

**Placing transnational migration:
The circulation of Indian South African narratives of
identity and belonging**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others

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ABSTRACT

Traditional nation-based models of citizenship that link belonging to territorial, political, social and cultural membership have been questioned by the transnational approach to migration. However, transnationalism abstracts migrants' experiences outside of the historical-material circumstances of their production and organizes groups into bound categories without engaging in questions of difference and diversity. Although more recent work has attempted to address these concerns through a focus on the governance of migration, 'transnational space' is deployed uncritically without questioning how migration is a contested enterprise grounded in places imbued with territories of meaning. The raised connectivities of globalisation compel us to think more critically about the interactions between migration and places as historicized outcomes of difference and an ongoing record of multiscalar and intersecting social processes. By taking the "places" of transnational fields seriously as a Lefebvrian synthetic third term that is neither wholly political-economic nor fully personal, I draw attention to the syntheses of difference in the personal, political, historical and material conditions of existence, all of which are underpinned by the inseparable circulation of symbols, materiality and policies. The case of Indians in South Africa challenges us to reconsider our conceptualizations of transnational identities and communities. The economic, demographic and cultural make-up of the Indian population in Durban and their embeddedness in the history of South Africa provides rich material for the study of the overlapping spheres of personal and political transnational life. My examination of the transnational practices of Indo-South Africans in the context of South Africa has opened up transnationalism in three ways. First, I provide a critical reading of identity by juxtaposing the production and circulation of the signs of an authentic Indo-South African transnational identity through 'cultural brokers' with accounts of the material practices of transnationalism. Second, I show how the transnational identities of Indo-South Africans are defined not only against India, but are made relevant to a South African national citizenship that is located both in 'national' space and in other fractured regional and international spaces of development. Finally, I explore the uneven geographies that accompany India's recent dual citizenship provisions to show how transnational governance by states is contingent upon place. By unpacking the multiplicity and contingencies within transnational places, I investigate the fragmentations and contestations of transnational identity and belonging.

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GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CBSA	Colonial Born and Settlers Indian Association
DC(A)B	Dual Citizenship Amendment Bill, 2003
DCC	Durban City Council
DDLJ	Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge/The Big-hearted will take the Bride
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GAA	Group Areas Act, 1950
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HLC	High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora
IASA	Indian Academy of South Africa
IBSA	India-Brazil-South Africa Alliance
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
KKKH	Kuch Kuch Hota Hai/Something is happening
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal province, South Africa
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NIA	Natal Indian Association
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NIO	Natal Indian Organisation
NP	National Party
NRI	Non-Resident Indian
PBD	Pravasi Bharatiya Divas: Overseas Indian Day
PIO	Person of Indian Origin
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
Satyagraha	Non-violent resistance
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

I am a South African. A very proud South African...The Indianness comes in at the level of . . . culture. . . the kinds of things we appreciate like music, drama, the language we speak. . . We only enrich our country by having all these different tastes and habits. What I am basically saying that is where the Indianness stops (Ela Gandhi, cited in Dupelia- Mesthrie 2000: 9)

Chapter One:

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

On the 17th September 2004 the president of India, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, visited a sports stadium in Chatsworth as part of the first official visit by an Indian president to South Africa. The red carpet had been rolled out, the Indian flags unfurled, the performances carefully staged to show off the multiculturally diverse talents of Durban. In the civic reception for the event, the president stressed the “dynamic and innovative relationship” between India and South Africa: fighting poverty and HIV and national movements against colonialism and oppression. Almost exactly a month later, on the 15th October 2004, the Bollywood actor Shah Rukh Khan flew into Durban for the “Temptations” tour, a stage show with fellow Bollywood stars Rani Mukherjee. Crowds of Indo-South Africans¹ lined the road to the airport and 10,000 people packed the Sahara cricket stadium to see the show. The newspapers reported on the tour for weeks before and months after.

The visit of the president may reflect what could be termed ‘transnationalism² *from above*’: a high level diplomatic visit orchestrated by India for developing links with Indo-South Africans in order to enhance bilateral relations between the two countries. The reaction to the visit of the Bollywood stars could be seen as reflecting ‘transnationalism *from below*’: that is, links between Indo-South Africans and India forged by Indo-South Africans through Bollywood movies as an imagined metric of connection to India. However, the state visit took place using a network of local ‘cultural brokers’ including local cultural groups who put on the performance for the president, the press, local TV and radio who promoted the event. The speeches by the president also appealed to the emotions and sentimentalities of Indo-South Africans by referencing the roots and kinship that binds Indo-South Africans to India. As well as emphasising high level ties between the two countries, the president remarks:

¹ In South Africa there is a recognizable ‘community’ attached to India, the geographical entity, through ancestral roots. The term Indo-South African will be used throughout this thesis to refer to South Africans of Indian origin to identify these common roots yet emphasize their citizenship and membership in South Africa.

² The term diaspora may more appropriately define the distanced figuration of India in the lives of Indo-South Africans. The term ‘transnational’, used to signify the connection between India and Indo-South Africans, will be employed to capture the fluid circulation of Indo-South African identification and belonging.

Even though you have left the Indian soil and have come and settled down during the last few decades all your brethren at home have a special place for you in their hearts as fellow Indian citizens

Kalam (2004)

Similarly, the visit of the Bollywood stars is also a highly orchestrated performance and depends on a multitude of actors such as agents in India, local concert promoters and local government planning officers in South Africa. More generally, the visit of the Bollywood stars to South Africa is embedded within the wider circulation of the Indian cultural economy. Indeed, the Bollywood film industry, officially determined by box office turnover and sales of print and music rights movies, had a relatively modest annual turnover in 2005 of US\$575 million (CII/KPMG 2006). Instead, Bollywood is actually a small part of a diffuse range of distribution and consumption activities from websites, music, satellite television and radio to concerts, fashion and weddings (Rajadhyaksha 2003). In South Africa, small and large business owners rely on Bollywood for their livelihood, from the owners of small video shops to the owners of a provincial chain of sari shops whose trade is enhanced by the glamour of Bollywood movies, and up to Indian owned multinational corporations (MNCs) distributing and producing Indian films in South Africa. In short, this vignette suggests that in the creation of transnational links between India and Indo-South Africans, activities can neither be defined as cultural or economic; nor can they be attributed simply to the activities of either states or people. Rather, the building of transnational connections between India and Indo-South Africans is a process that is embedded in the fluid connections between the cultural and the economic spheres of political and social life.

Further investigation of Indo-South African participation in the two events uncovered more about how this fluidity operated through differences within and between Indo-South Africans. The visit of the Indian president, a sedate affair marked by formality and procedure, was attended by Indian and Indo-South African businesspeople with a vested interest in the development of bilateral ties between India and South Africa for investment opportunities. Also involved in the event were Indo-South African dignitaries acting in their formal capacity as representatives of the major Indo-South African cultural organisations. In this way, this event was participatory and meant that the Indo-South Africans who attended could actively

make the cultural and economic meanings of being 'Indian'. Younger Indo-South Africans from more varied cultural, religious and class backgrounds, in contrast, attended the visit of the Bollywood stars. However the nature of the event itself, a show with a sharp divide between the Indo-South African audience and the Indian performers, meant that rather than an active engagement in creating a transnational cultural space, the audience were passive consumers of Indian culture. It reveals that differences between Indo-South Africans as classed, gendered, aged and ethnic bodies are worked into the production, circulation and consumption of narratives of Indo-South African transnationality.

The central conceptual aim of this thesis is to explore, through an examination of the fluid cultural economies of identity, belonging and citizenship embedded in interconnected places, the multiple and contingent nature of transnational space. Particularly, this thesis is concerned with making sense of the complexities embedded in the meanings of 'national' and 'transnational' social relations and spatialities that emerge from global flows of people, products, information and ideas. In doing so, it will blend political-economy perspectives of migration with questions of identity, kinship, trust and reciprocity: not as polar opposites but intersecting at multiple scales and mutually constitutive of each other.

In order to do so, this thesis examines the differences and fluidities embedded in and between personal and political meanings of 'India' and 'South Africa'. To this end, the thesis first explores how cultural economies of difference are worked through Indo-South African *identity*. It will explore the intersectionalities of class, time and culture in the signification and production of India in the Indo-South African transnational domain. Second, it examines the meanings embedded in South Africa. Specifically, it will explore the emplacement of Indo-South African *belonging* in the cultures and materialities of South African civil society, which in turn are embedded in multiple scales of political, economic and cultural accumulation. Finally, the thesis examines the recursive and circulating meanings of both 'India' and 'South Africa'. In order to do so, it focuses on the meanings embedded into 'sending' states governance of their

overseas populations through an examination of Indian state discourses of the “Indian Diaspora”.³

The major empirical contribution of this thesis is to enhance understandings of how transnationalism is produced by showing that is an intersection of the practices of states and the actions of people socially and spatially situated in difference. The major theoretical contribution of the work is in its utilization of cultural studies readings of place and globalization to explore the fluid connections between cultures and economies and between politics and social life to transgress the binaries written into conceptualisations of transnationalism, ‘origins’ and ‘destinations’.

1.2. Conceptualizing transnational and diasporic places and spaces

1.2.1. Migration, citizenship and identity

Traditional nation-based models of citizenship link belonging to a territorially and historically bounded system of organizing political, social and cultural membership (Brubaker 1989, Anderson 1991, Hobsbawm 1992, Jacobson 1996, Piper 1998, Castles and Davidson 2000). This influenced traditional neoclassical approaches to international migration that stressed point-to-point movement resulting in assimilation into a ‘host’ society (Park 1950, Gordon 1964). However, the transnational approach to migration, based upon an interest in the processes and outcomes of globalization (Kearney 1995), documented the maintenance of a multiplicity of migrant identities and commitments to national, ethnic, and religious communities (Glick Schiller et al 1992, Basch et al 1994, Portes 1999, Vertovec 1999). Diaspora scholarship overlaps in complementary ways with transnational migration studies and focuses on the hybridization and creolization of identities (Clifford 1992, Gilroy 1993, Brah 1996).

The popularity of diasporic and transnational migration scholarship stems from the way it deterritorializes the cultural mosaic of territorially bounded identity and questions the language of integration, assimilation and inclusion assumed within national frames (Basch et al 1994, Portes 1999, Levitt 2001, Bailey 2001). As a result, many have argued that diasporic and transnational migrations are alternative forms of

³ The term “Indian Diaspora” is a specific narrative device used by scholars, states and overseas Indians to imaginatively link a global collective of people to India through a common ancestral root.

globalization and a subversive force against the governing role of states and capital (Appadurai 1990, 1996, Portes 1996, Mitchell 1997, Goldring 1999, Itzigsohn et al. 1999).

However, a number of studies have questioned the theoretical and empirical adequacy of the transnational and diasporic lens for conceptualising migration. Diaspora has been critiqued as an empty concept that has been overused yet also disassociated from historical and political contexts (Mitchell 1997, Tambiah 2000, Brubaker 2005). Moreover, this work has also constructed transnational and diasporic populations as monolithic, despite the multitude of lifestyles, traditions, opinions and modes of existence (Werbner 2000, Crang et al 2003, Brubaker 2005). Finally, there is a lack of attention to the context of power and the continuing importance of states and patriarchies in imposing the movement of people, goods and information (Kaplan 1995, Fabricant 1998, Ong 1999, Crang et al 2003:442, Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004).

1.2.2. Places, globalization and the study of transnational migration

Efforts to respond to these critiques converge around the role of the state, questioning the uncritical and triumphalist celebrations of transnational identity. Transnational forms of migration provide 'sending' countries with new options of accumulation through skill acquisition, remittances and cementing foreign policy interests (Portes 1996b, Itzigsohn 2000, Levitt and de la DeHesa 2003). However, this too is an oversimplified vision of transnational action that maps transnationalism onto a nationally based and global-local binary without examining the multiscalar confluences of globalization (M.P. Smith 2001).

The central problematic is that 'transnational space' is deployed uncritically without questioning how, in practice, migration is a contested enterprise grounded in places imbued with cultures and histories as territories of meaning (Relph 1976). Moreover, places not only reflect human relations but actively constitute them through relations of power (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, Keith and Pile 1993). Places are also constituted through the relations of production, exchange and accumulation working and intersecting at regional, national and international scales (Massey 1984, Harvey 1987, N. Smith 1984). Places are thus locations of material socio-spatial interaction and exchange, the outcome of which is the political processes of inclusion and

exclusion at the local scale (Smith 1984). Difference is both produced and reproduced in place, the outcome of the meeting of myriad interdependencies (Massey 1991a)

However, these structural accounts of place are embedded in binaries between the local as personal, specific and empirical as opposed to the global as objective, structural and rational (Giddens 1984, Ley 2004). The conceptualisation of transnationalism and diaspora has coalesced around similar binaries: the 'transnational' state of being is portrayed as a hybrid, unbound, deterritorial and fluid space whilst the national is seen as essential static, bound and fixed. The crystallization of transnational action and practice as either state or migrant led also draws upon similar binaries of the personal and the political, often as the local and the global: the state is positioned as a powerful political and economic rational actor whilst the individual is located in personal sites of culture, identity and memory.

However, the raised connectivities of globalisation compels us to think more critically about the interactions between social life and territory (Therborn 1998, Amin 2001, Scholte 2000). Globalization has emphasised the importance of sub- and supranational forms of territorial organisation, which can be interpreted as an outcome of the reorganisation and relativisation of scale linked to the changing spatial requirements of capitalist development (Swyngedouw 1997, Brenner 1999, Amin 2001).

These contingent and fragmented visions of places have important insights that can help unpack the essentialisms and dualisms contained within the theorizing of transnational identity, places and spaces. First, the production of space and place is an outcome of difference, in which multiple elements of identity intersect (Massey 1991b, Deutsche 1991, Gibson 1998). Articulations of ethnicities, migration, neighbourhoods, homes, colours, religions and sexualities play an important role in segregation of privilege, power and respect (Shields 1999). What is key is that, contra the celebration of the 'hybridity' of transnational subjects, people inhabit classed, raced and gendered bodies produced and situated in specific historical contexts and therefore have multiple and intersecting needs, desires, abilities and commitments to transnational projects (Hall 1990, MP Smith 2005).

Second, whilst the global circulation of people has delinked identity and culture from a singular nation space, nations are themselves places, constituted under transnational conditions and an ongoing record of social processes that exist at intersecting scales (Fincher and Jacob 1998, Shields 1999). Places (and nations) consist of simultaneous, multiple, crosscutting, intersecting and aligning relations, and rather than existing as a local cultural or contextual additive to global economic flows, they are a site at which both are meshed and remade (Massey 2005). Without interrogating how nations are constituted in such a manner, the transnational literature cannot help but falsely reduce transnationalism to an absolute: either people are ‘transnational’ or they are ‘national’. The way forward is to investigate how transnationalism is similarly multilocally infused and contingent upon regional, national and global flows of culture and economy.

As a result, all spheres of economic, political, personal and cultural life contain overlapping and interdependent sets of actions, institutional processes and norms (Fraser 1995). This contradicts the view of transnationalism that is grounded in social capital theory, and forms the basis of many classifications of transnationalism that see transnational life as separate and only sometimes overlapping economic, social and political spheres (Portes 1999, Guarnizo 2003, Levitt 2001). Instead, people’s access to social resources is influenced by inequalities of race, class and gender, which constitute identity, society and institutions (Berger and Luckmann 1966, Giddens 1984). In transnational life, there are similarly positioned political, religious, cultural and economic agents who shape the social spaces in which transmigrants operate (Conradson and Latham 2005, MP Smith 2001, 2005, Schein 1998). Studying differences within an assumed transnational ‘whole’ can illuminate more about the forces which produce transnational communities, rather than assuming their taken-for-grantedness (Conradson and Latham 2005).

Social capital views of transnational fields impute notions of homogeneity based on ‘origin’ and ‘destinations’. By taking the “places” of transnational fields seriously as a Lefebvrian synthetic third term that is neither wholly a political-economic outcome nor fully personal, I want to draw attention to the syntheses of diverse influences and contingencies: the personal, the political, the historical and the material conditions of existence, all of which are underpinned by the inseparable circulation of symbols, materiality and policies.

1.3. Indians in Durban: A case study

My initial interest in migration began many years ago growing up in the former mill towns of Lancashire. There, I remember clearly the outcry over the emergence of bright green domes amongst the chimneys and rooftops of the old mill factories and workers houses, into which post-war economic migrants of India and Pakistan moved for work and residence. These memories later meshed with my studies of two separate and contradictory migrations from India: the violent movements of partition and the centrality of Indians in the IT boom of Silicon Valley. It was from my curiosity about the sheer diversity of times, places, spaces and circumstances of migration from India that this PhD came to fruition.

The migration of Indians is essentially a cultural-economic project that has unfolded over almost two centuries from colonial plantation economies located places such as Southern and Eastern Africa and the Caribbean, through later departures of Indians to the US and the UK underpinned by shifts in the global economy and the migration of temporary labourers to the Gulf states attracted by increased property investment in those areas. India itself has undergone radical shifts, from colonialism, to centralised state planning and to its recent emergence as a confident economic and diplomatic centre of gravity. Its overseas population have fuelled India's increasingly economically powerful status as a market for products and source of foreign exchange earnings and investment.

The academic focus on the "Indian Diaspora" has centred on the poles of Indians living in economically important centres (for example, Lessinger 2003, Walton-Roberts 2003, Voigt-Graf 2005, Dwyer and Jackson 2003, Crang et al 2003). However, less is known of the material practices and spatial imaginaries of Indians living overseas since the period of colonial labour migration, despite being a numerically significant population. Whilst Indians living in former colonies were encouraged by the Nehruvian regime to 'integrate' into their host societies, more recently the singular imaginative 'Indian Diaspora' has entered into the economic and political language of India. At the same time, the emerging economies of countries in the 'Global South' have entered the new Indian international political lexicon as partners in development.

Against this background, the South African contingent of overseas Indians was chosen as the site of the research as one of the largest overseas Indian populations in the world and an increasingly important exchange partner for India. Moreover, the complex migration history of Indians to South Africa has resulted in a population of diverse origins of class, caste, religion and geographical locations that is simultaneously embedded across 5 generations in the social fabric of the South African nation and complex context of apartheid and post-apartheid transitions. As Indians in South Africa have a long migration history and also were isolated from India for fifty years, this case study might better illuminate more clearly the ways in which Indian transnational identification and practices are tied into the more general global circulation of cultural economies.

Durban (Figure 1.1) was chosen as the specific area of research within South Africa, as it constitutes the site of first arrival of Indians to South Africa and is intimately bound up in Indians' colonial and apartheid memories. The restrictions on the inter-provincial movement of Indians during apartheid resulted in the largest concentration of Indians outside of India (Landy et al 2004: 210), and as a result, Durban is a fluid milieu of Indian cultural and religious organisations, Indian orientated radio stations, newspapers and broadcasters and plays host to numerous visiting artists from India. Moreover, KwaZulu-Natal itself, the province in which Durban is located, is a site where the tensions of colonialism, apartheid and post-apartheid times mesh. It is the place from which Gandhi began the resistance campaign against apartheid in South Africa and against the British in India; the location of Voortrekker-Zulu (1836-1852) Anglo-Zulu (1879) and Anglo-Boer (1899-1902) wars; and is a container of regional Zulu identity as foil for the Xhosa-dominated discourses of the new South Africa.



Figure 1.1: Location of PhD research. Source: CIA World Factbook (<https://www.cia.gov>)

The case study of Indians in Durban therefore appeals to a detailed and synthetic analysis. The economic, demographic and cultural make-up of the Indian population, their embeddedness in the history of South Africa as well as the increasing relevancy of South Africa to India's global political rhetoric will enable an understanding of the complexities within the overlapping places of the national and the transnational.

1.4. Aims and research questions

In order to connect up the multiple ways transnational migration entwines India and South Africa I draw upon three research questions. The first investigates 'India' in relation to the historical production of the *identity* of Indo-South Africans. It suggests a Durban-made geography of India, and foregrounds the post-apartheid context of difference. The post-apartheid context is the focus of the second research question that aims to interrogate 'South Africa' and highlight the historical production of *belonging*. This foregrounds the contingent and multi-scaled nature of place. The third examines how difference and contingency come together as the Indian state uses constructions of the diaspora to exert influence over the evolving global transnational field.

Research Question 1: How does the migration of Indians to Durban in the past inform Indo-South African transnational identification and practice in the present?

An important consideration of the work on transnationalism is the essentialization of a transnational identity as “whole” and detached from any contextualised understanding of differences between people located in particular structures of identification, politics and economic circumstances. This research question therefore aims to provide a historical reading of “difference” concerning Indians in Durban with particular attention to the role of migration flows. I aim to provide a nuanced examination of the meaning of ‘India’ in the lives of Indo-South Africans.

Research Question 2: How does the South African model of integration function to define Indo-South African belonging?

A second consideration of this thesis is to unpack the essentialized readings of nations. This question aims to critique the exclusivity of a ‘transnational’ identity as separate from other spheres of belonging by providing a contingent reading of ‘South Africa’ and uncover the wider formations of belonging that influence what it means to be ‘South African’.

Research Question 3. How is Indo-South African identity and belonging signified in Indian state discourses of the “Indian Diaspora”?

The final consideration of this thesis is to investigate the multiplicities and multilocalities between ‘origins’ and ‘destinations’ to illuminate how difference and contingency are implicated in the overlap of near and far relations. This research question aims to examine the cultural meanings embedded in the diasporic discourses of India as a ‘sending’ state to uncover the mutually constitutive and recursive nature of Indian and Indo-South African identity.

1.5. Structure of the thesis

The central purpose of this thesis is to explore, through the multiple and contingent character of places, the cultural economies of transnational identity. Specifically, it aims to address the production of an Indo-South African transnational identity through the differences and fluidities embedded in and between meanings of ‘India’ and meanings of ‘South Africa’.

In Chapter 2 I focus on how citizenship and belonging in relation to diasporic and transnational migration is theorized. It outlines traditional neoclassical conceptualisations of migration, movement and citizenship. Second, it charts the emergence and documentation of transnational and diaspora communities, the implications for theorizing traditional nation-state rooted, spatially fixed citizenship and emerging critiques of this literature. It then explains the move to a more productive approach that highlights the continuing role of governments in migration. As I argue, however, these studies continue to reproduce an essentialized origin and destination dialectic of transnational space. Third, I outline the possibilities of a cultural studies reading of place for recasting the transnational and show how, by unpacking the multiplicity and contingencies within transnational places, scholars of the transnational can investigate its fragmentations and contestations to better understand the complexities of identity and belonging. Given this framework, the chapter elaborates further on the approach to the case-study material and the aims of the thesis.

Chapter 3 is a reflexive consideration of my approach to researching transnational migration. It charts the evolution of my research design over the unfolding of the research period and in light of the cultural turn in migration studies and population geography and documents the process of constructing and reconstructing stories of migration in a methodologically and ethically rigorous way.

In Chapter 4 I examine the emplaced diversity and stratification of Indo-South African transnational identity. I first explain the production of difference through the migration, apartheid and post-apartheid histories of Indo-South Africans. I then show how this difference is enabled through significations of language, religion, authenticity and leadership that guide transnational practices and reproduces an Indian cultural economy of signs and symbols. As I highlight, the multiple spaces that constitute 'India' are made through the specific geographies of Durban as the container and maker of these differences.

In Chapter 5 I examine the reasons 'why' a singular Indian identity is maintained in relation to integration into South Africa. It shows how the maintenance of a generic Indian identity is linked into wider scalar narratives of belonging and development of South Africa as a post-apartheid nation. I show how belonging to South Africa is

emplaced via significations of neoliberalism, multicultural, anti-apartheid discourse and South-South co-operation that works via transnationalism and is reproduced in the spaces of Bollywood.

Chapter 6 reflects in more detail on the signifiers of what constitutes 'the Indian diaspora'. It shows how appeals by the state to its émigrés via nationalist cultural sentiments is an interactive process that this is not simply dictated from above, but is shaped by migrants themselves who influence the expression of culture in the diaspora and states' own conceptualisation of what it means to be part of a diaspora. That is, the meaning of being a diasporic subject is formulated through an iterative process that is circulated from the state to its émigrés via a reflective and refractive exchange.

1.6. Major contributions

In order to capture the fluid nature of transnational life and critique essential understandings of transnational spheres and places, this thesis examines the interaction between the symbolic and the material to critically re-read the nature of what constitutes the transnational. In order to do so, it will critically unpack 'origins' and 'destinations' as wholes and examine the interactions within and between them.

In doing so, it will make a number of important contributions. First, it adds a significant empirical contribution to the literature on India. Despite growing in importance as a diplomatic and economic power, few geographers have paid attention to the importance of the 'Indian diaspora'. By examining the relations between India and South Africa through Indo-South Africans this thesis will contribute to understandings of gravitational shifts in the global circulation of power, trade and aid and the way populations figure into it.

Second, it adds an empirical contribution to the literature on post-apartheid South Africa, and especially the contribution of people of Indian origin. South Africa is traditionally conceptualised in dual frames of reference: Black and White. However, this thesis will highlight the embeddedness of people of Indian origin in the making of the South African nation.

Third, it will provide a deeper understanding of the role of difference in migration and in particular demonstrate the continuing centrality of history in structuring transnational identity. By examining the interaction between the symbolic and the material it will critically re-read the nature of what constitutes the transnational by unpacking 'origins' and 'destinations' as wholes. It will thus capture the fluid nature of transnational life and critique essential understandings of transnational spheres and places.

Chapter Two:

Conceptualising transnational spaces and places

2.1. Introduction: migration and belonging

The purpose of this chapter is to assess how recent critical debates in geography that have re-theorized globalization, place and scale can enhance our understandings of transnational migration. It is widely recognized that the symmetries between territory and identity and the idea that society and its citizenry is a discrete governable entity contained within the territorial boundaries of the national state have been progressively fractured by a complexity of technologies, the spread of international norms and the creation of an interlinked global economy such that national spaces and identities no longer capture social and political life (Carens, 1987; Baubock, 1994; Bloemraad 2004). Traditional notions of immigration see movement as a singular and one-way migration from one country to another. However, increases in the international movement of people and new approaches within the social sciences have called into question the Westphalian⁴ logic of organising identity based on nation-states and interrogated the dismantling of singular nation-based constructions of belonging. Instead, ‘diasporic’ and ‘transnational’ migrant communities have emerged where “immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch, et al 1994: 7). As this chapter will show, migration scholarship has provided two important interventions. First, it celebrates transnationalism and diaspora as a form of ‘globalization’ that is led from below by individuals and families rather than governments and corporations. Second, it emphasises that identity cannot be contained within the traditional Westphalian nation-state system, and instead calls into question the ability of states to contain a territorial version of belonging and citizenship. As a result, the daily lives of migrants challenge geographical space through a deterritorialized identity in which culture and ideas are global, hybrid entities rather than rooted in any one place. (Appadurai 1996).

Three important critiques have emerged to question the emancipatory possibility of transnational forms of migration. The first highlights the fuzzy conceptualisation of the terms transnational and diaspora through the over-reliance on spatial metaphors. The second queries the supposed hybrid and deterritorialized identity resulting from transnational and diasporic migration. The third questions the subversive and

⁴ The “Westphalian” system (traced back to the Peace of Westphalia signed in 1648) ended the imposition of any supranational authority over European states, and legitimated the correlation between states and nations—groups of people united by language and culture as ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1991)

emancipatory possibilities afforded to diasporic and transnational forms of belonging. Essentially, the main problem with the transnational and diaspora literature is that it divvies up migration as a series of binaries: between 'home' and 'host' and between the personal and the political. As a result, the places and spheres are treated as separate and whole entities. To counter this essentialized vision I turn to recent re-theorizations of place in human geography to outline a theoretical framework for approaching the study of transnational migration.

The chapter proceeds as follows. First, I outline traditional neoclassical conceptualisations of migration, movement and citizenship. Second, I chart the documentation of the emergence of transnational and diasporic 'communities', the subsequent debates about traditional nation-state rooted, spatially fixed citizenship and emerging critiques of this literature. Third, I discuss recent interpretations of place in human geography and the potential of this body of work for re-theorizing migration. Finally, I show how this theoretical framework informs the research questions of this thesis.

2.2. Traditional approaches to nation, migration and membership

2.2.1. Nation and Citizenship

Traditional models of citizenship link belonging to a territorially and historically bounded political community, which entails both rights and obligations (Castles and Davidson 2000, Jacobson 1996, Piper 1998, Brubaker 1989, Hobsbawm 1992, Anderson 1991). This notion began with the 1789 French Revolution, which transformed the relationship between an individual and the state by "marking the demise of the notion that individuals and peoples, as subjects of the King, were objects to be transferred, alienated, ceded, or protected in accordance with the interests of the monarch" (Cassese, 1995: 11) and cemented citizenship as an expression of membership in a particular territorially-defined political community, membership in which is dependent on the fulfilment of moral and political responsibilities by both individuals and the state. For Soysal (1994), this expression of membership "invests individuals with equal rights and obligations on the grounds of shared nationhood. In that sense, the basis of legitimacy for individual rights is located within the nation-state" (Soysal, 1994:142). However, from its inception "citizenship was an exclusionary category, justifying the coercive rule of the included

over the excluded...the rule of citizens over non citizens, of members over strangers” (Ignatieff 1995:56). The process of defining belonging to a citizenry for Stychin (1998) is a highly constructed notion built on exclusions, the result of which is gains for some at the expense of others through their exclusion.

The notion of citizenship comprises two competing political theories that have been instrumental in shaping the political order of the modern nation-state system (Turner 1990). In the first, a classical civic tradition stemming from an Aristotelian picture of ‘man as a creature born fit for society’ and a Rousseuian social contract, the citizen appears as an active participant in the public affairs of the *polis*. Although the individual is important, emotional attachment and participation in a collectivity is supreme. In this model, exclusion was defined rigidly by those who could not participate actively in this polity: Thus women and ‘barbarians’, who were conceived of as irrational, and slaves and others who could not pay taxes were excluded.

With the rise of market society in early modern Europe the classical ‘active’ civic ideal was progressively replaced by a modern ‘passive’ or ‘liberal’ ideal, stemming from ‘bourgeois’ values of the cities of early modern Europe (Turner 1990, Burchell 1995). In accounts of the triumph of the modern style of citizenship over the classical model, citizenship is reduced to a liberal or ‘conservative’ preoccupation with the formal rights enjoyed by legally defined citizens. This liberal orthodoxy was codified by T.H. Marshall (1950), who conceived of citizenship as expanding categories of rights bestowed on expanding categories of persons (Joppke 1999). In his seminal work, *Citizenship and Social Class* Marshall outlined the gradual expansion of civil rights (the right to legal protection), political rights (the right to vote and access to political institutions), and social rights (state-provided entitlements to basic living standards) (Baubock, 1994: viii). Accompanying Marshall’s rights-expansion model was the widening of the bounds of who is included in the polity, starting with landowning classes, through the middle classes and, eventually, incorporating the working classes (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994: 354). The definition of who was entitled to the rights and privileges of citizenship occurred in waves, each “represent[ing] the entry of a new segment of population into the national polity; workers, women, and children were eventually included in the definition of citizenship” (Soysal, 1994: 137). The extension of rights and benefits to more people meant that a new form of exclusion coalesced around nationality as a form of distinctiveness: shared values, language,

blood, history and culture (Soysal 1996:17) Citizenship, ascribed at birth through the principles of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, became not only a set of rights but also a sharp demarcation of the boundaries of states and control on who entered that territory.

However, the control of entry of non-citizens and the availability of rights for them was differently conceived in different states, according to the fulfillment of residential and other personal characteristics. For example, Brubaker (1992) shows that in the political nation of France, the boundaries of citizenship are more permeable for immigrants than in the ethnic nation of Germany. Yuval-Davis (2000; 116-117) also concurs that the rights accorded to non-citizens are very much dependent not only in the countries where they live, but in their countries of origin and their relative positions of power in the international social order. Thus, 'denizens' as well as citizens were able to enjoy access to support. For Soysal (1994), who concludes from her analysis of guestworker rights in post-war Europe that exclusionary citizenship does not matter much, this foregrounds a 'postnational membership' anchored not in national belonging but the discourse of universal human rights (Joppke 1999). As the next section will show, the permeability of borders and the increasing breakdown of the Westphalian system of organizing political and social life have had consequences for the way in which migration has been theorized.

2.2.2. Traditional approaches to migration

The division of the world into sovereign political units reflected modernist rational thinking, and influenced approaches to international migration and its theorization within the social sciences. First, the emergence of theories on "reasons" for migration was based in neoclassical economic approaches. Massey et al (1993) provide an extensive overview of the development of theories of migration within this paradigm: Macro-economical studies of supply and demand, such as those by Harris and Todaro (1970) and Lewis (1954) saw migration as the outcome of geographical differences in the supply of and demand for labour and resultant differences in wages. Correspondingly, micro-theories such as Sjaastadt's (1962) human capital model were based on migrants as rational actors that calculated the cost-benefit of movement. Challenging these understandings of individual decision led migration were approaches that conceptualized the influence of families and households in managing the potential risks of migration (such as Katz and Stark 1987).

Later studies however moved away from individual decisions towards understanding structural economic demands of labour markets. Piore (1979) for example outlined the influence of inflation, worker motivation and demography of the labour supply. Critical commentary on the equilibrium assumptions of neoclassical frameworks promoted a series of political; economic and dependency theory, world systems and neomarxist theorizations of migration. Wallerstein's (1974) World Systems Theory, which theorizes connections between places as a complex of political and economic exchange relationships, was an important influence on a number of studies that examined how a mobile population was created by the expansion of the world market through colonial and neocolonial penetration as land, materials and labour come under influence of core markets (Massey et al 1993). Sassen (1991) showed how emigrants are created by investment in developing countries, with migration flowing in the opposite direction to capital, from the periphery to the core along paths of investment. Migration was also directed to global cities (Castells 1989) where polarized labour markets attracted both skilled and unskilled workers (Friedman 1953).

This political-economic centered approach was critiqued by a number of authors keen to stress the centrality of agency (Bailey 2005). Studies conceptualized the network of interpersonal ties connecting migrations, as a form of social capital, as increasing the likelihood of international migration through lowering the costs of migration and the attendant risks. For others, cumulative causation also sustains migration. Cumulative causation theory (Myrdal 1957) argued that migration made additional movement likely, based on six socio-economic factors: distribution of land (Rhoades 1978), income (Stark et al 1986), agricultural organization (Massey et al 1987), human capital (Greenwood 1981), culture of migration (Reichert 1982) and social labeling of immigrant-type jobs (Bohning, 1972). An important element of this was information flows, which reduced costs for migrants in settling and relocating (Massey 1987)

Information flows had an important impact not just on the decision to migrate but also on the way immigrants were incorporated into receiving societies. Post-colonial scholarship in particular has drawn attention to the ways in which modernism drew distinctions between colonizer and colonized (Fanon 1963), a distinction which "popularized the notion that [the colonizing nation] was a unitary and bounded society, distinguishable from the subordinated peoples by a racial divide" (Wimmer

and Glick-Schiller 2002: 314). Nationalized notions of belonging meant that immigration was a major threat to stability and territorial sovereignty. In particular, it destroyed the overlap between people, sovereignty, and citizenship with immigrants seen as politically dangerous, and racially and nationally different. According to Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002:316), who trace the control of immigration, the turbulence of World War 1 and World War 2, rising security concerns and the need to police and control migration led to closure of borders. As the visa regime linked right to reside with work and permits were needed to enter and reside in countries, differentiation between nationals and non-nationals were created. Additionally, for Wimmer and Glick-Schiller (2002), immigrants confounded the rule of sedentarism and as a result, became defined as others and socially marginal.

Norms of immigrant settlement and integration were colored by the territorial system of organizing political, social and cultural affiliations. Social-scientific studies of immigrant adaptation reflected deeper ideological beliefs. For example, the Chicago School research, particularly the observations of Robert Park of first and second generation migrants in an era of high immigration to the United States (Alba and Nee 1997:828) conceptualized migrants *in contrast* to the stable territorially fixed population (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2002). Park investigated how processes of migration brought once separate people into contact and initiated a 'race relations cycle' of "contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation" (Park 1950: 138). In particular, his conflation of race and nation normalized a homogenous American (white) culture that was diametrically opposed to the juxtaposition of African-Americans, Jewish immigrants, southern and east European immigrants together. Milton Gordon, in his book *Assimilation in American Life* (1964) clarified the process of assimilation further by distinguishing between acculturation, the adoption of cultural patterns of the host society, and structural assimilation through the entry of ethnic minority members into relationships with the majority. In this view, immigrants who settle gradually adapt to the dominant socioeconomic, cultural and behavioural systems and shed their own political loyalties, maintaining a singular national identity and allegiance "over there" (Pickus 1998; Schuck 1998).

The assimilation theorists assumed that immigrants gradually lost their attachment to the sending country then 'naturalized' by adopting the citizenship of the receiving country (Faist 2000b). This process was seen as an "either/or" proposition: either

migrants were a citizen of their home country or adopted the nationality of the host country (Bloemraad 2004). According to Faist (2000b), the insertion of migrants into the singular nation-state citizenship of the country of settlement was, and still is, regulated through *jus domicile* that allows first-generation migrants to acquire full citizenship based on the development of social, symbolic, residential and employment ties. Migration studies of the 1950s and 1960s described the pathways to assimilation and documented the rate and degrees of assimilation (Favell 2001). However, Gans (1962) argued that despite cultural practices often being similar, the national identities of immigrants were still maintained. Despite Glazer and Moynihan's (1963, p. v) early observation that 'the point about the melting pot. . . is that it did not happen', the continuing identification of immigrants with their home countries and lack of assimilation were largely ignored by academics and broader society, who clung to the idea of a linear path to social integration.

2.3. New forms of migration: challenging nation-states

The transnational approach to migration began with work emanating from the United States shaped by critiques of the positivist approaches to classical migration research. A number of studies, for example Chaney (1979) and Gonzalez (1988), had already documented the flow of remittances and other transnational connections extending from New York City to the migrants' origin villages (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller 2002). However it was the end of Bretton Woods⁵ and the worldwide movement of industrial production, the increasingly global organization of capital, reforms in Russia and Eastern Europe and the resulting increase in the pace of migration that interest in the processes and outcomes of globalization were considered. Reflecting on Anderson's (1991) 'imagined communities' Appadurai (1996) emphasized the disharmonious relationship between territorially based culture and newer cultural flows within globalization. He noted that the cultural economy had to be understood as "a complex overlapping, disjunctive order" and proposed a framework consisting of ethnoscaples, mediascaples technoscaples, finanscaples and ideoscaples in which to study the disjunctures arising from the contradictions of globalization. The consequences of this, for Appadurai, were the growth of solidarities and the

⁵ The Bretton Woods system, established in 1944, attempted to rebuild the economic system following World War II through a system of rules, institutions and procedures to regulate international monetary relations between the world's major industrial states (van Dormael 1978)

formulation of identity outside the boundaries of the nation. Drawing upon these themes of global exchange and their facilitation by new technologies and telecommunications and led by interest in the dismantling of traditional ordering of national economies and cultures, the theorisation of migration took a similar path. The key tenet was that a new form of migration was occurring under the aegis of globalization, that is, the forging of multiple and simultaneous economic, cultural and political identities (Glick Schiller et al 1992; Basch et al 1994; Portes 1996; Smith and Guarnizo 1998).

2.3.1. Transnationalism

Early transnational scholarship focused on migrants and how they maintained identities and commitments that transcended national boundaries and held multiple allegiances to national, ethnic, and religious communities (Glick Schiller et al, 1992, 1995; Smith and Guarnizo, 1998). This perspective arose as a way to comprehend migrants' incorporation into new destinations and to the maintenance of ties to their homelands, built as they settled abroad. Ontologically, this was a commitment to explaining the *both* and *and* relations of migration in distinction to *either/or*.

Roger Rouse (1991) maps 'the social space of postmodernism' through an analysis of migration flows between the rural Mexican *municipio* of Aguililla and the USA. His conclusions were particularly unsettling for existing accounts of migration as a movement from one community and environment to another: instead of conceptualizing rural Mexican communities as bounded entities with a clear distinction between core and periphery, he suggested that flows between Aguililla and the United States were best described as 'transnational circuits'. Importantly, space was conceptualized as 'transnational' to allow 'for the possibility that a circuit might include sites in more than two countries' (1991: 20) and migration conceptualized as a 'circuit'; not just a set of movements but a 'continuous circulation of people, money, goods and information' through which 'various settlements have become so closely woven together that, in an important sense, they have come to constitute a single community across a variety of sites'. For Rouse's migrants, 'it is the circuit as a whole rather than any one locale that constitutes the principal setting in relation to which Aguilillans orchestrate their lives' (1991: 14). Similarly, for Basch et al (1994) traditional notions of immigrants anchored in a destination no longer sufficed, with 'transmigrants' instead maintaining multiple relationships that span borders,

sustaining multiple involvements and developing an identity embedded in more than one nation-state, with the transnational analytical lens situating international migration within larger social, economic and political contexts. Crucially, the nation-state remains an important contextual influence upon migration, is not necessarily the most appropriate unit of analysis.

During the 1990s a great deal of ethnopolitics work focused on describing Latin American and Caribbean migration to North America, and more recently, from Asia (Pratt 1999, Lessinger 1995, Yeoh and Willis 2004) and Europe (Al-Ali et al 2001). Goldring (1996) looked at how the importance of transnational practices amongst Mexican-United States migrants has transformed daily life for Mexican communities, from kinship networks to the impact of remittances and the mobilization of resources for community investment, reconstructing both the community infrastructure and its social context. Similarly, Landolt et al's (1999) study of Salvadoran transnationalism looks at the vibrant entrepreneurial economy embedded in transnational ties between El Salvador and the United States. It reports both formal and informal circuit enterprises that have sustained a flow of tangible and intangible resources between the origin and destination countries, and produced diverse forms of economic transnationalism between peripheral nations and the United States.

Referring to the networks of migrants' ties that span across borders, case studies began to identify patterns in the activities conducted across borders by migrants and to link migration to broader social processes, particularly globalisation (Ong 1999). Here, the work of Michael Kearney (1995:548) has been particularly useful in distinguishing transnational process from globalisation more generally. Arguing that "whereas global processes are largely decentred from specific national territories and take place in a global space, transnational processes are anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states", Kearney emphasises that transnational ties are social relationships both grounded in local realities whilst transcending international borders. Thus, transnationalism has involved an erosion of boundaries with a simultaneous engagement with local spaces of origin and destination.

By the close of the 1990s, typologies, classifications and further conceptualisation emerged (Levitt 2001). More recent research by sociologists attempted to make sense of this burgeoning number of case studies and other work from within the

humanities. Studies were undertaken on the extent and variation of transnational practices, such as Guarnizo (2000 cited in Levitt 2001: 198), who attempted to distinguish between 'core transnationalism' and 'expanded transnationalism'. Portes et al (1999) attempted to place the transnational literature within a critical political-economic perspective, arguing that the emergence of transnational ties had an impact for both the practicalities of and conceptualizations of the logic of capitalist expansion. Perhaps most comprehensively, Vertovec (1999) provided a helpful overview, which showed how research on transnationalism could be divided into six conceptual premises. First, studies are concerned with the social morphology of transnational communities, i.e. the way in which transnational communities have been forged through the increasing influence of global networks that have consolidated and sustained traditional diasporic networks, including the Economic and Social Research Council's *Transnational Communities Project*. Second, transnationalism can be a type of consciousness, that is, "a common consciousness or bundle of experiences which bind many people into the social forms or networks" (1999: 451). Third, transnationalism is a mode of cultural reproduction, associated with the influence of media and communications technologies, and studies in this vein observe the production of hybrid cultural phenomena and its manifestations through fashion, music, film and visual arts. Fourth, transnationalism is an avenue of capital through which individual remitters as well as larger transnational corporations are responsible for the impact on foreign exchange and earnings. Fifth, Vertovec outlines how transnationalism has been conceived as a site of political engagement, through conventional activities by international non-governmental organizations, but also by ethnic diasporas' engagement in homeland politics. Finally, Vertovec outlines the impacts of transnational practices for the re-construction of 'place' or locality, outlining the transference of meaning to produce 'translocalities' (Appadurai 1995).

While Vertovec's article helpfully incorporates various strands of work on transnational relations from across the humanities and social sciences, it also draws attention to the problematic juxtaposition of the once separate threads of work on diasporas and transnationalism. Levitt argues that diasporas form out of transnational connections once a "fiction of congregation takes hold" (2001: 203). She cites the Garifuna diaspora that encompasses transnational communities that connect New York and Honduras or Belize and Los Angeles as evidence. Others, including Anthias (1998:563) see transnational communities arising from diaspora, where

transnationalism is a more intensified version of diaspora, a more frequent operationalisation of multiple network connections (White 2003: 311). However, Portes et al (1999: 225) note that return migration and periodic connections have always taken place and regular contacts have existed, such as the Spanish diaspora following fascist victory (Sole 1995), but also going back to the trade diasporas established established by Venetian, Genoese and Hanse merchants throughout medieval Europe (Pirenne 1970). For Portes et al (1999) what differentiates a diasporic 'community' from a transnational 'community' is the intensity of connections. The links between these areas of scholarship are explored below.

2.3.2. Diaspora

Diaspora scholarship has proceeded alongside transnational scholarship and overlaps with its similar concern with the hybridization and creolization of identities. The Greek term implies the 'dispersion' or 'scattering' of a population and references a "connection between groups across different nation states whose commonality severed from...a removed homeland [in which] a new identity becomes constructed... which crosses national borders and boundaries" (Anthias 1998:559-60) 2005). Early theorisations by Safran (1991) established that diaspora was rooted in a conceptual 'homeland' with the paradigmatic case being the Jewish experience of exile and dispersion with a traditional longing for a home. Of Safran's six criteria for inclusion as a diaspora, four concern homeland orientation. They include maintaining a collective memory, regarding ancestral home as place for eventual return, commitment to the restoration of the homeland and to relate to the homeland in a way that shapes identity and solidarity (1991: 83-84).

However, there has been a significant shift away from homeland orientation as a criterion of definition. Clifford (1994), for example, moves away from the negative dialectic of homeland/destination and the focus on loss and estrangement. He is especially critical of the disparities that exist between theories and experience of diaspora. Using a critique of Safran's focus on a single centre he calls for a more positive interpretation that looks to the existence of multiple homelands. He draws on the example of the South Asian diaspora, which is "not so much oriented to roots in a specific place and a desire for return as around an ability to recreate a culture in diverse locations" (1994, pp. 305-306). Further scholarship by Cohen (1997) grounds this concept of diaspora in a more empirical and historical approach by producing a

spatial typology of different diasporas according to the circumstances of leaving and settlement: in particular he distinguishes between ‘victim’, ‘imperial’, ‘labour’, ‘trade’ and ‘cultural’ diasporas. This has drawn attention to the fact there is more than one type of diaspora (White 2003) and signifies an attempt to challenge the conventional view that diasporas should be limited to traditional Jewish, Greek and African dispersals (Ni Laoire 2003). Instead, “Cohen (1997) proposed an alternative and looser definition of a diaspora, based upon a notion of a collective link with a past migration history and a sense of co-ethnicity with others of a similar background” (Ni Laoire 2003:276).

Paul Gilroy (1993) employs the concept of diaspora to historicize and differentiate the issue of black cultural identity. This is an attempt to “break the dogmatic focus on discrete national dynamics” (1993:6) within much western cultural thought, rejecting the notion of an essential and unifying black subject, and shift focus onto difference. Taking up Clifford’s call to move away from the negative and exclusionary ideology of homeland, Gilroy highlights the tensions between common bonds created by shared origins (roots) and ties arising from the process of dispersal (routes) (Ni Laoire 2003: 277). This de-emphasizes roots as a central organising principle and instead privileges the shifting nature of cultural identities. Rather than echo Clifford’s critique of existing concepts of diaspora, Gilroy offers a more contextually historicized account which attempts to understand diaspora as a process that destabilizes the idea of social unity within nations. He critiques the idea of essential and absolute identities based on genealogy, and proposes the idea of diaspora as a space *between* nations and cultures.

2.3.3. The challenges to nation-states

To summarize, the literatures on transnationalism and diaspora increasingly focus on the undoing of long-held cultural isomorphism between space, place and identity and influence, in two related ways. The first is in the power of transnational relations and diaspora to undo the ‘cultural’ mosaic of territorially bounded identity (Featherstone, 1995). This suggests a shift in perspective from the old singular migration trajectory and assimilationist paradigm. For Faist (2000b), ideas of assimilation and ethnic pluralism are insufficient because they espouse a container concept of space. However, transnational approaches to migration de-emphasize geography in the formation of identity and instead create new forms of allegiances across boundaries

(Appadurai 1996). Portes et al's influential formulation emphasizes transnationalism as a complex set of relationships "so encompassing as to virtually erase the distinction between here and there" (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004: 1180). In contrast to earlier immigrants, who were constrained by lack of transport and communications technology and forced to sever ties with homelands and set permanent roots in their adopted country, many transnational scholars conclude that such a traditional and exclusive forms of membership have been eroded. In summary, it is recognised that the boundaries of individual nation state no longer contain cultural circulation, identification and action (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992; Hannerz 1996) but instead emphasizes the 'between-ness' of groups in diaspora (Werbner 2000: 6). For example, accounts of Chinese overseas entrepreneurs is dominated by metaphors of mobility and cultural hybridity, with migrants conceptualized as global citizens who occupy diasporic, deterritorialized and hybrid subject positions (Waters 2003, Ong 1999, Ong and Nonini 1999, Pieke 2007).

A second challenge to nation-states arises from diasporic and transnational participation and commitment to multiple political units which undermines and subverts the governing role of states. As Mitchell (1997: 533) observed: 'In much contemporary cultural criticism there is a celebration of diaspora and hybridity as spaces of subversion'. For example Goldring (1999) and Smith (1994) note that migrants can be agents of change, who support and promote local development initiatives through hometown associations. Michael Peter Smith (1994), Graham (1997) and Itzigsohn et al. (1999) note the active political participation of migrants and many migrants who have lived for many years away maintain involvement in homelands (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991). Indeed, diasporas and transnational communities have come to be defined against the governing power of the nation-state (Tölölyan 1991, Portes 1996). Clifford for example, argues that diaspora opens new possibilities for "non-exclusive practices of community, politics and difference" (1994: 302).

2.3.4. Critiques of transnationalism and diaspora

Both claims on the ability of diaspora and transnationalism to subvert the nation-state system of organising identity, and its influence as a force of "globalization from below" has been contested from a number of angles.

First, diaspora is critiqued as a chaotic concept that has become over-reliant on meaningless spatial metaphors, “increasingly disarticulated from history and political economy” (Mitchell 1997:588). Brubaker (2005) is particularly critical of the way in which overuse within the social sciences has eroded diaspora as a useful descriptive and analytical category. From its original referent, the term has been stretched to apply to emigrant groups involved in homeland politics (Wayland 2004), labour migrants who maintain emotional and social ties with a homeland (Sheffer 2003), the emergence of global religious ‘communities’, (Axel 2001), its application of transethnic and transborder linguistic communities, and finally to diasporas of other sorts (queer diasporas). The result of this, for Brubaker, has been the increasing conceptual ambiguity and loss of the ability of diaspora as a category to mark distinctive and clear phenomena. Tambiah (2000: 169) concurs that “diaspora seems to be in high fashion these days, and its popularity courts the danger of inordinately stretching it’. Portes (2003: 876) is similarly critical of the way in which transnationalism has also become a “muddle of the most diverse sort of phenomena”. Instead, he believes that transnationalism should only refer to the sorts of activities limited to those of private ‘grassroots’ actors as a way of delineating a distinct social process. For Portes (2003), to imply that all immigrants are inherently transnational is an erroneous assumption that belies the proliferation of cross-border networks emerging from initiatives of people to establish useful economic and social ties.

The second critique levelled at both diasporic and transnational scholarship is the construction of those populations as a monolithic ‘community’. Portes (1997) and Portes et al (1999:488) have concerns about the lack of attention to the variations in experiences and activities. Indeed, “displacement . . . is not experienced in precisely the same way across time and space, and does not unfold in a uniform fashion” (Lavie and Swedenburg, 1996: 4 cited in Crang et al 2003). Werbner (2002:34) recognises that diasporic groups are characterised by multiple discourses, internal dissent, and competition for members among themselves and between sectarian, gendered or political groups, all subscribing to the same diaspora. “What is subsumed under a single identity are a multiplicity of opinions, ‘traditions’, subcultures, lifestyles, or modalities of existence”. Brubaker (2005) also argues that like other terms such as nation and ethnic group, the terms ‘transnational’ and ‘diaspora’ are often characterized as ‘entities’. Ironically, the tangible, quantifiable and bounded groupist portrayal of transnational ‘communities’ is at odds with the literature’s attempt to

overcome the bounded nature of nation-states. Indeed, “If, as Homi Bhabha put it... ‘there is no such whole as the nation, the culture or even the self’ then why should there be any such whole as... diaspora” (Brubaker 2005:12).

Third, there has been a disassociation of migration from power. Fabricant (1998) and Kaplan (1995) are dismissive of the ‘world without boundaries’ and instead argue that states continue to impose restrictions on movement and trade (Crang and Dwyer 2003:442). Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) argue that states seek to control movement across territorial boundaries, and that defining transnationalism, like Portes (1999) in terms of the regular and sustained cross-border activities, takes for granted the ease of movement across territorial borders. Feminist scholarship has been important in re-theorizing borderzones (e.g. Anzaldúa 1987, Ifekwunigwe 1999, Kaplan et al 1999, Lorder 1982, Moraga 1983) and highlighted the fantasy of limitless mobility which in reality rests on the power and border controls of who and who does not belong. Migration cannot be theorized outside the realm of power: Gloria Anzaldúa shows how Chicana/o culture is constituted through the Mexico/United States border through a reconfiguration of spatial boundaries and uprooting of fixity: “Chicana/o cultural practices have operated in disordering, profoundly disturbing ways with respect to dominant social and cultural, spatial and ideological topographies of the “proper” in the United States” (Perez 1999: 19 in Ahmed et al 2003:5). Meanwhile, Ong (1999) demonstrates how power, positionality and intersectionality come together to regulate the border crossing activities and the flexible citizenship of Chinese transnational subjects. She argues that different modes of governmentality, practiced by the nation-state, family, capital, intersect and variously encode and constrain transnational flexibility and create struggles over identity, belonging and longing.

2.4. Transnationalism: the role of the state

These critiques, and efforts to respond to them, have converged around conceptualizations of the state and its role in transnational settings. A number of authors have moved away from often uncritical and triumphalist celebrations of hybrid, transnational identities as emancipatory and subversive of the state to assert the continued role that territorially bounded states have in organizing transnational activities. Such work has questioned that the “transnational is inherently transgressive and resistant” (Crang and Dwyer 2003: 441).

Research has argued that 'sending' states play a primary role in processes of network connection, re-connection, and citizenship through a redefinition of boundaries in social, rather than geographic terms (Louie 2000). At the forefront of these attempts to move away from the over-exposed "transnationalism from below" approach is the paper by Smith (1998) that analyzes this 'grassroots transnationalism' in dialectic with the attempts of sending country governments to co-opt nationals abroad to tap into their various economic and political resources. Extending these arguments further, Itzigsohn (2000) sees transnational forms of migration as providing sending countries with new options for reconfiguring the reach of the nation-state through such economic, social and political ties with nationals abroad. Transnational economic, social and political ties with nationals abroad are used by nations as they seek not only to tap the economic resources of citizens abroad, but increasingly incorporate them into domestic and foreign policy. Governments and other elites such as religious institutions, local bureaucracies and political parties engage in transnationalism from 'above' in an attempt to align those practices which are already happening from 'below' with the various national interests in the country of origin.

Portes (1996b) argues that are three main ideological orientations underpinning the state support for transnational migration: human capital upgrading for the acquisition of skills and a safety valve against poverty; the maximisation of remittances as emigrants move back and forth; and the domestic political force of migrants within the receiving country as they advance the former states' economic and foreign policy interests. As Portes concludes, "sending governments do not want their immigrants to return, but rather to achieve a secure status in the wealthy nations to which they have moved and from which they can make sustained economic and political contributions in the name of patriotism and home town loyalty" (Portes 1999b:467). Central to this extension of the state has been the creation of a political transnational field as a realm of "recurrent and institutionalized interactions and exchanges between, on the one hand, immigrants and their social and political organizations and, on the other hand, the political institutions and the state apparatus of the country of origin" (Itzigsohn, 2000:1130). Other authors, such as Levitt and de la DeHesa (2003) explore how institutional structures of the state and political parties facilitate the construction of the 'transnational arena'. This work has been crucial in moving

the transnational debates forward from its exclusive focus on migrants' ability to counter the hegemony of the state.

Portes (1999b) emphasizes that although states become involved in forging transnational ties, their goal is not to encourage return, but provide an extra-territorial economic and political anchor. Indeed, in his later writings (eg. Portes 2003) he is sceptical about attaching the label 'transnationalism from above' to these state activities, arguing that whilst the actions of governments to promote transnationalism might appear to be the main reason transnational connections are formed, the onset of transnational activities are actually due to immigrant initiatives. For Portes (2003: 879), "governments have generally entered the field only after a definitive set of transnational activities has been consolidated by popular initiative".

However, Michael Peter Smith (2005) critiques what he sees as the binary distinction between the activities of the 'sending state' or activities of grassroots agents in 'destinations'. Guarnizo and Smith (1998) emphasize the relational quality of transnational social action, cautioning that in investigating the 'above' and the 'below' of transnational action, one must guard against equating 'above' exclusively with global structures or agents and below exclusively with 'local' social fields or actors. Whilst categorizing transnational action as coming 'from above' or 'from below' aims to capture the dynamics of power relations in the transnational arena, these categories however are "contextual and relational rather than essential or immutable" (MP Smith 2001: 110-13). Schein (1998), for example, shows how Hmong cultural brokers are envisaged as acting 'from below' vis-à-vis the United States and Chinese states whose borders they transgress, while simultaneously acting 'from above' vis-à-vis the ethnic Miao objects of their tourist gaze. They also act 'from in-between' in terms of the power relations they broker between Hmong social networks in the US and, respectively, US and Chinese state structures and policies.

In his 2003 paper, Michael Peter Smith analyzes the role of political mediation assumed by regional sending-state officials from Guanajuato, Mexico ('from in-between') seeking to channel remittances provided by local migrant groups in California ('from below') into state-sponsored economic development projects located in the migrants' communities of origin, but designed by the elites of a Mexican political party ('from above') to win votes and develop their state (M.P.

Smith 2005). This form of 'middling transnationalism' focuses on the transnational practices of social actors occupying middle class or status positions in the national class structures of their countries of origin, like skilled workers or working holidaymakers who spend extended periods abroad living transnational everyday lives (M.P. Smith 2005). Conradson and Latham (2005) also call for greater attention to the 'everyday' practices and mobilities of 'middling transnationalism' in terms of the dynamics of transnational friendship and nationality-based networks of people of 'middling' social and economic status in their countries of origin. They argue that too much attention in transnational studies has been paid to the power of transnational technical and managerial elites or to the village-based social networks forged by economically marginal social strata to generate transnational social capital. Thus, whilst Portes (2003) argues that the generation of cross-border networks by immigrants 'from above' is a social phenomena that is distinct from the 'activities 'from below', MP Smith (2001, 2005) and Conrad and Lathamson (2005) argue that it is impossible to disentangle the two.

2.5. Transnationalism, place and identity

Michael Peter Smith's (2001, 2005) work is particularly notable for recognising how sending states might exert power and influence in relational and mediating ways to control transnational migration. For Smith, the dualistic nature of globalization is oversimplified. Instead, he argues that in order to fully understand 'middling transnationalism' as a concept from which to interpret the recursive actions of both states and migrants, we need to examine the confluences of globalization in particular places. Indeed, and as above, this will also help us to undo the groupist and essentialist portrayal of singular transnational 'communities,' and therefore move the focus of migration scholarship away from the nationally bounded and dualistic focus on origins and destinations. This section therefore details the emergence of debates about the global-local nexus of place in human geography and how this maps onto conceptualisations of transnational migration. It then shows how critiques of the global-local binary through the literature on scale and globalization might undo the binaries and essentialisms of transnational identity, belonging and location.

2.5.1. Place in geographical thought

In studies of transnationalism, space is utilised to understand how diasporic identities are mediated. In practice the contest over migrant identities, rather than occurring in

abstract diasporic space, occurs in places imbued with cultural and historical meanings. Indeed, studies of places, their meanings and impact in creating and sustaining human identity have long been a tenet of human geography since the writings of Carl Sauer and the Berkeley School in the 1920s. The principal focus of the research investigated the impact of culture on landscape. The idea of place as a series of locales where people live, have experience and find meanings was taken up by humanistic geographers who questioned positivist approaches. The insights of Edward Relph (1976) and his assertion that places are “fusions of human and natural order and the significant centers of our immediate experience of the world” (1976: 13) suggested that places were territories of meaning as well as containers of social life.

During the 1980s, ‘cultural turn’ authors recognised that landscapes and places not only reflected human relations, but constructed new identities and produced social meaning. Cosgrove and Jackson (1987) critiqued Sauer and the Berkeley School for its concern with “the rural and the antiquarian, narrowly focussed on physical artefacts” (1987: 96). They recognized that “the geography of culture forms is much more than a passive spatial reflection of the historical forces that moulded them; their spatial structure is an active part of their historical constitution” (1987: 99). They argued for a more complex concept of landscape as a cultural construction, “a particular way of composing, structuring and giving meaning to an external world whose history has to be understood” (1987: 96). Place is a means through which social identities are created and maintained, and power relations shape how space is claimed, used and regulated through a spatialized politics of identity (power related to individuals and groups) and politics of place (power in spatial arenas) (Keith and Pile 1993).

2.5.2. Structural accounts of place and scale

Whilst Cosgrove and Jackson’s paper was influential in drawing attention to culture, landscapes and places as socially constructed, the emergence of debates surrounding the role of capitalism aimed to understand how places were produced in relation to the operation of structural forces of globalization. Massey, in *Spatial Divisions of Labour* (1984), argued that it was vital that geographers not only described the spatial organisation of the relations of production, but also addressed the constitution of regionally differentiated places through political and economic strategies of actors working at different scales as part of the inescapable laws of capitalism. This work

came in for a number of critiques for its microstructuralism which failed to tackle capitalism at national and international levels, instead relying on specificity and contingency of place (Harvey 1987).

The problematic of the “contingency” of place was addressed by Neil Smith in his key work *Uneven Development* (1984), which drew upon the key Marxist influence of David Harvey, who showed that “a tendency towards . . . a structured coherence to production and consumption within a given space – a spatial fix – is critical to capital accumulation” (1982: 424). Both Harvey and Smith draw upon parts of Henri Lefebvre’s (1991) *The Social Production of Space*, which argues that the space of the urban is not simply reducible to *production*, exchange *or* accumulation (cf. Castells 1977) but is a site where all aspects of capitalism intersect over history to become a locus of interaction and exchange. Smith showed that that social inequalities (difference) and political processes of inclusion and exclusion at the local scale are grounded in material socio-spatial processes operating at the global scale. What his work added was an understanding of space as relative, and therefore both an effect and cause of socio-economic change, and part of both power and resistance. Thus, Smith showed that space, via uneven geographical development, is not merely contingent upon economic growth and decline, but is also an influence in itself.

Working in this vein, David Harvey was also a strong proponent of the centrality of space to the internal logic of capitalism. In *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989) he argued that despite what appeared to be a post-modern era of difference and complexity, the same logic of capitalism, which used the production of difference for profit, still applied. Doreen Massey (1991a: 28) also developed an account of place, using Kilburn High Road, as “constructed out of a particular constellation of relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus”. Her emphasis on the production and reproduction of difference through historical and political processes added richness and theoretical detail to Marxian accounts of economic geography and demonstrated the open and porous boundaries and myriad interdependencies contained in place.

2.5.3. Beyond binaries of the global-local: Lessons for transnational migration

Such structural accounts of place still embed pejorative binaries. The local is understood as individually held feelings, thoughts and actions held in opposition to

the global, as objective, broadly operating social processes (Giddens 1984). The local was also seen as merely an 'example' to illustrate the manifestations of these processes in terms of local outcomes and actions. Thus economic macroisms are articulated alongside global spaces while social practice is relegated to localities, with agency obliterated in favour of global capitalism. In David Ley's view, the global is construed "as a space that is dynamic, thrusting, open, rational, cosmopolitan and dominant while the local is communitarian, authentic, closed, static, nostalgic, defensive (but ultimately defenceless) and the site of ethnic, sexual, regional and other fragmentary identities" (2004: 155). As explained above, critiques of the transnational and diaspora migration have coalesced around similar global-local binaries. The uncritical celebration of the 'hybrid' and the groupist portrayal of 'transnational communities' are both essentialized categories that fail to pay attention to difference. The crystallization of transnational action and practice as either state or migrant led draws upon a binary of the personal or the political, often characterized as the global and local.

For Amin (2001), the processes associated with globalisation, as intensified world-level forces and raised global connectivity mark a "new ontology of place/space" and compels us to think "seriously about space, about the spatiality of the social, about territories and their delimitations" (Therborn 1998: 7). Amin deploys Scholte's (2000) reading of deterritorialisation as the distinctive spatiality of contemporary globalisation to argue that studies of the cultural 'spatiality' of globalisation, which conceptualise place as the site of intersection of cosmopolitan influences and flows are limiting. However, the deterritorialisation-reterritorialisation tension has been interpreted by others such as Brenner (1999) and Swyngedouw (1997) as an outcome of the reorganisation or relativisation of scale. Neil Brenner (1999: 435), for example, has argued that the "post-1970s wave of globalisation has significantly decentred the role of the national scale as a self-enclosed container of socio-economic relations" such that there is a re-scaling of territoriality which includes the increased "importance of both sub- and supranational forms of territorial organisation" (Amin 2001:387). In Swyngedouw's (1997) language, the breakdown and reconstitution of spatial scales is a process of 'glocalisation' in which globalisation relativises and overlaps geographical scales of social organisation, linked to the changing spatial requirements of capitalist development.

In response, Amin believes that the deployment of 'scale' continues to essentialize places as bounded and whole entities. He draws upon the idea of places as nonterritorial, sites of situated transitory practices, which take shape "only in their passing" (Thrift 1999: 310). If globalisation is "a contingent and ever-shifting mesh of interactive processes" (Olds and Yeung 1999: 535), then places are the embodiment of this as a product of the manifold effects of spatial and temporal exposure and connectivity. Thus, for Massey (2005), places are the moment through which the global is constituted, invented, co-ordinated, produced as 'agents' in globalization. Furthermore, as debates about the interconnectivity of the global and local have highlighted, the interconnectivity of the cultural and the economic through place, and empirical evidence shows the complex interplay of the cultural and the economic, such as in Silicon Valley (Saxenian 1994) and the City of London (Thrift 1994), cultural economy readings of society transcend the economic-cultural (and political-economic) binaries still traceable in many migration accounts.

As I next explain, these contingent and fragmented visions of places, along with Lefebvrian and Deleuzian ontological interpretations of being, have important insights for the study of transnational migration because it helps us to unpack the essentialisms contained within the theorizing of transnational identity, places and spaces.

2.5.3.1 The multiplicities of identity and difference.

The Lefebvrian-inspired debate about the production of space (and place) has drawn attention to the "difference" and the layers of difference embedded within and through place as outcomes of particular historical and geographical circumstances. In Harvey and Smith's structural perspective, difference is understood in terms of class identity. Other forms, such as gender, sexuality and ethnicity, are either subsumed or reduced to additive components (Massey 1991b). For Deutsche (1991) subsuming difference offers a masculinist narrative "truth" of the world. Others, such as Katherine Gibson, have pointed to the limitations of class theory for coping with the multiple identities and the fluidity of individuals' and households' involvements with the formal labour market, and with informal modes of exchange such as reciprocity with neighbours, kin and wider ethnic groups. Both political economy and cultural studies still treat class as constituting 'a coherent and unified aspect of one's identity,

in contrast to other aspects of subjectivity' (Gibson, 1998: 309), often including ethnicity, skin colour and gender.

More generally, and as noted by Shields (1999), the inheritance of the classical Marxist theoretical division of the 'base' and 'superstructure' has carried over a 19th century European separation of Weberian value spheres into contemporary theorizing of class as uncoloured by the complexity of ethnicities, migration, neighbourhoods and the personal sense of home, colours, religions and sexualities. These articulations of identity are conceived of as cross-cutting elements of social class identity. Rarely are they considered for their contribution to the segregation of privilege, power and respect.

Furthermore, with specific reference to diaspora, Stuart Hall (1990: 235) notes: "the diaspora experience . . . is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference". What is key is that contra the celebration of the 'hybridity' of transnational subjects, the fact remains that people still inhabit classed, raced and gendered bodies, that are in motion in specific historical contexts (MP Smith 2005). Attending to and specifying the historical context in which transnational identity is located is, for MP Smith (2005) a central concern because it guards against a de-contextual inscription of transnational identity as a cultural whole, detached from often contested historical and geographical contexts. People are socially and spatially situated within and between gender, class, families, religions, workplaces and political projects. As a result, people have multiple and intersecting needs, desires and commitments to transnational projects and have different abilities to achieve them. By taking into account the situatedness of people, produced through historical material circumstances, we can unpack what a transnational identity means and investigate how these differences structure transnational identification and material practice.

Against this need to theories difference in grounded ways that are consistent with the continuing inequalities lived and experienced by migrants, Soja's reading of Lefebvre in *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other real and imagined places* (1996) offers a historicized way forward. In Lefebvre's dialectic of space, *Le Percu* is the popular perceived space of everyday life in opposition to *Le Concu*, the conceived official

space. *Le Vecu* is an imaginative space which can transcend both. Soja (1996) takes this concept forward through a reading of Los Angeles to envision Lefebvre's dialectic not as an additive combination of its components, but rather a disordering and reconstitution. He interprets a 'trialectics of being' where the ontology of being can be analysed using the spatiality of the real material world, the historicity of imagined representations of spatiality and a third space of sociality, in which time, space and society are mutually constitutive.

2.5.3.2. Nations and the multiple scales of belonging

Identity is usually constructed vis-à-vis the dominant ideological and representations of social groups and is therefore a public as well as private matter: it implies the shaping of a shared sense of belonging with and against others (Chambers 1994). For Arendt (1973), such belonging was anchored to place at the scale of the nation. It was defined in relation to the invention of the 'nation' as a homogenous entity: a "conquest of state by nation" that rests on homogenous assumptions about ethnicity, race, language, where the state was the dominant resident group against which were defined the non-hegemonic other as a minority. In Europe for example, this was constructed against an invisible 'whiteness' (Bonnett 2000). In this matrix, the cultural sphere was the outcome of localized economic processes which provided stability and structure to everyday life (Shields, 1999).

As above, the global circulation of people has delinked identity and culture from a singular nation, disrupting the isomorphism of culture, people and place. For traditional theorists of transnational migration, the existence of two dual frames of reference remains anchored at the level of nation. The major problematic of this is that the nation is taken as a given, a monolithic whole, the complexities of which are rarely explored nor used to contextualize transnationalism. Without interrogating how nations are constituted, the transnational literature cannot help but falsely reduce transnationalism to an absolute: either people are 'transnational' or they are 'national'.

Debates in geography about the production of places provide a way forward. They have shown that places are an ongoing record of social processes that exist at intersecting scales (Shields 1999). Drawing on the example of an urban public square, Fincher and Jacobs (1998: 21) argue that "an apparently 'local' urban public square is also at the same time situated in a liminal space of a global city, and may consequently

play a “more pivotal international role in the production and dissemination of social identities [or] mythologies, than entire regions or nations in other parts of the world”. Places are thus constituted through an interplay of cultural and material codes forged elsewhere. In Deleuzian philosophy, concepts are situated, contextual, contingent and localized, and only have meaning in relation to larger milieu. Deleuze sees concepts as ‘events’ that are not just fully to hand and located in the here and now, but are infused with other spaces and times. Debates about the production of place echo the Deleuzian view of space-time because they recognise that places consist of simultaneous, multiple, crosscutting, intersecting and aligning relations (Massey, 1994: 3). Place is not just a local cultural or contextual additive to global economic flows, but a site at which both are meshed and remade at a variety of scales.

In terms of thinking about the relationships between the national and the transnational, it is essential to investigate how the nation component of transnationalism is similarly multilocally infused and contingent upon regional, national and global flows of culture and economy. Opening up nations in this manner will allow us to interrogate what it means to be transnational, rather than assume that it simply consists of a dual frame of reference. This can therefore illuminate how people can be simultaneously national *and* transnational, rather than privilege either model of belonging.

2.5.4 Placing Transnational Fields

Structural accounts of place, critiques of the global-local nexus and responses to them have important insights for transnational migration because they recognize differences embedded in the mutually constitutive nature of all spheres of economic, political, personal and cultural life. Rather than exclusive categories, all of these spheres contain overlapping and interdependent sets of actions, institutional processes and norms. For Fraser (1995: 72): “Even the most material economic institutions have a constitutive, irreducible cultural dimension”, and “even the most discursive cultural practices have a constitutive, irreducible political-economic dimension” (Fraser, 1995: 72). As I have demonstrated, by unpacking the multiplicity and contingencies within transnational places, scholars of the transnational can investigate its fragmentations and contestations to better understand the complexities of identity and belonging. The constitutive elements of the transnational are therefore not simply points or nodes, but make up transnational social fields. This resonates

with recent insights of Glick Schiller (2005) who suggests a view of society and social membership based on a concept of social field as 'networks of networks' that stretch the structures of politics across the borders of nation-states. For Crang et al (2003) and Jackson et al (2007), transnationality is a complex space (social field) that is multi-dimensional and multiply inhabited, participation in which extends beyond the membership of specific, ethnically defined, transnational communities.

To date, research on how transnational social fields operate and function has relied upon social capital theory. According to Pieterse (2003:30) there are two main strands of social capital theory that developed out of Bourdieu's (1986) original conceptualisation of social capital that centred on individuals or small groups as the units of analysis. Coleman (1988) adopts a functionalist approach to understanding social capital by suggesting that families and communities provide a social function that can be used as a resource by members to best represent their interests. For Coleman (1988, 1990), social relations are redefined as exchange relations. Putnam defines social capital as 'features of social life - networks, norms and trust - that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives' (Putnam 1994:2). He suggests that community members' participation in community affairs, or 'civic engagement', is a key aspect of social capital because their participation leads to various forms of collective action. Transnational fields have been conceptualised as a form of social capital by a range of scholars working on families and ethnicity (Evergeti and Zontini 2006) and is also a key feature of many classifications of transnationalism by sociologists such as Portes (1999), Guarnizo (2003), Vertovec (1999) and Levitt (2003).

It is also recognised that the usefulness of social capital is influenced by inequalities in issues of race, class and gender etc which influence people's access to social resources. Difference is also inescapably coupled with 'power', also a key concern of social capital theorists who argue that social capital based resource transactions are embedded in larger social structures of power. Giddens (1984) acknowledges that people have bodies that do things via physical and communicative action and, in acting, constitute both themselves and society. He objects to a strict distinction between individuals and institutions that sees institutions as detached from, or only external to, people. Rather, institutions are "internalized" by the human actors who constitute them, consisting of collectivities of people who associate with each other

extensively and, through interaction, develop recursive practices and associated meanings. Institutions have social positions and relations that are characterized by particular expectations, rules/norms, and procedures, thus possessing a legitimating ideology (March and Olsen 1989) which is created by elites who benefit from the arrangements and practices they valorise (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

In transnational life, this has been articulated through the work of Conradson and Latham (2005), MP Smith (2001, 2005) and Schein (1998) who see transnationalism from above/transnationalism from below as a false distinction that obscures the power relations that underpin the formation and reproduction of states, capitals, national and transnational identities. Thus, there are political, religious, cultural and economic agents who shape the social spaces in which transmigrants operate. Studying differences within an assumed transnational 'whole' in the ways people identify with and maintain transnational networks of association can illuminate more about the forces which produce transnational communities, rather than assuming their taken-for-grantedness (Conradson and Latham 2005).

However, such social capital views of transnational fields continue to impute notions of homogeneity based on a territorial 'origin' and 'roots'. By taking the "places" of transnational fields seriously, I draw attention to the syntheses of diverse influences and contingencies: the personal, the political, the historical and the material conditions of existence, all of which are underpinned by the inseparable circulation of symbols, materiality and policies. In Lefebvrian terms, places are a synthetic third term: neither wholly a political-economic outcome nor fully personal. Thus for Appadurai (1996: 41):

"The relationship between the cultural and economic levels of this new set of global disjunctures is not a simple one-way street in which the terms of global cultural politics are set wholly by, or confined wholly within, the vicissitudes of international flows of technology, labour and finance, demanding only a modest modification of existing new-Marxist models of uneven development and state formation. There is a deeper change . . . constituted by their continuously fluid and uncertain interplay. (Appadurai, 1996: 41)

Although the overlap between the cultural and the economic forms of political and social life is now recognised, and indeed now seen as inseparable, it is important to investigate in a more critical way how this forms a more powerful cultural political economy of identities and places (Young 1997, Shields 1999, Thrift and Amin 2007). For Young (1997), “the cure is to reconnect issues of symbols and discourse to their consequences in the material organization of labour, access to resources, and decision-making power, rather than to solidify a dichotomy between them . . . so that culture becomes one of several sites of struggle interacting with others. (Young, 1997: 160). In order to capture the fluid nature of transnational life and critique essential understandings of transnational spheres and places, this thesis will similarly examine the interaction between the symbolic and the material to critically re-read the nature of what constitutes the transnational. In order to do so, it will critically unpack ‘origins’ and ‘destinations’ as wholes and examine the interactions within and between them.

2.6. Indians in Durban

In order to foreground place as a key element of transnationalism and unpack the complexities of ‘origins’ and ‘destinations’ it is essential to draw upon a transnational space that offers rich empirical detail. In particular, it needs to have a sufficiently long history of migration in which specifics of class, ethnicity and gender have had time to unfold and become intimately entwined with the history of that ‘destination’. Second, it must also be a transnational population that is part of an ‘origin’ states’ broader economic, political and cultural agenda.

As I explained above, the aim of the thesis is to understand how difference is produced through the transnational cultural-economy. The migration of Indians provides an important case study in this regard because it has been, and still is, essentially a cultural-economic project. The geographical variation and scope of Indian migration is attributable to nineteenth century emigration from India to plantation economies later supplemented by free migration. Historically, these plantations were located in the south of the global economy in low-income countries colonized by the British. Later departures of Indians to the US and the UK were underpinned by shifts in the global economy and the making of the Indian IT orientated economy. There was also a wave of migrants to the Gulf States, temporarily engaged in the construction boom.

More recently, India has emerged as an increasingly confident global political and economic player (Amoako 2000, Beri 2003). Amidst global shifts in the economic and diplomatic centres of gravity India, as one of the two main 'Asian Drivers', is very much at the centre. However, at present the focus is fixed on China (e.g. Nolan 2001, Lin et al 1996, Chow 2007), with comparatively little research into India's role, especially in relation to the overseas Indian population who have fuelled India's increasingly economically powerful status in two ways (Nayyar 1994, Ratha 2003, Kapur 2004). First, there is a large market for the export of Indian products such as clothes, film, jewellery, religious paraphernalia destined for the 'diaspora' keen to retain their cultural links with their ancestral origin. However, much of the focus of these cultural-economic activities of Indians has been on the activities of Indians, motivated to move for economic reasons, living in more economically developed countries of for example, the United States (Lessinger 2003), Canada (Walton-Roberts 2003), Australia (Voigt-Graf 2005) and the UK (Bhachu 1998, Dwyer and Crang 2002, Dwyer and Jackson 2003, Crang et al 2003). Second, remittances are an important contribution. The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) reported that Indians living abroad transferred \$24.6 billion to India in the fiscal year 2005-2006, putting India as the leading recipient of remittances in the world, in front of China and Mexico at \$22.4 billion and \$21.7 billion respectively (Chishti 2007). This contributes almost 3 per cent of India's Gross Domestic Product (The Hindu 2006). Moreover, the poles of overseas Indians living in more economically developed countries, along with temporary workers in the Gulf States; represent the most important remittance corridors to India (figure 2.1).

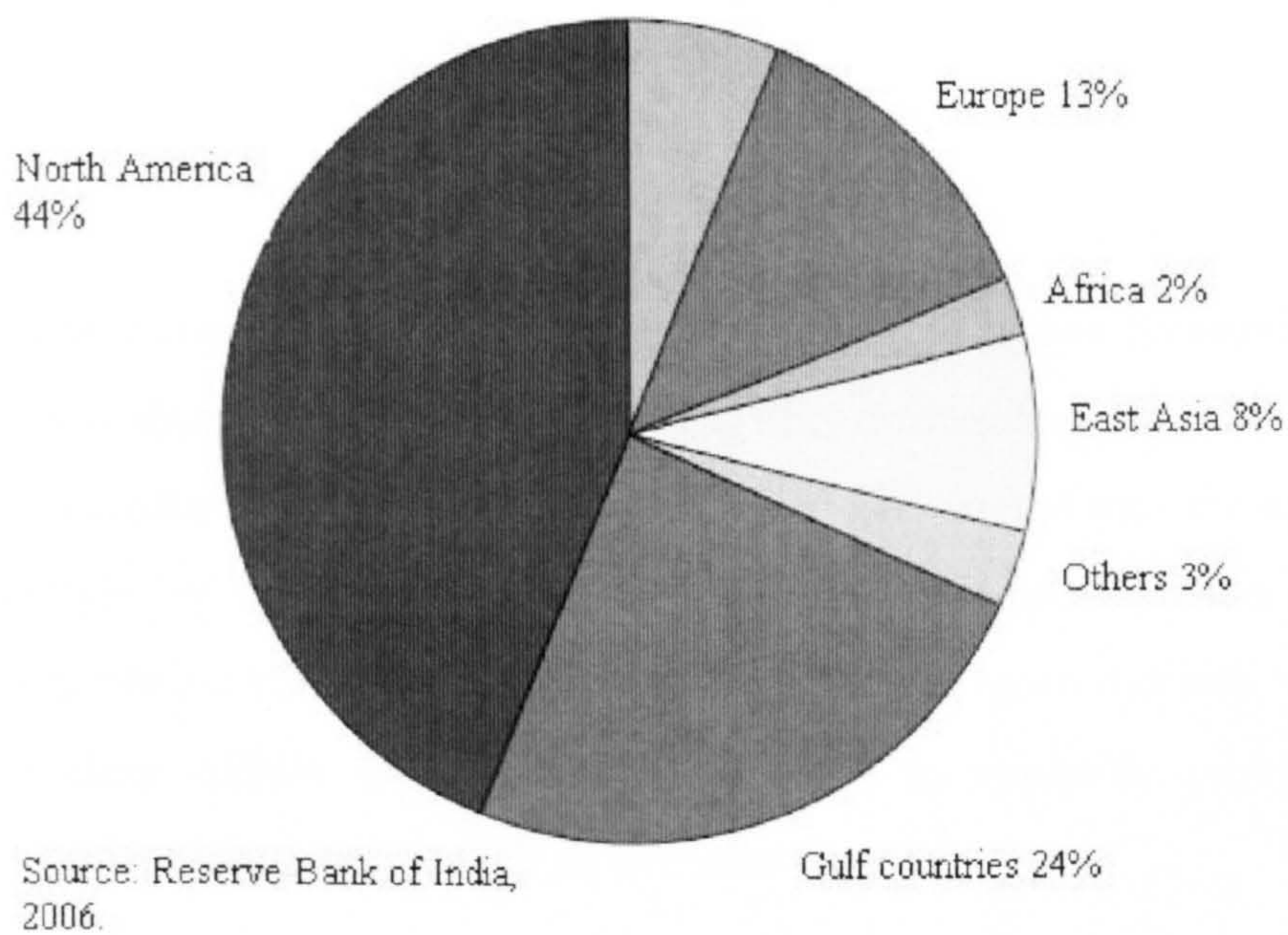


Figure 2.1: Source Regions of Remittance Flows to India, 2006.

Thus, whilst much of the academic focus has been on the transnational spaces of Indians living in these economically important centres, less is known however of the material practices and spatial imaginaries of Indians living overseas since the period of colonial labour migration (for a notable exception see Ray 2001). Figure 2.2 below shows the significant numbers of overseas Indians living in the former plantation economies of south-east Asia, East Africa and the Caribbean.

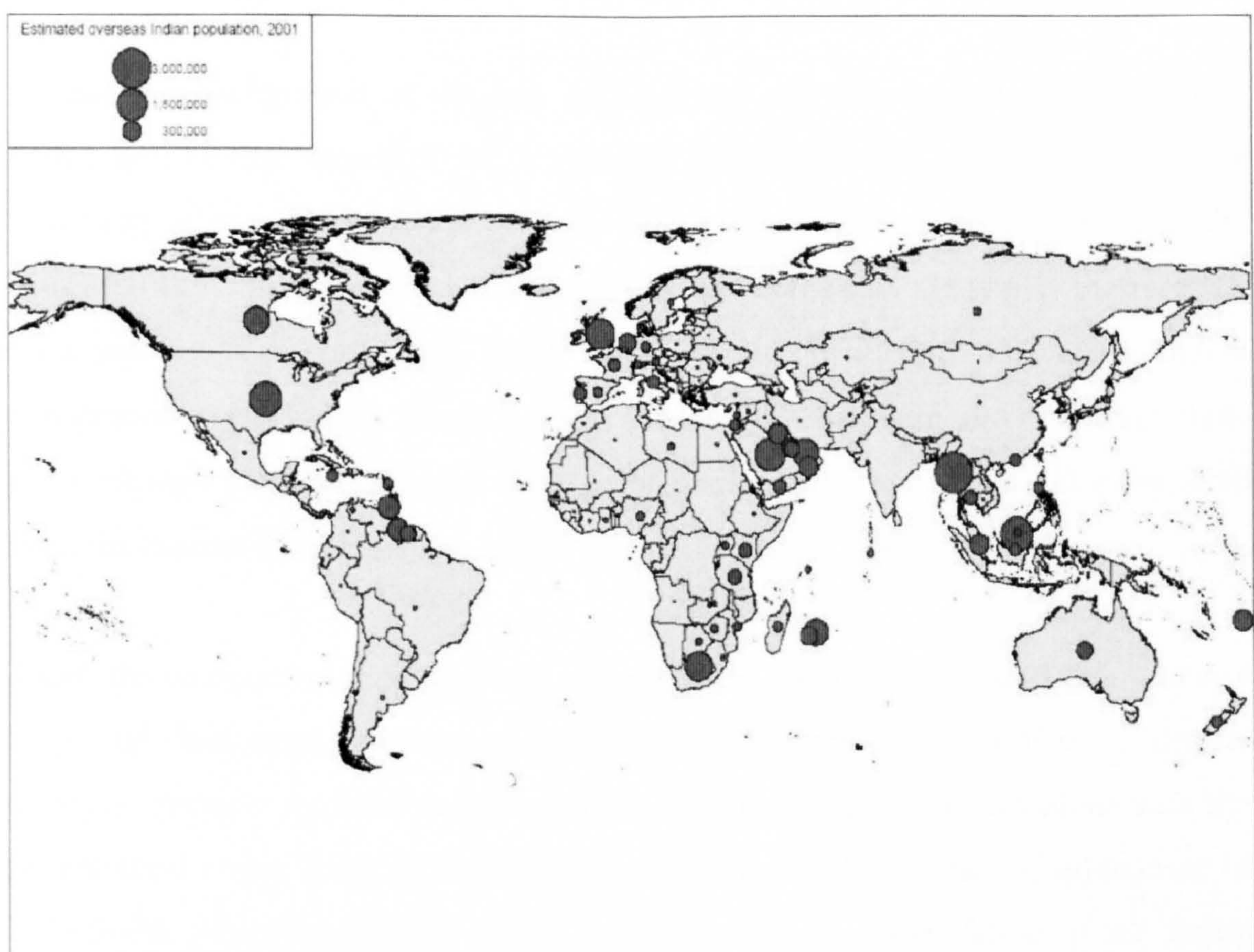


Figure 2.2: Map of the estimated overseas Indian population. Adapted from the HLC Report, 2001: xlvii

Whilst Indians living in these countries were encouraged by the Nehruvian regime to 'integrate' into their host societies following the dismantling of colonialism, more recently the singular imaginative 'Indian Diaspora' has entered into the economic and political language of India. This can be seen for example in the creation of the "High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora" in 2001 and more recently, a Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs was established in 2005 to explicitly provide financial, educational and cultural services for all overseas Indians.

At the same time, the emerging economies of countries in the 'Global South' have entered the new Indian international political lexicon as partners in development. The Prime Minister Manmohan Singh recently signalled his commitment to the "India Development Initiative" which aimed to promote the idea of India as a donor country. New Delhi has recently offered several African countries discount loans to finance Indian exports: Indian commercial loans to Africa, channelled through its Exim bank, totalled about \$110m in 2005 (India Daily 2006). There are also claims that India is a particularly suitable partner for new models of African development, given its advantages and experiences in 'Triple A technologies' (Sachs 2007).

Against this background of the lack of academic attention on overseas Indians in Africa despite the existence of a sizeable overseas Indian population and the increasing focus of New Delhi on trade and exchange with African countries, the South African contingent of overseas Indians was chosen as the site of the research for a number of reasons. First, South Africa has one of the largest overseas Indian populations in the world. Second, South Africa is an economically important trade and exchange partner for India, with trade predicted to reach \$12-billion by 2010 from the current \$6 billion (The Hindu 2007).

Third, the complex migration history of Indians to South Africa results from diverse origins of class, caste, religion and geographical locations and each of these identity 'markers' intersect in different ways to produce a complex of identifications with the geographical entity 'India'. Complicating the picture further is the embeddedness of Indo-South Africans across 4 and 5 generations in the social fabric of the South African nation and the complex context of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. Up until 1960, the Union and apartheid governments viewed Indians in South Africa

as temporary residents. Following the transition to democracy, in which Indo-South Africans played a significant part, Indo-South Africans were keen to stress their loyalty as committed South African citizens. The provision of new opportunities for transnational mobility as a result of travel, communication and economic liberalisation and opening of trade links with India has been received with ambivalence despite India's commitment to opening up channels of exchange with Indo-South Africans and South Africa more generally. Finally, only a small percentage of Indo-South Africans are citizens of India (fig 2.3).

Country of Citizenship	Percent of Indians ⁶
South Africa	98.77%
Asia	1.00%
Southern Africa	0.11%
Rest of Africa	0.06%
Europe	0.05%
North America	0.02%
Central and South America	0.01%
Australia and New Zealand	0.01%

Figure 2.3: Citizenship of Indians in South Africa, 2001.

Source: Statistics South Africa www.statssa.gov.za

This is important because it marks the distinction between overseas Indians as Non-Resident Indians [NRIs] and Persons of Indian Origin [PIOs]. NRIs are overseas Indians who remain full citizens of India, and PIOs are overseas Indians with citizenship of another country, but have a historical family connection to India. 'Indians' in South Africa are generally of the latter category, with only about 10,000 of the Indian population in South Africa with NRIs status (personal communication). The case study of Indians in South Africa is important because it marks a distinct overseas Indian population who lack sustained familial and economic ties to India. The transnational migration literature has tended to focus on migrants with only a

⁶ The South African census classifies the population based on groups with common characteristics of descent and history in relation to how they were (or would have been) classified before the 1994 elections. The following categories are provided in the census: black African, Coloured, Indian or Asian, White, other. Whilst the numbers shown here include both Indians and Asians, people of Indian origin make up the majority of this category.

short history in their new countries of residence (e.g. Portes 1999, Levitt 2001). However, as Indians in South Africa have a long migration history and also were isolated from India for fifty years, this case study might better illuminate more clearly the ways in which Indian transnational identification and practices are tied into the more general global circulation of cultural economies.

Durban was chosen as the specific site of research within South Africa. As the site of first arrival of Indians to South Africa and port of disembarkation of the settlers that arrived under the British as colonial plantation workers, Durban as a place remains intimately bound up in the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid history of Indians in South Africa. The memory of this lives on through the planning of a monument to the Indian settlers on the Durban waterfront and the preservation of Gandhi's former residence in Phoenix.

The restrictions on the inter-provincial movement of Indians during apartheid have resulted in a concentrated population. The province of KwaZulu-Natal and the municipality of e-Thekwini, which includes the city of Durban and the surrounding environs, have the largest share of the Indian population in South Africa (Figure 2.4)

Province	Indians	% of all Indians in South Africa
KwaZulu-Natal	798274	71.56
<i>EThekwini/Durban</i>	<i>614835</i>	<i>55.13</i>
Gauteng	218013	19.54
Western Cape	45028	4.04
Eastern Cape	18372	1.65
Mpumalanga	11243	1.01
North West	9904	0.89
Limpopo	8585	0.77
Free State	3721	0.33
Northern Cape	2321	0.21

Figure 2.4: Indians resident by province, 2001. Source: Statistics South Africa www.statssa.gov.za

As a result of the large population of Indo-South Africans, the headquarters of most Indo-South African cultural and religious organisations are located here and there is a thriving 'Indian' mediascape of Indian orientated radio stations, newspapers and

broadcasters. In addition, because of the large number of Indo-South Africans, Durban hosts many visits from touring Indian artists some of which are organised by the Indian Consulate located in downtown Durban. It is perhaps a reflection of the importance of Durban that the Indian president chose to make his inaugural address to the South African nation from a sports stadium in Chatsworth, a former Indian township located just outside of the city.

In summary, the case study of Indians in Durban was chosen because of the economic, demographic and cultural make-up of the population and the increasing relevancy of South Africa to India's global political rhetoric. The under-researched relationship between India, South Africa and Indo-South Africans is relevant to the aims of the thesis, to understand how difference works through the Indian-South African transnational cultural economy, because of the differences within and between Indian, South African and Indo-South African spheres of political and social life.

2.7 Research questions

Taken together, three questions aim to open up windows on the multiple ways in which transnationalism might connect India and South Africa. The first entry point is to open up the location of 'India' in relation to the historical production of the *identity* of Indo-South Africans. It suggests a Durban-made geography of India, and foregrounds the post-apartheid context of difference. The post-apartheid context is also the focus of the second entry point, in order to open up South Africa and highlights the historical production of *belonging*. This approach foregrounds the contingent and multi-scaled nature of place. The third entry point is an examination of how difference and contingency come together as the Indian state uses constructions of the diaspora to exert influence over the evolving global transnational field.

Research Question 1: How does the migration of Indians to Durban in the past inform Indo-South African transnational identification and practice in the present?

As argued above, an important consideration of the work on transnationalism is the essentialization of a transnational identity as "whole" and detached from any contextualised understanding of differences between people located in particular

structures of identification, politics and economic circumstances. This research question therefore aims to provide a historical reading of “difference” concerning Indians in Durban with particular attention to the role of migration flows. I aim to provide a nuanced examination of the meaning of ‘India’ in the lives of Indo-South Africans.

The overall motivation for this research question lies with a Lefebvrian reading of place by Massey who, as I explained above, drew attention to how difference within place is not simply a reflection or local example of global processes but ‘cultural’ differences are inseparable from ‘economic’ differences of class and both are active in making place and space. This research question echoes with this work on the production of place and scale, and particularly Lefebvre’s insights that sees the indivisibility of personal space from political space in a ‘third term’, because it aims to understand how differences between Indo-South Africans have been culturally, politically and materially produced throughout their migration, apartheid and post-apartheid history and the impact this continues to have in the signification of the Indian-South African transnational space and the outcome in transnational practice.

Research Question 2: How does the South African model of integration function to define Indo-South African belonging?

A second central consideration of this thesis is to unpack the essentialized readings of nations. This question aims to critique the exclusivity of a ‘transnational’ identity as separate from other spheres of belonging by providing a contingent reading of ‘South Africa’ and uncover the wider formations of belonging that influence what it means to be ‘South African’.

In order to do so, it will focus on the meaning of ‘integration’ and how it has been approached and interpreted in a transnational context. Transnational forms of migration are traditionally seen as the binary opposite to national forms of belonging, as separate social spaces deterritorialized from the container of the nation. Whilst some scholars argue that transnationalism can hinder integration, others have shown that ‘being transnational’ can be a positive force for integration, depending on the mix of social, economic and cultural factors of the *‘migrant’*. However, what these debates fail to do is adequately incorporate the economic, social and cultural factors of the *‘nation’* as a place. In other words, although they highlight the nuances of belonging

based on people's structures of identification, 'destinations' are taken for granted wholes. As a result, the underlying assumption is that people have to be either transnational *or* national, without interrogating how both can be intertwined.

As the debates on place have highlighted, rather than consider places as wholes it is essential to see places as the unique outcome of temporal and spatial moments and the result of an interaction between economic, cultural and social processes operating at a variety of scales. Thus, to understand belonging, it is also important to understand the particular set of symbols, and their constitution through multiple scales, that frame that belonging. The aim of this research question is therefore to examine the symbols that make up South African belonging and how the transnational identification and activities of Indo-South Africans are framed within it.

Research Question 3. How is Indo-South African identity and belonging signified in Indian state discourses of the "Indian Diaspora"?

The research questions of this thesis have thus far aimed to examine the differences within transnational identity and the permeability of boundaries between national and transnational formations of belonging. In doing so, it aims to de-essentialize traditional transnational conceptualizations of what constitutes 'origins' and 'destinations' by investigating the multiplicities and multilocalities within them. The final stage of this research aims to investigate the relations *between* origins and destinations and investigate how difference and contingency are implicated in the overlap of near and far relations.

One approach to this is to examine cultural meanings embedded in diasporic discourses of 'sending' states to uncover the recursive relationship between diasporic practice emanating from the 'destination' and that from the 'origin'. As argued above, recent efforts to theorise the production of transnational communities have attempted to understand how sending states have attempted to re-connect migrants with territory, nation and citizenship. This literature has emphasized that states formulate transnational linkages with their émigrés for political and/or economic purposes, that is, either support for political regimes, or support for the 'origin' economy via remittances. By examining the cultural meanings embedded in diasporic discourses of India as a 'sending' state, we can uncover 'destinations' and 'origins' as recursive and mutually constitutive.

2.8. Conclusions

In summary, this chapter has addressed the implications of past and present debates in human geography for the conceptualisation of transnational and diasporic forms of migration. It has argued that the popularity of deploying terms such as transnational and diasporic is based on their conceptual ability to destabilize traditional understandings of membership and migration that were based upon Westphalian organisation of states. For some however, states still have an important role to play in the construction of links. This is crucial to the idea that transnational and diaspora communities are constructed entities, that is, they don't emerge *a priori* through grassroots participation, but states actively manipulate links for economic and political gain. This work has brought to the fore important insights for reaffirming that states continue to matter, and the practices and discourses of states are as important as the practices of migrants.

A number of important problems remain with this literature. The first is the continuing essentialization of the locations of 'home' and 'away' in bounded national entities. This is a result of the continuing separation of the spheres of economic and cultural transnational life, which has codified transnational migration flows into the personal and the political in a dualistic way. Debates in human geography about the production of place and scale, have brought attention to the mutually constitutive nature of the global and the local and the economic and the cultural. The implication of this work is that it highlights the existence of multiplicity and multilocality in places.

This has informed my own approach to the study of transnational migration in order to move beyond essential and binary conceptualisations of transnational life. First, inspired by the recognition of the multiplicity of difference within places, I aim to understand transnational identity as a product of differences that underpin the way identity is signified and practiced. Second, inspired by debates that stress the multiple scales of influence within place, I also aim to understand how these might influence and inform the relationship between transnationalism and destination places. Finally, drawing upon a consideration of the overlap of the near and the far, the final research question examines how both origins and destinations are mutually constitutive and that neither the transnational lives of people nor the transnational activities of the state can simply be additive.

Chapter Three:

Constructing and reconstructing narratives on migration

3.1. Introduction

This chapter has two aims. First, in terms of research design I explain the selection of the case study material and the methodological approach chosen in relation to my particular ontological position. I discuss the research design as an evolutionary and fluid process consistent with the fluidity of the experiences of Indo-South Africans. My second aim is to represent the realities of the research process in a conscious and reflexive consideration of the situated nature of this research. This reflects recent concerns within human geography regarding the desirability for qualitative research to be open and transparent (Baxter and Eyles 1997, Rose 1997, Crang 2002, 2003). In order to do so, I discuss how my research findings are the outcome of a particular process of constructing data that hinges upon my positioning in relation to the research participants. I then highlight how once this data is generated my own particular interpretative framework affects how that information is used and reconstituted. Finally, I discuss the strategies I used to uphold ethical principles in the stories I (re)constructed. This chapter therefore seeks to reflect on the process of research and highlight the nature of all research as a construction and reconstruction of reality.

To illuminate the shifting nature of identity construction within and across the internal and external communities of belonging of Indo-South Africans, it is important to employ methodologies that are sensitive to the fluidity of experiences. Qualitative research into geographies of migration, borne out of post-structural and feminist critiques of population geography and humanistic concerns within geography more generally, have transformed the ways migration is understood. However, as these concerns have also highlighted, knowledge is situated and contextual, and it is the job of the researcher to ensure the relevant contexts of the construction and reconstruction of migrant stories are brought into focus. Qualitative research is not necessarily an excavation of facts nor simply a reflection of understandings, but is a way of creating meanings that involve the researcher as a positioned subject (Rosaldo 1989; Mason 2002).

3.2. The Transnationality of Indians in Durban: Evolution of a research design

There are multiple ways of investigating population and migration, which relates to a researcher's ontological position. In the 1960s empiricism, a philosophy of science that privileges observations over theoretical statements and assumes that observations

are the only way of making reference to the real world, was the foundation of a positivistic approach to understanding population problems that insisted that observations had to be repeatable. Utilising quantitative methods the empirical realist nature of migration research focused on models and entailed a search for global laws and relationships governing migration. A Cartesian and Kantian philosophy of science, which subscribed to the scientist as a detached objective observer who saw the world as knowable and replicable, underpinned this approach (Gregory 1994). Such approaches examined variations in space through measuring patterns, analyzing data using statistical techniques, use of statistical tests and mathematical modelling to reveal spatial patterns and explicate spatial laws of human behaviour. The merits of such an approach included quantitative sophistication, 'objective' representation of the real world and the repeatability of methods.

The analytical framework of positivist and quantitative population geography however was questioned by a turn to a more critical understanding of migration that attempted to identify structures of meanings in the migration process. As a result, there was an accompanying shift to more qualitative techniques that analyzed the underlying meaning of social processes. This reflected the 'cultural turn' (Eyles and Smith 1988; Ley and Samuels 1978; Smith 1984) within geography, and longstanding concerns with both the over-quantification of geography (e.g. Taylor 1976) and in social science more generally (Glaser and Straus 1967). This re-evaluation of objective social science furthered by the development of humanism and phenomenology approaches which entailed the growing use of literature, art and other non-traditional sources which were used to understand the subjective meaning of social action rather than recount its characteristics (Winchester 1999). Humanism impacted on geographic practice as a reaction against positivistic science and asserted the importance of human experience using people centred methods to explore the relationship between people and place (Tuan 1977, Relph 1976).

Qualitative research was highlighted as a useful tool of social analysis in human geography by feminist geographers keen to elucidate the invisible networks of power that underpin opinions and experiences (e.g., Rose 1993, Moss 2002). Key qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, ethnography and participant observation were used to move away from the rigid, categorised responses of surveys and questionnaires that limited explanation (Valentine 1997). For Silverman (1993: 94)

the advantage of qualitative research is it recognises the subjective nature of social relationships. The validity of qualitative research is not related to its reliability and representativeness but on “whether they can help elucidate the structures and causal mechanisms which underpin behaviour” (Winchester 1999:62). At the heart of feminist methodologies is an examination of power, privilege and oppression, with gender foregrounded as the primary social relation. Qualitative methods were therefore seen as best suited to the goals of feminist analysis as they enabled the deciphering of webs of meanings within social structures and processes and deconstruct the taken for granted (Stanley and Wise 1993). Feminist research also questioned the objectivity of supposed value-free research, the existence of positivist universal truths and the influence of ideology and politics upon research.

In migration research, feminist methodologies were influential. Instead of simply understanding migration as a series of push and pull factors, migrants’ identities came to be recognized as important factors shaping mobility and migration decisions (Kofman and England 1997; Boyle 2002). Through qualitative, in-depth interviews with migrants, authors such as Silvey traced the ways in which mobility and gendered identities are reworked under conditions of economic crisis in Indonesia. Her work illustrates the ways in which mobility is shaped by socially constructed gender norms and identities, and further demonstrates how both are reproduced and transformed under changing political-economic conditions (Silvey 2000).

This mirrored a broader trend in population geography and the recognition of the social constructedness of data and social categories and of the material interests that those categories inevitably serve (White and Jackson 1995). Instead, as White and Jackson argue, considering the subjective meanings that individuals hold about their own identities can enrich population research and show how these meanings are constructed through particular political-economic contexts (Lawson 2000). Thus, migration is complex and contradictory, socially constructed and politically contested and a number of writers argued for population geography to articulate a broader research agenda and provide fuller interpretations of complex and shifting relationships. White and Jackson’s call complemented debates already underway. Halfacree and Boyle (1993) began a debate about the importance of a biographical approach in migration research, arguing that this had been neglected. Skeldon’s (1995) response noted that, in fact, biographical approaches, incorporating cultural and

contextual analysis and engaging in qualitative data collection, had in fact long been part of migration research. Cultural migration studies, for example, have had a long-standing interest in indigenous epistemologies of mobility and ethnographic approaches (Mitchell, 1969; Chapman, 1969; 1970). Other work has paid attention to migrants' complicated self-perceptions and the unfolding of identities over time (Chapman, 1976; Buttner, 1985; Lowenthal, 1985). Graham (1999) suggests that this discussion over biographical approaches is not significant in terms of whether the biographical method has been used *per se*. Rather the exchange raised questions about the importance of theorizing migration differently and then employing methods in relation to the broader theoretical arguments being addressed. This move to combine new methodologies with particular substantive theoretical critiques has already begun in migration studies (King *et al.*, 1995; McHugh, 2000). Rouse (1991) calls for ethnographies of migration that enable us to theorize space, belonging and connection in new ways. He argues that many scholars have neglected the broad relevance of migration studies for reinterpreting space, modernity and politics: He calls for work that engages migrant narratives to understand better the social dynamics emerging through migration processes, and to recognize that the spaces of modernity are socially constructed.

However, concerns have arisen for the reliability of qualitative analysis and its lack of statistical validity (e.g. Schoenberger 1991, Baxter and Eyles 1997). The small sample sizes, use of snowballing techniques and key informants in qualitative methods are difficult to justify in the tradition of positivist methodology (Winchester 1999). Baxter and Eyles (1997), drawing upon the Sokal hoax, are particularly concerned about the lack of replicability and testing of qualitative research. For Fotheringham (2006: 244), "If there is no value system whereby research can be assessed, then how does one differentiate 'good' research from 'bad research?'".

However, it has been recognised more recently that that the methodological approach chosen should be driven not by the research method, but by the research questions to be asked and the best method of illuminating and finding the answers. Harré (1979) termed research as either 'extensive' or 'intensive'. Sayer (1984, 1992) summarized these in terms of typical research strategies. Extensive work focuses on patterns and regularities through a large-scale representation of people using methods of data construction. Intensive work pursues specific processes with a small number of

people using interactive interview and ethnographies for data construction, with qualitative analysis for interpretation. As Sayer (1992: 244) explicated however,

“the extensive/intensive distinction is not identical to the more familiar distinction between survey analysis and ethnography. Intensive research need not always use ethnographic methods to establish the nature of causal groups, and surveys need not be devoid of attempts to understand the social construction of meaning” (in Cloke et al 2004: 127)

Gouldner (1967), especially, cautions against methodolatry and the danger that researchers become “compulsively preoccupied with a method of knowing, which is exalted without consideration of how successful it is in producing knowledge” (Eyles 1988: 3). Instead, there has been a move away from categorizations of methodologies to understand a range of methods, using different research methods in different research questions. Bryman (2001, 1998) suggests that for practical reasons one type of technique is primary, but all research is enhanced by the addition of other different techniques. In population geography, pluralism of methods is actively encouraged for the exploration of the diversity of the migrant experience (Findlay and Graham 1991, Graham 1999, Findlay and Li 1999). Cloke et al also stress that some forms of research are best suited to particular research circumstances that include not only theoretical, but political, technical and ethical circumstances (Cloke et al 2004).

To develop a framework for the study of the role of power and positionality in the construction of Indo-South African identity, I required a methodology that allowed a legitimate and meaningful way to generate ontologically consistent data. My research design was therefore considered as part of a wider research strategy through a careful formulation of research questions and appropriate methodologies and incorporated an integrated research design for methodological pluralism.

3.2.1. Analysis of texts

An initial starting point in my research design was an analysis of Indian diaspora discourses of the Indian state through policy texts, including legislation, diaspora research reports and speeches of the *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas*. I began with this analysis for a number of reasons: As I was fairly new to the study of the Indian diaspora I wanted to get a handle on the breadth and geographical scope of Indians around the

world, so I began with a report produced by the Indian government which overviewed the different 'poles' of the Indian diaspora: their history, numbers and opportunity for developing ties and links. As my research progressed through the fieldwork in South Africa, it became apparent that other texts, such as newspapers, websites, advertising, community pamphlets and information booklets were also central to the formation of the Indian-South African transnational field.

Uses of texts have consistently been important in geography. Geographical interest in the textual can be interpreted as a response to the study of language as the ontological and epistemological basis of social theory, by theorists who argue that language does not reflect the world but constitutes it (e.g. Levi-Strauss 1969, Habermas 1988). In geographical practice, humanist geography examined texts as resources that could reveal more about human interaction with the environment. Textual analysis was also taken up by more critical theorists, such as the Frankfurt School, as a critique of humanism and the way it divorced analysis of text from its consumption and production in specific social and political contexts. Barnes and Duncan (1992:4) argue that texts, both as a written and visual construction, are constitutive of larger discourses, or practices of signification, providing a framework for understanding the world. Much of their work derives from Foucault's analyses (1972) of the relationship between power, knowledge and representation, arguing that knowledge and its association with institutions legitimises the truths that they produce. Ideologies are grounded in material institutions and cultural practices that affect how particular ideas and sets of beliefs were accepted as valuable. For Duncan (1993) studies of the construction of discourses have an important value in the problematisation and politicisation of the representation process, pointing to the fact that the writing of geographies is a process of creating and inscribing meanings about places and spaces.

A text is thus conceived of as a discursive terrain across which sites of power may be mapped. Texts have become objects of study themselves and subject to critical interpretation to excavate the apparently mimetic qualities and reveal partial representations of people and places. Thus whilst my use of texts began as a logical starting point, the end result was to bring state diasporic discourse and rhetoric to the fore of my research and understand the role of the diaspora within the imaginary of the Indian nation. My second aim in using textual sources was to provide triangulation with interviews in South Africa and validate and corroborate stories

there. Important in this regard were newspaper stories, websites and brochures, and pamphlets and information leaflets which added texture and depth to my research.

3.2.2. Interviews

Whilst analysis of text has been important in thinking about the role texts play in creating social and cultural identity and the ability of the text to create reality through the invention of difference and construction of society (Derrida 1991, Jones and Natter 1999) it is also important to interrogate its situation within the wider context of production and consumption. This provides a secondary interpretation of difference within the Indian diaspora and its emplacement within particular contexts. The representation of the Indo-South Africans in the texts of the Indian state is interesting, but it is also important to uncover the context in which representations are produced, the institutional setting, the genre of which it is a part, the political position that sustains the authority of the author and the historical context. This is especially important because in a complex and fragmented society, governments co-operate and blend with other non-governmental actors.

Therefore, a major concern of my research was to excavate the context of the production of Indian government texts. Following email correspondence with an academic at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, it became apparent that the Indian government report, on which a large part of my discourse analysis was based, was formulated in conjunction with a number of 'community' leaders in South Africa. This immediately brought up a number of research questions, including, what was the nature of the relationship between the Indian government and Indian community gatekeepers? What kind of networks did they sustain and why? In order to answer these questions, it was necessary to conduct interviews with a variety of actors engaged in the production of the transnational field (such as newspaper editors, radio stations, religious and cultural groups and prominent individuals) to tease out the deeper meanings and structures within which diasporic and transnational connections between India and Indo-South Africa are formulated. It was therefore appropriate to ask in-depth interview questions as part of a wider research strategy of intensive work that pursues specific topics with a small number of people using interactive interviews, ethnographies and qualitative analysis.

Interviews especially allow researchers to interrogate the strategic choices, interrelationships and trade-offs that lie behind actions as a process of understanding the positions adopted by groups in places. The first purpose of the in-depth interviews was to explore personal and collective experiences of community elites/gatekeepers regarding their relationships to India, South Africa. The second purpose was to investigate the ways in which they and their institutions/organizations shaped transnational practice. The third purpose of interviewing was to understand how and why they interpret different and multiple individual and collective meanings of being Indian in South Africa in relation with a series of features such as gender, age, culture, religion, social networks developed in the city, connections and networks with the country of origin, community organisation etc. The emphasis was therefore on explaining, rather than simply describing, the construction and reconstruction of Indo-South African identities using interviews to provide a better understanding.

Much of the methodological training for geographers points towards the idea of using 'representative samples' in qualitative interviewing. However Susan Smith (1988: 22 cited in Cloke et al 2004: 156) has argued "any attempt on the part of an analyst to enter the life-world of others is above all, strategic". Therefore, choosing 'who' to interview is driven by the research agenda. As identified in chapter 2, and also above, a key concern of this research is to explore not only discourses of the Indian government, but also their practices and their intersection with the practices of Indian South Africans. Most methodologies interrogate the role of gatekeepers in controlling access to informants (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). However, in my case, gatekeepers were not just useful informants for contacting other interviewees, but were an object of study themselves, as powerful figures within a particular group (Hughes and Cormode 1998). The first task was therefore to define "who" exactly formed this network. Using information gathered in interviews as well as textual sources of information such as newspaper articles and brochures produced by the different 'community' interest groups allowed me to uncover the key figures within the Indo-South African 'community' and keep a 'list' of people involved in heading religious and linguistic community groups, Indo-South African members of the government, Indo-South African academics and writers, people heading the Indo-South African media and other high profile individuals with important roles such as relatives of Gandhi.

Whilst the initial purpose of conducting the in-depth interviews was to discover more about the context of the production of the Indian government's diaspora report, interviews also allowed me to explore the personal and collective experiences of 'community' elites and gatekeepers regarding their relationships to India and South Africa and how this shaped transnational practice. This allowed me to uncover and interpret the different and multiple individual and collective meanings of being Indian in South Africa in relation to a series of identifiers such as gender, age, culture, religion, social networks and connections and networks within India and South Africa.

3.2.3. Participant observation

Transnational relations can also be observed by looking at individuals' lives and the networks in which they are embedded in very local contexts. Ethnography and participant observation is particularly suited for studying the creation and durability of transnational social fields as it can allow researchers to document how persons simultaneously maintain cultural identities, interact within a location and across its boundaries.

Ethnography is rooted in European imperialism and the role of academic disciplines of anthropology and geography and has been a core methodological tradition since the early 19th century (Livingstone 1992). The commitment to people-centered research is connected to the humanism of Vidal de la Blache's *la géographie humaine* and Carl Sauer's Berkeley School of cultural geography, which were both concerned with understanding agency in relation to societal and environmental structures, ideas about which were absorbed in the 1970s into an ethical critique of the spatial science tradition (Cloke et al 1991). As outlined above, humanism has had a profound impact on the study of human geography, the aim of which is to understand the human experience of space and place using an intuitive, introspective process (Entrikin 1976; 628 cited in Cloke et al 2004: 173; Billinge et al 1984).

The purpose of participant observation at the festivals, events, spaces and places of Indo-South Africans was twofold: first it enabled me to add detail and complexity to the insights gathered from interviews and textual analysis. This provided a richer resource of information about how ties between India and South Africa are constructed and interpreted. This enabled me to look at certain events from multiple

angles. Second, participant observation was an aid to enhancing the reliability and rigour of my data collection process. As a researcher situated 'outside' of South African and Indian space, combining participant observations with interviews and textual analysis allowed me to establish a more informed data set and eliminate some of the problems of being an 'outsider'.

3.2.4. Survey Data

The final methodology utilized in the construction of narratives of Indo-South African identity practice was surveys. The textual sources, interviews and participant observation added a rich layer of detail about the signifiers present in discourses about connecting Indo-South Africans to India. However, as background research into the history of Indians in South Africa revealed, these signifiers were at times at odds with the heterogeneous identity of Indians. In order to uncover more about how this heterogeneity had influenced the material as well as discursive ways Indo-South Africans connected to India, I decided a survey was necessary to reveal more concrete evidence about the extent of transnational practice.

Questionnaires and surveys are often viewed as inappropriate for the investigation of sensitive issues such as those of identity. The presentation of identity as a quantity that can be measured through surveys in terms of outcomes and indicators has been critiqued because it often fails to capture the process of interpretation and the interactional order of human life (Blumer 1969). However, for me the usefulness of the questionnaire is as a highly structured research technique that can elicit a body of information about a large sample of respondents as an extensive research strategy (Sayer 1992). As I highlighted above, the particular research methodology used by a researcher is contingent on not only the theoretical aim of the research but also ethical, political and practical concerns. In this context, the survey was a useful instrument of data construction because it allowed me to count up differing kinds of responses and produce numeric measurements of what people think and how they behave alongside information related to age, occupation and gender which could be cross tabulated and used to make quantifiable inferences about the wider sample. Thus, the survey allowed me to elicit a large amount of information in a relatively short space and time within the budgetary constraints of the PhD research. Whilst not a complete understanding of how and why Indo-South Africans forge connections to India, it allowed me to generate an overview of the extent of

transnational practice in relation to a variety of identity markers of age, generation, religion, language, gender and economic status.

3.2.5. Summary

The design of research methodologies for answering questions is an evolutionary process that is contingent on a number of factors related to the personal, political and technical practicalities of conducting research. My own research design was an outcome of a particular sequence of events that began with an examination of the diasporic discourses of the Indian state, led onto an examination of the production of those texts, which then revealed important information about the way ties with India were constructed. Participant observation added richness, detail and validity to the interviews and textual material. This prompted me to explore further the physical and material connections between India and South Africa. Such a mixed methods approach I think allowed me to make comparisons between different experiences and accounts of the way India and South Africa figure in the lives of Indo-South Africans.

However, it is also important to pay attention to how I as a researcher constructed and reconstructed Indo-South African stories. The generation of knowledge does not automatically occur in a vacuum, but is constructed and reconstructed within a particular interpretative framework that is affected by the power and positionality of situated researchers. The next two sections therefore detail the process of ‘doing’ and ‘interpreting’ research and uncovers in a reflexive way the limits of the research. It also describes the strategies I used to minimise the influences of personal bias and make the research process as rigorous, ethical and consistent as possible.

3.3. Constructing migrant stories

3.3.1. Introduction

All data and knowledge is constructed and ‘made’ for a particular purpose, and is also situated in particular political and personal structures of meaning (SJ Smith 2001). To be able to utilise data sources and extract interpretations and meanings from them it is vital to be familiar with the subtleties of these sources and appreciate the biases installed into data.

The diffusion of qualitative methods in human geography throughout the 1990s following feminist critiques of the “old” positivist orthodoxy came with critiques that

illuminated the subjectivity of knowledge production and underlined the importance of reflection at all stages of data collection, analysis and representation (Madge et al., 1997; Rose, 1997, Crang 2002). These critiques demonstrated the need to consider qualitative research more holistically, as every type of knowledge is situated: from the way interviewer and interviewees relate to each other, to the types of values they attach to that knowledge (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Smith, 1993).

The writings of a number of feminist critics (Hartsock, 1987; di Stephano, 1990; Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991; Code, 1996; Rose, 1997) have been instrumental in shaping the current process of reassessment, because they have questioned claims to objective and value-free research and have sought to explore how relationships of power between researchers and their informants influence how knowledge is interpreted and represented. Haraway (1991), for example, argues that as scholars we embark upon research with 'maps of consciousness' that are influenced by our own gender, class, national and racial attributes. A researcher's knowledge is therefore always partial, because his/her positionality (perspective shaped by his/ her unique mix of race, class, gender, nationality, sexuality and other identifiers), as well as location in time and space will influence how the world is viewed and interpreted (Mullings 1999). It can be therefore be argued that knowledge is actually situated in the complexities of both producers of that knowledge and their audiences (Women and Geography Study Group, 1997).

This challenges the researchers' own role in the research process to appreciate the possibilities and limits of the data and arrive at reflexive and considered findings, conclusions and speculations. This section of the chapter works through the details of my methodological approach to constructing my primary data of in-depth interviews, surveys and field observations and allows me to be active and reflexive in the process of explanation and understanding of the data.

3.3.2 Interviews

As a "conversation with a purpose" (Webb and Webb 1932, Burgess 1984), the aim of using interviews is to provide an insight into people's experiences and gain access to the meanings subjects attribute to them (Silverman 1993 in Cloke et al 2004:149). According to Holstein and Bubrium (1997), the main task of the researcher is to formulate good questions and create an atmosphere of rapport. Alaasturi (1995)

however argues that interviewers are themselves unavoidably implicated in the construction of meanings with their interviewees. Gaining access to the meanings and experiences of people through interviews is not an unproblematic task: the researchers own positionality plays a pivotal role in the way interview data is constructed. It is important to engage in a reflexive consideration of the values and subjectivities of the researcher in order to realise the limits of the knowledge produced.

3.3.2.1. Interview Sampling

As Chapter 2 explicated, transnational actors are often conceptualized as ‘revolutionary subjects’, which obscures difference, the interconnections and the power relations underpinning the formation of transnational identities. The central aim of this thesis is to uncover these power relations in the formation of Indo-South African transnational identity. Therefore, the ‘target’ for interviews was Indo-South African ‘elites’: social actors who mediate, or broker, transnational connections between India and Indo-South Africans (see Fig 3.1 below for full list). The intention was that in-depth interviews with a defined set of social actors would uncover the historically contextualized roles played by political, religious, cultural or economic agents in shaping the social spaces in which Indians operate. Rather than being comprehensive in covering certain ages or genders of participants, the aim was to identify a list of people considered central to the Indian-South African transnational field by the Indian government.

Interview participants were recruited in two intersecting ways. The first was via the Indian consulate. As explained above, the discourses contained in the report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora were the starting point for this thesis. My desire to understand the context of its production led to the knowledge that the report had stemmed out of a series of meetings the committee had had with a group of Indo-South African ‘community leaders’, by which I mean people who headed various religious and cultural organizations. The most obvious starting point was therefore to identify ‘who’ comprised this committee. Thus, on my first visit to Durban in 2004 I arranged a meeting with a representative of the Indian consulate, who kindly furnished me with the names and contact details of a ‘list’ of people the consulate regularly invited to various events, both public events such as visiting

cultural artists and private events such as dinner parties at the Consular General's house.

Gender	Reason for selection
Male	Representative A of the Indian Consulate, Durban
Male	Representative B of the Indian Consulate, Durban
Male	Representative C of the Indian Consulate, Durban
Male	Editor of Indo-South African newspaper A
Male	Section editor of Indo-South African newspaper A
Male	Editor of Indo-South African newspaper B
Female	Section editor of Indo-South African newspaper B
Female	Editor of Indo-South African newspaper C
Male	Head of cultural organization A
Male	Head of cultural organization B
Male	Head of cultural organization C
Male	Events organizer for cultural organization C
Male	Leader of religious organization A
Male	Leader of religious organization B
Male	Head of religious organization C
Male	Politician A on Durban City Council
Male	Politician B on Durban City Council
Male	KwaZulu-Natal Minister
Female	Leader of community organization A
Female	Presenter, TV Station A
Male	Manager of radio station A
Male	Manager of radio station B
Female	Academic/Scholar A
Male	Academic/Scholar B
Male	Durban based film distributor A
Male	Durban based film distributor B

Figure 3.1: Table of interview participants

This was a handy guide to the main Indo-South African 'players' within Durban: heads of various religious and cultural organizations, important Indo-South Africans in the world of business, politics and the media and other key individuals such as

Indo-South African authors, academics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and leaders of community groups.

However, I felt that approaching people from this list directly would not be effective in establishing both credibility and rapport, and therefore decided it was more appropriate to begin a process of 'snowballing' and 'networking' in order to lend my research more credibility. I therefore began with an initial contact at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, an academic who had written a detailed piece on Indians in South Africa. Following on from an initial meeting I came away with details for an influential newspaper contact and permission to approach him for an interview through my connection with the academic. Following this interview, I was able to initiate further contact with other people involved in the Durban print media. Following interviews with people in this initial pool, I was able to make contact with a wider group of people, which included the leaders of Indo-South African linguistic and religious organizations affiliated with the print and radio media. Once it became known that I was a researcher from the UK due to the small nature of the group, it became easier to identify the right people to talk to and make initial contact.

3.3.2.2 Positionality and power

As a methodology, interviewing is highly affected by issues of power, positionality and subjectivity and detailing the power relations between the interviewer and interviewee helps account for the ways that interview texts are constructed (Baxter and Eyles 1997, Pile 1991, Schoenberger, 1991, McDowell, 1992, Herod, 1993). An axis of positionality considered of prime importance is that of the distinction between a researcher as an insider or outsider. Researchers generally considered as 'insiders' belong to same ethnic/interest group and are considered to have an advantage because of the perceived easier integration into the target research groups based on familiarity, identity and sense of undeclared solidarity. 'Insiders' can be provided with information unlikely to be gathered by those who approach as objective outsiders, especially regarding sensitive discussions on race and ethnicity and may also make for more reliable data because of the shared outlook or knowledge within a group (Herod 1999). 'Insiders' may therefore have an advantage as researchers because they are able to use their knowledge of the group to gain more intimate insights into their opinions. In contrast, outsiders argue that by not belonging to a group under study, they are more likely to be perceived as neutral and therefore be given information that would

not be given to an insider (Mullings 1999). Outsiders also argue that they are likely to have a greater degree of objectivity and ability to observe behaviours without distorting their meanings.

Much of the work written on the process of conducting research has tended to assume that there exists a simple dichotomy concerning the researchers positionality as an 'outsider' or 'insider' (Herod 1999). However, there is no single way to predict the impact of signifiers such as race, gender, nationality etc. Phoenix (1994) for example argues that while it may be comfortable for a feminist researcher to interview women, that ease does not come from shared gender but may be partly the result of shared class and/or shared colour. A shared positional space is not simply a process of 'racial and gender matching', but dynamism of individual identities should be taken into account. Pratt and Hanson (1995) also argue that positions are not static, and Lutz (1993) in her examination of the experiences of Turkish women immigrants who worked as social workers with Turkish communities in the Netherlands and Germany also found that assumptions of shared positionalities based upon ethnicity were problematic.

Before I had conducted my interviews, I had assumed that my own positionality was unproblematic since I was an 'outsider' to Indians in South Africa due to my nationality and ethnicity. However, as 'Indians' have no singular cultural, religious identity then my own position in relation to them was also not singular. My nationality/ethnicity as well as my status as a doctoral candidate had ambiguous effects. Among interviewees, my position as a doctoral candidate and an outsider to South Africa was initially disempowering as I was a seeker of information, wholly dependent upon gatekeepers. Thus appointments would be either cancelled at the last minute or rescheduled. Even when a meeting was in progress, my control over the interview was limited by telephone calls and interruptions. In the process of negotiating access, the fact that I was in a lesser position of responsibility rendered me an outsider, regardless of my ethnicity or nationality.

On the other hand, being an 'outsider' had clear advantages in that it gave me a sense of impartiality that was important in two respects. First it assisted me in being granted interviews. Being an outsider aided in the process of gaining access to the required people. Particularly amongst 'elites', being able to build trust and creating a sense of

impartiality is often a crucial requirement for being granted an audience. Accessing the interviewees was a relatively straightforward process due to the easy identification of the most relevant people to talk to and the 'snowball' method.

Being an 'outsider' secondly allowed the creation of a space during my interviews that allowed the interviewees to share information freely. Generally, during the field research, apart from anonymity and confidentiality assurances, every effort was made to reduce the potential of the questions to 'threaten' the respondents. The strategy was to adopt a casual everyday approach, lessen the threat of judgement, decrease the specificity of the information required and to place sensitive questions or discussion themes at the end of the interview process. All these techniques were adopted because in research situations the researcher can pose a political, legal or economic threat to the respondents, asking for information that could be used to harm them (Foddy, 1993). In my case it was important not to deepen already existing divisions between different sections of the Indian 'community', especially the sensitive divisions between those Indians who actively resisted apartheid and those who were complicit with the 'Tricameral' parliament.

The process of procuring information was an intricate process of identifying spaces and times when it was desirable to be an 'insider', and situations when it was more desirable to be an 'outsider' (Mullings 1999). While the extent to which being perceived as an outsider might have limited the amount of information shared with me cannot be judged, self-representation was nonetheless an important component of the search for shared positional space. At certain points I would display knowledge of the topic under discussion in order to win confidence of elites during interviews and create a space where my interviewees could view me as an intellectual and knowledgeable equal and temporary insider. At other times I would construct my knowledge of the position of Indo-South Africans in vague manner as I felt that this would allow me to represent myself in the least threatening way. My presumed lack of knowledge of Indo-South African politics allowed my interviewees to open up and provide me with very candid opinions.

⁷ Under the apartheid regime, democracy was nominally exercised through the creation of the 'Tricameral parliament' in which Indian and coloured racial groups were given representation.

This is very much related to the question of power dynamics in the interview. The debates regarding the positionalities of researchers and their subjects and the consequent power relationships that develop between them have tended to focus on situations where the researcher is in a more powerful position than the participant (e.g. Patai, 1991; Sidaway, 1992; Lal, 1996) and few have examined the practical difficulties that surround other qualitative research methods or situations where the researcher is not in a position of relative power. Lack of power in the interview setting is generally perceived as disabling for the researcher. However I found in my own interviews, projecting curiosity and a desire to 'learn' from the person whilst playing a submissive role and displaying a lack of knowledge in the interview situation I believe helped me gain candid information.

3.3.2.3. Interview Design

To explain social processes and change it is vital to have an understanding of the depth and complexity in people's situated and contextual accounts. Far from having standardized questions, successful interviews rely on having different questions for different people in order to generate situated accounts. The comparison between different interviewees is not necessarily cited at the level of differences or similarities, but on the identification of interpretative themes upon which to construct analysis and arguments. Interviews therefore draw on the social experiences or processes to be explored, and gives the interviewee the opportunity to talk through specific experiences and reasoning. Whilst interviews are often seen as informal and in a conversational style, this actually masks rigorous activities in the planning stages of the interview.

The preparation of a methodologically rigorous interview is an important part of generating meaningful data. Following Jennifer Mason's stepped process of designing interview questions (2002), I prepared a series of linked research questions, topics and interview questions that stemmed from the bigger theoretical research questions of the project. Each of the 'big' research questions were broken down into mini-research questions as sub categories. The next stage was to develop ideas about how it might be possible to get at the relevant issues. The mini research questions were converted into possible interview topics, from which possible individual questions were formulated. An example of this process can be seen in figure 3.2 (below).

It is also important to stress that the preparation of questions from topics was not a rigid script for the interviews, but was clearly linked to the bigger research questions. The interview itself was based on a loose structure that was flexible but guided by the topics and mini-research questions. This was a helpful process as it also allowed me to draw upon these topics when faced with an unexpected ‘chat’ with key individuals.

<i>Research Question</i>	<i>Mini-Research Question</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Interview Question</i>
Role of difference in identity	What type of Indian-ness is important	What does being Indian mean?	What represents typical Indian values

Figure 3.2: Example of interview design method

The questions were transferred onto topic cards and linked together using corresponding codes. The goal was to produce a modifiable flow chart of the structure the interview would take using topic or issue ‘prompts’ as a checklist to ensure coverage of the required ground. The cards were used at relevant points in the interview related to the context of the interview in progress, rather than in a sequential order. The cards also included standardized comments and questions such as the introductory explanation, questions to elicit basic information about the person or organization and assurances about confidentiality of data.

3.3.2.4. Interview Execution

Most of the individual interviews took around half an hour due to the time pressures on editors and radio station managers. Although I had a definitive list of subjects I wanted to cover, the interviews took a fairly loose form and were very much shaped by the direction the interview took on the day, with some prompting from me, using the topic cards, to ensure the interview stayed on track.

Establishing rapport is a key part of a successful interview and is influenced by a range of factors including location and the appearance and demeanour of the interviewer (Gorden 1967). Whilst age, gender, race etc in this situation could not be adjusted, dress and manner of speech was. I wore a business suit and smart clothes

when interviewing my respondents in an attempt to fit into the environment. However, dress alone is not guaranteed to establish rapport and instead I tried to be sensitive to body language and balance both listening and speaking. Other techniques I employed included asking informal questions about travel and study in England, asking easy questions about the history of the organisation and how that person came to be involved in it, the weather, cricket, how I was finding South Africa and other places that I had been to.

Rather than audiotaping the interviews, I decided to play it safe and take comprehensive notes instead, as an earlier mishap had dented my confidence in the tape recorder and equipment I had. Following the interview, the notes were typed up as soon as possible afterwards to ensure the conversations we had were fresh in my mind and I could accurately interpret my often messy handwriting. Although this meant I might have missed information I didn't think important at the time, I felt that there was a bigger risk to be taken in not getting any information at all from faulty equipment.

3.3.2.4. Establishing rigour in interviews

As documented above, being an 'outsider' can be a disadvantage in ensuring validity and of the data. As an 'outsider' who had minimal knowledge of the situation of Indians in South Africa before visiting, I had some worries about the reliability of my findings. Baxter and Eyles (1997: 511) also have concerns over the rigour of qualitative interview based research more generally, and argue that one of the main threats to ensuring qualitative validity is the misinterpretation of meanings expressed through interview conversations.

My strategy for overcoming some of these fears was twofold. First I conducted a month long pilot visit three months before the main period of fieldwork in order to check the validity of my research questions. Second, as Sayer (1984) argues, the rigour of intensive interview data can be ensured through a process of corroboration. I had a number of checking procedures in place to ensure that my interpretations and findings were consistent. These included revisits to respondents, undertaken in five of the interviews, to verify and confirm my interpretations. I also informally talked with Indians living in Durban, outside of the interview setting, told them about my research and what I was finding out. Finally, I had multiple informal meetings with

academics and colleagues based at the University of KwaZulu-Natal throughout the period of fieldwork Durban to ensure I was interpreting the findings correctly and continuing to ask the right questions in subsequent interviews.

3.3.3. Conducting a survey

3.3.3.1. Survey design

The design and execution of questionnaires and surveys, like in-depth interviews, can similarly be a problematic exercise. Although surveys are designed to be focused on a research question and structured in a 'closed' form to be interpreted using descriptive statistics, much thought needs to be given to the flow, sequencing and wording of questions in order to elicit correct information and minimise confusion.

Oppenheim (1992) provides a number of basic rules for a careful framing of questions, and these were followed in order to produce a reliable data set. First, the question length was kept as short as possible, avoiding double-barrelled questions, double negatives and jargon. This avoided ambiguity, leading and loaded questions. Second, I was fastidious in ensuring that the language used was neutral and without assumptions about gender, ethnicity, religion etc. As well as categorized responses, space was left for people to write in their own responses, which were incorporated into the production of the data set. A good example of why this was necessary was my assumption that Indian vernaculars in Durban were based on the 5 main languages identified as the 'origin' of most Indians in Durban. I had left a box for writing in those languages without a category box and I found that a large number of people had written "Arabic" as a language often spoken.

Questions were designed around different transnational practices to assess the material connections of the sample group to India. These included questions such as number and reasons for visits to India, purchase of Indian satellite channels, visits to the cinema to watch Bollywood movies, attending Indian language and music classes, type of stories read about in Indo-South African newspapers. I deliberately left out attitude questions about India: As I explained above, the aim of the survey was not to assess attitudes towards India but to get a broad picture of the way difference impacted on material connections to India. These questions were then verified with contacts in the Geography department at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I considered this essential for ensuring a degree of reliability and validity of the questionnaire and gain feedback on the structure, flow and language from researchers.

The survey was then tested with 20 respondents in a shopping mall in a former Indian township outside of Durban and flaws in the structure rectified before being executed (See Appendix 2 for finalised version of questionnaire schedule).

3.3.3.2. Sampling.

The aim of the survey was to assess material connections to India against a cross section of indicators that included age, language, gender and socio-economic class. Amongst these indicators I felt that socio-economic class was one of the most important determinants in the ability of Indo-South Africans to form physical connections to India. In addition, whilst age, gender and language were easily assessed using appropriate categorisation questions in the survey itself, socio-economic status was less easily determined. Following extensive consultation and debate with researchers at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the completion of the pilot survey, I decided there were serious flaws in using a shopping mall in an 'Indian' area to gain an accurate cross-sectional economic profile of respondents.

Therefore, I decided to use a stratified random sample of houses in the Phoenix area of greater Durban, as an area that was part of the historical urban settlement pattern of Indians (see Figure 3.3). Phoenix was built in the early 1960s, following the mushrooming of Chatsworth, a giant housing project by Durban's City Council to meet shortages, and other neighbouring areas such as Mayville and the then 'Tin-Town' (Springtown) which were designated and segregated for Indian inhabitants. In 1965, the city council released the Indian Housing Requirements Report which gave birth to the idea of developing yet another township, Phoenix. At this time two significant events fast-tracked the entry of the first residents into this new township. The destructive floods in 'Tin-Town' as well as the effects of the spiralling violence during the early 1980s in Inanda provided extreme alternatives for those who sought refuge in Phoenix. Further as a newly developed area, the Group Areas Act and Slum Clearance Acts both coerced the movement of Indian people into Phoenix, residing there out of necessity rather than choice (Manchip, 1986, Bailey, 1987).

Phoenix is currently sub divided into 31 areas, of which 17 comprise of the lower socio-economic council dwellings (flats) and the remaining 13 areas comprise of dwellings built privately. In terms of population dispersion, the 1996 and 2001 Census

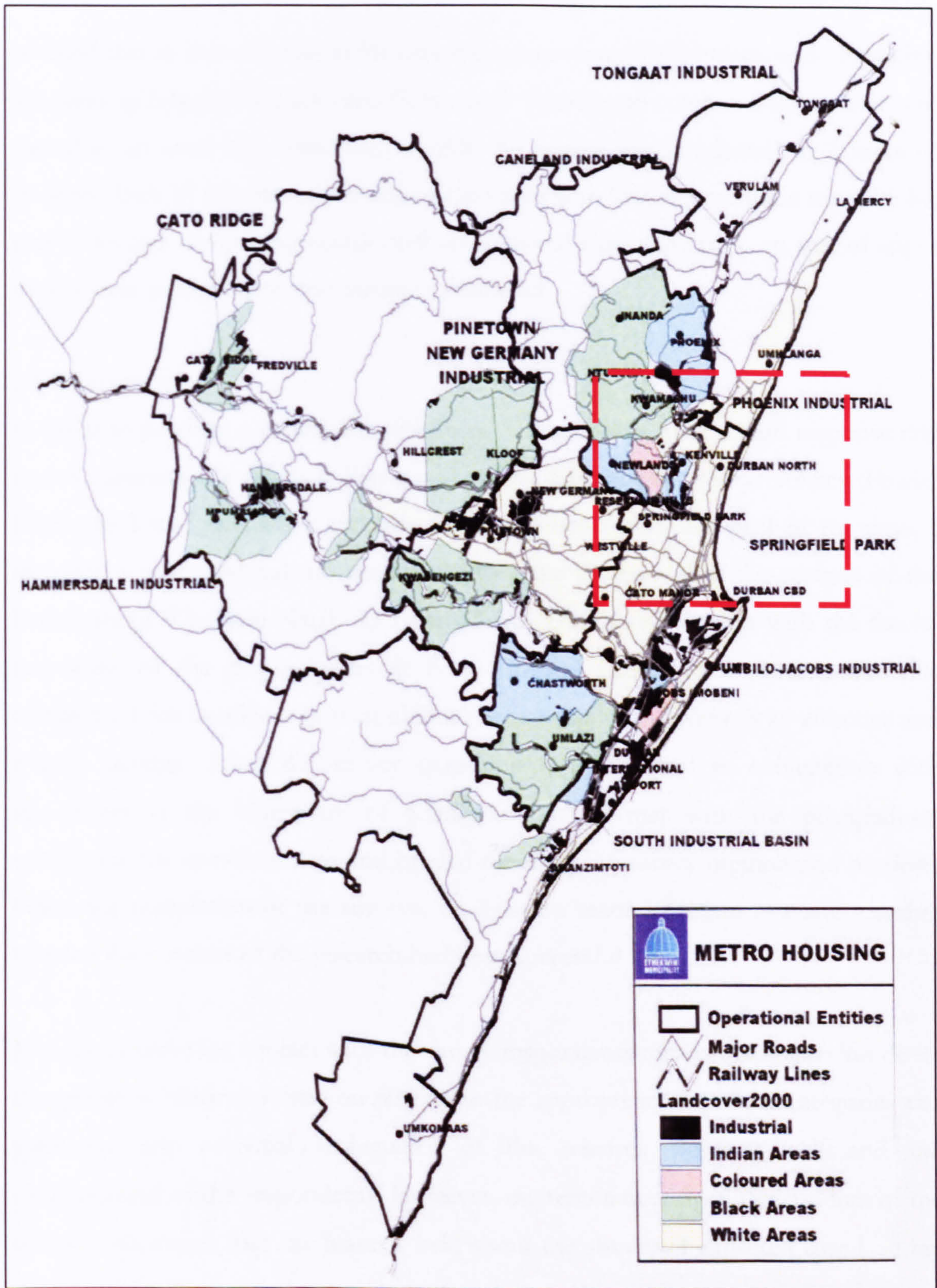


Figure 3.3. Historical development of urban settlement in eThekweni (Durban) and location of survey

Source: Marx and Charlton (2001: 201)

revealed that all the sub areas in Phoenix were on average 95% Indian, with remaining 5% being split between Blacks and Coloureds⁸. In order to conduct a survey that was rooted in an even socio-economic profile the survey was conducted in 3 areas of Phoenix: Unit 17 [Stanmore] a working class area with low income trade related jobs; unit 21 an area comprising mainly civil servants and Centenary park, an area of upper middle class professionals and business personnel.

3.3.3.3. Execution

In order to produce a reliable set of results, I was seeking both a high response rate and to eliminate any response bias based on my demographic characteristics (Fowler 1988). As I was unfamiliar with the area of Phoenix and also pushed for time, I recruited a paid postgraduate researcher from the Durban-Westville campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. As I had already built a relationship with the faculty and some of the postgraduates at both Howard College and Durban-Westville campuses, I felt confident in their abilities to conduct the surveys in an effective and reliable manner. After the survey questions were finalized in conjunction with researchers at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, I met with the postgraduate conducting the questionnaires and briefed them on the survey method and purpose. Following completion of the surveys, we liaised a second time to evaluate together whether the conduct of the research had been successful.

My lack of face-face contact with the survey respondents means that I have no direct interpretative history to draw on relating to the appropriateness of the categories and questions, any potential ambiguities of the research process itself and the circumstances of the respondents. However, my remoteness from the conduct of the surveys also meant that any biases I held about the answers I expected based on my theoretical background were minimised and I could produce a more objective data set.

3.3.4. Making field observations

The final strategy of primary data collection was participant observation at 'Indian' festivals and cultural events. The aim in collecting field observations was to increase

⁸ 'Coloured' is the official pre and post-apartheid category for 'mixed race' South Africans of Khoisan, White, Malay and African descent.

my knowledge and understanding of Indian transnational practices and to make additional contacts with key informants. It must be noted here that the participant observation component was strongly and directly interrelated with the other fieldwork strategies, as many of the in-depth interviews took place following various events and involved questions about the festivals themselves.

“Filed noting” (Plath 1990) is necessary to record and make sense of key events. However, like constructing interview schedules and designing surveys, it is not simply a matter of objectively collecting and recording experiential data. Field notes are also fictions, in that they “are something made...something fashioned” which shape as well as reflect researchers experiences (Geertz 1963: 15, Wolfinger 2002, Burgess 1986). The process of creating a set of effective field notes consisted of two activities. First, I recorded the “doing”: that is, inscriptions and information about the spaces, people involved, objects, actions, times and goals of the events. The second type of information I recorded was a supplement to these descriptions with more narrative reflections and interpretations on why the sequence of events occurred and the motives behind them (Wolfinger 2002). As such, my field notes as well as being a useful description of the events were also effective for adding depth and complexity to my interpretation of interview, survey and textual material.

3.4. Re-constructing migrant stories

Researchers set out to view the world of individuals or groups by interpreting understandings and meanings within specific contexts. The degree to which researchers are able to interpret and represent other lives is a tricky epistemological question, given that all representations of data are fictional in that they are interpreted beyond the moment of the research encounter (Bennett and Shurmer-Smith 2001). Just as it is essential to be reflexive in acknowledging the constructedness of data itself, it is also important that researchers also consider of how the “raw” data is reconstructed. This next section therefore aims to elucidate the process of analysing, interpreting and presenting my results.

3.4.1. Interpreting texts

When analysing textual material, either material constructed by the researcher in interviews or pre-constructed forms in newspapers and policy documents, one method of deductive analysis is the use of content analysis. This is a method of

interpretation that is based on a set of categories and the frequency in the text counted (Mostyn, 1985). For Silverman (1993) this is a useful technique for organising analysis of documentary records as it utilises a reliable coding strategy that is widely accepted as a valid method of textual investigation. However for others, content analysis can fragment data by breaking meaning down into the incidence and frequency of words and can therefore never provide a holistic understanding of meaning embedded deeper (Reismann 1993).

Another approach for preserving the deeper meanings, values, perceptions and experiences embedded in textual data and uncovering the underlying operation of social processes is through the use of 'hermeneutics', which is founded in humanism. Rather than distinguishing sharply between fact and fiction it attempts to account for how social problems are identified and constructed (Aitken 1997, Hoggart et al 2002). This approach utilises textual analysis as a form of interpretative understanding that has the ability to highlight the many layers of meaning. This method is used extensively in human geography to explore the social and cultural meanings embedded in texts. Defined by Geertz (1963:20) as "guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses", textual analysis is somewhat imprecise and lacks a solid criteria on which to base conclusions. The goal of this approach however, is not to assess the texts and words in objective standards, but rather to interpret different elements of the text. For Geertz, it is essential that this is grounded in prior knowledge and informed theorisations. As he acknowledges "one does not start intellectually empty-handed. Theoretical ideas are not created wholly anew in each study" (1963:27).

A textual analysis approach views culture as a narrative or story-telling process in which particular 'texts' are constitutive of larger discourses as frameworks for understanding and communicating. When approaching a text, there is a need to look at not only what is there, but what is 'hidden'. At the same time, there is a need to be conscious of the text's consumers, who are actively involved in the production of its meanings.

Although there are many different approaches, the basic analysis lies in 'coding'. It is acknowledged that the coding of textual data is a messy, circular and sporadic process, which despite some attempts to formalize the process (Strauss 1987; Strauss

and Corbin 1990) remains a non-linear process (Crang 2001). However, the usual starting point is to begin with an initial reading of the text, which I approached with an open-mind. It is an important step because self-generated materials may require several readings for the full diversity of topics to be revealed. When allowing data to 'speak', researchers must consider their own reading biases.

Following this, the raw material is tagged with codes, or shorthand, which is then applied to other text segments. For Strauss 1987, this initial coding stage entailing the identification of patterns is the most basic level of coding, and emerges from the background literature read by the researcher. As I read the text, I marked important sections, words, and phrases and assigned each of them a code. Known as 'open coding' the aim is to scrutinize the data, open it up and fracture it so that the conceptual implications can emerge in later steps. In my initial round of coding, basic themes that emerged for example included language and religion.

When whole text had been coded, I produced a series of associated text or quotations, and those quotations sharing similar codes were extracted to identify key themes. These codes are derived from actual terms used in the text (*in vivo* codes) or are codes chosen by the researcher based upon their own research questions (*Etic* codes). Thus, from the initial codes stemmed more analytical codes that are connected to the theoretical framework of the study. These are more interpretative, and emerge through multiple readings of the data in an iterative way: as new codes are generated, the data is further analysed.

Analytic codes emerge from a second level of coding. As codes become more complex, and more connected to the projects theoretical framework, they start building into themes that can serve as the main topics. Figure 3.4, below, shows an example of my coding strategy used on a speech of Prime Minister AB Vajpayee at the inaugural *Overseas Indian Day* 2003:

<i>Text</i>	<i>In Vivo and Etic Codes</i>	<i>Analytic codes</i>	<i>Themes/ Rhetorics</i>
Today, the success of every category of these emigrants all over the world testifies to the indomitable spirit, which they carried from Indian soil. It is a tribute to their patience and forbearance in the face of hardship, rebuke and denial. It speaks of their dedication to their chosen professions, overcoming various trials and tribulations.	Success dedication Bravey Suffering.	Intrinsic Indian Values.	Emotive Language Dramatisation /Saga

Figure 3.4. Example of coding strategy (see Vajpayee 2003)

The process of theme building is central to qualitative work because it allows for the organisation of information into trends; categories and common elements. The best approach to theme building is to read across the materials (Jackson 2001) to see trends that are manifest in many different ways. Once these more interpretative codes had been produced, I began linking across the codes to produce more overarching themes. These were coded up as conditions (because of; on account of), interactions, strategies and consequences and were used to start building a fuller analysis (See Appendix 2 for an example of a coded interview transcript).

3.4.2. Interpreting Survey Data

Geertz (1963) and Denzin (1978) differentiate between thick and thin description. Thick description includes information about the context of an act, intentions and meanings that organize actions and events. Interpretation therefore focuses on context, motivation and meaning. Whilst ‘thick’ description is important in analyzing and interpreting textual materials, ‘thin description’ through enumeration is a useful exercise because it helps identify certain characteristics and patterns to enhance the thick description of the meaningful nature of social life.

The results of the survey data were collated and entered into an SPSS spreadsheet. From this, I was able to produce descriptive statistics and charts on the material practices of Indo-South Africans. These included cross-tables that compared the frequency of, for example, visits to India against other identity variables such as gender, class, mother tongue, and religious background. I also produced comparative pie and bar charts which also cross-references these identity variables against various other practices.

The results of the survey must also be taken into consideration against the sample. Overall, the sample size was 300, split equally amongst the three sections of Phoenix representing lower, middle and higher income areas. I felt that this sample size was adequate for the aim of the survey, which was to gain a feel for variations in the extent of transnational practices to furnish and enhance the results of the interviews, rather than be the focus of the thesis in itself.

The success of the survey I feel was limited in two ways. Firstly, the choice of Phoenix was slightly limiting because of the income levels that are overall a lot lower, due to the legacy of apartheid which saw Phoenix built as an Indian township on the outskirts of the Durban metropolitan area (Freund and Padayachee 2002; Bailey 1987). Following the end of apartheid, the more wealthy Indo-South Africans moved out to expensive gated properties in former 'white' areas such as Morningside in central Durban and Umhlanga further up the coast. If I had had more time and resources I might have compared these different areas as I feel that the greater income variation would have given a better picture. This was reflected in the results of the survey, which saw a lack of Gujarati speakers represented as a result of using Phoenix as a generally lower income area, despite the pockets of wealth in Centenary Park. However, given the circumstances I felt that access would have been too difficult due to the gated nature of these areas and the time it would take to identify 300 Indo-South Africans households, given that these areas are still overwhelmingly 'white'.

The second problematic I identified was the parameters used for the stratification of the sample, where geographic area was the criteria and presumptions were made on the level of income based on this. In order to overcome this problem I ensured that the survey itself asked for occupational details, so I could evaluate the efficacy of

using the geographical method of measuring income data. As I was inputting the data into the spreadsheet, in general I found that the occupation data broadly tallied with the stratification method. Thus, in Area 17, a lower income district, I found the majority of occupations to be manual and unemployed. However, a number of problems emerged with the classification of the occupation of students and 'home executives', and perhaps reflects the time of day the survey was executed. In order to overcome this problem, and also in order to gain a more equal gender distribution I instructed the postgraduate conducting my surveys to stagger the day and time.

In all, I felt that the survey provided information adequate to its purpose as a supplement to the interview and secondary data. Despite some difficulties relating to the collection and stratification of the survey sample, I tried to ensure that the design and conduct of the survey minimised any potential problems. Had the survey been the main methodology of the thesis and I had more time and resources, I would have conducted it over a wider geographical area.

3.4.3. Presentation of the Results

Rather than simply interpreting data and texts, researchers also create new texts in transmitting the results of the research to others (Double hermeneutic). The selection of items for inclusion in the chapters is a crucial stage of research, and it is important to be transparent about this process. Whilst quotations are important for revealing how meanings are expressed in the respondents' own words rather than the words of the researcher, Bryman (1988) and Silverman (1993) are skeptical of the assumed representativeness of such accounts.

Following analysis of the texts and statistics, quotes from the interviews were organised thematically to tell a 'story' about Indo-South African transnational space. Inevitably, there are quotes that are left out, either for reasons of duplication or that they weren't entirely relevant to the particular themes and issues I was addressing. To ensure that quotes and themes I chose to include were accurate, I cross checked them across all of the interview material.

3.5. Ethics

Being reflexive about the collection and interpretation of data is an important step in ensuring that the stories told are as transparent as possible to produce a fuller and

fairer representation of the interviewee's perspective. This is part of conducting an ethically sound piece of research with people who give their time freely and willingly. Whilst there were no ethical review procedures in place at Leeds University at the start of my PhD, following consultation with my supervisor, research committee, the ESRC's Research Ethics Framework and methodology texts, I outline here the further steps I took to ensure the protection of my interviewees.

First, I ensured that consent was given freely and voluntarily. It was made clear to participants that they had the right to refuse to participate and could withdraw from the research at any stage. Participants were then fully informed about all aspects of the research: the nature and objectives of the project, the methodology, who was undertaking and sponsoring the research, potential questions and subjects and potential benefits that may result.

Second, my research involved observation carried out in public contexts and was impossible to obtain approval from everyone. I made every effort to ensure the research was conducted in an ethical manner: Approval was sought from the organisers of the Indian cultural festivals and events under observation, no details that could identify specific individuals are given in written analysis of the events unless reporting on public figures acting in a public capacity through speeches, and during the research, sensitivity was paid to local cultural values through adherence to the dress code of the event and accompaniment by an Indian friend who also knew the purpose of the research.

Third, because of the nature of the interviewees (people involved in public life), before consent was obtained for the interviews I made it clear that anything that could identify my participants would remain strictly confidential and accessed only by myself. I made sure that only generalised reference is made to participants throughout the write-up. For example, I refer to "a radio station manager" rather than a specific individual or radio station.

Finally, I ensured that I was clear about how the research would be used. I stressed that the interview material would be used in an academic capacity in my final thesis and in any subsequent academic publications. I also stressed to the participants that I would follow-up with emails and a dissemination visit in the near future, when I hope

to provide executive summaries and press releases for those interested in the outcome of the research.

3.6. Conclusions

The research was designed around my particular approach to migration, which aimed to explore difference in the context of the cultural economies of migration. In order to do so, I selected the case study area of Indians in Durban as a particularly relevant example of the overlapping cultural and economic spheres of social and political life. The way I approached the research itself was driven by a fluid and interpretive approach to selecting the best way of gathering information. Reflecting recent concerns within human geography regarding qualitative research, I explained how I gathered and interpreted information and brought the contexts of the construction and reconstruction of information into focus. Although the methodology I used was not particularly innovative, I was thorough in ensuring that I located, used and improved upon best practice methods in human geography research.

Chapter Four:

The materiality of transnational identity and the production of a “pukka Indian lifestyle”

Young people may enjoy the Western lifestyle, which is natural. But, they will go back to their roots at some stage. This will involve religion, travel to India and a pukka Indian lifestyle

Editor of Indo-South African newspaper A

4.1. Introduction

In South Africa people of Indian origin have only one thing in common: their ancestral geographical roots in India that formed the basis of their unitary classification under apartheid (Singh 2004). This chapter examines connections to that 'origin' through the diversity of language, religion, regional roots and class within the singular category 'Indian-South African'. The transnational literature identifies that continuing connections between 'origins' and 'destinations' are an important way of building economic and political capital. It is also helpful as a form of social capital because it can assist in reproducing identity and networks of family and kin (Portes et al 1999; Vertovec 1999; Evergeti and Zontini 2006). Chapter 2 however argued that work on transnational identity formation has tended to be detached from the influence of structural forces and abstract transnational experiences away from contextual, historical and material accounts of times, places and people (Mitchell 1997, Anthias 2001, Mitchell, 2003). This chapter is therefore concerned with understanding the historical and material circumstances that have produced differences between Indo-South Africans and are reflected in transnational identification and practice.

In order to provide a critical reading of the production of transnational spaces, this chapter locates Indo-South African transnational identification and practice in the context of broader structures of colonialism, apartheid and post-apartheid transitions in South Africa. It outlines how these histories have impacted upon the symbolization of a transnational Indian identity against material practices of transnationalism. Drawing upon interviews with 'cultural brokers' (people involved in the creating the Indo-South African transnational cultural landscape such as cultural and religious organizations, the Indian consulate and local government) it investigates the circulation of structures of affection, bonds, trust and reciprocity embedded within signifiers of Indo-South African transnational identity. It then outlines how these signifiers are translated into the material practices of Indo-South Africans in two ways: the provision of opportunities to 'be' transnational and, drawing upon a survey, how transnationalism is practised. It thus juxtaposes the production and circulation of

the 'signs' of Indo-South African transnationalism through 'cultural brokers' against a historically contextualized account of the material practices of transnationalism. As I conclude, whilst the significations of Indian transnationalism are located within Indian territoriality, it is practiced within Durban-based geographies of class and religion.

4.2. A Vignette: The *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* 2004

In 2001, the HLC recommended the observance of a '*Pravasi Bharatiya Divas*' each year on January 9, the day Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa, to celebrate the constructive role played by the Indian diaspora in the worldwide achievements of India. It was in this context that the first *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* was held in January 2003 with the purpose of engaging all Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) and Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) in building global networks over the 110 countries of the world in which they reside. Despite the high profile of the South African contingent, resulting from the Gandhi connection and the large number of overseas Indians residing in South Africa, only around 20 people from South Africa attended the 2004 conference out of a total of 3,000 participants. Of those that went to the *PBD 2004*, the profile of the participants is described by one attendee below:

I have been to every Pravasi day for the last 3 years...its always the same people from South Africa that go, the same people who go to everything to do with the Consulate...businessmen, politicians and religious leaders

Indo-South African Academic/Scholar B

As well as demonstrating that levels of interest in India for Indo-South Africans are comparatively low, there is also a limited profile of Indo-South Africans who attend Indian state sponsored events such as the *PBD*. That there is also a limited pool of Indo-South Africans alludes to the existence of a profile of 'elite' Indo-South Africans with a vested interest in matters relating to the 'Indian Diaspora'. Whilst the *PBD* is mainly a business orientated event structured around networking opportunities for overseas Indians looking to increase trade partnerships, it is also an opportunity for politically and culturally high profile overseas Indians to network. This is cemented by the awarding of prizes to eminent overseas Indians. In 2004 for example an award was collected by Professor Fatima Meer, an academic and influential activist in the anti-apartheid struggles; in 2005 Logie Naidoo, the deputy Mayor of Durban, was

awarded the International Friendship award. Other participants from South Africa who attended the *PBD* included influential figureheads representing various cultural and religious organisations.

This small minority of Indo-South Africans, enhanced by their status and position in South Africa, are well-situated to access the benefits provided by these types of connections with the India. For some of the *PBD* attendees, their participation assisted them in accessing more information about their origins, something many South African Indians have little knowledge of and means to access. For example, through his attendance at the *PBD* one prominent Indo-South African was able to trace his ancestral village, by many Indo-South Africans long forgotten since the arrival of their family in South Africa over 5 generations ago:

I went to the PBD in 2005. I only knew the name of the village from Indian immigration records in South Africa... After speaking at the PBD conference the director general of the Uttar Pradesh province said she'd help me find it at the expense of the government...I was taken from Bombay to Delhi, then to the Lucknow department of tourism and to my fathers village... It was the most memorable occasion of my life to finally stand on my father's land and see the house where my father was born...Now I've established a link, my father, brother and sister will go on the next trip and plan to consolidate the first historic visit

Leader of religious organization A

The advantage for this participant's link to the structures of the Indian state is in being given the opportunity to form a physical connection with India. Moreover, this can enhance emotional connections to India as a locus of origin, demonstrated by this quote from a *PBD* participant when I asked him about why he attends:

Well, the Pravasi Day is our link with the motherland

Leader of religious organization A

By emphasising the “our”, this participant alludes to the fact that he considers there to be a ‘community’ of people in South Africa held together by a link with an ancestral ‘origin’, India. This chapter, however, aims to interrogate what ‘India’ as a

common origin means and the variegated ways in which connections to it are signified and practiced.

4.3. Transnational strategies and practices

4.3.1. Transnationalism as economic, social and political capital

New and improved methods of communication and travel that have cut the cost of bridging long geographical distances have set the stage for the development and persistence of transnational ties that simultaneously link origin and destination of migrants (Basch et al 1994, Portes 1999, Levitt 2001, Bailey 2001). Findings from empirical studies counter the conventional theoretical framework that assumes the severance of connections with their societies of origin, and rather immigrants have strengthened their commitments and contributions to them (Chapter 2).

A number of authors have constructed typologies of transnational networks in order to explain how transnationalism has persisted as a mode of connection to homelands. A study by Al-Ali et al. (2001) of Bosnian and Eritrean refugees develops an empirically founded typology of transnational activities. This typology distinguishes between transnational activities aimed at the country of origin and activities aimed at the host country. The former involve cross-border activities such as money transfers, or visits to and political participation in the country of origin. Activities within the host country include visiting cultural events with artists from the country of origin, participating in meetings, or mobilizing political support for parties or movements in the country of origin.

Other authors have investigated and analyzed transnational migration focusing on a specific kind of action (e.g., political participation, Itzigsohn 2000) or a single activity (e.g., participating in transnational civic organizations such as hometown associations, Henry and Mohan 2003). For Guarnizo (2003), adopting a single action or activity as the sampling unit of inquiry has been a fruitful strategy and allowed a finer analysis of the scope, scale, and determinants of migrants' transnational engagement (Portes et al 1999). Thus, a number of authors began to detail and overview all three different fields of social action as economic, political and socio-cultural (Portes et al 1999, Levitt 2001, Guarnizo 2003).

4.3.1.1. Economic

Economic transnationalism is one of the primary components of transnational practice (Conway and Cohen 1998, Al-Ali et al 2001; Bailey et al 2002). The improvement of economic conditions to support families, save money to invest in land and capital or to establish a small business upon return is a primary motive for the persistence of transnational connections (Stodolska and Santos, 2006:632). Guarnizo (2003) provides a helpful typology of how transnational economic ties are developed.

First, monetary remittances, as a form of long-distance intimate “bounded solidarity”, are for the benefit of kin and friends (Portes, 1995, 1998). Stark et al (1991) postulate that households resort to migration and remittances as a strategy for risk diversification. In the absence of efficient capital and insurance, it is rational for households to sponsor the out-migration of one of their members and upon securing employment the migrant generates a flow of cash back to the household. These remittances are used to cope with the failure of the local capital markets, futures markets, unemployment insurance (Stark et al 1991), or social security (Sana and Massey 2000). This strategy is not necessarily investment-oriented but simply a response to tight labour market conditions and lack of opportunities, and in such a context remittances meet the household’s subsistence needs (Itzigsohn 1995).

The second type of economic transnationalism Guarnizo (2003) documents is the creation of migrant entrepreneurs. Durand et al (1996) describe the productive use of migrant remittances, or what they call “migradollars” in the development of new businesses. In a village in Guanajuato, for example, they describe how migrants invest in workshops that produce tennis shoes and footwear. These remittances are channelled into farming, cattle raising, and handicraft production, some of which is exported to the United States. For small-scale enterprises hindered by structural financial obstacles such as the lack of working capital and access to credit, remittances can provide the capital needed for the entrepreneurship (Taylor and Wyatt, 1996). Landolt et al, (1999:296) document how the Salvadoran immigrant populations of Los Angeles and Washington, DC are a “vibrant entrepreneurial community embedded in a web of social relations” and that that a wide array of transnational enterprises connect the Salvadoran and Los Angeles economies, such as transfer of goods and remittances across countries, shippers, couriers, plus micro enterprises established by

returnees to El Salvador. Similarly, Itzigsohn et al (1999) document in their study of Dominican immigrant communities in the Washington Heights area of New York City and in Providence, Rhode Island, the informal transnational couriers operating between the United States and the Dominican Republic, the proliferation of stores selling imported Dominican foodstuffs, music, and newsprint in New York and Providence, and the rapid growth of remittance agencies. Kyle (1999) notes the development of a transnational trade diaspora of Ecuador's indigenous Otavalan merchants. In the case of India, Saxenian (2002) highlights the business ties that Silicon Valley-based Indian technologists are building with the IT industry in their home country.

The third type of economic transnationalism, argues Guarnizo (2003), is the support provided to local community development through the transfer of resources for development projects, philanthropic endeavours, and post-disaster relief efforts in the society of origin. This collective endeavour undertaken by groups of migrants coming from the same place of origin is organized through civic associations (e.g., hometown associations), and is motivated not solely by personal familial obligations but a sense of solidarity with their place of origin through local nationalism or regionalism, reciprocity with the homeland, and often an eagerness to gain status and recognition in the place of origin (e.g., R.C. Smith 1998, Goldring 1998, 2002). This has both symbolic and practical effects. For example, the construction and beautification of public spaces such as town plazas and churches and the contributions to local economic and social development (e.g. the construction of roads, water supply systems, classrooms, hospitals, as well as nonmaterial projects such as scholarships and educational campaigns) all improve local well-being and economic potential. In the Punjab in India, there are numerous development projects directed by Indians residing in Canada, as well as in the United Kingdom and the United States, such as hospitals, medical clinics, schools and village developments and infrastructure projects such as roads and bridges (Walton-Roberts 2001).

4.3.1.2. Political:

Migrant transnational practices can also take the form of political involvement and a number of scholars have described how migrants can generate significant political effects by influencing home local and regional governments and thus compelling authorities to take their wishes and priorities into account. As Levitt (1997) and

Landolt (2000) have noted, economic transnationalism overlaps with the political, for example, helping to finance local development projects or contributing to philanthropic works are effective mechanisms for creating or upholding political influence in the localities of origin. In Puebla, Mexico, R.C. Smith (1998:227-28) found that migrant transnational organizations actively engaged in their town's development "are forcing the state to engage them in new ways" and, in effect, have generated "parallel power structures" with the old, traditional regime. As well as having political influence in their home nations through their economic clout, migrants are often also engaged in contentious minority politics relating to ethnicity and religion, often associated with the building of fledgling nation-states (Faist 2000b: 1999). For example, the diaspora and other émigrés have been influential in the struggles of Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka (Wayland 2004), Right-wing Hindu nationalism in the US (Bhatt and Mukhta 2000), and Croatian-Americans in the Balkan conflict (Carter 2005). Participation is boosted by the development of new communications technologies such as the internet (e.g. Bernal 2006).

4.3.1.3. Socio-cultural transnationalism

A final sphere of transnational activities in which migrants are inextricably linked with their places of origin is the intertwining of the lives and identities of migrants with the people and social relations in their home countries (Guarnizo and Smith 1998, Levitt 2003, Vertovec 2001). On the one hand, sociocultural transnationalism refers to those transnational linkages that involve the recreation of a sense of community involving migrants and people in the place of origin, and "concerns the emergence of practices of sociability, mutual help, and public rituals rooted in the cultural understandings that pertain to the sense of belonging and social obligations of immigrants" (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002: 768). Whilst these practices are not necessarily mutually exclusive from political and economic involvement, the aims of socio-cultural transnationalism are more affective and less instrumental.

The formation of socio-cultural ties pertains to the maintenance and continuation of social ties with the families, friends, and places left behind by émigrés (Basch et al 1994; Guarnizo, 1994). Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) call this form of transnationalism "linear transnationalism". It is intertwined with practices of remittances, travel home, and the building of 'ethnic' institutions in the country of reception to rebuild their social relations and the way of life from the country of

origin. Maintaining social networks of support is an important component of socio-cultural transnationalism, and takes place indirectly, through letters, phone calls and other means of communication such as the internet, and directly through travel to the home country (Al-Ali et al 2001, Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2002, Lawson 2004, Snel et al 2006).

A second goal of sociocultural transnationalism that can be ascertained is the preservation and maintenance of an ethno-cultural identity. Transnational connections can allow for the circulation of cultural difference, sometimes as 'ethnicity', as both a boundary of identity and also a resource. An essential point of departure is that people construct their social identities upon 'primordial ties' of groups as the basis of 'ethnic' understanding (Geertz 1963, Jenkins 1996; Verkuyten 1999, Bauman 2004). One strategy for preserving a distinct 'ethnic' identity is through the formation of networks based on kinship that facilitates the flows of ideas, values and cultural artefacts: for example, participation in social clubs and 'community' organizations to develop ties within 'host' countries. Culture can also be understood in the wider sense of traditions, customs and values that are promoted. Thus, attending musical and artistic events, celebrating national holidays, listening and dancing to folklore music, cooking and promoting native language among second generations are all examples of cultural transnationalism (Al-Ali et al 2001). Thus, Friesen et al (2005) describe the formation of an Indian 'consciousness' in New Zealand through Indian ethnic associations, which facilitate the maintenance of both a specific and regional Indian 'culture' through language, culture, literature, art and music.

Maintaining an ethno-cultural identity is especially important in the presence of erosive and discriminative factors and can be a consequence of social exclusion (Laitin 1995). Nagengast and Kearney (1990) show how transnationalism allows marginalized groups to circumvent traditional social and economic barriers. For Caribbean communities in Britain the process of constructing a Caribbean ethnic identity and collective ethnic bonds is shaped by migration, settlement and experiences of racial and social exclusion (Peach 1991; James and Harris 1993; Coppin 2001; Goulbourne and Solomos 2003). Using the example of Guatemalan Mayan migrants in Los Angeles Popkin (1999) argues that as they confront higher levels of discrimination, the growing Pan-Mayan movement in Guatemala increasingly

influences their cultural and religious organizations. This outcome leads actors affiliated with the Guatemalan church and state to forge relationships with these migrant organizations. Similarly, for Indians in the United States, the conscious building of a 'Yankee' form of transnational Indian identity is an essential project that resonates with racial discourse (Mathew and Prashad 2000)

4.3.2. The difference and fluidity of transnational identity: Lessons from social capital

The maintenance of socio-cultural transnational ties to 'origins' has been considered a form of social capital, which can be defined as the ability to secure resources by virtue of membership in social networks or larger social structures (Portes and Landolt 2000). More generally, the focus of ethnicity as social capital studies have ranged from explaining the success of business ethnic enclaves (Zhou 1992), explaining immigrant children's positive engagement with school (Zhou and Bankston 1994) and the upward educational mobility of predominantly working-class ethnic minorities in the UK (Modood 2004).

However Portes and Landolt (2000: 532-533) critique this concept of social capital in two important ways. First, there is a conflation of the ability to secure resources through networks with the resources themselves. Given the unequal distribution of wealth and resources in society, people may have trustworthy and solid social ties yet only have access to limited resources. Reay et al (2001) and Skeggs (1997) explore the absence of resources in the production and reproduction of inequality and in questioning how underlying issues of race, class and gender influence people's access to social resources. Thus, whilst researchers look for traits or attributes that characterize and differentiate one 'ethnic' group from another (religion, race, customs, language etc.), such approaches, however, fail to provide an understanding of complex situations of diversity and the processes through which contrasting identity elements are acquired. Using 'objective definitions' of ethnic identity, it is difficult to appreciate the boundaries of inclusion, exclusion and negotiation of such identification (Evergeti and Zontini 2006). Although cultural and ethnic signifiers exist, it is important to recognize that they are subject to change and negotiation. Thus, both Watson (1981) and Erikson (1993) critique the existence of simplistic and uncritical definitions of ethnicity identity based upon the distinctiveness of members, which imputes a notion of homogeneity in social and economic status.

This brings an important issue to bear on conceptualising migrant transnational practices and relationships as a means of maintaining identity: it highlights the essentialist categorisation of transnational identity that is directly related to a territorial 'origin' and thus to 'roots' (Ghorashi 2004). Notions such as 'homelands' and 'origins' are more complex than simply a link to certain territory or root (Malkki, 1992). This has been recognised by Guarnizo (2003), who argues that transnational agency is mediated through local contexts of migration: These local effects limit, encourage, empower, disable, transnational actions and as such, transnational migration is not an end point but an evolving condition that is contingent on the relationship between migrants' resources and socio-cultural positioning, as well as the historical contexts in the specific localities where they live. Guarnizo et al (1999) suggest that the processes and effects of transnational migration therefore vary widely and depend on the different contexts that migrants encounter, the social capital they possess and the social obligations and ties they have with kin, communities and state of origin (see Portes and Guarnizo 1991; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Portes 1995). It is therefore important to understand the "fluidity of ethnic identification and the diversity of the migratory experience" (Evergeti and Zontini 2006: 1035)

Second, Portes and Landolt (2000) question the motivations of donors in social capital transactions. Granting resources to others out of solidarity with members of the same territorial, ethnic or religious 'community' (bounded solidarity) is not based on general values, but on the loyalties to a relevant in-group. Resource transactions are therefore embedded in larger social structures of power that act as guarantors of full returns to donors, either from the benefited party or from the 'community' at large (enforceable trust). This last source is exemplified by granting loans without collateral to members of the same 'community', however defined, on the expectation that being a member of the same 'community' would guarantee repayment and additionally generate status and approval for the donor.

However, the notion of what constitutes a 'community' is the product of social ascriptions, a labelling process engaged in by oneself and others (Barth 1969, 1994; Bauman 1994). In Barth's approach, ethnic identity is regarded as a feature of ascriptive social organisation, rather than a nebulous expression of culture. "Ethnic identity is the product of a dialogical and dialectical process involving internal and

external opinions and processes, as well ethnic designations” (Nagel 1994:154). In this context, Rohregger (2006), drawing on her case study on social support networks of urban migrants in Malawi, argues that migrant networks are highly contested, fragile and driven by differing individual and collective interests, needs and perceptions that are constantly challenged, renegotiated and subverted.

Working from a cultural-economy perspective that draws heavily on critiques of the structural approach to the production of places (Chapter 2), Michael Peter Smith (2001, 2005) shares the similar view that the development of transnational connections can not be assumed to be a natural result of an innate desire to connect with an ‘imagined homeland’ or geographical locus of identity. Instead, spatial mobility or border crossing activities are the result of the historical context of migration, which has brought about differences not only in gender, class, and ethnicity but in access to transnational networks. Thus, ordinary people are socially and spatially situated subjects in families, networks, nationalist projects and workplaces. Schein (1998) for example, demonstrates the role of Hmong cultural brokers who act as intermediaries between Hmong social networks in the US and US and Chinese state structures and policies. As Conradson and Latham (2005) and M.P.Smith (2001) argue, this draws attention to the false separation between transnationalism as the forging of individual connections for ‘identity’ and the structure heavy transnationalism of technical and managerial elites.

As I argued in Chapter 2, in order to move away from the essentialization of transnational practices as either state or identity-led, one way forward is to provide a critical reading of the production of transnational identities by connecting the symbolization of identity with material practice. This chapter addresses these concerns as follows. It draws on interviews with ‘cultural brokers’ (people involved in the creating the Indo-South African transnational cultural landscape such as cultural and religious organizations, the Indian consulate and local government) to investigate what signifiers of Indian transnational identity are circulated. It outlines the structures of affection, bonds, trust and reciprocity that characterizes these signifiers. Second, it outlines how these signifiers are translated into the material practices of Indians, first by looking at provision of opportunities to ‘be’ transnational and second by drawing upon a survey of transnational practices. It juxtaposes the production and circulation

of the 'signs' of Indian transnationalism through 'cultural brokers' with a historically contextualized account of the material practices of transnationalism.

4.4. A history of Indians in South Africa

Sketching a profile of Indian South African identity is a complex task as it is shaped by a multitude of elements. The heterogeneity of Indians in South Africa derives from the many identity markers brought from the subcontinent through the heritage of the caste system, a large number of vernacular languages, various religions and different territorial origins, which have been inherited, diffused and transformed over time. In South Africa, an 'ethnicity' which may be called "Indianness" was progressively built by combining many identity patterns, some of which have faded away, while others have been strengthened, forming a "neo-Indian Creole identity" (Freund, 1995, p. 8 cited in Landy et al 2004: 206).

4.4.1. A history of indenture

The presence of Indians in South Africa is the result of two different streams of Indian immigrants who arrived in South Africa with very little in common except the geographic origins of India. The two streams (depicted on Figure 4.1, below), constituting indentured workers and free, or "passenger" Indians named as they paid their own passage from India, forms a crucial distinction because it gave rise to different cultural forms of identification which continue to resonate in transnational practice today.

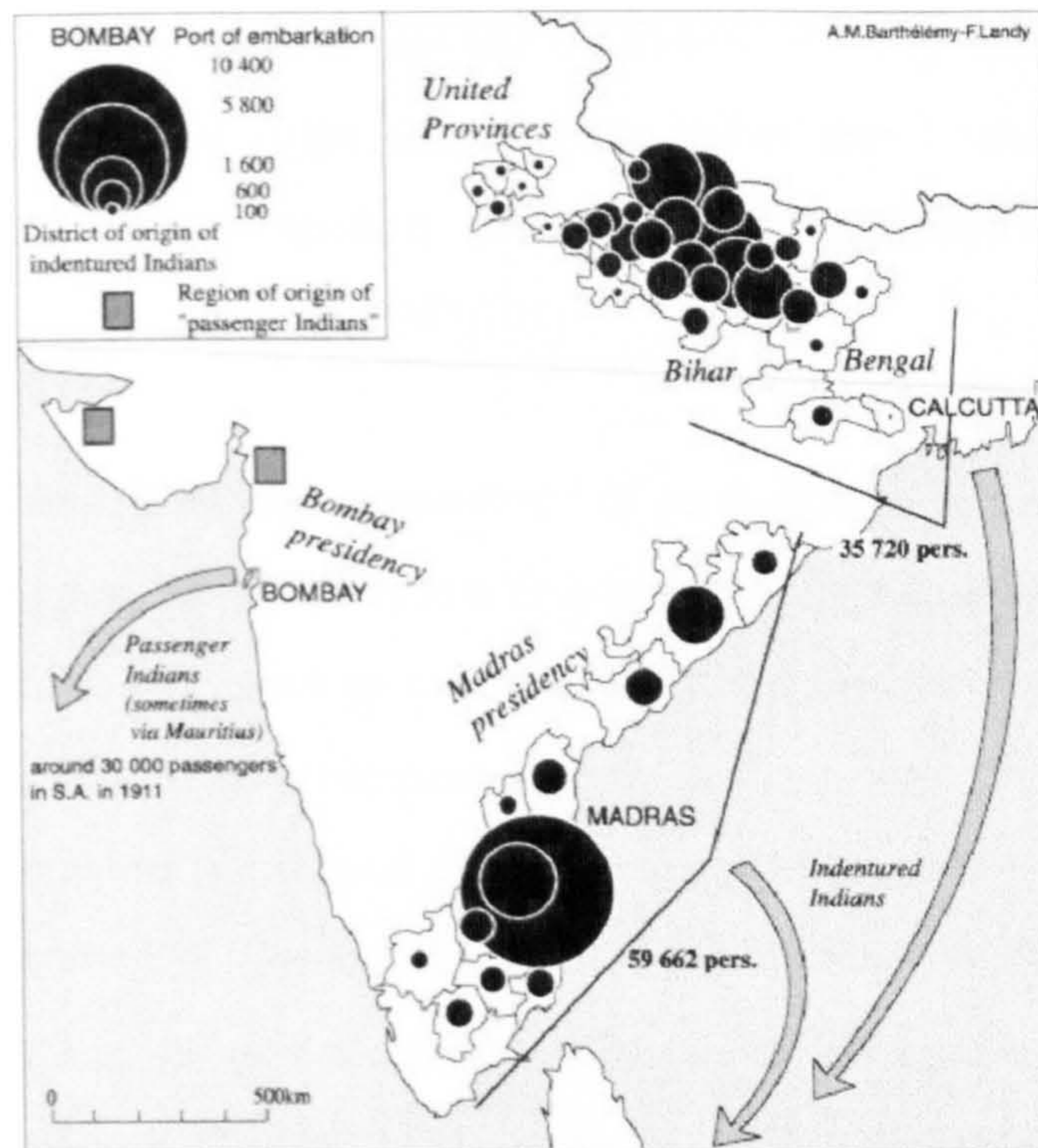


Figure 4.1: Indian migration to South Africa. (Landy et al 2004:206)

The trajectory of the Indians in South Africa, inextricably linked with the imperial project of the British, began with the mid-nineteenth century colonial labour requirements of Natal. A number of factors conspired to produce labour shortages in the British colony: The abolition of slavery in 1833, the movement of large numbers of black South Africans under the Locations Commission of 1846 to other agricultural reserves in various parts of Natal, compounded by the discovery of gold and diamonds in other parts of South Africa, and the introduction of sugar as a commercially viable crop deprived farmers of readily available cheap labour supplies to man labour intensive plantations along the coastal belt. Indenture became an alternative system of labour that allowed for the employment of waged workers under conditions giving a high level of control to employers (Bhana and Brain 1990, Freund 1995). After protracted negotiations between the British Secretary of State for the Colonies and the government of Natal, then a separate colony, the Natal Coolie Law of 1859 was passed (Freund 1995:266). This law made it possible for the colony to 'import' Indians as indentured labourers.

The indenture system was embedded in the social system of rural India, which featured complex networks of debt and labour procurement and provided a well established channel for sourcing workers. The majority of indentured workers were Tamil (or Telugu) speaking, 60% from the Sudra and scheduled castes, 30% Vaishyas

and 10% Kshatriyas, some Brahmins (Pillay et al 1989). The first ship bringing indentured Indians from Madras was the SS Truro, arriving in Durban on the 16th November 1860, and later ships arrived from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in eastern Ganges valley where Hindi is spoken. By 1911, 152,184 Indian indentured labourers had been brought to Natal (Swan 1987:109)

The initial conditions of indenture consisted of an option to return to India at the end of the five-year period, in which case a free passage would be provided. The system also provided for the labourers to re-indenture for a further five-year period, which would make them eligible to settle permanently in the colony through a gift of crown land and full citizenship rights, but this was cancelled in 1891 to discourage Indians from settling permanently (Freund 1995: 33). Initially, the ex-indentured workers and their descendants had modest success but began to experience economic pressure after the South African War of 1899, a result of the depressed economy and the burden of a £3 tax. Despite economic recovery, 62.25% of the indentured workforce was under subsequent terms of indenture that were oppressive (Swan 1987:189). After serving 10-year contracts, the majority exercised their choice to remain in Natal and others moved to the Transvaal. Many continued in smallholdings; others in various forms of agriculture, railways and coalmines. On the expiry of their contracts some of the indentured labourers found employment as domestic servants, railway and council workers and on the coalmines in Northern Natal, and a large number of them became self-employed as market gardeners. This diversification pattern continued and by 1909 the ex-indentured labourers were employed in a variety of sectors (Pahad 1977; Swan 1987).

Friends and relatives participated in the migration, and whole villages were often transplanted to South Africa towns. For example the *zillah* (district) of Kathiawar formed the towns of Potchefstroom and Pietersburg (Bhana and Brain 1990:191 in Landy et al 2004:205). These Gujarati speaking traders were later joined by some Urdu speaking Muslims⁹ from the United Province, a few Marathi speaking Kokince Muslims and a few Gujarati-speaking Hindus (Ebrahim-Vally 2001). Initially, the traders operated in Durban, but later some moved into the interior, following the

⁹ Within the heterogeneous Muslim population of South Africa, the two largest sub-groups are 'Malay' Muslims and Muslims of Indian origin. For the purposes of this thesis, I will only be referring to Muslims of Indian origin.

main transport route from Durban to Johannesburg. Although they initially formed only 10% of the Indian immigrants to South Africa, due to a more balanced age-sex ratio than the indentured and passenger Indians, their descendents now comprise 30% of the Indo-South Africans (Lemon 1990).

4.4.2. Apartheid

Although the majority of Indians in South Africa remained working class indentured labours, there was a growing Indian petty bourgeoisie, the 'new elites', Natal born, materially more successful offspring of indentured or ex-indentured labourers (Landy et al 2004). The occupations of emerging Indo-South African elites included lawyers, accountants and, lower down the occupational ladder, clerks, petty entrepreneurs and salaried white collar workers dependent on the colonial administration (Swan 1987). The emerging elites began to cohere as a self-conscious group following the post-South African war economic depression, the introduction of a new Indian taxation of £3, salary cuts and barring from Civil Service. Generating a sense of community were social organisations and the Anglo-Tamil weekly paper the African Chronicle, which dealt with matters of interest to upwardly mobile South Africa of Tamil descent (Swan 1987:89).

Although the new elites were successful economically, at the apex of the economic and social hierarchy was the trader elite who differed in terms of caste, occupation and linguistic groups from the indentured Indians. This group was relatively homogeneous, comprising mainly Gujarati Muslims who had similar economic interests (Swan, 1984:244-45; Padayachee and Morrell, 1991). They made every effort to distinguish themselves politically, socially and economically from the indentured labourers, and regarded themselves as part of a commercial bourgeoisie rather than the working class or peasantry (Ginwala, 1974:97). They were bound as a self-conscious elite through the creation and nurturing of many social and religious organisations that celebrated their narrow cultural distinctions. This was intertwined with a network of partnerships and credit. Their wealth was invested in property in the Transvaal and Natal, and as the rateable value of Indian properties increased, they began to purchase in the affluent "European" suburbs (Swan 1987:105).

The passenger Indians thus operated at the top of the economic hierarchy and interaction with other Indians was through "essentially exploitative patron-client

relationships formed by money lenders and the owner-operators of the Durban produce market” (Swan 1985: 28 in Landy et al 2004:207). They were similarly at the top of Natal’s Indian trading economy and constituted large international wholesalers importing goods from Britain and India and exporting to the world and wholesale merchants who supplied retailers within South Africa, especially small Indian traders in Natal. The latter were known as *dukawallahs*, shopkeepers who formed a network in both rural and urban areas and who often started out as assistants to the larger merchants. By skilfully exploiting the consuming potential of the Indian, African and poor white communities the traders expanded their commercial activities and profit margin. (Swan 1984: 244-45, Padayachee and Morrell 1991, Maharaj, 1992, Freund 1996).

Whilst differences in religion, class, language, economics and politics were nominally reduced to the category of ‘Indian’ under the apartheid system, these differences remained strong. The general economic success of Indians generated a great deal of envy and anti-Indian sentiments amongst small white retailers and poor whites, who sought to influence the Natal government to restrict competition in their own favour (Hart and Padayachee 2000). The moulding of a singular Indian identity was a key tool: comprising only 3% of the population in 1960 and easy to define through their phenotypical features and common territorial origin, Indians fitted neatly and easily into the arc of Apartheid and its precursory legislation (Ebrahim-Vally 2001:76). Well before the formation of the Union government in 1910, Indians were legally classified in one “race” category. A series of laws over the next half century culminated in 1950 with the Population Registration Act –which formally divided the population into four racial categories and provided differential access to economic and political opportunities- and the Group Areas Act –which assigned living space based on race. Combined with political and cultural resistance to their increasingly common oppression, this led to closer cooperation across class, language, and religious divides (Hart and Padayachee 2000). However this process of resistance to the strictures of apartheid was never simple. Instead fractures of class became important in negotiations with the Union and Apartheid government.

The root of the disenfranchisement of the Indian community lay with increasing conflict with the white community over the entrepreneurial skills and hard work exhibited by the Indian traders. This became expressed in aggressive policies limiting

their access to land, housing and trading opportunities. Whilst the 'Native problem' was regarded as a passive threat, Indians were seen as "a sophisticated and active menace to their own position in colonial society, competing for space, place, trade and political influence with the imperial authority" (Swanson, 1983: 404). Small employers, shopkeepers and traders were especially vociferous in their opposition to the growth of a community, which they felt would 'swamp' the white population (Lemon 1990). For Maharaj (1992), the conflict between white and Indian capital gradually became expressed in racial terms, despite their valuable contribution to the flourishing Natal economy, and anti-Indian sentiment became institutionalised through a range of discriminatory policies that imposed taxes on Indian households to promote re-indenture and repatriation rather than permanent settlement, curbed voting rights and extended licensing powers to local authorities who had the power to refuse trading rights to Indians. This rhetoric was couched in hygiene terms, with 'civilized' whites in danger from 'dirty' coolies and manifested as ethnic cleansing initiatives in residential districts. In the main, this was achieved through the denial of political rights, restrictions on land ownership, constraints on tenure, trading rights, immigration and denial of franchise chiefly designed to curb the economic and political force of the Indians, and ultimately to promote their repatriation to India (Pachai 1972; Meshthrie, 1985).

The first legislative attempt to disenfranchise Indians came with the Franchise Act of 1896. Only 3 Africans and 251 Indians had the vote in Natal (Swan 1987: 103). With the passing of Law 17 of 1895 and its extension to all members of the family in 1905, a poll tax of 3 pounds was imposed on all Indians who did not re-indenture or return to India, failure to pay which could result in deportation or imprisonment (Bradlow 1970). Through the Dealers Licenses Act No. 18 of 1897 local authorities could refuse trading licenses to Indians without fear of them having recourse to the courts. This resulted in an absolute decline in the number of Indian traders. In 1897, licensed Indian traders comprised 55 percent of the total in Natal (523 out of 941). In 1900 they were 27 percent, (472 out of 1 578) (Swanson, 1983:416),

These constraints on the economic activities of Indians were underpinned by a consistent policy of residential segregation, pursued most vociferously by the local state in Durban, which often went against central state initiatives (Maharaj 1992). The local state of Durban, representing the white ruling class, was at the forefront of calls for

segregation of Indians. The failure of a 1871 law and the failure of a system of voluntary segregation, through inadequate municipal provision of suitable residential and commercial areas, and continual neglect of Indian areas by Durban City Council (DCC) resulted in professional and business class Indians moving into white areas. Following an outcry over 'penetration' by Europeans in Durban, the central state responded to the mass hysteria through a temporary 'Pegging Act' (Trading and Occupation of Land -Transvaal and Natal - Restriction Act, No. 35 of 1943). This 'pegged' the racial pattern of land ownership in the Durban municipal area for 3 years. This was replaced by the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act 1946 (the "Ghetto Act") which applied to the whole of Natal and the Transvaal permanently, creating two kinds of areas: 'controlled' areas, reserved for European ownership and occupation, and 'uncontrolled' areas with no restrictions, was generally owned and occupied by Indians (Maharaj 1992).

Following the ascent to power of the National Party (NP) in 1948, the Ghetto Act provided the foundation for the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950, which exercised nation-wide and comprehensive controls over urban land with respect to ownership, occupation, residence and trading. The collaboration of the DCC with the NP government resulted in the group area proclamation, in which Durban was zoned a 'white' city. It exercised comprehensive controls over urban land ownership, residence and trading. Since Indians were also prevented from inter-provincial movement by a number of long-standing laws excluding them from the Orange Free State and northern Natal; and the restrictions on property owning and employment in the Transvaal, their concentration in the Durban-Pinetown metropolitan region where they had substantial property holdings meant they were most severely and disproportionately affected by the implementation of the GAA as many areas of Indian settlement throughout Durban were rezoned for whites and Indians removed to townships (Lemon 1990; Freund 1996). As a result, about 75,000 Indians were uprooted from settled communities and moved to Indian 'townships', the two major ones being Chatsworth, constructed in 1964, and Phoenix, constructed in 1976 (Freund 1995: 101)

For Thiara (2003), the use of legally declared land for the exclusive ownership and use of each of the four racial groups had a number of consequences. While simultaneously effecting racial separation, it also reinforced a sense of 'Indianness'

and cemented their externally defined definition by forcing an economically, linguistically diverse community to take on a homogenous identity. The stereotypes and myths generated about Indians heightened the sense of physical and social distance from other groups, feeding their own negative perceptions and leading to a psychological disengagement from other groups. Crucially, the economic, linguistic and religious differences that existed in early in their history of settlement in South Africa were subsumed by into an overarching 'Indian' identity imposed by the state and cemented during apartheid.

However, whilst this consolidation of diversity into an overarching 'Indian' ethnic identity was formed from above and there were attempts to forge a collective political ethnic identity from below, the political and economic status of Indo-South Africans remained a key point of division. As a disenfranchised and voiceless group within the structures of South African power, Indian aspirations were instead articulated by different political organisations in an attempt to fashion an ethnic solidarity based on a collectively shared experience of discrimination and uncertainty. Owing to the colonial heritage, the anti-Indian attitudes of the Europeans were deeply ingrained and found expression in statutory restrictions placed on the political, social and economic advancement of the Indian people. Utilising the judicial process and other methods of resistance the Indian people and organisations sought to stem the tide of anti-Indian prejudice and legislation. Indian opposition cannot be reduced to unified, homogenous opposition to repressive racially prejudiced white Government, but was based on existing economic hierarchies and the accommodation of traders to the demands of the ruling white minority.

The formation of Indian political resistance began with the formation of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) in 1894 by Mohandas Gandhi, a barrister who arrived in Pretoria in 1892 to represent an Indian merchant in a lawsuit. Following racial harassment and concerned with the plight of Indians, he stayed on for 21 years, fighting for the rights of his fellow Indians (Swan, 1985:49). The NIC, however, was dominated by merchants struggling for the right to be considered honorary whites on grounds of wealth, education and class, separate from the indentured workers (Swan 1985). This was rooted in a web of class and race prejudice based on colonial Natal and also in Indian caste traditions (Freund 1996). Party membership consisted only of the elite, a result of the membership fee of 3 pounds, and mobilisation was only successful if

legislation threatened trader interests. Therefore, although the merchants sometimes included the complaints of the working class in their political representations, they were primarily concerned with their own problems (Ginwala, 1974:183). Indeed, the merchants were prepared to accept some form of voluntary segregation, as long as their vested commercial interests were not adversely affected (Bhana and Meshthrie, 1984; Pahad, 1972). Although working class Indians would be most affected by residential segregation, the moderates were prepared to offer this group as the 'sacrificial lamb' (Ginwala, 1974:418). This group of accommodationists, under the leadership of A.I. Kajee, formed under the Natal Indian Organisation (NIO) in 1947. Membership of the NIO consisted largely of businessmen, attempting to obtain concessions from the Government by 'constitutional' and 'legitimate' means (Johnson, 1973:68 cited in Maharaj 1992: 8). While opposing segregation, it was also against the more militant strategies of the NIC. Although the NIO was more acceptable to, and entered into dialogue with, both the central and local states, they were unable to obtain any major concessions.

Although the NIC had greater grassroots support than the NIO, it failed to effectively mobilise this support (Pahad 1972). Leadership was sterile, and it often resorted to rhetorical slogans when there was a need for immediate action, often a consequence of the frequent arrest and police harassment of the leaders. Moreover, the majority of Indians were low income labourers who were afraid of being arrested, and the consequent loss of jobs, earnings and family support associated with political activism. To oppose the elitism of the NIC, the Colonial Born and Settlers Indian Association (CBSIA) was formed in 1933 (Padayachee, et al, 1985:142). In 1939 the leadership of the NIC was contested and the NIC and the CBSIA merged to form the Natal Indian Association (NIA). However, the more conservative elements continued to operate under the NIC and although claiming to represent the Indian community, there was very little evidence of mobilisation of the working class.

It wasn't until the beginning of 'Grand Apartheid' that Indians from all economic strata came together to fight the injustices wrought by the GAA and its precursor, the Pegging Act, which affected both wealthy and poor Indians. The GAA seriously affected those Indians capable of purchasing land in white areas for either residential or investment purposes, and whilst it did not immediately affect the majority of less affluent Indians there were repercussions for the Indian working class as rents and

property prices escalated in predominantly Indian areas (Johnson, 1973:78). The poor were forced into high-density slums and landlords demanded outrageous key money (Swan, 1987:191). Elites also suffered through the tightening of legislation that restricted the expansion of trade and Indian ownership of land (Freund 1995). The 1943 Pegging Act for example closed off transfer of property from Whites to Indians. As a result, property prices and rents soared in Indian areas. Segregation under the GAA thus affected all classes of Indians: It reduced opportunities for investment and commercial expansion for the wealthy, the less affluent of the elites faced the possibility of moving into working class neighbourhoods and for the working classes increasing rents and slum clearance meant some became homeless. This government-promoted pattern of stratification in which race shaped individual and communal life experiences drew the former merchants and indentured Indians together, neutralized the impact of class and forced a 'made-in-Natal' consolidated Indian 'community' (Vahed 2000)

4.4.3. India and Indo-South Africans during and after Apartheid.

The move to a more coherent Indian 'community' in South Africa during Apartheid and its precursors was strengthened through deterioration in the relations between South Africa and the Indian government. In India, people, organisations and newspapers had always shown an interest in the plight of their kin in South Africa. This interest was intensified after Gandhi's passive resistance campaigns and his emergence at that time as one of the leaders of the NIC. His attempts to persuade the South African government to end racial discrimination, particularly against people of Indian origin, through non-violence and his philosophy of *Satyagraha* were later implemented in India (Veney 1999:324).

India protested against the ill-treatment of Indians even before it gained independence. It argued before the UN General Assembly in 1946 for example, that the treatment of Indians in South Africa violated their human rights. At the same time as India gained independence, apartheid was codified into law by the White minority government. Keeping Gandhi's *Satyagraha* philosophy, Nehru considered it his obligation to assist in the eradication of apartheid as part of his commitment to maintaining links with and becoming a leader and model for other newly independent countries (Payne 1994). Thus, Nehru discontinued the economic links with South Africa in 1954 and encouraged other countries to employ similar economic sanctions.

At the same time, developing out of India's search for a new and independent identity, expatriate Indians were excluded entirely from its domestic and foreign policy formulations, as the state encouraged its overseas population to integrate into their host societies and support the struggle for permanent withdrawal of colonial rule from Africa and other colonized nations. With the dissolution of the British Empire, the problems of overseas Indians were no longer inter-imperial matters that could be solved under one great regulatory body, but became the concern of sovereign states with independent interests which had to be reconciled with India (Lall 2001). India therefore couldn't afford to be vocal on the fate of Indians abroad and put diplomatic relations at risk, and taking a strong line with the decolonising and newly independent countries in which their populations resided would have been counter-productive (Heismath and Mansingh 1971).

After independence the Government of India barely considered overseas Indians to be part of the Indian nation. Undoubtedly, combined with the Indian economic embargo during apartheid, this had a considerable impact on the cultural, commercial and religious ties of Indo-South Africans to India. The breaking of Indian diplomatic relations with South Africa included a ban on Indians visiting South Africa and Indo-South Africans visiting India, which isolated Indo-South Africans from India further. The result was that the various cultural and religious signifiers of Indian 'identity' diminished. As India expected Indians in South Africa to identify with the Black and Coloured populations in their struggles against white minority rule, there was an expectation that Indian South Africans should ally themselves with the African National Congress (ANC)-led black majority after the dismantling of apartheid (Landy et al 2004). To some extent this has played out: following the resumption of diplomatic ties with India, Indo-South Africans stressed their allegiance to the South African nation, having participated in the struggle to free South Africa from its racial strictures.

It is also the case that following the end of apartheid and the fashioning of a constitution based on a comprehensive, liberal and enlightened notion of democratic pluralism, Indians have also been able to reclaim the cultural signifiers of Indian-ness. As part of the overhaul of the old apartheid regime the constitution aimed to accommodate the cultural claims of minorities with the enshrining of equal rights in the constitution both a 'rallying point' and a cornerstone of social transformation

(McEwan 2001). As part of the ANC's long-held vision that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, it "dismisses ethnicity as building blocks for the new South Africa and instead invokes the individuals rights and freedoms as essential elements of the nation" (Ramutsindela 2001: 73).

The protection of minority rights and the accommodation of diversity was therefore given precedence and resulted in the reclamation of a diverse Indian linguistic, religious and cultural heritage. Under the new multicultural government remit, Indian language radio, televisions and newspapers have flourished, and large and diverse networks of cultural organisations have sprung up to serve the interests of the Indian element of Indo-South African identity. At the same time, diplomatic ties between India and South Africa were resumed and the increase in air-travel has opened Indo-South Africans to relations with India through visits, cultural exchange, sports and trade. Once a quasi-mythical entity after years of isolation, Indian sport, cinema and ancestral history is now assuming a greater role in the imagination of the Indo-South Africans.

Religion has played a fundamental role in defining contemporary Indian identity. Festivals and rituals are important in consolidating religion, as very visible markers of identity, distancing Indians from Africans and whites and strengthening the links between individuals and the 'community' (Vahed 2000, Ebrahim-Vally 2001). In the challenges of the new South Africa, religion has become a source of stability and identity. For Muslims, Islam has become the core of their identity and is rapidly replacing ethnicity, language, class and regionalism as the basis of personal identity, reflected in the rise of Islamic schools, increased numbers making the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, changes in dress codes and, generally, observing rituals (Vahed 2000). Hinduism is also an important signifier of Indian identity in the post-apartheid climate. The majority of Hindus continue to engage in *sanatanist* (traditional) forms of rituals in temples and their homes, and continue to draw upon the religious worship, for the maintenance of cultural principles (Kumar 2000)

Despite the almost total disappearance of the Indian vernaculars, their residues remain an important element of consolidation for defining the diverse elements of Indian 'culture'. English gradually replaced the vernaculars during the first decades of Indian settlement in South Africa, as it became the instrument of communication in

schools and commerce. Moreover, the 1913 Immigration Law and the 1927 Cape Agreement foregrounded English competency a condition of immigration and residence (Ebrahim-Vally 2001: 172). However the disappearance of the vernaculars did not necessitate the disappearance of the communities that formed around them. Thus, most Indo-South Africans now continue to define themselves as members of a linguistic 'community' (the main ones being Gujarati, Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu) even as the preferred language is no longer the means of communication, except in a limited capacity at home through vernacular terms and idioms (Mesthrie 1993).

The second way in which difference continues to manifest itself in the post-apartheid era is in the persistence of economic inequalities. The final measure to eradicate the scars of the past was the ANC's vision to "mobilise all the people and the country's resources towards the final eradication of apartheid" (ANC 1994:?) through its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). For McEwan (2001), democracy in the new South Africa is a model exercise in participation, based around concept of equality, social-liberalism and the protection of minority rights. However, as McEwan (2001) explains, any transition to full democracy does not necessarily mark the endpoint of the struggle for the eradication of social and economic inequalities. Thus, whilst guaranteeing social and economic rights, the South African constitution actively recognises the need to go beyond traditional notions of an inclusionary citizenship by adopting positive action aimed at reducing inequalities between specific groups rather than protecting individual rights and hoping for a collective provision of needs (Yuval-Davis 1997). The ANC envisioned a fundamental restructuring of South African society not only through the withdrawal of apartheid laws and racially based discrimination, but also to the eradication of inequality and inherited disadvantage (Sharp 1998). For Gouws (1999) this has been essential as rights discourses are blind to social and economic disparities between groups as an effective means to bring marginalized communities into the heart of government decision making and redress the exclusionary white polity.

This was manifested primarily in Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and affirmative action. It was recognised that whilst social and economic citizenship has some currency, legal rights were not sufficient to transform economic inequalities entrenched during the exclusionary citizenship of apartheid, and the constitution thus

provides for the removal of disadvantage through affirmative action measures in the public sector. Despite South Africa's paradoxical insistence on non-racialism and ethnically-coded rule, Black-South Africans as formerly the most disadvantaged racial group were given preferential access to jobs. This simultaneously marginalized Indians as a previously disadvantaged group, despite being under the rubric of 'Blacks' during the anti-apartheid struggle (Singh 2005).

The economic status of Indians was also complicated by further fragmentation of the racially based class system of apartheid. Under apartheid the economy was stable as political repression kept wages down. However, rising wages, the breakdown of the Indian commercial monopolies of former townships of Chatsworth and Phoenix under rising competition from Black-South African shopkeepers and transport operators and the removal of the tariff regime protecting Indian manufacture has meant that economic inequality is increasingly based on intra-racial not inter-racial inequalities (Nattrass and Seekings 2002). The class structure of post-apartheid South Africa now comprises three major groups of cross-ethnic classes in South African society (Nattrass and Seekings 2002). At the top is the increasingly multi-racial upper class or elite. In the middle lie workers in a range of classes: the 'semi-professional' class (teachers and nurses), the 'intermediate' class (i.e. white-collar workers in public and private sectors) and most of the 'core' or urban industrial working class. At the bottom are the marginalized sections of the working-class (especially farm and domestic workers and their dependants) and households where no one is in employment. Under apartheid whilst there was also an Indian accommodationist 'elite', the economic status of Indians has fragmented further still.

The final important plane of differentiation is that of the geographical dispersal of Indo-South Africans throughout South Africa. Under apartheid and the Group Areas Act of 1950, Indians were prevented from moving out of their racially designated areas, either provincially or within Durban itself. Following the demise of apartheid, there have been important shifts in the geographical distribution of Indo-South Africans nationally and locally, mainly based upon class and age differentials. Locally, more economically successful Indo-South Africans moved into former white suburbs of Umhlanga, Musgrave and Morningside, whilst working class Indians remained in the former townships of Phoenix and Chatsworth, although these townships also contain a mixture of poorer and more affluent Indo-South Africans. Nationally,

younger Indo-South Africans have moved to Johannesburg and Cape Town, mainly for economic opportunities. One of the major effects of affirmative action quotas restricting the number of Indo-South Africans attending medical school at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has been the movement of younger Indo-South Africans to Cape Town for study (Singh 2005).

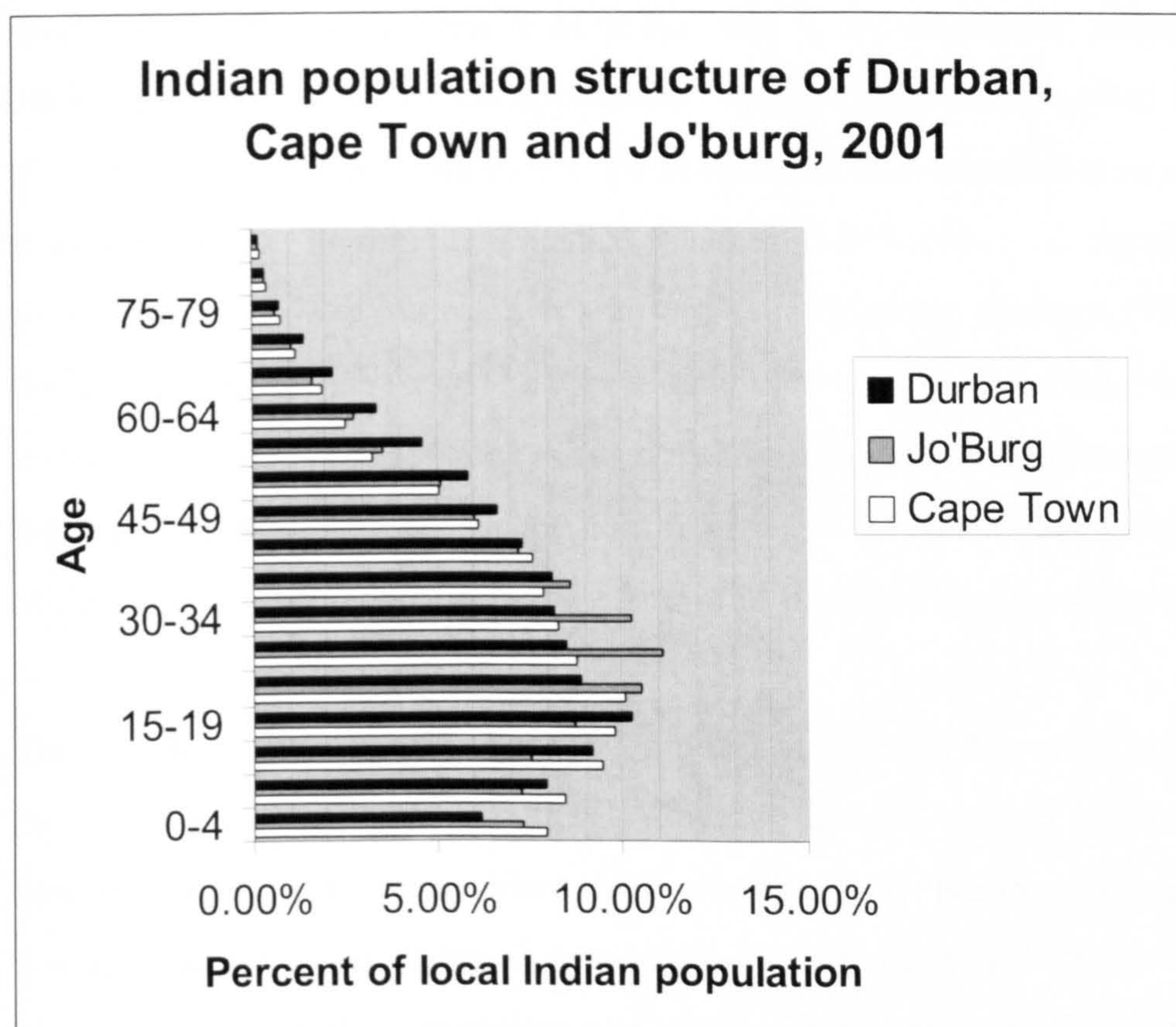


Figure 4.2: Indian population structure, Durban, Jo'burg and Cape Town, 2001. Source: Statistics South Africa www.statssa.gov.za

Thus, as Fig 4.2 above shows, there is a greater proportion of over-45's represented in Durban than either Cape Town or Johannesburg. The 15-19 age group are a greater percentage of the local population in Cape Town than either Johannesburg or Durban, perhaps reflecting the influence of University. In Johannesburg, there is a greater proportion of 25-40 year olds than either Cape Town or Durban, perhaps representing the importance of jobs and commerce. Durban has an older population, reflecting the concentration of Indians there under apartheid and its containing imaginative constitution as the locus of Indo-South African identity.

4.4.4. Summary

Indo-South Africans are deeply embedded in the fractured transition from an apartheid order based on the racialisation of space and social life to a post-apartheid era that promised equality of race, minority rights, economy and politics. The radical distinction between indentured and free Indians constituted the backdrop for the formation of groups around common experiences and identities. The structures of apartheid reinforced a view that there was a homogenous Indian community distinguished by pheno-typical appearance. The apartheid state treated Indians as one bloc and could therefore allocate a specific culture and consider creation of separate residential areas. Whilst Joshi (1973) showed that because of social and political circumstances Indians internalised a homogenous identity, Ginwala (1974) and Pahad (1972) argued that the struggle of the Indian community against apartheid was linked to class struggles. Pahad (1972) showed that Indian political movements could not be depicted as claiming rights for the community as a whole because particular interests of different segments determined the nature of their political participation.

The advent of democracy and the recognition of diversity became a reason to reclaim the specificities of Indian cultural identity: Indians gained the right to assert distinctiveness, and Indian identity in South Africa became popularly expressed through the prism of 'culture' as a means to articulate differences and allow sub groups to identify their members and place other Indians into specific groups that may be based on religious, linguistic or geographical criteria. Despite the initial post-election euphoria, in reality Indians have become threatened economically and politically by affirmative action policies and these have meant increasing antagonism with the Black-South African population.

4.5. The signifiers of a "Pukka Indian Lifestyle"

The fractious post-apartheid transition has brought into debate within the 'Indian public sphere' (the radio stations, newspapers and weeklies) the subsequent transformation of the 'community', especially in relation to the internal divisions of religion and language which have become proxy traces of the traditional division between indentured and passenger Indians (Hansen 2005a). This was a direct consequence of apartheid: because Indo-South Africans remained isolated and insular looking, the divisions between the different religious and linguistic communities are

deep, and depend further in post-apartheid times on the reconnection to India as a source of culture. This was reiterated over and over in my interviews.

In this country Indians are very divided, and are especially splintered on a linguistic basis. This has led to quarrels and infighting, which is not helpful as we are already a minority in this country

Head of cultural organization A

One of the solutions for the fractious nature of the Indian identity in South Africa, both internally in relation to the external threat of the African renaissance, is to create a 'community'. For Brent (2004) 'community' is the ultimate exemplar of Žižek's 'paradox of desire': "We mistake for postponement of the 'thing itself' what is already the 'thing itself', we mistake for the searching and indecision proper to desire what is, in fact, the realization of desire. That is to say, the realization of desire does not consist in its being 'fulfilled', 'fully satisfied'; it coincides rather with the reproduction of desire (Žižek, 1991: 7). Desire, according to Žižek, has to be constructed, and as such, it is "the desire for community, not its achievement, which is itself community" (Brent 2004:221).

Along with debates about the constitution of the 'Indian community' are related concerns about the erosion of 'authentic' cultural practices, and imaginings of the 'motherland' (Hansen 2005a). For Das Gupta (1997:580) in her study of Indians in the U.S., "What is 'Indian,'...is not automatically what is preserved but what is *constructed* as preserved" (her emphasis). This raises the question of what being transnational, sometimes as diasporic, means for the exchange of these symbols and codes. In the cultural economy approach identified in Chapter 2, which allows us to examine identity in relation to historical-material circumstances, this section of the chapter establishes the structure of codes that creates a legitimate "Indian" identity via the local milieu of Indo-South African transnational 'elites': the web of cultural organisations, media outlets and key individuals.

4.5.1. Transnationalism, structures of affect and the model of leadership

One way in which Indo-South African identity in South Africa is signified as a coherent identity is through the codification of a model structure of internal affiliations and bonds. A central strategy of this approach is through the Indian-South

African media. For example, every Sunday in *The Sunday Times*, a South African Sunday newspaper published in Durban which includes a pull-out section especially related to ‘Indo-South African’ news. A key feature of this newspaper is the “High Society” column which presents stories about Indo-South Africa society gatherings around Durban, and similar columns appear in other Indo-South African newspapers.

Gatherings tend to be centered on an Indian cultural event, which usually features either Indian or local Indo-South Africa artists performing Indian cultural routines, either classical or Bollywood-inspired numbers. Photographs of the attendees will appear, usually accompanied by a description of the event and the notable dignitaries who attended. Photographs feature ‘ordinary’ Indo-South Africans, usually pictured with their friends or family. Usually for such events there is an element of it being an ‘occasion’, thus women might wear traditional saris.

There is also a strong presence of photographs of Indian ‘community leaders’, especially when participating in social gatherings with people from India. Thus, in figure 4.3 below, a newspaper column taken from *The Sunday Times* describes a gathering held at the house of the Indian consular general of Durban for an eminent Indian film director visiting South Africa. Invitees, some of them pictured with the consular general, included other eminent figures within the Indo-South African ‘community’ such as politicians, Indo-South African owners of MNCs and film producers.



Figure 4.3. High society column, *The Sunday Times*

The invitees to such events are generally drawn from “the list” of Indo-South African representatives from key areas of cultural, economic and political organizations described in Chapter 3. By demonstrating the inclusiveness of all factions of Indo-South Africans, such columns circulate a message of racially-based solidarity. Moreover, because the event above is directly linked with India, via the highly politically located consular general, it also implicitly foregrounds Indian transnational connections as essential for the development of these bonds. This is emphasised in the accompanying text, which discusses the family of the Indian consular general. His daughter for example is described as:

as sweet as the kulfi and saloods served for dessert

This quote draws upon the kinship of family and the signifiers of food to create a bonding effect between the reader, the event and India. Cook and Crang (1996) draw attention to how the consumption of food connects the consumer to myriad entanglements with imagined, performed and represented flows between ‘origins’, ‘destinations’. Commodities such as food are not just ‘things’ but constitute social relations and cultural identity (Bourdieu 1984, Miller et al 1998, Castree 2001, Jackson et al 2007). In terms of food, Roy (2002) points to the intimate relationship between ‘gustatory’ and national memories, and the power of ‘nostalgic gastronomy’ contained in the semiotics of food for diasporic and migrant subjects.

In other similar society columns, other commodity markers of Indian identity such as fashion are also important:

Sometimes we include a description of the saris the women were wearing, such as whereabouts in India they got their saris from, what kind of materials they were made from, things like that. People like to read about the glamorous silks and jewels of India

Section editor of Indo-South African newspaper A

An extensive literature has drawn attention to the construction of India as figured through women as culture-bearers. Chatterjee (1990, cited in Radhakrishnan 2005: 269), for example outlines how the Indian nationalist project was based upon the mapping of femininity onto an inner-world which contained the essence of Eastern superiority and was to be protected. In this sense, Indian-ness in the above quote is

similarly constituted through saris as the ultimate exemplar of Indian femininity, and thus Indian identity. For Entwistle (2001: 55) dress is an ‘embodied and situated practice’ and means through which individuals negotiate their social world. In this case, dress is a signifier of traditional Indian femininity and by association the Indian nation.

In these representations of various gatherings, the bonds between different sections of community ‘elites’, held together through food, family and sometimes fashion-based signifiers of a common connection to India, are held up as a model of what social relations between Indo-South Africans should look like. This model is essential for the creation of a network of entrustment. According to Tillie (2004), political trust of the ‘ethnic elite’ can ‘travel’ through the networks of the community, thus increasing the trust of the community in the activities of the ‘elite’. Isolated elite (i.e. an elite which only represents certain segments of the community) has a smaller role in increasing trust than an elite connected to various groups in the ethnic community. In this case, elites are entrusted with a strong leading role in building a cohesive Indo-South African identity. Moreover, this is also a role that elites themselves are conscious of:

There was a dinner at the Consular General's house...I got an invitation as I'm [from the newspaper] and they like to be on the social pages. This way, the Indian [Indo-South African] community knows: we are your leaders

Section editor, Indo-South African newspaper B

Thus, not only does this cohesive and Indian-centred model of Indo-South African identity exist, but it is actively and consciously circulated for the rest of the ‘community’ to aspire to.

4.5.2. Generation and Indian culture

A group of studies argue that the extent and intensity of transnational connections vary across the generational spectrum, highlighting the temporal nature of transnational identity. Focussing on diasporas, Butler (2001) for example argues that newer diasporas up to two or three generations removed from dispersal base their collective identity on their shared association with the homeland; later generations have a stronger bond to host countries. Hansen (1952) posits that it is the third

generation that champions home country culture, whilst the first generation is focused on acculturation and survival in the host land, and the second rejects difference and embraces the host country (e.g. Warner and Srole, 1945). Others have argued that subsequent generations following migration will lean towards that cultural identity which affords the greatest opportunities in terms of identity resources and quality of life (e.g. Suarez-Orozco 1987, Matute-Bianchi 1991, Waters 1999).

In the context of Indo-South African identity, generation is an important site of conflict and contestation. Younger Indo-South Africans don't think of themselves as particularly Indian, but are more interested in music from the U.S. or contemporary Indian dance music emanating from London and Toronto (Hansen 2005a). This gap in what India represents can be seen in the following comments about the travel options of different generations of Indo-South Africans:

For our 50+ audience, they want to go to India and experience the land of our roots. The younger generation are just not there. They prefer to go to Europe or America

Presenter, TV Station A

The lack of interest in India is a particular source of concern for many of the 'elites' who see generational differences in transnational connections the key battleground for the preservation of Indian 'identity'. In these concerns, interest in India is overshadowed by what is seen as a pervasive 'Western' culture:

Western culture is so powerful, and the kids just swallow up American commercials, TV and radio. The kids are exposed constantly to Western culture and just don't care about their roots

Leader of religious organization A

These fears echo work done early on in the humanistic tradition of geography, particular that of Relph (1976), drawing upon Heidegger (1962), who argues that standardization and the loss of diversity references a loss of meaning. 'Community' takes on a new importance in this context in its ability to counter the global forces of standardization and Westernisation. Thus for Castells (1989: 350) people affirm their cultural identity by "mobilizing to achieve their demands, organizing their communities, and staking out their places to preserve meaning...to reinvent love and

laughter in the midst of the abstraction of the new historical landscape” (Castells, 1989, p. 350).

Along with the ‘community’ the family is also seen as a key site for the reproduction of meaning through family and kin relationships (Reynolds 2006). For younger Indo-South Africans ‘India’ is a montage of music, images and words embedded in the family home and the cultural tastes of the older generation (Hansen 2005a). The home and the family provide important spheres of social interaction through which people reproduce and negotiate cultural values, and for Indo-South African ‘elites’, concerns about the family is a key source of anxiety about the dissolution of the Indian ‘community’:

In Durban there is a big gap in the number of 20 to 40 year olds. Mostly they've gone to Jo'burg and Cape Town for career opportunities. But, it's difficult to maintain culture when you're away from home...There is no time to do religion, culture, anything like that. Instead, younger people are consumed by their own lifestyles...and their playstations.

Events organizer for cultural organization C

In this quote, anxieties about the erosion of an ‘Indian’ identity are mapped onto a number of scales and spaces. First, the migration of younger Indo-South Africans away from Durban is seen as detrimental to the preservation of an Indian identity. The history of Indo-South Africans in South Africa is intimately connected with Durban, as their initial port of disembarkation in South Africa, the plantation economy of colonial Natal the reason they arrived, and their ‘homeland’ during the apartheid years from which they were prevented from moving. There are many places and artefacts embedded within the Durban landscape, monuments to the history of Indians in the area: The Gandhi settlement outside Phoenix, the Indian history archives at the Durban-Westville campus, the mosque and former Indian shopping arcades of Grey Street, Indian temples in Chatsworth and Phoenix right through to the casino and cinema complex at Suncoast, built by an eminent Indo-South African family. Indeed, most of these feature as part of the marketing of Durban, appealing to the multicultural character of the city.

Second, Durban is signified as the space of the home, which in itself is directly identified as the repository of Indian values. Rather than simply being about a

generation issue, fears about the erosion of an identifiable 'Indian' Indo-South African community are anchored in issues about language and religion. This is important because the family is the method of passing 'identity' markers. Das Gupta (1997) for example shows how family continues to serve as the primary space where children are socialized into 'Indian' ways of living, the site where 'traditions,' as distinct from 'American' ways, are produced and parents become the repositories of India's cultural wealth as the sole interpreters, upholders, and transmitters of their natal culture. The moves of children away from these familial spaces are perceived as a crucial point in the 'erosion' of traditional Indian values.

Third, it is the individualism of younger Indo-South Africans that is deplored, and seen as the antithesis of the 'community'. The cultural practices of young Indo-South Africans are far removed from the cultural practices and traditions of India brought to South Africa in the nineteenth century, and indeed of their parents and grandparents. Modern Indian culture in Durban is influenced by white 'Western' culture with linguistic influences from Zulu and English. Popular life is not structured in accordance with Indian culture, rather through products from the commercial Indian film and music market and increasingly western pop music, American TV shows and soaps. "Much of what is considered Indian has been vanishing...to be replaced by a more commercially packaged consumer culture with an occasional Indian tinge" (Hansen 2005a: 246). It is this commercialism which is so at odds with an 'authentic' Indian culture.

4.5.3. Language

The third way in which an authentic 'Indian' identity transnational identity is signified is through the reclamation of the vernacular language. The first segmentation of the Indians in Natal was according to the regional origin ("Calcuttie", "Madrassie", and the passenger Indians), these very groups were also subdivided into linguistic groups (respectively Hindi and similar languages; Dravidian languages; and Memon, Konkani, Gujarati). But, while in 1951 only 6% of the Indian South Africans spoke English at home, in 1970 this had increased to 32%, and in 1980, 73% (Arkin et al., 1989). In 1996 94.4% of Asians declared English as their home language (Landy et al 2004: 211). Even Gujarati, which for long remained the business language and the teaching of which was supported by the affluence of the Muslim Gujarati community, was eventually eroded, partly because Muslims considered it a language of Hindus. These

Muslims shifted to Urdu and even sometimes to Arabic, at least in the religious sphere. Now, less than 4% of Indo-South Africans, mainly Gujarati Muslims, report that they use Indian vernaculars as home languages (Landy et al 2004).

The disappearance of the Indian vernaculars can be traced back to two processes: linguistic homogenisation, the disappearance of dialects to the advantage of the main vernaculars of Hindi and Tamil, and linguistic erosion, the decline of the vernaculars vis-à-vis the languages of the dominant groups. As Landy et al (2004) explain, many of the indentured labourers came from the lower classes of the Indian society at a time when more than 80% of India was illiterate and thus most of the labourers could not read nor write. As English in Natal was the medium of communication in school, commerce and political life, English gradually replaced the Indian vernaculars (Ebrahim-Vally 2001). However, even as the vernacular languages are no longer a main medium of communication, people nevertheless continue to define themselves by their forefather's language (Ebrahim-Vally 2001, Landy et al 2004). Language has thus become the name of a 'community,' and is still an important component of Indo-South African marriage traditions (Landy et al 2004).

“For transplanted people, intellectual culture and traditions need a written support for surviving” (Singaravelou, 1987: 117) and many Indo-South African cultural brokers in South Africa have taken it upon themselves to provide access to vernacular resources. It is seen as a primary component of an 'Indian' identity, however that component is defined:

We have got to link with our origin. If we know the language we can know our culture and our identity. If we lose the language, we lose our culture and our community

Member of Indo-South African cultural organization C

The survival of an 'Indian' community in South Africa in this quote hinges on the preservation of language. Possessing an Indian language is equated with possession of an Indian identity, construed as a body of meanings and knowledge. To “know” the culture is to “have” it, and to “forget” it is to “lose” it. Fishman (1980:66) calls this ‘ethnicity as knowing’ which enables ‘authentic ethnic responses’ to validate traditional practices of the group (Lock and Detaramani 2006: 276). Fishman (1980: 65) relates language to the ‘doings’ of ethnicity, which “preserve, confirm, and

augment collective identities and the natural order”. The ‘mother tongue’ is thus valued as an essential component of identity and a resource for sharing meanings (Lock and Detaramani 2006)

4.5.4. Religion

As the above sections showed, stratification and diversity are fundamental characteristics of Indo-South Africans, and religion is also an important aspect of the expression of diversity. The development of religious stratification is very closely tied to identity markers that have evolved from the stratified social identity of language and become confined within religious parameters. Language intersects with broader religious identity in defining various degrees of distance and difference between members of the Indian ‘community’. While language divisions as a basis of transnational connectivities has enhanced divisions, by promoting and splintering the connection between Indo-South Africans, there is still the sense that transnational connections can provide cultural capital for all Hindus regardless of language:

Indians in South Africa want to connect to India. This is borne by the fact that if you speak to travel agents, they’ll tell you the huge numbers of people making pilgrimages. They go to Varanasi because they feel that’s where they get self-contentment. Religion is a hugely strong base for us. Although it’s more for mature Indians, youngsters will go at some point, because that’s where their heartbeat is

Editor of Indo-South African newspaper A

The Hindu community represents approximately 68% of the population of Indian origin (Ebrahim-Vally 2001:144). Within the Hindu population the first level of identification is linguistic: Gujarati, Tamil or Telugu speaking. Transnational connections are important in keeping Hindu Indo-South Africans in touch with India. Thus, whilst in this example Hindi is the medium of connection to India, it is Hinduism as the goal. This also alludes to the representation of the Indo-South African transnationalism as a Hindu, as opposed to Muslim, project. This was evident in most of my interviews: that being ‘Indian’ was equated with being Hindu.

The Muslim Indian community represents approximately 20% of the Indo-South African population (Ebrahim-Vally 2001: 151). Contrary to their Hindu counterparts, the Muslim community appears homogenous, consistent with Islam egalitarian

precept in which there is no social stratification within the Umma. Islam does not separate the social from the religious spheres, and thus linguistic differences, for example, are considered instruments of communication.

However, linguistic differences also strongly map onto religious differences. Muslims Indo-South Africans are descendants of passenger Indians from Gujarat, Bombay and what is now Pakistan, and of some indentured labourers from Hyderabad and Madras. Gujarati and Urdu speaking Muslims came from the districts of Surat, Kathiawar and Valsad in Gujarat, and both Gujarati and Urdu have acquired specific religious connotations in South Africa: Gujarati became the preserve of Gujarati Hindus and Urdu the preserve of Gujarati Muslims. This transformation in the signifiers of language is fairly recent and can be attributed to the awakening of religious consciousness and the assertion of different faiths through linguistic identities (Ebrahim-Vally 2001).

It has been established that inside the global Indian diaspora, and especially for the recent migrations in Europe and America, the Muslims, being a minority in India, have their identity based on a religion rather than on their original country, India, which is dominated by a Hindu majority (Mohammad-Arif, 2002). But in South Africa, Muslims are often closer to their Indian geographical roots than the Hindus due to the historical factor and recency of migration. Broadly, the descendants of Muslim passenger Indians know the name of their ancestor's village; the descendants of Hindu indentured labourers know only the name of the State or province of their ancestors (Landy et al 2004). This is in some way a paradox because Muslim Indo-South African organizations are more concerned with their connections to the Umma as a stronger source of identification, particularly with regard to the provision of welfare and aid to other Muslim members of South Africa:

Our primary function as an organisation is working with Muslim communities in townships and with disadvantaged blacks who are Muslim. We do not have a role in the wider Indian community. We are not an Indian cultural organisation but an Islamic cultural organisation doing Dawah work

Head of religious organization C

As this interviewee goes on to say,

My grandfather was from India so I am 3rd generation South African. Although I have roots in India, I have no affinity to the Indian subcontinent or Indian people. I regard myself as first a Muslim, then a South African. There is no Indian except in the historical sense, because India is where my family came from.

Head of religious organization C

However, the emplacement of individuals in networks can and goes beyond religious differences, and the links between Muslim Indo-South Africans and India are complicated by a variety of factors. One Muslim Indo-South African author I talked with is regularly asked to be a guest at general Indian cultural events because the nature of his work as a biographer of Gandhi. He feels that it is part of his community role to promote cultural exchange at the request of the Indian consulate, particularly with regard to the Muslim community. Moreover, he funds a number of projects, such as Madrassas (Islamic schools), in his father's village in Surat province. Thus, as he is well plugged into networks with the Indian consulate, he maintains interest and connections with his origin, and also helps to maintain interest of other members of the Muslim Indian community.

This type of networked connection can be seen further through other individuals. For example, one Muslim owner of a Bollywood-based business industry has vested interest in consular and diplomatic activities because of the nature of his business interests that mesh with the Indian cultural economy and with trade with India more generally. Thus, religion as a signifier of transnational identity is complicated by the histories of indenture and intersects with a range of other identity markers such as language, but also occupation and personal networks.

4.5.5. The codification of class and consumption

As explained above, religious and linguistic differences between Indo-South Africans can also be seen as a proxy for the historical development of an economic hierarchy. The 'passenger' Indians, or traders, differed in terms of caste, occupation and linguistic groups from the indentured Indians. Even though a significant minority of 'passenger' Indians were Hindu (such as Gandhi), in general this group comprised mainly Gujarati Muslims with similar economic interests. The caste system also established a distance between Gujarati traders and the Tamil/Telugu/Hindustani

indentured Indians, the latter regarded as low caste because during the sea voyage from India they had to give up restrictions pertaining to their caste system (Ebrahim-Vally 2001). This was reinforced by the endogamous practices of the Gujarati descendants of free passenger Indians (Ebrahim-Valley 2001). In addition, sharp distinctions developed during apartheid with the essentially exploitative relations between the accommodationist elites and the poorer working class Indians. Indeed, it was the policy of the apartheid state to create a conservative Indian elite, which resonated with the cultural and economic supremacy of the 'merchant-class' (Hansen 2005a: 244).

In the contemporary period most of the original class borders between indentured and passenger Indians' descendants have disappeared, but there remains a socio-economic hierarchy inside the 'community' (Desai, 1996). Class differences have become a central component in the signification of Indo-South African transnational identity.

It is the image of the economically successful and upper class Indian that is thought to represent the 'true' value of the Indian 'community'.

We place the content of [the newspaper] directly in line with our readers and their Living Standards Measure. We have a profile at the top end of the LSM and we want our content to reflect the Indian community as an affluent and increasingly successful community of people. Our market is a well-educated, sophisticated audience, and our goal is to target the top end. Our areas of circulation, mainly in Musgrave and Umhlanga, would reflect this.

Section editor of Indo-South African newspaper B

The signification of Indo-South Africans as economically successful is by no means accidental; rather the reproduction of Indo-South African success is directly linked to the effects for that newspapers' circulation figures and image. Whilst this newspaper does not explicitly use its stories to connect Indo-South Africans to India, other businesses specifically utilize class significations to connect Indians in South Africa to India and other parts of the Indian Diaspora. For example, the radio station Lotus FM on its website rolls a series of key facts about the 'Indian Diaspora' (Fig. 4.4)

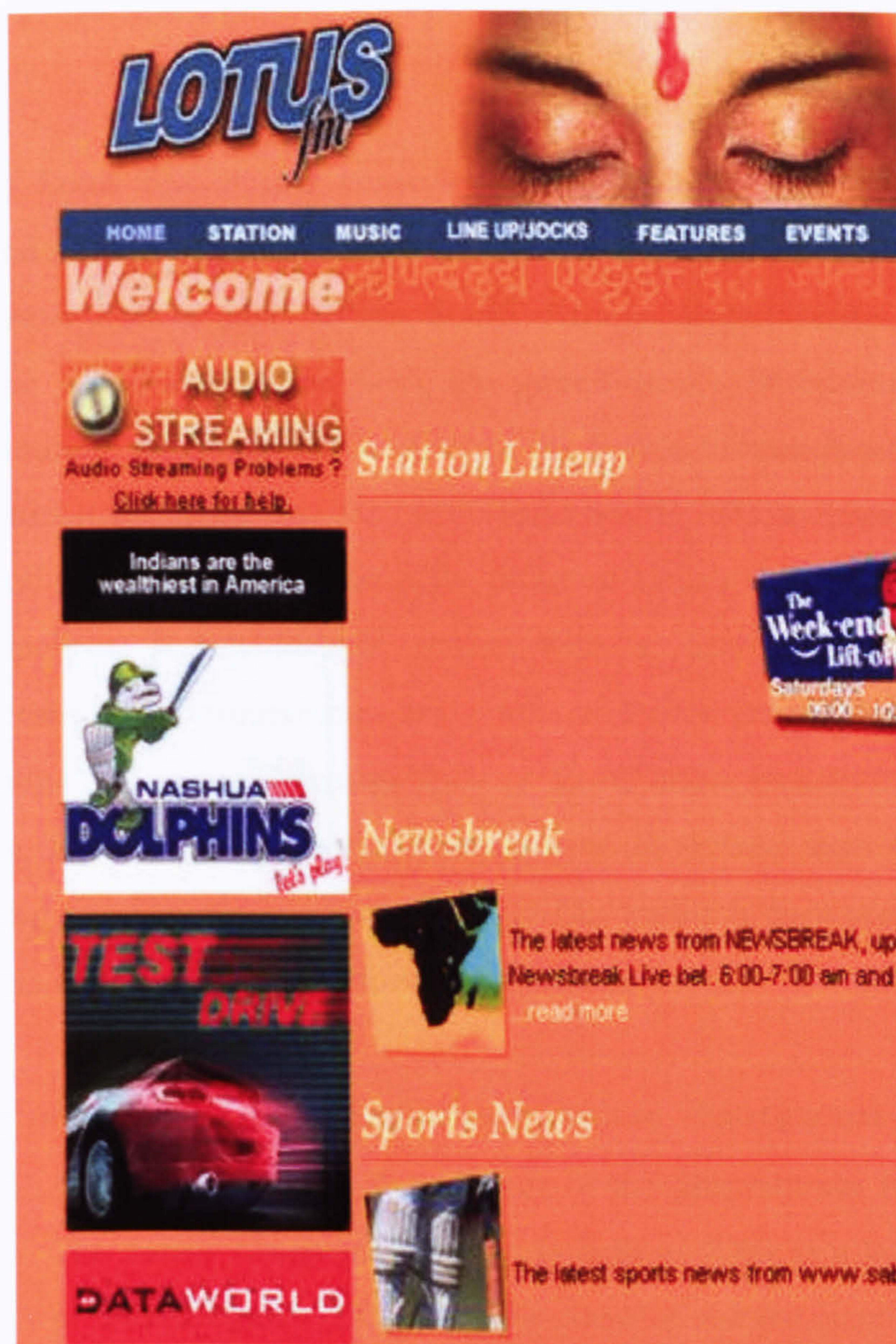


Figure 4.4. Screen capture from the website of Lotus FM www.lotusfm.co.za

This particular screen capture says “*Indians are the wealthiest in America*”. Other information provided in the box includes statistics such as “*38% of doctors in America are Indians*”, “*36% of NASA employees are Indian*” and “*The co-founder of hotmail is Sabeer Bhatia*”. These explicitly tie the radio station to the economic and professional success of Indians in America. Moreover, a multitude of codes exist on this page that signifies Indo-South African identity in a variety of ways. The statistics on Indians in America tie Indo-South Africans to the successes and wealth of the Indian Diaspora; the image of traditional Indian femininity and the Sanskrit characters tie Indo-South Africans to the traditions of India; whilst the map of Africa grounds Indo-South Africans in their own diasporic locale. Crang et al (2003), in her case study of the British-South Asian fashion industry, conceptualises such discursive oppositions between ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ as a form of transnational stylisation central to a marketing strategy.

In the case of Lotus FM, it is a conscious and deliberate effort to manage the signifiers of Indo-South African identity in the development of their own brand. Specifically, Lotus FM is part of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)'s public broadcasting arm, with the government's multicultural remit to provide programming reflecting the diversity of the South African population. Thus, Lotus FM is broadcast from Durban, with Indo-South African presenters and a balanced musical selection that represents the different Indian languages. In the main, it is a metropolitan, Indian lifestyle station with a distinctly commercial and contemporary profile. Its programmes are a mix of Indian languages and English: thus a programme in a certain language such as Tamil might explain in English the lyrics of a song (Ebrahim-Vally 2001). The images on its website signify Lotus FM's specific branding as a blended combination of Indian tradition, post-apartheid Africa centric discourse and its modern and forward approach.

The centrality of the signifiers of Indo-South African transnational identity as a marketing tactic can also be seen in the content of the programmes handed out at Indian festivals. The *Swami Thyagaraja Festival* was held in 2005 as a key part of the Indian Academy of South Africa's (IASA) *Heritage Series* of cultural events. The aim of the IASA is to provide Indo-South Africans with a 'true' and 'pure' version of Indian 'culture'. Accompanying every event is a glossy brochure and features articles on traditional Indian singers, dance troupes and musicians, alongside which are advertisements for 'Indian' products such as spices, religious ware, fashion and jewellery. Inside the brochure for the *Swami Thyagaraja Festival* was the following advertisement for a travel company offering tailor-made 'heritage tours' to India (Fig 4.5.)

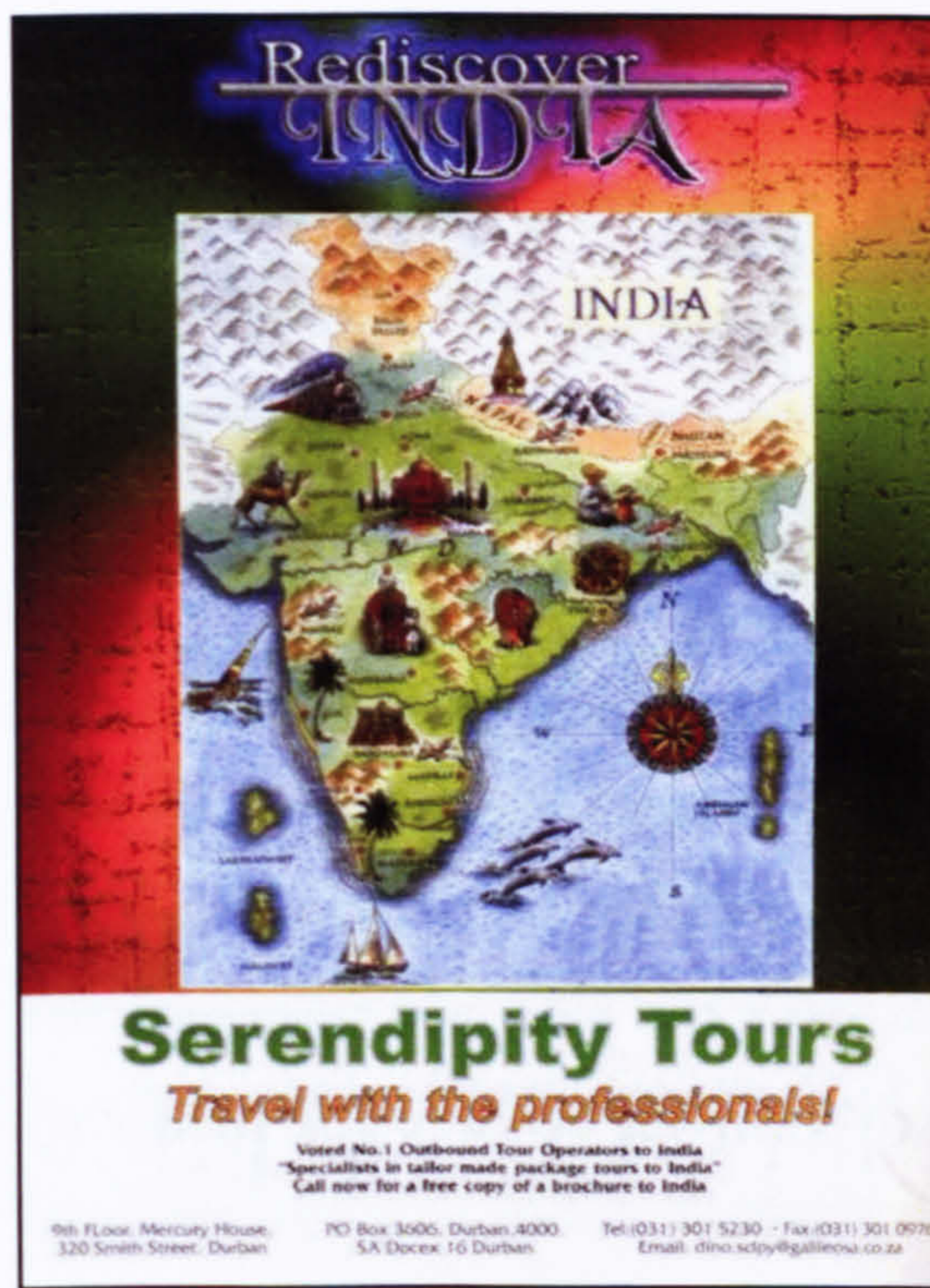


Figure 4.5: Advertisement for Serendipity Tours

The key signifiers contained in this advertisement emphasize the tradition and 'authenticity' of the Indian experience. First, it encourages the reader to 'Re-discover' India, implying that Indo-South Africans are innately already connected to the country by virtue of their roots, embedded in a geographic location. Secondly it plays upon a traditional iconography of India: Indo-South Africans who take a tour can visit the Tamil temples of southern India or ride a camel in the deserts of Rajasthan. By placing their advertisement in the pages of a traditional Indian cultural festival programme, it taps into a market for Indians who might be interested in reclaiming some of the authenticity of their identity.

4.5.6. Summary

As the above section has described, Indo-South African transnationalism is signified in complex and intersecting ways that reflect the historical production of difference resulting from the context of colonial migration systems, apartheid racial and economic segregation and the post-apartheid era of multicultural diversity and affirmative action policies. These differences are seen as highly problematic in the face of fears about Black-South African domination of social, economic and political life. In this context, 'Indian' transnationality is signified for the creation of a singular Indian 'community' in a number of ways. First, it foregrounds an 'elite' as a model for social relations between Indo-South Africans based on bonds of kinship and

affection. Second, it draws upon fears of the erosion of Indian culture by the youth to reify a vision of what Indian culture should look like as the polar opposite of the homogenizing forces of Westernisation. This is mapped onto the space of Durban, the home, the family and the individual. Third, Indian identity is specifically located in language, not any specific one in particular, but as the basis of identity, whether that vernacular is still in use. Fourthly, and related to language is the location of identity in religion. For Hindus, this is located in India. For Muslims, it is located in the Umma. However, these differences are complicated by individual networks and affiliations, which differentially influence the impact of religion. Finally, I outlined how the significations of an Indian identity are located in 'authentic' codifications of class and consumption. I related this to the marketing tactics of Indo-South African companies. Thus, what constitutes the signification of Indian identity is related to a transnational complex of identity but also gendered, aged and economic considerations of what is considered 'authentic'.

4.6. The materiality of transnational practice

I next outline how these signifiers are translated into material practice. The purpose of this section is to paint a portrait of the transnational activities of Indo-South Africans, and how these intersect with how transnational 'Indian' identity is signified. Traditional conceptualisations of transnational migration stress the multiple social, cultural, economic, and political ties and multi-scalar networks that migrants and displaced groups maintain across the borders of two or more nations, usually between a 'homeland' and a country of settlement (Basch et al 1994, Portes 1999, Levitt 2001b). Transnational practice is therefore conceptualised as intimately grounded in a geographical place of 'home'. However, as I show, in South Africa, the transnational practice of Indo-South Africans is grounded within the history of Durban.

4.6.1. An Indian-made geography of identity?

In this narrow definition of what constitutes transnationalism, Indians in South Africa would barely be considered even remotely transnational (Figures 4.6 and 4.7.):

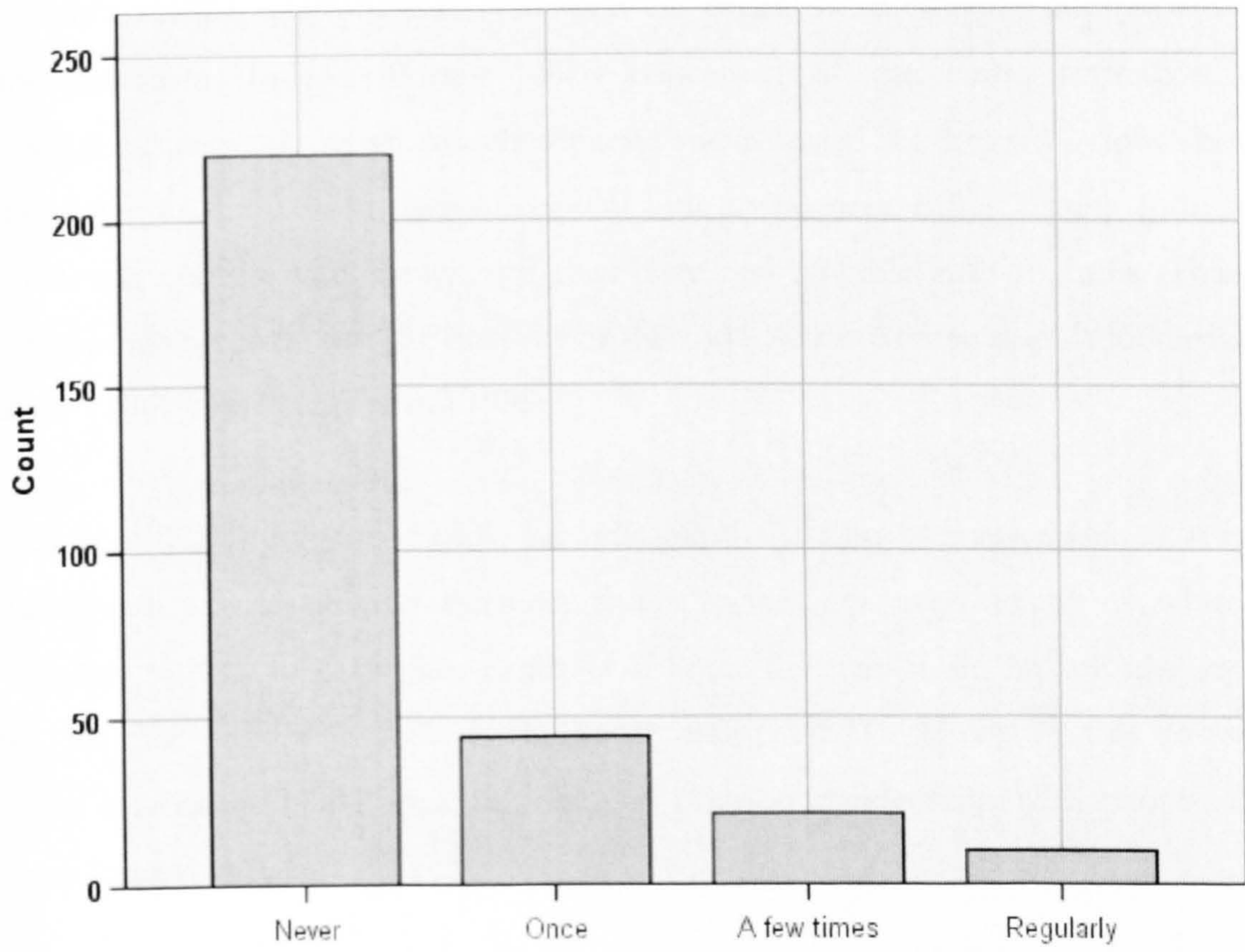


Figure 4.6. Frequency of visits to India

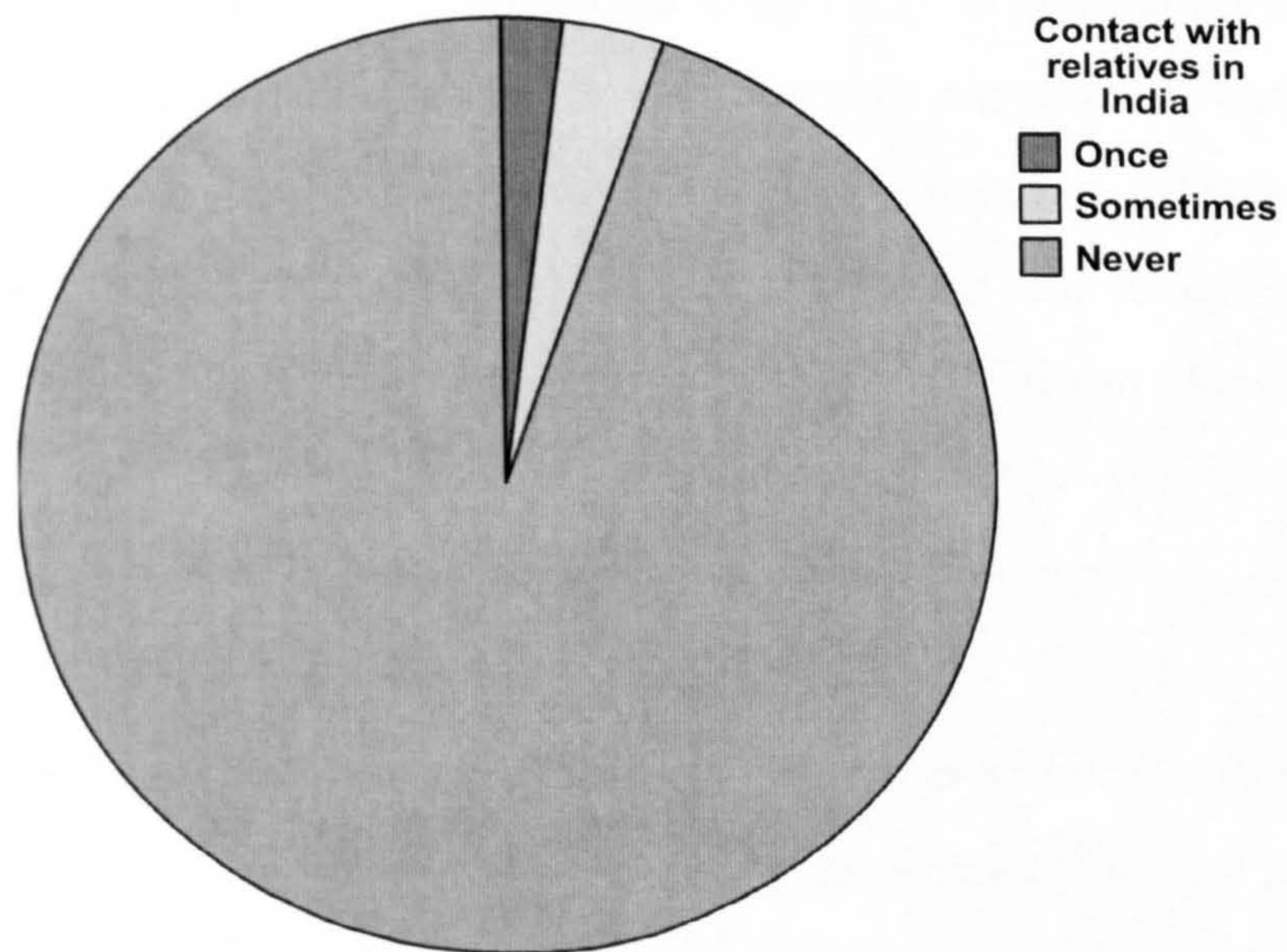


Figure 4.7. Contact with family in India

For many, maintaining ‘physical’ links with an ‘origin’ is an essential component of transnationalism. Indeed, Portes (1999) conceived of the dense formation of transnational networks as an entirely separate social space. As the two graphs above show however, Indo-South Africans spend little to no time either visiting India, or maintaining contact with family, and thus have few tangible links to India. This is hardly surprising given that the majority of the Indo-South African population arrived between 1860 and 1922 (Freund 1995: 2).

Landy et al (2004) argue that India for Indo-South Africans is transcendental: it is a country with only an abstract existence that is spoken and even dreamt of, without ever being visited. In particular, Landy et al argue that whilst an ‘Indian’ identity is alive, material links with India have almost disappeared. However, this account situates materiality, like Portes, in terms of physical connections with people and objects located in *India*.

To ‘cultural brokers’, establishing material connections grounded in India is an essential part of what they would consider to be their role in the ‘community’. As I have demonstrated above, transnational space is signified as not only relevant to individual ‘Indo-South African’ identity, but to the creation of a defined community in relation to different agendas. Leadership is an important component because it helps establish a ‘model’ for what that community identity looks like, and specifically how India figures into that configuration. As well as circulating that model, there is also a sense of ‘duty’ and obligation on the part of Indo-South African elites for the ‘community’. As a result, ‘elites’ take it upon themselves to provide *India-based* opportunities for Indo-South Africans to reclaim an authentic identity:

My goal is to provide more connection to our sources. Our resource for Hindi culture is India and I bring great Indian culture through a series of programmes. The task is to bring India to the vast majority who won't be able to go, and even if they do go, they won't to be able to source Indian culture in true form

Head of cultural organization B

Lentz (1994) characterizes cultural elite’s behaviour towards home countries as a “mere strategy for self-advancement” and a calculative approach. Woods (1994: 467) too claims that hometown associations in Cote d’Ivoire are utilised by “elites to

consolidate their own economic and political position in the post-colonial state”. Henry and Mohan (2003) however argue that it is impossible to separate these motivations from embedded cultural and political practices in the life-worlds of those concerned. Lentz’s (1994) analysis of Dagara elites in Northern Ghana shows how ‘the invocation of cultural roots and ethnic community . . . can be part of the elite’s carving out of a personal sense of a dignified, meaningful existence as well as an asset to their political careers’ (Lentz, 1994, p. 151). Thus, whilst transnational elites might broker connections with ‘origins’ and ‘destinations’ for their own purposes, these are inevitably embedded in a sense of personal obligation.

As I argued above, language is signified as an important repository of ‘authentic’ Indian culture, and the loss of which is a persistent fear. India is seen as the primary source of this identification, and many language-based groups in Durban provide educational programmes aimed at preserving the language and educating younger Indo-South Africans.

Our goal is the development of the [vernacular] language, so we provide bursaries for students to go study the language in India. We celebrate Hindu events such as the New Year and various dance festivals with our own linguistic flavour

Head of cultural organization A

Language, religion and India are inevitably intertwined, and India is seen as the essential component:

Our radio station tells the community of happenings in the diaspora: we do our best in communicating news, happenings, culture, and information about Hindi, because it links us to India and our religion, Hinduism.

Manager of radio station B

The claim for the indigeneity of India is made via a discourse that views the Hindu nation as directly derived from the ancient civilization of the Indus-Saraswati river system (Grant 2005). This territorial mapping of culture and race is grounded in a ‘sacred geography’ of the land of India, covered with religious centres and places

consecrated to several deities of the Hindu pantheon, the epicenter of which is Ayodhya, a city recounted in the opening pages of the *Ramayana* (Assayag 1997). It is the ‘rooting’ of Indo-South African identity in India that is the reason many ‘cultural brokers’ aim to provide this connection, especially for the young:

Our paper is written in English because the youngsters need to know about India. The importance of this paper cannot be underestimated because we let young people know about our roots. One day they will make the journey to India

Editor of Indo-South African newspaper A

Hence, events such as the one on the flyer below (Fig. 4.8) are promoted through religious organisations such as the *Gujarati Sanskruti*, and with the support of the Consulate General of India to lend a stamp of ‘authenticity’.

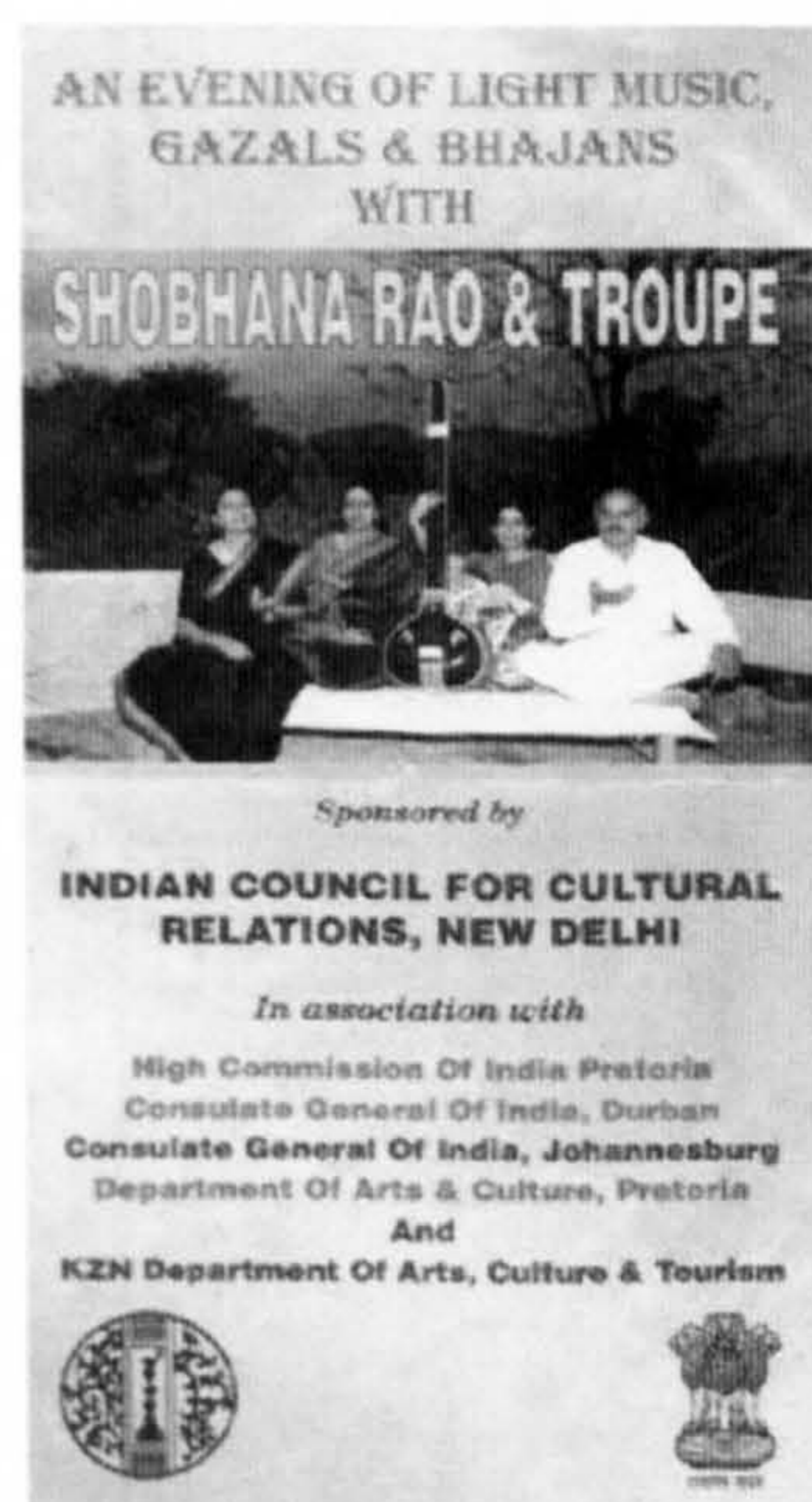


Figure 4.10. Flyer for an evening with ‘Shobana Rao and Troupe’

In the music promoted through the above event, Indian culture is considered to be of the ‘traditional’ form. The *ghazal* is a particular poetic form that consists of couplets sharing a rhyme and a refrain. The word stems from the Urdu meaning “the mortal cry of a gazelle”, and is a traditional way of expressing love, separation and loneliness. A *bhajan* is a Hindu devotional song, the singing of which is considered to bring the singer closer to either their true self or to God. Deeply rooted in the Vedic tradition, *bhajans* are often simple songs in lyrical language played using *talas*, rhythmic beat

patterns, on traditional Indian instruments such as the *Veena* and *Saranggi*. Such events clearly position Indian culture within the territory of India.

4.6.2. A Durban-made geography of identity?

However, at the same time these events also locate Indian culture within *Durban*. The event above was promoted in conjunction with the 'KwaZulu-Natal Department of Arts, Culture and Tourism'. Moreover, this event was preceded by musicians from a local Indo-South African academy and a performance by a Zulu dance troupe. Photographs were taken of the attendees, which appeared in the local paper accompanied by information on the part of Durban they were from. This event therefore blended 'Indian' culture into local space.

Although India is conceived of as at the territorial root of Indo-South African identity, and something which is echoed in all the literature on transnationalism, what a deeper analysis of the event above demonstrates is that India is not the sole space of transnational materiality. This can be demonstrated in the following graph, which shows the reasons people gave in for visiting India (Fig. 4.9.):

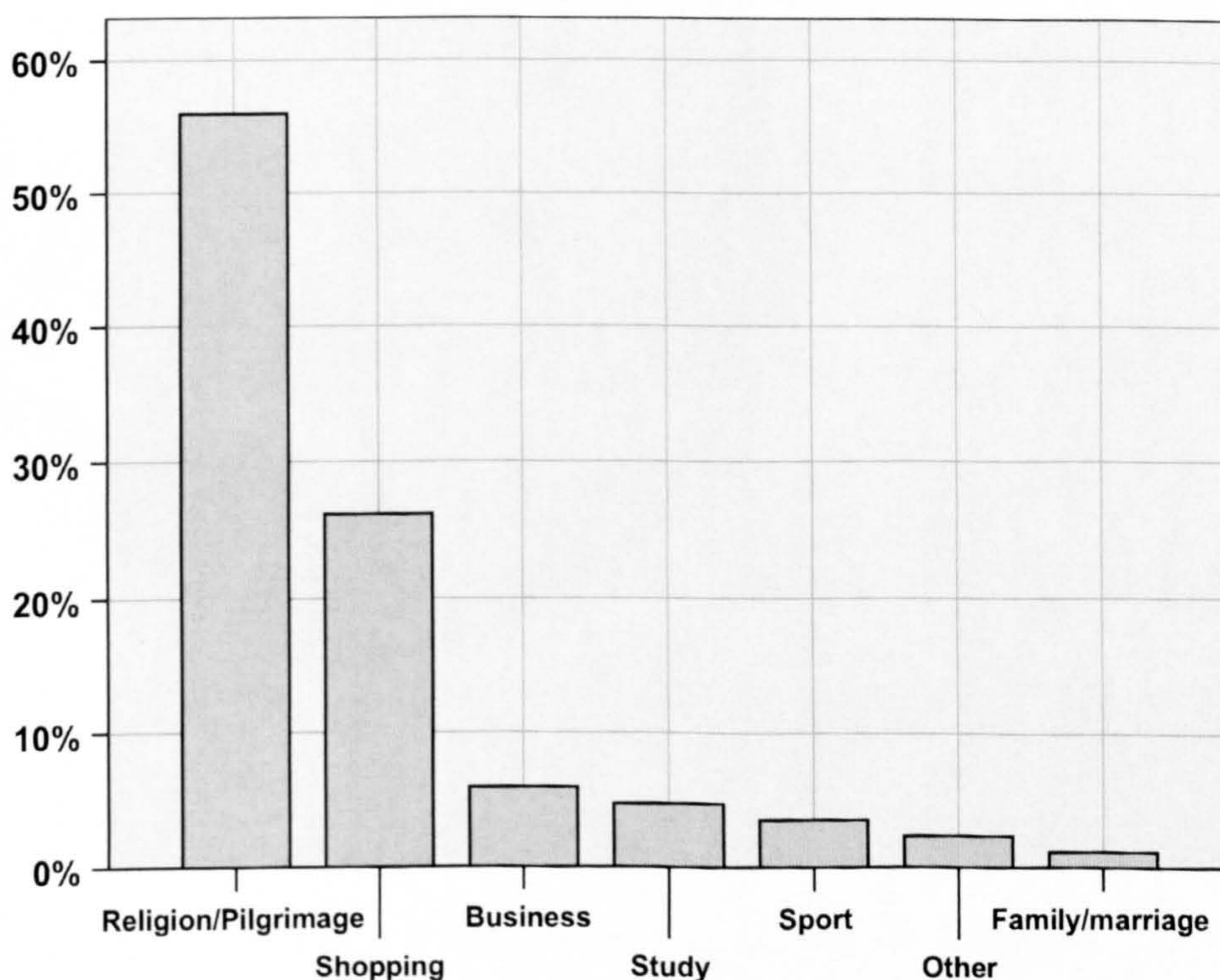


Figure 4.9. Primary reason for visiting India

In the construction of the survey questions for this graph I deliberately left out an option for “tourism” as I felt this would be a catch all term that may disguise a multitude of reasons for visiting India. Instead, I asked people to pick one main purpose of the visit. As Figure 4.9. suggests, the two primary purposes for visiting India are for religion and shopping, with other reasons such as study and business taking lesser importance. Family is the least important of all, echoing Figure 4.7. which showed that contact with family in India is minimal. What this suggests is that material connections with India are not constituted through physical and embodied engagement, but are entangled in ephemeral and fleeting encounters at religious sites, shopping malls and sporting venues.

The material practices of Indian identity are constituted through other locales than India. For example, the deterritorial space of the Bollywood movie is increasingly important (Figure 4.10):

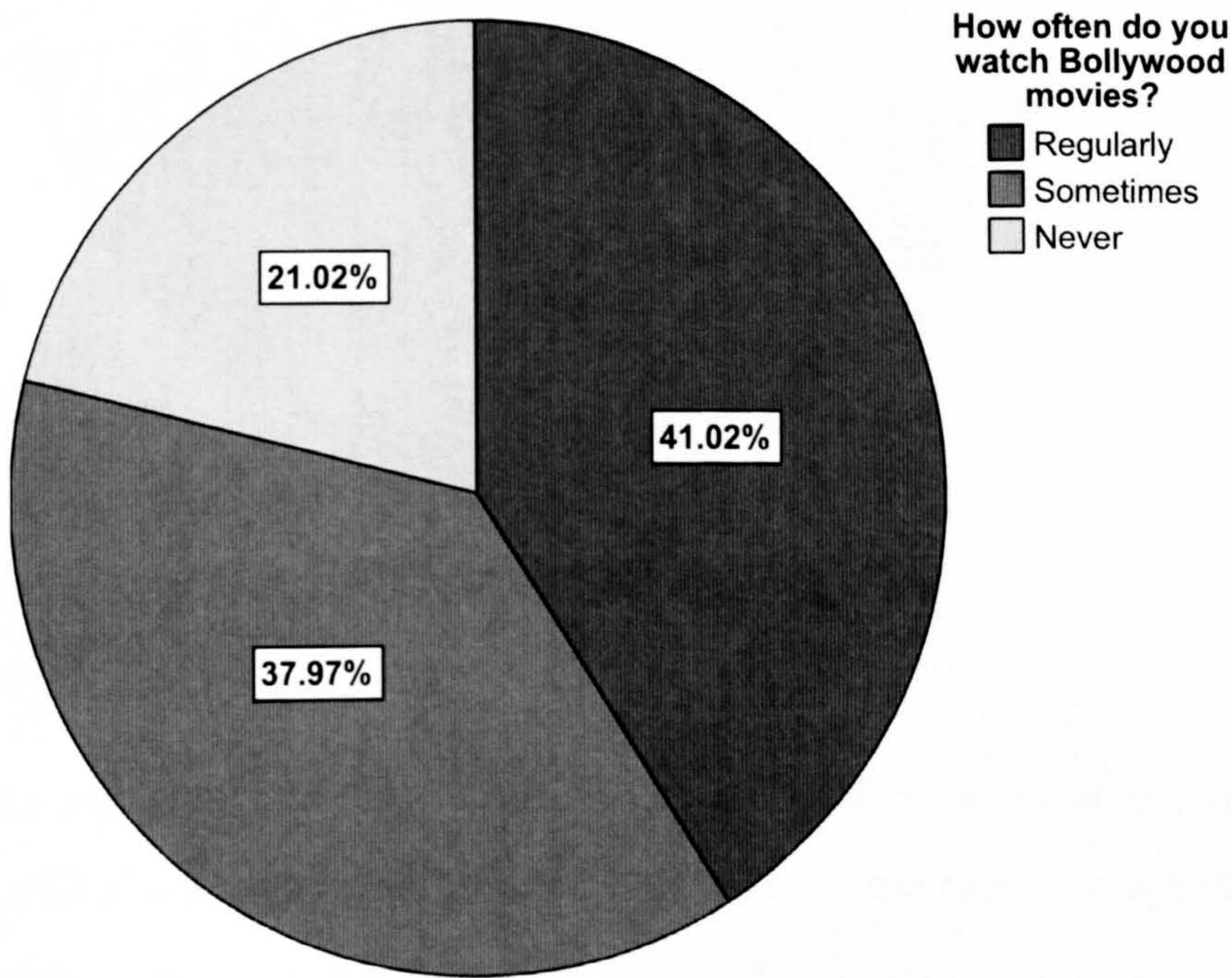


Figure 4.10: Frequency of Bollywood movie watching

In South Africa, the space of the film is an important mega-signifier of Indianness, and plays an important role in the cultural life of Indo-South Africans. However, it is also anchored within South Africa. Opportunities to participate in Bollywood space have been enhanced recently through regular screenings of Bollywood movies on terrestrial television, part of the multicultural remit of the South Africa Broadcast

Corporation (SABC). The physical space of Bollywood cinema halls located in Durban create important meeting places *in South Africa* for young people and families to come together sharing an ‘insider culture’ of the colloquialisms, meanings and jouissance of the movies (Hansen 2005a: 246).

Other local arenas of practice include attending classical cultural performances (Fig. 4.11).

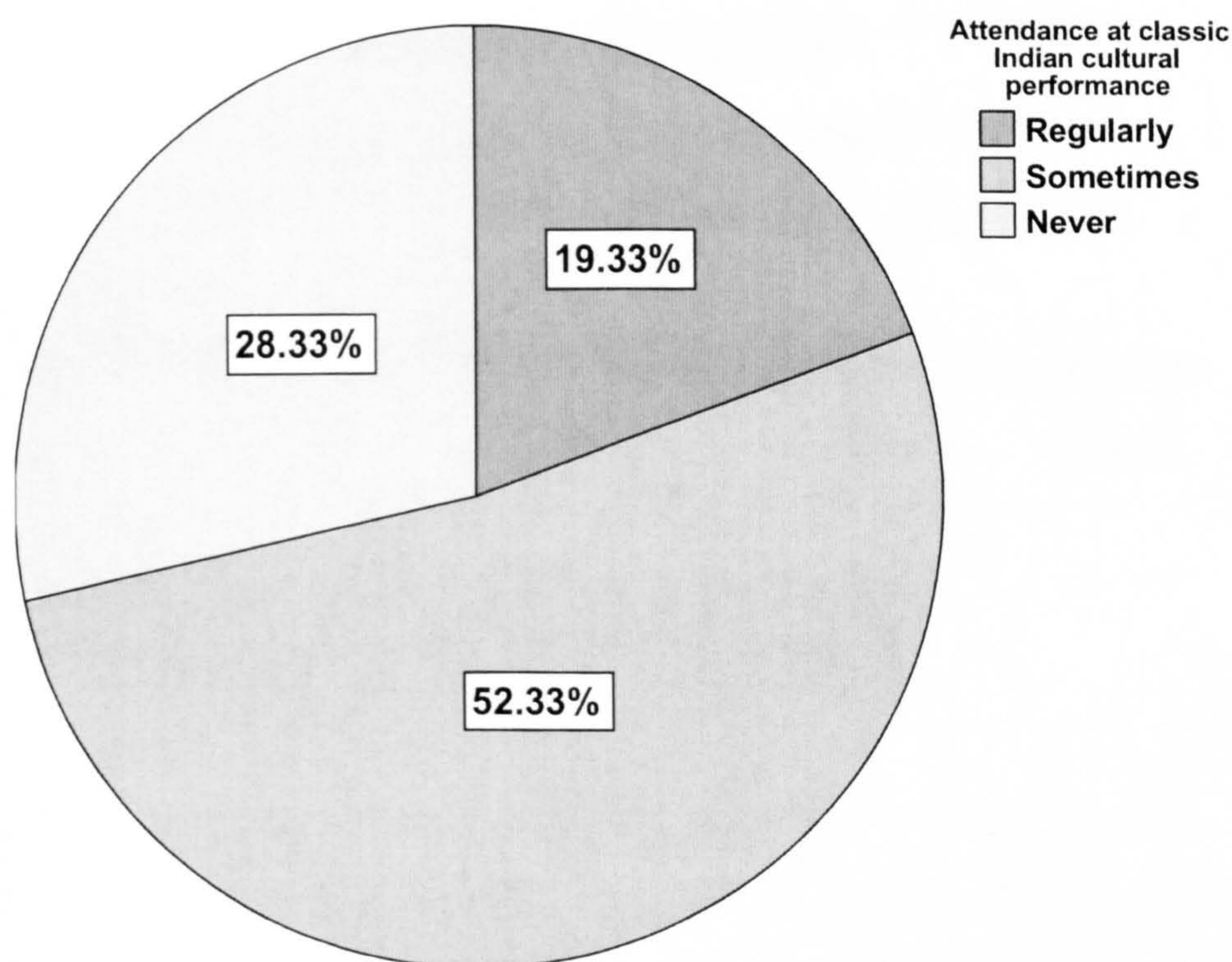


Figure 4.11: Frequency of attendance at classic performances

As explained above these are put on by local cultural organizations that are enmeshed in Durban-made spaces of Indianness. In other words, cultural performances are not organized in a vacuum, but relate to local expressions of what is considered ‘authentic’.

Moreover, the interests of Indo-South Africans are also grounded in the local Indo-South African ‘community’. For example, the graph below illustrates the type and frequency of stories read in Indo-South African newspaper publications (Fig. 4.12):

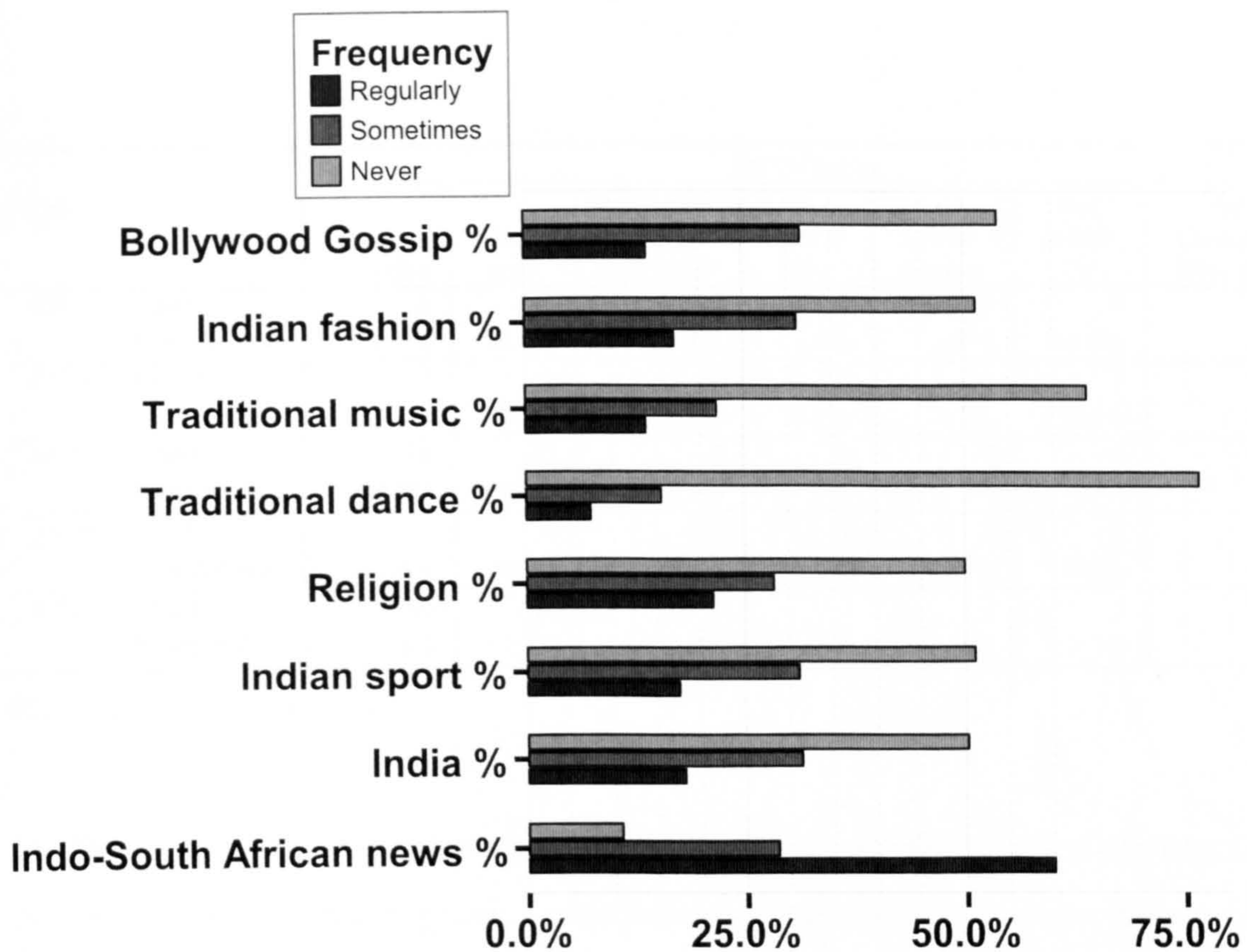


Figure 4.12: Types of stories read in Indo-South African newspapers

What this graph represents is the type of stories the people in my survey were most interested in. Overwhelmingly, it is Indo-South African news stories that are most frequently read, with religion taking second place. Stories grounded in the space of ‘India’ such as gossip about Bollywood movie stars, fashion, classical Indian cultural forms and news about India itself are read less.

Finally, Indian identity is also grounded in local structures of difference. Whilst apartheid categorized all Indians into one racial classification, as argued above, there are numerous differences embedded within, which structure the way transnational connections with India are developed. One important difference in the way Indo-South Africans engage with India is the effect of age (Figure 4.13):

Age		DSTV habits						
		Yes, Subscribe	No: cost	No: Lack of interest in Bollywood	No: Lack of time	No: Prefer cinema	No: prefer TV	No: Language difficulties
65+	Count	5	7	4	0	0	2	1
	% within Age	26.3%	36.8%	21.1%	.0%	.0%	10.5%	5.3%
41-64	Count	37	15	7	9	1	7	5
	% within Age	44.0%	17.9%	8.3%	10.7%	1.2%	8.3%	6.0%
26-40	Count	26	33	5	6	0	4	4
	% within Age	30.6%	38.8%	5.9%	7.1%	.0%	4.7%	4.7%
18-25	Count	14	18	12	7	0	2	4
	% within Age	22.6%	29.0%	19.4%	11.3%	.0%	3.2%	6.5%
0-18	Count	10	25	7	0	0	1	2
	% within Age	20.8%	52.1%	14.6%	.0%	.0%	2.1%	4.2%

Figure 4.13: DSTV habits, by age

DSTV, a private television broadcasting company, is a satellite service offering three North and South Indian general entertainment packages on a subscription basis. Transnational audiences are increasingly widespread, due notably to the expansion of migratory flows, the establishment of large migrant communities, and the availability of relatively satellite TV reception equipment as part of a broader array of communication technologies that offers a way to reinforce long-distance identities (Silverstone and Georgiou 2005). However, for Robins and Aksoy (2005) the role of satellite television is limited in that diasporic television networks consist of a one way flow of material. Far from fostering an exclusive relationship to a perhaps mythic homeland, it is broader relationships to knowledge, experience and difference that moves engagement with satellite television “beyond the frame of national society” Robins and Aksoy (2005: 39). When watching television, migrant audiences seek enjoyment, rather than something diaspora-specific, thus creating a diasporic space that is not monologic (Aksoy and Robins, 2003: 101).

In Figure 4.13, for example, the uptake of DSTV is a mixture of many factors. The age group 41-64 has the greatest percentage of subscriptions, followed by the 26-40 age group. For both the older and younger generations, the lack of interest in the content offered by DSTV is an important factor. For example, the older generation may be more interested in classical Indian culture than Bollywood; for the younger generation growing up in the new South Africa, ‘youth’ culture is actually a Western/African hybrid with sporadic elements of Indian-ness (Hansen 2005a). One

major factor for all groups in subscriptions to DSTV is cost, most markedly for the 0-18 and 26-40 age groups. As Ackah and Newman (2003) demonstrate in their study of the contradictory uses of media in the Ghanaian transnational 'community', the existence of diasporic media doesn't necessarily mean that all group members share in the experience due to often expensive hardware and subscription costs.

Secondly, language is important to the way Indo-South Africans engage in the transnational landscape. In the realities of post-apartheid divisions, splinters of language and religion have become important arenas for the play of 'cultural intimacy' - those cultural forms and repertoires of expressions and meanings that are interior to a community as sites for shared codes and tacit understandings (Herzfeld 1997 cited in Hansen 2005b: 300). Although English is the main medium of communication for Indo-South Africans, the Indian vernaculars are the repository of emotion and memory, and central site for claiming some supposed authenticity in face of the loss of these vernaculars and the presumed decline of the 'Indian family'. One important remedy to this is the reclamation of 'heritage' through the performance of classical art forms such as dance, classical Indian instruments and singing. Such cultural performance allows the reproduction of Indian traditions, and as 'Westernization' is an increasing concern, 'community leaders' became concerned to preserve and propagate Indian languages and thus Indian cultural values. Classical performance is supported by vernacular organizations, and this avenue of development continues into the present and increasing cultural exchange programs with India give new strength to traditional vernacular expression (Naidoo 1997).

Language group		Type of classical performance studied				
		None	Dance	Instruments	Singing	Multiple
Don't speak	Count	77	9	16	8	6
	% within language	66.4%	7.8%	13.8%	6.9%	5.2%
	% within type	50.3%	47.4%	37.2%	14.0%	22.2%
Hindi	Count	27	4	4	13	11
	% within language	45.8%	6.8%	6.8%	22.0%	18.6%
	% within type	17.6%	21.1%	9.3%	22.8%	40.7%
Urdu	Count	6	0	2	4	0
	% within language	50.0%	.0%	16.7%	33.3%	.0%
	% within type	3.9%	.0%	4.7%	7.0%	.0%
Tamil	Count	21	5	10	25	7
	% within language	30.9%	7.4%	14.7%	36.8%	10.3%
	% within type	13.7%	26.3%	23.3%	43.9%	25.9%
Telugu	Count	11	0	10	5	3
	% within language	37.9%	.0%	34.5%	17.2%	10.3%
	% within type	7.2%	.0%	23.3%	8.8%	11.1%
Arabic	Count	9	1	1	2	0
	% within language	69.2%	7.7%	7.7%	15.4%	.0%
	% within type	5.9%	5.3%	2.3%	3.5%	.0%

Figure 4.14: Classical performance study, by Indian language group

Figure 4.14 shows the type of classical performance studied by people who have knowledge of the different Indian vernaculars. Approximately half of those people who do not speak any vernacular also have never studied classical performances. Similarly, for Urdu and Arabic speakers, less than half have studied classical performance, perhaps reflecting the dominance of Indic classical performance in Durban. For the southern Indian Tamil and Telugu speakers, nearly two thirds have studied some form of classical performance, with singing and instruments the most popular forms of study. For Hindi speakers, singing is the most popular form of study (22%), perhaps indicating the popularity of northern Indian Bollywood cultural forms, the music of which is generally derived from classical playback singers.

As explained above, although the vernaculars have almost disappeared, they remain an important source of identification, particularly as a proxy for both religion and also identification with a general North/South Indian divide (Landy et al 2004). This divide is illustrated clearly by the DSTV satellite television company, which offers viewers either a 'North Indian bouquet' (comprising Arabic Islamic video and radio channels) or the 'South Indian bouquet' (comprising Tamil films and entertainment channels) (www.DSTV.com). More generally, it is perhaps a reflection of the greater availability of those types of performance, enabled through southern Indian linguistic and cultural organizations and the Indian consulate.

One surprising result is that classical dance, such as the Bharatanatyam and Kathak traditions, is not as popular amongst all linguistic groups. My interpretation of this result is that Phoenix is a lower income area, and perhaps families there lack the resources to afford the expensive training and costumes for this type of classical performance. More generally, class in South Africa is increasingly an intra-racial formation that has been made through the history of apartheid and post-apartheid economic policies. Before and during apartheid, Indians were stratified along class lines, and this has persisted in the new South Africa as affirmative action policies have disadvantaged especially working class Indians. In transnational relations with India, these class distinctions resonate with Al-Ali et al's (2001) distinction between individuals' abilities to participate, and their willingness to participate. For economically better off Indo-South Africans, being able to afford trips to India, language and other lessons marks out an 'authentic' Indian space that is distinctly class based:

Rich businesses people, local government, accountants: They are the people with strong ties to India because they travel often

Editor of Indo-South African newspaper B

Radhakrishnan (2005) concurs that the students of Bharatanatyam are overwhelmingly from the Indo-South African middle classes because of the expensive training it takes.

In my survey, class is an important indicator of physical engagement with the space of India. In Figure 4.15 I show the attempts of Indo-South Africans to look for lost familial connections in India

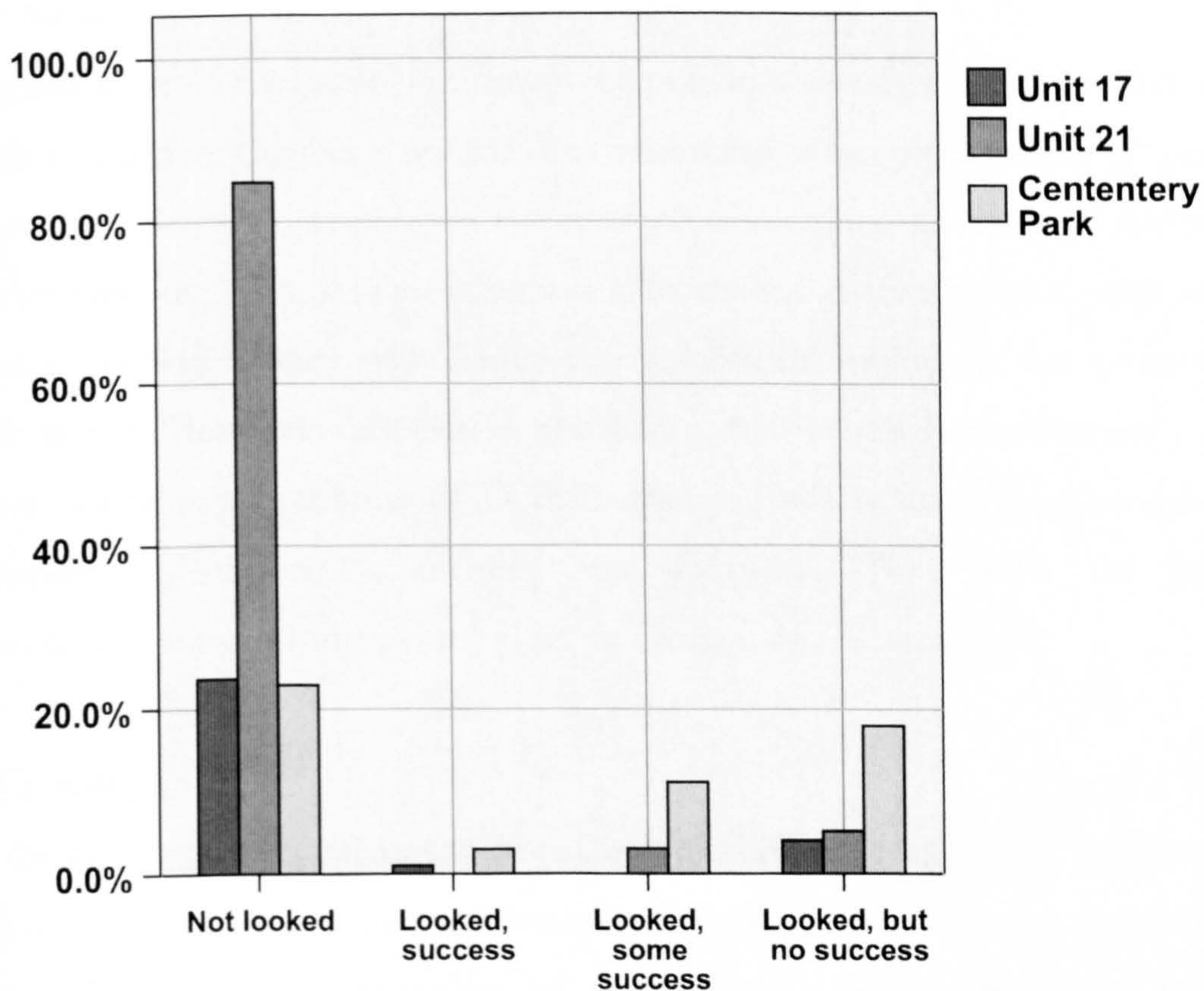


Figure 4.15: Attempts to look for family, by area

The Indian genealogical trail begins with the records of passengers arriving in Durban on the ships used to transport the indentured labourers. From here it gets more complicated because of the time involved, changes in the structure of rural and urban India and the changing of surnames upon arrival in South Africa to erase pejorative caste-name associations. In order to make contact with family it involves resources and a vested interest in establishing a tangible connection with India. The graph demonstrates a number of key points. People in Centenary Park, a more well off area, generally had more interest in establishing connections and indeed success. People in Unit 17, a working class area, also had some interest in establishing connections but were generally less successful. In contrast, people in Unit 21, a middle class area seemed disinterested in establishing any connection. This is due to factors other than class: As the majority of people in Unit 21 were teachers and civil servants I suggest that these Indo-South Africans are decidedly against establishing any form of connection out of their vested identity in the national discourses of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa.

4.6.3. Summary

An examination of the material transnational practices reveals a number of key issues. The first, and overwhelming, point is that traditional conceptualisations of ‘material’ transnational practices, as physical connections, connecting Indo-South Africans to India are tenuous. Thus, activities that would be classed as transnational, such as visits to India, keeping contact with family and small-scale trading, is not present in a sustained way. However, this section has shown that ‘material’ practices are present, but are ‘made’ in the context of Durban: that is India is firmly emplaced in local geographies of difference, identity and discourse. This shifts the loci of transnationalism from India as an ‘origin’ to Durban as a ‘destination’.

4.7. Conclusions

The formation of material transnational connections with an origin for economic, political, social and ethnic identity formation is a recognizable strategy. As I argued in Chapter 2 and at the beginning of this chapter, this definition of ‘material’ transnational practice is limiting because it focuses attention on an agency that is disconnected from the places in which difference, power and multiply-scaled connections are circulated.

There have been numerous transformations in Indian identification since their arrival in South Africa over 150 years ago. At the time of their arrival as a result of the colonial labour requirement, Indians had grouped themselves around their ports of embarkation: *Madrassi*, *Calcuttie* and passenger categories which themselves belied a variety of caste, class, geographical and linguistic origins. Divisions were so stark that Gandhi referred to “the different Indian races inhabiting South Africa” (Indian Opinion 1908, cited in Desai 1996: 109). Differences persisted throughout apartheid, despite the attempts of the apartheid state to claim a singular Indian identity, and in post-apartheid times class, religion and language became more important. It is these multiple layers and fragments of past identification that have become important arenas for the construction, contestation and circulation of difference through identity, ethnicity and ‘community’ today.

This chapter has examined these contexts in relation to the signification and practice of transnational connections between India and South Africa. It has shown that the *signification* of a singular Indian ‘community’ rests on five key principles. The first is

the clear identification and recognition of a set of 'leaders' who, through their structures of affect and affiliations that link them to other Indo-South Africans and India, emerge as the model of social relations. Second, the signification of a traditional 'Indian' identity is located in fears about the erosion of Indianness through the activities of Indo-South African, which in turn is mapped onto the space of the region, the family and the individual. Third and fourth, the codification of 'authenticity' is achieved through the signification of language and religion as the markers of traditional Indian identity, located in either India or in the Umma. Finally, Indo-South African transnational identity is signified through structures of class and consumption, which augment and legitimise authenticity.

The *practice* of Indo-South African transnationality translates these signifiers into material outcomes. Whilst an authentic India is signified as important in Indo-South African identity and a device for the binding together of a disparate 'community' (either for altruistic or business-orientated reasons), in reality India exists as a source of identification rather than figuring in any sustained material ways. However, this narrow definition of materiality (as a physical connection to a real locale) fails to appreciate the wider context of difference and contingency in which transnational materiality is embedded. The approach taken by Crang et al (2003: 452) is to "undermine ontological definitions of transnationality (in terms of what and who can be seen as transnational) and to challenge those who want to restrict its epistemological range (insisting on a particularly disciplinary approach or narrowly defined subject matter)". I similarly expanded the definition of transnationalism away from the 'origin' as a source of practice, and highlighted that it is Durban (and South Africa) that structures the 'Indian' identity of Indo-South Africans.

Chapter Five:

Scalar Narratives of Indo-South African Belonging

5.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 discusses how the complexities of what constitutes Indo-South African 'identities' are signified and forged through a triadic relationship between individuals, Indian religious and cultural organizations and the Indian state via national Indian community discourse and local practices of the Indian consulate in Durban. This chapter adds a fourth influence upon the negotiation of transnational connections: nationalized expressions of belonging in South Africa. It aims to understand how transnational identities of Indians in South Africa are defined not only against India, but made relevant to a South African national citizenship. Moreover, it shows how these are located not only in 'national' spaces but in other fractured regional and global discourses of development.

A number of writers have noted the demise of a singular belonging under transnational conditions. Transnational migrants and people belonging to multi-national diasporas are seen as a threat to the traditional assimilation model of migration, having forged complex webs of loyalties, ties and relations in two or more countries. Migrants are presumed to have conflicting national loyalties, living in a state of 'in-between'. For other writers however, transnational migrants may have a form of 'ethnic capital', encouraging integration into 'host' countries. However, this literature, and that which attempts to contextualise belonging, focuses on the personal characteristics of people rather than making a considered attempt to uncover the complexities of the places to which people belong.

Present South African national discourse is based on central tenets of social struggle, the 'rainbow nation', redistributive justice through global neoliberalization and the South-South co-operative development. Indians however are struggling to locate themselves in a nation described in Mandela's inaugural Rainbow Nation speech in the following way: "we shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall". When the first democratic elections were held in 1994 it was expected Indians would vote to support the ANC given their disenfranchisement. However it was estimated that approximately 70% of Indians actually voted for de Klerks' right-wing National Party (NP) (Reynolds 1994: 192). This was the outcome of fears about how Indians would be located in the new South African nation. "Without the political or economic power of the Whites or the

numerical security of the Africans, Indians have found themselves in a precarious position politically, fearing both white and African domination” (Ramsamy 2002: 204). According to Ramsamy, the low number of votes for the African National Congress (ANC) in the 1994 elections was a result of misgivings about African political and cultural domination, fuelled by manipulation of economic and racial insecurities by the National Party but also the rejection of Indian identity by Indo-South African ANC activists, which actually contributed to misgivings about the ANC and fears about the erasure of Indian identification.

Transnational practices place Indo-South Africans in a quandary. Without them, they fear losing their cultural identity. However, transnational practices may also be seen as undermining their loyalty to South Africa. This can be demonstrated further for example, in their rejection of dual citizenship with India, underlying which is the desire of Indo-South Africans to be South African. Complicating this further is a tension between the optimism of the “Proudly South African” dream and the frustrations of living in a nation still fragile from the economic and racial fractures of the apartheid past.

This chapter explores in detail what it means to ‘belong’ from the perspective of place rather than identity. It is hoped by exploring the tensions within post-apartheid civil society and the multiple scales of ‘belonging’ embedded into discourses of the South African nation, it will move beyond reified binaries of the national and the transnational. The chapter proceeds by first discussing a vignette of the Foreign Focus section of the Post, an Indo-South African newspaper and the changing attempts of Indo-South Africans to locate themselves in the South African nation. Second, the literature review will note how studies of integration and belonging in transnationalism studies privilege individual identity as the category of analysis, and as a result reifying and polarizing the categories ‘transnational’ and ‘national’. Third, the chapter then goes on to discuss why and how Indo-South African transnationalism has been made relevant to post-apartheid South Africa. Using interviews with community organizations responsible for ‘transnationalizing’ Indo-South Africans and representatives from the Indo-South African media in Durban, the chapter highlights how Indo-South African transnationalism is signified as relevant to the national discourses of multiculturalism, neoliberal economic growth and South-South international co-operation. It then goes on to discuss how these signifiers are made

material through the Bollywood industry, which draws together a number of themes regarding global Indian culture and consumption and its relevance to post apartheid South Africa.

5.2. A Vignette: The changing role of the “Foreign Focus”

An analysis of changes in the “Foreign Focus” section of The Post provides an important insight into changes within the Indo-South African ‘community’ wanting to gain recognition in the larger South African society. The leading Indo-South African newspaper in the country, the *Post*, started in the 1950s as the *Natal Post*, a salacious read about crime, soccer, gossip, girls catering mainly to the white working class but popular with workers and gradually became a family newspaper in the 1980s (Hansen 2005a). Following the reintroduction of diplomatic relations with India in 1993, the *Post* introduced a section called “Foreign Focus” to embed news items from India and allow Indo-South Africans a reconnection with their roots. It began life as “Indian file” written by correspondent Marimuthu Subramoney, an opinion piece designed to educate its readers about life in India. It was given legitimacy through its pitch as an eyewitness view, and this familiarity was reinforced with a picture of the author (Fig 5.1.):



Figure 5.1. The Post, October 20-November 2nd 1994.

These stories were tied to events in South Africa, and were designed not only to give Indo-South African readers a sense of familiarity and make the story relevant to their own community but to underscore that despite the problems of the new South Africa, conditions in India were the same, if not worse. Crime in post apartheid South

Africa was a particularly important concern for many. In the story above, “Gangsters Under Fire” the tagline reads:

“South Africa is not the only place riddled with crime, murders, gangsters, drug dealers, India has long been beset by gang leaders and their smuggling, assassinations and carving up of fiefdoms in the major cities. Marimuthu Subramoney, correspondent for the Press Trust of India, writes that in Mumbai (formerly Bombay) police are now hitting back, simply taking out gang leaders in what has been described as encounters”

This story casts doubts about any romanticised illusions of the ‘motherland’ for Indians with doubts about the quality of life in South Africa under the new regime and contemplating a move to India.

Other stories included at this time were about child poverty, domestic abuse, genital mutilation, religious tensions, caste and social exclusion, sexual harassment and other equally salacious and negative stories about the socio-cultural environment of India. For example, “*The Killer Haunting Lucknow*” (May 18-21 1994) reads

“Over the past few months South Africans, especially those in Cape Town were terrorised by a homosexual killer known as the station strangler alleged to have been responsible for the homosexual murders of more than 21 young boys. A similar atmosphere of fear has also gripped the north Indian city of Lucknow where police chiefs and community leaders are puzzled by the boldness of a homosexual killer. Marimuthu Subramoney, Jo’burg correspondent for the Press Trust of India, writes that the serial killer has already murdered five young boys after sodomising them”

In 1995, this section was expanded to include a half-page. Negative stories, such as “*Lower caste persecutions sparks Brahmin backlash*” (March 15-18 1995) ran alongside celebrity gossip “*Sachin Tendulkar gets ready to tie the knot*” (March 22-25 1995) but also stories about the progressive nature of India, its IT boom and progression to a modern, cosmopolitan place “*Now its Teleshopping to save you time*”

In 1997 the section was re-branded “*Indians Abroad: An eye on worldwide activities*”. The renaming provided a stronger link to Indian heritage, rather than focussing on the word “foreign” and the approach linked the Indo-South Africans to a wider

community of Indians. The removal of the exclusive focus on India the country to a more expansive connection to a global community of people sharing Indian roots.



Figure 5.2: The Post, May 28-31 1997.

The picture of the globe reinforces this view, and particularly interesting here is the prominence of stories focussed on the positive achievements of the diaspora (Fig 5.2) For example in the May 28-31 1997 issue *‘Indian origin men reach for the top spots in Wall Street company’*; *‘Astronomer cracks cosmological mystery’*, interspersed with heart-warming stories about India’s international relations such as *‘Unprecedented bonhomie greets Pakistan cricketers’* and *‘Indo-African friendship hailed during Africa week’*. Negative stories remained however: *‘Alarming rise in acid attacks on women in Bangladesh’*. Other stories around this time emphasized the globalisation of Indian achievements in culture, multiculturalism and science: *‘Indian space products poised for take-off’* (June 11-14 1997) and *‘Top Award for Arundhati Roy’* (Oct 22-25 1997). The stories tried to build bridges with other parts of the diaspora, build in links with India to reinforce roots/history but also to underscore the positive achievements of the country. Also, these stories are *‘Articles provided by India Abroad News Service’* which reinforces a tangible link to the Indian diaspora.

By 2005 the link with the diaspora was made even more explicit as the section was rebranded as *‘The diaspora: Indians Abroad’*. Stories from other parts of the diaspora and from India remained important (Fig.5.3.)



Figure 5.3: The Post, June 23-July 1 2005

The piece “Sari a marvel of handicraft” about craftsmanship in Shimla is particularly reflective of the new direction India is taking:

“It’s a glittering sari, bright red with a peacock blue border; threaded with silver and silk that two years to make and costs Rs200 000 (about R30 000)! ... The sari is one of the most mesmerising dresses in the world. Not only is making it an art but even wearing it is an art. A dress that is always in vogue, the sari is often an Indian family heirloom”

More prominent however, are stories about Bollywood stars, with news from India moving to an entertainment angle with vicarious gossip about Bollywood stars, their movie deals and private lives. In fact, in the June 15-19 2005 section, the articles above were given a small section, with the rest covering Bollywood gossip, for example this story (Fig 5.4):



Figure 5.4: The Post, June 15-19 2005

Importantly, the focus of Bollywood is shifted from India to a more generally globalised culture. For example, the story about Aishwarya Rai, “*Aishwarya ecstatic at being no 9*”, being voted the 9th most beautiful woman in the world by British magazine Harpers and Queen.

Another example can be seen in this story about an upcoming Temptations Tour 2004, due to arrive in Durban (Fig 5.5)

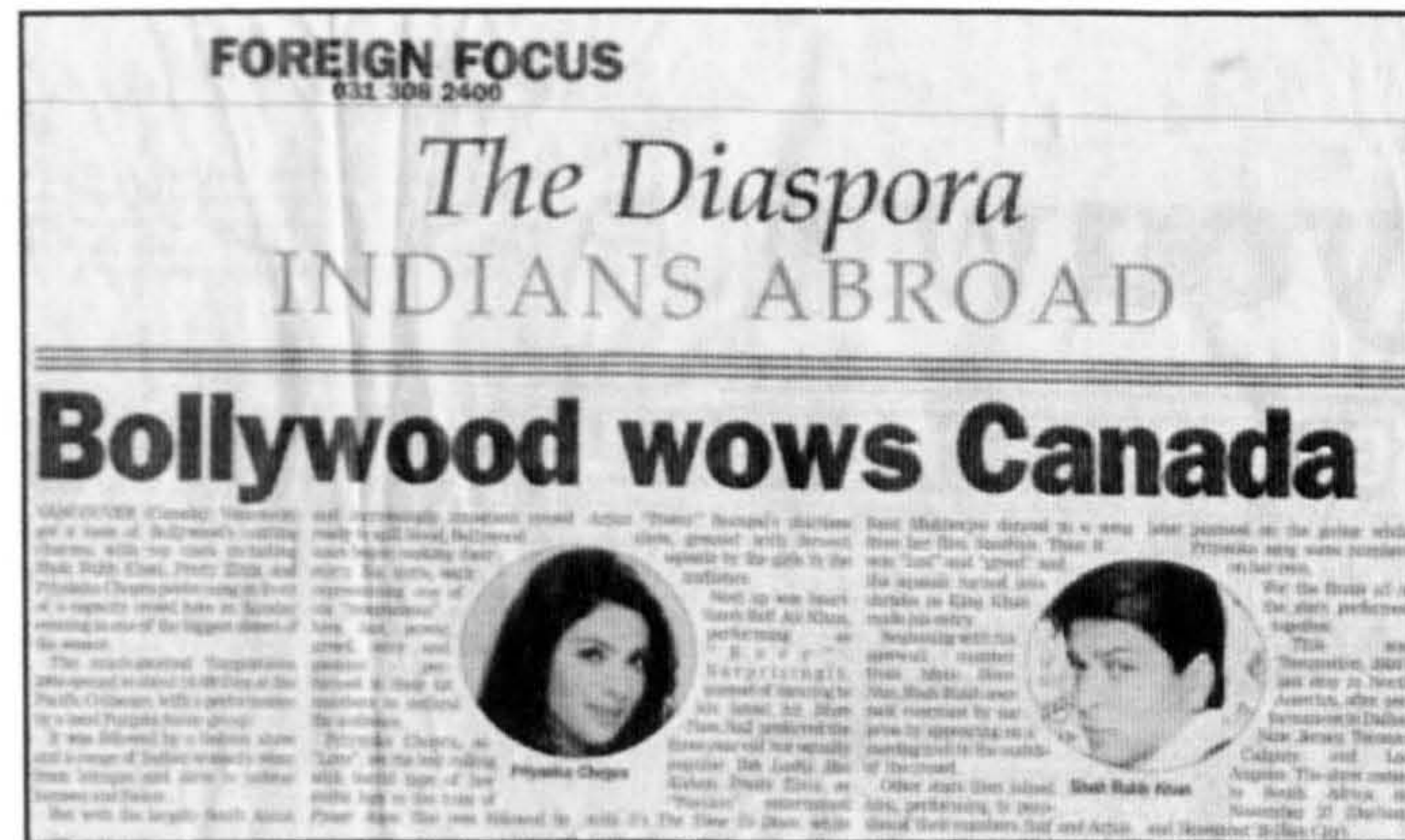


Figure 5.5: The Post, April 6 - 12

This article explicitly links Bollywood culture in Durban to Bollywood as a global culture that links the Indian diaspora in different parts of the world.

By the June 1-5 2005 issue, the section seems to have shrunk even further, this time only 2 articles appear about Bollywood: one is about Rai again, this time moving into Hollywood films (Fig 5.6.):

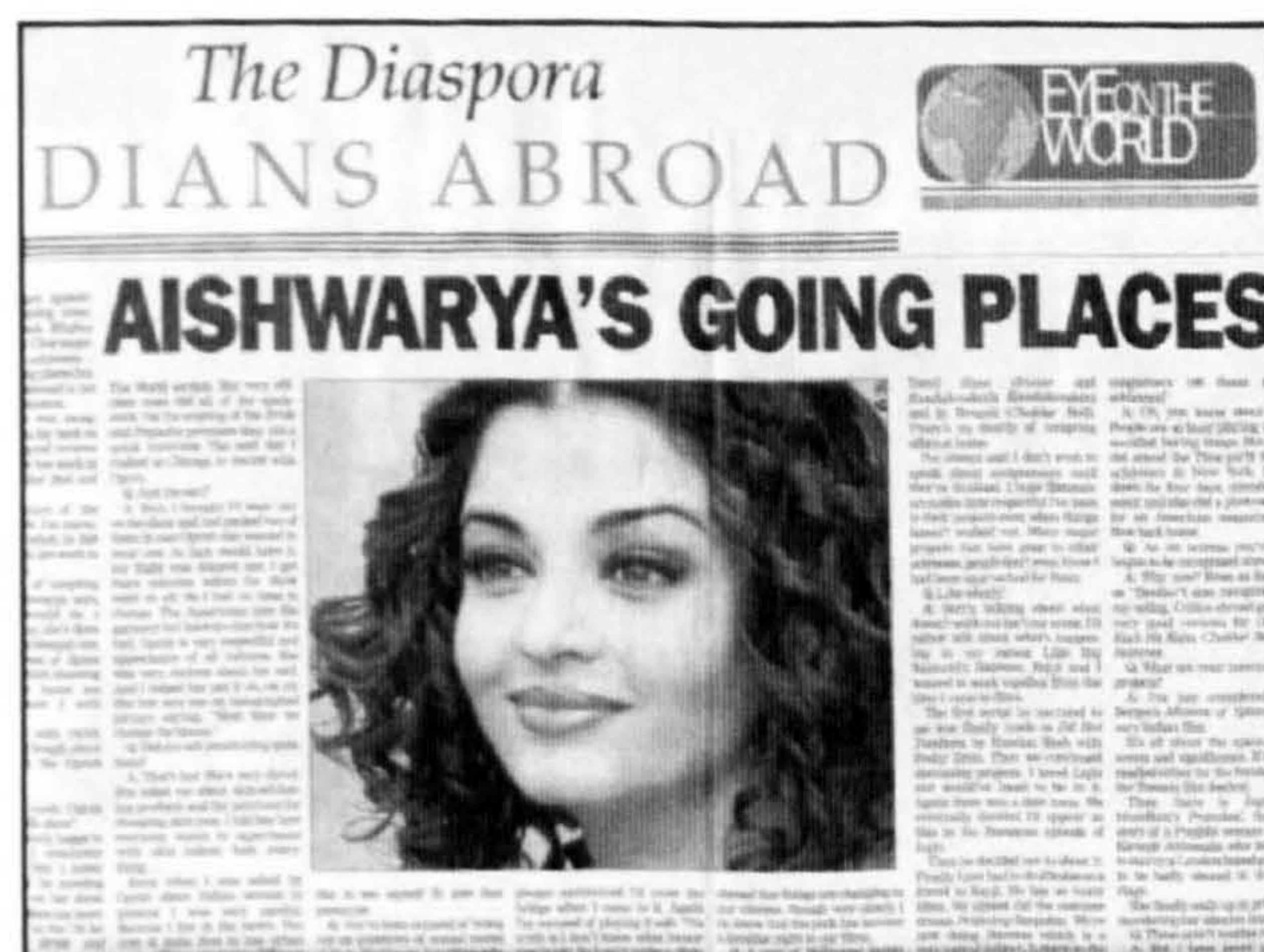


Figure 5.6: The Post, June 1-6 2005

The changing nature of the stories within the Foreign Focus points to a number of important issues. The first is the shrinking relevance of India as a place to Indo-South Africans. This is reflected in the lack of stories, and the shift of focus from Bollywood located in India to Bollywood located in a more globally dispersed way. The second, related to this, is the evolution of a more generalized Indian diaspora identity as globalised and located in material consumption. It is important to understand the nuanced reasons behind this shift. The initial focus on negative stories about India could be attributed to a conscious effort on behalf of the editor to engage Indo-South Africans in South African citizenship. The more recent changes however are perhaps an effort to woo more readers, and younger ones especially, for increasing advertising revenues.

More generally however, it flags up a number of issues relevant to this chapter. The first is that Indian diasporic identities are mediated vis-à-vis South African national identity. Second, Indian media are an essential component in locating these diasporic identities within wider South African society. Third, it highlights the importance of Bollywood as a medium of connection to India. In order to draw these elements together, this chapter will draw on three debates: Firstly, it highlights debates of the implications of transnational and diasporic forms of circulation for inclusion and exclusion in 'host' societies. Second, it outlines how integration might be mediated through contextual factors relating to identity. As it argues, these debates relate integration to the characteristics of 'migrants' rather than drawing attention to the role of national meanings of integration. This chapter explores belonging by analyzing what it means to be South African and uncover 'destinations' as multilocally infused places and spaces.

5.3. Transnationalism and constructions of national belonging

5.3.1. Diasporas, transnational migration and national belonging

Transnational forms of migration stand in contrast with the traditional assimilation paradigm. The dense networks of ties through transnational activities and a continuing identification with the 'sending' country are often perceived as being an impediment to the formation of belonging to a 'host' country. Initially developed in the aftermath of the mass migration of Europeans to the new world, belonging, via assimilation, was conventionally conceived as a straight-line process that was irreversible and inevitable (Chapter 2, Alba and Nee 1997). Transnational scholars

however, conceptualize a form of deterritorialisation where “immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch, et al 1994: 7). The hypothesis is, that if transnational ties predominate, loyalty to the host society should diminish and thus hinder socio-political incorporation (Gerstle and Mollenkopf 2001). Indeed, transnational ‘communities’ are conceptualized as separate social spaces, and the container conception of traditional international migration is essentially abandoned in favour of an ‘unbounded’ social space calling into question the appropriateness of using the nation- state as the primary framework for migration research.

Underpinning this scholarship is the assumption that people have multiple and sometimes conflicting attachments between an ‘origin’ and ‘destination’. Most scholars agree that people in diasporas share a self-awareness or type of diasporic consciousness: they identify with each other as members of a dispersed identity group with continuing common ties to the homeland. More generally, this hybrid state of being and capacity for the transformation of space is celebrated. For Wise (2000) diasporas mark a space out as home involving the infusion of that place with own rhythms, with languages, accents and rituals that are performed in a space. For others such as Grossberg (1996:179) this “spatialisation of being” is a result of migrant endeavour to make homes in milieux that are away from home by establishing cultural connections and instilling resonance into spaces they occupy. By transforming this milieu, diasporas create and sustain a supraterritoriality that is not a physical place but an existential location (Scholte 1996).

Further research that has considered how this state of being ‘in-between’ can be a negative force has underscored this point. For example, Faist (2002a) and Weiner (1995) argue that organized diasporas can be a source of concern regarding global security. Others have argued that diasporas are also responsible for promoting regime change in their home territories (e.g. Byman 2001; King and Melvin 1999, Shain 1999). Others have noted that in situations of conflict, diaspora communities may raise money to support war, promote public opinion and international interventions in support of their cause (e.g. Anderson 1999). Furthermore, and especially since the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington in 2001, many countries have been raising questions about the allegiance of their immigrant residents (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004). Even for second and third generation

groups, maintaining ties and identifications with an outside territory, as can be seen with the aftermath of the July 7th bombings in London, can have repercussions for inclusion and acceptance.

However, for many authors, transnational migration and incorporation are not competing theoretical models, but rather are interrelated in that transnational migration can also encourage integration. Many have commented that transnational interests of the immigrants often assist the process of incorporation. Karpathakis (1999) describes how the drive for Greek immigrants to be incorporated into the American political system originated from their desire to influence American politics toward the home country. In the context of Latin American migration to the US, others claim that engagement in transnational activities is an alternative path to social and economic achievement within the United States (eg. Levitt 2001a, 2003; Portes et al. 1999). Findings from the Comparative Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project, for example, which collected data on Colombians, Dominicans, and Salvadorans in five U.S. cities between 1996 and 1998, supports the view that transnational participation may coexist with successful incorporation (Guarnizo 2003).

More generally, diasporic identity is seen as a positive cultural force. Hall in particular fetishizes the “in-between of different cultures, always unsettling the assumptions of one culture from the perspective of another, and thus finding ways of being the same as and at the same time different from, the others amongst who they live” (1995: 206). JanMohammed sees diasporic peoples as ‘specular border intellectuals’ (1992: 97) who are caught between two cultures and able to subject both cultures to analytical scrutiny to produce works of art and literature. Homi Bhabha described this as a “3rd space”, a “zone of intense cutting edge creativity born out of the existential angst of the immigrant” (Karim 2003:43). Indeed, diasporic artists often appear at the cutting edge of modernity and cultural life (Appadurai 1996). Writers such as VS Naipaul and Zadie Smith, whose tales of being ‘in between’ cultures and places, are regularly feted in national literary prizes.

This rests on a conceptualization of cultural citizenship. Whilst traditionally citizenship has been thought of in political, economic, and civic terms, analysis increasingly focuses on how the rights and obligations of civic citizenship are mediated by race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, as well as religion. Cultural

citizenship, according to the anthropologist Lok Siu (2001), is comprised of the behaviours, discourses, and practices that give meaning to citizenship as lived experience” in the context of “an uneven and complex field of structural inequalities and webs of power relations”. Flores and Benmayor (1997) for example take a social movement-based approach to immigrant and civil rights that analyzes how cultural phenomena might cross into the political realm and contribute to the process of affirming and building a politically and socially located Latino consciousness.

5.3.2. Contextual Factors

However, cultural citizenship is limited in its inclusionary and exclusionary possibilities as it is inherently embedded in what different conceptions of integration mean in different national discourses. It is also closely tied to both inequalities and intersections with other forms of identification.

For some, class is an important mediating factor, however there is some disagreement as to whether integration is proportionately related to resource availability. “Those [immigrants] who have income, education, and language skills are more likely to be able to choose transnational activism, while those with less social and cultural capital are more likely to be forced into it’ (Levitt 2003: 183). Portes et al (2003) shows that transnational entrepreneurs have strong connections with their compatriots, both in the USA and the country of origin, but are also very well integrated into American society. In other words, migrants’ strong transnational involvement and integration into the host country do not necessarily rule each other (Portes et al. 2003). For Alba and Nee (2003), families that arrive in countries with financial and human-cultural capital are most apt to move into the mainstream. Joppke and Morawska (2003) and Morawska (2003) argue that for underprivileged migrant groups, continuing transnational identifications and retaining the customs of the home country may impede adequate incorporation into the host country. Portes also reasons that “involvement in transnational activities may become the thing to do for immigrants otherwise confined to dead-end jobs and an inferior, discriminated status” (Portes 1997: 29). Elsewhere, Marger (2006: 887), in his study of Canadian business immigrants, argues that the strength of transnational ties is not necessarily proportionally related to resource availability. As he argues, whilst business immigrants are equipped with means to transcend national boundaries, “despite the

seemingly perfect attributes that would enable them to operate in a transnational context, few among these immigrant entrepreneurs actually do so”.

Nee and Sanders (2001) posit that it is the mix of various forms of capital -social, financial, and cultural- with which immigrants arrive that determines the extent to which they are integrated. Portes et al (2003) elaborate further on the many different factors affecting the integration of transnationally tied people. First, education plays an important role. In assimilation theory they argue, education should lead to a decline in home country ties as it facilitates swifter integration and mobility in the host society and educated immigrants are more inclined to shift allegiances and interests toward their new country (e.g. Bernard 1936; Gordon 1964; Borjas 1987, Pickus 1998). However, they continue, the impact of education is not clear-cut. Research by Almond and Verba (1963) and Olsen (1980) shows that education can increase political participation worldwide. Individuals who were already interested or active in the politics of their home countries continue these interests even after emigrating in which case, higher education would lead to an increase in transnationalism.

Moreover, Portes et al (2003) show that gender is also an important contribution to the disparate views men and women have toward their receiving and sending countries (e.g. Grasmuck and Pessar 1991 Guarnizo 1997; Mahler 1999). Commonly, men experience decreased occupational mobility whilst women’s experience is the opposite as many of them become paid workers for the first time. Indeed, Fernandez-Kelly and Garcia (1990) demonstrate that women’s labour market incorporation brings significant changes in their perception outside the household. Jones-Correa (1998) introduces a gendered view of migrants’ political orientation and engagement and asserts that Latin American immigrant men in the United States are more likely than women to become involved in transnational political activities: “With the loss of status in the receiving country, men tend to form, participate in and lead ethnic organizations whose interests and focus is in the country of origin. In contrast, women [are] more likely to shift their orientation toward the United States” (Jones-Correa 1998, pp. 34–35). This is a result of the domination of politics by men, and fixing the focus on countries of origin compensates for loss of status in receiving ones.

Third, Portes et al underscore the mediation of integration through the context of exit and reception. The “Midtown Manhattan Project” showed that the greater the socio-cultural differences between newcomers and the host society, the more difficult the process of incorporation. Referring to the experiences of European peasants migrating to U.S. metropolitan areas, Srole et al. (1962, p. 234) concluded that “to compress the profound historical changes of a revolutionizing century into a few adult years can exact a high price.” Expectations held about the proper duration of the journey abroad can also affect immigrants’ economic and political behaviour. “Socially expected durations” (SEDs) were theorized by Merton (1984) as an important influence on a wide range of individual and collective activities. Roberts (1995) applied this concept to show that those subject to strong normative expectations of return were less likely to launch businesses and more strongly oriented toward saving for investments at home, thus preserving ties with the country and community of origin. Portes et al also argue that contexts of reception in the United States also impact significantly on immigrants’ economic and political adaptation, ranging from favourable through neutral and to active hostility and discrimination (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). The hypothesis is that a negative context of reception should lead to the perpetuation of ties with the home countries, as transnationalism functions as a compensatory mechanism for status loss (Jones-Correa 1998, Landolt 2001).

Finally, Portes et al underscore the importance of social networks. Migration has often been described as a continuous network-building process that facilitates the departure and settlement of newcomers and sustains movement when the original economic incentives have disappeared (e.g. Anderson 1974; Tilly 1990). Early departures pave the way for subsequent ones and lowers both the cost and risk (Massey et al 1984). Indeed, Portes et al conclude that in the absence of economic resources, migratory ventures depend on the maintenance of a strong web of social contacts.

A fifth influence on the ability of transmigrants to participate fully in their ‘host’ societies is the role of the media, which can not only reflect, but create boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Initial work on the influence of the media explicated media discourses of racism and argued that whilst the broader social and political context was important, media itself has contributed to debates. (van Dijk 1987, 1991, Gordon

and Rosenberg 1989). For example, in the context of Europe, Balibar (1991) and Miles (1993) note the construction of a European identity that involves an implicit and explicit pattern of exclusion of the 'other' that includes immigrants, refugees but also Muslims (King and Wood 2001: 5). Haddad (1998) and Said (1991) for example, show how media coverage of political events in Arab states draws on a number of stereotypes and discourages cross-cultural respect and understanding. Thus, the media are able to shape the experiences of inclusion and exclusion by influencing the type of reception migrants are afforded. By generally constructing migrants as 'others', often as undesirable or criminal, the media has generally been seen as a negative force of exclusion for diasporic and transnational people.

Whilst this work has drawn attention to the context of 'destination' countries for encouraging or discouraging integration, much of the scholarship on the relationship between belonging and the media has shown the importance of individual responses to belonging. Karim's edited collection (2003) for example, considers the significance of communication technologies and the media for this deterritorialising potential of diasporas to challenge boundaries and singular national identities. Following on from Appadurai (1996) who argues that we need to attend to the role of the media in the construction of "migratory scripts" as "important new diasporic public spheres are created and sustained that quite transcend the orbit of the nation-state", Karim argues that media allow diasporas to exist virtually, held together by spaces of flows. Modern technologies have given rise to communities that are not in place, but mobile, connected across vast distances as disembedding mechanisms enabling individuals and sometimes families, communities, to escape imaginatively from their geographical locations (Carey 1989, 160). According to Morley (2000), members of diaspora communities are exposed through the media to a wide range of potential discourses of identity, between which they must choose, or alternate, in different circumstances and different occasions.

More specifically, media can discourage integration of migrants into their host societies. For King and Wood (2001:1-2) the media intervene in the strengthening of transnational links through the construction of what White and Woods (1980: 30) call 'information fields'. First, images transmitted by the media are an important source of information and act as an influence on decisions to migrate. Second, media are able to transmit images of 'home', and have potential to facilitate the creation of

transnational and diaspora communities. Indeed “the commitments of diasporas are reinvigorated and sometimes polarised by constant contact with their former homes” (Tölölyan 1996: 274). As travelling cultures disassociated from direct territorial inscription, symbolic communications through a variety of small media enable the creation and sustaining of networks linking personal, individual choices to grander diasporic narratives of identity (Morley 2000: 126).”The media are seen not to be determining of identities, but contributing to the creation of symbolic community spaces in which identities can be constructed”(Silverstone and Georgiou 2005:436). Films, satellite television, newspapers and other avenues of global distribution via the internet are important to the maintenance and creation of transnational commonalities. King and Wood (2001) note that media can help migrants feel at home in the country of ‘exile’ and at the same time slow down integration because they can enable maintenance of hybrid and diasporic identities.

5.3.3. Debating the meaning of ‘integration’

Whilst this work has drawn attention to contextual factors of belonging, it privileges personal choices and characteristics. It takes the ‘nation’ into which transnational or diasporic migrants are integrating as a given whole, and fails to unpack nations as a globally interconnected product of history. In the main, this is a result of the way in which the literature has drawn upon the ‘public sphere’ as a conceptual space for framing integration. With parallels to the transnationalism and ‘integration’ literature, it too privileges personal ‘identity’ as the main variable in participation.

Habermas (1962) originally conceived of the public sphere as an “intersubjectively shared space”, or social site where meanings are articulated, distributed, and negotiated. It is central for the negotiation of national belonging because through it, individuals learn to value a particular set of symbols as intrinsic to the nation, and its terrain and narratives of collective consciousness and national subjectivity are created (Berlant 1991). Habermas first developed the details of this conception in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, a historical analysis of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century European Bourgeois public sphere, later refined through an identification of the normative conditions of participation and communicative interaction (Dahlberg 2005). Participation in the public sphere is coordinated through idealized acts of reaching understanding through formal inclusion, discursive equality, reflexivity and combining impartiality with respectful listening alternatives which

eventually transforms into a public opinion (Calhoun 1992; Garnham 1992; Dahlberg 2005).

According to Fraser (1990:57) the idea of the public sphere is that it designates “a theatre in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through talk”. In other words, it is a space in which citizens deliberate, an arena of discursive interaction that is conceptually distinct from the state and a site for the circulation of discourses. Although the ‘public sphere’ is a space for the generation of public opinion and assures a degree of moral-political validity through empowering the citizenry, the public sphere also sets the rules of inclusion and exclusion. Thus, in the public sphere participation can be differentiated by gender (eg. Berlant 1988), sexuality (eg. Berlant and Warner 1998, Hubbard 2001) race (eg. Hanchard 1995) and nationality (Calhoun 1992, Robbins 1993). For Cunningham (2001), these critiques move away from the idea of a singular public sphere, instead he argues for the existence of multiple public “sphericules”. Indeed, Fraser (1990) rejects the notion that members of the public sphere can leave behind their own backgrounds when debating the virtues, obligations and rights that members of society require for the common good to be realized.

Implicit in this are a number of presuppositions centred on a Westphalian national framework (Fraser 2002). The public sphere was conceptualized as co-terminus with a sovereign territorial (nation-) state. It was also associated with a national economy and citizenry that was territorially based, legally constituted, and subject in principle to state regulation. The public sphere was also associated with a national ‘culture’ based on language, literature and broadcast media that reproduced an imagined community and national identity.

Thus, the literature has identified that the public sphere comes with restrictions and boundaries and set of rules about who can and can’t debate public discourses. Against this complicated set of rules, identities are created and debated, and the meaning of ‘integration’ is produced. Hall (1992) particularly emphasizes that ethnic identities are not defined at birth but are constructed in historical, cultural and temporal contexts. Identities that are constructed ‘in private’ are reconfirmed in the public where the ritual of public performance reconfirms identities and leads to sense of belonging. Public space is where identities once initially constituted in domestic sphere are

concretized as socially relevant. The implication for people with diasporic and transnational identifications is that they disrupt the isomorphism between culture, territory, identity and nationality and are unable to fully interact in these public discourses.

Like the transnational literature, this work again privileges personal 'identity' and fails to interrogate what exactly the public sphere is and how it is produced. Not only does it fail to account for global cultural and economic interconnections that make up the 'national public sphere', but it is also based in Euro- and US-centric understandings of what ethnicity and race means in national contexts. Debates about the social construction of ethnicity and race, in European contexts especially, presuppose a clash arising from the introduction of once-colonized peoples into the nation space of the colonizer (Solomos and Back 1996). The result is that the nation is taken as an unquestioned and essential 'majority' into people with transnational affiliations as the 'minority' integrate. By failing to interrogate the context of integration in this way, integration becomes an end-point and becomes a duality between a transnational 'state of being' as completely separate from a national 'state of being'.

In South Africa, the congruency of Indian transnational identification with national belonging needs to be interpreted through different and changing understandings of what constitutes "the nation". South Africa has generally been conceptualised in dual racial and economic terms: The 'whites' as the minority with greater economic power and the 'blacks' as the majority but with less economic power. Prior to 1994 the ANC broadly defined the national question in terms of ending white minority rule and the integration of the country to create a single South African nation (Jordan 1988). The realities are, however, that the continuation of socio-economic inequalities, a hangover from apartheid based inequality as well as the new neo-liberalism of the economy (read as the liberalization of the financial and trade markets, the deregulation of the economy, and the privatization of state assets) which has meant the realization of the state's deficit targets but at the expense of employment, poverty and inequality (Habib 2005). As a result, poverty and inequality has increased in real measurable ways. For example, Carter and May (2000: 1996), in a study of approximately 1200 black households in KwaZulu-Natal, demonstrated that poverty rates increased from 27 to 43 percent between 1993 and 1998. Economic liberalization has benefited the upper classes of all racial groups, and in particular, the

black political, economic and professional elites who are the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action policies and black economic empowerment deals (Adam et al 1997).

As well as being economically fragmented, the black majority in South Africa are also not a homogenous ethnic group, which further undermines the conception that 'integration' means conforming to a dominant racial/ethnic identity. For example, there are long-standing historical tensions between Xhosa and Zulus, rooted in the warrior history of the Zulu nation but also in tensions between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) led by Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, around which crystallized ethnic mobilization; and the ANC, which the IFP saw as primarily as a Xhosa movement. As Appiah (1992: 176) notes, a black form of cultural nationalism is misguided because it proposes "as a basis for common action the illusion that black people are fundamentally allied by nature".

5.3.4. Summary

Debates about how transnational migration can either challenge or enhance the traditional integration paradigm remain rooted in the dualities of home and host, de-emphasizing how these categories are shot through with difference. The extent to which transnational ties are a force for participation depends to a large extent on two factors. First are the intersections between resources and identity. Second is that the meaning of integration, framed against national forms of inclusion, is conceived through debate in the public sphere which presupposes a 'majority' into which people with transnational identifications as the 'minority' must integrate. In the case of South Africa, the complexities of region, class and history within the unitary categories of race and ethnicity have negated the idea that there is a unitary 'majority'. Rather, as the rest of the chapter will show, integration has come to be defined in other ways and at other scales than the 'nation'.

The purpose of the remainder of this chapter is as follows: Overall, it examines the congruity of Indian national and transnational forms of belonging. It argues that the locations of Indians in a transnational project are projected as harmonious with their locations in South Africa. This effect is achieved through the framing of transnational activities by different cultural organisations within national discourses. This can be attributed to what the context of 'nation' in South Africa means, that is, a historicized

attempt to repair the social, economic and political injustices of the apartheid past. It therefore will explain the socialization of Indian transnational practices into South Africa's post-apartheid shared beliefs, values, and norms. Further, the importance of Indian diasporic media for making South African transnationalism relevant to post-apartheid South Africa will be considered, and in particular, considers how Bollywood and the media are a unifying space of debate.

5.4. Post-apartheid South African Indian inclusions

The “nation” refers, primarily, to what Appiah calls the “collective dimension” of the “imagined community”, rather than the “personal dimension” of individual identities (1994: 151). In this conceptualisation, political identities of nationhood are located in memories of a glorious past, experiences of a fulfilled present and sometimes as “unrealized” ambitions for statehood. Apartheid had attributed each state-designated ‘racial’ group a separate sense of nationhood and had a political mission to maintain this identity in separate group areas or homelands. However, the South African constitution, developed in the Freedom Charter in 1955 by the ANC was committed to “One law for One nation” and the government recognised the importance of constructing a unifying national identity. But the question was how to define a deeply racially, economically divided nation? Symbols, often seen as a unifying nation force, in racially divided South Africa were divisive rather than cohesive. The flag, initially an interim measure, has been accepted nationally with very few exceptions, however the “national” anthem, played and sung on many occasions, is an uneasy conglomerate of two anthems, *Nkosi Sikelele Africa*, and *Die Stem/The Call*, serving as a reminder of two previously divisive symbols (Mare 2005). The key to unifying post-apartheid South Africa however, and the delineation of who is and who is not entitled to inclusion in the call to nation centred instead on how people would participate both socio-culturally, politically and economically to resolve the divisions of the past.

This rests on notions of multiculturalism; however, a major critique of multicultural democracies is the crystallization of racial categories which still have salience (eg Parekh 1993). Moreover, notions of power and control still resting on racialised assumptions, within which the Indian minority in South Africa has found itself in an uneasy position amid the shifting power balance in South Africa from a white minority to black majority rule. The ANC's famous quote “South Africa belongs to all who live in it- black and white” belies important issues regarding the status of Indians

in South Africa. First, racialised categories still matter. Second, Indians are largely invisible in the discourse of a multicultural South Africa that is still thought of in dual racial terms. This harks back to indenture and apartheid notions that Indians were temporary residents. Despite 150 years of residence and with permanent roots in a place Indo-South Africans would call home, rather than India, it seems Indians still have a need to 'prove' their loyalty.

As chapter four and the earlier vignette showed, the end of apartheid opened up 'India' as a place for increased transnational identification and material connections of Indo-South Africans. In conceptualizations of transnationalism and integration, this poses a challenge to belonging in 'host' nations. However, the challenge for Indo-South Africans is to make this relevant to the nationalist discourses of South Africa. The aim of this section therefore, is to illuminate how the promotion of transnational cultural practices is attuned to the building of a coherent and unifying South African nationhood: through the ideologies of neoliberal economic orientation, multicultural policies, the apartheid struggle and South-South co-operation.

5.4.1. Neoliberalization, economic growth and redistribution

For McEwan (2001), whilst democracy in the new South Africa was a model exercise in participation based around concept of equality, social-liberalism and the protection of minority rights, any transition to full democracy does not necessarily mark the endpoint of the struggle for the eradication of social and economic inequalities. Indeed, while guaranteeing social and economic rights, the South African constitution actively recognises the need to go beyond traditional notions of an inclusionary citizenship by adopting positive action aimed at reducing inequalities between specific groups rather than protecting individual rights and hoping for a collective provision of needs (Yuval-Davis 1997). This policy of 'non-racialism' came to express a commitment to eradicating both the practices of apartheid and the system of ideas concerning 'race' on which these practices rested. It envisioned a fundamental restructuring of South African society not only through the withdrawal of apartheid laws and racially based discrimination, but also to the eradication of inequality and inherited disadvantage (Sharp 1998). Legal rights were not sufficient to transform economic inequalities entrenched during the exclusionary citizenship of apartheid, and the constitution thus provides for disadvantage through affirmative action measures in the public sector. Indeed, rights discourses are blind to social and

economic disparities between groups as an effective means to bring marginalized communities into the heart of government decision making and redress the exclusionary white polity (Gouws 1999).

The initial vision of the ANC was to “mobilise all the people and the country’s resources towards the final eradication of apartheid” (ANC 1994: 1; cited in Ramutsindela 2001: 74) through its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that sought to guarantee full participation not only through socio-political rights but economic rights too such as access to land, housing, education, and employment (Liedenburg 1999). Written through the Economic Trends Group, the Macro-Economic Research Group, together with social movements, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and workshops, the RDP aimed to counter the conventional view that economic growth and redistribution were contradictory by increasing investment in industry, creating non-agricultural jobs, investing in job creation, meeting basic needs and providing a stable economy (Peet 2000:72). During the first elections in post-apartheid South Africa, the ANC were committed to sustainable development that increased the ability of the poor “to mobilize development resources” that worked well for the poorest sections of South African society (ANC 1994:15 cited in Peet 2000:71)

At this time, the RDP did not emphasize South Africa’s integration into the world economy, rather the RDP document made reference to foreign investment abiding by the country’s labour standards and ensuring that knowledge and technical capacity were transferred to workers (Peet 2000). Although the RDP operated under the discourse of nationalization, implicit in the document however were allusions to the establishment of a conducive economic environment for growth and the fostering of a greater outward orientation, which laid the groundwork for a rapid reorientation as the ANC assumed leadership of the Government of National Unity in 1994. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund continued to assert disciplinary pressure that stressed an outward looking strategy in which growth “trickled down” through private sector employment growth and increased government revenue (Peet 2000). A letter of intent agreed to by the ANC committed the South African government to management of the economy through adopting outward orientation and recognizing market forces over state regulation (Padayachee 1994). Business organizations also sought liberal policies. A succession of reports in 1990 outlining

what the future South Africa economy might look like, such as “South Africa: Prospects for successful transition” which outlined redistribution for growth based on outward manufacturing focus, become discursive devices for popularising neoliberal, business orientated ideas about development in business and popular consciousness (Tucker and Scott 1992).

With these factors in place, the economy was liberalized quickly following the ANC assuming leadership of the Government of National Unity in 1994. The RDP leadership was transferred from a government department to the office of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, and was replaced by a development agenda entitled *Growth Employment and Redistribution* prepped by Department of Finance, representatives of the World Bank, the Development Bank of South Africa and the South Africa Reserve Bank (RSA 1996). It kept the RDPs redistributive agenda but argued high growth was necessary, which required transformation to an outward orientated economy. It recommended the state budget be cut, trade liberalized, and the creation of a competitive environment for investment through wage moderation to align with World Bank and the IMF’s adjustment policies. These policies, set by external economic influences, were to be utilised for the creation of a new national economic framework of an outward orientated, neoliberal approach for the creation of jobs, which it was hoped would ultimately lead to the repair of the economic inequalities of the past.

The promotion of neoliberal economic growth as a way to achieve economic equality resonates with the promotion of the Indo-South African economic links with India, and especially with the reinvention of India as a global economic centre. For example, when asking Indo-South Africans about what ‘India’ meant to them, the economic status of India is an important component:

Interviewee: India is going to be a world power of the future, like China....I like that we are a part of it.

JD: In what ways?

Interviewee: If India is successful then we don't need to be ashamed of where we come from

Section editor of Indo-South African newspaper B

The transnational activities of Indians are by association tied into these global networks in beneficial ways for South Africans. Moreover, the general important economic status of India also has tangible and real benefits. A central component of this is that the existence of transnational ties between India and South Africa via Indians can benefit not only Indian people, but that the benefits might be spread more widely:

My position is such that I interact with the Indian Government and leading businesses in India. On my last visit to Chennai, I attracted Ramco, an IT company, to Durban and they invested. Tata is a big conglomerate and has a presence in South Africa. I facilitate the links for businesses between India and South Africa. Its important to maintain links to India to assist the South African community and their needs and provide a platform of mutual benefit to both countries. I use my identity, origins and position to work on the links between India and South Africa and build links and extract benefits for South Africa. If South Africa is to be globally competitive, we need to look at how best we can be

Politician B on Durban City Council

This quote draws out a key point: that the transnational economic connections between Indo-South Africans and India are a potential source of employment via overseas growth and investment, which resonates with South African global neoliberalisation. Economic, political, and social viability for the “new” nation is linked to the provision of services and jobs to all South African citizens, and this is especially important for South Africa in terms of high unemployment. Shortly after the end of apartheid, the 1996 Census recorded an unemployment rate of 33.9 percent (Perberdy 2001: 24). About a quarter of the adult population were illiterate or semiliterate and millions of (mainly black) South Africans live in shacks in peri-urban and urban areas; many others live in inadequate and/or overcrowded housing or on the street (Perberdy 2001: 25). Outward orientated neoliberal growth is one strategy utilised by the government for reducing economic inequalities and erasing the material consequences of the apartheid past, and the symbolic and material links with similarly globalising India through Indo-South Africans have the potential for making a positive contribution in this light.

5.4.2. Multiculturalism

The creation and imposition of racial categories was a central tenet of apartheid, and with the ending of minority rule there was an expectation that the 'new' South Africa would be characterised by extensive social shifts to accompany the political and economic, entailing a parallel reformulation of the institutionally imposed racial categorisations to create a new set of identities among South Africans and forge a new and inclusive citizenship regime (McEwan 2001). Multiculturalism is a central pillar of post-apartheid South Africa, and is founded upon in upon right to exercise cultural choice. By emphasizing a commitment to constructing an inclusive democracy and by developing a culture of human rights, the new state defined its difference from the apartheid past (Chatterjee 1993). South Africa's history of racial oppression and human rights abuse stood in contrast to the construction of a new identity, built on principles of inclusion, democracy, and human rights for all citizens. Because the state is trying to forge a nation out of a multiethnic, multicultural society, it cannot rely on common culture, ethnicity, or primordial identities to create its imagined community (Reitzes 1995). Instead, it constructed a national identity which embraced the differences between South Africans, their shared but divided history, and loyalty to the state and nation.

The overhaul of the old racist apartheid regime aimed to accommodate the cultural claims of minorities with the enshrining of equal rights in the constitution both a 'rallying point' and a cornerstone of social transformation. The protection of minority rights and the accommodation of diversity were given precedence. The 'Rainbow Nation' is a particularly appealing image, in which multiple cultures lived side by side in harmony tied closely to a multiracial vision of South Africa. (Adams 1994).

The activities of the Indian diasporic media are especially important in ensuring the Indian community partook in this element of building a national consciousness. For example,

We advertise our events in all of the Durban papers, not just Indian papers. We don't just want the Indian community to come, but we want to reach all sections of South African society. African people are attracted to Indian music and dance so we try to encourage these artists to come also. For example, at an Indian Republic Day event we

hosted in conjunction with the consulate, 2 Zulu boys from the Balima Naidoo music school sang songs in Tamil. Everyone was so moved by their performance

Head of cultural organization B

This fits in particularly well with the vision of the Rainbow Nation: the co-existence, blending and compatibility of different racially-based cultural elements is an important goal for the organisers of events where musical artists are brought from India.

Observations from these cultural events also reveal that despite the ethnic focus of the events, in fact, the goal is to be non-exclusionary. At an event at Kendra Hall in February 2005, for example, the main 'event' was a *ghazal* troupe from India. However this was preceded by a Zulu choir and a local Indian musical group. The audience were mainly upper-middle class Indians, with some Black South African members. As it turns out, the black South Africans were in fact related to the Zulu choir, and not explicitly there out of a desire to 'participate' in Indian culture. This suggests a forced multiculturalism, and this is reinforced with speeches at the event regarding the similarities between black music and Indian music, and also various other ways in which Indian South Africans were rooted in South Africa, through reference to Gandhi. As Radhakrishnan (2005: 270) argues "The public performance of Indian culture is a key venue through which South African Indians re-create meanings of Indianness to be relevant to a multicultural post-apartheid world".

This is further enhanced through the social work Indian organisations do in the wider community through the distribution of aid and food to poor South Africans.

Although the main goal of [our organization] is to foster religion and culture, we have also been looking into societal responsibility over the past 2 years, and we have been distributing goods to the underprivileged. Not to [members of our organization] but to the wider South African community. The intention is for us to give out winter warmth. We also run a medical day so the public get a free medical exam.

Leader of religious organization A

The importance and meaning of social work in the wider South African society cannot be underestimated. For the heads of these cultural organisations, it reaffirms

and justifies the existence of that organisation in the cultural landscape of South Africa. It also underscores commitment to reducing poverty, through an Indian lens. As the work is attached to a particular organisation, it ascribes the usefulness of these organisations, and by association the usefulness of Indians. This is especially important for South Africans society still racially divided. Despite the platitudes of multiculturalism, most people continue to live in residential areas that are, in practice, racially segregated, and most children continue to attend schools with children of the same 'race'. Few South Africans enjoy much inter-racial contact: Overall in a survey conducted by Gibson, (2004), two out of three South Africans said that they had little or no contact with members of other racial groups. If a truly multicultural South African society is to exist, efforts by Indians need to be made. Indeed, Indo-South Africans are aware of the need to maintain a distinct presence and identity in South Africa:

It's a question of trying to maintain our cultural identity. South Africa is a multicultural nation, and multiculturalism is promoted and supported at all levels: local, regional, national"

Leader of religious organization B

Proponents of multicultural citizenship, for example Kymlicka (1995), place ethnic pluralism in the political sphere. The framework of cultural groups constitutes a 'context of choice' in which individuals need to be assured of a secure cultural background and that freedom and equality are preconditions for participation in public life (Kymlicka 1995). This context can only be maintained by granting rights to ethnic and religious groups that range from cultural rights to accommodate the cultural identities and practices of immigrant groups to keep alive and strengthen the intragroup social and symbolic ties, voting rights for permanent immigrant residents; affirmative action programmes, revised work schedules to accommodate the religious holidays of immigrant groups, bilingual education programmes for the children of immigrants, and minority group schools . In this view, reciprocity is the basis for fostering common and publicly declared narratives.

The notion of reciprocity between different racial groups towards a common project in this case is the eradication of division between racial groups. It is important to note in this regard that Indian conceptions of multiculturalism are located in the co-

operation not across all the racial identities in South Africa, but with black South Africans in particular. This alignment of loyalty not with multiculturalism generally, but with co-operation with black South Africa and especially with Zulu identification can be seen to be based on the regional context of identification of KwaZulu-Natal. However, it is more than a geographical question: the alignment of Indians with a black South African identification is deeply ingrained in events that took place during the apartheid struggle for democracy and in more recent post-apartheid rhetoric.

5.4.3. A common apartheid struggle

Debates about South African identity have been tied closely to anticolonial and anti-apartheid nationalisms. Anne McClintock's (1995) work for example illustrates how the imaginary of a South African nation, figured alternatively as an Afrikaaner fatherland and as an African homeland, empowered competing visions of racialized South African womanhood that were highlighted during periods of political struggle (Radhakrishnan 2005). Although McClintock's focus is gender, the post-apartheid struggle is seen as a unifying force. The process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which addressed the abuse of human rights by both sides in the struggle to liberate South Africa, recreates South Africa's divided history as a common history, shared by all. This is especially important for Indians locating themselves in South Africa via the historical struggle to oppose apartheid.

Historically, Indians have had an antagonistic relationship with black South Africa, as during the apartheid years they were often competing with Black South Africans. It has been conventionally argued that the indigenous Zulu labour in Natal was inadequate and unsuitable for sugar plantations, despite evidence which reveals that while the British government in Natal was arranging for the introduction of indentured labour, the Zulus were working diligently in both the skilled and unskilled sectors of the economy (Meer, 1985; Dhupelia, 1982). The difficulty facing the planters was not a shortage of labour, but a lack of a plentiful supply of cheap labour, exacerbated by the high cost of recruiting and transporting Indian labour to Natal, which had the effect of lowering the wages paid to Africans (Ginwala, 1974:26-7).

For the first twenty years after the introduction of indenture, Indians constituted the poorest section of the Natal population and during this period Africans were the main suppliers of basic foodstuffs (Maharaj 1992). By 1882 however these products

were being produced almost entirely by Indians in the Natal coastal region and as the relative material circumstances of Indians improved, the African population became more impoverished and by the end of the nineteenth century Africans had replaced Indians at the bottom of the economic hierarchy. As a result of the relative advantages of the relative material progress of Indians compared to the Africans, Indo-African relations in Natal were characterised by tension and conflict. Indians and Africans also competed for jobs in the urban labour market, mainly in secondary industries where there was a large demand for unskilled labourers. Also, with their experience, Indians dominated in the semi-skilled and supervisory jobs, which whites rejected. (Kirk, 1983: 30-33).

The tensions and conflicts that characterised Indo-African relations were played out especially vividly in Cato Manor. After completing their period of indenture, many Indians settled here and began developing the area, helped by the location of Cato Manor just outside of the jurisdiction of the Durban urban areas where they were able to erect low-cost dwellings (Maharaj 1992). Despite the extension of the city's boundaries in 1932 and incorporation of Cato Manor into Durban, it remained neglected in terms of services and facilities, and the conditions were overcrowded and unsanitary (Edwards, 1983:15 in Maharaj 1992: 11). Africans began to move into Cato Manor in the early 1940s following ejection from nearby areas like Overport and Puntans Hill by the Durban City Council, and many Indians realised that they could make more profits by allowing Africans to build shacks on their lands (Edwards 1983: 4). Often Indians would let a plot of land for a nominal site rent, and the tenant would sub-lease to hundreds of others, and as a result a large class of African 'tenant-landlords' had a vested interest in the continued existence of Cato Manor. There was also a great deal of insecurity for Africans squeezed by the authorities on one side and by competition with Indian traders on the other.

The incipient conflict between Africans and Indians in Cato Manor reached a flash point in the riot of January 1949. The state viewed the violence as a racial conflict between Indians and Africans, and argued that this justified its policy of racial separation. However, the riot was actually the product of a complex phenomenon. While they appeared to be unplanned they were actually a product of the differential incorporation of various racial groups under apartheid enjoying different levels of rewards. Africans perceived Indians as benefiting from apartheid because they occupied a 'middleman' role

and these stereotypes provided a focal point for quick mobilisation of Africans (Moodley, 1980:231). Not unlike Jews in other countries, Indians were used as 'scapegoats' with their ethnic difference and cultural diversity excuses for discrimination and oppression (Kuper 1950).

Whilst both Indian and African political organisations did little to foster inter-group relations, things began to change in the post-1945 period. As argued above, Indo-South African political resistance to apartheid was underpinned by economic differences, with the accommodationist politics of the mercantilist class jarring with the complaints of the working class in their political representations. However, the Indo-South African anti-apartheid struggle was radicalised following the formation of trade unions and given impetus by larger urban concentrations of Indians during the war. In 1932 the Durban Borough boundaries were extended adding 50,000 and 60,000 Indians from the peripheral urban areas, and as a result half of the Indian population of Natal lived in the Borough of Durban. The process of urbanisation also affected the other towns of Natal. Thus, it is estimated that by 1931, two-thirds of the Natal Indians were either thoroughly urbanised by the process of industrialisation, or had been born into urban conditions (Swan 1985: 221). The improvements in the working conditions, and successes in wage negotiations in the face of opposition from the employers and authorities, was important in making Indian workers more conscious of the value and need of belonging to a trade union. This acted as a catalyst in bringing about the greater participation of the workers in the Indian political movements on the side of the radicals (Pahad 1972).

With a more radical leadership, the NIC embarked on a massive passive resistance campaign to protest against the Ghetto Act, which seriously affected "those Indians capable of purchasing land in white areas for either residential or investment purposes. It did not immediately affect the majority of less affluent Indians who had no plans for either living or investing outside existing Indian ghettos" (Johnson, 1973:78). Moreover, there were repercussions for the working class as rents and property prices escalated in predominantly Indian areas. The poor were forced into high density slums and near slums, and landlords demanded outrageous 'key money' or 'goodwill' for the right to rent a single dilapidated room (Swan, 1987:191).

Thus, “here was a distinct shift in the predominantly accommodationist, merchant dominated class politics of the pre-1945 NIA/NIC, to ostensibly more militant, aggressive and less accommodationist politics of the post-1945 period”(Padayachee, et al, 1985:156). At the same time, the statutory restrictions imposed on all of the non-Europeans made an alliance of their respective organisations highly desirable. They were suffering under a common oppression and realised that only by common united front struggle could the non-Europeans hope to overthrow white supremacy. In 1947 a pact was formed between the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) (lead by Dr Y. Dadoo), the NIC (lead by Dr G.M. Naicker), and the African National Congress (lead by Dr Xuma), to form a united front in opposing segregation and oppression.

This notion of a common struggle against the apartheid regime remains an important part of the discourse for Indians. For example, there is an ongoing campaign by the 1860 Heritage Foundation (formerly the Indian Settlers Association) to establish a monument in Durban to the history of Indians in the area. Importantly this is couched not in terms of the exclusivity of Indians, but in terms of a longer timeline of the area:

There are no mandatory functions to commemorate the arrival of Indians to these shores. And, in spite of all contributions made politically, educationally, economically in this region there is no recognition of that by past governments Since 1960-1994 there were various requests made to city councillors of Durban to be given a site for a monument. There will be a function room, a theatre, restaurants, documentation centre, then 22 rooms which will house the story of the Zulu monarchy, the arrival of British, the arrival of Indians. Occupying 3 rooms will be the arrival of Gandhi then contributions in economics, industry, educational field by Indians, 5 rooms about cultural diversity in this region, 1 for Nobel Prize winners. Rooms for the political contributions of Indians and the relationship between the ANC/Indian Congress party; and the last one will be about Mandela, his inauguration and freedom. It's not going to just be about us but the history of the whole region. It's a historical monument so future generations will not forget. Many people are not aware of the contributions and sacrifices of pioneering Indian families subject to the same apartheid

Member of the Indo-South African community organization A

There have been many historical tensions between Indians and Zulus in KwaZulu-Natal. The trauma of the 1949 riot is embedded in folk history, and especially the poorest sections of the Indian community bore the brunt of the upheaval because of their proximity to the African poor. Freund (1995) indicates that Indian poor felt the negative repercussions. In addition, factional warfare between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in KwaZulu-Natal overlaps with an Indian-Zulu conflict. Indians were frequently threatened with violence by Buthelezi when his politics were questioned, and open threats of a 1949 repetition was made following a critique of Buthelezi by Fatima Meer. This quote however, represents a desired attempt to repair the relations between the historically divided ethnic groups in KwaZulu-Natal, in pursuit of the building of a collective sense of nationhood in a society that continues to be deeply divided.

The lack of acknowledgement of the contribution of Indians to the apartheid struggle is a particular sore point for many Indo-South Africans, and especially many who consider Gandhi as the original anti-apartheid protestor.

When Gandhi was thrown off the train in Pietermaritzburg for sitting in a whites only carriage, he started a long history of apartheid struggle that was continued by Dadoo even before Mandela. We Indians are part of the history of this country

Member of Indo-South African cultural organization A

Gandhi is an especially important figure in this regard, and is invoked in a number of ways to cement the relationship between India and South Africa. First, the Indian consulate in Durban is especially keen to keep alive the figurehead of Gandhi as a link between Indians and Indo-South Africans:

Gandhi is important because of the leadership role he played. He led the way and gave Indians initial guidance in the apartheid struggle.

Representative B of the Indian Consulate, Durban

Not only does India see Gandhi as of prime importance to the location of Indians in South Africa, they also have taken practical steps to use him as a continuing link between India and South Africa. For example, the central Indian government

contributed towards the repair and preservation of Gandhi's home in Inanda as a museum, which was destroyed by riots in 1985.

We helped with engineering and architecture for refurbishing the Gandhi settlement. We contributed a small part because we have close links because of the connection between Gandhi, the ANC, and the Congress Party of India.

Representative B of the Indian Consulate, Durban

His granddaughter, Ela Gandhi, is also prominent in their social networking activities with Indo-South Africans, and is often invited as a guest of honour at their cultural functions. Indeed, at many of the Indian consulate functions I attended, a quote by Gandhi appeared in all of the pre-performance speeches in the context of affirming the contribution of Indians to the apartheid struggle. In this way, transnational cultural events are perhaps made less threatening to the participation of Indo-South Africans in South African civic and social life, by affirming that Indians have a deserved place in the nation. Indeed, this quote affirms this:

"The Gandhi episode enriched the apartheid struggle, and strengthened the India-South Africa bond. We have a historical connection.

Manager of Indo-South African radio station B

By the association of a shared ethnicity with Gandhi, the transnational activities of Indians that help them to continue affirming this particular ethnic identity are not a force that threatens their membership in South Africa but helps to confirm a historicized belonging.

5.4.4. South-South co-operation and the African Renaissance

The role of the Indian community in the anti-apartheid struggles cements the centrality and relevance of the Indian community to post-apartheid South Africa. This leads to a broader sense of the commonality between the two countries:

Because of the historical links between India and South Africa, we link India and South Africa for not only the Indian South Africans but South Africa too.

Member of Indo-South African religious organization A

This highlights the interconnectedness of the economic, social and historical reasons for linking India with South Africa via the transnational activities of Indian South Africans.

As well as maintaining connections with India to affirm their place in the historical struggle against racial discrimination and violence, Indo-South Africans also have a desire to maintain relations between India and South Africa more generally for tackling inequalities using co-operation with countries in similar positions.

Under Thabo Mbeki and its neoliberal policies the South African government grew increasingly confident in the promotion of its position as a 'natural' leader of the African Continent, and from this flowed its involvement in initiating the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an initiative that sought to engage industrialised countries in a programme of trade and development assistance to foster development within African countries. Launched as a "home grown" initiative by African states to face up to development challenges, integral to this strategy is the co-operation between 2+ countries in the developing world (Hammett 2005). Indeed, Mbeki himself declared his ambition to create a 'G7 of the South' by 2001. This has been emphasized by the continuing legacy of apartheid and colonialism, which has continued to intrude on national discourses of economic control. For instance, the growing presence of whiteowned MNCs operating in the rest of Africa has drawn criticism and even fears of South African 'neo-colonialism' (Daniel et al 2003). Contributing to this perception is the enduring presence of white South Africans in middle management positions within key government departments, in part a reflection of the historic compromise negotiated in the early 1990s, but also a lingering residue of the reconciliation policy pursued by the ANC (Alden and Vieira 2005). NEPAD discourse has been more formally entrenched through the creation of the 'butterfly strategy', a deliberate attempt to promote trade links with Brazil and India (the wings) and concurrently with continental Africa (the body). South Africa has been at the forefront of this type of cooperation with the creation of the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Trilateral Commission in 2004, given high importance by Mbeki in enhancing South-South co-operation and openly acknowledged to be a stepping stone towards broader cooperation among developing countries.

This is reflected in the way Indian-South African transnational links confirm this strategy:

I have been to India many times. I was part of the 1st political delegation in the new South Africa and followed up to forge vital lines to India ourselves. There is a lot for KZN to learn from India. We are both developing, we have issues such as HIV, poverty. We are making contributions to the Indian-African relation by hosting functions: the president of India came and visited township schools. It wasn't just Indian areas, we took him to black areas too and it made a dent in his mind. He talked about his visit to KZN, and presented a paper on trade opportunities between India and KZN"

Politician B on Durban City Council

This picks up too on the historical links between India and South Africa in the struggle against colonialism and oppression. India was the first to impose sanctions on the South African apartheid government through trade restrictions, and relations between the two countries deteriorated. In India people, organisations and newspapers had always shown an interest in the plight of their kin in South Africa. This interest was intensified after Gandhi's attempts to persuade the South African government to end racial discrimination (particularly against Indian South Africans), through non-violence and policy of *satyagraha*, which was later implemented in India. Indeed, Gandhi and other nationalists realised that the restrictions placed on Indians by the British were similar to those in Indians in South Africa (Veney 1999:324). A central theme running through the efforts of the Indian state to influence events in South Africa, was the continual insistence upon having unity of all classes and religions, reflecting the philosophies of the Indian National Congress.

Indeed, India protested against the ill-treatment of Indo-South Africans even before it gained independence, arguing for example before the UN General Assembly in 1946 that the treatment of Indians in South Africa violated their human rights. At the same time as India gained independence, apartheid was codified into law by the White minority government, and keeping Gandhi's *Satyagraha* philosophy, Nehru considered it his obligation to assist in the eradication of apartheid. This mirrored his commitment for India to become a leader and model for other countries emerging from the shadow of colonialism and foreign oppression. Thus, he discontinued the

economic links with Apartheid regime in 1954 and encouraged other countries to employ economic sanctions.

The links between the two countries are made even more explicit:

The ANC government is favourably disposed to India. They have been a great supporter: India provided technical support, and support for sanctions. The leadership of the ANC generation was inspired by Gandhi. The Indian community inspired the ANC and other South African leaders. Colonialism had a strong binding effect between us.

Member of Indo-South African cultural organization A

It is clear from this quote that India has strong ideological links with South Africa. The transnational activities of Indo-South Africans strengthen this bond, and in particular resonates with postcolonial discourse that asserts problems associated with 'developing' countries be solved through mutual understanding and cooperation.

5.4.5. The realities of post-Apartheid South Africa

Post 1994 South Africa is characterized by a number of discursive alignments as the foundation of a national identity, with implications for the 'belonging' of its population. Indian transnational links resonate with these in the following ways. First, economic links with India resonate with the global neoliberal strategy as a path to economic development and redistribution and job creation. Second is that Indian transnational cultural links resonate with the multicultural ideal of the new South Africa by exploiting the new freedom of cultural expression and maintaining 'Indian' ethnic boundaries. This is also located in the notion of cooperation for mutual gain, and to break down traditional barriers and isolation. However, it is noted that conceptions of multiculturalism are based in specific racialised cooperation, that is, with black South Africans in particular. This is the outcome of two further related discursive constructs of the new South Africa: The anti-apartheid struggle and the coming together of Indians and Black South Africans, previously antagonistic, united against apartheid oppression; and second the alignment of the new South Africa with other postcolonial nations struggling to solve poverty and other problems. Transnational links have an important role to play in locating Indian South Africans within both of these constructs. Gandhi is invoked as a transnational figurehead, linking Nehru and the Indian Congress Party with the Natal Indian Congress and the

ANC. More generally, Indians solidify this through involvement in political and cultural exchange with India. Many are consistent, for example trade and economic success; some are contradictory, for example, an allegiance to a generalized India

However, an important admonition to make is that these represent the views of people heavily involved in constructing an Indo-South African transnational landscape. It is important to understand therefore, how these views are circulated in wider South African society. In order to answer this, the next section utilises the example of the Bollywood industry and its promotion in the media as a specific way of coupling Indian transnational identification with South African identification.

5.5 Bollywood and the circulation of narratives of South African belonging

5.5.1. Introduction

According to Newsweek (2000) Bollywood is

“India’s film industry...based in Mumbai”.

However, although Indian cinema has been in existence as a national industry for the past 50 years, Bollywood refers to a specific narrative and a mode of presentation that has been around since the 1990s and is far removed from the village dramas of 1950s and 1960s Indian cinema (Rajadhyaksha 2002). Scholars such as Rajadhyaksha (2002) and others have identified the beginning of the Bollywood era with four films: *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge/ The brave-hearted will take the bride* (1995), *Dil To Pagal Hai/The Heart is Crazy* (1997), *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai/ Something is happening* and *Taal/ Beat* (1998).

Film and Indian national identity are closely related and as Prasad (1998) argues, Indian cinema has always functioned as a site of production and exploration of national identity and ideology. Popular cinema, like all other cultural forms, deals with narratives that emerge from socio-political transformations in society (Kaur 2002, Rajadhyaksha 2002). Post-independence films such as Mehboob’s *Mother India* (1957) “served as an allegory for the heroic effort of the Indian nation to achieve self-sufficiency through modernization” (Fig. 5.7) whilst the films of the 1970s and 1980s “embodied the triumph of India’s underclasses over social injustice and political corruption” (Sharpe 2005:87).

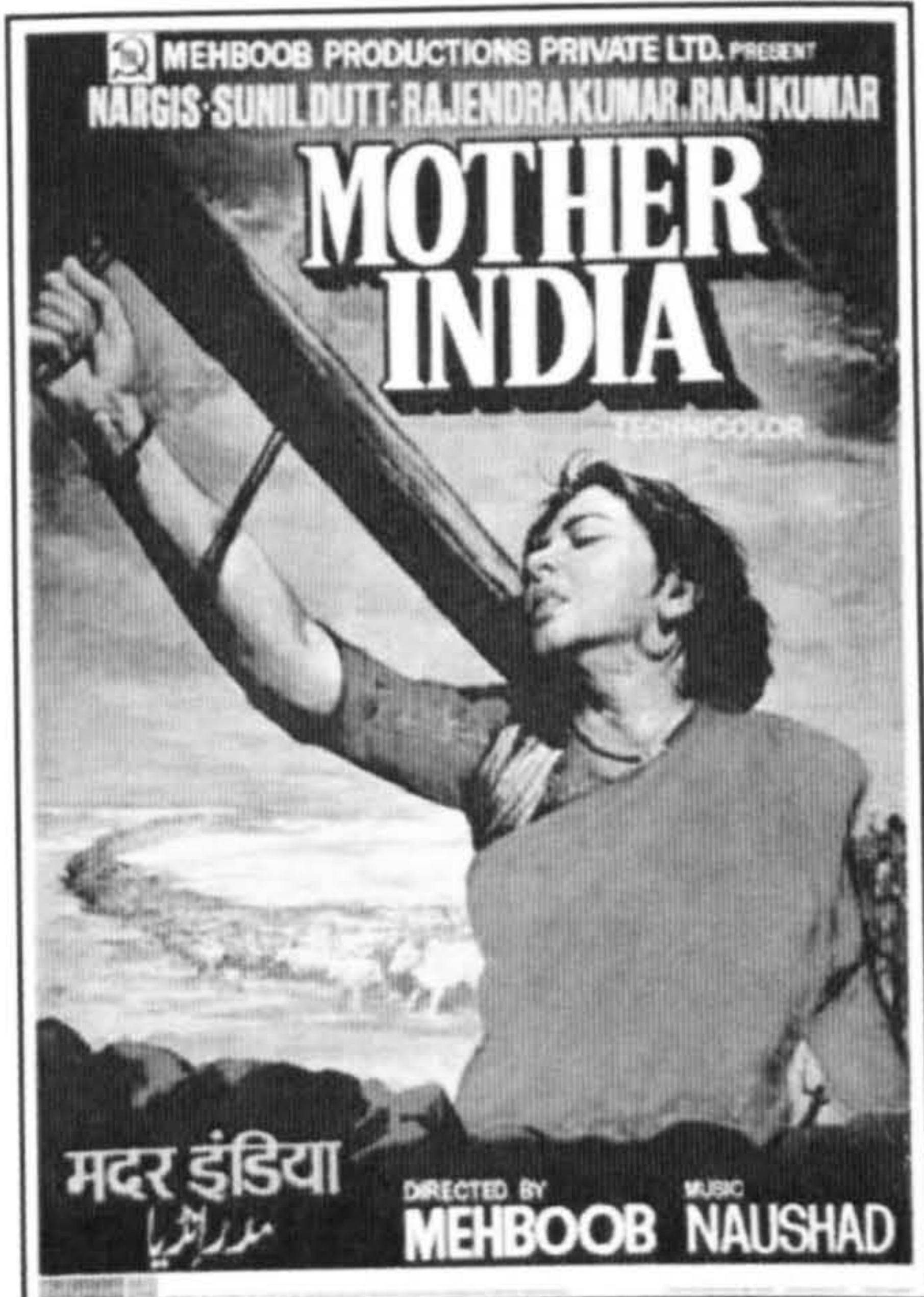


Figure 5.7. *Mother India*

Commercially successful films made since the mid-1990s in the Bollywood mould, in contrast, emphasize wealth, fast cars, youth culture, and cosmopolitan lifestyles that centres on wealthy Indian families with traditional values and present “endless rounds of parties, beach dances, wedding celebrations, festive occasions, and an all-round feeling of well-being” (Kripalani 2001) (Fig. 5.8.). These films offer audiences the potential to share in the extravagant lifestyles of the elite classes (Sharpe 2005).

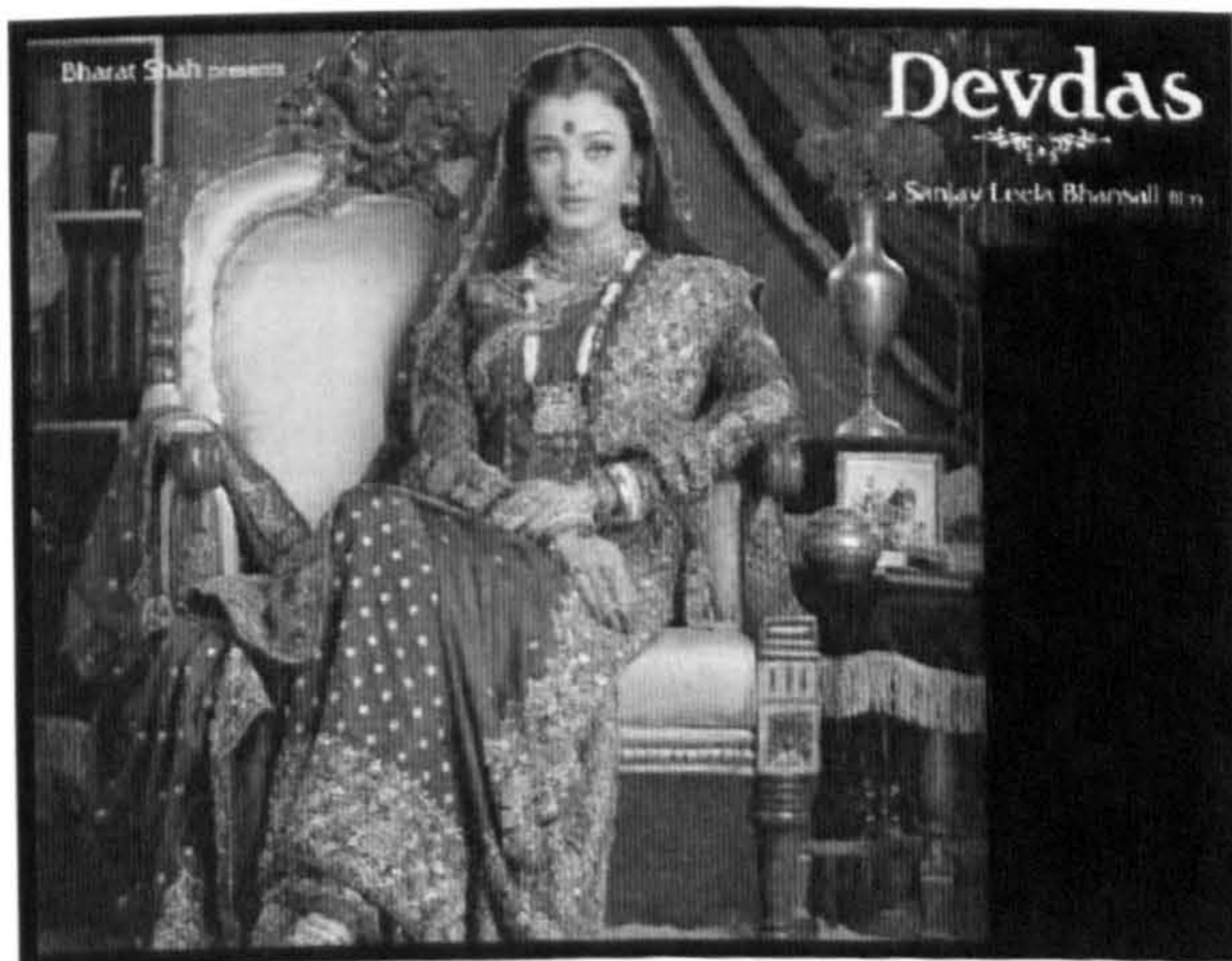


Figure 5.8. *Devdas*

5.5.2. Bollywood as global Indian cultural industry

This shift within Indian cinema is related to three inter-related economic, political and sociocultural transitions in India since the early 1990s. First was the transition from an earlier era of decolonization and ‘high nationalism’ and into globalization and finance capital (Rajadhyaksha 2002; Punathambekar 2005). The decade of the 1990s

marked the unveiling of free-market reforms in the Indian economy popularly known as economic liberalisation. The Nehruvian model of a mixed economy with its strong socialist overtones was given up in favour of a liberal capitalism. The government emphasised disinvestments in the public sector, withdrawal of subsidies, sustained seduction of Foreign Direct Investment, and removed numerous restrictions on imports and foreign exchange to encourage international traffic.

Second, was the de-regulation of Indian cinema and the conferment of industry status on Indian films. On 10 May 1998 the former Information and Broadcasting Minister, Sushma Swaraj, declared at a national conference on 'Challenges before Indian Cinema' that she would shortly pass a Government Order declaring 'industry status' to the film industry in India. This was a direct response to intense lobbying by the film industry and growing pressure upon the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-led coalition to come up with some kind of consolidated media bill that would address in an integrated fashion the merger of satellite communications with cable, television and the internet, all of which featured film prominently in their output, and all of which stood at the threshold of attracting serious financial investment from a range of international investors such as Rupert Murdoch's News Corp (Rajadhyaksha 2002).

Third, at the back of it all was the BJP's investment into the concept of a 'cultural nationalism' — a form of civilizational belonging explicitly delinked from the political rights of citizenship as a larger project of cultural citizenship that has emerged in relation to India's tentative entry into a transnational economy and the centrality of the NRI (non-resident Indian) figure to India's navigation of this space. (Punathambekar 2005)

Historically, the export market of films has been relatively small. Film was dominated by state policy on export and remained so until 1992 when the area was de-controlled and opened out to private enterprise (Rajadhyaksha 2002). The forerunner to the growth of the Indian film export market were films were exported to Africa, the Arab states, Trinidad, Guyana and Barbados, Burma, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka and Thailand. Most visibly was the 'gulf boom', of workers (domestic, industrial, white-collar) exported to the Middle East becoming an audience for Malayalam films through the 1970s. However, economic liberalisation measures encouraged Indians to travel abroad and saw the emergence of a globalised

Indian middle class. Their conspicuous consumption patterns revealed a highly materialistic and uninhibited urban middle class, constantly fuelled by growing capitalist ambitions and the new challenges of global economic order. In the era of globalization, overseas Indians have emerged as valued audiences in Bombay box-office figures and as desired investors in the state's political, economic, and cultural plans (Mehta 2005).

Tying into these developments, 1990s films narrated stories of the upper/middle class with the main characters are often returning graduates of foreign universities, and the complex issues they faced include how to reconcile their experiences abroad with society back home. Kaur (2005) locates the films in fast-changing, contemporary India with its new market-friendly economy, a globalised and upwardly mobile middle class, and a huge, exportable, techno-savvy workforce that thrives on growing Western pop-dominated cultural forms such as Indi-pop music/Bhangra-pop dance and Hinglish (Hindi-English) theatre. The desires of the diaspora appear to have been inscribed within the texts of 'Bollywood' films, which often contain characters that live in the UK or the US and continue to maintain Indian traditions. The narratives of Bombay cinema have become increasingly significant in accomplishing this task.

Film continues to remain the most prominent presence spearheading the global 'Indian' culture industry. In fact, the film industry itself, determined by box office turnover and sales of print and music rights, constitute only a part of the overall culture industry that is currently being created and marketed. Ancillary industries, mostly based in the diasporic centres of the US and UK, including theatre, the music industry, advertising and fashion whose financial turnover could be many times larger than what the cinema itself can claim.

The broader point argued above is that Bollywood fits into the project of the Indian government and is essentially targeted at the border crossing, networked diaspora and in itself references the globalized India keen to make an economic and political presence on the world stage. For Indians keen to position themselves as important to the three of the fourfold underpinnings of the post-apartheid South African nation, Bollywood can be considered as particularly relevant, even if audiences may not buy into it.

5.5.3. Bollywood values

5.5.3.1. *Bollywood and neoliberalism*

The meaning of what constitutes India has undergone a recent sea-change, and this is reflected in the output of Bollywood. In a nation newly independent from colonial rule that had used the concept of economic self-reliance or *Swadeshi* to win independence, wealth was linked directly to corruption and exploitation and alignment with landowning classes (Das 1997). Gandhian values of renouncing wealth and serving the nation were accepted and often celebrated as the right lifestyle choice, and in this context the diaspora was scripted to portray a materialist subject who had left home in the pursuit of greater wealth, for example, in the film *Des Pardes/Homeland and Foreign Land*, 1978. (Sharp 1998). However, as the diasporic market grew and its consuming power started to be felt by the Indian film industry, the traditional Indian identity in films was reconfigured as it was understood that wealthy Indian diasporic communities, particularly in North America and Europe, constitute an important market.

In the globalization of the Indian cultural economic formation, the development of a global, simultaneous and profit generating Bollywood enterprise is seen as an important part as the ultimate exemplar of Indian modernity, and this reflects why Bollywood is popular:

Bollywood is very popular with our readership, they're interested so we give them the Bollywood stuff...We don't tend to give them the bad stuff, they want the glitz and the glamour

Editor of Indo-South African newspaper C

As explained above, Bollywood movies no longer rely on poor production values and instead are tied into the Indian modernization project and especially the elitist identity of the Indian diaspora. For Indo-South Africans, the globality of Indians connected through the global Bollywood enterprise is invoked through reference to the sheer scale and extent of the diaspora:

Bollywood connects all NRIs to the motherland. Not only for South Africa but the Indian Diaspora all over. That's 25-30 million people

Durban based film distributor A

More specifically, there is also the potential for Bollywood to have real as well as discursive economic effects. This is linked to Bollywood as job creation:

Also it's helped the South Africa film industry, for example the International Film Academy we've hosted 2 in 5 years, its put South Africa on the map. Bollywood people are coming to film here. There are more job opportunities. In the pipeline is a film studio scheduled in Durban.... "

KwaZulu-Natal Minister

Bollywood in South Africa therefore can connect South Africans both discursively and materially into the global economy. All of this potential activity could raise the profile of the Indian community in South Africa by intertwining Indian culture with South African job creation and economic and skills enhancement.

5.5.3.2. Bollywood, Indian identity and South African multiculturalism

Bollywood is an important medium for the circulation of Indian values. For example, in the film *Hum Aapke Hain Koun . . . ! (What am I to you! 1994)* Prem, a top student, is learning the ropes of business under his elder brother Rajesh. Elsewhere Nisha is studying computer science and is the darling of her elder sister, Pooja, and her parents. Fate brings the two families together and at the wedding of Rajesh and Pooja and during Pooja's pregnancy, Prem and Nisha fall in love. However Pooja tragically dies, and life in the house comes to a standstill and Rajesh worries about the future of his motherless child, causing his health to deteriorate. Nisha's father suggests that Nisha should get married to Rajesh and become the mother of Pooja's child, and Prem and Nisha decide to sacrifice their love for the sake of the family. This type of 1990s family melodrama endorses traditional values through its staging of elaborate northern Indian marriage ceremonies and by making the joint family into the locus of the nation when extended family replaced by nuclear family amongst India's middle class (Uberoi 2001). Similarly, in *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge / The Brave Hearted will take the Bride* (Fig. 5.9), Raj, the hero of the film, refuses to elope with Simran, his lover, despite her many pleadings. He repeatedly tells her that their union needs to be blessed by her family, in particular her father. The family's prominent position is reinforced by the amount of screen time given to characters that play aunts, uncles, parents, siblings, and grandparents.



Figure 5.9. Cover of *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge/The Brave Hearted will take the Bride*

The centrality of traditional Indian family values were confirmed in the interviews:

“Bollywood places emphasis on family bonds eg parent/ child, and teaches life lessons”

Editor of Indo-South African newspaper A

Much like the cultural events put on by the Indian consulate and other cultural organisations, Bollywood is viewed as presenting traditional Indian values, such as the family, which are at the centre of Bollywood movies. In case of Indo-South Africans far removed from transnational marriages and in absence of sustained physical familial connections, movies underline the existence of these traditional values more generally:

Bollywood movies are conveying important messages about family values, traditions. It keeps them alive...Disparate Indian people are immersed in different countries they've gone to, but they've maintained those relevant aspects and traditional cultural factorsBollywood is a strong point for us in keeping our Indian cultural dimensions

Bollywood film distributor A

Historically the morality of commercial Indian cinema is a world in which social duties, love of nation, and kinship bonds outweigh individualism and personal desires (Thomas 1995, 164–66). Like the search for authenticity outlined in chapter 4, there is

also a search for ‘authentic’ Indian values in movies (Kaur 2005). For example, *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai/ Something is happening* (2001) (Fig. 5.10.) was largely based on the return of a young, foreign-educated girl who gives up her superficial Western lifestyle to reveal her Indian values beneath. The character of Tina returns to India after her schooling in England and demonstrates her purity and nationalism by singing *Om Jai Jagdish Hare*, a Hindu devotional song, when she is undergoing initiation in college. She finishes the song and adds that no matter where she has grown up, she has not forgotten her Indian roots.

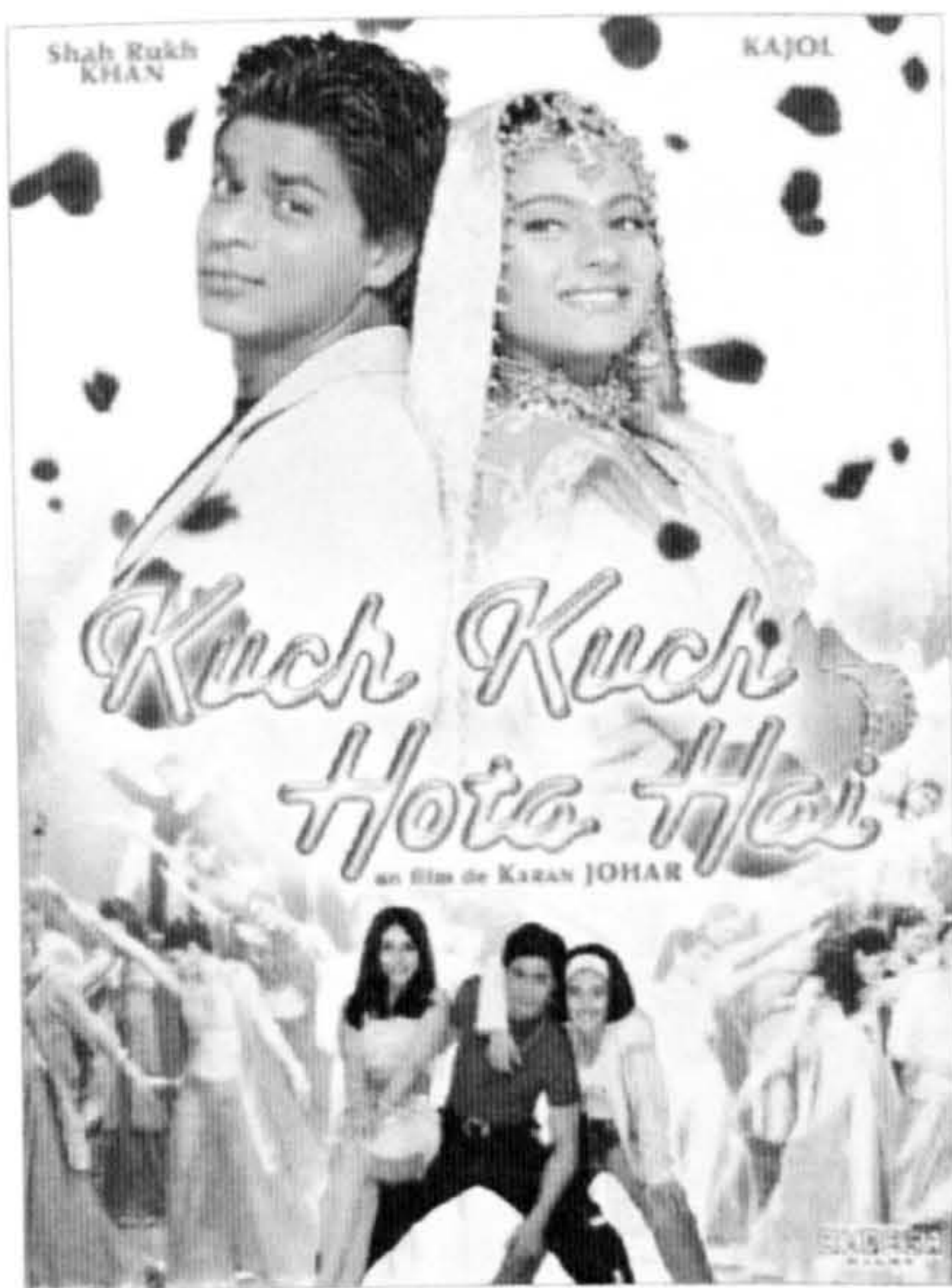


Figure 5.10. Cover of *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai/ Something is happening*

Like the fears about the erosion of Indian values under the influences of Western influences in South Africa, movies are seen as important for preserving traditional Indian value systems. For example, in *Pardes* (‘Foreign Land’), the heroine of the film is arranged to marry a rich NRI who turns out to be too ‘Westernised’ and therefore ultimately villainous. His over identification with the West is portrayed in his excessive drinking, womanising and his selfish individualist traits. His ultimate attempt to rape his fiancé conflates those practices with the supposed lack of morality in Western cultures. By contrast, the space occupied by the hero of the film is one of the ‘true Indian’, embodying innocence and a willingness to sacrifice himself for love and his familial obligations. As one of the characters of the film comments, even though Arjun, the hero, has lived in the US, ‘he still has the fragrance of Indian soil’ in his values and in his ideas about love (Malhotra and Alagh 2004). Indian movies are considered essential in preserving these values:

Bollywood? It's clean, in terms of entertainment, so you can go with the family... with Western movies, you don't know what you're getting"

Section editor of Indo-South African newspaper B

As well as promotion of traditional Indian values of the family, media more generally promote the impression that Indian culture is also based on progressive values. For example, in their choice of music:

[Our radio station] is the leader for representing Indian values. For lifestyle, music, considerations we have the finger on the pulse for the lifestyles of our audience. We do our best to reflect the audience... We are the sign of a changing society. We continuously have progressive sounds"

Manager of radio station A

So although Bollywood provides a strong sense of Indian tradition, Indian media are also promoting a sense that Indians are progressive and adaptable to changing values in society.

The maintenance of cultural identity is seen as a constitutional right in South Africa, and as such, maintaining contact with Indian identity, however constituted, through Bollywood demonstrates that Indians are committed to the principles of the right to a 'culture':

Culture influences everyone. I'm Muslim, so my cultural aspects and values are influenced by my Indian heritage. For Christian Indians, and Hindus, religious aspects do have influences too. But the cultural fabric of Bollywood movies links everyone

Durban based film distributor A

In general, the promotion of a sharply defined 'Indian' culture fits in with multicultural discourse of post-apartheid South Africa, in which racial and ethnic identities are a generalized referent to tradition, but also to a more progressive, dynamic and accommodating identity. As well as facilitating economic enhancement, both symbolically and practically, Bollywood movies also tap into South African principles of democracy. For Srinivas (1996:176) the Indian movie theatre fulfils a

cultural role as a prominent institution of the new post-independence Indian public sphere and is a right alongside the right to vote: “buying a ticket automatically assumed certain rights: the right to enter a movie theatre, to act as its privileged addressee, to further assert that right through, for example, various kinds of fan activity both inside and outside the movie theatre”. As Sivathamby (1981) argues, film historians through this period repeatedly assert how in many parts of India the cinema was perhaps the first instance in Indian civilization where the ‘national public’ could gather in one place that was not divided along difference. This resonates with comments made by those involved in the promotion of Bollywood on the potential for the inclusivity of Bollywood movies, which in turn overlaps with South African national discourse:

Bollywood is very popular. It's a form of escapism...it takes people away. It crosses age, gender, religion, race”

Editor of Indo-South African newspaper A

This reflects films of earlier decades, which used the inclusive, secular Indian identity as an expression of national pride. *Amar Akbar Anthony* (Fig. 5.11) for example, was a 1970s blockbuster based on the subject of national harmony, exemplified by the friendship between separated brothers who grow up to be the Hindu, Muslim and Christian heroes of the film (Malhotra and Alagh 2004: 22). Similarly, many successful films in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s located themselves in a secular public sphere. They used characters and symbols from a wide range of cultural material to weave a multicultural picture of society. For example, the badge that protects the Amitabh Bachchan character in *Deewar/The Wall* was based on the Islamic symbol 786 essential to his Indian identity (Malhotra and Alagh 2004: 23)¹⁰.

¹⁰ 786 is the numerical representation of the Arabic words ‘Bismillah ir rahman ir rahim’ which translate to ‘I start with the name of God, the most merciful and most benevolent.’ (Malhotra and Alagh 2004: 23)



Figure 5.11: *Amar Akbar Anthony*

While these representations may have been part of a strategy to appease and appeal to a Muslim audience, as the aim of many Hindi films, there was an effort to include all 'Indians' into a pluralist secular society. Films such as *Yaadon Ki Baraat/A Procession of Memories* and *Qurbani/The Sacrifice* made by both Hindu and Muslim directors stressed that all Indians were equal and equally committed to the project of a fair and just society (Malhotra and Alagh 2004).

More specifically, Bollywood is also an important cross-cultural phenomenon that has the potential as a space of mutual understanding.

We are growing more and more a non-Indian audience of Africans and Whites. Bollywood content is now being aired on SABC and this made huge increases in audience and listening viewers for TV and radio.

Manager of radio station A

As this quote demonstrates, whilst the multicultural discourse is an important component, this is also underlain by commercial motives.

5.5.3.3. Bollywood and South-South co-operation

As explained above, Bollywood is both a symbolic and material medium for economic neoliberalization. The creation of jobs through production facilities is an important aspect for reducing the continuing effects of poverty in the new South Africa. Because Bollywood is a space for job creation between South Africa and India

specifically, it can be cast as a space of mutual co-operation between countries with affinities of being part of the “Global South”:

Because of Bollywood there are now loads of opportunities for us and India to work together. We're getting some film producers over to train Zulu people from the townships in making movies. The relationship between India and South Africa is already strong, this is going to make it stronger.

KwaZulu-Natal Minister

5.5.3.4. Summary: Locating Bollywood in the new South Africa

For most scholars of Bollywood, the consumption of Indian movies by the diaspora “invites the diaspora to make libidinal and material investments by supporting Indian traditions and commercial film production. In making these investments, the diaspora is being both imaginatively and materially drawn into the nation” (Mehta 2005: 143). However, for Indo-South Africans, the Indian cultural fabric portrayed in the movies is more important for adjustments to new South Africa. The importance of Bollywood movies for rooting Indo-South Africans in South Africa can be demonstrated in the following quotes:

10 yrs ago I had to be apologetic for being Indian. There has been a fundamental change thanks to Bollywood ... When in High School I felt ashamed of being Indian and I didn't want to talk about India. It's gotten to the stage where I'm proud to be Indian. It fills me with pride that's where I'm from, there's my roots. At one point I was so ashamed about my name, really embarrassed

Editor of Indo-South African newspaper C

This points to how the circulation of narratives of Indian identity through Bollywood can engage Indo-South Africans in a deeper sense of connection to South Africa. As well as providing a strong sense of Indian identity, which can be located in the project of multiculturalism, Bollywood movies also appeal to the neoliberalization of the South African economy through its strong globalized profile. Finally, Bollywood movies are marketed in South Africa through its appeal to a cross-cultural audience. This can be rooted in conceptualisations of the Bollywood movie as a medium for the participation of all members of society.

5.6. Conclusions

The empirical section above has described then, how Indian transnational activities resonate with national South African discourses. In the case of Indian-South African transnationality, it appeals to discourses of multiculturalism, neoliberalization, the apartheid struggle and South-South discourses of development. Bollywood as material praxis also resonates with multicultural, neoliberal and South-South discourses.

However, this desire to appeal to these discourses does not sit well with the realities of post-apartheid South Africa. Singh (2005) presents a comprehensive overview of the issues facing Indo-South Africans, whose perceptions of the new South Africa have moved from the euphoria of the first free elections that promised a common future across the racial divides to despondency about living with the consequences of the unequal past. While affirmative action and black-empowerment measures selectively target black Africans, to undo the abject poverty that many found themselves living in, it simultaneously marginalizes Indians as a previously disadvantaged group, despite being under the rubric of 'Blacks' during the anti-apartheid struggle (Singh 2005). Other examples of disaffection in the area of affirmative action include racial quotas favouring less-qualified Black-South African students over more-qualified Indo-South African students.

The poverty of Black-South Africans going into the post-apartheid era also resulted in escalating levels of crime. Apartheid segregation of the racial groups insulated Indians from the poverty, hunger and crime that were a feature of Black-South African neighbouring townships and rural areas (Singh 2005). The movement of Black-South Africans into traditionally non-Black South African areas began in the mid-1980s with the relaxation of influx control laws, and following 1994 this escalated with the proliferation of informal squatter settlements, especially in the large tracts of unoccupied land in former Indian 'areas' of Phoenix, Chatsworth and Reservoir Hills, attractive to Black-South Africans affected by poverty, lack of space and violence. For the first time, middle-class Indians especially were exposed to crime resulting from these conditions of poverty, and the result was the heightening of fences, introduction of steel burglar guards, monitored alarm systems and increasing gun ownership (Singh 2005: 28).

The result of the endemic levels of crime and disadvantageous position of Indians under black economic empowerment (BEE) has been the erosion of the nascent trust of the 1994 elections, increasing disaffection and insecurity. Whilst in the main the crime issue is a result of the economic scarring of the apartheid era (and more recently the influx of undocumented migrants from Zimbabwe), the issue has become conceptualised in racial dimensions. There are deep contradictions therefore in what it means to be 'Indian' in post-apartheid South Africa: on the one hand there is sense of negativity of the positions of Indians in South Africa, on the other a degree of optimism and hope that the transnational practices of Indo-South Africans can contribute positively to the future of South Africa.

What this demonstrates I believe, is the contradictions inherent in the meaning of 'destinations' in migration. The literature is divided on the compatibility of transnationalism with integration and the formation of a deep sense of investment in the 'host' country. Some authors view transnational migrants as a threat to the traditional assimilation model of migration through the forging of complex webs of loyalties and ties. Others highlight that transnational migrants have a form of 'ethnic capital' that encourages membership. However, in both views the 'destination' into which migrants are integrating is an assumed and unproblematic given. As this chapter has shown, what 'belonging' means is far more complex, often contested and contradictory and is the product of historical-material circumstances and the circulation of fractured and multi-scaled narratives. Singh (2005) may be negative about the prospects for Indo-South African involvement in South Africa. However, it is my belief that the world-views carried from India he describes, which foreground discipline and adherence to conventional norms as central to the production of positive perceptions on an individual level and in civil society, can only mean that the "Proudly South African" ideal remains a beacon of hope for the future.

Chapter Six:

Narratives of Indian global diaspora discourse

Diasporic movement marks not a postmodern turn from history, but a nomadic turn in which the very parameters of specific historic moments are embodied...and scattered and regrouped into new points of becoming (Braziel & Mannur, 2003: 3)

The Indian Diaspora spans the globe and stretches across all the oceans and continents. It is so widespread that the sun never sets on the Indian Diaspora (HLC Report, 2001: v)

6.1. Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 outlined how emplaced signs of Indo-South African identity and belonging in South Africa constitute and draws upon transnational relations with India. This moved our understanding of transnational migration on in two ways. First it drew attention to the permeability of boundaries between the personal and the political and the economic and the cultural. Second, it demonstrated the contingency of transnational relations upon the multiply scaled and overlapping constituents of place. This chapter aims to examine how these factors that underpin the creation of transnational relations in local and transnational spaces are embedded in notions of belonging to a global “diasporic” project. To approach this, this chapter examines cultural meanings embedded in diasporic discourses ‘sending’ states to uncover the recursive relationship between diasporic practice emanating from the ‘destination’ and that from the “origin”. As argued above, recent efforts to theorize the production of transnational communities have attempted to understand how sending states have attempted to re-connect migrants with territory, nation and citizenship. This literature has emphasized that states formulate transnational linkages with their émigrés for political and/or economic purposes, that is, either support for political regimes, or support for the ‘origin’ economy via remittances, and that states “lead” the way. I argue that India has followed as much as led and has settled on a more cultural rendering of the diaspora.

This chapter begins with an overview of the literature on sending states roles in governing their overseas populations and focuses on the political and economic context. It then discusses the importance of culture as the foundation of a territorial form of national belonging

6.2. Politics and migration

Rethinking the role of the 'sending' state in the production of transnational relations must reconjure the complexity, conditionality, and nuance of state mediations of transnational life (Soguk 1999, Bailey et al 2002, Ferguson and Gupta 2002, Levitt and de la Dehesa 2003, Samers 2003). Attention is shifted away from abstract third spaces and on to the social networks and fields whose creation and maintenance locks states and populations into recursive and mutually constitutive relations (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004). Following on, such fields necessarily bring cultural, political, and economic expedients in to daily focus. Put simply, the state is obliged to take the political, economic, and cultural elements of its relations with its populations seriously. Alive to this context of governmentality, Itzigsohn (2000: 1130) argues that social fields are re-imagined as realms of "recurrent and institutionalized interactions and exchanges between, on the one hand, immigrants and their social and political organizations and, on the other hand, the political institutions and the state apparatus of the country of origin". Such discourses exemplify a form of "transnationalism from above" where strategies extend the reach and practises of social and political institutions from national territories to make and connect together far flung populations and communities.

The contributions of Robert Smith (1998, 2003a, 2003b) explicitly consider how states practise such transnational governance. Smith (2003a) argues that the rewriting of relations between states and their overseas populations can be triggered by a shift in the relationship between a state and the global system, a domestic political crisis (i.e. regime change, which may be related to factors beyond the state's control), and the institutional recognition of migrants' ability to act politically. Citing evidence from Mexico, Poland, and Italy, Smith goes on to describe how states and migrants construct a "diasporic public sphere": "re-defining the relations between state and diaspora entails reconfiguring the bounds of the political community, usually by including migrants in a more flexible notion of the country's "nation"...such reconfiguration helps create and institutionalise a diasporic public sphere and strengthens the political membership of migrants...I call this reconfiguration..."the *pochos* strategy", a label I adopted after hearing the first director of the Program for Mexican Communities Abroad repeatedly tell migrants that his job was to educate the Mexican political class that you are not *pochos* but rather part of the "Mexican global nation"" (2003a: 728).

Smith's vision of a re-territorialized public sphere turns on the appropriation by the state of a concept - diaspora - that has frequently been seen as oppositional to state interests (Safran 1991, Clifford 1994, Cohen 1997). That is, from an origin state perspective, the absence of a population from national territory undermines the loyalty this group has to the nation-state ideal, and provides such communities the space within which to challenge regimes. Members of the Cuban diaspora continue to be "othered" by the Castro regime in Havana on the basis of their geographic separation from the island, and in the interests of maintaining a hegemonic national identity (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 2004). Active constructions of diaspora range across space and time, as in the case of Slovakia, which kept its overseas populations at arm's distance following the Cold War, allowing no representation within the new political system (Skrbis 1999). Crucially, while diaspora is seen as oppositional to specific political regimes, it is not necessarily seen as counter to deeper "territorial" beliefs in nation-state and national political community. For states like India, any appropriation of the diaspora concept may represent continuing loyalty to the nation-state ideal (Parekh 1993, Jain 1998). Herein lies an important contradiction: a commitment to a nation-state ideal assumes a territorial basis to membership which, as above, may be at odds with the experiences and aspirations of many overseas. Dual citizenship, which guarantees access to all the rights and benefits of national citizenship including voting; and dual nationality which allows individuals to hold two or more memberships, have become a key way in which states seek to negotiate this tension (Faist 2000a, Jones-Correa 2001). The incidence and complexity of dual citizenship agreements has increased as the various contributions (and risks) of overseas populations achieve greater prominence and about half of the world's countries currently recognize dual citizenship or dual nationality (Hammar 1989, Castles and Davidson 2000, Faist 2000a, Jones-Correa 2001). European countries led the way with the 1997 Convention that explicitly recognised dual citizenship (Council of Europe 1997) and by 2000, ten countries in Latin America had passed some form of dual nationality or citizenship (Levitt and De la Dehesa 2003, Jones-Correa, 2001). For states, offering dual citizenship responds to economic and political factors including the regulation and management of remittances and inward investment, switching brain drain into brain gain, and exerting political influence at a distance (Baubock 1994, Faist 2000a, Koslowski, 2000). For migrants, dual citizenship provides a way of managing the multiple and often conflicting attachments arising

from living transnational lives (Bloemraad 2004). Dual citizenship can offer those who are overseas and some family members easier access to the economic and political resources of origin countries. In practise, the most important benefits for dual citizens are the rights of entry to both their state of origin and the country of immigration. However, the rights of dual nationals can be deactivated, and dual citizenship generally has little value in providing the same package of rights as 'home' citizens (Weiner and Tietelbaum 2001). For example, Mexican law distinguishes between foreigners, naturalised Mexicans, native Mexicans of native parents, and native Mexicans of foreign-born parent, each status entailing distinct rights of eligibility for political office, government employment, owning property, economic concessions, and military service (Fitzgerald 2005).

For Smith (2004) the negotiation of dual citizenship provisions and terms is mediated by political factors, including regime change. I extend this position by taking a broader view of transnational governance. For changes in the relationship between populations and political communities to be sustained, a broad political, economic, and cultural re-imagining of membership must be set in motion. Such reimaginings are geographically and historically embedded. For example, Stuart Hall's (1990) treatment of the emergence of cultural identities across the Caribbean points to a layering of quite heterogenous political, economic, and cultural composites. By tracing the play of three dominant presences (African, European, and American) Hall shows that diaspora contains the legacies of imperialism and colonialism alongside the possibility for new points of becoming. Diaspora becomes a site of resistance and a site of re-imagined futures, both based on selective readings of pasts.

In the case of India, diaspora membership must reference (selectively) a historical narrative that has seen at least three iterations of Indian political community (pre-Independence, British Raj, non-aligned post independence) (Goswami 2004). Paying attention to cultural aspects of governance also expands our view of the resources that are called upon by states and their populations to reimagine diaspora. Under transnationalism ideas about the basis of membership and community extend beyond the political (Cwerner 2001, Gupta 1992). For example, Albrow (1997) extends Appadurai's views on ethnoscaples by theorising "socio-scapes" that preserve the sense of motion and connectedness inherent in transnational spaces with a more social network view of community. These socio-scapes span space and time with localities

“criss-crossed by networks of social relations whose scope and extent range from neighbouring houses over a few weeks, to religious and kin relations spanning generations and continents” (Albrow 1997: 53). More generally, work on transnational families (Bryceson and Vuorella 2002) and transnational corporations both suggest forms of belonging and loyalty that go beyond ethnicity to reference religion.

There is likewise growing evidence that states are harvesting ideas about the structure and nature of the economy as a resource for re-imagining membership in ways that fit their neoliberal projects (Crane 1999, Wyatt 2005). In India, the imagination of the national economy has historically gone hand in hand with nation building. In describing the imagined Indian economy, Wyatt (2005) for example explores how the concept of *dirigisme* foregrounds the role of individuals who make “heroic” contributions to nation building in the form of their belief in a strong state centralised planning system (see also Das 2000). Indo-South Africans are also able to provide rich material for such constructions. The importance of diasporas is traditionally thought of by states in economic terms, for example through remittance contributions and through the transfer of human capital acquired overseas to national enterprises. As chapters 3, 4 and 5 showed, there is a rich reserve of Indian culture in South Africa that has benefited India, although in relatively smaller ways than other parts of the Indian diaspora, through tourism, trade and as a market for Bollywood film. Moreover, as a historical link to South Africa, they also have the potential to facilitate the penetration of Indian trade and aid into the African continent more generally. The challenge for the Indian state keen to reap the political and economic rewards of its 20 million strong diaspora sedimented over colonial and post-colonial times and spaces is to give shape to and manage this overseas population. The next section establishes how notions of Indianness have changed historically, and sets the stage for the recent round of dual citizenship provisions.

6.3. Indian diaspora in historical context

This section establishes the historical constructions of home and overseas Indian populations, and traces the changing context of the states’ expectations of its overseas members. During the British Raj “Indian” identity often revolved around colonial readings of religion as Britain created a spatial order to facilitate administration and control (Ludden 1996, Metcalf 1997). A centralised model of government divided

and essentialised Muslim and Hindu populations. Membership terms within the colonial political community became predicated on the mapping of generalised cultural constructs onto populations and, to a lesser extent, the association of these population groups with Indian sacred spaces. While the exertion of influence at a distance used religion-based markers of difference it was somewhat tolerant of the overlapping of the sacred spaces of Muslim and Hindu communities, although not to the same extent as the former and more syncretic model of co-existence that had characterised India in the nineteenth century territory.

Increasingly the co-presence of significant Hindu and Muslim communities within the boundaries of a single political entity became undermined by the imposition of the nation-state ideal around the time of independence. (Krishna 1996). The cleavage of colonial India into three geographically and religiously separate entities involved both a strategic calculation of who and what “counted” as Indian, as opposed to Pakistani, or Bangladeshi, and a calculation about what form of nationalism could draw the new but still heterogeneous populations together. Thus the idea of “independent” India became associated with the partition of a Hindu population from an other in Pakistan and what is now Bangladesh. The splitting of the Indian subcontinent, once a common shared sacred space was crucial because it involved the actual physical separation of the two main religious groups, rather than allow them to be ideologically separate, and sharing the same geographical territory.

Yet, within the newly drawn India, the earlier Raj model of membership cast its shadow. Central to this was the subdivision of national territory into regional scales of governance that overlapped with religious groups. India’s need to resolutely define itself through its external borders and keep out the Other was partly necessitated by the need to reconcile the Hindu majority with the Muslim population that remained in India after partition. In order to minimise the differences between the two, and convey continuity with the pre-Raj model of inclusion, the Congress Party emphasised non-aligned secular nationalism as a new vision of ‘national unity’. For example, Nehru resisted the binary logic of partition and promoted “fourth generation” rights by granting several languages official status. This legitimised cultural and linguistic populations as communities that belonged to India. Furthermore, traits of ‘Indianness’ became associated with how individuals could blend in, with traits of self sufficiency and unity particularly valued.

The same traits of blending in and self reliance guided the early constructions of India's overseas populations. For example, India's earliest overseas populations, formed through the deployment of indentured workers under the British to the outer reaches of the empire, were not included in the vision of a newly independent India. According to Nehru's closed model of development, and India's place in the post second world war world order, any Indian overseas populations should aspire to "unity" with their "new local" and not with their former home, India: that is, they should assimilate and settle. Developing out of India's search for a new and independent identity, expatriate Indians were excluded entirely from its domestic and foreign policy formulations, as the state encouraged its overseas population to integrate into their host societies and support the struggle for permanent withdrawal of colonial rule from Africa and other colonized nations. At the same time, with the dissolution of the British Empire, India's overseas population no longer fell under an inter-imperial remit but became the concern of sovereign states with independent interests which had to be reconciled with India (Lall 2001). India therefore could not afford to be vocal on the fate of Indians abroad and put diplomatic relations at risk: taking a strong line with the decolonising and newly independent countries in which their populations resided would have been counter-productive (Heismath and Mansingh 1971). Such an approach to the overseas population maintained that those Indians who left their country of origin forfeited their rights as Indians.

Emigration of new categories of Indians, including semi-permanent, semi-skilled labour migration streams to the Gulf, and more permanent streams, both semi-skilled and unskilled, to Europe and North America, deepened an already complex social formation. Against this context, the classification of persons of Indian origin can be seen as a reactive attempt to simplify governance of the overseas population: A person of Indian origin (PIO) is "a citizen of any country other than Bangladesh, Pakistan or Sri Lanka, if he at any time held Indian passport, or he either his parent or any of his grand-parents was a citizen of India, or the person is spouse of an Indian citizen" (Indian Investment Centre, www.iic.in, cited in Landy et al 2004:204). The category of non-resident Indians (NRIs) in contrast refers to Indian citizens who reside elsewhere.

However, many “new” migrants became economically successful, while maintaining informal family ties with India. Concurrently, the turbulent economic climate of the 1970s and 1980s obliged India to re-consider the inward-looking and socialist model of economic development inspired by Nehru and Gandhi. With the circulation of middle class success stories in the West and the growing wealth of skilled overseas professionals, the idea of the NRI as a potential source of foreign direct investment and technology transfer began to take hold (Lessinger 1992, 2003). In practice, even as India attempted to accommodate for their remittances, economic mismanagement and excessive bureaucracy meant that the economy failed to open for serious NRI investment beyond the family (Lall 2001, 2003).

The major economic crisis of 1991 further focussed government interest upon its overseas population. The effects of oil price shocks resulting from the 1990 Gulf War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, a major trading partner and source of foreign aid, and a sharp depletion of foreign exchange reserves as result of large and continuing government budget deficits led to economic collapse (Robb 2002). In order to obtain emergency loans from international economic organizations, India adopted reforms aimed at liberalizing its economy, including the removal of many regulations on investment, cuts in tariff and non-tariff barriers, liberalization of FDI rules, exchange rate and banking reforms, and a significant reduction in the government’s control over private sector investment (Tharoor 1997). Against this context, and referencing Nehruvian narratives of Indian self-sufficiency, the return of NRIs and the opening of the Indian economy to their investment was strongly advocated as the saviour of the economy, and alternative to IMF loans and reforms (Lall 2001). A number of concessions for NRI investment in Indian industry were introduced, including new industrial ventures, streamlined bureaucracy, and a green-card scheme which allowed holders to remain and invest in India.

This agenda has been embraced by both private and public interests. In 2003 the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) unveiled an action plan that aimed to effect a “tenfold increase in FDI inflow from the Indian Diaspora to US\$ 5 billion by 2008” (FICCI 2003). FICCI’s plans were being developed as a High Level Committee (HLC) on the Indian Diaspora was charged by the Ministry of External Affairs to study the role that NRIs/PIOs play in the economic social and technological development of India, and to make a number of

policy framework recommendations for facilitating their interaction with India and continued participation in its economic development. The resulting and extensive report focused on two inter-connected strategies (HLC Report 2001). The first initiative, the *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* (Overseas Indian Festival) consisted of a three day ‘jamboree’ of “meetings, speeches, cultural performances and cocktail parties” designed specifically to make NRIs ‘proud’ of being Indian, encourage them to build closer ties with their ‘home’ country, and encourage them to invest (Butalia 2003). The second initiative, announced at the 2003 *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* offered dual citizenship to the diaspora. However, as the next section will show, this is based upon very specific geographies of inclusion that are underpinned by certain terms of membership.

6.4. Constructing an Indo-South African diasporic identity

6.4.1. “The Club”

The 2003 Dual Citizenship (Amendment) Bill (hereafter, DC(A)B) listed sixteen countries from which PIOs could apply to become a dual citizen. According to the legislation, those approved as dual citizens could travel to India without a visa, could stay for 180 days or more without registering, could invest in agriculture and industry, acquire land and property in India, and could send their children to Indian educational establishments (including the prestigious Institutes). Dual citizens were not able to vote, run for political office, or take government jobs. While in practice the Bill offers no further additions to those rights already accorded under the earlier ‘green card’ scheme, the formalisation of some of the Indian overseas population in the polity represents a significant departure from its early post-independence relations with overseas Indians. Indeed, a subsequent 2005 revision to the 2003 Bill further extended the provision to those cases where potential applicants had left India after January 26, 1950 and where the host country permits dual citizenship (in practise, this continues to exclude overseas Indians in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Trinidad and Tobago, Fiji, Singapore, and Malaysia, but now includes those in Spain, Nigeria, Russia, and Lebanon). The DC(A)B is also significant in that it homogenises legal provisions in ways that support the BJP’s political goals of building Indian nationalism around one core identity (in this case, a sanitised Hindu version), and represents a rupture with earlier versions of cultural pluralism and secular nationalism (Khilnani 1997).

However, not all NRIs enjoyed equal access to the possibility of dual citizenship under the 2003 Act. The requirement of “reciprocity”, namely the availability of dual citizenship to the citizens of the host country) removed some countries with large Indian populations from the list, including Germany and the Gulf states. Crucially, however, a number of countries with reciprocal arrangements were excluded, including those in Eastern Africa, and South Africa.

What emerges is a pattern based generally upon contemporary political and economic influence, but more particularly upon the historical geography of Indian emigration. Dual citizenship is on offer to those who are part of post-independence migration streams, some of whom left for educational and employment opportunities in the West. It is unavailable to descendants of those who left India as indentured labourers. Indeed, this pre-independence/post-independence structure is made more opaque in the more recent (2005) rewriting of the dual citizenship legislation, which names January 26, 1950 as the key historical moment (Ministry of Home Affairs 2005).

South Africa continues to stand out as an excluded community with a sizeable Indian population. Indeed, Landy et al (2004) question whether the South African Indian community can even be considered as part of the Indian diaspora. They cite the long duration of the Indian community in South Africa, emigration from India virtually ending in 1917 after the initial arrival under conditions of indenture in 1860. In addition, between 1946 and 1990, economic relations and travel were prohibited between India and South Africa. The result of this embargo period has been the economic, cultural and political isolation of the South African “Indians” from India and other overseas Indian communities. Even in the post-apartheid era, and after the resumption of trade with India, many South African “Indians” have no diasporic network outside South Africa.

This isolationism from India and the rest of the diaspora runs counter to Indian state discourses in the HLC Report and the *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* speeches. They suggest that India is imagining and constructing a diaspora around three poles of membership: professional success, ecumenical Hinduism, and multiculturalism. These sometimes clashing constructions come together around the idea of success through participation in globalised networks that are rooted in India. The constant

use of the term “diaspora” to refer to those overseas supports the notion that, at least in the Indian context, states are appropriating the concept as part of their globalising strategies.

6.4.2. Signifiers of Diasporic Membership

6.4.2.1. Professional Success

The importance of success in the idealised Indian diaspora cannot be understated. Although success can be marked through political action or economic contributions, a sharp distinction is maintained between pre- and post-independence forms. In the extract below, the members of an ‘old’ diaspora are praised only as a generic ‘political force’, in contrast to the post-independence diaspora, where success appears in an active and individualised form:

In the pre-independence case, the attainment of freedom from the shackles of colonialism by a large number of countries and the dawn of democracy resulted in the Indian diaspora becoming a political force in their respective countries. The post independence diaspora in contrast comprised of highly qualified professionals who through their hard work and dedication rapidly ascended heights of economic prosperity.

Sinha (2003)

Furthermore, pre-independence success is ascribed to the nature of the country in which Indians resided. In contrast, the virtues accorded to the new diaspora are extolled in a more detailed way with a greater emphasis on their own personal qualities rather than those of their ‘host’. This suggests that success for the Indian state is regarded as something which requires active participation.

Occupational sector and attributes of skill underlie this pole, with educated professionals and elites singled out:

Persons of Indian origin settled in the more economically advanced countries of the world have skills and expertise in vital sectors, including information technology, biotechnology, space, financial services, infrastructure, education, health care and management consultancy.

HLC Report (2001: 510)

This rhetoric of success is further differentiated along class lines, where elite professionals engage in activities with global reach. As the Prime Minister outlines in his speech:

The outside world has also attracted the best Indian talents, skills, brains and abilities – like Amartya Sen and Jagdish Bhagwati; E.C.G. Sudarshan ...The Pravasi Bharatiya family today also includes:

- *Indian writers in English with an international readership;*
- *Entrepreneurs and industrialists with a global reach of operations;*
- *Management and lifestyle gurus with a huge following; and,*
- *Filmmakers, sportspersons, artists and performers of great popularity*

Vajpayee (2003)

Success is equated to becoming a globally recognisable Indian 'hero'. Such 'syncretic' border intellectuals (JanMohamed 1992:97) are held up as exemplary NRIs. Crucially, they manage to successfully synthesise different cultural traditions. The ideal careers emphasised here are firmly rooted in an Indian-centred production of culture with popular appeal, and suggests that success is culturally mediated, and placed.

While globally fluent, heroes of the diaspora must also connect to India. The rhetorical use of iconic Indian figures as above provides an important point around which those inside India and those outside can coalesce. For the state, the current achievements of overseas Indians legitimise both the extension of NRI participation in the Indian nation, and a model of transnational governance this implies. Crucially, then, it is not just atomised elites that constitute success; it is elites who use networks, and that connect back to India.

The application of this construction of professional success as a form of networked individualism to the potentially problematic case of Gandhi, who spent a number of years in a South African community "to be excluded", highlights the importance of success being rooted in India. Unsurprisingly, Gandhi (the leader) is held up as an exemplary member of the Indian diaspora:

Despite his youth, Gandhi was able to provide the Indian community the leadership and inspiration that was needed to resist the racist policies of the Whites. By the time Gandhi left South Africa in 1914, this exemplary Pravasi Bharatiya ... had sown the seeds for future generations to fight against injustice and racial discrimination.

HLC Report (2001: 78)

However, despite the implicit sentiments about the resilience of the Indian community in South Africa, these values have not been linked to “being Indian”. Although Gandhi is lauded as an exemplary *Pravasi Bharatiya* (Overseas Indian), he is scripted as an outsider, at least to the South African community, and as unsuccessful in fighting discrimination.

In general terms, then, a ‘successful’ NRI deserving of inclusion in the Indian diaspora family is constructed as an educated, middle-class professional with global networks that enable connections to India. Indeed, the discourses of membership make continued, and sometimes contradictory, reference to the connections that are expected of members. These connections are to two societies: connections back to India legitimised by a shared sense of Indian-ness and Indian identity, and connections to the host society.

6.4.2.2. Ecumenical Hinduism

In contrast to legislative models of dual citizenship that leave untended cultural notions of allegiance and loyalty, the discussions surrounding the 2003 DC(A)B tie the success of post-independence emigrants to an embrace of Indian nationalism:

Today, the success of every category of these emigrants all over the world testifies to the indomitable spirit, which they carried from Indian soil.

Vajpayee (2003)

Rather than seeing dual citizenship as an opportunity to loosen emotional bonds to particular origins and hosts, India thus appears to be re-asserting its commitment to nationalism:

The demand for dual citizenship has an emotional resonance...Many of them have taken the nationality of the countries of their domicile but look upon their passports with

nostalgia...Many of them are under pressure to take the citizenship of the countries where they live...Many of them must have had to renounce their Indian citizenship by making a declaration of that effect but that did not weaken their emotional bonds with India.

HLC Report (2001: 526)

Here, the report is keen to stress 'ethnic' reasons for dual citizenship, and this appeal to nationalistic ties of blood is linked into the qualities of resilience idealized by the state. Here again the South African case provides useful insights. As above, the resilience of the community is praised, although only indirectly, and not by being directly linked to a sense of Indian-ness. What seems to be undermining the development of core Indian values is a form of cultural distance:

A century and a half of existence in an alien land, and four or five generations of acculturation in a white dominant society has diluted their Indian-ness.

HLC Report (2001: 84)

Even where India celebrates the participation of South African Indians in Indian culture, there is an undercurrent of us and them:]

Our classical dance and music continue to evince widespread interest in them.

HLC Report (2001: 84)

At the centre of any economic and political success, then, is a cultural performance that involves the re-negotiation of Indian nationalism. Members of the diaspora are encouraged to connect to Indian territory which Rajagopal (2000) argues, involves the sanitization of cultural difference to produce a vague and ecumenical version of Hinduism. Encouraging a direct devotion to God, this principle of *Bhakti* is a democratic and egalitarian way of providing a connection to India for a diversity of Hindu beliefs (Vertovec 2000). Taking up van der Veer's 'cosmopolitan Hinduism' (1999), Vertovec (2000:164) suggests that this rendering of Hinduism is in concert with modernization, as it represents people's ability to live with and take on multiple identities according to the particular setting. Indeed, as Rajagopal (2000:272) continues, the universalizing sign of Hindutva, or Hindu-ness, is well suited to "an environment where multiculturalism is influential in sanitizing cultural difference

without interrogation or introspection [where] ‘Hindus’ can take pride in being placed within the trim precincts of a pluralist society”.

6.4.2.3. Multicultural incorporation

This points up the importance of connecting in multicultural ways to host societies. This appears as an open embrace of secularism and pluralism that is presented as *de rigueur* for Indians offshore. This successful multicultural integration into host societies is seen as a legacy of India’s post-independence drive to establish itself as a ‘model’ nation. Upon independence, India’s strategic priorities shifted from anti-colonialism towards a nation-state project with concerns of national integration of its separate linguistic and cultural units a priority. Multiculturalism thus became the basis for India’s nation-state building project and for Bhattacharyya (2003) this ultimately provided the most effective answers to questions over India’s unity and integrity. Indeed, the very viability of accommodating diversity was seen as one of the strengths of the nation.

While multiculturalism was an important part of post-independence Indian identity, the rise of the BJP, the decentralisation of political power within India, and the sometimes limited possibilities for the scripting of an “Indian” identity in racist hosts (including the US) have complicated this position (Mathew and Prasad 2000). So while integration continues to be held up by India as a hallmark of a successful overseas Indian community, the emphasis is more on balancing participation in host nations with maintaining cultural and emotional connections to India:

Indians who have chosen to settle in foreign lands should be loyal to their country of adoption. The biggest challenge facing every immigrant community is to integrate harmoniously into the political, economic and social life of the host society, while preserving and cherishing its civilizational heritage. Over the years, Indians have achieved this delicate balance virtually everywhere, without a contradiction between their adopted citizenship and their original Indian identity.

Vajpayee (2003)

While the claim, that there is no contradiction between preserving civilisational heritage and integrating, is mostly consistent with Nehru-Gandhi models of cultural nationalism, it appears to be stretched by the more recent turn toward forms of

religious nationalism. Despite this, the ideal of multicultural incorporation is used as a form of difference to justify the exclusion of some communities from the diaspora.

Indians in South Africa also illustrate this tendency. They have faced difficult circumstances in their relationship with India. Undoubtedly, the Indian economic and cultural embargo during apartheid had a considerable impact on cultural, commercial and religious ties. The imposition of sanctions were a result of India's ardent anti-imperial stance, as they expected the community to identify with the Black and Coloured populations in their struggles against white minority rule, and not rely on India for support. As part of this, India broke diplomatic relations with South Africa and included a ban on Indians visiting South Africa, which isolated the Indian community further. There was an expectation that Indian South Africans should ally themselves with the ANC-led black majority after the dismantling of apartheid, however, their uneasy position in the post-apartheid political order remains an important point of contention. Indians constitute the most vulnerable ethnic minority in the country, where despite their active role in ending apartheid – a fact commended by India – many now feel sidelined by the black African majority. Indeed, Indo-African relations have been characterised by tension and conflict since the end of the 19th century, as they became increasingly sandwiched the White ruling class and the African majority (Landy et al 2004). The Indian community is strongly criticised by the Indian state for their non-integration into post-apartheid society:

[an important reason] for interracial antagonism is the social aloofness and cultural superiority, even arrogance, that such Indians still find it difficult to overcome or conceal against their Black compatriots. Meanwhile, the richer members of the Indian community have been living in 'gilded cages', protecting themselves behind iron grills and electronic alert systems .

HLC Report (2001: 84)

Here, the blame for their inability to harmoniously fit into the South African 'Rainbow Nation' is placed squarely on the shoulders of the Indian South Africans. This is exacerbated by the over-emphasis on the virtues of the post-apartheid system, and the implication that even though South Africa has the ultimate multicultural system, the Indian community are at further fault for remaining in their difficult position with South African society. Indeed, the Indian government goes further,

suggesting that the very characteristics and behaviour of the Indian community in South Africa could be the eventual downfall of what it perceives as a harmonious post-apartheid order, despite the continued uneasy position they find themselves in:

Non-racialism, for which so much has been sacrificed will not be adequately advanced without the integration of Indians into the mainstream of South African society.

HLC Report (2001: 88)

Implicit within the discourse on the Indian South Africans therefore is that they are inadequate members of the diaspora. India not only fails to link their successes in dismantling apartheid back to the ties of blood and nation with which they link other members of the diaspora, they also stress the dilution of Indian culture and criticise them for their inability to live harmoniously in South African society.

The signification of what membership in the Indian diaspora entails maps onto the way Indian identity and belonging is signified. Thus, the centrality of success via global cultural elites resonates both with South African discourses of neoliberalism and the leadership and class signifiers of Indo-South African identity identified in chapters 4 and 5. The adoption of rhetoric of Ecumenical Hinduism and the embrace of multiculturalism echoes the importance of religion in signifying an authentic Indian identity, which emplaces Indo-South Africans within the discourses of post-apartheid national belonging. As these cultural signifiers of 'diaspora' are inscribed into Indian state political practice, through the Dual Citizenship Bill, the practices of inclusion and exclusion become recursive.

6.4.2.4. Summary

These three discourses reference and reinforce the pre- and post-independence structure of membership suggested by the 2003 Dual Citizenship (Amendment) Bill. Moreover, the structure of membership has structural implications for transnational governance. Revolving around the central cultural issue of who is inside and who is outside, India's attempts to invent a diaspora construct is imbricated with another version of the same anxiety over Indian-ness that Krishna (1994) labelled the "cartographic anxiety". The use of pre- and post-independence forms of membership suggests that the long shadow of partition is cast across the diaspora. Tensions currently mapped as border conflicts (for example, Kashmir, Jammu) are

likely to re-surface over representations of, for example, sacred space in the diaspora community. In commenting on the sacking of the library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute in January 2004, Dalrymple (2005:62) notes that: “in India, and among the Indian diaspora, a passionately contested battle is taking place over the interpretation of Indian history”.

Nowhere is such anxiety over membership more transparent than on the frontspieces to the individual country chapters in the HLC Report. Each country chapter of the Report details the localised “development” of the Indian community. Thus the opening page of the US chapter features a portrait of the “Late Mr. Dilip Singh Saund” who served as the “first Asian-American in the U.S. congress” (Fig. 6.1).



Figure. 6.1. Accompanying picture for US profile. “Late Mr. Dilip Singh Saund, first Asian-American in the US congress”(HLC Report, 2001: 167).

Here is an iconic and successful NRI who has occupied an important (political) position.

In contrast, the South African chapter opens with a composite photo gallery of the “roster of arrivals/indentured labourers in South Africa who were identified by their numbers only” (Fig. 6.2).



Figure. 6.2. Accompanying picture for South Africa profile: “Roster of arrivals/indentured labourers in South Africa who were identified by their numbers only” (HLC Report, 2001: 73, photo Mesthrie, 2000).

Dehumanised and homogenised, these nameless NRIs stand in for a pre-independence diasporic community that experienced racism, and suffered inferiority, as Indians. While this is an element of history globalising India is keen to distance itself from, the simultaneous invocation of a Hindu Raj (“the sun never sets on the Indian diaspora”, opening quote) takes us right back (forward?) to the colonial grid India seeks to escape. Of course, the discursive partitioning could have looked very different had, for example, the US chapter opened with images of interdicted illegal Indian immigrants, or the South African chapter featured Gandhi.

6.5. Conclusions

The empirical case-study presented a content analysis of the discourses surrounding recent changes to India’s package of dual citizenship provisions. Set against the international trend (at least, pre-9/11) toward a proliferation in dual citizenship arrangements between countries, India’s 2003 Dual Citizenship (Amendment) Bill signalled a change in conditions of membership, if not rights of membership. Reading India’s changing dual citizenship legislation alongside background briefing reports, political speeches, and the discourse surrounding a new annual festival, it examined the basis on which parts of the overseas population are constructed as insiders, and other parts as outsiders, and traced the structure of diaspora membership to India’s engagement with colonial and post-independence times and spaces. Membership revolved around professional success through participation in global networks that connect to India, the adoption of an ecumenical Hinduism, and an embrace of multicultural incorporation. Underpinning these constructs is independence and partition as key historical moments. Pre-independence emigrants are seen as

temporally distant, belonging to the 'old' India of British subjugation. In contrast, post-independence emigrants are seen as part of the 'new' India, defined by their emigration for independent economic aspirations and their ability to negotiate cultural practises in de-territorialized networks.

This has extended work on transnational governance in two ways. First, it has shown how constructions of diaspora play out not just through the mobilisation of economic and political resources but, crucially, by how these are culturally mediated. Second, dual citizenship discourses turn on a discursive partitioning of difference that reinscribes anxieties over membership. While I concur with Smith (2003a, 2003b) that regime change may be associated with the development of diasporic public spheres (in this case, the transitions between the Congress Party and the BJP in the 1990s and 2000s), constructions of membership make the waxing and waning of transnational governance modes rather more contingent upon place than has been acknowledged.

The more general conclusion is that the current criteria defining the 'ideal' NRI can be seen as a reflection of how India wants to be perceived in the world: the past is re-imagined to affirm a desired future. Overall, the discourses of diasporic membership amplify the contradictions of, and tensions between, cultural nationalism and religious nationalism that pervade ongoing debates about Indianness.

Chapter Seven:

Placing transnational migration: Some conclusions

7.1. Introduction and overview

This research has explored questions of identity and belonging through the diversity of overlapping times, places and spaces of transnational migration. In Chapter 2, I argued that attention to the making of places ontologically and empirically opens up the fluid and syncretic nature of transnationalism. I contend that my examination of the places of transnationalism, through a historically contextualised examination of the production of difference within South Africa and across the places of the 'Indian Diaspora', has reimagined the transnational beyond essential categorizations of origins, destinations, nationalisms and transnationalisms.

7.2. Placing transnational migration

The traditional nation-based models of citizenship that link belonging to territorial political, social and cultural membership and influenced early neoclassical approaches to international migration have been questioned by the transnational approach to migration. This documents the maintenance of a multiplicity of commitments to national, ethnic, and religious communities which destabilizes the isomorphism between identity, place and culture, questions assumptions of assimilation and inclusion within national frames and is an alternative to structural and governance based accounts of globalization (Appadurai 1990, 1996, Portes 1996, Mitchell 1997, Goldring 1999, Itzigsohn et al. 1999).

However, there are a number of empirical and theoretical shortcomings of the transnational literature. First, there is a concern with the abstraction of migrants' experiences outside the material circumstances of historically produced contexts (Mitchell 1997, 2003, Anthias 2001). There have been calls for more detailed historical understandings of migration flows in relation to processes in the homeland and in the host society. Second, the various typologies, developed by scholars such as Portes (1999), Levitt (2001a) and Guarnizo (2003), organize groups into static, fixed and bound categories without engaging in questions of difference and diversity (Brubaker 2005). Third, although more recent work has attempted to address the transgressive potential of transnationalism with a focus on state governance, transnationalism continues to be conceived through oversimplified visions of the global-local nexus.

The solution is to recognize, like debates concerning globalization, that transnationalism is produced through historical articulations of ethnicities, genders, homes, workplaces, religions and sexualities in the segregation of privilege and power. Moreover, the locations of transnationalism can be found at multiple scales made through simultaneous, crosscutting and intersecting relations. Thus, taking the “places” of transnational fields seriously as neither wholly political-economic nor fully personal can illuminate the diverse influences and contingencies upon the conditions of transnational existence.

7.3. The multiplicity and multilocality of Indian-South African transnational migration

The case of Indians in South Africa challenges us to reconsider our conceptualizations of transnational identities and communities. The economic, demographic and cultural make-up of the Indian population in Durban, their embeddedness in the history of South Africa provides rich and complex material for the study of the influences of history, diversity and the overlapping spheres of personal and political transnational life. My examination of the transnational practices of Indo-South Africans in the context of South Africa has opened up transnationalism in three ways.

First, I provided a critical reading of transnational identity by juxtaposing the production and circulation of the signs of Indo-South African transnational identity through ‘cultural brokers’ with accounts of the material practices of transnationalism. In this account I foregrounded the role of *difference* as the backdrop for the formation of Indo-South African transnational identity, by paying attention to the radical distinction between indentured and free Indians. This fracture structures differences around religion, language and class, which continue to be key battlegrounds for debates about the nature of Indian identity, once under the homogenizing forces of apartheid and now in context of the fractured social, economic and political conditions of post-apartheid South Africa.

As I argued in Chapter 2 the location of identity within transnational space is limiting because it focuses attention on agency that is disconnected from the historical production of places in which difference, power and multiply-scaled connections are circulated. However, an examination of Indo-South African transnational identity in

light of the multiple layers and fragments of the past revealed the differential and interconnected construction, contestation and circulation of transnational practice.

It showed that the *signification* of Indian identity rests on four key principles. Firstly, the clear identification and recognition of a set of 'leaders' who, through their structures of affect, are linked across the differences between Indo-South Africans and India and emerge as the model of social relations. Secondly, 'Indian' identity is signified through fears about the erosion of Indianness through generations, which in turn is mapped onto the space of the region, the family and the individual. Fourth and fifth, 'authenticity' is codified through language and religion as the markers of traditional Indian identity. Six, Indo-South African transnational identity is signified through structures of class and consumption, which augment and legitimise this authenticity as a marketing and branding exercise.

The *practice* of Indo-South African transnationality translates these signifiers into material outcomes. The responsibility of leadership compels 'elites' to provide tangible opportunities for Indo-South Africans to be authentically 'Indian'. These opportunities demarcate "India" as the authentic location of transnational practice. However, an Indian-based geography of material practice is inadequate for incorporating the wider context of difference and contingency in which Indo-South African transnational materiality is embedded. In the case of Indo-South Africans deeply embedded in the histories of South Africa, material practices of transnationalism are Durban-made and connected to the wider circulation of South African difference and discourse. I therefore reduced the importance of *origins* as a source of transnational identification and practice, and highlighted that it is *destinations*, and the histories and differences embedded within, that structure transnational identities.

The complexity of destinations is also the focus of the second way in which I opened up the essentialisms of transnationalism. In this case, I brought *contingency* to the fore. I showed how the transnational identities of Indians in South Africa are defined not only against India, but are made relevant to a South African national citizenship that is located both in 'national' space and in other fractured regional and global spaces of development.

I explored this through understandings of what it means to 'belong'. Studies of integration and belonging privilege transnational identity and conceive of the 'destination' into which migrants are integrating as an assumed and unproblematic given, which reifies a false division between being national and being transnational. However, I examine 'belonging' from the perspective of place rather than identity, and show that what it means to belong is the product of historical-material circumstances and the circulation of multi-scaled narratives of national identity.

I showed how Indo-South African transnational identity and practices resonate with national South African discourses of nation. Indo-South African transnationality appeals to national discourses of multiculturalism because it reifies the boundaries of Indian identity as neatly emplaced within the arc of the 'Rainbow Nation'. Indo-South African transnationality also appeals to neoliberal economic policies, which connect South Africa to global economic flows. Indo-South African transnationality continues to be relevant to historical memories of the anti-apartheid struggle through the transnational figurehead of Gandhi. Finally, Indo-South African transnationality is also figured as a central to pan-African and South-South discourses of development through the possibilities of trade, enterprise and key situated elites.

These signifiers are made material through the praxis of the Bollywood industry. In particular, Bollywood is a space for sharpening the edges of Indian identity through its emphasis on Indian family values. Moreover, the globality of Bollywood resonates with the neoliberal orientation of the South African economy, and has the potential for creating multiple links between India and South Africa as a space of economic co-operation that ties the interconnected histories of the two countries together.

What both of these approaches recognise is the permeability and overlapping nature of national and transnational formations of identity and belonging. By investigating the symbolization and practices of Indo-South African transnationalism, I drew attention to the permeability of the boundaries between the personal, political, economic and cultural forms of transnational life and demonstrated the contingency of transnational relations upon the multiply scaled and overlapping constituents of place. My focus on identity foregrounded the role of difference in the making of Indo-South African transnationalism, but also examined the multi-scalar subtexts of community, ethnicity, national politics and regionalism. My focus on belonging

brought to the fore the multi-local contingencies of place in shaping the relevancy of Indo-South African transnationalism, but it also highlighted the context of difference that structured those contingencies. The common thread linking both these approaches is that Indo-South African transnationalism pivots on the complexities within South Africa rather than within India.

My final approach to understanding the Indian-South African transnational social field reconnected the complexities of South Africa as a 'destination' to India as an origin through India's attempts to govern this transnational space. Reading India's changing dual citizenship legislation alongside discourses within background briefing reports, political speeches and festivals, I examined the basis on which the 'Indian Diaspora' are constructed as both insiders and outsiders. This can be traced to India's engagement with colonial and post-independence times and spaces in which membership revolves around professional success through participation in global networks that connect to India, the adoption of an ecumenical Hinduism, and an embrace of multicultural incorporation. Underpinning this membership is the partition of India as a key historical moment, with pre-independence emigrants as locked into the past of the 'old' India of British subjugation and post-independence emigrants as the way forward for a dynamic and upwardly mobile India reinventing itself as an economic and political centre of gravity.

The signification of what membership in the Indian diaspora entails maps onto the way Indian identity and belonging is signified. Thus, the centrality of success via global cultural elites resonates both with South African discourses of neoliberalism and the leadership and class signifiers of Indo-South African identity identified in chapters 4 and 5. The adoption of Ecumenical Hinduism and the embrace of multiculturalism echoes the importance of religion in signifying an authentic Indian identity, which emplaces Indo-South Africans within the discourses of post-apartheid national belonging. Despite the exclusionary nature of membership in India, in reality it makes no difference to the way 'India' figures into the lives of Indo-South Africans. The identity, belonging and materiality of Indo-South African transnational practice is instead constituted through the different histories, geographies, places, politics, cultures and economies of South Africa.

7.4. Contributions and further work

Taken together, these three insights suggest that “the political” and “global” constitution of transnationalism is inseparable from “the personal” and the “local”. By taking the “places” of transnationalism seriously through an examination of the multiplicity and contingencies within transnational places, I have investigated the fragmentations and contestations of transnational identity, belonging and practice. The major contribution of this research is that it highlights migration as an ongoing process of the layering of different global, national and local contexts over time and space.

Empirically, this work has added two significant contributions to the literature on India and the Indian diaspora. First, it has considered the centrality of overseas Indians for the global economic and political ambitions of the Indian state as much a cultural project as an economic one, which ties into India’s search for a new identity. It has examined ‘Indian’ transnational identity in context of the flows within the global South rather than between India and countries of the ‘West’. This is important because it has revealed the different dynamics of what migration means for ‘development’. In this case, it suggests that transnational links between India and South Africa have benefits for South Africa as a ‘destination’, rather than usual studies which examine the impacts of migration on ‘sending’ countries. Moreover, it has shown that ‘development’ in this context does not necessarily have to be economic, but can contribute to social and cultural repair.

Second, it has also added an empirical contribution to the literature on post-apartheid South Africa, and especially the contribution of people of Indian origin to the making of the South African nation. It argues that far from threatening their participation in South African nation building, being part of the Indian diaspora and building connections to India actually enhances it. It is important to convey this message because despite the end of apartheid Indians are still struggling to fit into South African society and continue to have a contentious relationship especially with the black majority.

Further work within this vein might examine the interaction between other major diasporic centres and countries in the global South, for example, between China and its émigrés in Africa and Latin America. At the same time as the shape of the world

shifts towards India and China, intellectual and academic debate remains firmly focused on the global north'. Instead, we need models that can help us understand the transnational realities of the global south. Thus, further examination of the continuing projects of Indian and Chinese development and state expansion into Africa is needed to make sense of the new context of international relations, and especially the place of migration within it.

This work has also contributed to understandings about difference. It has shown that difference continues to structure transnational identification and practice. It has shown that not only are traditional identity based signifiers of difference important, such as race, class, cultural identity and generation, but it has shown the influence of wider scales of difference that mark people as located in particular times, regions, nations and politics.

At this point emerges two important planes of identity that I haven't fully explored. The first is the role of gender in the context of Indo-South African transnationalism, particularly with regard to traditional and iconic figurations of bourgeois femininity in Indian national culture. The second angle would relate to the activities of Indo-South African youth in relation to their out-migration to the US and the UK. Such research would explore migration in context of post-apartheid nationality, inter generational differences in Indian identity, contrasting patterns of consumption and conflicting Indian and South African identities.

Essentially, what this work has shown is that migration cannot be considered as simply a point to point movement of people, but is bound up in multi-local and contingent relations of power and the accumulation of cultural, economic and political capital. By examining the interaction between the symbolic and the material practices of transnationalism I have critically re-read the nature of what constitutes 'origins' and 'destinations' as wholes. Ultimately, it has shown that the origin-destination nexus is entirely the wrong terminology for capturing the nature of Indo-South African transnational life. Instead, for Indo-South Africans, South Africa is both origin *and* destination, and site of their transnational future.

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How often do you listen to the following radio stations?

	Regularly	Sometimes	Never
Lotus FM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radio Hindvani	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

How often do you watch Bollywood movies?

	Regularly	Sometimes	Never
On TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
At the cinema	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rental	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Own copy on DVD/Video	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

How often do you read the following Indian newspapers & magazines?

	Regularly	Sometimes	Never
The Post	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Independent supplement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Sunday Times Supplement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bollyworld supplement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
South African Indian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What type of stories do you read?

	Regularly	Sometimes	Never
Indo-South African news	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
News from India	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Indian Sport	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Traditional dance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Traditional music	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bollywood gossip	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Indian Fashion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

LANGUAGE AND RELIGION

Do you have basic knowledge of an Indian language?

Yes --- Which one? No

How often do you use your Indian language?

	Regularly	Sometimes	Never
At home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Through school/classes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Through religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Music	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Movies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX 2: Coded interview transcript

MANAGER OF RADIO STATION A	In vivo codes	Etic Codes/ Common themes
<p><i>Q: History of radio station</i> [...Basic information about the radio station removed for privacy....]</p> <p><i>Q: Purpose of radio station</i> The central purpose of the radio station is that it is more than a radio station to the Indian community. There is not 1 single body/organization representing the Indian public, so we cater for a niche audience.</p> <p><i>Q: Who are your audience?</i> [this station] caters for all the SAI community. It is the true voice of Indians in this country.</p> <p><i>Q: Is it just Indians that listen?</i> It is mainly Indians, but we are growing more and more a non-Indian audience of Africans and Whites.</p> <p><i>Q: Why?</i> Bollywood content is now being aired on SABC and this made huge increases in audience and listening viewers for TV and radio.</p>	<p>About the Radio Station.</p> <p>Indians are a divided community</p> <p>Lotus <u>is</u> the Indian community.</p> <p>Multiculturalism.</p> <p>Profit/listening motives but tied to multicultural discourse.</p>	<p>Radio station important for the construction of a singular Indian community</p> <p>Indian culture growing in national importance</p> <p>Fits into post-ap national discourse</p> <p>+Bollywood signifier</p>
<p><i>Q: What kind of programming</i> [Our radio station] is the leader for representing Indian values. For lifestyle, music, considerations we have the finger on the pulse for the lifestyles of our audience. We do our best to reflect the audience...We are the sign of a changing society. We continuously have progressive sounds</p> <p><i>Q: Language of the audience?</i> Our content is specifically for Indians who understand the language. Find that appeal is starting. We see reaffirmation of this in the audience</p> <p><i>Q: Age range of audience</i> We are a PSR and are regulated to cater for all audience age groups. In a single day we reflect youth content to a more mature audience. We started to grow as the Indian community were granted lots of new licenses.</p>	<p>[RS] is Indian values.</p> <p>contemporary, forward thinking,</p> <p>South African regulatory conditions.</p>	<p>Indian values are presented as contemporary - viewing figures ++construction of 'community'</p> <p>Indian community part of discourse of "Rainbow Nation"</p> <p>+Link to national discourses.</p>

<p><i>Q: Is Bollywood important to your radio station?</i> [the RS] prides itself on really truly targeting the family. Bollywood is preferable to Hollywood, because what drives Bollywood is family values. 14 million watch Bollywood in India. This is reaffirming to us.</p> <p>[the RS] reflects family values. There is are disjointed youth/age issues, especially now. Parents/children experience different cultures, so [the RS] educates not just 8 yrs old, also 80 years old.</p> <p><i>Q: Why do you think Bollywood is so popular for Indian South Africans?</i> Bollywood? It's a global attraction. Its escapism, and good values. There are larger than life characters</p> <p><i>Q: Do you think Bollywood is a good way for Indians to connect to India?</i> In part yes, but Bollywood is not India, India represents its facets thru film, but its not a total identity. But it gives Indians a sense of affirmation of identity.</p> <p>We are also changing the mindsets of non-Indians- we have a contribution to South Africa</p> <p><i>Q: In what ways?</i> People are far more accepting of us because Bollywood is becoming more popular. Its an important aspect of the economy, and bollywood is marketing itself to global audience.</p>	<p>Family values</p> <p>Family values</p> <p>India- global</p> <p>Uneasy existence in SA</p> <p>Bw= Neoliberalism/ global economic effects</p>	<p><u>Indian values</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - family - BW signifies Indian family values <p>- global</p> <p>-BW signifies globalism of Indian diaspora</p> <p>++ construction of a 'community' identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uneasy position of Indians in SA- BW helps cement? - Diasporic activities help <u>ISA belonging</u>
<p><i>Q: Do you think Indians in India and Indians in South Africa are different?</i> Yes. This was clear at the PBD that people accept different outlooks on life. But, our central Indian values are intact, and we've developed an identity that is SAI, we make no apologies for that</p> <p><i>Q: Do you feel there are contradictions?</i> It is clear, our alliance is with South Africa. As a result, no contradictions as cont view very much South Africa. While India is a trading partner, and listeners do want to make at least 1 trip, we're South African, and that's the way it should be.</p> <p><i>Q: Why?</i> We've made valuable contributions to this country, through the apartheid struggles of Indians</p>	<p>How are ISAs SA?</p> <p>How are ISAs SA?</p>	<p><u>Belonging</u></p>

<p><i>Q: Value of the RS to the Indian community?</i> We are a PSR therefore we have to inform, educate and entertain. This should be reflected in our content. Because we are public service, there are lots of national issues driving through the radio station, such as the history of South Africa, apartheid etc. PSR plays a huge part of correcting society going through changes, and we're doing it from the grassroots (started out with a 50km radius).</p>	<p>South African regulatory conditions.</p>	<p>++Link to national discourses/</p>
<p><i>Q: In what ways?</i> 10 yrs ago I had to be apologetic for being Indian. This has changed fundamentally. Indian culture is now more open, and accountable to South Africa</p> <p><i>Q: How does this relate to the activities of the radio station?</i> We are community centric, and have a contemporary feel. Positioning is important, but we're not Indian exclusively. Non-Indians are drawn in.</p>	<p>How are ISAs SA?</p> <p>The radio binds beyond Indian comm</p>	<p>Belonging ++ national discourses</p> <p>Solution to problems.</p>
<p><i>Q: what is the most important aspect of your job?</i> My job is more than the radio station. There is a close bond between the RS & the community eg. the host endorses product and buys the dependability and reliability of [the RS] and what it provides.</p>		

<p><i>Q: What kind of connections do you have with the consulate?</i> Its important that our language is able to survive and we can keep our culture intact. The consulate help out with various schools, language classes. 12% of our audience could speak the mother tongue, and its a sign of work needed to be done. There has been the systematic erosion of the language.</p> <p><i>Q: Why is language important?</i> Its our mother tongue> its difficult to separate culture/language: even Bollywood is about music/dance, which emanates from language You cant divorce from a language and claim to be culture aware.</p>	<p>Language = cultural identity</p> <p>Fears of erosion</p> <p>Language = cultural identity</p>	<p>Provision of tn connections through radio = solution?</p>
<p><i>Q: Do you think Indians in Durban are part of an global Indian diaspora?</i> We've moved beyond that, and that's natural to happen. Look at Af-Am population. Clearly as generations move they become part of a bigger, mainstream population.</p>	<p>Balancing SA/I identity</p>	<p>How are ISAs SA?</p>
<p><i>Q: How does your radio station link Indians here into the Indian diaspora?</i> We try to balance our listeners, and bring content from the north and south, to balance content and listening. We try to keep our listeners in touch at global level. We pride ourselves on station as global.</p> <p><i>Q: Do you report on news from India?</i> We don't have a specific communication strategy. The news content tells stories, but they must be relevant to our audience.</p> <p><i>Q: How do you decide what is relevant?</i> Our news content has a global feel. We looked at the 1st appointment of an Indian in Kenya- we select news from the continent because there are also implications for Indian pop across the globe.</p> <p>We also sometimes cover ceremonies and cultural events in India, especially if they are religious. We sometimes create packages around winning prizes to travel to India to observe fasting.</p> <p><i>Q: Is travel to India important to your listeners?</i> Well, everyone has to go once. We do primetime ticket giveaways, secure interviews with stars and celebrities, sometimes we bring them over</p>	<p>India- global</p> <p>Links to Indians in Africa</p> <p>India- religion</p> <p>Material connections</p>	<p>ISAs global?</p> <p>++construction of 'community'</p> <p>Regional ties? ++ national discourses</p> <p>ISAs religious</p> <p>RS facilitates TN practices</p>