Cross Provincial Migration amongst the South African Indian Community

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ABSTRACT

During the colonial and apartheid era, South Africa restricted the movement of Black people within the country through various legislations. Black people were allowed to reside in urban centres through a strict migratory policy only to the extent they could meet the economic needs of the white capitalist class. In the post-apartheid South Africa, the constitution of the country allows for the free movement and settlement of its citizen, which has led to rapid migration and urbanisation in the different provinces of the country. The current generation of the minority Indian community seized the opportunity to migrate across provinces in search of better economic opportunities and a better quality of life. This paper examines the movement and settlement of the current generation Indians from the Province of KwaZulu-Natal to Gauteng. The paper draws data from the study of twelve respondents who have migrated to the Gauteng province in the post-apartheid era.

Keywords: migrant, indenture, diaspora, forced removals, settlement.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Indian community in South Africa is known to be one of the largest Indian diaspora in the African continent. They have a history of immigration to the country and the subsequent generation of Indians followed on the footstep of their ancestor by migrating internally in pursuit of their socio-economic well-being. Two strands of immigrants, the indentured and the passenger (comprising mainly merchants) descended on the Southern tip of Africa from 1860 onwards giving rise to two distinct historical trajectories of migrants. As an immigrant community, they have experienced a wide range of trials and tribulations in respect of their movement in the country during the British and later the Afrikaner rule. As early in their history, major political attempts were made to restrict their movement and settlement in the country.

In the post-apartheid period, there is freedom of movement and settlement of people in the different provinces of the country. Most movement of people especially amongst the fourth and fifth generation of Indians is voluntary and motivated in pursuit of economic opportunities to different parts of the country. They have followed similarly on their ancestors' footsteps despite many restrictions being placed on their ancestors' movement and settlement in the different provinces of the country. The present generation is able to move in any

part of the country's provinces as restrictions on their movement and settlement was abolished at the dawn of liberation in 1994.

Migration broadly involves the movement of individuals over space and the change of an individual's place of residence. Casale and Posel (2006) aver that there are different kinds of migration, such as involuntary movement, where individuals or households are forced to move in response to removals or evictions. They assert that it may also be voluntary in nature, where people have a choice on the space in which they would like to move and settle into. The movement maybe either internal, where people move within the country, or international, where people change their country of residence. It may also take a permanent or temporary form wherein the migrant retains membership in their respective households or country of origin to which they may return at some point in the future. (Casale and Posel 2006)

In the South African context being a relatively new democracy, understanding why migration occurs as well as its implications is of great academic interest. Notwithstanding such interest, it is relatively under researched by social scientists. A major reason is the paucity of national and local data that documents migration patterns and trends. Nonetheless, from a historical perspective during the colonial and apartheid periods, the movement of people from rural to urban areas in the country was found to be inextricably linked to trends in labour market participation. Such movement contributed to individual and household livelihood opportunities (Casale and Posel 2006). A significant amount of migration occurred under specific discriminatory regulatory conditions under the apartheid regime that restricted permanent urban settlement for most Black migrants including the minority Indian community in the country. This resulted in a high rate of temporary or circular individual migration. In the past twenty-two years these restrictions that used to exist under the apartheid regime have been abolished resulting in the free movement of people across urban and provincial boundaries (Casale and Posel 2006).

This paper commences by examining the early immigration and settlement of the Indian diaspora in the country. This is followed by a section that traces their penetration and settlement within the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. Thereafter I present a discussion on various legislative arrangements by both the colonial and apartheid government that restricted the movement of the Indian diaspora in pursuit of promoting the migratory labour system in the country. This is followed by an examination of migratory trends to Gauteng Province in the post-apartheid era. Finally, the paper summarizes the results of the study in respect of Indian migration and settlement in Gauteng Province.

The paper draws data from the study of twelve respondents comprising six males and six females who have migrated during the post-apartheid period from the province of KwaZulu-Natal to Gauteng which is part of what is commonly known as the Transvaal. They were selected to participate in the study through the snowball sampling method. Data was obtained through structured

interviews, which were conducted by a field researcher[1]. The mean age of respondents was 34 years and the mean number of years that they were living in Gauteng Province was twelve years. Six of the respondents were married, five were single and one was divorced. All respondents were in possession of the matric school leaving certificate, and eleven of the respondents held a university level qualification.

2. EARLY IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE INDIAN DIASPORA

In 1860, the colony of Natal witnessed the arrival of the first batch of immigrant Indians on board the ship SS Truro. A total of 342 indentured Indians were on board[2]. Following this historical event, between 1860–61, five more ships brought in a total of 1,360 men and women (Sulliman 1997). These were the first of the 152,184 "human cargo" to be shipped to the shores of Durban over 51 years, comprising 62 per cent males, 25 per cent females and 13 per cent children (Ministry of External Affairs 2000:76). Their immigration was subject to a contract which included free transport from India, an agreement to work for 10 shillings a month for three years (later extended to five years), free food, accommodation and medical attention (Burrows 1952).

In so far as their ethnic and religious backgrounds were concerned, Tamil and Telugu speaking Hindus made up two-thirds of the population originating from Mysore and surrounding areas (Khan 2012:135). The remaining are from what is now known as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Kolkata, Malabar, Madras and West Bengal. Muslims made up only 12 per cent of the total population of this cohort of immigrants whilst Christians some two per cent (Ministry of External Affairs 2000). Literacy levels amongst the indentured Indians were relatively low but they managed to sustain strong memories of their customs, traditions and rituals which they preserved diligently (Vahed 2001:194). Their settlement pattern was spread across Durban, the colony of Natal and outside of it. In the city, they were settled largely on the periphery of white owned estates, such as Riverside, Cato Manor, Clairwood and Magazine Barracks. In the colony, they were largely settled on the coastal belt of Natal to work on its fertile land for agricultural purposes. As consequence, they were settled in white owned estates on the coast in towns such as Isipingo, Umzinto and Umkomaas to the South of Durban. To the North of Durban they were settled in towns such as Verulam, Tongaat, and Stanger (Maharaj 1994) and as far as Richards Bay. Some

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1   Mr Amit Singh from Gauteng Province undertook field research for this study.
2   Refer to 'Anti -Indian Legislations 1885 -1959' on the South African History Online (SAHO) website available at http://www.sahistory.org.za/politics-and-society/anti-indian-legislation-1800s-1959.

indentured Indians were settled in the Province's capital in Pietermaritzburg and hinterland towns of Dundee, Newcastle, and Ladysmith.

Around the 1870s a second group of free passenger Indians made their way to the colony. They were largely motivated by economic opportunities and followed on the footsteps of their indentured counterparts who were by now the trailblazers of Indian presence in the colony. Gujarati speaking Hindus and Muslims from the districts of Surat, Kholwad, Rander, Kathor, Baroda, Bardoli and Navsari made up this group (Randeree 1997:70). Around 1870 they made up 10 per cent of the total Indian population in the colony of Natal comprising mainly traders (Ministry of External Affairs 2000:77). Muslims by virtue of their dress code and physical features were mistaken by the colonial whites to be Arabs who enjoyed some degree of freedom to move and settle in the country. Hence the passenger Indians enjoyed enormous trading opportunities and privilege of movement in the city to pursue their business interests. They ventured both into remote towns of the colony and the Transvaal where they set up trading posts.

Amongst the passenger Indians many owned family businesses that comprised services of better educated extended family members when compared to their indentured Indian counterpart. The latter group being lesser educated and lacking capital could not make a significant investment in any form of business activity (Bawa 2006). Amongst the passenger Indians, accountants, lawyers, teachers, priests and other professionals supplemented the already established community both in the colony and in the Transvaal (Ministry of External Affairs 2000). The indentured Indian being confined to physical labour and a meagre earning could not afford to improve on their social wellbeing.

The social and economic condition of the early generation of indentured Indians was in contrast subjected to widespread exploitation. Long hours of work on daily food rations; living in cramped regimented dwellings constructed of stone and zinc, or wattle and daub; poor sanitary and health conditions; the absence of medical care facilities; racial prejudice and physical abuse took its toll on the well-being of these so called "strange looking people"[3] from Asia (Meer 1980). Suicide, crime, drug and alcohol abuse, mental illnesses, violence, infidelity, desertions, tuberculosis, diseases, infanticide, death related to burns were some of the many challenges encountered by the early settlers (Meer 1980) that weighed against the preservation of family life, values and maintaining ties with their ancestry.

Socio-cultural and religious dilemmas were also a major challenge. Given the diversity of languages spoken in the colony both amongst the indentured and

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[3]   The indentured Indian looked strange by virtue of their dress code and appearance. Women wore large nose studs, earrings, a red dot on their forehead, large amounts of bangles on both hands, large necklaces, dressed in saris and many other artefacts that represented their village code of dress in India. Similarly men wore turbans and dressed in a loin cloth which made them look distinct. Indigenous Africans were dressed in traditional attire comprising animal hide whilst European settlers were dressed in tailor made outfits.

passenger Indians (Tamil, Bhojpuri, Gujarati, Telugu, Urdu, Kokani, and Meman—a dialect of Sindhi) (Mesthrie 1990), it restricted social interaction between and amongst certain linguistic groups and at the same time excluded others. In instances where indentured Indians belonged to certain linguistic groups and comprised a minority it was not surprising that they would be isolated from the dominant linguistic group. Being in a strange land and stripped of social networks and religious and community support structures was an additional source of social isolation.

The unequal ratio of males over females, which in 1885 was 2:1 (Palmer 1957:28–29) for the entire indentured population, was a further source of isolation as the prospect of forming and engaging in intimate relationships became remote. Although some arrived as a family unit, the vast majority were single males. The colonialist masters socially engineered the gender composition so that the indentured Indian would remain unencumbered for a longer duration of time to sell their labour. It was believed that family life and its accompanying family responsibilities would distract them from providing unwavering commitment to their colonial masters' pursuit for economic gains. Females were often required through economic necessity, and at times fear, to cohabit with a number of men simultaneously without the protection of marriage for the sole purpose of male sexual gratification (Meer 1972). Provision for the recognition of marriages whether solemnized in India or in South Africa was absent. In the absence of such institutional mechanisms to recognize marriages, it was not uncommon for men and women to form short-term relationships and part ways as soon as quarrels occurred. This situation was further exacerbated when the coolie agent in apportioning labourers arbitrarily paired any male or female as husband and wife (Palmer 1957: 28). In many instances, formal consent was provided to the coolie agent in order to overcome the fear of loneliness, which accompanied this form of labour arrangement. Getting men to accept responsibility for children born outside a formal relationship was often difficult as they denied paternity. The limited presence of women among the many men often resulted into competition for companionship, which escalated in some instances into violence, suicide and murder (Palmer 1957).

Indentured Indians, although recruited to work on the plantations, were later deployed to the railways, dockyards, coal mines, municipal services and domestic employment. Despite their unhappiness with the racist laws and taxes of the time, only about 23 per cent of Natal Indians had returned to India by 1911 (Shah 2012), when this very abusive system of indentured labour was finally terminated. At this time many indentured Indians acquired little plots of land and became kitchen gardeners and hawkers, retailing their produce to the white and merchant communities in adjacent suburbs and towns (Ministry of External Affairs 2000:77–87).

3. INDIAN PENETRATION

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in 1867 and gold in the Transvaal in 1884 was a catalyst to prompt wide scale migration both to the country and within it. It is estimated that more than a third of the foreign migrants around the diamond fields and gold mines came to realise their fortune in the southern tip of Africa. Diamond and gold gave rise to new economic opportunities around the mines resulting in many merchant class Indians migrating to these areas in search of greener pastures. A few of the free indentured Indians also made their way as labourers on the mines, although the majority remained in the colony of Natal. The coal fields in the Natal colony also attracted many free indentured Indian migrants that worked on the mines as labourers and also in industries that began to emerge around the coal mining economic centres. The mines demanded vast labour resources, which comprised mostly foreign migrants from neighbouring Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), Malawi (Nyasaland) and Maputo (Mozambique) as local Africans were resilient to enter the wage economy. With such vast economic activity taking place in and around the gold, coal and the diamond mines, the merchant class Indians seized the opportunity for local trade.

Whilst the merchant class Indians plied their trade in established urban centres and towns in the Natal colony and the developed neighbourhoods in the Transvaal, the vast majority of indentured Indians on completion of their servitude had to find other means of earning a livelihood. Some extended their indenture contracts for an additional five years; others leased land to engage in market gardening; whilst a large number migrated to urban centres in search of a livelihood. By the 1930s when indenture was abolished, it was estimated that seven out of ten Indians who migrated within the Natal colony lived in the eight largest towns (Burrows 1952:8–14). As far as retaining roots in the agricultural sector was concerned, the situation changed over time amongst subsequent generations. For example, Burrows (1952: 8–14) notes that in 1937 only 9 per cent of the Indians were engaged in agricultural activity, whilst the majority of the younger generation migrated in search of an urban lifestyle that made them dependent on wage labour. The increasing numbers of Africans being employed on the plantations, created a lesser demand for Indian wage farm workers, resulting in a drift to the urban centres. Considering that indentured Indians were the trailblazers of agricultural activities during the first generation, this was drastically reduced in the years that followed. In 1934, 1,000 of the 1,200 Indians engaged in agricultural activity were small-scale producers depended on other forms of income to supplement their living (Burrows 1952: 8–14). The typical market gardening family of the day cultivated on small low lying alluvial ground on an intensive labour but primitive basis on a monthly or yearly lease with no security of tenure. Insecurity was increased by the encroaching industrial and urban residential areas resulting in their displacement from agricultural activities (Burrows 1952:8–14).

Settling down to family life amongst the first generation of indentured Indians helped reduce the extent to which they would move between the rural agricultural areas to the urban centres and outside of the Natal colony. Being emancipated from the drudgery of indenture, the institution of the family began to stabilize but had to respond to changing social and economic conditions. The stability of the family structure was largely attributed to the gap between the male and female population narrowing. Many of the families that emerged were of the extended family form. In a 1945 survey undertaken by Kuper (cited in Desai and Vahed 2007) amongst the Indian communities of Merebank and Springfield in Durban, it was reported that 57 per cent of the households were extended. The extended family provided a structure for the social stability of family life and the rearing of children, hence restricting the movement of indentured Indians as they now settled down to family life. A survey of Durban Indian areas undertaken by the South African Institute of Race Relations noted that in 1940 on average, each extended family comprised six households (Burrows 1952:27). The survey also highlighted increasing trends towards the formation of families through early marriage. Every woman over 25 years and every male over 30 years was married (Burrows 1952:27). Through the process of family structures emerging and being formalised, the immigrant Indians were able to finally form social roots so that they could reproduce themselves. The settling down to family life meant a demand for housing. The Durban City Council (DCC) did not respond to the housing needs of the Indian community resulting in the mushrooming of informal housing settlements on the periphery of white owned properties under very unhealthy sanitary conditions. Those that could afford purchasing properties did so in white defined areas. This raised the ire of the white communities who wanted a stop to Indian penetration in their areas.

Whilst the indentured Indians settled to family life, the merchant class Indians were on the move to look out for new economic opportunities. The Indian business community in the Transvaal just like their counterparts in Durban was very successful. Hard work, working long hours and relying on family labour ensured that the early migrants could sell their produce at a much cheaper price as compared to white owned shops (Bawa 2006:169.) Searching for this new economic opportunity meant penetrating areas that were designated purely for whites. This spurned the wrath of the white business class who wanted to curb the expansion of Indian owned businesses in Natal and the Transvaal.

In response to Indian migration into white defined areas, several legislations were passed from 1885 onwards to curtail Indian movement in certain spaces. The rigidity of these laws varied from province to province. For example, in 1885, Law 3 (defined as the Coolies, Arabs and Other Asiatics Act) prescribed that the Indian had no political rights. They were prevented from owning property and were subjected to segregation on streets, wards and locations. In 1891, the Statute Law of the Orange Free State prohibited an Arab, a Chinaman,

a Coolie or any other Asiatic or Coloured person from engaging in business or farming activity in the Orange Free State. All Indian businesses were forced to close by 11 September of that year and the owners deported from the Orange Free State without compensation.[4] In the colony of Natal, **Act 17 of 1895** imposed a £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians, who failed to re-indenture or return to India after completion of their labour contracts. The penalty was either imprisonment or deportation. In 1900 it was extended to children (boys, 16 years and over, girls, 12 years and over) and became operational in 1901**.**[5] Back in 1907, yet another Act was passed. The Transvaal Immigration Restriction Act placed restrictions on Indians migrating to the Transvaal from other provinces, affecting Indians all over the country. Most Indians residing in South Africa at the time lived in the province of Natal, but wanted access to the more prosperous province of Transvaal. The British Indian Association took some petitioning and legislative actions, but it was not until later that the satyagrahis[6] included the Act in their campaign demand, which led to the Passive resistance Campaign spearheaded by Mahatma Gandhi (Reddy, 2012)**.**

In 1913, the Immigrant's Regulation Act was passed which stopped the migration of Indians to other Provinces of South Africa. As consequence, the majority of Indians were compelled to remain in Natal with the largest concentration in Durban (Bagwandeen 1984:57). A series of legislations and anti-Indian enactments were promulgated just to curb the migration of Indians both in Natal and the Transvaal. It was clear that the presence of Indians in the Natal colony encountered resistance from the British whites. On the other extreme the penetration of Indians in the Transvaal was met with hostility by the Afrikaners. The Indian community challenged these restrictions imposed by the different migration enactments over the years with minor concessions being made. In 1943, the Pegging Act was enacted, which restrained Indians to particular non-white localities. Three years later in 1946 a more stringent Act, which came to be known as the Ghetto Act, was passed which restricted the movement of Indian people in the Natal colony and the Transvaal.

4. THE GROUP AREAS ACT, SELF-GOVERNING STATES AND MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM

The apartheid government took various steps to curb Black migration to areas designated for the preserve of whites only. It restricted non-residents through a permit system to enter an African location. In the 19th Century, pass laws were

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4   Refer to 'Anti -Indian Legislations 1885 -1959'.

5   Ibid.

6   It refers to Indian people who participated in non-violent resistance activities against British rule as espoused by Mahatma Gandhi. See the Global Non-Violent Action Database available at http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu.

enacted to curb the migration of Black people in the country only in so far as to ensure a constant supply of reliable labour to the gold and diamond mines. The presence of Black people in white areas was tolerated only to the extent that it served the capitalist needs of the minority white ruling class. This restriction on the movement of Black people in the country resulted in the historic Defiance Campaign (1952–1956) whereat passes were burnt in protest to the pass laws that restricted the movement of people within the country. The Defiance Campaign was a non-violent campaign based on the Gandhian philosophy of passive resistance founded in the 1930s.

Although the Indian diaspora was actively involved in the Defiance Campaign through the South African Indian Council against the Bantu homelands, the major challenge it faced was the Group Areas Act of 1950, which restricted their migration and settlement in the country. The Group Areas Act was fashioned as the "cornerstone" of Apartheid policy that aimed to eliminate mixed neighbourhoods in favour of racially segregated ones, which would allow South Africans to develop separately (South African Institute of Race Relations 1950: 26). Since the promulgation of the Group Areas Act in 1950, the apartheid government forcibly removed and relocated Blacks in areas designed for a particular race group. In so far as the Indian diaspora was concerned, they were displaced from their original settlements and forced to relocate in areas that came to be known as townships. These townships were monolithic and mono-functional in nature in that they were dormitories lacking basic amenities. They served as areas where the working classes slept, worked and reproduced themselves to provide cheap labour to the white capitalist class.

Durban was the first city to implement the Group Areas Act. It regarded the Group Areas Act as a lifeline by which Durban could be preserved as a "European" city (Maharaj 2002: 175). For example, the fight for Indian occupation of Cato Manor in Durban was fierce. There were major clearances of the shacklands in Cato Manor by the government in 1951 when the government declared it to be a white zone area (Maharaj 1994: 6). According to Maharaj (1994: 6), about 75,000 Indians were uprooted from settled communities and relocated to townships like Chatsworth and later in Phoenix as a result of the Group Areas Act. In so far as the African community was concerned, 81,000 were uprooted and resettled in townships such as KwaMashu and Umlazi. Both the African and Indian communities unsuccessfully resisted relocation (Maharaj 2002: 176). Some of the areas in which significant Indian communities had established themselves within Durban and from where they were later uprooted are Bayhead, Berea, Clare Valley, Magazine Barracks, Sydenham South, Greenwood Park, Queensburgh, Westridge, Riverside, Umbilo, Greenwood Park, Greyville, Red Hill and Seaview (Durban Indian Child Welfare Society 1967 and 1978).

This uprooting of settled communities such as Cato Manor in Durban meant a major blow in economic, social and psychological terms as the community lost its entire infrastructure such as schools, places of worship and recreational

facilities. Given that Chatsworth was a newly established township for Indians only, it was socially sterile. Schools, places of worship, venues for community meetings and group activity, recreational facilities and other essential amenities for a community to function as a social unit were virtually absent. These socially ruptured communities in Chatsworth had a challenging task of reconstructing themselves (Durban Indian Child Welfare 1978) and reformulating community and family bonds. Increased travel costs to and from work in these mono-functional townships meant reduced household incomes. An entire generation of Indians in these townships had to endure the shock of resettlement.

The Group Areas Act, forced removals and settlement resulted in communities being entrapped but at the same time making an effort to consolidate itself as a community in a different locality. Much of the 1960s right until the abolishment of the Group Areas Act in the late 1980s was spent recovering from the dislocation caused by forced removal and resettlement. It was primarily the working class Indians of indentured origins that were forcibly removed and resettled in these township localities. The economically better off Indians were able to provide for their housing needs privately in areas designated for Indians. With such trauma of forced removals and relocation within this period, the community had to re-root itself in local spaces provided for their reproduction; hence, movement from one province to another was very minimal within this generation of Indians. A study on the Indian diaspora conducted in 2000 by the Ministry of External Affairs in India (2000: 84–85) revealed that more than 75 per cent of Indians were resident in KwaZulu-Natal whilst the remaining were dispersed in other provinces of the country with a significant number to be found in the old Transvaal, now known as Gauteng.

The implementation of the Group Areas Act (1950) resulted in a destabilising effect on families and the social cohesiveness of the community. Families in old and established areas had to relocate to newly built townships such as Chatsworth in Durban, which resulted in losing social contact. Many families became lost in this massive public housing estate. Resettlement meant the re-establishment and the beginning of life all over again (Khan 2016:157). Given that Chatsworth was a newly established township it was socially sterile. These socially ruptured communities in Chatsworth had a challenging task of reconstructing itself (Khan 2016:157).

5. MIGRATION TO GAUTENG PROVINCE IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA

Written works on migratory patterns and trends amongst Indians in South Africa are a rare find. The most extensive work has been undertaken by Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004) titled *Internal Migration to Gauteng* for the Provincial Development Policy Research Unit, University of Cape Town. This section draws strongly on their study for analytical purposes

In the post-apartheid era, all restrictions on movement and settlement of people in the country were abolished by the new constitution. People now had a choice as to where they wanted to live and work. The abolishment of cross provincial movement and settlement of South Africans served as a catalyst for locals to move from one province to another. In the post-apartheid era, Gauteng finds itself, relative to the other provinces, in a unique position. It receives the largest share of migrant workers, almost all of whom are from other provinces. The study conducted by Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004: 6) found that the largest number of immigrants (immigrants from South Africa's other provinces) originated from Limpopo, accounting for 9.8 per cent of all migrants in the province followed by KwaZulu-Natal (7.6 per cent) and the North-West (6.2 per cent). Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape each accounted for 5.1 per cent of all migrants. Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004: 1) assert that the reason for such patterns of internal migration to Gauteng is rooted in South Africa's political history and the mining roots of Gauteng's economic development, which resulted in the province's heavy reliance on immigration to provide labour. Thus, immigration from outside South Africa's borders as well as from within the country itself, have played an integral role in the development of Gauteng, particularly since the discovery of mineral wealth. Today, immigrants continue to play an important role in fulfilling Gauteng's labour requirements.

One of the prime reasons for migration to Gauteng Province is the availability of greater work opportunities. Being the administrative capital of South Africa, it attracts civil servants outside of the province (Oosthuizen and Naidoo 2004: 6). Gauteng presents itself as an attractive region for creating jobs amongst the working age people from around the country. Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004) observe that Coloureds and Indians account for 5.5 per cent of Gauteng's immigrant population. They also observe that the racial composition of migrants varies. For instance, 60 per cent of all immigrants in Johannesburg are Indians. As far as the profile of Indian immigrants is concerned, they are found to be mostly single, career oriented and largely males (Oosthuizen and Naidoo 2004:11). This preponderance of males points to the historical and continued demand for labour in heavy industry and mining in Gauteng. In so far as the educational status of non-Gauteng born migrants are concerned, they are slightly better educated compared to their Gauteng born counterparts. Nearly 11 per cent of the former have attained a higher education qualification as opposed to just over 7 per cent amongst the latter (Oosthuizen and Naidoo 2004: 9–13). As far as securing employment is concerned, Gauteng born individuals hold an advantage compared to non-Gauteng born due to the availability of social networks in the labour market.

Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004:34) observe that migrant workers in Gauteng are relatively stable in that a large proportion (46.4 per cent) have been migrant workers for five years or more, with men more likely to be long term migrant workers compared to women. This proportion was significantly higher than that amongst migrant workers in the other eight provinces – a difference of eight

percentage points. One of the most common reasons for engaging in migrant labour was to help support family with remittances and goods. Apart from relieving financial pressures on sending households, one of the main reason for engaging in migrant labour was to help support family members. This is done by remitting money or goods to the sending household. Superior employment prospects within the Gauteng province constitute a strong 'pull' factor to individuals outside the region, encouraging them to migrate.

Gauteng, being the smallest province geographically, is the second most populated after KwaZulu-Natal. In 2001, it was home to some 8.8 million people. Economically, it is the powerhouse of South Africa, accounting for around one-third of Gross Domestic Product in 2001 (Statistics SA 2003: 53). In value terms, production is concentrated in Manufacturing (20.2 per cent), Finance, Real Estate and Business Services (20.0 per cent) and General Government Services (17.4 per cent) (Oosthuizen and Naidoo 2004:1). Gauteng can be regarded as a province comprising a large percentage of immigrants. Most data and projections suggest that migration was concentrated in Gauteng, and to a lesser extent in the Western Cape (Todes et al. 2008:5). In 2001, the population of Gauteng was 8.7 million of which 5.2 million were born in the province and 3.5 million were immigrants from the eight remaining provinces in the country (Oosthuizen and Naidoo, 2004:8). This trend suggests that Gauteng presents a strong pull factor in attracting internal migrants from the different provinces.

6. INDIAN MIGRATION TO GAUTENG PROVINCE

Given the positive socio-economic condition that Gauteng provides, it serves as a strong pull factor attracting migrants from other provinces. The Indian community in KwaZulu-Natal are also attracted to Gauteng to pursue their socio-economic needs. Although the Indian community is a minority population in KwaZulu-Natal, this province has by far the largest concentration of Indians in South Africa, and in fact compared to any region or country on the African continent (Shandu 2015: 2). It is estimated that the Indian population numbers 1,341,900 or 2.5 per cent of the total national population of which 840,000 reside in Durban and its surrounding towns (Statistics South Africa 2014: 3). The remaining are spread across the other provinces. Considering that Durban is host to the largest concentration of Indians, it is the resident province for most Indians in the country. According to a Labour Force Survey undertaken by Statistics South Africa in September 2002, there was some 3,600 Indian migrant workers in Gauteng as compared to 101,700 Gauteng born workers. As far as Indian migrant workers to Gauteng were concerned, males dominated their presence with a total of 3,300 as compared to their female counterparts which amounted to 300 (Todes et al. 2008:31). It would appear that Indian males are more likely to migrate as compared to females.

In the current study, the average age of respondents was 34.4 years with the lowest being 27 and the highest 49 years. All of the respondents migrated to Gauteng province in different periods spanning 22 years into the post-apartheid era. Educational levels varied, with five having postgraduate qualifications (those that have advanced their study beyond a basic degree qualification), two a bachelor's degree, three master's level qualification and two a school leaving certificate (matric). Both male and female respondents shared similar qualification levels. The educational profile of respondents resonates with that observed by Todes et al. (2008:13) who note that non-Gauteng born residents seemed in general to be slightly better educated than their Gauteng born counterparts.

In respect to occupation, all respondents held lucrative jobs such as business executives, managers, civil servants, management consultants and quantitative analysts. The marital status varied with half of the respondents being married, five single and one divorced. Females twice compared to their male counterparts were married. As far as the duration of stay in Gauteng Province was concerned, the average number of years was 11.7 years ranging from one year to eighteen years

A significantly large number of respondents (9) left KwaZulu-Natal in search of employment opportunities whereas a small number (3) remained in Gauteng after their studies. One of the major reasons cited by all respondents was that affirmative action in KwaZulu-Natal, given the large population of Indians provided them with little opportunity over other Black race groupings to secure employment. Respondent 3 best describes the lack of job opportunity due to affirmative action policies in KwaZulu-Natal:

> On graduating from University in Durban I waited for two years without finding a stable job. Even though there were opportunities for me, I have been unsuccessful due to the fact that there were just too many Indians in the province. Local Africans became the preferred group who were provided employment due to the states Affirmative Action policies in order to correct the historical political imbalances in the country where local Africans were not given employment opportunities (Respondent 3, 27-year-old male civil servant).

This observation is in keeping with what Todes et al. (2008:13) note on national affirmative action policy trends on the internal migration pattern of South Africans. They assert that for affirmative action policy to be effective, 65 per cent of coloured South Africans would have to leave the Northern Cape, and 70 per cent of Indian South Africans would have to move away from KwaZulu-Natal.

Respondent 4 felt that the jobs that were available in KwaZulu-Natal did not match the qualification he attained. With a sense of frustration he stated:

> I spent three years studying for my undergraduate degree and a year for my post-graduate qualification only to find that there were no suitable

vacancies in the province. I ended up working on a casual basis for a telesales company for one and a half years when I decided to put my qualifications to better use. It is then that I made up my mind to migrate to Gauteng Province. Today I am a senior human resource consultant for a major company (Respondent 4, 32-year-old male management consultant).

Although the government's Affirmative Action policies marginalised Indians from entering the labour markets in KwaZulu-Natal, the belief that Gauteng provided better economic opportunities was another reason as to why the respondents migrated there. The response of respondent 8 best captures the motivation for migrating to Gauteng:

> Gauteng is the economic hub of the country and has a diversified industrial and commercial sector requiring a variety of occupational skills. The jobs in Gauteng are better paying as compared to KwaZulu-Natal and given the competition amongst companies, there is always a demand for upward mobility within the company (Respondent 8, 38-year-old female manager).

This is in keeping with Bekker (2002:29) who observes that superior employment prospects in a given region are sure to constitute a strong 'pull' factor to individuals outside the region, encouraging them to migrate.

Given the low Indian population density in Gauteng Province, Indian candidates for job opportunities are in reverse sought after by companies in response to Affirmative Action. Shandu (2015) asserts that there is reason to believe that there is an over representation of Indian staff in both the public and private sectors, across professions, industries and job ranking in KwaZulu-Natal, whereas in Gauteng there is an under representation.

Although there is a great demand for Indian employees in Gauteng Province, these employees are selected on merit and ability. In my study seven of the respondents secured their jobs through direct application to companies, four through recruitment agencies and only one through a referral. A statistical analyst confirms the rigour that he was subjected to in securing his employment:

> I was one of the candidates shortlisted for the job amongst many whites and Africans who applied and subjected to various psychometric tests for the job. These tests were difficult but I felt content when I was finally selected for the job, that I got it on merit. (Respondent 12, 35-year-male statistical analyst)

On securing a job in Gauteng many felt traumatised leaving the comfort of their homes in KwaZulu-Natal and living in an unfamiliar and strange environment. Respondent 7 best describes the anxiety she felt when she had to leave her family home and settle in Gauteng:

> Non like KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng is known to be a fast moving province and was anxious how I am going to settle in this place ….how I will travel to work. The thought of leaving the comfort of my family and friends behind made me feel sick. The first three months in Gauteng was very taxing on me emotionally and I wished that I could return home. Being a female, I felt restricted in terms of moving around in Gauteng alone ….but thanks to some friends that I made at work that helped me. My parents phoned me daily to check how I was doing which gave me lots of comfort. (Respondent 7, 37-year-old female business executive)

The family played an important role in helping migrants to Gauteng to settle down. In the study with the exception of one respondent, the remaining respondents felt indebted to their family and parents who provided them with support to settle in Gauteng. Considering that the Indian community is known to be closely knit, it is not surprising that the new migrant would feel the loneliness and detachment from family life in the home province. Responses to this effect suggest in the affirmative were half (6) of the respondents having settled in Gauteng maintained physical contact with their family four times a year, four two times and two every month. On the question as to whether respondents miss the comfort of their family, more than half (7) of the respondents indicated in the affirmative, four none and one sometime. Respondents over the years managed to form friendship circles in Gauteng Province with seven having friends from both provinces and five from KwaZulu-Natal only.

A significant number of respondents (8) owned their own homes whilst four were renting. Most of the respondents have rooted themselves in Gauteng. Eight respondents stated that they will not return in the future to KwaZulu-Natal, whilst one wanted to return and three was uncertain. Respondent 7 felt that Gauteng was now her home province and qualified it by stating the following:

> Now that I am married, have two children and purchased a house in Gauteng I see myself as part of this province. My children are settled in school, we have good friends in Gauteng and our social life revolves around activities in this community. (Respondent 7, 37-year-old female business executive).

Although most of my respondents indicated that they will not return to their home province, a number of respondents felt that if they had an opportunity to migrate to another country they would do so. In this respect, eight out of twelve respondents felt that they would at some point migrate to another country. Countries such as Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, countries in Europe, the US, Canada and Namibia were the preferred migratory destinations that respondents considered. The underlying reason for wanting to migrate to another country was the high level of crime and corruption in the country, better financial opportunities elsewhere and a need to advance on one's career. These findings do not fully correspond with the national survey undertaken by Future

Fact (2015) which found that only 14 per cent of South Africans considered leaving the country to live or work elsewhere in the world and most of them felt that they would most likely return at some point in time. An interesting observation in this finding is the enthusiasm of the respondents wanting to migrate out of the country despite moving cross provincially and having settled there. It suggests that respondents are prepared to take on the challenge of migrating to a foreign country. Although there are a variety of reasons cited to move to another country, what is important is their self-motivation to succeed. This finding although cursory, suggests the need for further research.

All respondents stated that they enjoyed a good quality of life as they have good jobs and earn a good salary. As far as making remittances to their sending families, four respondents stated that they do so on a monthly basis and three on an ad hoc basis as and when the need arises. The remaining five respondents did not make remittances as their family were financially well off.

7. CONCLUSION

This study provides a profile of internal migration amongst the South African Indian diaspora. Although it is a minority grouping having migrated to the country some 150 years ago, the current generation of Indians, particularly those settled in the KwaZulu-Natal province, do not find an occupational future in the province due to the affirmative action policy of the present democratic government. It is a case of there being too many Indians in the province of KwaZulu-Natal and not enough job opportunities to go by for all. Even if there is enough job opportunities in the province for the citizens of KwaZulu-Natal, the preferred racial group are indigenous Africans. It would appear that the current generation of Indians are following on the footsteps of their ancestors who migrated from KwaZulu-Natal to the Gauteng province very early in their history to find better economic opportunities. In the early history of Indians in the country, Gauteng served as a lucrative opportunity for economic activity, and it still continues to do so. It is not surprising that the current generation of Indians are attracted in migrating to the province in search of better opportunities. These migrants to Gauteng Province see themselves as permanent residents with no intentions on returning to the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. What is interesting is that these Gauteng migrants will consider migrating to any other global destination in search of new occupational opportunities if the opportunity arises. In terms of career, almost all respondents in the study have secured for themselves lucrative employment and the vast majority have secured permanent accommodation with some committed to family life.

This study may be considered exploratory and can serve as a baseline for a more indepth and wider study into the migratory trends and patterns within the Indian community. The sample size does not provide an opportunity to make broader generalisations on the cross provincial migration trends and patterns

amongst the South African Indian community. What this study purports to do is to raise awareness that the present generation Indian youth like their forbears are brave enough to migrate from their naturalised homes in a quest for a better lifestyle.

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INTERVIEWS

Respondent 3 (Pravin Maharaj); recorded by Amit Singh, 12 May 2016.
Respondent 4 (Shane Pillay); recorded by Amit Singh, 13 May 2016.
Respondent 7 (Priscilla Naidoo); recorded by Amit Singh, 14 May 2016.
Respondent 8 (Samantha Harry); recorded by Amit Singh, 15 May 2016.
Respondent 12 (Mohammed Moosa); recorded by Amit Singh, 19 May 2016.

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