestimate the emotional impact of certain things. I mean, you have good days, and you have bad days. And also, I think, we've had more good days than bad days. You do have some rough days where you really feel down. I've experienced that personally, my wife has. You have those rough days. And we will be out shopping and suddenly you see a familiar brand. So, something South African…you only experience that when you're outside the South African environment…In South Africa, you think nothing of it and then suddenly here you go, and you see all these brands and you talk about it. And then you'll…see its Tennis, Tennis biscuit and yeah, then you start thinking about home. It's a warm feeling.

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Tony agrees that having cultural foods accessible in Australia has enabled him to adapt to the country. The familiarity experienced in seeing these products rekindles a sense of 'home' and brings South Africans close to the memory of the 'home' they left behind. It provides the emotional support that South African migrants need as it reflects the stability and comfort felt in their old 'home'.

Tony remarks that 'you only experience it outside of the South African environment' revealing that only when one has left 'home' that they started to think about the 'home' that they are left behind. Furthermore, this statement signifies that outside of the 'home' country one comes to recognise and cultivate an awareness of the cultural differences between their old 'home' and new 'home'. Diner (2014:412) states that immigrants develop a self-consciousness about what they have eaten back-home. This means that in a new 'home' they develop an awareness of the foods they had eaten in their old 'home'. For instance, Tony mentions that in South Africa 'you think nothing of it', suggesting that in South Africa food products and the impact of food on the self are taken for granted, whereas in Australia the familiarity associated with these food products provide an 'emotional impact' that acts to invoke memories of 'home' which brings feelings of 'warmth', thus calming oneself on difficult days. Food as a cultural product that is attached to the 'home' has a profound impact on the self. As one associates with these food products they identify and attach themselves to these products. Having South African food products present in Australia provides a connection to their cultural and national identity and thus a connection to their sense of self which assists to ground or anchor them in their new 'home'.

## 5.2 Retention and adaption of cuisines

Participants spoke of the foods that they missed 'back home'. Through transnationalism they are able to source products and ingredients for their cooking. Nyamnjoh (2018:26) indicates that "migrants bring with them an internalised, embodied cooking craft that is acquired via practice and oral tradition and does not need the support of texts". Participants' narratives reveal that specific products and ingredients are brought over from South Africa so that their meals are similar to what they are used to back home. Most participants' mention that spices from South Africa is one food item that must be brought over to Australia. For instance, Siva indicates that when they visit South Africa, they post spices back to Australia. Other participant's mention when family or friends visit a request is made to bring certain spices, which are essential in carrying over tastes from 'home'.

> Siva: My wife still uses the South Africa spices, whenever we come to South Africa, we buy it, and we post it out. We're still very much, in that sense; we just find that the food is a bit different in terms of what we had back home and what we have here.

The 'difference' is also an indication of a cultural difference between South Africans and Australians and the need to preserve and hold on to their cultural identity through food. This can be seen in the extract below as Danny indicates that South African Indians 'we still have that and hold true' to the cooking styles that they had back 'home'.

> Danny: We still eat curries. I like hot curries. That's why you see the chillies. I like the Nando's extra hot, with extra hot sauce. All right. So, in regard to that, we still have that, we hold true to a lot of those cooking styles. My wife's cooking Indian delights book, that we cook from. I brought a potjie pot over, that's all I cook, potjies and all of those things. We do the traditional braai as well because I've got a little braai stand.

In South Africa, South African Indians enjoy eating different varieties of curry meals prepared with spices which adds the pungent quality to the dish. These curried dishes are cooked at 'home', takeaways and restaurants, events, celebrations, religious prayer, festivals, weddings, and funerals. Thus, food plays an important role in the lives of South African Indians, as it is associated with family, community, religion, and celebrations, thus it is an important part of their culture. So important is this cultural food that South Africa Indians have made it a significant part of their lives in Australia by continuing to make these spicy dishes. The continuation is also propagated by bringing South African recipe books such as the 'Indian Delights' and cooking utensils such as the potjie pot which assists in cooking food the same way as was done in South Africa. However, participants also mention that certain ingredients can be changed thus adapting the recipe to what is available in the new society. Keshnie, for instance, speaks about the spice recipe created by her relatives.

> Keshnie: …so fortunately we have other family that live in Australia and they've lived here probably I think like fifteen or seventeen years more than we did, so they had a lot of time to experiment and perfect it, so by the time when we got here it was already okay, here's what you need, yeah and I think this particular aunt she made the recipe very well and it's yeah it's what we use.

Keshnie also remarks that over the years, relatives have 'experimented' and perfected the combination of spices that will produce the taste that they are used to in South Africa. This also indicates the ability of South Africans Indians to incorporate products that are available and accessible within their environment to adapt and replicate the tastes of 'home' in Australia. In the excerpt below, Kesi describes adapting one of his favourite meals in South Africa.

Kesi: But I still, once a week I make myself my sardine chutney…you get it, you get the tinned...
Subashini: The pilchard tin?
Kesi: Ja, like that, you know you'll used to get the Middle Cut?
Subashini: Yes, yes.
Kesi: The Middle Cut, we have sort of similar, that's the Salmon.
Subashini: Oh okay.
Kesi: Then we buy the Salmon then I might braise a tin of Salmon, I really miss that is what makes me feel like home, I think.

Kesi speaks of having 'sardine chutney'[79] in South Africa. He connects that dish, the tastes, smells, and memories that go with it, to South Africa and to 'home'. Although Kesi might not be able to have sardines, he has adjusted to having salmon instead. Diner (2014:412) states that "no matter where immigrants go, home cannot be reproduced perfectly…they are usually unable to find the exact ingredients that they once used to cook". The adjustment in ingredients shows that immigrants have come to adapt to consuming the foods available to them in the new place. Kesi remarks that he really misses that particular dish which makes him 'feel like home', thus he tries to reproduce it by substituting one type of fish for another. Thus, not only is he trying to recreate his old 'home', he is, at the same time, also adapting to his new 'home' by incorporating food items which also means that he is remaking 'home' anew. In addition, Kesi also mentions other specific foods that is difficult to find in Australia.

Kesi: And my daughter likes sheepshead and tripe and trotters and all that sort of stuff although she is born here, not my son.
Subashini: So, you cook all of that in Australia as well, your tripe and trotters?
Kesi: Yeah, not very often you can get it...unless you find a Muslim butcher somewhere that has lamb. And then we used to have a friend of mine, he was a doctor here and he had a friend who was a farmer. So, when they slaughtered the sheep, they used to give us the head and the trotters and we used to have these what we call offal parties...so I still miss that and I'll eat it as often as I can, I used to love sheepshead and tripe and trotters and liver and all that. You don't get them very often but if you do get them, we do, like on Saturday a friend of mine called me, a South African guy and his wife is actually a social worker, she was a social worker back from South Africa and he said, "Oh what are you doing this weekend?" and he said, "Come over we're having a potjie".

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[79] The sardine run refers to large shoals of sardines that move along the coast of KwaZulu-Natal annually during the winter months. It is also considered "the greatest shoal on Earth" (Teske et al. 2021). Having an annual sardine shoal has influenced cuisine culture in South Africa as "fresh, frozen, canned, pickled…have featured in the lives of many South Africans" (KwaZulu-Natal Sharks Board 2021).

I've never had a potjie before. I'd never had it, so we're going to his house and they're going to have a potjie.

In her autobiographical book 'A Tribute to our Forefathers', (Mudly 2011) wrote about her family life and the 'Indian' community in general. One of the aspects she touches on is the food prepared in South Africa. She states that "the offal (head, trotters, tripe and pluck – organs like heart, liver and lungs) were turned into gourmet dishes" (Mudly 2011:100). Kesi indicates that he misses food cooked in South Africa such as sheepshead, tripe, trotters, liver, and other offal's. He also indicates that his daughter likes these offal's although she is born in Australia, indicating that parent's cultural tastes are also passed on to the children, thus there is continuation in consuming cultural food. Kesi also outlines that these foods are not readily available and that through social networks they are able to find people who would have the product. These food items are a rarity in Australia, but once found they are immensely enjoyed and 'offal parties' are had. (Nyamnjoh 2018:31) asserts that "for individuals and the collective, home is remembered through cooking and sharing with families in everyday life and at important occasions". By having 'offal parties', 'potjies', 'braais' and 'bunnies' and other cultural events where South African food is shared, brings the tastes, smells, and interactions of the South African 'home' into a new social space. Thus, by cooking South African meals individual and collective identities are expressed which is attached to a remembered 'home'. This is echoed in the excerpt below.

> Keshnie: So, you know, if we're having a braai with new South African friends, it's always nice to just bring out a bottle of South African wine, it's pretty good wine so I think everyone appreciates those little reminiscences of back home.

A South African braai is seen as a cultural occasion which brings people together through the sharing of food, cooked in the South African way. Nyamnjoh (2018:26) states that

> Culinary culture provides a link between individuals and the collective. Food consumption unified migrant groups…and the practices that are organised around food consumption, allows us to see consumption as a practice through which people articulate and recognise their distinctiveness and individuality, as well as their membership and connection to larger constructions of family, community, and nation.

This means that South African cultural events unify South African migrants and the practices associated with preparing and consumption of South African food provides a way in which migrants come to recognise and acknowledge their 'distinctiveness', 'individuality' and 'membership' as South African. Keshnie indicates that when 'having a braai with new South

African friends' it is also an occasion in which South African products such as wine is consumed which is associated with 'reminiscences of back home'. Thus, occasions were South Africans come together and partake in the sharing of cultural foods fosters a way in which they remember and express their South African-ness which in turn promotes the continuation of their cultural identity and community.

**5.3 South African Indian food vs Indian food**
Fischler (1988:275) asserts that "the way any given human group eats helps it assert…both its oneness and the otherness of whoever eats differently". The extracts that follow shows how South African Indians indicate their 'oneness' with South African Indians and 'otherness' with Indian nationals through food.

> <u>Kavitha:</u> So, my son in the air force cadets he has made friends with a Tamil boy from India and the mother she cooked us this mushroom biryani. …South African biryani has lentils, we have biryani dal…there is mutton there, there is vegetables there, but the biryani dal is the key to the biryani. And what was in her mushroom biryani now was mushrooms and boiled sugar beans. What else was there? Okay, it was basmati rice, what we normally have. He is saying the colour of it was different right…And my kids were like are you sure this is biryani? Because the boys are looking for the biryani dhall. So, it is funny because South African Indians had to adapt everything…all the recipes that they came with from India because of a lack of commodities there and what was affordable for them when they came to South Africa right. So, that is why we have a different take on what the original South Indian dish might be. So, it is just funny you know. I think being South African it is just such a different thing. Unless you are South African you cannot relate you know. It is like when… Pravisha messages me and she is like I want sweet corn samosas. That is so South African you know. No one else eats that or makes that.

Although Kavitha and her sons might have identified as being 'Indian' and thus have perceived a commonality with people from India, the differences in how food is prepared is an indication that there is a cultural difference between the two groups. Kavitha reflects on the history of South Africans of Indian descent by saying that when Indians came to South Africa, they had to adapt their recipes to the foods that were available and affordable. Since 'Indians' in South Africa lived in impoverished conditions, they had to adapt to their environment to survive. Mudly (2011:102) in her autobiography of family life as a South African Indian in the late 1950s, indicated that elders were innovative when it came to food as 'any fruit or vegetable could be curried'. Since rice and bread were luxury items at that point in time, mealie meal was made into sour porridge through a process of fermentation learnt from the Zulu people, which satisfied their hunger (Mudly 2011:102). This suggests that in South Africa, 'Indians' have

experienced a cultural shift with regards to the foods that were eaten as they adapted to the environment around them to subsist. This is also an indication of the fluidity and transformation of culture, and that culture is not just appropriated but transformed as it is used (Fay 1996; Smedley and Smedley 2005). 'Indians' brought what they knew about the preparation of food and transformed it by changing ingredients, tastes and even cooking methods so that they could adapt to the South African environment. However, over time these changes in food have become mainstream as it is widely cooked in 'homes', restaurants, and takeaways in Durban. Thus, Kavitha reiterates 'that is why we have a different take on what the original South Indian dish might be' as she thinks over the historic cultural adaptation of South African Indians. Kavitha repeats that the difference in what is eaten is 'funny', showing that her perception of what 'Indian' is, is now disrupted. Although South African Indians have ancestral roots in India and are racially constructed as 'Indian' in South Africa, the recognition of the reification of 'race' and culture through this narrative debunks the myth of homogeneity amongst all those of 'Indian' descent. This means that although South Africans of Indian descent and Indian nationals may look phenotypically similar, there are cultural differences between the groups which contradicts the perceived notion that all 'Indians' share the same culture. In this case, the cultural differences between South Africans of Indian descent and Indians come through in the ingredients used and the foods chosen to eat. Kavitha also says that 'unless you are South African you cannot relate', indicating that only if you have a shared history, in this case the shared cultural evolution of foods eaten, can you understand why these differences emerge. This also relates to having a shared historical identity as a South African of Indian descent whose history is intertwined with South African history. This indicates that as participants reflect on their 'Indian' identity, biography, and history in South Africa, they use this as a benchmark to compare themselves to Indian nationals. They notice that cultural differences emerge and are made aware of how intertwined they are to South African society. Therefore, they come to identify themselves as South African as they draw upon the culture shared amongst South Africans. This can be seen as Kavitha replies that 'that is so South African' in relation to her friends' message of wanting to eat sweet corn samosas.

## 5.4 Changes in consumer purchases and diets
Although South Africans of Indian descent have indicated that they hold firmly to the South African cuisines eaten as it is culturally significant to them as it serves as a reminder of 'home', they are also willing to adapt to their new 'home' by partaking in the foods available to them in their new environment.

Subashini: Do you buy more South African products or Australian produced goods?

Tony: I think more Australian produced goods. You know, one of the things, you know, we have also accepted and committed that, well this is a new country for us. One of the things we've got to do in our path is we've got to embrace the environment. And so that the products that we buy are mostly Australian…And there are certain things you cannot find in most Australian supermarkets, but you can go to a sort of Indian supermarket, or you can go to…people from India. So, you will pick up whatever you need, you know. Yes, if you're looking for prayer goods, it's not a problem, we can, you know, we pick that up from the local stores and there's one just up the road from where I live in the suburb here. And you find, you'll find such a shop in all of the suburbs. So, it's never really a problem.

This excerpt reveals that Tony and his family have actively made the decision to make Australia their new 'home'. Tony indicates that since they have 'accepted and committed' to settling down in a new country, they need to 'embrace the environment' and thus, he buys more Australian produced goods. Although, South Africans practice their national and cultural identity by eating products and making foods of their 'home' country, they are also aware that since they are in a new country, there is a need to adapt to consuming Australian goods sold. However, since Australia is a multicultural country that has food items from all parts of the world including South Africa, South Africans find that they can obtain the products that are significant to participate in their cultural and religious activities. For instance, Tony mentions that if products are not found in the Australian supermarket, 'Indian' supermarkets are also established in almost every suburb that can supply items of relevance to South African Indians such as 'prayer goods'. Since South African Indians purchase goods from Australia, South African, and Indian grocery stores, it conveys that they are drawing on multiple cultural resources demonstrating their multiple identities that they practice, express, and reconstruct by engaging a diversity of foods sources. Kesi also mentions that over the years, their diets have changed which reflects the cosmopolitan society that they live in.

Subashini: So, do you tend to buy more South African goods or Australian goods?

Kesi: I think we are slowly changing. I think we are morphing in a manner of speaking, we used to eat South African curries four days a week…and now it's probably two days a week because our children are now liking the pasta's and the Chinese and the Thai's and you know, we're getting exposed to more of the other cuisines now because of the kids.

Subashini: Yeah, so do you cook it at home?

Kesi: We are tending to eat... at home, at home yes. So, the kids are exposed to more of the pastas, and the pizzas, and the pies and there's lots of Thai cuisine, and Malaysian

Cuisine, there's good cuisine here. They're probably, not losing our South African cooking things, but we're certainly eating more of the other stuff.

Kesi indicated that through his children he is becoming exposed to different cuisines which is reflective of the diversity of Australia. Diner (2014:412) indicates that "all immigrant destinations become culinary melting pots, sites of food fusions, where immigrants learn to eat some of the foods of their new neighbours". By partaking in the diversity of food made available by immigrants from other countries, they are also accepting of and adapting into the new society. Kesi mentions that they are not losing their South African cooking style, rather they are being exposed to and have cultivated a preference for other cultural food as well. Diner (2014:412) also mentions that the "foods of the people around them are integrated, either deliberately or not, into diets of all the many immigrants in the new place". Although South Africans of Indian descent hold on to their cultural roots through the consumption and making of South African foods, they are also engaging with their society and adapting and integrating into their new 'home' by partaking of many cultural foods accessible to them.

## 6 Creating and sustaining transnational ties with the South African 'home'

Information Communication Technology (ICT) development and innovation has led to the creation of sustained and proliferating transnational ties with the 'home' country (Francisco 2013; Vertovec 2009). Narratives show that as South African Indians adjust to the Australian lifestyle while simultaneously recreating the South African 'home' in Australia, they also engage in cross-border communication with the 'home' country. Since South Africans of Indian descent predominately come from close-knit families and a communal social system, the enhancement of ICT such as the internet, smartphones and social media have subsequently created transborder networks which has assisted South Africans to maintain those significant ties from a distance. This section examines the creation of cross-border networks which consequently facilitates the maintenance of strong family ties and assists with immigrant integration in Australia.

### 6.1 WhatsApp has opened the world

Participants in this study spoke at length about the use of social media platforms to keep in touch with family and friends in South Africa. Radha and Kesi who have lived in Australia for a number of years (thirteen years and thirty-six years respectively) detail the technological communication transition and the impact it has had on their life.

> Kesi: ...years ago all we had to do was make a telephone call and then it wasn't cheap… Now you can call on WhatsApp, you can speak how long you want, so it's actually, you know, it's opened up the lines of communication much more, it's made it easier for people to live overseas. Like people who have got grandchildren they can still WhatsApp facetime and you know do face calls and things like that, so it probably alleviates the difficulty I suppose of the tyranny of distance. And I suppose the last ten, fifteen years has probably made it easier for people to migrate because of the distance.

Francisco (2013:175) states that technology has allowed migrant families to stay in touch more often. For instance, Kesi mentions that through FaceTime one can stay in touch with grandchildren, thus cross generational relationships can still be maintained. Communication technology has assisted in closing the distance that migration has created by bringing those that are important to them into a virtual space making them present in their everyday lives (Baldassar et al. 2016). This is especially important for those who come from close-knit families and communal systems to maintain those ties in a new country which enables them to have a sense of connection which creates a sense of 'home' in Australia.

> Radha: WhatsApp has opened the world. You know, when we first came to Australia, we had to buy those cards. By the time you put the number, the phone was paying…so I make sure I've got my formal service provider that could give me international minutes. So, I can just pick up the phone and phone whenever I want without going looking for this special calling card that you had those days. And then after that we got WhatsApp. WhatsApp, of course, we didn't have video at one time. We just only had the calls. WhatsApp has opened up the communication to a totally different level. So, now we can talk. I mean, even still, my brothers still call and whatever and eventually we did the emails. But now we talk to each other, I can speak to my brother. A week won't go by when, especially my youngest brother, if he doesn't call me and I call him. When my mum was alive, my mum, so this is going to be the second year, she passed away. Every single week, sometimes more than once a week, whenever I feel like, I'll call her, but definitely every week. No week goes by when I never spoke to my mum …and I phone like my sister-in laws, my husband's sisters, my husband's brothers, their wives.

Radha emphasizes that now she can 'talk' to her brother and have conversations with him. The ability to have regular conversations with family members indicates that family bonds and relationships are being maintained and remain strong across-borders. Baldassar et al. (2016:133) argues that ICTs challenge the notion that "strong relationships require face-to-face interactions". Participant's narratives provide evidence that due to the use of ICTs, there is a high quality and frequency of communication with family and friends in South Africa, which

indicates that strong relationships are maintained across borders. The frequency of communication that participants engage in suggests that it is important for them to stay in touch with family and friends in South Africa, as the extract below reveals:

> Kerisha: I think at times felt like I was living in two time zones, because there was so much emphasis on me with the relationship with people that I have in South Africa, that I was waking up super, super early or staying up super, super late to be able to talk to family and friends in South Africa and then still at the same time try to manage my life in Australia. In some ways working all those hours kind of worked out because you were up anyway when the South Africans were free to talk.
> Subashini: How often did you chat to people?
> Kerisha : Every day, I spoke to my parents twice a day; I spoke to another friend of mine twice a day, and others in between.
> Subashini: Why did you communicate with your friends and family so many times a day?
> Kerisha: I think it was that I was already close to them, and going overseas did not change that, so I still share as much of my life with them even though I was physically somewhere else.

Having close connections with family back 'home' is an important part of the lives of participants, which is demonstrated through the frequency and the effort they go to, to maintain these connections. While Kerisha is communicating with family and friends in South Africa, she is 'still at the same time' trying to manage her life in Australia. This shows that transnational communication has added another dimension to her life. Not only are participants adjusting to Australia and recreating the South African 'home' in Australia, but these transnational ties to South Africa also bring another dimension of connectivity which is present in their daily lives in Australia. For instance, Keshnie mentions the vast number of social media applications she uses to stay in touch with family and friends in South Africa.

> Subashini: Is it just through WhatsApp groups or do you phone them or is it social media as well, like Facebook or Instagram and Twitter?
> Keshnie: I think all of those social media platforms, like with parents what we try to do is just personally with my mom, we have a chat every day, so it's a WhatsApp call...And just have a chat…usually with friends I would at least have a conversation with them maybe a couple of times a week, but really messaging on WhatsApp or Instagram or Facebook, yeah.

Francisco (2013:175) argues that "frequent communication, digital face to digital face exchanges, and instant updates allow families to be in sync instantaneously even if they are

separated across space". The use of many social media platforms, the frequency in contact and quality of conversation suggests that these family and friends are 'present' in their everyday lives, although they are not physical present, which makes them an integral part of their lives in Australia. Baldassar et al. (2016) argues that the rise of 'co-presence' relationship formation between migrants and family back 'home' is facilitated through ICTs. This can also be seen in participants' stories of connecting to South Africa. Many participants relate that ICTs have brought 'home' to their host country, such that they are intricately connected to the lives of family and friends back 'home'. This can also be seen in Tony's excerpts as he continues to maintain strong ties with family in South Africa.

> Tony: I think if you look at the family side of it, we maintain contact. If anything, we probably maintain more contact now that we're far apart. As opposed to then. The relationship is still good. You know, we communicate regularly. It can be weekly, it can be two times, three times a week. So, I think that's one of the things we set up was that, you know, those are the sort of relationships that are very precious to us. And despite the decision we made to move away, it was important for us to preserve those relationships. So, we would then proactively make the effort to keep in touch and we've obviously, like the meeting that you and I are using at the moment where we use that primarily, the WhatsApp phone calls, the video calls, you know, so that has been the primary mode of contact with immediate family. Also, with friends and associates, Facebook has kind of solved that, so although we're not physically present, you can still keep in touch with them…With workplace I also make use of LinkedIn. So, LinkedIn's worked, in fact LinkedIn works really well for me in terms of keeping in touch with my work colleagues over the last 20 years or so, where I'd built up relationships. So, you can see where they are, what's happening, and they do keep in touch. I do prefer that mode, so Facebook, LinkedIn and of course, you know, physically just being with people, if it's not a WhatsApp call…So, we managed to do that and keep in touch.

Most participants indicate that they keep in close contact with family in South Africa. The frequency of contact indicates the close relationship shared with family and the need to keep in touch and maintain these relationships despite being on a different continent. The above extract suggests that by using social media technology the close-knit family structure and relationships are retained and continues to exist across borders, thus indicating the bonds between those that left and those that stayed behind are strong (Levitt and Schiller Glick 2004). Baldassar et al. (2016) also argues that these family relationships are not formed through ICT, rather these close-knit relations are already established in the 'home' country is now maintained through ICTs. This suggests that virtual cross-border communities are sustained with friends,

family, and colleagues, which pull South African Indians back 'home', creating transnational communities and transnational social fields (Basch et al. 1994; Kivisto 2001). Therefore, South African Indians living in Australia tend to be part of more than one community, which means that they tend to form communities amongst themselves in Australia as well as retain the community that they left behind in South Africa. Through Facebook and WhatsApp, community, social and friendship groups can be virtually revived and sustained. Kesi's narrative on how he reconnected with groups in South Africa shows how technology made it possible to reconnect with friends and community members.

> Kesi: And I still belong, I belong to a WhatsApp group, would you believe there's a group of us from primary school, I found the group three years ago. And we were in primary school together and we still communicate with each other every day. From Durban and then there's another group that I belong to called Asherville and Asherville Football…And it's a group of Asherville people in that one, so I stick to that group and then I belong to a group called the Clairwood Group, so there's…links between... all of my Facebook friends that I have, I think are probably maybe 60% South African Indians, the rest maybe in Australia. Mostly we speak on WhatsApp, all the WhatsApp groups.
> Subashini: Has that been a recent development because you said only three years ago you started a Facebook group with your primary schools...
> Kesi: A friend of mine, that group, the Asherville group has been going for a long time. The Clairwood group has been going for a while. The friend of mine that's in New Zealand, he started this WhatsApp group. So, to start a WhatsApp group someone's got to know someone because you need their phone numbers. Ja, so on Facebook you can actually find someone through Facebook, and you can just send them a friend request. He actually found about eight of us and you know we all hook up and yeah, yeah, it's pretty good, it's actually very good. Sometimes we have a conference call, we get two or three people and we get chatting, but most of us happened to go to the same school, it's good exchange…
> Subashini: So how often do you communicate with friends?
> Kesi: Virtually every day.

Through these WhatsApp groups Kesi is able to connect to a community of people and be virtually part of that community through conversations and sharing in the stories of those particular places. Since communication is daily, it indicates the initiative taken and the desire to be part of the community that he once left behind. Therefore, ICT technology has allowed for the revival of old friendships and the establishment of cross-border transnational communities (Kivisto 2001).

These narratives show how an individual's biography can now be virtually stretched across multiple places, while being in one physical space. Since narratives are understood as "*constellations of relationships* (connected parts) embedded in *time and space*, constituted by *causal emplotment*" (Somers and Gibson 1994:59), transnationalism reveals the "constellations of social relations" that people can be a part of. Thus, people can become part of multiple story lines both in the country of settlement and the 'home' country which persists over time. Therefore, immigrants are part of multiple stories both in Australia and in South Africa as their family, friends and community in South Africa include them in the creation and transmission of narratives.

**6.2 The importance of transnational networks**
The stories conveyed by participants indicate why it is important for this group of migrants to constantly stay in touch with family, friends, and colleagues in South Africa. For Keshnie, it was important for her to maintain the long enduring relationships.

> Subashini:  Why is it important for you to connect to family, friends, and work colleagues, why is it important for you to maintain that relationship?
> Keshnie:  I think over the years we have just, we have built a strong relationship, you know, you celebrate successes together and it's just having those authentic relationships with people who really know you and know your story and…fortunately I think both for my husband and myself we've been able to have enduring friendships, there are people that we all went to school with and subsequently, university and you know now it's many years later but we still have that friendship and have that connection.

Baldassar et al. (2016:142) states that "the better the quality of relationships, the more forms of communication are used to sustain it, both face-to-face and virtual". Keshnie speaks of the quality of relationships that were built over time in South Africa and thus the need to preserve these relationships. She describes these relationships as 'strong', 'authentic' as 'people really know you and know your story'. This suggests that as people share stories about themselves, they are also sharing their identity in narrative form, which overtime builds authentic relationships. In addition, through Keshnie's narrative we learn that these relationships are unique as friends are able to share in her successes as a person, thus validating her identity as these friends share in her story of herself. Since she has cultivated these friendships over time as they went to school, university and over her life course they still have the same bond 'many years later'. Thus, it is the enduring nature of these friendships, the sharing of stories as well as the validation of who they are as they share their storied selves that is important. Since their

narrative identity is shared across borders, this suggests that through this virtual interaction, identity can still be maintained as family and friends come to validate and acknowledge who they are (Levitt and Schiller Glick 2004). For Kerisha, the importance of keeping touch with her parents is expressed in the excerpt below.

> Subashini: Okay, did you have long conversations or was it short ones?
> Kerisha: Mostly short ones except for when there was a big event happening with one of us…at the point where I was deciding to change jobs, which actually happened six months before I actually came. I was supposed to come last year July and my employer convinced me to stay, so I stayed an additional six months and moved back in January. So, at the point that I had to make those decisions I think we had a lot of very long conversations.
> Subashini: When you chatted to them on a regular basis when you were not chatting about the big events, what did you chat to them about?
> Kerisha: Things that happened in the day, things that happened in my day, things that happened in their day, things that were interesting. I think once when I was in Brisbane there was supposed to be a tropical storm, and basic just catching up, regular like, "How was your day? What did you eat?" that kind of thing.
> Subashini: Why did you think it was important to have those general conversations with your parents and friends?
> Kerisha: I think it gives you some stability and I think everything changed so quickly in moving from Johannesburg to Sydney and the Sydney to Brisbane, and then while I was in Brisbane going to Perth for a month, going to Melbourne for two months, I think just having that brought some stability to it.

Kerisha's story emphasises three important aspects as to why a strong connection is maintained with family and friends in South Africa. Firstly, Kerisha mentions frequently having conversations with her parents and that these conversations are long and short in duration. The long conversations are reserved for in depth discussion of 'big events' that happen in their lives. One such event, for Kerisha, was the decision to move back to South Africa. Since it was a huge decision for her to make, she consulted her parents who gave her advice. Benítez (2012:1442) states that members of a transnational family assist in the decision-making process. Therefore, family in South Africa can offer guidance and suggestions as to how to navigate and deal with certain circumstances that may arise in Australia. Thus, a support network is sustained between family across borders. Secondly, since Kerisha migrated alone to Australia without having family and friends in both Sydney and Brisbane, communicating with her parents on a frequent basis gave her the 'stability' she needed as she moved from place to place in a short space of time. Lastly, these short conversations, although seemly trivial in

nature, provides migrants with a sense of being cared for and looked after as people check in on them regularly and ask them about their day and how they are managing in a new country. Benítez (2012:1442) indicates that cross-border family relations assist immigrants "in different life-cycle events and nourishing emotional closeness and affective links between family members". Through these conversations emotional support, affection and care is transmitted across nations. Therefore, constant communication assists "family networks to retain a sense of familyhood without relying on physical proximity" (Baldassar et al. 2016:139). Tony's narrative provides further evidence of the support and care provided between those who live in South Africa and Australia.

> Tony: We always inquire, how they're keeping, how is everyone back home, you know. What have they been up to, you know, always trying to understand you know, what are some of the challenges they are facing. You know, if one talks prior to Covid-19 which is now dominating…We always try and keep in touch with what sort of challenges are they facing on their side… share stories of different families lives, when they had visited somebody…what's happening as well.  I think they also always want to check up on how we're coping….we always try to understand what the mental health side of things are.

Tony's narrative shows that support and care is a two-way process. Not only are those in South Africa concerned about their family's welfare in Australia, but migrants in Australia are equally concerned about their family in South Africa.  Tony reiterates the need to keep in touch with family, particularly his parents. His concern over his elderly parents shows that much care is maintained even if he is away from them. Of importance are the different challenges that his family in South Africa might be experiencing such as with their finances, mental health issues and at this present moment the Covid-19 pandemic.[80]

Baldassar et al. (2016:135) states that although transnational communication has changed over time, "the structures, processes, and expectations of family relationships remain largely unchanged". Although immigrants are living in a different country, obligations, duties, and certain expectations are still maintained, therefore support and care for family members are

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[80] The study was conducted during the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic. A limitation of the study was not examining the impact that Covid-19 had on their travel plans and visiting their extended family who they are close to. Further research in this area would add to the scholarship.

continued across-borders. Emotional support is also extended to family in the transnational social space (Benítez 2012) as conveyed in the narrative below.

> Subashini: So, when you speak to them about their challenges, do they ask you for help or do you offer help during these last two and a half years?
> Tony: Yes, you know, sometimes it may not be direct, but you know, our nieces and nephews, we keep in touch a lot, you know, with our siblings. So, yes, we do, if we don't know, we make a point of asking. Or finding out, and where there is a need where we can help, where we can contribute, you know, where we can do our part, we certainly do. You know, we do have responsibilities back in South Africa. And that's one thing that we said when we moved across, we said, you know, we still maintain and respect the responsibilities and still honour those responsibilities, so we continue to do that, you know, and we'll continue to do that as long as we can. Because if it was a different set of challenges that they face and sometimes, it might move, the kind of support that we have there…can also be just emotional support. You know, those kind of things where it might be a bad day, something that's bugging them. And sometimes just a phone call, a check-in. I think it's more that, if I may be honest, I think just to know that you know, someone phoning you, thinking of someone or they're in your thoughts. That in itself is always very comforting. So, that side is very important to us that we check in, just check on what, you know, what's happening, and we do that, yeah.

The narrative presents an example of emotional and moral support expressed transnationally. Baldassar, Baldock, and Wilding (2006:87) states that "emotional support helps migrants cope with homesickness, and parents with their profound sense of loss about the long distance separating them from their children and grandchildren". Through phone calls and virtual communication emotional and moral support is conveyed.

Narratives also show that through transnational connections, culture is also maintained (Basch et al. 1994; Kivisto 2001; Levitt and Schiller Glick 2004). For instance, in the extract below Kesi mentions that Facebook streaming has connected him to the music that he listened to from childhood.

> Kesi: Did you know of that... they had this music thing from South Africa called South African Musicians against Covid-19 or whatever?
> Subashini: I heard of that yeah.
> Kesi: Okay because that's also allowed us to... because I grew up in a Hindu house and my mother was very religious and used to sing Tamil songs all the time…and then they started this, people were singing, making music and every day they'd actually, they'd put a Facebook stream...And I used to... every day my sisters and I used to listen and there's a guy from Perth that I actually know a guy from New Zealand that also actually Facebook streamed the music, they're all South African Indians... you've heard of the

guy called, he's a singer, Solly Pillay?

Subashini:  Yes.

Kesi:  Yeah, and he sang, and I knew him from Asherville. And then I posted on Facebook saying, 'Oh good to hear from you Solly'. He used to come pick up my mother and take my mother to the Guru Krishna's Temple when we were there. So, then he called me on WhatsApp, we had a long chat about South Africa and the music and all that, so you know, and he said he's just put out a Tamil CD. And he got it sent over to me, it was good.

Narratives connect people to the past by recalling past memories and connecting them to present events. Kesi recalls the memory of him growing-up in a 'Hindu house' and being exposed to Tamil music as his mother used to sing Tamil songs. In Australia he recollects the memory and attaches it to the South African Indian Tamil music he still enjoys as he can stream it from South Africa. He also mentions that he knows of other South African Indians who are also streaming music from South Africa, indicating that it is common practice and a way to sustain their culture in Australia. In addition, Kesi was able to get in touch with the musician he knew in South Africa which subsequently led to transnational communication and the promotion and exports of cultural material. This provides evidence of the flow of cultural goods in the form of music from South Africa to Australia, and thus the ability to continue that aspect of their culture.

In situations of migration, where one is far from their country and family, virtual telecommunications is the bridge through which emotional support, stability, advice, care, identity, and culture is transposed which allows both migrants and their families to have peace of mind that family is taken care of. It also allows South African migrants to settle into their new country as they have supportive branches they can hold on to as they establish roots in Australia.

**6.3 Visiting South Africa**

In addition to regular contact through ICTs, South African Indians make a concerted effort to visit South Africa on a regular basis. Stories from participants indicate that participants plan to visit family in South Africa, every year, or every two years. Narratives from Keshnie and Radha echo that the strong connection with South Africa is still maintained.

Subashini:  Do you visit South Africa often?

Keshnie:  Well, the last time I went, was probably two years ago. And my husband went just a few months ago, in February, so we...he flew back to surprise his mom for her 60th birthday, so fortunately he got that trip in before everything happened.

Subashini: And when you go back to South Africa, how do you feel?

Keshnie: Oh, it's always great, you know, connecting with friends and family and you know, just getting to see them, spend time and build new memories, I think also are very good experiences, yeah.

Radha: Generally, when I go to South Africa, my family, my brothers, or my two younger brothers live in Richard's Bay there, and that's where my mum used to live. You know, it was always like exciting when I'm there. We're always doing things. We're eating out in restaurants. And one of my cousins in Johannesburg, every time I come to South Africa, she'll make sure, she'll have a, invite other cousins and we'll have like a sort of impromptu reunion at the house of that's something that always generally happens. And then I'll go to Richard's Bay and be with my brothers and spend time with my mum and do things for her. But I'll be travelling. I'll go to stay and visit family members in Richard's Bay. I may go to Johannesburg, whatever. Eating out, shopping. So, for me they look forward for me to come…So, you see, my relationship with them is really, really good. So, I miss them a lot, you know.

The sentiments resonated in these two extracts encapsulates how most participants feel when they travel to South Africa. Participants travel to South Africa mostly to visit family and friends. Most participants had good relationships with their family which was sustained by constant telecommunications contact in Australia, therefore there was no drastic changes in the way family relate to each-other. Keshnie for instance indicates that it is 'always great' to visit family and she has a 'good experience'. For Radha, it is 'exciting' to visit her extended family. This shows that they have close relationships with their family. Before the disruption to transport networks caused by Covid-19 (Munawar et al. 2021), participants enjoyed visiting family, especially on special occasions such as birthdays and weddings. Radha's description of the activities that she engages in with family indicates that she is always welcomed back, treated out and cared for. Radha indicates that family members 'spoil' her when she visits, showing that her family goes out of their way to make her trip special, which suggests that the relationship between family is strong and is still maintained although she has immigrated. When participants visit South Africa, they take part in activities that they miss such as spending time with many family members and friends, being invited to gatherings and family reunions with extended family members and friends, visiting places that are special to them such as restaurants that serve cuisine that they missed, and travelling to different places in South Africa to visit family. Therefore, participants make the most of their visit to South Africa, which contributes to strengthening ties to family and place through the memories and stories created.

Participants also speak about their identity while visiting South Africa.

> Subashini:  Yes, so when you come to South Africa do you feel that you have
> changed and how do people around you react to you or interact with you?
> Kesi:  How do I sound to you when you talk to me do I sound any different to a South
> African...
> Subashini:  No, not at all.
> Kesi: Yeah, exactly, exactly, so when I'm there I'm still the same, people say you know
> I was here for I think four years and I was a local boy in those days, not naughty but I
> was a man of the world, let's put it that way. And I used to frequent the local pubs…and
> then one day after about five years in Australia I came back for a holiday and I went to
> my local friends to the local pub and some of the local people said oh, it's your day off
> today. So, you know, after I've been living here five years and I went back and people
> say 'Oh, okay, how you're doing there?', it's like you weren't gone at all so when I'm
> there I still feel like I'm from there. It's a weird feeling…I feel like I belong. Let's put
> it that way. You still feel like you belong, you know, you come here and I'm an Indian
> in a white Australia, there I'm an Indian in South Africa. It's a different feeling, it's a
> different feeling.

Yuval-Davis (2006:197) states that "belonging is about emotional-attachment, about feeling at 'home'". When Kesi visits South Africa he still feels like he belongs due to the emotional and social attachments that is still created as he interacts with the community he left behind. In the narrative above he speaks of the social interaction he has with the community on his visit to the country. Since he is still recognised as being part of the community, as people have taken the time to ask after him, he still feels connected to the community that he left behind. Recognition is important as it establishes a sense of belonging. Since he was easily able to integrate into society as his community, neighbourhood, family, and friends welcomed him back, he feels like no time has passed. He indicates that 'it's like you weren't gone at all', suggesting that the relationships and interactions with people once he returned was the same. The phrase 'so when I'm there I still feel like I'm from there' suggests that he feels part of South African society and feels like he still 'belongs' in that society, although he was not living there for a long period of time. The close-knit relationship established with family, friends and community has persisted, even during their time in Australia, and these relationships assist in reintegration, feelings of belonging, and establishing a sense of 'home' when immigrants visit South Africa.

Being 'Indian' in South Africa and being 'Indian' in Australia, for Kesi, is a 'different feeling'. Kesi sees himself as 'Indian' in both countries, however his identity is constructed differently in relation to the history, politics, and ideologies of each country. The meaning attached to being Indian differs in both countries. Construction of identity is thus fluid, relational and an

ideological process (Elliott 2001; Fay 1996). In Australia he is positioned in relation to the dominate 'white' Australian group. In comparison, in South Africa he is positioned as 'Indian' in relation to the various 'races' in South Africa. From the extract above, it can be deduced that the emotional attachment that he has with the community makes him feel like he belongs to South Africa. This can be contrasted to interactions with the Australian society, were communal and social bonds are weak. As shown in this study, on page 219, an emotional and social attachment could not be formed with Australian citizens. This contributes to feelings of not belonging and not emotionally considering Australia to be 'home'.

Over time as parents pass away and siblings move to other countries or less contact is kept with extended family, communication staggers. In Keshan's case since his father passed away and his sister also migrated, there was less of a need to visit Durban. Although he keeps in contact with extended family, that relationship it is not strong enough to yield a visit. His sister's presence in Cape Town has initiated a visit but he concedes that as time goes by, he visits Durban less and less, indicating the loosening of ties with extended family and thus community in South Africa. A few participants mention the loosening of ties with South Africa over time, citing the passing away of parents and the movement of siblings to other countries as reasons for not retaining connection with their South African community. This indicates that relationships with family is significant as it anchors them to South Africa, without these strong family ties and relationships, the connection to South Africa is weakened.

## 7 Conclusion

This section examined the need for South Africans of Indian descent to recreate the South African 'home' in Australia. Since South African Indians come from tight knit family and community structures, there is a need to recreate that communal society in Australia. However, since Australians were not receptive to interacting with South African Indians, the communal society they left behind could not be created with Australians. South African Indians have taken the initiative to actively replicate the extended family structure they had in South Africa in Australia. Firstly, South African Indians actively seek out other South Africans by picking up South African accents, visiting places that feel like the South African 'home' such as restaurants, through schools, being introduced to other South Africans or being invited to functions. Through these bonding social networks, the South African communal structure is created as 'friends have become family' reproducing the extended family network in South

Africa. These social networks assist migrants to integrate into society as support and emotional care are provided, religious and cultural activities are practiced and their identity is expressed through joint activities, which makes migrants feel connected to society and that provides them with a sense of 'home'. The South African 'home' is also recreated through the cultural products brought from South Africa as well as the South African food consumed in Australia. These cultural goods and food items induce a sense of comfort and creates familiarity in a new society. In addition, transnational communities and social fields are actively created which assists migrants to adapt in Australia. Through these social connections advice is given, a sense of community and belonging is sustained, culture in the form of values and food are transmitted, it provides a bridge to South Africa but at the same time it is grounding them in Australia as these communications stabilise them and anchor them and provides them the social connection to society that is lacking within the Australia community. Therefore, South Africans are able to integrate into Australian society by recreating aspects of the South African 'home' in Australia while having strong transnational ties to South Africa.

# Identity Construction of South African Indians in Australia

## 1 Introduction

The *Narrative Study of Lives* program conducted by Coetzee and Rau (2018) emphasise the importance of narratives in a society such as South Africa where apartheid suppressed the voices of the majority of South Africans. Although the country is emancipated from the oppressive regime and has a progressive democratic dispensation, steep inequalities remain (van Hear et al. 2018; South African Human Rights Commission 2016). Narratives play a significant role in understanding the social reality of the disempowered and marginalised in society (Coetzee and Rau 2018; Fernandes 2017). South Africans of Indian descent have also endured racial suppression during apartheid, and their place in the South African society is somewhat precarious (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000; Ebr.-Vally 2001; Pillay 2019; Vahed and Desai 2017) . As they travel to Australia, they carry with them an identity forged through the process of racialisation. As a fairly recent minority group in Australia, it is important to understand how their identities are shaped in a new society. This chapter focuses on how South Africans of Indian descent articulate their identity in relation to the various groups within Australia, namely Australian citizens, Indian nationals, and 'white' South Africans living in Australia. Through their narratives, we come to learn how these participants' counter essentialist understandings of being 'Indian' and South African within an Australian context. This contributes towards countering hegemonic narratives that are prevalent in public narratives. This chapter thus gives voice to participants experiences and assists us in understanding their standpoint and social reality in a multicultural society.

## 2 The perception of South Africans of Indian descent in Australia

Taylor (1994:79) states that human life is fundamentally dialogical. This means that through social interactions with others we come to gain a sense of self and identity. It is only through the interpretation of verbal and non-verbal exchanges of other's responses to us that we become self-reflective and self-aware of who we are. This means that self and other are dynamically interrelated, as we need others to understand who we are. This also means that the self is socially produced in interaction with other selves. Therefore, in a country such as South Africa, where identity is racialised, South African Indians, come to be racially labelled and see

themselves as 'Indian' although the group itself is heterogenous with people coming from different class, religious and cultural backgrounds. As South African Indians socially interact with people within Australia, they come to re-evaluate and deconstruct their 'Indian' identity.

In this section, I examine the stories told by participants about their social interactions with others in Australia.[81] Through these narratives we come to understand how they are perceived and participants' reaction to that perception. Hailing from the continent of Africa, being citizens of South Africa but having the appearance of an 'Indian' but not the cultural attributes of an Indian national is a cause of confusion for most people in Australia. The following participants relate their stories regarding this.

> <u>Subashini</u>:  How are you perceived in Australia?
> <u>Keshnie</u>:  Okay so a lot of the time I think we're perceived as a little bit mysterious, people are keen to know a little bit more about us, yeah, because people also, they come across obviously with the best intentions possible and they are very sincere in their interactions with us, I do find that there are some people that they are particularly confused because we look Indian, we're from Africa, but we have a very good command of the English language, so you put those elements together and somehow it just doesn't click for some people, it doesn't make sense to them. I think that's the confusion sets in a lot of the time, then I think through more interaction they sort of build more of a picture in their minds about what we are about.

Her statement is indicative of a taken for granted idea that 'race', nation and place are mutually constitutive. There is an assumption that all people that look 'Indian' are from and belong to the country India and have certain 'Indian' cultural attributes such as speaking an Indian language, certain mannerisms or following specific customs and rituals. This implies that people are racialised into geographical territories, such that people who look 'Indian' can only be from and belong to 'India' and people who look 'African' can only live in and belong to Africa. Thus, a preconceived notion exists that 'races' are geographically concentrated and come to have fixed cultural attributes. This extract is revealing as it emphasises that 'race' is still significant in discerning a person's identity. Furthermore, 'race' is used as a social identifier in Australia to determine the country the migrant is from. This propensity of racializing people and fixing them to a particular geographical location is the reason why South African Indians are misrecognised in Australia. It thus becomes confusing as South African Indians do not neatly fit into the predefined categories of who belongs to a certain 'race', geographical location, and culture.

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[81] The Australians that South Africans referred to are 'white' Australians.

There are also rigid notions as to what language a person speaks based on the country they come from. This also indicates that culture and territory are also fixed and perfunctorily go together. Participants reveal the confusion felt by those they interact with as it is seen as peculiar for a person to look 'Indian' but live in Africa and speak English.[82] There is a tendency to hold on to a traditional lens of linking a specific 'race' to a particular place, however, as people continue to migrate and integrate into the receiving country, these preconceived notions and taken for granted assumptions that a person's 'race' determines their nationality, and culture becomes erroneous.

This ideology can be attributed to how culture is conceptualised in Australia. Lakha and Stevenson (2001:247) argue that Australian multicultural discourse "takes an essentialist view of culture and equates ethnicity to culture". Thus, there is no distinction between Indian nationals and those who originate from Fiji, Africa, Indonesia, and other parts of the world. It is asserted that there is no meaningful cultural difference between those who are born in India and those born outside of India (Lakha and Stevenson 2001). This idea is problematic as 'Indians' are treated as "cohesive communities bound by fixed cultures" which does not consider their cultural hybridity gained through social interaction with the nation-state that they come from (Langer cited in Lakha and Stevenson 2001:247).

Kesi shares a similar experience when he meets 'black' people in Australia.

> Kesi: ...but you see with me I'm slightly different because if I see anyone that is black, because I say to them: "Good day I'm from South Africa, I'm African, so I'm from South Africa". And then a lot of people will say: "Oh, okay?!" and they look at you and say, "Ah you can't be from South Africa, you're Indian". They have a problem, yeah.
> Subashini: So, when you approach 'black' people you tell them you are African, and they don't believe you?
> Kesi: Yeah, like I say I'm from South Africa. "Oh, you're from South Africa, okay?!" They look at you and look at the colour of your skin and think oh well not really.
> Subashini: Okay.
> Kesi: It's interesting, it's interesting. The dynamics of those things.
> Subashini: Yeah, has that happened to you when you speak to other people, for instance, like Asian, Australian…?
> Kesi: No, we get...well the main thing we get is "which part of India you are from?"

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[82] This is the perceptions presented by participants in this research. Further research needs to be conducted to determine whether Australians in fact find it inconceivable that a person from who looks 'Indian' to be from Africa and speak English.

Or "are you from Fiji or which part of Fiji are you from?" … and we don't like answering that question and if it's probably a white person and they look Anglo Saxon I will say, "Which part of Ireland are you from?" They look at me and I say, "Well you look Irish", they say "But I'm not Irish, I'm English", so I said: "Well why do you keep saying I'm Indian?"

Kesi receives a similar reaction when he interacts with 'black' people. When Kesi identifies himself as a South African and African, it is received with much scepticism as his skin colour and physical appearance serves as an indicator that determines that he 'can't be from South Africa' as he looks 'Indian'. The colour of his skin and physical appearance prevents him from being truly accepted as being a South African and African although he has unequivocally stated that he identifies with being and belonging to South Africa. This exchange further reiterates the idea of a racial geographic understanding of people and place. The social interaction between Kesi and those he constructs as 'black', indicates that for 'black' people Kesi does not truly belong to South Africa and Africa, due to his skin colour and physical appearance that racializes and essentialises him, thus automatically linking him to belonging to India. This sentiment is also shared in South Africa. Although multiple generations of South Africans of Indian descent have lived in the country and shared in its history spanning over 160 years, with a majority who consider South Africa to be their 'home', there is still an anti-Indian sentiment renouncing their belonging to the nation (Vahed and Desai 2017, 2018). Boyle (2021), writing about his experience of being a fourth generation 'black' British man, also indicates that he is meant to feel that he does not belong in Britain despite his family living in the country since the 1800s. He also indicates that there is tendency to ignore the long history of 'black' settlement and their contribution to British society, as there is an assumption that the first black people arrived from the Caribbean in 1948. This contrasts, for example, with recent 'white' South African migrants to Britain who can easily negotiate their belonging to the country (Halvorsrud 2019). Thus, people of colour face issues of acceptance and belonging despite having a long history in the country. It can be argued that the ideology of autochthony or belonging to a place where one is perceived to be the "original inhabitants of the land" is still pervasive (Dunn 2009). Thus, a person's 'race' or a person's physical appearance creates a stereotypical understanding of where they geographically belong and repudiates their identity and belonging if they challenge this understanding.

Similar suppositions are made by Asians or Australians when Kesi interacts with them as they assume that he is from India as they incontestably ask him which part of India he is from.

Therefore, his 'race' automatically ties him to India. Some mistake him as coming from Fiji as there is a history of Fiji nationals of Indian descent who made their way to Australia due to racial persecution (Chandra 2004). The history of Fiji is commonly known in Australia thus there is an assumption that he is Fijian. Kesi states that he does not like answering such questions which indicates that he is bothered by such exchanges, as people tend to racialize him and try to fit him into their predetermined categories of who he is and where he is from. Pravisha has similar feelings towards people asking her about her identity.

> Subashini: How do you feel about that? That you have to explain yourself to people.
> Pravisha: Look if it's a friend or if it's someone I've met… I've had conversations with them five times, no problem, I'll explain it. I get why you're confused, fine. However, there was a lady, it was earlier this year. Sat down next to me, spoke about the weather, yep, all good and then immediately she goes, so where, where're you from and I said South Africa and she goes, but, but, you look, but and then she starts rubbing, like, the back of the hand. Like your skin colour, your tone, you look, a bit ethnic. And I was like, yeah, no, I'm from South Africa, parents, and grandparents all from South Africa and she goes, no, but surely someone is from India, because you look Indian. Who's Indian? And I just thought, you know what? Well, let's turn that around, where in Europe do you come from? I don't know your name; I still don't know her name. And I'm like who the hell you are, and I have to go into my ancestry and explain my history to you. So, no, if it's a stranger like that, I don't care to explain, because that shouldn't be one of the first things that you need to know about me. And it's not one of the most important details that you need to know, before you know my first name. So, but if it's someone that I know, I have no issues, I'll give them a quick history lesson. Yeah, that's it.

This narrative reveals the anger that Pravisha feels as the version of herself presented through the eyes of 'white' Australians is not in line with who she is. Fay (1996:34) states that identity is not readily accepted, rather people use their self-reflective capacities to "assess what they see, and within limits choose to accept or alter or abandon what they perceive". Thus, as Pravisha interacts with the stranger she rejects the 'Indian' identity that is bestowed upon her as it is attached to belonging to the country of India. Although, Pravisha reiterated her South African national identity, the stranger disregarded this identity and insisted on her identity being 'Indian' due to her ancestry and skin colour, thus racializing her identity. Pravisha was clearly offended as the stranger insisted on knowing her ancestral background which would position or categorise her into a specific 'race', rather than getting to know her as a person. Furthermore, her 'race' presumed a natural link to being and belonging to India, while her South African identity was side-lined and unacknowledged.

The narrative also reveals the power dynamics in this interaction. As a 'white' Australian it was seemingly easy for the stranger to claim power over Pravisha by interrogating her identity and dismissing her South African identity. However, Pravisha reclaimed her power by turning the situation around as she asked the stranger about her European background. Like Kesi, Pravisha also aims to deconstruct the notions that a person's 'race' does not determine their identity. Both narratives also expose the normalcy and hidden dominance of 'whiteness' (Sue 2006), as 'white' Australians can easily ask others about their identity, yet the identity of 'white' Australians are taken for granted and goes unquestioned. Kesi and Pravisha take issue with the preconceived notion that 'white' people automatically belong to and can easily identify with the place that their ancestors have migrated to as they are not asked to explain their ancestry and background. However, for South Africans of Indian descent, whose ancestors migrated as indentured labourers under colonial rule, their belonging to South Africa is still scrutinised, as their physical appearance is attached to their ancestry of India, thus their belonging is attached to their ancestry rather than the country they identify with.

There is a veiled discourse that descendants of European colonialists, are automatically given the status of belonging to the country their ancestors have conquered and ruled. However, people of colour in the global North are still denied belonging and face a challenge to be recognised as being part of that nation. This can be seen is the case of African Americas, who are still a highly stigmatised and discriminated group despite their long history of settlement stretching into the 1500s (Thiaw and Mack 2020). Lee et al. (2019) in their research on discrimination indicates that between 45% to 70% of 'Blacks' living in the USA felt discriminated against compared to 30% of 'Whites' living in the USA. In addition, African Americas also face systematic discrimination resulting is disparities in housing, labour, healthcare, voting and justice between 'Blacks' and 'Whites' (Banaji, Fiske, and Massey 2021). This serves as evidence that African Americas are still denied belonging and recognition in the USA, despite having a long history in the country. It also shows the dominance that 'Whites' in the USA have in controlling society such that people of colour are deprived of feeling that they belong (Graham 2020).

This raises an important issue about migration, identity and belonging for South Africans of Indian descent. There is a preconceived notion that their identity is based on the genealogical ancestry and not the country or nation that they identify with and feel that they belong to. It seems that it is taken for granted that people automatically link their identity to India based on

'race' and dismiss their South African or African identity based on 'race' as well. To the stranger it is inconceivable that a person who looks 'Indian' is a South African. Pravisha has to constantly give people 'a history lesson' to make them understand her background. This indicates that the 'Indian' identity is homogenised and essentialised. Their identity as South African Indians is doubted, interrogated, or questioned and an explanation is warranted to understand how they come to be South African. Similarly, the 'Indian' diaspora in Britain is regarded as a monolithic category despite the diversity within and between Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi nationals (Sharma 2017). Lakha and Stevenson (2001) problematises the singularity of the Indian identity in Australia, and attributes the perceived homogeneity to the Australian multicultural discourse that conceals the heterogeneity of the group. Therefore, 'Indian' identity comes to be seen as fixed and immutable.

In Australia, South Africans of Indian descent face constant interrogation of their identity, as can be clearly seen in the extract below.

> Keshan: A lot of people in Melbourne have not been exposed to…any person from South Africa that is what I found…then they asked if I was from Fiji or when I did talk to them, they say oh, but you do not speak like someone from Fiji, are you from the UK? And they would not really guess that I am from South Africa. I would tell them no; I am from South Africa. Then, I think they were used to; there was quite a few white South Africans who were around them, but they would speak with strong Afrikaans accents, and they would get used to it. And then you know after a while I used to get tired of explaining to them where I was from and so on, so I preferred not to interact too much. And when people ask you where you're from I would just say I am from South Africa. So, then some people would kind of look at you and say but you do not look completely African. They are not used to… again Australia had its' own white Australia policy and that sort of stuck in the early 70's and you know they had a lot of issues and problems with aboriginal people and genocide against them like the sort of secular period. So, for whatever reason that there were very few people like from Africa, like African people from Africa living in especially Melbourne. So, a lot of Australians actually had not met people from Africa so to speak so they wouldn't quite know what you were… growing up in Durban I say I look like a typical Indian person from Durban you know. But going there it was a different…to sort of work out because you can tell people you're South African then they would say you do not look like an African person completely and then eventually I would say well I could say I am a South African of Indian descent, and they understood that I can describe myself.

Since Australians did not have exposure to the history and diversity of South Africans or Africans, which Keshan attributes mainly to historical political reasons such as the White

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Australia policy and the oppression of Indigenous people which discouraged the migration of Africans, they do not have enough knowledge of South Africans or Africans. Since mostly 'white' South Africans have historically migrated from South Africa to Australia (Louw and Mersham 2001), Australians do not have a clear understanding of the diversity of South Africans and Africans. This has limited their exposure to South African history and South Africans have prevented Australians from knowing and acknowledging the diversity of South Africans.

Keshan states that in South Africa, he saw himself as a typical 'Indian' person from Durban, but in Australia it was difficult for people to comprehend that he was South African because he did not 'look like an African person completely', but if he told them he was South African of Indian descent they knew that his ancestry connected him to India. This shows the fluidity of identity, as in South Africa he was categorised as 'Indian', but when he migrated to Australia his identity as a South African was most important to him and that is how he identified himself. Furthermore, in Australia his identity as a South African was repudiated as he did not look completely African, which implies that the African identity is racialised as being 'black' as Keshan did not fit their perception of what an African person should look like. However, when he describes his identity as a South African of Indian descent, they immediately understood that he is not 'black' and that his ancestry is from India. By linking his identity to India, they dismiss his South African and African identities which are more significant to him. They tend to strongly connect him to India although he is South African by culture and nationality. Thus, in Australia his identity is also racialised and connected to the subcontinent of India. By rejecting his South African identity, they are misrecognising who he is. Thus, there is a tendency to not engage or 'interact too much' as it bothers him that he must constantly explain his identity, which people find incomprehensible and therefore there is a propensity to dismiss that identity. Likewise, Jayshree speaks about the malleability of her identity.

> Jayshree: …Oh you don't sound South African; you don't look South African…and I'm like "Oh! So, what does South Africans sound like…because I don't know what a South African sounds like because there are so many different like Afrikaner South African sounds different from an English South African…I would assume there were a Xhosa or whatever…you know; or a Durban, Johannesburg, or East London…they all have different accents so…and so how do you know what is South African.  I don't know what you're referring to so…yeah, but again it's that they very narrow minded I would assume and maybe a lack of knowing, lack of really understanding what South Africans are…so it's really hard to make sense of us and especially because we don't

look Black or White or Indian. It's a little bit more confronting with them to put us in a box.

Jayshree exposes a key error in the way that people conceive of South Africans. They perceive South African's as either of a 'black' or 'white' 'race', and the diversity within South Africa is not given attention to or noted. Jayshree explains that when she tells people that she is South African, they denounce that identity as she does not look or sound South African. Jayshree states one cannot fix a South African identity, as their identity is multiple and diverse as people have different accents, come from different regions, speak different languages and there are many ethnic groups within South Africa. For Jayshree, the misrecognition of South African identity comes from being narrow minded and lacking knowledge and understanding towards South Africa. For people in Australia, it is difficult to discern who South Africans of Indian descent are because they phenotypically do not look 'black' or 'white' or they do not have the accent, language, or habits of an Indian national. Thus, is it difficult for Australians to put them into a box, as their identity is multiple and fluid and subverts the preconceived understanding of what an Indian, African, or South African is.

These narratives reveal that in Australia, people attempt to fix their identity and try to box them into a racialised identity by linking their identity to India and repudiating their South African or African identity. In Australia, their identity is racialised as people associate their appearance to being 'Indian', even though they unequivocally state that they are South Africa or African. Since they do not look 'black' they are denied having an African or South African identity. This indicates that people are also racialised according to geographical location. Australians attempt to connect their appearance of being 'Indian' with the country of India, thus there is a preconceived notion that 'race', nation and place go together. However, this breeds autochthony as people are only recognised as belonging to a country that their ancestors originate from and not the country that they feel that they belong to, which subsequently denies them belonging and misrecognises their identity. These narratives also reveal that participants take an active stance in rejecting the 'Indian' identity forced upon them and reinforce their South African identity, which will be further discussed in the following section.

**3 South Africans of Indian descent and their interactions with Indian nationals**

The historical relationship between South Africans of Indian descent and India, reveals that over time the strong ties to India withered as the fear of social ostracism from India and the politics within South Africa prevented the continuous attachment to the subcontinent (Ebr.-Vally 2001; Landy et al. 2004). As ties between South African Indians and India weakened, they attempted to forge a new life in South Africa. Despite the atrocities faced, South African Indians created a 'home' for themselves and over time "they have undergone significant social, cultural, religious and political transformation" which differentiate them from Indian nationals or Indian migrants living in other countries (Vahed and Desai 2018:76). However, since South Africans of Indian descent are racialised as being 'Indian', they have come to see themselves as such. In South Africa, the commonality between South African Indians and Indian nationals are emphasised as they are perceived to be an Indian diaspora (Pillay 2014).

In this study, the inter-ethnic relationships and tensions become apparent through participants narratives. Arif and Moliner (2007) indicate that the inter-ethnic relationships between South Asian diaspora is rarely given attention in Europe. Similarly, research in Indian diaspora in Australia homogenous the group and rarely examines the interactions between the Indians and those of Indian descent coming from another nationals. As South African Indians socially interact with Indian nationals in Australia, the racial veil that connects the two is dropped as South African Indians come to the realise and acknowledge the cultural differences between the two groups and how Indian nationals come to perceive them. This is revealed in the narratives that follow.

> Subashini: How do Indians from India or Sri Lanka perceive you or perceive South African Indians as a group?
> Kesi: It's a good question, I'll put in one way, they think we are pariah...the modern word is they say pariah, but from an Indian word it's actually Pirriah…So essentially because we look like them, but we don't speak like them, we don't speak their language. Therefore, we are not pure Indian. So, I think they as a rule look down upon us because we don't practice our religions similar to the way they practice their religions, we do things a little different and a little bit, you know, when we have weddings, we have one-hour weddings and not like ten-day weddings...You know we do things culturally slightly different. And I do think they look down upon us. As being not from India. And I think a lot of our people find that we as a group of South Africans, and this is now a personal experience, we tend to get on better with like say the Malaysian Indians, Tamils....And the Fijian Indians and maybe the Sri Lankan's...But then again I have a little bit of difficulty with Sri Lankan Indians because they're not Indians, Sri Lankans

because I'm a Tamil and I don't like the way the Tamil people have been treated in Sri Lanka so I... That's why I won't go to Sri Lanka for a holiday.

Kesi indicates that Indian nationals perceive South Africans of Indian descent to be 'pariahs' or outcasts as they have culturally changed in relation to them. Although South Africans of Indian descent have the phenotypical appearance of 'Indians', most do not speak any Indian language or strictly conform to the religious practices of India. The switch from an Indian language to English began as the education system of the 1920's prevented South African Indians from being taught in Indian languages rather, 'Indian' learners were taught in English and all other cultural activity such as language learning, music and dance were taught after school hours (Ebr.-Vally 2001:172). Since these activities occurred after school, many could not afford it or lived far away from cultural teachers, thus Indian language and culture was not easily passed on from one generation to the next. In addition, the apartheid Group Areas Act split the extended family apart, thus the elders no longer lived under the same house as grandchildren, therefore traditional teachings and culture were not passed from generation to generation (Mesthrie 2007). English became the medium of education thus it became widespread within the South African Indian community (Mesthrie 2002).

Since generations of 'Indians' lived in South Africa they immersed themselves into the political, economic, social, and cultural landscape of the country which transformed their outlook and culture. Therefore, they tend to have some cultural values that are similar to and some that are different to those of India. This is similar to Sharma (2007) study as first-generation Indians in Britain hold on to their cultural and religious heritage, whereas the second and third generation are cultural hybrids as they draw on the host country's culture in the construction of their identity. Robinson (2005) also indicates that second and third generation of South Asians in Britain have a bi-cultural or hyphenated identity such as Pakistani-British. Furthermore, British-born South Asians are bi-lingual or multi-lingual, while some are only proficient in the English language. This signifies cultural and identity changes as they interact with the host society.

In this study, the inability of a South African Indian to speak an indigenous Indian language causes a rift between them and Indian nationals. South Africans of Indian descent are not seen as 'pure Indians' as they do not speak an Indian language and since their religion and culture has transformed over time their practices differ from those of India. Since they are not 'pure'

they are 'looked down upon' by Indian nationals. Pravisha, for instance, speaks of her encounter with Indians when she drops off her children at school.

> Pravisha: One thing that I do find interesting in particular, being a South African Indian, when I go to school, and it happens every year, right. There are a lot of people that come, mothers, that come from India. Now, they would make a great study, right. Because they all dress traditionally, they only huddle amongst themselves. And they speak in their languages. And they expect their children to only play with each other at school. So, it's all sort of, you know, keep with our kind as well. Now these ones come along, and they see me. In hindsight, ooh, there's another one like us. And they come up to me and they start speaking in an Indian language and I'm sort of like, I'm sorry, I don't understand, and they look like…this one looks like us, but is not like us and then they're like where are you from? South Africa. Okay. But before that? South Africa. Your parents? Born in South Africa. Your grandparents? South Africa. Then they look at you like, you don't look like that and then you've got to explain about the three ships that came from India and the whole history and then it's like, oh, okay, okay. Then they back off like, you know…stay away. And then you're not, you know, one of them. So, I call it the Indian Mafia, because they just, they come in a squad, they drop their kids off in a squad, they go shopping and do their cooking and whatever and then they meet up in a squad and come to school and don't mix with everyone else.

The above quote reveals that the Indian women differentiate between themselves who are Indian and Pravisha who is South African of Indian descent. Here we also see that her identity is rejected as she is not accepted into the fold of Indian mothers. They are not willing to socialise or engage with her any further as she is culturally different to them although she might look 'Indian'. Kavitha also reveals that her identity was repudiated when she visited the local temple in Perth.

> Kavitha: And then the priest will talk to you totally in Tamil and I understand what he is saying but at the back of his mind he looks at me and he thinks South African they do not understand Tamil. So, he just, sort of leaves it there. Now when he is talking to the India Indians, the priest will ask them for their star and all the things about their birth details right. Now, I know all mine, but he is not asking me, and I know my children's and he is not asking me. And I am like standing there I am like I want to tell you more, but he is like not making the conversation because they think we do not know all those things…it is just different.

Her story reveals that the priest at the temple does not extend his interaction with Kavitha any further as he perceives that she does not speak Tamil. Although Kavitha knows the language, her identity as a South African denies her the interaction she is seeking. She is thus excluded from religious engagement and practice as her identity as a South African is narrowly conceived to mean someone who cannot speak an Indian language which denies her the

interaction she craves. The statement made in the end of her narrative, 'it is just different' indicates the anguish she experiences in not being accepted by the group, in comparison to how she feels when she visits temples in South Africa. Although South Africans of Indian descent come from different class, religious, and cultural backgrounds they are homogenised as a collective group. This prevents Indian nationals from interacting or socialising with them as there are generalisations made with regards to the traits of South Africans of Indian descent. This can be seen as Kavitha is perceived as a South African, someone who does not know the Indian language, although she is able to communicate in Tamil. Thus, there are preconceived notions as to who South African Indians are, although there is much diversity within the group.

The stories from Kesi, Pravisha and Kavitha reveal that South Africans of Indian descent face rejection from Indian nationals. Since they are not 'pure' Indians as their culture, religion and language has transformed, they are 'looked down upon' and are perceived as 'pariahs'. Although they might 'look Indian', their interaction with Indian nationals reveals there is minimal cultural connectivity, thus they are not openly welcome into the fold of the Indian diaspora.

**3.1 Disassociating from an Indian identity**
As South Africans of Indian descent interact with Indian nationals, they come to realise the differences between themselves and come to re-evaluate their identity. Jayshree explains that in Australia her identity was an important issue for her, and she had difficulty in explaining who she is.

> Jayshree: …a bigger thing for me coming to Australia and something that I actually never thought about in South Africa was identity. And people often ask me this and they say to me, what do you mean? And when you come here to Australia, looking like an Indian…the first question you get is people ask you, where are you from…and when you answer South Africa, they go South Africa? But you don't look like a Black, like you don't have curly hair…like how can you come from South Africa and I'm like, wow, and this is like Indian people you know, Sri Lankan people, Pakistani people, Aboriginal so I wouldn't know at some point how I should answer the question…because if you say Indian, then the Indians will look at you and say, what part of India are you from? And I'm like no I'm not from India and they go but, you said you're Indian, I'm like yes I am but I'm not from India…and they'll be like okay, so which part of India again and I'm like no, I'm not from India and they almost see us as alien…because we don't speak their language…because the next question, what language do you speak …yes, but what other language? No other language, I only speak English unless you want me to talk in Afrikaans. You know so it was, so identity was a huge thing for me because I actually didn't know how to explain who I was. You looked like an Indian, don't have a typical South African accent either because we don't [speak] Afrikaans or you know so it was very confusing for a lot of people, and I think

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for myself too because in South Africa we ticked a box. If they asked you what you were we just go Indian…and didn't ask you which part, we were just Indian. But I could not identify as an Indian here.

In South Africa, the national government has unproblematically categorised people based on their 'race', therefore Jayshree's identity is racialized in South Africa as 'Indian'. Thus, whenever Jayshree has to fill out certain forms which requires her to state her 'race', she takes it for granted that she is 'Indian' when she ticks a box. In Australia, however, she cannot identify as being Indian as she is not an Indian national as she does not have Indian citizenship, nor does she live in India or speak any Indian language. Since Jayshree cannot fill these criteria of being Indian, she states that she cannot describe herself as Indian in Australia. This also shows that identity is not fixed, it changes in relation to the context and the knowledge gained of the self through social interaction (Elliott 2001; Fay 1996; Scott 2015). Appiah (1994:155) states that "we make up selves from a tool kit of options made available by our culture and society. We do make choices, but we do not, individually, determine the options among which we choose". South Africa and Australia offers a different 'tool kit' of options in which identity can be constructed. In South Africa 'Indians' were historically classified by their 'race' and had come to see themselves as 'Indian', thus Jayshree was widely accepted and recognised as being 'Indian' in South Africa. However, in Australia, she has to describe her identity in relation to Indian nationals, therefore other criteria such as nationality, living in India and the ability to speak an Indian language are important in describing a person from India. Jayshree does not fit these criteria. This is a cause for confusion to Jayshree and Indian nationals who she interacts with. Although in South Africa she was 'Indian', in Australia she can no longer describe herself as 'Indian' as she does not fit the criteria of being one. Kesi, like Jayshree, also shares a story about his identity.

> Kesi: You know the funny thing is when we went to India for a holiday, right...And we met some local Indian people, with some South African friends...And we were booking in to go stay in a hotel in India...So they gave us a rate of say a thousand rupees or whatever it came to...So we went to the hotel to pay, it was about one thousand three hundred rupees, it was 30% more....And we said but when we spoke to these people you told them it's only a thousand Rupees and they in their funny way, where they actually shake their head and they said, but sir, you are not Indian. Because we had to pay the foreign tax. So that's when I realised, I'm not going to call myself Indian anymore I'm South African Indian, I'm South African...Because when I went to India, they charged me more, unbelievable. That was quite funny, that was a watershed moment for me.

Like Jayshree, Kesi understood his identity to be 'Indian' in South Africa. The above quote reveals that identity is "fluid, [and] situationally contingent" and is the "perpetual subject and object of negotiation" (Jenkins 2004:22). As Kesi socially interacts with Indian nationals his self-conceptualisation changes. Although he was racially labelled as 'Indian' in South Africa, within the context of India he is no longer seen as 'Indian' as he does not have Indian citizenship which severs his belonging to the country. Participants deconstruct the notion of what it is to be Indian in South Africa, India, and Australia. Since each country has a specific political history which shapes the social consciousness and thus social interaction, the identities of South African Indians become place specific as different countries would perceive them in different ways. Therefore, as South African Indians move from one country to the next, either on visits or on short- or long-term migration, their identity changes.

In addition to re-examining their identity in relation to Indian nationals, South Africans of Indian descent also observe their inability to relate, in some ways, to Indian nationals. Siva who is a senior lecturer, narrates his encounters with his Indian students.

> Subashini: You were talking about having students from India. You are from South Africa, what is that relationship like?
> Siva: Everyone assumes that I speak Hindi, so it's a problem because sometimes I've got one group of students that were doing a research assignment and they, there's a problem with one of the group members and then they send me the correspondence on WhatsApp and it's all in Hindi. And I said what the hell is this, I cannot understand a word of it, I am not Indian, and I think the other thing is they assume I'm from India because when you go to class, they ask you which part of India are you from, and they are actually surprised when you tell you from South Africa. They just don't expect Indians to be South African, I don't think they know that. So, in the sense that it's pretty much culturally similar because, being of Indian origin you tend to have a very similar sort of culture and background I would say and in terms of discipline and how you study and education and all that kind stuff is very traditional and discipline, so yes, they are pretty good students. Most of the time except there are some of the students who are very lazy and expect to be spoon fed and expect all these sort of benefits out of you, which you sort of say no sorry, I am not from India, I am not corrupt, so there is nothing that I can do in that sense. They sort of can't understand that when you tell them that. They assume that if you look Indian that you'll behave like an Indian. But there it's just really different. Of course, there are lots of, anyone that sees you here, always assumes you're from India. Whether they are white, whether they are Sri Lankan or whether they, whatever they are, only when they hear my accent then they realise, ok, this guy is not from India, or I don't shake my head or something.

In the extract above the Indian inter-ethnic identity construction is revealed. The social interaction between Siva and his students exposes the essentialising of the 'Indian' identity. The students in the narrative construct Siva as Indian based on his outward appearance. This

subsequently informs their behaviour towards him. Although Siva does recognise the cultural similarities shared between himself and his Indian students, he outrightly rejects the Indian identity ascribed to him. Siva differentiates himself from his Indian students based on the language he speaks, his accent, mannerisms, and nationality. Rather than emphasising the similarities between 'Indians', Siva differentiates himself from his Indian students by accentuating their differences especially with regards to nationality and culture. This was done so that the students would realign how they interact and behave towards him as a teacher. Rather than being someone, they affiliate with, the differences emphasis that he can only relate to them in some ways and that some cultural and ethical boundaries needed to be put in place. This boundary construction is also informed by how Siva constructs the Indian students. Not only do students use essentialist ways of understanding and thus behaving towards Siva, but Siva himself constructs Indian students in negative stereotypical ways. Since Siva constructs Indian students as 'lazy' and 'corrupt', he overly emphasises that he is 'not India' or not like them. As a teacher, Siva, is in a position of power to articulate his identity and regulate how he is constructed by students.

In Keshan's case, he found very little in common with people from India as they had different views on certain aspects. Since there were cultural differences, he had to learn how to socialise with people who are not culturally familiar to him.

> Keshan: …I meet Indian people from India and then I would have like very little…and different sort of view on things as well and I did not really sort of have a lot in common with them, so it was like a lot of learning for me again at a later stage in my life, how to get on with people and so on.

Radha, like Keshan, feels that Indians are different to her. In her case, she feels that she cannot really make friends with Indian nationals. She attributes her distancing of herself from them based on them looking down on South African Indians as they think that their forefathers were traitors for leaving India for South Africa. In addition, since some still adhere to the caste system they may see South Africans as lower caste to them, thus she tends to dissociate herself from them. Although she does not really know if this perception is true, she is still wary of having Indian friends.

> Radha: But I could not, up to today, I cannot sort of really make India Indian friends. I can't. They're just different. They're just different, you know. I don't know what they, I was told it's because they always look down on us. They've still got the caste

system. They still think we're traitors and what-not, but I don't know how far it's true. You know.

Subashini: And do you still find it difficult in Australia to make friends with them?

Radha: Yes, as well, because they, you see, they don't assimilate as easily as we. So, we would absolutely fit and blend into the Australian culture. Because the Australian culture and the South African culture is very similar if you think about it, because we, you know, we love the braai, we love sport, we love the beach.

Subashini: Yes.

Radha: You know what I mean? It's a similar thing, you know. It's very similar. Whereas I don't think, it's not the same for them. Maybe that's the reason. I mean, we used to say we stick to our own as well. But even so, I still think we can get an Australian home. I can get a…Afghanistan was living here for 10 years, 20 years and he's Australian, invite him for dinner and he'd think nothing about it. Whereas I don't think they are. I don't know whether it's the food because they're still so maybe strict with their food. I don't know.

Radha draws a comparison between herself as a South African Indian and those of Indian nationality. She states that South African Indians can easily blend into the mainstream Australian culture as their culture is similar to South African culture in terms of enjoying a braai, loving sports, and the beach. Louw and Mersham (2001) in their study of South Africans in Australia also emphasised the cultural similarity, such as interest in the same types of sport, which created familiarity to Australia. Whereas Indian nationals do not share these cultural attributes with Australia. Radha states that even if she 'sticks to her kind' she can also easily make friends with other nationalities. She relates that she can easily invite an Australian to her home and s/he would not mind, but she assumes that Indians would have more difficulty in inviting other nationalities due to their dietary restrictions. Through this story Radha is able to deduce the cultural differences between herself, as a South African in relation to Indian nationals.

In Australia Kesi draws a distinction between himself and Indians based on body culture.

Kesi: And you know you'd see someone in the shopping centre and you'd tend to strike a conversation and you know, oddly enough when you walk in the shopping centres, if you came to Australia and I saw you or you saw me, you would sort of virtually recognise the fact that I'm not from India...so we can sort of and not an absolute a hundred percent, but you could look at someone and say they look South African. You know or whether you look at a South African Indian or a Hindu, the way they put the dot, it's a very small dot, it's not that big dot or they put the string on the hand, you can see it, you can actually tell a South African Indian by mannerism, dressing, not just by the accent, but you can actually and you land up striking up a conversation and before you know it you've invited them home and you know it becomes part of a network, so that's how a lot of people still get to know each other over here.

Kesi indicates that he can easily recognise that someone is from South Africa, and not from India, based on their mannerisms or dressing. He also states cultural reasons such as the way a South African would wear a marital dot or a prayer sting on their wrist would be different from an Indian. Since a person wears their culture on their body he can easily tell if a person is South African or not. Once he does recognise a South African, he will have a conversation with them and invite them to his home and they become a part of his network. He indicates that by merely recognising a person by their mannerisms and dress one can be identified as South African and that is a way in which people get to know each other in Australia.

In Australia, South African Indians come to be aware of their identity and come to question their 'Indian' identity. Although they are racially labelled as 'Indian' in South Africa and thus come to see themselves as such, in Australia they re-evaluate who they are, especially in relation to Indian nationals. Since there are significant differences in relation to Indian nationals regarding language, mannerisms, dress, nationality, certain religious practices, cultural values, outlook on life and such, they re-examine who they are and tend to disassociate from Indian nationals and the Indian identity and reaffirm their South African Indian identity. The intersectionality of identity makes it possible for South African Indians to relate to Indians in some ways and not others. Furthermore, these stories make us aware that since identity is racialised in South Africa it limits how people come to identify themselves as their identity is solely based on perceived shared biological features and no other attributes which muzzles the richness and diversity of the South African Indian identity. Therefore, 'race' as an identity marker should be nullified as the stark diversity within homogenised collective groups makes racial conceptualisation obsolete. Rather culture becomes more important in discerning connectivity to a group.

Furthermore, the inability of South African Indians to relate to Indian nationals in significant ways also calls for the re-evaluation of their unquestioned membership to the Indian diaspora. Since the South African state valorises and promulgates racial identities it has created and furthered the false notion that South Africans of Indian descent have deep attachments to India and thus belong to the Indian diaspora. Anti-Indian sentiment in South Africa also denounces South African Indian belonging to the nation and reiterates their connection to the Indian diaspora (Vahed and Desai 2017). However, although a connection to India has been re-established since South Africa became a democratic state, this link is weak. New innovations in communications technology have facilitated a reconnection with India, however this

connection is negligible. Contact between South Africans of Indian descent and India is reduced to the acquisition of film, music, religious goods, and clothing. There is limited political understanding of Indian affairs and South Africans of Indian descent are not acquainted with the vast social and cultural systems of India. Furthermore, economic ties created are more global commodity trade ties between South Africa and India rather than the sending of remittances to family in India. Furthermore, since familial ties to India were severed over time, there is a difficulty in finding or reconnecting to 'lost' relatives in India. There is limited rekindling of social ties or familial ties between South Africans of Indian descent and their distant relatives in India (Landy et al. 2004; Vahed and Desai 2018. This indicates that there is low interest and appeal in learning about Indian history, politics, culture, economics, or Indian society. In addition, the social interaction between participants in this study and Indian nationals triggers the awareness of the significant differences between the two groups.

Bhat (2009:7) explains that for "a community to be labelled under the definition of diaspora, it should represent certain features, which [it] shares amongst the individuals in that community". Although many authors have written about the definition of diaspora (Bauböck and Faist 2010); Cohen 2008; Knott and McLoughlin 2010), the main defining feature shared by authors is the intrinsic relationship or attachment the diaspora shares with the 'home' country or the transnational relationship the diaspora has with the country of origin. For instance, Clifford (cited in Bhat 2009:8) states that for a group to constitute a diaspora, "the group is displaced from a 'homeland', has not been assimilated into their host country, the group has a collective identity which is influenced by their support for the homeland and a wish to return there". According to Clifford's criteria, South Africans of Indian descent do not constitute a diaspora as they were never displaced from their homeland, rather a contract was signed. After the indenture period, they could voluntarily return to India. Furthermore, both the South African and Indian governments made many attempts to repatriate them, but this failed to cause any serious dent in the population of South African Indians in the country. Their collective identity comes more from them being labelled as 'Indian' in South Africa, rather than from the support they receive from or give to the perceived 'homeland'. South Africans of Indian descent have fully assimilated into the South African society as generations of South African Indians lived in the country with minimal attachment to India. There is also no wish to 'return' to the 'homeland' as the 'home' for South African Indians is South Africa, rather they prefer to emigrate to wealthy industrialised countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States of America (USA) (Vahed and Desai 2010:5). They do not conceive of India as

their homeland rather India resides in their imagination and as their 'motherland', which they are estranged from (Vahed and Desai 2018). Since South Africans of Indian descent to not fit the conceptual definition of diaspora, it is thus misleading to describe South African Indians as an Indian diaspora. What makes South African Indians a diaspora of India is their insipid racial identity, rather than the widespread or significant transnational relationship shared with India.

## 4 South Africans of Indians descent and their interactions with 'white' South Africans living in Australia

The Australian Bureau of Statistics indicates that at the end of 2018, 189 000 South Africans were living in Australia. This sizable number is made up of a diverse group of people. The stories told by participants of their interactions with fellow South Africans in Australia, highlight the temporal and spatial dimensions of narrativity. Somers and Gibson (1994:59) state that "narrativity demands that we discern the meaning of any single event only in temporal and spatial relationship to other events". This means that a single event can only be truly understood when it is connected to other events. Previous events give meaning to the present events or actions, and present events/actions give rise to future decisions to act, thus there is a temporal connection of events. As South Africans of Indian descent interact with 'white' South Africans, they draw from the past events and connect it to the present to make sense of their experiences which also impacts on their future actions. This can be deducted in the narratives that follow.

Pravisha in a WhatsApp message to me indicated that she wanted to discuss her interactions with the Facebook group 'South Africans in Perth'.

> Subashini: …you were talking about South Africa and Afrikaner groups in Perth.
> Pravisha:  Oh, no, they call themselves 'South Africans in Perth', it's on the surface like "we all love everyone" and then when you post something like for example like, I left the group, but it was something like about the counsellors stealing food parcels. Then they all chip in, "oh yes, they can never govern themselves", that's the kind of things, "they're not evolved", "they don't have brains", comments like that. That gives it away. And I remember at one point they posted a picture of the old Durban beach front and there were all these comments, "oh such great memories" and "remember it was so clean and safe and we could walk there".  "How lovely, how nice" and one Indian person said, "I remember I was not allowed to go there, so for me, this doesn't hold good memories at all.  It's actually quite painful" and no-one pays much attention, they just keep on going about the good old days and how lovely and safe it was.

The 'South Africans in Perth' Facebook group that Pravisha joined, shows the reactions of the members towards South Africa. Pravisha comments on the groups sentiments towards an incident that happened in South Africa concerning a counsellor who was accused of stealing food parcels. These comments show the racist views that some 'white' South Africans have towards the 'black' South African government. The comments state that 'they can never govern themselves', 'they are not evolved', 'they don't have brains', showing the prejudiced attitude towards the 'they' referring to 'black' people in South Africa. Pravisha states that 'that gave it away', indicating that on the surface there is a comradery manner but underneath there are still some 'white' South Africans who still hold deep seated racist attitudes towards people of colour in South Africa. Thus, for Pravisha to make sense of the present comments made she draws from the racialised history of South Africa which continues to be practiced in Australia through social media.

Pravisha also recounts that someone had posted a picture of the old Durban beachfront and had commented on the great memories they had there and were nostalgic for a time when the beach was clean and safe. However, South Africans of colour, who had experienced apartheid, were restricted from enjoying the Durban beach front due to discriminatory legislation such as the Separate Amenities Act of 1953, which prohibited people of colour from enjoying the same facilities as 'whites'. Thus, there was a comment from a 'Indian' person stating that 'it does not hold good memories' as he was denied access based on his 'race', although he was a South African citizen. Therefore, for 'whites' the Durban beachfront may hold 'great memories', but for others the experience was quite 'painful'. Pravisha states that there was no reaction to the quote indicating that there was no remorsefulness felt towards what happened during apartheid and such perspectives are glossed over, not recognised, or addressed, showing their indifference towards those who were oppressed by the 'white' nationalist government of the past.

Pravisha states that the group reminisces about 'the good old days' and how 'lovely and safe' South Africa was. For this Facebook group 'the good old days' meant living under the apartheid system, where 'whites' were given power and privilege over all other 'race' groups, to the detriment of most of its citizens. It is this 'white' power and privilege that they are nostalgic for. This narrative shows the temporal and spatial sequence of events. Since discriminatory legislature and prejudiced views were historically promulgated in South Africa, it continues to inform the present experiences and interactions in Australia, which influences future decisions. In Pravisha's case the action taken was severing contact with particularly 'white' South

Africans by leaving the Facebook Group.  Pravisha gives further comment on 'white' South Africans in the excerpt below.

> Pravisha:  And they've all gone and colonised neighbourhoods, they used to call it Perthfontein. And like I said, they're all about, I'm looking for a South African doctor, I'm looking for a South African dentist, I'm looking for everything South African. South African electrician. We support our fellow South Africans with their businesses, if you need anything, this is who you must use.
> Subashini:  What do you think about that?  Them not using any doctor but a South African doctor…
> Pravisha:  Like someone asked them, do you have a South African illness? What's your problem?  Why can't you see anyone else? I think they're just trying to support one another in terms of business. And try and create their very own South African, white South African old apartheid community.  And it's all older people, it's not the young ones. A lot of them are the old people.

Pravisha's denunciation of 'white' South Africans living in Perth is articulated through how she describes the aspects of their lifestyle. She indicates that 'white' South African's have 'colonised neighbourhoods' and have renamed them Perthfontein, for example, after the South African city Bloemfontein which is known for their predominant Afrikaner communities. Her use of the word 'colonised' is revealing as she draws a parallel to the historical colonialization of South Africa by the British and the present group of 'white' South Africans who have consciously chosen to relocate to the same neighbourhood in Perth. Pravisha states that this group of South Africans are trying to recreate a 'white South African old apartheid community' in Perth by living in the same neighbourhood. This indicates that not only are South African communities created in Perth, but this community is also racialised as it is likely that mostly 'white' South Africans tend to live in the same neighbourhood.

Literature indicates that immigrants frequently choose to settle in neighbourhoods that primarily comprise of people from their own homeland. Settling in such a neighbourhood allows immigrants to build robust networks with their co-ethnics in the diaspora (Portes and Manning 2018). This kind of spatial segregation may result in enclave communities within the host country which can undermine their ability to acquire cultural and social capital within the host community (Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor 2008). On the other hand, the kind of co-ethnic networks available in these enclaves can provide important labour-market opportunities. In addition, migrants frequently view such neighbourhoods as safe spaces to practice various forms of social reproduction (Shizha 2019).

Mckenzie and Gressier (2017:7) in their study of 'white' South Africans in Melbourne argue that participants' narratives revolve around 'a white nation fantasy' where "racist modes of thought are enacted predominantly when territorialised". In South Africa there was a latent fear that 'their nation' would be taken over by 'blacks', this sentiment was also observed in Australia as they fear that their 'white' nationhood will be overthrown by 'undesirables' such as refugees and asylum seekers.

This rhetoric of fearing the domination of the 'other' and building social boundaries against a diversity of communities in Australia may be seen as a protection mechanism for older 'white' South Africans. Since they feel that their culture, belonging, and privileged position is under threat, there may be a tendency to cluster themselves within the same neighbourhood with people from the same ethnic group. At the same time, this fear also contributes to alienating those South Africans who share the same national identity as seen in Jayshrees narrative below.

Although Pravisha finds it problematic that 'white' South Africans living in Perth only want to use South African businesses and services, she also indicates that they might do so to support each other in the new country. She includes that is it mainly the older 'white' South Africans who engage in such thinking and behaviour and not the younger generation. Because these enclaves are somewhat insulated, ideological narratives can circulate more easily within them. For example, the conservative racist narratives may circulate within white South African communities in Perth. This circulation helps maintain racism within those communities and disrupts the freedom from South African racism that participants in this study had previously highlighted as important for them. Keshan also reflects on his interaction with 'white' South Africans in Australia.

> Keshan: And then one would also meet other people from South Africa. Like other doctors who are white South Africans who would always talk about the good old days and probably tell them well you know those days were good for you, it was not good for myself or my family and the community I came from had a very tough upbringing from being intensive labourers. Anyway, but I have not met a single white South African person who has told me that apartheid was a bad thing…They did not know that these things were going on. It is a bit like the Germans saying they did not know they were burning the Jews in the concentration camps. So, for me a lot of those feelings are still very sort of like deep-down sort of very strong. I think back about one of my family members he had to move three times for the Group Areas Act. Every time he moved his house, that land was re-zoned again. The apartheid system just sort of

chopped him off at the knees. Every time he sort of lost all the income that he had. I mean myself now I have a sort of good sort of middle-class upbringing, and I cannot really complain…so when I look back in retrospect the whole system was very strange and a lot of South Africans who came to Australia in the 70's and the 80's even the 90's, they still have a lot of those apartheid views okay. So, I would meet some white South African doctors who would ask me; "Oh how did you get in", to work at the XY Hospital which is like a prestigious hospital to work at. And initially I did not understand what they meant because they were working in smaller peripheral hospitals. And sort of when I applied you know they had this thing on the website, and I put my CV in, and they took me. But now they said "No, how did *you* get in? Then what they actually would mean was you as someone with a dark skin who is from the Indian background how did you get in when I could not get a job here? And I would reply to that, this is a merit-based system. There is more merit there. It has its own problem it is not a hundred percent good. They have their own issues at high levels with completely merit based but in general it is a merit-based system and if you can do the job well, you get in. So yeah, I mean I am sort of a bit prejudiced I can say. My kids still… they sort of talk to me about this and say why do you… you are like a typical old dad with all the prejudices now and needing to be more open. And I said well your ideas and your feelings are shed by your life experiences…And unfortunately, a lot of people that I would meet in Australia, white South Africans especially would still sort of bemoan the fact, they would complain about South Africa, how bad it is now, how good were the old days. I now… I don't like getting into lots of arguments.

Keshan still feels the pain of the past 'deep-down' and it remains 'strong' as he recounts the oppression that his extended family members had experienced during apartheid. This pain resurfaces when he interacts with 'white' South Africans who still hold racist beliefs. Keshan indicates that a lot of 'white' South Africans who migrated during the 70's, 80's and even 90's still harbours racist views. From the narrative above, it can be noted that the interaction between Keshan and the 'white' doctors is steeped with racism, which is masked or hidden in the way in which they ask Keshan how he, a person of dark complexion from an 'Indian' background, was able to acquire a position at a prestigious hospital when they as 'whites' could not. This indicates that people bring their ideologies and perspectives to a new society which influences how they see the world. This can be seen as some 'white' South Africans they still hold very racist views of society. Furthermore, Keshan also comments on the inability of 'white' South Africans he has interacted with to acknowledge the atrocities perpetuated by the apartheid government. Rather they 'bemoan' that they cannot return to the 'good old days', which emphasises the ideology of 'white' domination and supremacy as they continue to disregard the history of oppression perpetuated towards their fellow South African citizens. Thus, the temporal and spatial dimensions of his narrative reveal that the racism experienced in both

countries at different times is a source of pain which is still fresh in his mind which continues to influence his outlook and interaction, especially with other South Africans. Keshan openly divulges that he is still a bit prejudiced towards 'white' South Africans as his experiences and interactions with them both in the past and present have 'shaped his ideas and feelings' both in South Africa and Australia. Like Keshan, Jayshree shares her experience of interaction with 'white' South Africans.

> Subashini: …you said you feel most comfortable with South Africans, is it South Africans of Indian descent or South Africans?
> Jayshree:  I would say particularly of Indian descent…because even in Perth I had found that and this is so weird, but in Perth when we went to Perth because there was at one stage there was a huge influx.  It was just before Nelson Mandela was released, there was a huge influx of Afrikaner people leaving South Africa to migrate and it was easier for them to get to Perth than any other place…and in Perth, if you walk into a shop and I was like Oh my God! I was bowled over if I heard anybody speaking Afrikaans, I was in there, I was like Oh my gosh, there's a South African, you know. I'm just looking for that connection and if you tried to interject or tried to be of that conversation, you'd actually get the like pushed back from them. And there were, there groups in Perth that came from South African backgrounds, they were Afrikaner…but they don't want to join any other community.  They just want their Afrikaans population. They're just together...to have their culture…to speak their language, yes speak their language. So that was a bit…I actually felt quite confronted by being in international place…and I mean it was acceptable in South Africa, but now it's not acceptable in another country…where you know there's equal opportunities for everybody and I was surprised that people could bring that mentality…to another country…and thinks were okay to do that…yeah and I just thought…he once ruled the roost but not anymore…so yeah, that was actually shocking and appalling to ourselves, I felt like you know to try and experience that…first hand in Perth I just thought Oh my God then just best we just stay away.  I mean I've met South Africans here, who are not of Indian descent but yes, we can connect, and we can identify but I suppose it is different strokes for different folks, I just feel comfortable with South African Indians…

This narrative reveals the hostility towards Jayshree as she tries to interact and form a 'connection' with Afrikaner South Africans in Perth. Jayshree was taken aback by their behaviour as she could not believe 'that people could bring that mentality to another country' referring to racist thinking of people in a past time and place which continues to influence their interaction and treatment of others in the present time and place. Thus, historical racist attitudes towards 'Indians' still prevents solidarity and unity between South Africans in Australia. These temporal negative experiences have cautioned Jayshree in her interaction with Afrikaner South Africans. Although she states that she is able to connect to South Africans who are not of South

African Indian descent, she is also wary of the prejudiced attitude that she might receive. Thus, she tends 'stay away' from 'white' South Africans and socialise more with South African Indians who she feels most comfortable with. Relations between different segments of diasporas are frequently informed by past histories of conflict. For example, the relations between Kurds and Turks living in Sweden show how cultural or political divisions amongst these groups can persist in the generations after the migration process and can sometimes lead to conflict (Baser 2016). Linge and Larsson's (2022) investigation of the religious boundary making of young Norwegian Muslims show that these youth deconstruct and reconstruct Sunni–Shia boundaries and, in doing so, challenge traditional Muslim identities.

Narratives in this study reveal that the racist attitudes that some 'white' South Africans had in South Africa are still manifested in Australia in various forms such as on social media posts, which reveal the prejudice towards 'black' people, and through their contemptuous interactions with South African Indians. It seems that the older generation of Afrikaner South Africans who have immigrated to Australia have created a community for themselves in Perth as they felt the need to preserve 'the good old days', their culture, identity, ideology. This results in the solipsism of culture (Fay 1996) as their culture is seen as immutable and fixed rather than porous, malleable, and open to negotiation. Thus, by keeping their Afrikaner culture 'closed' they also refuse to acknowledge that they share a connection with South Africans of Indian descent as both groups are nationals of South Africa. The social interaction between the two groups indicates that due to racialised attitudes and sealing their culture off from other South Africans who might share certain cultural similarities prevents the social cohesion of South Africans in Australia. This is observed as Pravisha and Jayshree both removed themselves from any further interaction with 'white' South Africans due to their racialised attitudes. Therefore, the national identity of being South African does not necessarily mean that South Africans would come to together to form a unified South African community in Australia. Rather racialised attitudes and the unwillingness to share and engage with other cultures prevents the social cohesion of South Africans in Australia. These stories show that the temporal and spatial event of racialisation and segregation of the past is repeated in the present society which influences who one tends to interact and socialise with.

**5 Negative sentiments towards foreigners in Australia**

Scholars indicate that 'old racisms', premised on the biological superiority of those classified as 'White' which is used to justify violence and discrimination against those 'races' which are

seen as inferior such as those classified as 'Black', have been supplanted by 'new racisms' in Western democracies (Dunn et al. 2004; Seet and Paradies 2018). According to Dunn et al. (2004) 'new racism' in Australia, is a move away from scientific racism to cultural racism, where certain cultural values of immigrant communities are viewed as a threat to the social cohesion of the dominate 'Anglo-Celtic' culture of the host country. Defining and viewing 'new racism' in such terms denies and hides the existence of the 'old racism' and makes the 'new racism' more acceptable as cultural difference is seen to be insurmountable and a threat to social cohesion of the host country (Dunn et al. 2004). Although culture is theorised as fluid and porous and thus open to change (Fay 1996), viewing culture as fixed and immutable homogenises, essentialises and subsequently stereotypes cultural groups. Therefore, by essentialising cultural groups results in the racialization of cultural groups, such that culture is used as a locum for 'race'. For example, all those who look 'Indian', irrespective of their nationality, are perceived to come from the same cultural group.

Seet and Paradies (2018) indicate that in Australia new racism is covert rather than overt with cultural difference as opposed to biological difference being the focus of discrimination. Although overt acts of racism are perceived to be diminished and covert racism is more prolific, I argue that both forms of racism have its roots in the perception of biological superiority of one 'race' group over another. Although covert racism is said to take the form of cultural intolerance between groups, the foundation of cultural intolerance is biologically rooted as culture is conflated with 'race', thus culture is a stand-in or substitute for 'race'. Therefore, rather than viewing 'old racism' and 'new racism' as two separate forms of racism with 'old racism' being perceived as obsolete in Australia, I argue that 'new racism' should be redefined to include the multiple ways people of colour are discriminated against which includes both overt or blatant racism and covert or hidden expressions of racism or micro aggressions encapsulated in individual, institutional and cultural forms (Sue 2010; Sue et al. 2007). This section explores how foreigners of colour, especially South Africans of Indian descent experience individual, institutional, and cultural racism in Australia in both overt and covert ways, how covert racism is used to hide everyday racism in institutionalised and cultural forms, and how culture is used as a substitute for 'race', which subsequently denies the racial and cultural superiority and domination of 'white' 'Anglo-Celtic' group over other immigrant groups.

I will firstly examine individual racism. Sue (2006:21) defines individual racism as "any attitude or action whether intentional or unintentional, conscious, or unconscious, overt or covert that subordinates a person or group because of their phenotypical traits most strongly manifested in colour". Participants in this study spoke about experiences and public narratives related to individual racism. For instance, when I asked Siva why he chose to move to Melbourne, he indicated that Brisbane was a racist state.

> Subashini: That's interesting to know, when you say Brisbane is racist, what do you mean?
>
> Siva: Well, it was pretty much sort of white dominated. We felt that people were very sort of anti-non-white to you so it's like going back to South African days, growing up during apartheid. I mean I have been through it, I have been through apartheid, I have been after apartheid, and also got out of the country in the end so it's a lot of things we've experienced in our life. And of course, we have experienced racism here in Melbourne itself, so it happens everywhere, its part and parcel of life, I guess.
>
> Subashini: You mentioned there's racism in Melbourne, can you tell me of your experiences?
>
> Siva: Well, we were with a group of friends and a friend of mine, obviously a South African friend on a boat with a man of Indian origin and there were some white guys sitting…where we docked the boats and they started a fight with us and thought that we couldn't afford the boat and this one guy started making some racist remark, asking me where I was born and then sort of saying do you have an Australian birth certificate and I said that it doesn't matter and then you know it ended up in an argument of course you know coming from our background that we come from, we don't tolerate this. So obviously it became a confrontational issue, and the wives phoned the cops and of course the cops won't come because it's more a domestic kind of case, eventually we, our friend separated us so that we don't get involved into a tussle with these people and there was another elderly white lady that walked passed, she was watching what was happening and she came and sympathised with us and said "you know what, not all people are like them." Which is true, it doesn't happen to everyone, it's just some people who are that way.
>
> Subashini: Does these incidents happen often?
>
> Siva: Not really…

This extract suggests that there is a pronounced public narrative created around Brisbane being 'white dominated' and 'anti non-white' suggesting that 'Anglo-Celtic' values, culture, and racist attitudes towards people of colour is pervasive which undermines cultural presence of other groups. Since Siva has experienced apartheid, he is reluctant to live in a place where one 'race' group is dominate over other 'race' groups, which has subsequently prevented Siva from settling down and making Brisbane his 'home'. This guided his decision to move to Melbourne.

Although Melbourne is perceived as less racist than Brisbane, racism is still present. The story recalled by Siva is testimony to the overt racism experienced towards foreigners of colour. Seet and Paradies (2018:446) describes overt racism as "explicitly negative demeanour and/or treatment enacted toward social minorities on the basis of their minority status membership that are necessarily conscious". The 'white' Australians in this story singled out Siva as an 'Indian' and proceeded to discriminate against him by demanding to have proof of his Australian birth certificate and hurling racist remarks at him, implying that foreigners of colour should not have the privilege or the access to facilities shared by Australian citizens. This demonstrates that overt racism derived from white supremacism is still pervasive in Australian society. Although the police were called in, no police officer arrived on the scene suggesting that the matter was not taken as a serious complaint indicating that racism towards foreigners are trivialised and not seen as an important issue that needs to be addressed.

Siva states that in his experience racism 'happens everywhere and is part and parcel of life', indicating that for 'non-whites' racism is universal, normalised, natural, and common aspect of life. The pervasiveness of 'race' and racism indicates that the ideology is deeply embedded in society and conditions the experiences of 'non-white' minority groups (Seet and Paradies 2018). Acts of overt racism is an indication that at the micro level interaction towards foreigners are laced with notions of autochthony and xenophobia. Siva's comment on the uncommonness of overt racism is in line with current scholarship that indicate acts of overt racism are rare (Salter, Adams, and Perez 2018; Sue 2006). However, the infrequency of overt racism towards people of colour is premised on the idea that to openly express racism towards people of colour would diminish the individual and collective image of 'whites' as good and moral, exonerating 'white' Australians of prejudicial behaviour (Nelson 2013; Sue 2006). Although there is a perception that incidents of overt racism have reduced, this does not necessarily mean that racism is now becoming obsolete, rather racism is hidden in plain sight through everyday interaction and through subtle social cues. Kwansah-Aidoo and Mapedzahama (2018) researching the experiences of the African diaspora in Australia also note that participants were excluded in conversation or not recognised or acknowledged in their workplace by 'white' colleagues and clients. Majavu (2018), Udah (2018) and Uptin (2021) in their respective studies also note that African participants feel that they are perceived as inferior in everyday interactions with 'white' Australians. This has negatively impacted their opportunities for employment and social interaction which consequently affected their integration into Australian society.

Everyday day subtle racism is seen as a way to exclude people of colour in society. This 'passive' form of exclusion is presented as a way to 'hide' or deny racist attitudes. This is also noted in this research as seen in the extract below.

> Kerisha:  Yes, I think you do hear of it, I think for myself it is sometime you know you just… walking in the shops and someone just gives you a dirty look and its well, "Why you doing that?" or you will see a lot of the times, the little convenient stores, are run or managed by people that came directly from India and you will see how people interact with them.  Or sometimes you are walking on the street, and you will see the white person just gives the brown people a dirty look.  Um, so there are those under tones there, I think in the city it tends to be more multi-cultural as you sort of span out into… the more suburban areas, there is probably more of those issues arising.

In this extract Kerisha reveals the covert racism experienced in interaction between herself and 'white' people. Nkrumah (2021:4) explains that "covert forms of racism include expressions of racist ideas, attitudes, and beliefs in subtle, hidden, or disguised forms…[that] go unchallenged because they involve indirect behaviour".  The narrative exposes that racism in the public arena or on the street is subtly played out in symbolic actions which surreptitiously hides racism and refutes racism as such gestures are seen as subjective and can be disproved and denied. Therefore, although Kerisha can interpret the gesture as a 'dirty look', the perpetrators might deny such a claim concealing racist actions. For instance, Sue et al. (2007:273) indicate that racial "microaggressions are often unconsciously delivered in the form of subtle snubs or dismissive looks, gestures, and tones…so pervasive and automatic in daily conversation and interactions that they are often dismissed and glossed over as being innocent and innocuous". Thus, although such 'racial undertones' are noticeable by minority groups of colour the denial of racial gestures means that such acts are not recognised as being racist and therefore the unconscious or conscious prejudice behind the gesture is hidden, goes unchecked and remains unaddressed. Kesi also speaks of the implicitness of racism in Queensland, Australia.

> Kesi:…but when I came to Queensland people would actually say why do you go there it's so racist and my answer to that was, I am from South Africa, it's not going to bug me. But anyway, when I did come to Queensland it wasn't like that because people were friendly, but from a racist perspective I think they are a bit more racist, and the racism it's not something that's apparent to be discriminatory, it's also verification at the end of the day, you know, people would say something but not do something. So you can see body language, you know, and all the current topics going at the moment in America, I mean you're just sitting in a bus and you think is someone going to sit

next to me, so those things are still in the back of your mind, but you know, by and large if you had to ask me the question, do you think Australia is a racist country, I will say no, but if you ask me is there racism in Australia, the answer is of course yes and they do tend to look poorly upon the first nation Australians, the Indigenous people, mostly Anglo Saxon's tend to do that, although they might not discriminate against them they certainly don't hold very good opinions of them, you know.

Coming from South Africa where racism affected every aspect of society, as it was promulgated by the apartheid government, the resilience created through the experience is shown as Kesi was not deterred from relocating to Queensland which he describes as being 'a bit more racist'. The covertness of racism is expressed as people are not 'apparent to be discriminatory', rather 'people who would say something but not do something' which conveys the subtlety of racism by cloaking words or phrases in euphemisms, gestures, or body language. For instance, Kesi refers to the 'current topic going on in America' which was the murder of George Floyd by 'white' policemen that made international headlines and prompted the Black Lives Matter protests across the United States of America and various parts of the world (Lankes 2021). Referring to this, as a person of colour, Kesi contemplates if someone will sit next to him on the bus. Kesi is reflective and cognisant of the implicit discrimination in terms of how people will non-verbally react and interact with him, for instance by not sitting next to him as he is a person of colour. Kesi is aware of his own identity and how his identity impacts people's reactions to him. Such subtle gestures and micro aggressions that take place as 'races' interact reflects how racism is played out on a more non-verbal level rather than verbal one, which hides the fact that racism is pervasive in society. Since the number of overt cases of racism is taken to be the benchmark in measuring the extent of racism, it however excludes covert forms of racism that are prevalent in everyday life which goes undetected and thus unreported. Although Australia is not seen as a racist country, as there are few observed acts of blatant racism, there is still racism within Australia.

In addition, Kesi, and other participants in this study, are also aware of the history of systematic oppression of the Indigenous people of Australia and condemn the acts of racism towards them. Markwick et al. (2019:2) state that "today, Indigenous Australians continue to face interpersonal and institutional racism which creates and sustains their lower socio-economic status by excluding them from economic opportunities and land ownership". Although Kesi was not aware of the systematic discrimination of the Indigenous people, he has nevertheless recognised that 'Anglo-Saxon' Australians 'look poorly' on the Indigenous people, suggesting

that there is still negativity directed towards the Indigenous population. Participants also indicate that the Indigenous culture is criticised and condemned and there is a lack of understanding of the Indigenous people from their cultural perspective. Davis (2006:135) illustrates the failure of Australian public institutions to recognise the Indigenous people's culture, religion, and spirituality in terms of "customary law, land rights, native title, intellectual property and heritage protection". The participants in this study highlight the ways in which the Indigenous population have been discriminated against and express concern over their plight. Thus, participants in this study refuse to celebrate 'Australia Day', rather referring to the day as 'Invasion Day', as it reminds them of the colonisation, incursion, and annihilation of the Indigenous people in Australia by Europeans. Participants tend to sympathise with the Indigenous population as there is a shared history of persecution and oppression by British colonizers who instilled and proliferated the ideology of 'white' domination and supremacy for over generations in various parts of the world (Johnson 2003). Since Australia has a history of systematic oppression of people of colour (Gershevitch 2010), I asked Kesi, who has lived in Australia for thirty-six years if the attitudes towards him as a South African of Indian descent changed over time.

> Kesi:  I don't think it's changed. We come from a different background coming from where we are, where we are used to being twice as good, but also at the same time being recognised half as much, in other words we've got to be very good to be up there, to be competitive. So, you know, that's still there, that's part of the drive that we have, not to say we've got to prove ourselves, we probably over-prove ourselves in the society when we don't need to, but I'm not just speaking for myself, I talk to a lot of other people of Indian origin that come to Australia and they all feel the same, there is this underlying feeling that there is this, you know, level of maybe you can call it discrimination, but there's level of what do we call it, you know, implied racism.

Kesi indicates that attitudes towards him as an 'Indian' has not changed as racism is present from the time he arrived in Australia.  Seet and Paradies (2018) argue that since Australian national identity is built on 'whiteness', the ideology of 'white' supremacy is pervasive within society. This self-construction places 'whites' as superior in relation to 'others' who are positioned as inferior.  This affects how people of colour come to be seen and treated.

In the narrative above Kesi relates how 'Indians' are positioned in society which impacts how they live their lives, especially in the workplace. Kesi states that he comes from a 'different background' meaning being an 'Indian' from South Africa, he is used to being 'twice as good'

yet 'recognised half as much'. This indicates that as an 'Indian' he has to work harder in order to be competitive against 'white' privilege, control, and power. Since his 'race' is a barrier to the recognition he is entitled to for his hard work, there is a need to over-compensate to be economically competitive in a society where institutions covertly discriminate against people of colour (Seet and Paradies 2018). A study conducted by Biddle et al. (2019) indicated that 46.8 percent of the surveyed population thought that "Asian-Australians had to work harder than others to win a promotion". Similarly, studies of African immigrants show how their construction of being inferior in relation 'white' Australians propels them to work harder to prove their intelligence (Udah 2018; Uptin 2021). This indicates the racism that people of colour endure pushes them to work harder to debunk negative myths constructed around their 'race' so that they can be and remain economically mobile.

Furthermore, Kesi deconstructs the idea of scientific racism (Rattansi 2007)[83] by indicating that it is not about proving to himself or to others of his capabilities and intelligence, rather its more about being economically competitive in an environment that constrains the economic mobility of people due to their 'race'. Thus, 'Indians' in Australia have to work harder to secure and maintain their employment. Although there has been change with regards to legislation and creating multicultural policies, Kesi indicates that there has not been a change with regards to how 'Indians' have been perceived in Australia. This indicates the ideology of 'white' supremacy is prevalent within society which propels those of 'Indian' descent to work harder to be competitive to enhance their economic mobility. He indicates that this has not changed over the years he has lived in Australia and that the people of Indian origin that he spoke to feel the same. Covert racism in the workplace is discussed in the section below.

### 5.1 Negative sentiments in the workplace
Participants in this study speak of institutional and cultural racism experienced in the workplace. Siva and Jayshree have also noticed the subtlety of racism at their respective workplaces in Australia.

> Siva: …what I realised over the years, I mean I am now here thirteen years and in that thirteen years I have noticed that it's a very sort of subtle type of racism that occurs. I mean that if you work, where I am working at the moment, you will find that most of

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[83]According to Rattansi (2007) scientific racism had racially ranked people in a hierarchical system, where 'whites' who were perceived to be the most intelligent group was placed at the top of the hierarchy and people of colour who were perceived as being of lower intelligence are placed lower in the hierarchy and are perceived as the inferior 'race'.

the senior management teams and management itself or executive team are all white, so you'll rarely find someone who is not white in that position.

Jayshree: …and they seem to be very White dominated…and White led and it's more around you know like kind of like "Oh, I know this one, so I'll put them in these positions", so there's not really much representation of different colours…there were not enough representation. It was a very White led organisation…like all Senior Executive, Senior and Junior Managers were all White. No other colour. Yeah, and a lot of the times I would go to meetings, and I'll be the only, only person of colour…in management meetings and I found that very strange…very, very strange when I got here.

Subashini: Okay because as you said, Australia's a very diverse country…

Jayshree: Yeah, correct. It should be diverse but not to see representation was always very shocking to be the only person of colour, so that's when I started really opening my eyes to like okay, what's really happening here? It can't be that nobody like yeah, it just can't be. So yeah, so that was yeah, and I mean in work environments and stuff where bullying is a big thing in Australia yeah, so there yeah bullying is actually big in schools, it's a big word that's used in organisations where people feel bullied because of their race.

Subashini: Okay, instead of just using racism, they would use bully.

Jayshree: Yeah, yeah that's right. And yeah, they just do things very discretely. You know like yeah, not very openly or you know like calling out things. They do it subtly and then try and cover up like nothing happened. And you know better. Yeah. It's like big, so I think that's where I think Australia's got a long way to go in terms of having some colour and yeah diversity on the top.

Siva and Jayshree speak of institutional discrimination within the workplace. Although Australia is touted for its diverse population, Jayshree relates her shock as she was the only person of colour in higher management in her company. She stresses that the company she works for is 'white' led and 'white' dominated and that there is not enough representation of people of colour in higher management. Likewise, Siva also indicated that in the thirteen years of being in the same institution there has not been any change to hiring or promoting people of colour to senior management positions. In a recent ANU survey "42.7 percent thought that Asian-Australians were somewhat or greatly under-represented in leadership positions. Half (50.5 percent) of Asian-Australian respondents thought Asia-Australians were under-represented in leadership positions" (Biddle et al. 2019:6). Rogers (2020:n/a) writing for 'The Conversation' entitled his article the "Australian media has been too white for too long" citing such examples as an "all-white, Melbourne Press Club Board failing to elect a single person of colour in recent elections" and various media organisations having no or few people of colour as news reporters as evidence of the lack of diversity and representation in the Australia media industry. Sagger (2021:n/a) calls for a "basket of measures" such as "adopting targets for the

composition of boardrooms" and "searchers for very senior executive and non-executive roles include at least one minority candidate" to make it easier to call out discriminatory practices, and create representation in top tiers of business, politics, and professions. The scarcity of people of colour in senior management and executive positions serves as examples of systematic racism in the country. Since 'white' Australians hold senior positions, they have the power to control and dictate the outcomes of decisions, which perpetuates 'white' domination and culture while marginalising the concerns of other cultural groups.

Jayshree also speaks about bullying that happens in the workplace and schools. Markwick et al. (2019:2) indicate that the "social taboo against openly expressing racist beliefs has led to the development of strategies that present negative views of minority groups as reasonable and justified, while exonerating the speaker from charges of racism". Thus, to mask racist views, words are camouflaged by hiding the real meaning or intention of the word in other words such as the word 'bully'. By using the word bully indicates denying that the source of confrontation is hatred of another person based on colour or culture, which conceals the problem of racism. These acts of racism are not called out for what they are, rather the incident is discreetly taken care of and covered up 'like nothing happened', but people 'know better'. Jayshree states that this is a big issue and Australia has a long way to go in terms of transformation in the workplace. Kerisha also talks about her friend's experiences of overt institutional discrimination.

> Kerisha: I think also, especially recently I think it has become more of an issue and, and my friends of colour have noted their experiences about that and sometimes there are literally job applications that say, "If you are a person of colour, please do not apply." It's a big issue. Those job applications are not for an auditor they are for someone, like someone to go work in an old age home. And that is based on the preferences of their clients, and they are running a business at the end of the day. Um, so they have to do what their clients ask for, there are a lot of people who are stuck in older mindset. Um, and some of the racism is pure blanket racism, some of it they feel that Indian people are there stealing their jobs, which is not entirely true, cause to get a work visa to come and work in Australia the employer has to prove that they cannot fill that skill with an actual Australian.

This narrative shows that in some industries racism is institutionalised through job application procedures. Applicant preferences are racialised as clients refuse to interact with people of colour, indicating that they perceive people of colour to be inferior to them. Therefore, the issue is not cultural difference, rather the 'race' of a person is used as a criterion in job applications

which subsequently affects the chances of employment of foreign minority groups of colour (Sue 2006).

In addition, foreigners are also accused of 'stealing' the jobs of local Australians (Collins 2020). This sentiment is also witnessed in European economies and the US (Botrić 2018; Turner and Cross 2020; Blau and Mackie 2017). Research has indicated that this perception is at odds with recent economic research on the labour market effects of immigration. In reality it would appear that immigration does not harm the labour market outcomes of local born Australians, US, and Europeans (Blau and Mackie 2017; Breunig, Deutscher, and To 2017; Dumont and Liebig 2014). The problematic narrative of immigrants stealing jobs is part of the global right-wing conservatism amongst political parties, groups, and activists (Youngs 2018). There has been a rise in this type of conservativism in many English-speaking democracies including Australia.

The findings emerging from this study suggest a degree of persistent racism within the Australian labour market. This is also divulged by Jayshree who details her experience in a senior level position.

> Jayshree: Yeah. No in Australia definitely there's racism. I would say it's very, it's very covert… …as opposed to it being very overt in South Africa…South Africa openly, I was openly discriminated against because of my colour and that was through you know workplaces and of course being a female as well so there was discrimination all levels……you know colour discriminations, ethnicity, you know gender, so you know that was something that I faced and in Australia, definitely in Australia.
> Subashini: Okay. Can you elaborate a bit about those experiences?
> Jayshree: Well, I think here Australia's quick; like people are quick to say oh here, we treat everybody the same and you know, they won't say oh, because you're Indian you know I won't do that but there's a lot of chatter behind closed doors…you know, management levels, there's; it's not very proportioned in terms of not just racism but genders, gender equality and colour…so there isn't enough representation of different colour people on the top…so as in management roles…and when you do work in management roles here in Australia people give you really hard time because you're not Australian. They don't see you as Australian, so they like, "Oh you just came here now, you got a job. I've been here all my life"…So, you do get that and again it just depends on where, where you are, you know what jobs you work in, so it is you know it's certain industries seem to do that more than other industries.

Jayshree states that racism and gender inequality was overtly experienced in South Africa, whereas in Australia it was covertly experienced. Jayshree indicates people are quick to say that there is fair or equal treatment in Australia, however her experiences show that 'behind closed doors there is a lot of chatter' indicating that racist views of people are still held but is concealed and hidden in the workplace. This contributes to the denial of racism, which "functions to protect and defend white privilege" in the workplace (Nelson 2013:91). Jayshree reiterates that managerial control is held by 'white' Australians as there is not enough representation of people of colour in higher management levels. In addition, when a person of colour does work in a higher managerial position people tend to give them a 'really hard time because you're not Australian'. This denotes that it is acceptable for foreigners to work in entry level positions, however, when they work in higher level managerial roles there are some tensions in the workplace as Australians can exhibit racist attitudes. Jayshree tells of the difficult time she faced as a manager as she was not Australian.

Jayshree: And even you as an Indian like a different colour manager, you are treated different to a manager that's white for example.
Subashini: Okay. How would they treat an Indian manager as compared to a White manager?
Jayshree: So, my experience as being that as a manager I was really you know like staff were very challenging, so staff will report on every little thing that you do… so they're constantly going to HR, they're constantly you know say things about you, so for example the working culture in South Africa is very different to the working culture here…so when people come to work in South Africa, the work ethic is a bit different. Having managed people in South Africa, it was a very different way of managing people…because you manage for targets, you manage people, but they are motivated you know, they respected the jobs that they had because they knew it was hard to get good jobs…so when they landed a job they you know they, there is a level of appreciation for that too…So, we never ever in South Africa not a single day did I ever have to thank my staff for coming to work. Or saying you know, good on you, you know, this whole week you made it, and you didn't have one sick day. Great stuff. Australia it's very driven on praise and but too much, too much. It's more so about you know if an employee comes to work 5 days in a row without having one sick day leave… I came on time this whole week, not one day late or whatever. Then you're supposed to say good on you, great job, you know like praise, praise, praise. So, it was very challenging for me to do that because I thought, hey that's part of your job right. That's what you get paid for like you get paid for that, that's part of your responsibility is to make sure you on time. If you're sick of course you're sick but I'm not going to thank you for coming to work for 5 days. That once again got, it is things like that the culture is very much a praise culture…and I'm fine with praise but not to a point where it becomes, you just praising for praise sake. Yes, so yeah and they just yes, so if you don't do things like that then they look at you, oh she's a hard manager, or you know she's really, she's really difficult to connect with and then that's where people start ganging up against you and it seems to be like you know they all of them will gang up against you and then complains and yeah… It would be predominantly the White

Australian that would complain…because you're almost seen as a threat to them…because you're a foreigner coming from another country, coming, and taking our jobs, so that was, that was some of the stuff that came out when I heard part of conversations when I first came here was people coming from other countries and taking their jobs. They do and they feel threatened …so they are very, there are very few people, I'm talking about Whites, that you would speak to that are Australian Australian and when I say Australian Australian, that they would actually like their grandfathers and mothers they were actually born here, so because they were born here, they classify yay, I'm Australia, of course they're Australian, they were born here, they're Australian, but they also belong to a migrant community…so they also came, their forefathers also came as migrants to this country.

This narrative shows how cultural racism operates in the workplace. Sue (2010:8) describes cultural racism as "the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one group's cultural heritage (arts/crafts, history, traditions, language, and values) over other groups and the power to impose those standards upon other groups". Jayshree elaborates on the difference in work culture between South African and Australia. She connects what is occurring in South African society to their workplace culture. Since South Africans come from a society where unemployment is high, those who are employed are grateful for the opportunity which subsequently leads to conformity of rules and work ethic thus there is no need for praise as a motivational tool. However, in Australia Jayshree had to adjust to the work culture and was considered a 'hard' manager as she was not constantly praising her employees. This firstly suggests that there was no acknowledgment and tolerance towards Jayshree who came from a different culture and would thus have a different perspective and, secondly, her culture was essentialised and 'fixed' as she was forced to adapt to Australian work culture instead of the work culture being negotiated amongst the diversity of employees. Although the rhetoric of multiculturalism is pervasive in public narratives, on ground level foreigners must conform to 'white' Australian cultural values, especially in spaces shared by other Australians such as the workplace. This is also confirmed by Sagger (2021:n/a) who indicates that "a huge weight is placed on immigrants of all kinds to blend into a dominant Anglo-Celtic culture. 'Fitting-in' is used to justify the scant attention given to cultural diversity, particularly in the workplace".

In addition, as an outsider to Australian work ethics, Jayshree's lack of understanding of Australian work culture was used as a way to complain about her, thus gaining power over her while masking their real grievance and resentment felt towards her. As a foreigner in a high-ranking position, she was perceived as a threat to 'white' Australians, as predominately 'white' Australians would complain and 'gang up' against her. In this narrative it can be seen that the

lack of Australian cultural understanding was used as a way to accuse foreigners of sub-standard work practice, especially those who hold high positions in relation to 'white' Australian employees. It can be argued that by complaining about cultural disjunction in the workplace serves as a means through which prejudiced attitudes are hidden. This supposition is consistent with the argument that culture, in this context, serves as a substitute for 'race'. Since 'white' accusations of 'non-white' foreigners 'stealing jobs' from 'white Australians' are unfounded and thus are unaddressed (Gershevitch 2010), complaining about foreigners' lack of workplace culture serves as a way in which their resentment towards foreigners is executed. Thus, cultural dissonance is used as a façade to hide racist attitudes towards 'non-white' foreigners as they feel threatened by their presence, especially in the workplace. Foreigners being a threat to 'white' Australian employment is linked to the idea of autochthony as it indicates that only those who are born and know the national culture have the right and privilege to occupy high ranking positions.

Jayshree also makes an interesting observation, as she indicates that although 'white' Australians claim to be 'Australian Australian' or 'true Australians' as they were born in Australia, however since their ancestors were also immigrants they too come from a migrant community. This challenges the idea of autochthony as 'white' Australian's believe that since they are born in the country, they are allowed to be the only group of people who truly belong and should consequently receive more rights and privilege over other groups. However, it is contradictory to stipulate that only 'white' Australians belong to and are the 'true Australians' as generations of them have lived in Australia, while at the same time not acknowledging that their ancestors were also foreigners to the land. There is a lack of acknowledgment that Indigenous Australians were the first people to inhabit the land and that their British ancestors were responsible for colonising, oppressing, and massacring the Indigenous people to dominate and control the territory (Gershevitch 2010). Thus, belonging and ownership was not mutually given but was forcibly taken. Similarly, the Indigenous people of Canada also faced oppression, discrimination and victimisation by European colonialists who implemented the 1876 Indian Act and the Canadian Residential Schools. These racial policies forced the Indigenous People off their land, controlled every aspect of their lives and compelled them to assimilate into the Canadian culture. The 1876 Indian Act has been amended several times, but not abolished. This reinforces the persistence of racial discrimination and inequality against Indigenous People. Since the embodiment of the act is still in effect, it conveys the power and control that

the Canadian government has over the Indigenous People. This reinforces the ideology of 'white' supremacy in Canada (Fonseca 2020).

Sue (2006:23) states that "allowing whiteness to be invisible helps them deny that they benefit from the oppression of others and that they are not responsible for the racial inequalities that exist in society today". Therefore, the ideology of racial supremacy is still apparent as 'white' Australians believe that since they are born in Australia, they are true Australians while not acknowledging the past atrocities and laws that entrenched their domination over other 'race' groups.

As 'non-white' migrants enter the labour market and hold positions of authority and power, they are perceived as a threat to 'white' supremacy and domination. Kerisha also indicates that even if she adopts 'white' Australian cultural norms and practices she still would not fit in and made to feel like she belongs.

> Kerisha: It is a lot harder to integrate into their society for example, so even if I sat down and put on an Ozzie accent and called everyone, 'mate' and said, "ye know" all the time.  If I sat down in a room I would not be regarded in the same way as my peer, who was white Australian… and it wasn't anything outright it wasn't anything that anyone said, they just fit in a lot easier than someone who is not the same.

Kerisha states that being a 'non-white' foreigner makes it harder to fit in, even if she adopted aspects of Australian culture such as their slang, accents, and norms, she will not truly belong and be regarded in the same way as a 'white' Australian. This suggests that although foreigners are willing to change to adapt to Australian culture, there is a rejection of that cultural integration by Australians. This indicates that belonging in Australia is racialised, for a person to truly belong in Australia, they need to be 'white'. Mukesh brings another dimension in relation to the negative sentiments felt towards foreigners.

> Mukesh: So, for us to adapt is a lot easier and unfortunately a lot of Australians don't understand how we can adapt as quickly as we do, but that's all we do, we South Afri~ we're Indians, but our forefathers, my grandfather was actually from India, but when they came from India, they had to adapt and it's the same thing, that's what we learned to do.  And as a society, I think in Australia…Caucasian Australians that have really struggled to adapt. And I think in the next fifteen to twenty years in Australia, there's gonna be a lot of social issues. I think pretty much guaranteed.  You can see it's starting now as a lot of resentment towards people from China, people from Asia, people from India.  There's a lot of resentment based on skin colour or facial features, it's already

starting…Also, because the immigrants' culture had been very successful. You've got a lot of very successful immigrants here who's got businesses. We've got, in Australia it was never a, you know, it was never a necessity to own your own house, you know. You've got a government that always provides, and immigrants bought houses, bought property, bought businesses, you know, bought farms, started farming… You know, these people have come from outside and been successful in our country and we had everything given to us and they have been successful, reminding you a lot of apartheid, doesn't it? When you look at, people have come from really tough, really difficult backgrounds and they understand what it means to survive, and they not only survive, but they're doing quite well. They built really good lives for themselves, and I think a lot of the natural Australians or Caucasian Australians feel that they're taking our jobs, they're taking our land and they're taking everything. They're messing up the country, and you hear that a lot and I think eventually, and you see a lot of the young Australians starting to act out of that with violence against the Chinese, because of Covid, a lot of Chinese people were attacked. There's people who won't go to Chinese doctors. Almost seventy percent of Chinese restaurants was shut down because people stopped going there and stuff like that and you can already see the resentment building. There's a lot of resentment towards people from India. So, you know, there's resentment to a lot of the Indians work in the IT industry here. They're very good at it. They're really good at it and Australian people who are pretty average at IT, but believe that they should have those jobs, because they are Australian, like but if you're not good at it, what entitles you to that job…but this person can do the job five times better than I can. So, you know, then you can see the starting to creep into the society here…

Mukesh considers the reason that it is easy for immigrants to adapt to Australia. He indicates that his ancestors had come from India to South Africa and had to adapt despite the harsh and oppressive conditions in the country. As mentioned earlier, as South African Indians struggled under 'white' rule they learnt to work hard and acquired values which enabled them to survive, make a living and better their living conditions under political, economic, and social impediments. Mukesh draws from his family history to indicate that he also has learnt to adapt in Australia as his family had once learnt to adapt in South Africa. He indicates that a lot of Australians do not understand how immigrants of colour can easily adapt but a history of a life of struggle reveals the perseverance, determination, and values that South African Indians are imbued with that had allowed them to become successful under difficult conditions.[84] He argues that while foreigners have adapted, 'white' Australians have failed to adapt to the changing times. He indicates that since migrants have been successful in Australia this has built resentment and negativity towards immigrants based on skin colour and physical appearance, especially towards those of Chinese and Indian descent. Mukesh highlights the societal

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[84] In this study, participants indicate that it was stressful navigating the entry requirements as shown in Chapter 6. However, while in Australia no participant feared being deported or feared that they will lose their job.

difference between Australians and immigrants in determining the ability to change and adapt to new circumstances. Since Australians are used to the government providing for them, they have become complacent as there is no need to work hard to achieve. However, those who come from a society where there is a constant struggle to lead a decent life, Australia is seen as a place where they are not restricted in achieving their goals. By working hard in Australia, they are able to become successful.

There is animosity towards foreigners who have acquired wealth by buying houses, businesses, property, and farms. Australians feel that 'they are taking our jobs, taking our land, taking everything and messing up the country'. Mukesh articulates the anti-Asian prejudice that he had observed in Australian society. He noticed the growing anti-Chinese sentiment during the Covid-19 pandemic with 'Chinese' people blamed for spreading the virus. The enduring negative sentiments against Chinese have resulted in heightened racism towards Chinese over the course of the Covid-19 pandemic (Walden 2020; Zhou 2021). Mukesh's narrative on the anti-Chinese sentiment experienced during the Covid-19 pandemic is confirmed by stories from Asian Australians, particularly of Chinese heritage, themselves, and statistical evidence (Walden 2020). The ANU survey indicated that 84.5% of Asian Australians experienced at least one incident of discrimination between the period of January 2020 to October 2020 (Walden 2020), while the Lowry survey has reported that "nearly 1 in 5 Chinese have experienced physical racial assaults during the pandemic" (Zhou 2021). Although the Chinese in Australia are not responsible for the pandemic, they were stereotyped and homogenised and thus associated with the country of China where the pandemic began. These anti-Chinese and anti-Asian sentiments are deeply entrenched in Australian society and resurfaces in times of societal strife, which shows the enduring nature of racism and 'white' supremacy in the country.

There is also resentment towards Indian nationals who are successful in the Information Technology (IT) industry. There is animosity towards 'Indians' as they are perceived as better than 'white' Australians in the IT industry, thus they are more likely to be hired. Mukesh points out that it is the failure of Australians to adapt to changes as they see the success of foreigners of colour in relation to their own lives, they become resentful towards them and act out in violence when instigated. Mukesh compares this growing resentment towards foreigners in Australia to Indians who have migrated to South Africa in the past. Although most South African Indians lived in poverty during this time, the prosperity of some 'Indians' caused increasing resentment and anger amongst 'white' South Africans who felt that their economic

position and thus dominance was being contested (Calpin 1949:17; Cooppan and Lazarus 1956:62). Therefore, the 'white' ruled government passed various taxes and laws to dissuade the economic advancement of 'Indians' in South Africa (Bagwandeen 1989a:6; Bhana and Pachai 1984:30). The apartheid system was also a measure to hinder the growing prosperity of 'Indians', especially in Durban (Bagwandeen 1989:12). Mukesh compares the resentment towards 'Indians' in South Africa, with the resentment that is currently felt by 'white' Australians towards foreign immigrants of colour. There is a perception that only 'white' Australians belong in the country, and that immigrants of colour are taking over 'their land' and 'stealing their jobs'.

Mukesh feels that there is growing resentment towards migrants and that the future will be laden with many social issues. It can be argued that 'white' Australians feel threatened as they fear that their economic domination and control is declining as foreigners of colour gain economic prosperity. Similarly, in the USA and Britain there is an established myth that immigrants take jobs away from local workers (Niyimbanira and Madzivhandila 2016; van der Zwet et al. 2020). The support for Brexit in Britain was largely stimulated by the perception of the negative effect of immigration on employment (Fingleton, Olner, and Pryce 2020). The USA, under the Trump administration, had promulgated aggressive policies to restrict immigrants of colour, especially Muslims, Mexicans, and those from Central America from entering the country (Johnson and Cuison-Villazor Rose 2019). It can be argued that this is part of a global conservative turn prohibiting the entrance of immigrants into developed countries.

Research focusing on the impact of immigration on the local economy indicate the immigration has a positive effect. Migration boosts local development in the business and service sector, creates new jobs and is good for the economic growth of the country (Collins 2020; Fingleton et al. 2020; Niyimbanira and Madzivhandila 2016; Shapira 2010; van der Zwet et al. 2020). Thus, disparaging attitudes towards foreigners are unwarranted but has become part of a global narrative that depict immigrants in negative terms.

The narratives in this study point out that in Australia racism against foreigners of colour in the workplace is covertly conveyed in the form of institutional and cultural racism, which is used to mask 'old racism' in new ways. The dominance of 'white' supremacist ideology, and thus racism towards people of colour, is revealed through institutional racism by means of practices of not hiring people of colour for certain job positions. The need for 'Indians' to 'prove' themselves so as to be employable and the lack of representation of people of colour in senior

management positions ensures that control and power over decision-making lies in the hands of 'white' executives which subsequently marginalises the views and opinions of minority groups of colour. Cultural racism is more insidiously conveyed through complaints of cultural dissonance in the workplace. 'White' Australians would complain about foreigners of colour, especially those employed in high-ranking positions, as a way to mask their real grievances of foreigners of colour 'stealing their jobs' and begrudging foreigners of colour for better and higher job positions which gives foreigners power and authority in relation to 'white' Australians. Notions of autochthony is revealed as those who regard themselves as 'Australian Australian' or 'true Australians' take issue with foreigners of colour in senior positions as it is believed that only those who have ancestry in Australia are entitled to certain privileges such as the reservation of senior positions to 'white' Australians.

## 5.2 Negative sentiments towards foreign cultures

Shortly after their immigration to Australia, participants became aware of the cultural negotiation that their family undertook in Australia. Although there are some cultural aspects that are seen as beneficial to them [see Chapter 7], there are also some aspects that they find condescending. For instance, Siva and his daughter who work for educational institutions are required to change their South African Indian accents to Australian accents.

> Siva: She is probably more like an Australian and I have to test some words too when I teach, because there is a sort of way and accent in which you have to follow in Australia in teaching because that's the expectation of the students. You are stressing your "I's" and all that kind of stuff. Students they say "debit" you say "debIt", "credIt", that kind of thing. You don't say "this", you say "thes" so they understand otherwise you are just going to, [inaudible 0:23:02.5] they will get lost and then they start complaining about your accent.

This narrative shows that there is an 'expectation' that teachers need to speak in an Australian accent for students to understand, otherwise they will 'get lost' and 'start complaining about your accent'. In institutions and industries that require the mass communication to an audience, there is an immutability of Australian society to accept the use of another accent. Although Australia is seen as a multicultural country (which means that all cultures should be accepted as equal and thus should be free to convey their culture) a power disparity is still at play as South African Indians must adapt to the dominant Australian culture to be accepted. It also serves as an indication of the hierarchy of power in these educational settings as the Australian accent is seen as better than other accents.

On a public level participant's also mention the animosity Australians feel towards foreign cultures. Since foreign cultures are perceived as an intrusion to the dominant Anglo-Celtic Australian society there are negative sentiments displayed towards foreigners based on their culture, as can be seen in the extract below.

> Mukesh: So, like people from Syria, they can have like four or five children and that sort of thing and according to Australians, they just come here and have children. They just have lots and lots of children and it's just the mindset, it's just the mindset. But that's their culture anyway. So, you have to respect their culture, but they come here, and they have lots of children and they put strain on the Medicare system and, you know, now the hospitals are full, and they can't, you've got to wait for medical procedure and blah blah blah. So, it's the immigrants that are using all the provided resources according to, and in a way it's true, but because they've [Australians] gotten so used to the luxury of the government provided service like Medicare, like the pensions, that sort of thing, because it has become such a part of their culture, they feel that the immigrants are taking advantage of it and some of the immigrants do. I mean, lots of people come here. I mean, now the Chinese have like five children. Why? In your country you can only have one child, but because they have the freedom to do it, they do it. And so, ten years ago, the government was actually paying people to have children, because the population was so low. So, you know, so you've got to decide. The government wants the population to increase, but the Australians, we don't want immigrants. You're not making the babies, so what the hell do you expect? You know, so it's really a toss-up. I think they're blaming immigrants for taking advantage of the country, because, you know, the country is fantastic, but the problem is that it was actually Australians that started outsourcing everything to foreigners. Bring in foreigners to come and work in the farms, in the mines, you know, took Indians as doctors, Indians as lecturers in the university. If you go out in the mines, I saw a stat that said that at least sixty percent of people that work in the mines in Western Australia are of South African or South African descent…So, the government realised that they have to bring in people to do it, and that's what happened.

Mukesh's narrative reveals the disjuncture between government strategies and Australian public narrative towards foreigners. He points out that immigrants, particularly from Syria and China, are restricted from having children due to the conditions in their country of origin. He adds that having many children is part of their culture which should be respected. Australian public sentiments towards foreigners having many children are disapproving, however the Australian government has encouraged the growth of the population as the fertility rates are low. The Australian birth rates has continuously declined since 1961, falling below replacement levels in 1976 and reaching a level of 1.7 in 2001 (Australian Government Treasury Department of Home Affairs 2018:5). This is a concern as it results in a dwindling

workforce and a large ageing population, which would inevitably cause a strain on the economy as there will be few taxpayers to cover the cost of government spending on services. To reverse this trend, the Australian government implemented the Baby Bonus incentive scheme from 2004 - 2014 which paid between $3000 - $5000 dollars per child. This approach had increased the birth rate during this period. However, in 2019 the fertility rate in Australia was at an all-time low which preceded the impact of Covid-19. The Federal Treasurer, Josh Frydenberg, in his speech to the National Press Club held on 24 July 2020, had encouraged Australian couples to procreate to create a strong economy (Black 2020; Drago et al. 2011; Plastow 2020). Since Australia encourages population growth and has no constraints set on the number of children a family can have, immigrants can have as many children as they desire. Thus, the push-back against immigrants having children relates to the fear that 'white' Australians have, as they are afraid that 'non-white' immigrants will replace them which will diminish their numerical supremacy in the country.

Australians also accuse foreigners of taking advantage of and placing a strain on the Medicare system by having many children. Mukesh does acknowledge that some immigrants do take advantage of the medical system but at the same time he indicates that the Australian government is responsible for soliciting foreign labour, as there is a shortage in skills in some sectors, and these migrants are permitted to bring their families and are encouraged and have the freedom to expand their family. Furthermore, there is no statistical evidence to support the allegation that immigrants cause a strain on the Medicare system by having many children. Rather research indicates that migration "sustains and fosters strong economic growth in the long run" and that "migrants have contributed to both Australia's total GDP and GDP per person" which implies that migration contributes to the economy rather than place a strain on the country's resources and systems (Australian Government Treasury Department of Home Affairs 2018:23). Thus Boucher and Breunig (2020) argues that since immigration is vital to the economy, there is a need to restart the immigration process to stimulate economic growth, which was severely disrupted due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Since 'white' Australian dissidence towards foreigners of colour have no real basis as economic growth is stimulated by foreign participation in the economy rather than being hampered by foreigners it can be argued that resentment towards foreigners of colour is actually prejudicial attitudes towards foreigners cloaked in cultural, economic, and structural terms. As a result of the prejudicial attitudes towards foreigners, participants speak of the segregation that occurs in society.

Mukesh: …there's a lot of issues already, a lot of segregating, and I see it in the IT industry. I've got a couple of friends here from work, from India. They're in the IT industry and they always tell me about the issues they have and how they get treated. It's not very nice and it will start filtering through, as well. You will see it in the schools. The school that my son goes to is majority Indian, because of the area, but, you know, kids don't recognise colour, but, you know, it's different here. Some White people don't want their kids to go to school with Indian people. It's like it reminds me a lot of South Africa back in the day, but, you know, that's their culture. That's their society and coming from South Africa, you can see it is building into resentment and conflict down the line, and I think anyone who has experienced any sort of inequality in South Africa, will understand that sort of thing.

Mukesh's narrative reveals that negative sentiments towards foreigners of colour in the job industry is filtering down into other parts of society such as schools. Mukesh's son attends a school where most pupils are of 'Indian' descent as they live within the same area. Prejudicial attitudes towards 'Indians' are noticed as 'white' parents do not want their children to attend the same school as 'Indian' children. Mukesh indicates that such attitudes remind him of the blatant racial segregation during apartheid in South Africa (Terreblanche 2002). Although children do not see colour, their parents undoubtedly do, which is likely to influence how children will come to see and treat children of colour (Pillay 2015). Coming from a country that has a history of racial inequality, Mukesh can see the resentment build towards immigrants as they gain better work opportunities and become part of the society. He also reveals the resentment towards certain ethnic groups who want to build their own school.

Mukesh: When they set up their own school, it was an issue, because how can you have your own school? There's a lot of Catholic schools here. There's a lot of Christian schools. Our Muslim schools are going to bring terrorists because everyone is going to join Isis. Let them go to school and get educated, but, you know, it's just the mindset. The society besides being very privileged, they are also being narrow minded. Anything out of the normal terrifies the crap out of them, and unfortunately, that's why I say, somewhere along the line it's gonna come to a head where the Australian people start clashing with immigrants.

In this extract Mukesh exposes the religious antagonism within society. He articulates that Christianity is being privileged over other cultural forms as it is acceptable for there to be many Christian schools whereas there is hostility towards building Islamic schools. The intense opposition towards Muslims in Australia, was fuelled mainly by the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States which was instigated by an Islamic Extremist Group. After the events of 9/11 there was an intense anti-Muslim sentiment in the USA (Peek 2011). This event served to

construct and shape Islamophobia in the West. This anti-Muslim discourse has spread globally permeating how Western governments and their wider public respond to Muslims in their country (Javaid et al. 2022). There is a tendency to equate and label Muslims as terrorists, which discriminates, and marginalises this group (Ali 2017). For instance, Muslims in Australia and Britain are constructed as a 'suspect community' and are under constant surveillance by police and the wider public (Abbas 2019; Cherney and Murphy 2016).

Global politics are played out on a regional level in Australia. The scrutinization and targeting of the Muslim community is conveyed in the narrative above. Since Muslims are perceived as a threat to society the building of Muslim schools is conceived as a space which produces terrorists. The severe opposition towards building of infrastructure for the use of Muslims can be seen in the case of Bendigo. The Bendigo council received more than 350 objections to the building of the Mosque in the area. Demonstrations were also held to oppose the development of the mosque. These demonstrations portray the polarisation of the community. The Bendigo council eventually granted permission to the building of the Mosque and declared that it would have no negative social impact on society (Australian Associated Press 2016; Corsetti 2017). South Africans of Indian descent who identify with being Muslim could also be subjected to Islamophobia in Australia.

Although there is no evidence of Muslim schools in Australia breeding terrorist groups, the narrative of associating Islam with terrorism is still prevalent (Briskman 2015; Itaoui 2016; Wilson 2019). In addition, Muslim youth in Australia are socially constructed and labelled as 'a problem' and are perceived as vulnerable to becoming terrorists. Measures such as Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) policies and practices are pre-emptively initiated revealing the Islamophobic attitude displayed by the Australian government (Abdel-Fattah 2020). Thus, 'white' supremacism and extremism goes unchecked evidenced when there were no social repercussions or government interventions undertaken when an Australian 'white' supremacist gunned down worshippers at a Mosque in New Zealand (Hollingsworth 2019; Van Sant 2019; Wilson 2019). Although the Australian government condemned the act, there was no action taken to curb the problem. Rather than focusing on actual cases of terrorism across the population, the Australian government has targeted and demonised Muslim youth and have developed interventions to 'cure' this group of terrorism tendencies. There is a propensity to protect 'white' supremacy while minimising the visibility of 'white' supremacy.

Narratives in this study indicate that as immigrants spread their culture and integrate into society they are met with hostility from the mainstream Anglo-Celtic Christian population. There is a fear that their culture and 'white' Australian national identity is under threat. The notion that immigrants of colour are a threat to 'white' supremacy is also noted in United States, Canada, Britain, and New Zealand. The ideology of 'white' supremacy and the 'the great replacement' are linked to mass-shootings or violence in these countries and are targeted at people of colour. The 'great replacement' narrative which refers to the fear that 'whites' as an ethnically homogenous group is being replaced by non-Western people of colour leading to the inevitable extinction of the 'white' race. This conspiracy theory is reportedly becoming mainstream inciting and further fuelling racist attacks against immigrants by 'white' supremacists (Ekman 2022; Kestler-D'Amours 2022; Obaidi et al. 2021).

As the demographic characteristics of Australia change, the nation can no longer hold on to the ideology of immigrants 'fitting into' the dominant Anglo-Celtic Australian culture. Rather, there is a need to reconsider and re-evaluate what Australian national identity is so that an inclusive, non-racialised 'home' can be created for all. The policy emphasises cultural inclusivity and integration of immigrants. However, scholars argue that the multicultural policy is informed by the social and political history of 'white Australia' perpetuating a 'white' Australian identity. This policy also places an emphasis on culture as the instrument used for immigrants to 'fit into' Australia, while obscuring but not dislodging 'race' in defining the nation. Therefore, there is a continuation of a 'white' national identity in 'white' Australians lives (Koerner and Haggis n.d.). Since the multicultural policy does not adequately address a change in the formation of national identity, the 'white' Australian identity dominates.

## 6 Fluid and multiple notions of 'home' and identity

Thus far, this chapter has examined how various groups of people perceive South Africans of Indian descent. This section explores how South African Indians come to identify themselves and how they have reconceptualised 'home' while living in Australia. As South Africans of Indian descent integrate into the Australian society, they become familiar with the social structures. Furthermore, by creating social networks within the country and reconnecting to their old 'home', their conceptualisation of 'home' and identity become more fluid and multiple. Participants reveal the multiple sense of identity that they created in Australia. Some participants draw from South Africa, Australia, and India to convey who they are as these

cultures have influenced them in different ways. This can be seen in the way Jayshree describes her identity.

> Jayshree: …so now I have to say South African, Australian South African, Indian. We are Australian citizens…our ancestors of Indian descent so we half Indian descent…but born and raised in South Africa.

Participants draw their Indian identity from their ancestors who were of Indian descent. This indicates that their heritage and cultural influences that come from their generational lineage is important to them. Since identity is racialized in South Africa and generations of 'Indians' have come to reside in the same geographical space, the influence of previous generations is significant. Although living in South Africa has influenced their 'Indian' cultural identity in various ways, such has becoming predominately English speakers or including South African ingredients in their cuisine, the racialization of identity has made their 'Indian' identity more prominent in comparison to other identities they have. Therefore, in Australia, they become aware of their racialised 'Indian' identity that was constructed in South Africa. Being surrounded by Indians from India and other nationalities of Indian descent, they come to recognize how different they are from these other 'Indian' groups. Identifying as 'Indian' is merely their acknowledgment of the cultural influences that have been passed down to them as being South African is the most important identity for these participants as they use that identity to differentiate themselves from others.

Secondly, participants also acknowledge that in some respects they consider themselves as Australian. These participants focus on the comforts that they acquired in the Australian society as can be seen in the extract below.

> Jayshree: I consider Australia home in a sense that I'm really comfortable in Australia. I cannot see myself going back to South Africa living permanently. I think there are just so many opportunities here and I know that in my old age I'd be better cared for in terms of everything… in terms of my physical health, my overall wellbeing, I'll be more inclined to be treated better here in Australia than South Africa so and we've made a life for ourselves here in Australia.

Since participants feel 'comfortable' in Australia they are able to call it 'home' and attach their identity to being Australian. In this respect the structural aspects are important as they have created a life for themselves by engaging in society as they 'root' themselves in Australia by having stable jobs, a dwelling place to call 'home', better social services such as access to healthcare and aged care, and a safe environment for their children to grow-up in. Since the

government have given immigrants access to these institutions it has over time resulted in them becoming familiar with the environment and 'rooting' themselves in the society. Although participants do not extensively identify with Australia as a nation, they still confer feelings of haven as 'home' or feeling safe, cared for, and protected by the state (Blunt and Dowling 2006; Duyvendak 2011; Mallett 2004). Thus, the macro structures are significant in understanding 'home'. Since they are able to feel safe, protected and have a good quality of life in Australia, they are able to refer to Australia as 'home' and subsequently attach their identity to also being Australian.

However, although some participants consider Australia to be 'home' they firmly hold on to their South African identity. Being South African features predominantly in the narratives of participants which can be seen in the excerpts below.

> Jayshree: …South Africa is, is still part of me because I can't see me as being 'Australian Australian'. Because I was born and brought up in South Africa so there'll always be a part of me that will always be South African and it will, it will always be South African so we haven't given up our citizenship, so we've got dual citizenship, so we try to keep that so we still have that you know kind of sense of belonging to South Africa as well, and it's where my family is and I think that's you know was a foundation for me of a place that I was born, raised in. I got some you know like part of moral compass belongs in South Africa shaped me of who I am today so I'd never forget that…we'll have a part of South Africa no matter what the country does or what happens that once you are South African, that's spirit would be with you as part of your identity.

> Radha: But in saying that, I would like to say that South Africa will always have half of my heart because I was born there. My cultural reference, the way I behave, everything is South African. One of the first things I do when I meet people in Australia in the work environment or whatever, is make sure they understand I am from South Africa. It's my pet peeve if they assume I come from India. Straight away I will make sure, correct them, and say I am South African. Because that's, this is where my culture, this is what I am.

Being South African is intricately part of their identity. Since participants were born and raised in South Africa they were 'shaped' by the society that they were embedded in and it gave them a 'foundation', 'moral compass' and 'cultural reference' as to who they are. Since they are born and raised in South Africa and spent most of their formative years in the country, their biography is inextricably connected to the historical, political, social, and cultural aspects of that society, which has shaped them in many ways. Jayshree for instance says that "a part of me will always be South African", while Radha attributes her culture and behaviour to being

South Africa. Radha also makes a point of affirming her identity by telling people she meets that she is South African not Indian as she draws 'everything' from being South African. Since living in South Africa played a crucial role in shaping who they are, they have an attachment and 'sense of belonging' to South Africa.

In addition, Jayshree, for instance states that 'South Africa will always be part of me because I can't see me as being Australian Australian'. Since she draws her cultural identity from South Africa, her being and belonging is attached to the country. This is seen in opposition to the being and belonging to Australia. Even though these participants may live in Australia for a substantial period of time, they do not feel that they share the cultural identity of the nation. Although they admire some of the values, principals, and structures within Australia such as the perceived 'egalitarianism', 'work-life balance' and having good healthcare, as seen in chapter 7, their cultural identity is not seen as part of the Australian national identity. The dominate Anglo-Saxon Australian national identity stands in negation of the multicultural and inclusivist ideology propagated by the Australian state. This cultural domination marginalises other cultural forms and prevents immigrants from belonging in Australia. Since they do not feel like they belong in Australia, this indicates that the larger multicultural plan of integrating immigrants into society is based on integrating immigrants into the structural aspects of society.

The unemotional attachment to being citizens of Australia is conveyed as participants emphasize their dual citizenship. Dual citizenship is a way to retain their national identity as South Africans and to gain privileges that an Australian passport offers. Harpaz and Mateos (2019) indicate that there is a shift in the understanding of citizenship. Previously, citizenship referred to a sacred and emotional connection to the nation. This has changed as the second citizenship is now used as a strategy to secure benefits such as safe travel to third countries without needing a visa. This also represents an aspect of global inequality as Western nation-states are able to provide its citizens with more social and physical mobility compared to non-Western states (Harpaz and Mateos 2019).

Since national identity status is issued by the nation-states, it was important for most of the participants to retain their national identity by having dual citizenship. Although participants

acknowledge having Australian citizenship has allowed them to have more privileges,[85] there is a tendency to keep their South African citizenship as they still feel that they belong in South Africa and have a deep-rooted connection to the nation. For instance, Jayshree does see herself or feel truly Australian as she can relate to being Australian in only some ways. The sentiment of not truly belonging in Australia is also shared by other participants.

> Keshan:   I think you can never; as a migrant you can never really be completely part of that society because we know what it is like growing up somewhere else and you are always sort of nostalgic for a particular time period, family, and friends.

> Kesi: I'm not sure if I belong in Australia but I live in Australia…Maybe because I wasn't born here. I don't know, I don't know, maybe because I'm born there. And then again, I spent twenty-nine years of my life... twenty-nine years of the best part of my life there. Not to say the second part is not the best part of my life, the next chapter, I wasn't married then and everything that was... I can remember back in South Africa as being a good life. So, I suppose maybe it's because we were born there.

These excerpts show that belonging is also attached to one's memory of the country that one is born and raised in that provides 'nostalgic' feelings for a 'particular time period, family, and friends'. Thus, it is the memories of the place and people that they were attached to in their past that provide them with a sense of belonging. Kesi also says that he remembers having a 'good life' in South Africa and the 'best part of his life was there' despite the atrocities of apartheid. Kesi seems to struggle with articulating where he belongs. He indicates that he does not belong in Australia, rather he lives in Australia. Although Kesi has spent thirty-six years of his life in Australia, compared to the twenty-nine he spent in South Africa, he still does not feel that he belongs in Australia, which indicates that length of time in a country does not necessarily indicate that one belongs or identifies with the country. This suggests that although familiarity is important to feeling at 'home', "familiarity in itself is insufficient to feel at home" (Duyvendak 2011:40). Rather he attributes his belonging to being born and raised in South Africa or being part of a shared collective history to which his biography is attached. Siva shares the same sentiments as Kesi as can be seen in the narrative below.

> Subashini:  Why don't you feel like you belong in Australia after living there for so long?
> Siva:  I don't know, I just feel it's not, it can never be my country.  I don't think that I've spent sufficient time in this country too… thirteen years is not a long time.  So maybe that's the reason, it's just my memories are back home. When I think about what

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[85] Such as having a passport that will allow them access to travel to many countries without having to obtain a visa.

we did back home compared to here, it's not the same. You don't have that passion or that loyalty, or something that you would have back home. Because we were born and grew up there and I think of my schooling days, and I think of my friends, and I think of families and so on. I think it's that maybe the reason why I just don't feel that Australia is my home. I mean I am just here to live here.

Siva provides more detail as to why there is no feeling of belonging to Australia. Although Siva lived in Australia for thirteen years, his 'memories are back home' in South Africa. Like other participants he mentions being born and growing up in South Africa, but he takes it further by linking his memories to specific times such as 'schooling days', and people 'friends' and 'family'. Mallett (2004:70) states that "home and memory is complex and fluid and must take account of the significance of home experiences and memories at various stages of the life cycle and in varying kinship and household configurations". Since most participants come from close-knit families and community structures their attachment to their family, community, and therefore the country is strong. Being socialized into South African society and having deep and multiple social networks with friends, family and community has provided them with a sense of belonging. The memories of their life in South Africa were such that many bonding networks were formed that attached them to society which gave them a sense of belonging and identity. Both Kesi and Siva indicate that they do not feel like they belong in Australia, rather they 'live' in Australia which suggests that, although they might integrate into the structures of society and form social networks with other South Africans and migrants from other nationalities, it is not enough to belong in the country. Since social ties with the dominant Australian population are weak, as deduced in this and previous chapters, they do not have the same relationship that they had with the society that they left behind. As there are no family and friends present and the wider community acceptance/socialization/community building is weak, there are no feelings of belonging created. This suggests that along with legal and economic integration, community integration is also important for immigrants to feel a sense of belonging and a sense of 'community as home'. Thus, some participants indicate that they will always identify with being and belonging to South Africa, while those who do integrate to Australia in some ways also have attached their 'heart' to South Africa. This is shown in the extracts below.

> Siva: I'm definitely not Australian by heart. I think I just don't have it, if anyone asks me what I am, I say I am South African.

> Kesi: …home it's where your heart is I suppose. Where your heart is... is where your home is although your heart is still there, as much as we don't want to live

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there...because of the circumstances...and because the lifestyle is good here, the quality of life, I suppose you have to weigh everything up you'd say the quality of life over here is actually very good, so and we're still attached to it from the heart strings...I think we have...home at the end of the day has to be where I settle down. Where I've nurtured and lived and brought up my children and that whole environment is the place where I work, the place where I live, that's home, in a country I suppose I decided to live in has to be my home although my heart is not the same place. But this is after thirty-six years, I suppose I have to somewhat call this home.

Radha: So, I'm still very attached to South Africa. I'm still, South Africa is still my home. Half my heart I would say is there. I think if you speak to my sons, they may tell you something else.

Logan: I must say Australia is starting to feel a lot more and more like home. You know, our heart will always be in South Africa, because of the connection, because you never forget your country of birth. The shared history, a lot of those things, so, but Australia is starting to, the familiarity is starting to come in.

An overwhelming majority of participants indicated that their relationship to South Africa is connected to their 'heart'. The phrases used to describe their 'heart' connection to South Africa, such as 'home it's where your heart is', 'half my heart…is there', 'our heart will always be in South Africa', indicates an emotional connection to South Africa. Mallett (2004:82) indicates that "heart refers to a loving supportive, secure and stable environment that provides emotional and physical wellbeing". With regards to South Africans of Indian descent the love and support provided by family, friends and community is important as it contributes to creating a secure and stable environment in which they are able to express their identity. Thus, for these migrants, their 'home' will be where their family members reside. Although in this study most South Africans of Indian descent migrated with the nuclear family, it is the memories shared with their extended family, friends and community that was important in the creation of 'home', thus they have a deep attachment to South Africa and prefer to call South Africa 'home'.

Therefore, although Kesi alludes to the fact that Australia has provided him with a good quality of life and it is the place where he chose to live, work, settle down with his family, his 'heart is still there' in South Africa, indicating that he still has an emotional attachment to South Africa. Similarly, Ralph (2009) researching Irish-born returnees from the US indicated that the migration experience has caused 'home' to be conceptualised in ambivalent ways. The study showed that expatriates perceived 'home' to be a place where one grew up and associated with childhood memories but having spent time and invested in career development and family commitments 'home' was also associated with the US. Liu and Gallois (2022:465) researching older Chinese in New-Zealand also point out that "immigrants neither leave their place of

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origin behind nor totally embrace their new home in the settlement country". This sentiment is also conveyed by the participants in this study, which reveals the complexity in which they come to understand 'home'.

It is assumed that the place where one is physically 'rooted' is one's home, yet the 'heart' or emotional connection to South Africa as a community and nation which participants identify with, is equally significant. Australia might be 'home' in certain ways as they have settled down in the country, South Africa will always be 'home' in other ways as their 'heart is there'. Thus, 'home' is not fixed to a specific geographic place, or a single entity, rather 'home' is multiple and fluid. This can also be shown in the extract below.

> Kerisha:    I think home is – not to make is sound like a cliché but home is where the heart is, a home is where your people are, but who your people are is not necessarily only your family, it can be your friends that you are close to or whoever you define your family at that time….Um, I think, I remember once when I was in Melbourne, thinking I have got so many home places to call 'home', there has been my parents' home in Johannesburg, my apartment in Brisbane, the apartment I was staying at in Melbourne and my families' home, and my uncle's home in Melbourne too.  Where all the places I had to call home in that moment and I think all of those places had something, Um…or some sense of family to me. In Melbourne it was my uncle and his family, and the friends that I had made there.  In Brisbane it was my circle of friends and in Johannesburg it was my immediate family.

Like other participants, Kerisha also uses the 'heart' to describe 'home'. Although some participants use 'heart' to signify their relationship with South Africa and their family and community there, Kerisha uses it to describe the multiple ways she is attached to family and friends who reside in many places. 'Home' are the places that are imbued with a 'sense of family' and friendship. Kerisha, who lived a mobile life in Australia, equates 'home' to the close relationships that she has fostered in the many places that she had been to. Therefore, positive relationships are important as it fosters companionship, caring and being socially connected, which also means that one's identity is also fostered through these social interactions.

In addition, 'home' is also considered to be a place or multiple places in which you are able to express yourself and be yourself, as depicted in the excerpts below.

> Keshnie: As cliché as it sounds home is where your heart is, yeah and it's a place where you create, you know, it's when your spirit feels free, you're living, you're being happy, you're fulfilled, you have a sense of belonging and I think you're in alignment with

your values and your beliefs, it's your safe harbour and your space where you find peace…you're the most authentic version of yourself.

Keshan:   So, home I think it does not have to be a particular place. It can be any place in the world where you feel comfortable, and you feel accepted by the people and where you feel that this is the place where you can nurture other people and you yourself can receive some of that back as well. You are not really stuck to one particular geographical place. That is my view on it yeah.

Subashini:   So, would you say like Australia is now your home because you feel like you belong here, you have given… You can use your talents in Australia?

Keshan:   Yeah, I think because of the nature of the service that I have done in the public hospital for the defence force I feel I have been of service with the community therefore I have more roots, I have like a valid reason for speaking my mind…

Participants discuss being able to be their 'most authentic version of yourself' in a place where they feel 'home'. This expresses the both the idea of 'home as heaven' as they are able to freely express themselves in public and feel connected (Duyvendak 2011) and 'home as hearth' as they ground or anchor their identity (Blunt and Dowling 2006). Thus, 'home' is linked to identity. 'Home' needs to be a place/s where one can feel safe enough to express and practice their values, beliefs and creativity without oppression or persecution. 'Home' is a place where one is accepted for who they are and is able to impact the social world. For instance, in Keshan's case, being of service to his community has allowed him to be part of his community which has given him the validation to speak freely about issues that are of concern to him. Therefore, the social interaction between oneself and the social world is important in creating a sense of 'home'. For participants residing in Australia, it was important for them to create 'heaven' by forming and sustaining transnational social networks with family and friends in South Africa and elsewhere as well as bonding networks with South Africans of Indian descent in Australia as it served as a space in which they can freely practice their culture and be themselves. Being able to be free in place and in community with others is what makes 'home'. Thus, finding places where one belongs is about creating haven, heaven, hearth, and heart as 'home' which allows one a safe place where one can form deep connections and be in community with others so that they can freely express their identity which allows them to feel grounded. Furthermore, the transnationality of social relationships has allowed for 'home' to travel to distance places as social interactions with significant people are virtually maintained, thus 'home' also resides in feelings and emotions towards others, which does not necessarily need to be place specific. Hearth as 'home', or the grounding of identity, is attached to many places and non-places.

This makes the creation of 'home' and the expression of identity mutually constitutive. Social relationships in places, or micro-interactions, need to be cordial in order to be able to express oneself which creates feelings of 'home' in that place. Places also need to feel safe. For instance, as immigrants enter the new social environment, they need to be able to feel accepted for who they are, be able to express themselves and impact their social world in order for them to be able to freely be themselves. In addition, being able to reconnect to family and friends allows for feelings of 'home' to emerge virtually, such that 'home' is a creation of the mind and not place bound. Thus, both South Africa and Australia can be 'home' in different ways, in different times, in different places for different participants. Therefore, the creation of 'home' and the ability to express oneself is fluid and multiple and in relation to the social interactions and social environments that participants find themselves in, be it South Africa, Australia, or the virtual transnational space.

Of importance is the social relationships that have been fostered with family, friends and community in South Africa which allowed participants to be themselves in the places where these social interactions take place. These memories foster feelings of 'home' to South Africa while participants are in Australia. In Australia, it is the structural environment that allows for their integration into society as well as the creation of friendship networks that propagates cultural values, beliefs and practices that creates a sense of 'home'. In addition, transnational communication has allowed for participants to create social networks to reconnect with family and friends in the South African 'home'. Thus the 'tyranny of distance' is eliminated as virtual communication has allowed the social interaction of people and thus the expression of self which does not necessary link to any particular place.

## 7 Conclusion

Narratives of participants reveal that various groups in Australia find it difficult to comprehend the identity of South Africans of Indian descent. There is a tendency to racialize South African Indians and attach their identity to the place that their ancestors originated from rather than understand and acknowledge the identity that they find most important in describing themselves which is their identity of being South African. It is seen as inconceivable that 'Indians' live in South Africa or Africa. Therefore, there is a misconception that one's 'race' is linked to a geographical location, such that all people who look 'Indian' automatically attach their national identity and belonging to India, and all those who look 'black' are from South Africa or Africa. Thus, there is a tendency to fit South African Indians into their preconceived

boxes rather than understand who they are. Participants in this study challenge these preconceived notions as they reverse the power dynamics by challenging the pervasive normalcy of 'whiteness' which privileges 'whites' without questioning their identity.

Although some participants state that they have favourable relations with Indian nationals, some Indians see South African Indians as pariahs or outcasts, as they are not 'pure Indians'. Furthermore, South Africans of Indian descent are historically categorised as 'Indian' in South Africa and come to see themselves as such, however in Australia it is difficult to assume an Indian identity as they are not citizens of India, they do not speak an Indian language, they do not live in India nor do they have the same mannerism, dress code, and their religion and culture have also transformed over the years living in South Africa. This shows the fluidity of identity as they are able to be 'Indian' in South Africa, but in relation to Indian nationals they are not Indian as they do not have a national or cultural identity as those of Indian nationality.

In some cases, the relationship between South Africans of Indian descent and 'white' South Africans are constrained. South African Indians have observed that older 'whites' that have migrated to Australia, tend to still exhibit racist attitudes towards them. Their ability to interact with 'whites' is marred by prejudicial attitudes that they observe from social media or their interactions that they have with their fellow South Africans. South Africans Indians find it unbecoming that 'white' South Africans can still hold such prejudiced views of 'blacks' and 'Indians' when they have migrated to a new country. Thus, South African Indians are caught between being misrecognised by Australians and other migrant groups, excluded by Indian nationals and racialised and prejudiced by 'white' South Africans. Thus, South Africans of Indian descent tend to find solace, comfort and belonging within their 'own' group, although they might have friendships with other cultural groups.

In addition, although Australia is perceived as a country of social and economic equality, overt and especially covert racism are still experienced in public and the workplace which constrain the economic mobility of people of colour as they are excluded from occupying positions of power in an environment that promotes and defends 'white' cultural and institutional domination. Racism hidden in words, phrases, gestures, and body language is subject to interpretation which makes it difficult to expose and address. Culture is also conceptualised as fixed and immutable, instead of porous and open, thus homogenising people into racial groups. Commenting on foreign cultural incompatibility to Australian society is seen as a more

acceptable way to denounce foreigners rather than using 'race' which absolves 'whites' from their prejudicial behaviour. There is a tendency to hold on to 'white' domination as there is a fear that their culture and privilege is being superseded by immigrants of colour.  As the cultural landscape changes, the nation can no longer cling to the ideology of foreigners 'fitting into' the dominant Anglo-Celtic culture. Rather, there is a need to reconsider and re-evaluate Australian national identity so that an inclusive, non-racialised 'home' can be created for all.

South Africans of Indian descent come to carve a 'home' for themselves in a society that recognises that foreign skills assist in economic growth and thus the overall stability of the country, but at the same time is hostile to immigrants. South Africans living in Australia embrace multiple identities and provide reasons as to way they see themselves as South African, Indian, and Australian all at the same time. They refer to themselves as Indian in recognition of their connection to past generations and to their ancestral 'home'. Their Australian identity is derived from integrating into the structural aspects of society and building a life for themselves and their family. The South African identity is the most prominent identity as it is imbued with the place that they are historically and socially connected to which formed a foundation as to who they are. Although they consider Australia to be 'haven' and 'heaven', their 'heart' is still in South Africa as it is the place where their family, friends and community reside. Thus, there is a tendency to sustain transnational social relations which becomes significant in creating a sense of 'home' through virtual means. Therefore, for South Africans of Indian descent their identity is multiple, and 'home' becomes fluid places and non-places as they create and sustain relationships of the 'heart' in Australia, South Africa and through the virtual sphere.

**Chapter Ten**

**Conclusion**

## 1 Introduction

The rationale behind this research was to understand the migratory and settlement experiences of South Africans of Indian descent in Australia. As the scholarship on the migration of South Africans of Indian descent is limited with regard to their experiences of transnationalism, identity, and notions of 'home', this study aimed to fill these gaps in the literature. This chapter elucidates the key findings of this research.

## 2 Discussion of Findings

The aim of this study was to understand how South Africans of Indian descent attempt to settle in Australia, reconfigure their sense of 'home' and identity while still being attached to South Africa. Narrative constructionism was seen as the most appropriate theory to provide a holistic account of participants' experiences. The theory brings together temporal and spatial dimensions such that past events in place is examined to understand their thoughts, actions, and social relations (Somers and Gibson 1994). Thus, by situating people in the society they have come from we are able to understand how the history of that society has influenced their biography which gives us an understanding of their intentions, actions, and discourses they are imbued in. In addition, understanding the history of the society they are migrating to is also imperative in order to understand how the host society responds to foreign migration. Therefore, it was critical to do an in-depth literature review on South Africans of Indian descent and the country that they are embedded in, as it provides knowledge of how society at that time has contributed to shaping the identity of South Africans of Indian descent. Additionally, it gives us some details as to their motivation to migrate.

The literature expounded that South Africa Indians encountered varying degrees of prejudice, oppression, and discrimination from the time the first Indian indentured labourers disembarked at the Natal port to the present day (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000; Pillay 2014). South Africans of Indian descent were oppressed by the colonialist, union, and apartheid governments, with numerous laws slated against them to prevent their economic mobility in the country. They were racially defined and categorised as 'Indian', although they are a heterogenous group of people, with inequitable treatment met out based on this identity (John-Naidu 2005; Pillay

2015; Vahed and Desai 2010). Despite the prejudice and persecution, they actively created a 'home' for themselves in the country. It was oppressive policies and the racialisation of their identity that fostered the construction of an 'Indian' community which made them 'feel at home' as they built solidarity and unity within these communities through the decades of oppression (Landy et al. 2004). They created a 'home' by practicing their culture within these communities and over time these aspects transformed as they drew on western cultural forms (Cooppan and Lazarus 1956). Thus, South African Indians became cultural hybrids and a unique cultural entity in South Africa, different from Indian nationals.

Democratic South Africa is still imbued with 'race' thinking and autochthony which constructs South African Indians in racial terms and questions their belonging in the country although generations of South African Indians have lived in the country for over a century and a half (Pillay 2014). When South Africa became a democratic society in 1994, its policies towards economic and social redress such as AA and BBBEE were still 'race-based', which had the unintended consequence of disadvantaging the poor in the country and creating tension between 'race' groups (Singh 2006). South Africans of Indian descent see themselves in a disadvantaged position both in the past and present, as apartheid and the democratic government have marginalised them based on their 'race'. As the current government still promulgates 'race-thinking' and othering, it creates racial tensions. The economic and social deprivation that South African Indians experienced has resulted in a recent surge in the number of people migrating to developed countries such as Australia.

Australia and South Africa were both founded on the same ideology of white superiority and cultural domination that rendered Indigenous groups and non-European migration groups as inferior. This false ideology which was advanced by pseudo-race science gave white colonists the power to subjugate, discriminate and oppress people of colour (Smedley and Smedley 2005). In Australia discriminatory laws were propagated towards Asians under the White Australia Policy. Australia abandoned its White Australia Policy by 1973 in favour of a multicultural policy in which equality for all is said to be promoted (Gershevitch 2010). It began to accept immigrants from all parts of the world, including South Africa.

Australia continues to be strategic in its migration policy by implementing the Migration Program which sets out to filter the best persons with relevant skills that Australia needs by using the Medium to Long-Term Strategic Skills List (MTLSSL) and the skills test. In addition, the Migration Program Planning sets a ceiling as to the number of permanent residences that

Australia can take per year. Migration in Australia is categorised into three streams, namely, Skill Stream, Family Stream, and Special Eligibility; with the Skill Stream being the most important as these migrants contribute to eradicating the skills shortage so that Australia can be economically competitive (Spinks 2010).

There is a history of migration of South African Indians to Australia dating back to 1966 (Wasserman 2016). Although Australia is a multicultural country that actively promotes equality for all, it still struggles with how to establish a national identity in a culturally diverse society which tends to favour the assimilation of migrants into the dominant 'Anglo-Celtic' culture which can be seen as oppressive to minority and ethnic groups (Forrest and Dunn 2007; Richards 2008). In addition, there are varying degrees of anti-African, anti-Islamic, anti-Asian, anti-Jewish, anti-refugee and asylum seeker sentiment in Australia and Islamophobia and 'white' supremacist movements are on the rise (Baas 2015; Dunn et al. 2004; Forrest and Dunn 2007; Itaoui 2016; Ramsay 2017; Rashid 2007).

South Africa has been 'home' to South Africans of Indian descent for more than a century. Although South African Indians faced much discrimination, South Africa remains the only 'home' they know. Moving from their 'home', which is both democratic and racialised, to Australia a multicultural country that is still debating their national identity and has various forms of prejudices, it was unknown how South Africans of Indian descent come to construct their identity and (re)create 'home' in a transnational setting. It is this tension that this research aimed to understand.

The narratives composed by participants has taken me on a journey of understanding their own migration path, from their motivation to migrate, their initial and long-term settlement experiences, how they understand the new society, their identity and notions of 'home' and their relationship to their old 'home'. Previous studies as well as participants stories are engulfed with political and social reasons for migration such as the oppressive apartheid system, dissatisfaction with the present government in the administering of BBBEE and AA targets that are set to remedy the injustices of the past but is now perceived to marginalise South African Indians (Jagganath 2014; Singh 2006). In addition, experiences of crime, fear of being a victim of crime as well as a lack of adequate social services such as healthcare also features as the reasons to migrate (Arnold and Lewinsohn 2010; Crush et al. 2014; Rule 1994). However, narratives presented by South Africans of Indian descent included another dimension that has been not thoroughly interrogated before. There is a host of negative elements that have

combined to motivate their migration; however, the fear is not their own experiences of disadvantage, but participants fear that their children would not have a future in the country. Although political and social issues are underlying factors as to why they choose to migrate, the primary reason as to why most participants left was that they feared that their children would have no future in the country as they would be limited in terms of education and career opportunities and there is a fear that their children, especially daughters, will be victims of crime. Although a few studies mentioned that migrating for the future of their children is important (Crush et al. 2014; Rule 1994), this research establishes that for most participants in this research this is the most important reason for migrating, thus patterns of migration take the form of family migration with the entire nuclear family migrating. Thus, participants are strategic in planning their migration journey to Australia as they need to be financially stable so that they can settle their children into the country with ease. Most participants leave South Africa with the intention of a permanent settlement in Australia.

Secondly, it was assumed that since both South Africa and Australia share certain similarities such as having English as the lingua franca, similar climate, and physical structures that participants would find it easy to integrate into society (Louw and Mersham 2001). However, most participants found it difficult to initially adapt to the Australian lifestyle as they missed the communal lifestyle that they had come from. Participants indicated that they needed to learn the rules and regulations of society and establish themselves all over again. In addition, South Africans of Indian descent had taken for granted certain aspects of the South African society, such as the low cost of hiring domestic workers and gardeners. In Australia, the cost of labour is expensive which made it expensive to hire household assistants as compared to South Africa. Therefore, household duties were reconfigured such that men and children were also required to participate in household chores. Furthermore, for some participants it was initially difficult to acquire employment in their field of expertise thus, they had to take lower skilled paid work until another opportunity presented itself. Participants also indicated that they needed to relocate to a new state or retrain to upgrade their qualifications or retrain in a new profession to enable them to have better work opportunities. For some, it was hard to break into certain sectors of the labour market as networks were 'closed' to newcomers thus, there was a need to move into another profession. Over time, participants, as permanent residents, indicated that they were able to integrate into the social structures of society and gain access to good healthcare and educational opportunities for their children. The environment that they

live in is also safer compared to South Africa which enabled them to engage in more outdoor activities and allowed them to feel safer in their new 'home'.

Another key finding is that although South Africans can adapt to the social structures over time, it was difficult to adjust to the Australian culture as the individualistic western culture was perceived as unwelcoming compared to the communal culture that they were used to in South Africa. The ideology of integration policy as practiced in Australia focuses more on the structural integration of immigrants. As such it does not take an active stance in encouraging the host population to take an interest and actively engage in understanding and incorporating immigrant communities into host society. The onus is on the immigrate to engage with civic society. This form of integration often neglects the host public's response and attitudes towards immigrants and how this shapes immigrant's experiences and adaptation in the host country. By not asking the public to engage with immigrants causes divisions and isolation of immigrant communities. Scholars advocate for integration to be a two-way process where both the host state and public are both open and accepting of migrant's culture and migrants also work towards understanding the host country and play an active part as citizens of the country (Ager and Strang 2008; Klarenbeek 2021).

Since the host public of Australia was not particularly receptive of South Africans of Indian descent, the immigrants tended to replicate the social and family system that they had in their old 'home'. Forming 'friends are like family' networks have enabled them to create a 'sense of community' and thus a 'sense of home'. Bonding networks needed to be established with fellow South Africans and bridging networks enabled them to receive and give advice to other foreign migrants in Australia (Knight et al. 2017; Ryan 2011). These networks have allowed for South Africans to integrate into society as they have actively created a community for themselves so that a sense of belonging and 'home' can be fulfilled. Through these networks their culture, and identity are expressed as South Africans of Indian descent get together and enjoy aspects of their old 'home', in particular the food, music, games played and most important the sharing of memories of South Africa. Although South Africans of Indian descent can integrate into the structures of society, this does not mean that they have fully integrated into society. More attention needs given to the integration of migrants into the community they live in and the reactions that locals have towards foreigners. Thus, the host country's treatment of foreigners of colour are also important in understanding the integration experience.

Furthermore, South Africans of Indian descent establish and sustain dense transnational networks with family in South Africa. This enables them to cope with the emotional fall out of migration as they still can communicate with family by virtual means. Through these transnational networks emotional care and advice is conveyed which allows those both in Australia and South Africa to feel a sense of comfort as they can still be there for family and retain that connection albeit from a distance. This also allows migrants to integrate into society as care and advice is transported through these networks which assists them in making informed decisions in Australia and helps in their settlement process. Thus, transnational networks enable integration into the host society. This shows that these participants are able to simultaneously adapt to Australia's social structures and establish deep-rooted and extensive transnational networks with South Africa. This suggests that the process of integration and transnationalism can occur concurrently (Basch et al. 1994; Tsuda 2012).

An important research question revolved around the construction of identity of South Africans of Indian descent in Australia. Originating from a country where they are racialised as 'Indian' and going to a multicultural country, it was important to know how South Africans of Indian descent come to identify themselves in relation to Australians and other nationalities, especially Indian nationals. As South African Indians come to interact with Australians and other foreigners, their identity is extensively questioned. Participants' narratives reveal that they take offense to people questioning their identity and linking their identity to being Indian. Although in South Africa they are racially constructed as 'Indian' and come to see themselves as such, in Australia their physical appearance presumed that they are from India, though they unequivocally stated that they are South African. This unearths a taken for granted idea that 'race' groups are geographical confined to certain territories, such that all people who look 'Indian' can only be from and belong to the country of India. Thus, in Australia the identity of South Africans of Indian descent is racialised as their belonging and identity is equated to India and not South Africa the place that they feel is their 'home' country. Even though South Africans of Indian descent reiterate their belonging to South Africa, their South African identity is readily dismissed as people perceive that only 'black' people are from Africa, thus these migrants cannot be from South Africa as they do not look 'black'. Thus, it is apparent that a public narrative sustaining the perception of a geography of 'race' exists, such that all people who look 'Indian' are from and belong to the country India. South Africans of Indian descent take an active stance in dismantling this erroneous thinking by challenging others who take issue with their identity. They tend to challenge those of European descent, as being 'white' in

Australia is not questioned (Sue 2006), by interrogating their sense of belonging to place. It is seen as taken for granted that 'white' people of European descent can easily belong to the country that their ancestors have conquered and colonised, however people of colour are interrogated as to where their 'home' is although there is a long history of their migration. This also indicates that European history dominates this so-called multicultural society, marginalising the history of people of colour. Thus, knowledge of other cultural groups is sidelined in favour of European history. Therefore, it can be argued that Australia is still dominated by Eurocentric thinking, although there is a claim that is it a multicultural country with all cultural groups sharing an equal standing within society.

Another key finding relates to the relationship between South Africans of Indian descent and Indian nationals. South Africans of Indian descent have come to be homogenised into a single racialised identity of 'Indian'. Thus, there is a presumption that South Africans of Indian descent are an Indian diaspora with strong connections to the Indian subcontinent (Pillay 2014; Vahed and Desai 2017). However, participants reveal that through their interaction with Indian nationals they can no longer identify as 'Indian' in Australia as they do not share the same language, citizenship, they are not born and do not live in India and some of their values and viewpoints have changed whilst living in South Africa. Since they can no longer see themselves as 'Indians', they tend to associate more with their South African identity and dissociate with their 'Indian' identity. It is through these interactions we are able to understand the fluidity of identity.

In Australia, there is also tension between South African Indians and 'white' South Africans. Although some participants indicate that they get along with all South Africans, participants do mention that the racism and race-thinking experienced in South Africa is still prevalent in Australia when they interact with 'white' South Africans on social media or in public. Although, there are Facebook groups that encourage the interaction of the South African community, racism experienced dissuades the social cohesion and unification of the South African community.

The social interaction between South African Indians and Australians indicates that covert racism, institutional racism, and cultural racism is experienced in Australia. Since more overt acts of racism, such as violence against people of colour, is frowned upon in Australia, covert acts of racism have begun to replace overt racism (Nelson 2013; Sue 2006). Covert racism includes derogatory verbal and non-verbal communication towards people of colour (Nkrumah

2021). Furthermore, since non-verbal racism is subjective it is difficult to render it an act of racism thus, these acts of racism is hidden and goes unchecked which perpetuates the problem of racism towards people of colour (Sue et al. 2007). In addition, certain words or phrases are marked to conceal racism. For instance, the word 'bully' is used to hide incidents of racism in the workplace, thus the insidiousness of racism is veiled.

The ethics of working hard comes from the generational oppression of South Africans of Indian descent. Their hard work ethic in South Africa stems from the prejudice and discrimination in South Africa such that they had to work that much harder to be economically stable. In the democratic South Africa, policies that are created to remedy past injustices are perceived to marginalise the economic aspirations of South African Indians, such that promotions are limited. In Australia, this 'work-hard' work ethic is rewarded as South Africans of Indian descent are able to be promoted and move up the economic ladder. However, participants also speak of the 'glass ceiling' as senior management positions come to be dominated by mainly 'white' Australians. Although Australia is a multicultural country, economic domination, and decision-making lie in the hands of 'white' Australians, thus institutionalising racism by marginalising people of colour in senior management positions and in decision-making.

Furthermore, cultural racism disguises racism by alluding to the incompatibility of cultures as the reason for workplace and public misunderstandings. Since culture is fluid and porous it is able to amalgamate with other cultural forms to form new cultural practices that can be respectful and inclusive to all. However, conceiving of culture as fixed and immutable, rather than fluid and porous, is a way of cloaking racism in cultural terms. Thus, alluding to cultural dissonance hides that the colour of one's skin or being foreigners of colour is the real grievance towards people of colour. Since it is unbecoming to be seen as racist, culture is used as a substitute for racism, masking racist attitudes and actions in the workplace and in public. It was also noted that there is an intrinsic fear that other cultures will come to dominate, which would undermine the dominance of the 'Anglo-Celtic' culture.

Taking these findings into regard, the question arises of how South Africans of Indian descent come to identify themselves and create a sense of 'home' in Australia while firmly attached to South Africa. South Africans of Indian descent use three identities to describe their affinity to people and place. They describe themselves as South African born, living in Australia, with ancestral connections to India. These three identifications are important to them. India was chosen as it conveys their ancestral 'home', and it is seen as the roots of their cultural and

religious practices. Australia has become important as they have integrated into the social structures of society, such that they feel safe in the environment and are content that their children had educational and career opportunities in the country. However, South Africa remains the place that they associate with and identify with the most in comparison to other identities. Although, South Africans of Indian descent have mentioned the many reasons for leaving the country, their 'heart' still resides in South Africa, as their key years of socialisation was spent in the country, they had formed deep-rooted social networks that have lasted for years, some to this day, they have close-knit family and community structures such that they feel at 'home' when they visit the country. Some participants indicated that if it were not for the degradation of the structures of society, they would not have left, stating that "Why would one leave one's family and community and start again in a new society?" South Africans of Indian descent do not conceive of themselves as truly Australian or 'Australian Australian' as they are unable to form a meaningful connection with the Australian society. Thus, Australia is perceived as a place they 'live in' that offers the haven and hearth aspects of 'home' that they could not receive in South Africa. Whereas South Africa will always have their 'heart' as a place that they find a belonging to society. Therefore, the identity and sense of 'home' for South Africans of Indian descent are fluid, multiple and can change over time as people socially interact with different groups in Australia, while retaining their memories and connection to South Africa.

**3 Conclusion**

As scholarship on the migration of South Africans of Indian descent is sparse, this research set out to understand the transnationality, identity, and notions of 'home' of South Africans of Indian descent as they settle in Australia while having strong ties to South Africa. The research findings have contributed significantly to the body of literature by understanding their identity and notions of 'home' as transnational migrants. Of importance, is the idea that both South Africa and Australia can be 'home' in different ways, in different times, in different places for different participants. Therefore, the creation of 'home' and the ability to express oneself is fluid and multiple and in relation to the social interactions and social environments that participants find themselves in, be it South Africa, Australia, or the virtual transnational space.

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**Appendix**

*Figure 3: Arrival Year and Gender of South African Indians to Australia*

**Arrival Year and Gender of South African Indians**

| | Arrived 1966-1975 | | Arrived 1976-1985 | | Arrived 1986-1995 | | Arrived 1996-2005 | | Arrived 2006-2015 | | Arrived 1 Jan 2016 - 9 August 2016 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| | 54 | 42 | 326 | 301 | 455 | 496 | 1117 | 1111 | 999 | 1063 | 35 | 49 |
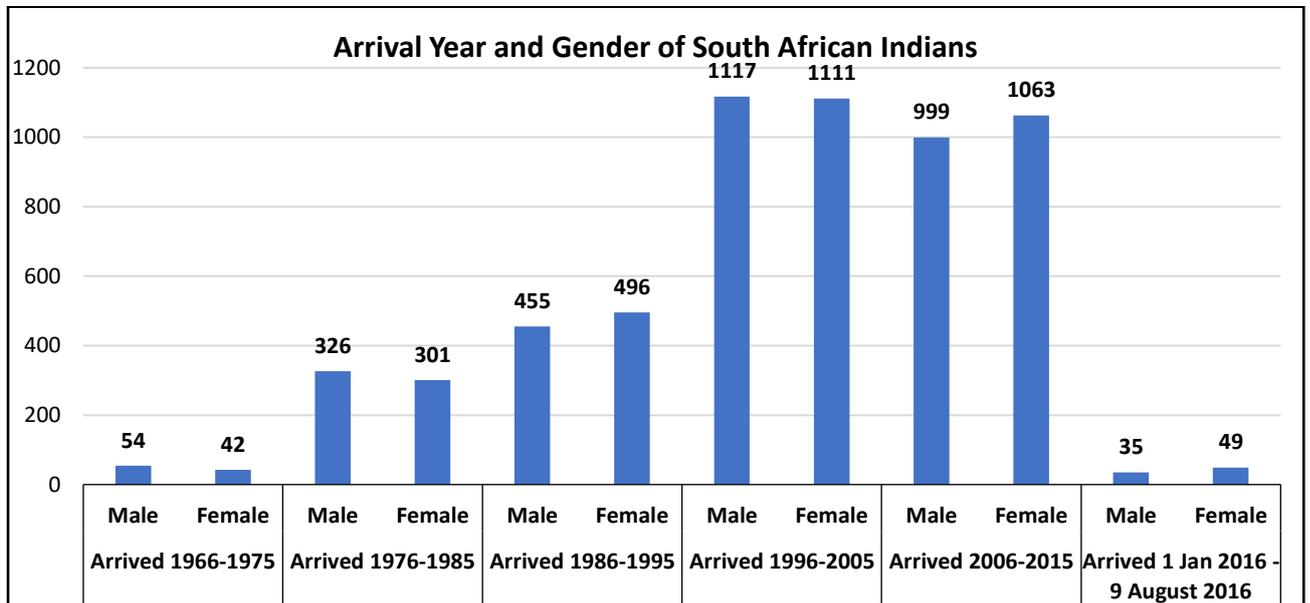
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

*Figure 4: Gender of South African Indians in Australia*

**Gender of South African Indians in Australia**

| | Value |
|---|---|
| Male | 3025 |
| Female | 3123 |
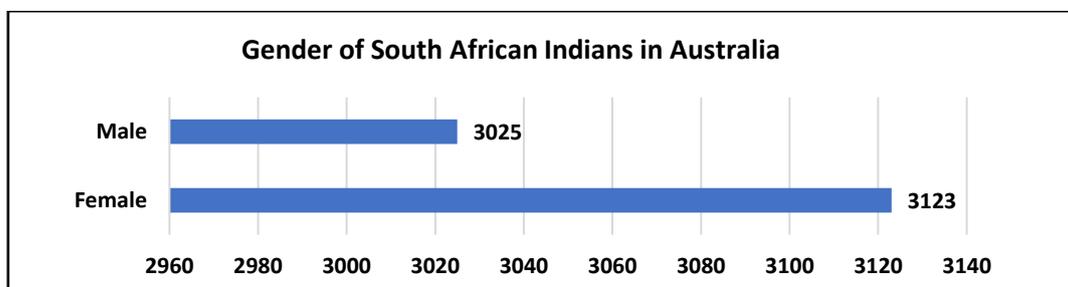
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

**Figure 5: Age of South African Indians in Australia**

**Age of South African Indians in Australia**

| Age | Value |
|-----|-------|
| 0-9 years | 167 |
| 10-19 years | 679 |
| 20-29 years | 940 |
| 30-39 years | 946 |
| 40-49 years | 1271 |
| 50-59 years | 1104 |
| 60-69 years | 673 |
| 70-79 years | 294 |
| 80-89 years | 69 |
| 90-99 years | |
| 100 years and over | |
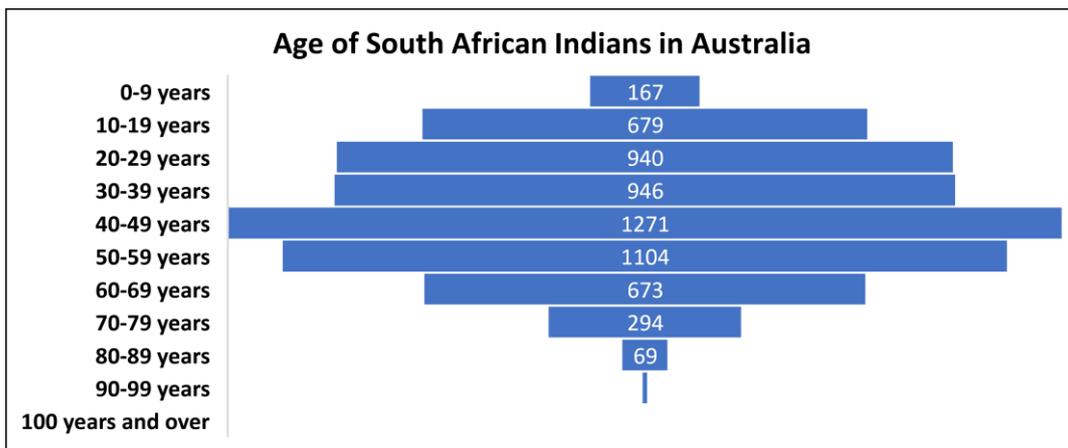
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

**Figure 6: Age and Gender of South African Indians in Australia**

**Age and Gender of South Africans Indians**

| Age | Male | Female |
|-----|------|--------|
| 0-9 years | 90 | 80 |
| 10-19 years | 358 | 320 |
| 20-29 years | 464 | 473 |
| 30-39 years | 454 | 491 |
| 40-49 years | 591 | 680 |
| 50-59 years | 547 | 561 |
| 60-69 years | 347 | 329 |
| 70-79 years | 134 | 154 |
| 80-89 years | 35 | 36 |
| 90-99 years | 3 | 4 |
| 100 years and over | 0 | 0 |
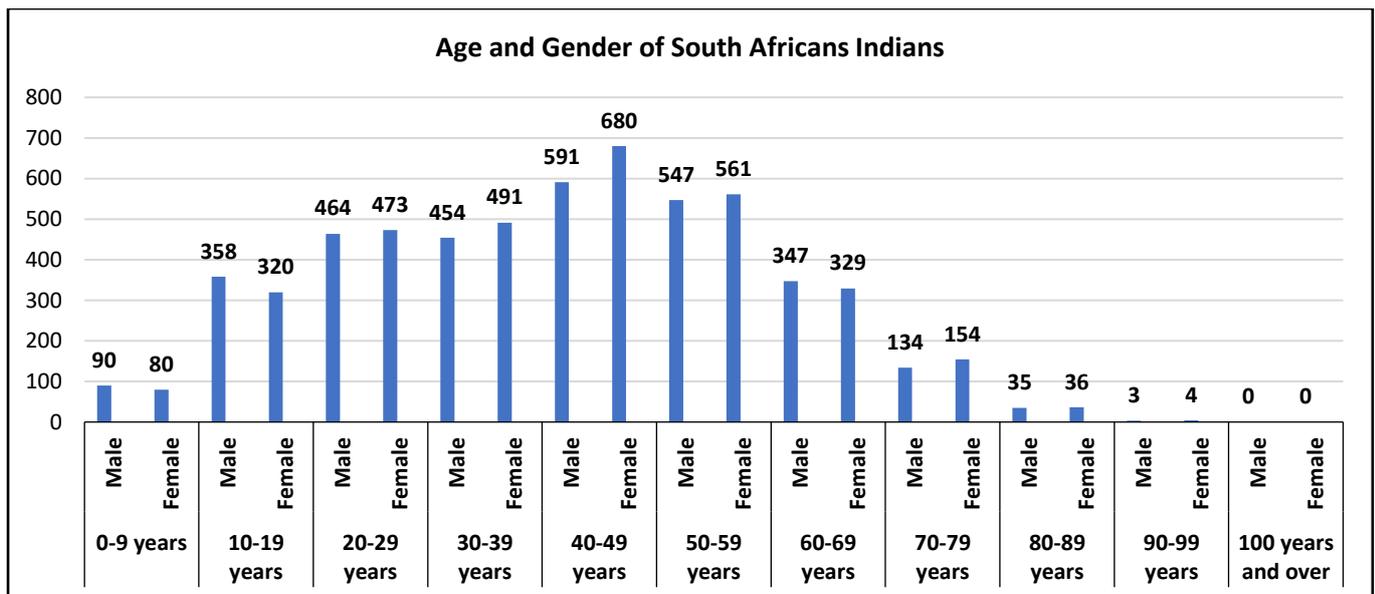
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

**Figure 7: Citizenship Status of South Africans of Indian Descent in Australia**

**Citizenship Status of South African Indians residing in Australia**

| | Arrived 1966-1975 | | | Arrived 1976-1985 | | | Arrived 1986-1995 | | | Arrived 1996-2005 | | | Arrived 2006-2015 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not stated | 4 | | | 16 | | | 8 | | | 35 | | | 36 | | |
| Not Australian | | 0 | | | 6 | | | 17 | | | 167 | | | 1012 | |
| Australian | | | 88 | | | 613 | | | 920 | | | 2027 | | | 1013 |
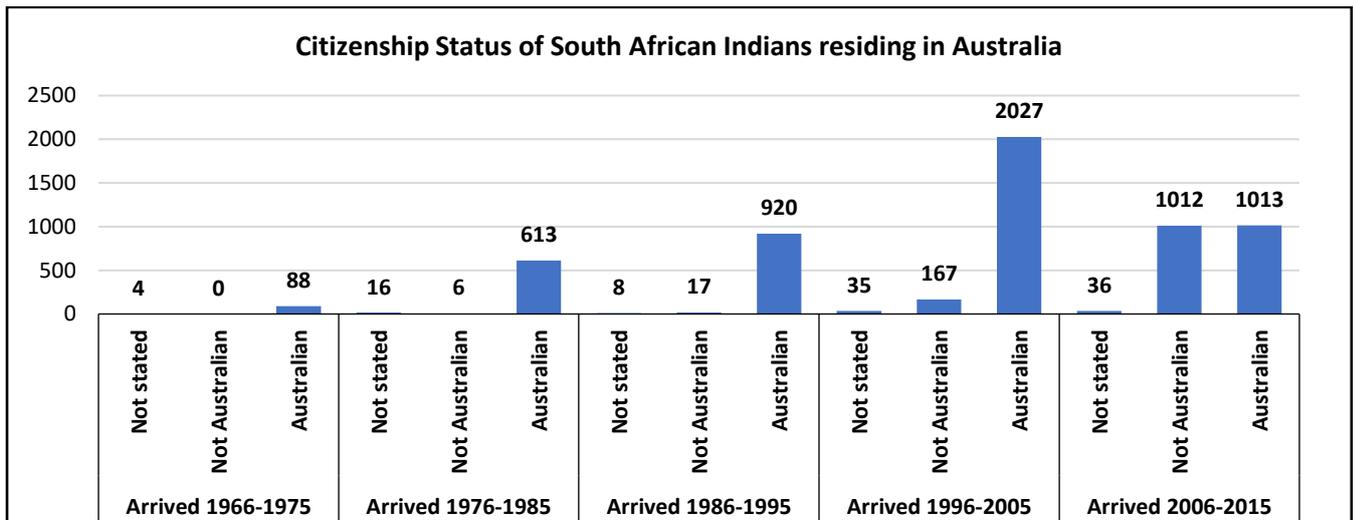
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

**Figure 8: Religious Affiliation of South African Indians in Australia**

**Religous Affiliation of South African Indians in Australia**

| Buddhism | Christianity | Hinduism | Islam | Judaism | Other Religions | Secular Beliefs and Other Spiritual Beliefs and No Religious Affiliation | Not stated |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 1383 | 2987 | 886 | 0 | 27 | 587 | 247 |
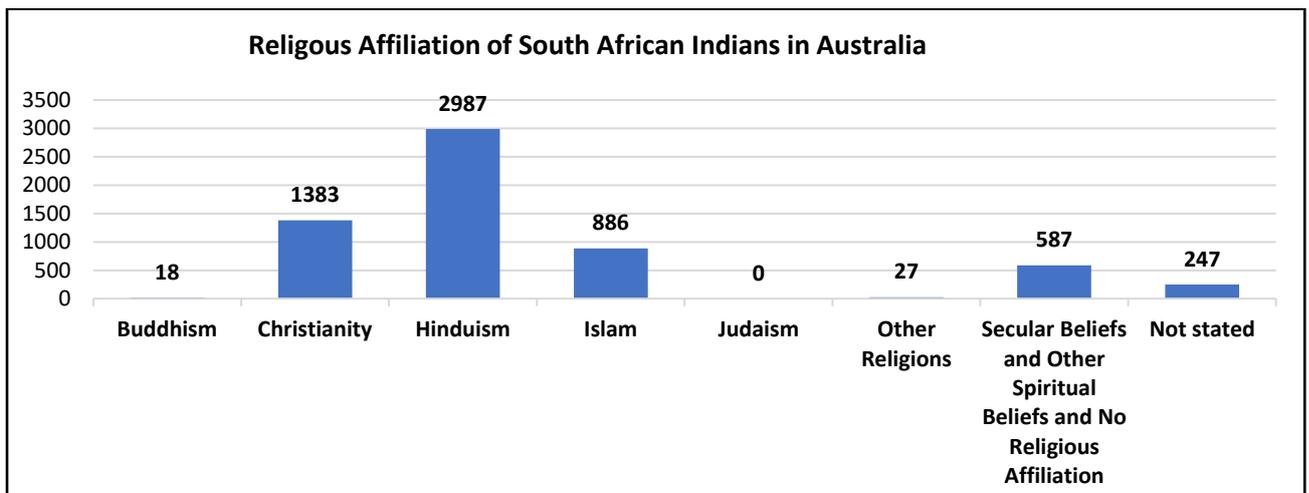
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

## Figure 9: Martial Status of South African Indian in Australia

**Martial Status of South African Indians in Australia**

| Category | Value |
|---|---|
| Not applicable | 420 |
| Married | 3535 |
| Separated | 120 |
| Divorced | 276 |
| Widowed | 166 |
| Never married | 1630 |
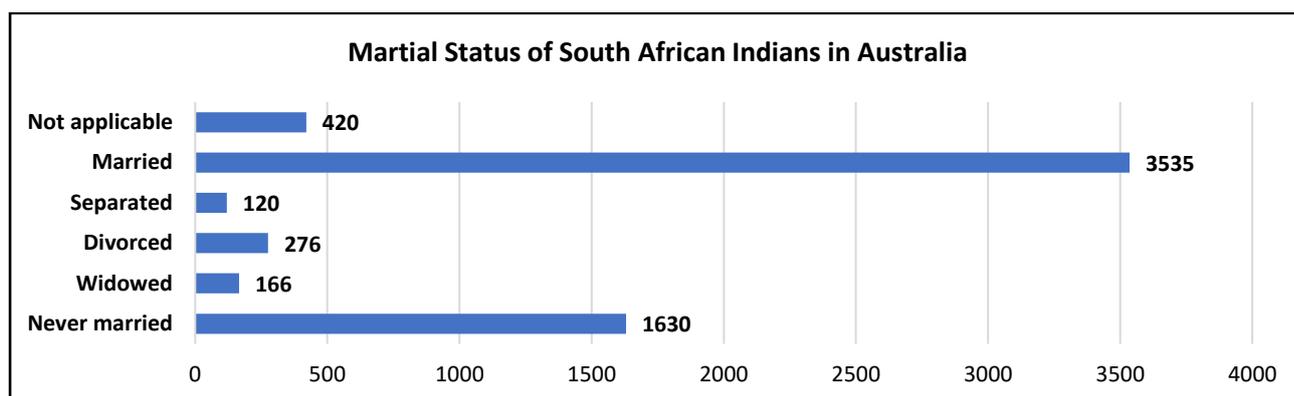
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

## Figure 10: English Language Ability of South African Indians

**South African Indian: English Langauage Ability**

| Category | Value |
|---|---|
| Speaks other language and speaks English: Not at all | 0 |
| Speaks other language and speaks English: Not well | 9 |
| Speaks other language and speaks English: Well | 33 |
| Speaks other language and speaks English: Very well | 721 |
| Speaks English only | 5379 |
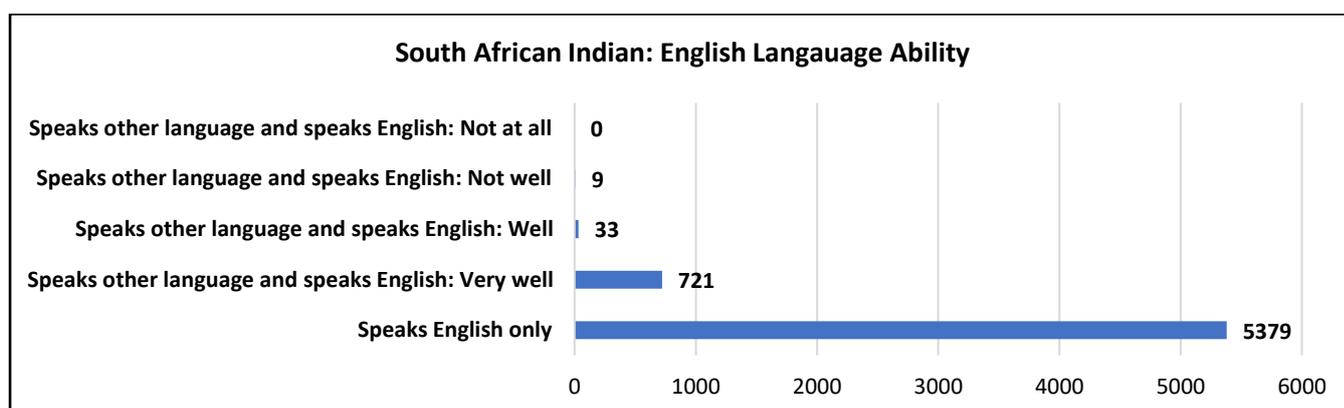
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

## Table 3: Population distribution of South Africans of Indian descent in New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, and Western Australia

| Greater Sydney | Rest of NSW | No Usual Address (NSW) | Greater Brisbane | Rest of Qld | No Usual Address (Qld) | Greater Melbourne | Rest of Vic. | No Usual Address (Vic.) | Greater Perth | Rest of WA | No Usual Address (WA) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1812** | 180 | 4 | **1089** | 380 | 0 | **1192** | 45 | 0 | **1083** | 50 | 0 |

Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

### Figure 11: Place of Residence of South African Indians in Greater Sydney



**Place of Residence of South African Indians in Greater Sydney**

| Place | Value |
|---|---|
| Central Coast | 34 |
| Sydney - Baulkham Hills and… | 295 |
| Sydney - Blacktown | 233 |
| Sydney - City and Inner South | 101 |
| Sydney - Eastern Suburbs | 51 |
| Sydney - Inner South West | 158 |
| Sydney - Inner West | 129 |
| Sydney - North Sydney and Hornsby | 123 |
| Sydney - Northern Beaches | 31 |
| Sydney - Outer South West | 95 |
| Sydney - Outer West and Blue… | 55 |
| Sydney - Parramatta | 179 |
| Sydney - Ryde | 79 |
| Sydney - South West | 131 |
| Sydney - Sutherland | 111 |
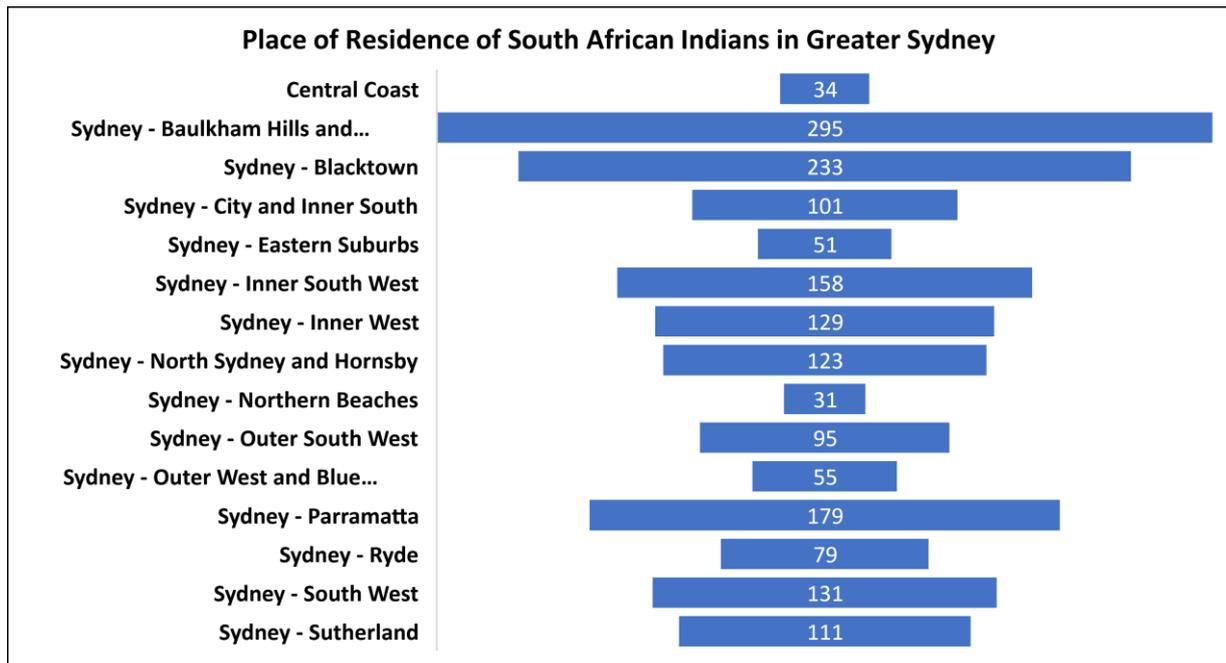
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

### Figure 12: Place of residence of South African Indians in Greater Brisbane



**Place of Residence of South African Indians in Greater Brisbane**

| Place | Value |
|---|---|
| Moreton Bay - South | 67 |
| Moreton Bay - North | 29 |
| Logan - Beaudesert | 145 |
| Ipswich | 83 |
| Brisbane Inner City | 68 |
| Brisbane - West | 101 |
| Brisbane - South | 476 |
| Brisbane - North | 79 |
| Brisbane - East | 37 |
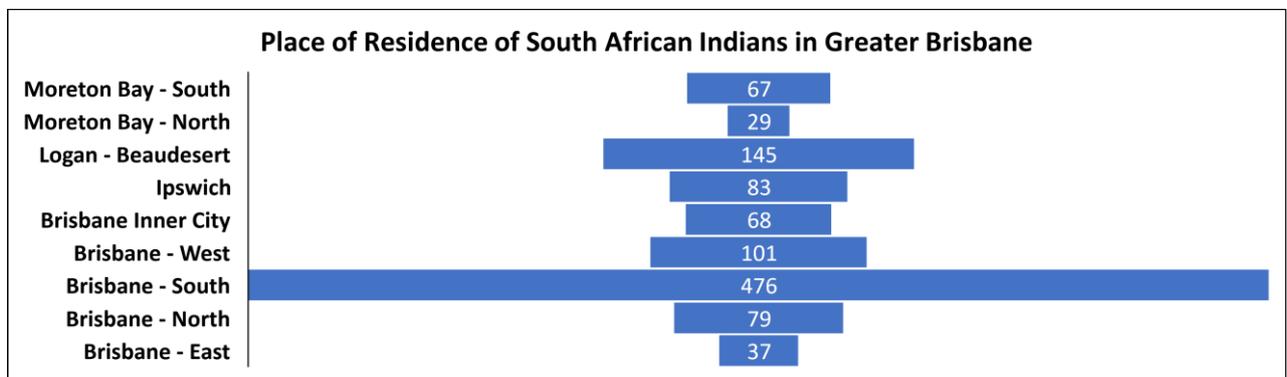
Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census

*Figure 13: Place of residence of South African Indians in Greater Melbourne*



**Place of Residence of South Africans in Greater Melbourne**

| Region | Value |
|---|---|
| Melbourne - Inner | 108 |
| Melbourne - Inner East | 163 |
| Melbourne - Inner South | 134 |
| Melbourne - North East | 78 |
| Melbourne - North West | 54 |
| Melbourne - Outer East | 119 |
| Melbourne - South East | 307 |
| Melbourne - West | 187 |
| Mornington Peninsula | 40 |

Source: ABS TableBuilder, Census of Population and Housing, 2016 Census