

Religion, Migration and the Building of Social Support Networks in South Africa

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Declaration

I, **Mark Elliot Mapaketi**, declare that this dissertation is my own original work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been acknowledged. I submit this work to the programme of Sociology of Religion which is under the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. There are no parts of this presentation that have been submitted to another University or higher education institution for a degree or examination purposes. Unless it is stated within the text, this is wholly my own work.

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As a candidate's supervisor, I hereby approve this dissertation for submission

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Abstract

Human migration is a social reality that happens every time. With regard to the reasons why people migrate, theorization will remain inconclusive. This is because migration is influenced by both social and personal factors. Examples of social reasons are civil unrest, politics, economics, cultural, religious, etc. At a personal level, individuals have agencies. They decide to migrate, which direction and the destination. No matter how strong social reasons are seen as motivating reasons to migrate, the ultimate responsibility lies in the individual who decides to migrate.

Since 1994 (post apartheid) South Africa has received more migrants from other African countries. The coming in of migrants from other African countries has been like unprecedented rockshock which has been noticed by everybody yet nobody anticipated it. As a result, different groups of people and institutions have responded to the coming in of migrants in different ways. One of social institutions that has responded in a visible way to the migration in South Africa is the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Durban.

The Catholic Church in Durban has conceived migrants, especially refugees as victims who need compassionate care. Therefore, it initiated a program (Refugee Pastoral Care) responsible for the welfare of migrants. Despite its good will, the Church could not satisfy all needs of migrants who knock on its door. Migrants, in order to supplement what they get from the RPC, engage the RPC as a springboard to initiate relationships that are significant in accessing personal needs like housing, employment and legal documentation. It is precisely the kind of beneficial relationship that migrants establish within the context of the Church that I set out to inquire.

I located the study at the Denis Hurly Centre (DHC). DHC is a place where the Catholic Church in Durban runs its different Social Pastoral Ministries, of which the RPC is just one of them. My focus was the experience of migrants. Therefore, I engaged different methods that involved my observation, participant observation and interviews with semi-structured questions.

A SHORT GLOSSARY

Asylum seeker: persons who are in the process of seeking the right to live in South Africa, because they are seeking relief from persecution in their country of origin. Asylum seekers are more regularly person fleeing political persecution (from the State) and the threat of imminent death.

Migrant : migrants refers to persons who through various means of movement cross national borders to travel from one place to another. While the terms in recent years has come to primarily denote person who are subjects of force to leave their place of residence because of war, or environmental disaster and threat to their lives

Refugee: persons fleeing hardship in their country of birth or residence and who has been granted residence in another country.

Social capital: Refer to those features of social organization such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficacy of a society by facilitating coordinated actions.

Transnationalism: process by which migrants forge and sustain multiple stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and their places of settlement.

Victim: In this thesis term victim denotes those any person whose legal, physical and moral security has been threatened or violated, through actions, omission or neglect. In this study the notions of victim, or victimhood will primarily be understood and discussed in relation to migrants who are particularly refugees.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC: African National Congress

DHC: Dennis Hurley Centre

EG: Evangelli Gaudium

FBO: Faith Based Organization

HRC: Human Rights Commission

HRW: Human Rights Watch

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

RDC: Rural Development Programs

RPC: Refugee Pastoral Care

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SSA: Statistics South Africa

UKZN: University of KwaZulu Natal

UNCHR: United Nations Charter on Human Rights

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Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

Migration is a human social phenomenon. As a social phenomenon, its conceptualization is socially constructed. Whichever scope one uses to understand migration is not innocent, as it is determined by specific ideologies or power relations. The following categories of people are migrants: international missionaries, international football professionals, refugees, expatriates, tourists and international students. Among these categories of migrants, there are some who are not comfortable being referred to as migrants. It is not that they do not know that they are migrants, but rather that there are ideologies and sentiments that lie behind the naming that make some migrants uncomfortable. Aware of the complexities involved in the wording, 'migrant,' at the outset of this project I would like to point out that my use of the word 'migrants' refers to person who through various means of movement cross national borders to travel from one place to another. While the terms in recent year have come to primarily denote person who are subjects of forced to leave their place of residence because of war, or environmental disaster and threat to their lives. The participants referred to in my study, were refugees, although I also refer to them as migrants. I do this to indicate that while there are particular conditions and challenges exclusive to refugees, they hold much in common with other categories of migrants. Moreover, I use the terms refugee and migrant interchangeably to indicate that I do not see the two as distinct categories, but that I see refugees as constituting one group of migrants. Who is counted as a refugee, rather than a migrant, is contextually determined and changes with time.

In this first chapter of my dissertation I introduce my research study of migration, religion and migrant social support networks. I outline the socioeconomic and political context within which transnational migrants find themselves in South Africa. I am aware of the discourse that has presented migrants as victims in the host community. However, my readings and research shows that while migrants are a complex and group of people that can be anything like any members of the host community; victims, victors, opportunities, criminals, innocents, friends or enemies. In this dissertation I highlight the socio-political context migrants find themselves in, and I focus particularly on experiences of social exclusion. The key challenges the participants in my study

face are lack of employment opportunities, difficulties in finding proper accommodation and challenges with obtaining legal documents.

In order to survive social challenges that are related to migration, migrants create or improvise coping mechanisms. Among these coping mechanisms is their engagement with religion. Religion often provides the context through which migrants access and create social support networks. These networks are linkages that assist migrants to access socioeconomic support. Religious organization, such as Refugee Pastoral Care at the Dennis Hurley Centre in Durban, has presented itself as a fertile ground for the development of migrant social support networks.

1.1 Background to the research study

The number of people migrating into South Africa has increased over the past 20 years, particularly after the demise of apartheid (Posel 2004). This has been due to push factors like civil wars in the Great Lakes region and depleting economies in some countries within the Africa South of Sahara region (Adepoju 2008). Currently, countries like South Africa and Botswana are seen as the top destination countries for migrants moving within Africa, because of their economic opportunities and progressive political stabilities (Taylor 1999). Other countries within the region, like Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho are described as sending more migrants to South Africa because of push factors that are linked to economic opportunities (Crush, Williams & Peberdy 2005). . The lack of economic opportunities is coupled with socio-political instabilities. Countries like Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Zambia serve as both sending and transit countries of migrants from the great lakes region and the horn of Africa to South Africa (Kok 2006, Posel 2004). Countries from the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa send many refugees and asylum seekers to South Africa (Adepoju 2008).

South Africa is a regional economic powerhouse with a liberal democracy that attracts migrants who are looking for better living conditions, both economically or politically (Manik 2013). Manik (2013) suggested further that, from the economic point of view, this makes South Africa an attractive destination country, given that some migrants are entrepreneurs and the majority are seeking employment to earn a living. The presence of entrepreneurs in South African cities, towns and locations could be used as justification to their entrepreneurship (Peberdy 2000). On

the other hand, the same phenomenon could imply a lack of employment opportunities among migrants due to political and legal factors (Adepoju 2008).

The lack of access to employment is a challenge not only for migrants but also for South Africans. Adepoju (2008) has argued that there is a high rate of poverty and unemployment among South Africans themselves. Therefore, common sense would suggest that the priority be given to local nationals in recruiting. Beyond common sense, the South African government has structured a society with a legal framework that is restrictive with regard to the employment of migrants (Immigration Act 2002). It is structured to favor the local citizens. Despite the lack of employment opportunities, migrants are not deterred from coming to South Africa. This to me suggests that, while there are lower employment opportunities, there are still higher economic opportunities. This could be justified using the argument of the presence of migrant who are excelling as entrepreneurs in the country.

The inwards movement of migrants to South Africa, especially those from African, is met with opposition from different social groups (Neocosmos 2008). For instance, there is a strong feeling of competition over resources like housing, education and health services among the disgruntled poor local communities. For instance, McConnell (2009) has argued that there is a common belief among South Africans that every job given to a foreign national is one less job for a South African. This belief is extended to other social amenities like health, education, housing, etc. Within this kind conception of migrants, local nationals tend to blame foreign nationals of job 'snatching,' crowding their hospitals and occupying houses that are meant for the poor South Africans (Danso & McDonald 2000, Posel 2003). The opposition towards foreign nationals has, in some circumstances, been used as an explanation of xenophobic attacks migrant experience in the hands of disgruntled local nationals.

As migrants continue coming to South Africa, some authors have argued that there is continued frustration among lower class South Africans due to government's failure on service delivery (Taylor 1999, Danso et al. 2000, Harris 2002, Crush & Tevera 2010). It is a possibility that failure on the part of the government to offer service delivery may be a cause of frustration, which in turn that frustration is exerted on the migrants. However, one cannot ascertain that if service deliveries, improve then migrants would be fully welcomed. For instance, in the case of Scandinavian countries like Norway, Sweden and Denmark, where service delivery is better,

there has been an increase in the far-right conservatives and neo-Nazi movements which are anti-migrants (Jorgensen & Meret 2012, Mulinari & Neergaard 2014). Failure of the government in service delivery could offer a partial reason for the frustration of the local community in the South African context (Dodson 2010). Yet it would be unfair to claim that failure on the part of government is the sole reason for anti-immigration rhetoric and sentiments. The 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa were sparked by anti-migrant comments made by a high profile traditional king who has everything at his beck and call (Bekker 2015). Therefore, failure on the part of service delivery remains contested. Nevertheless, migrants are generally presented as a problem to be solved than human beings to be engaged with.

Within the narrative, the government claims to be providing enough service deliveries, but only that it is being over-stretched by the presence of migrants who are not part of the budget (Chereni 2013). Disgruntled citizens blame the government, especially policy makers, for not putting strict migration policies and migration officials for not enforcing strict control measures to stop the incoming of migrants (Crush & McDonald 2000). Following the same narrative, religious institutions and organizations have conceived of migrants primarily as victims (Neocosmos 2010). Motivated by pastoral reasons, faith communities have taken upon themselves as saviors of a migrant who is a victim. They come in to support a migrant who is being victimized by different forces of power. The support varies from physical, social and spiritual needs. Consequently, migrants use the forum created by religions to meet other social needs and to access social support networks. In this study I explore how migrants create and exploit social support networks to meet their needs, particularly those related to accommodation, legal documentation and employment in South Africa.

1.2 Location of the study

This study was carried out at a time when the South African society was experiencing xenophobic attacks. The outbreak of violence in 2015 was reminiscent of the 2008 attacks that perceived to have exposed a tension that exists between local working class citizens and foreign nationals. The dominant narrative within this context is that xenophobic attacks were the results of a disgruntled local working class who are in constant fear of losing their basic amenities

(Neocosmos 2008). I see this as a simplistic view of xenophobia. I believe that the real cause of xenophobia remains complex and contested. Although it is not the focus of this study to examine xenophobia, it is clear that xenophobia has real repercussions in the lives of migrants. Some migrants, as they struggle to acquire social needs, succumb to the narrative that depicts them as victims. Therefore, phenomenon like xenophobia are exploited to justify their position as victims.

During the year 2008, when South Africa experienced its a widespread xenophobic attacks, official figures estimated that over 67 foreign nationals were killed countrywide (Mangharam 2011). It is also alleged that tens of thousands were expelled from their homes and communities by South Africans (McConnell 2009). In 2015, it is reported that at least six people were killed in the province of KwaZulu Natal alone, of which hundreds were injured, thousands were displaced from their settlement and their property destroyed. KwaZulu Natal Province is of interest here because it is where the case study in question is located, particularly in the metropolitan city of Durban. McConnell (2009) has observed that after the 2008 attacks on foreigners in South Africa, migration has become a critical topic and South Africa has presented itself as an interesting site for studies of migration. However, in this study I was motivated by different reason(s) other than xenophobia. I have studied migration as a social phenomenon that is constantly changing, depending on social contexts at local, regional, international and global level.

1.3 Social challenges for migrants in South Africa

Social challenges migrant experience in South Africa are multiple and complex. In this study, I focused on three challenges in particular.

1.3.1 Employment opportunities

Most of the black movements that were fighting for liberation from minority rule were oriented towards left on the political scale (Taylor 2001). One of such movement is the ruling party the African National Congress (ANC). During the time of struggle, the ANC advocated socialism as its framework of operation. For instance, during its high level conference in Morogoro, Tanzania

in 1969, ANC stated its direction of struggle that "the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition to the Socialist system....and the fight for social and economic progress by the people of the whole world," (ANC Strategy 1969). The document continued to outline the Party's policies as it stated that liberation is not complete "unless the basic wealth and the basic resources are at the disposal of the people as a whole and are not manipulated by sections or individuals, be they White or Black." (ANC Strategy 1969). This direction was in opposition to capitalism that was advanced by the apartheid government.

After 1994, led by the ANC government, there was a transfer of power to the majority. Regarding the economic system, there was no diversion from capitalism (Taylor 2001). The post-apartheid government continued with its apartheid economic system of capitalism that favors cheap labor (Neocosmos 2010). In the labour market South African employers have also capitalized on the precarious condition of migrants by either offering them unattractive salaries or in some cases not paying them at all (and giving them food instead), thus exploiting them (HRW 1998, HRW 2006, Bloch 2008), instead of supporting them to develop through their labor. In some cases, employers (especially farmers) have been reported to hand in the 'undocumented workers' over to the police for deportation without paying them (Bloch 2008, HRW 2006, Dumba et al. 2010, Rutherford 2010). This is because they have low or no negotiating power for better working conditions for fear of being exposed to immigration authorities. Reitzes argues that "knowing that illegal aliens are unwilling to report them (*employers*) as a result of their fear of being reported, there is increasing evidence that they have become victims of choice," (1995:12). Migrants are given employment deals that are unpalatable. Their legal status as illegal migrants compels them to accept it. However, it is not only illegal migrants who experience exploitation by employers, those with legal documents also experience discrimination and exploitation.

According to the labor law of South Africa employers demand documents like valid work permit, traceable references, together with proof of residence (Crush & Tevera 2010). Because of their conditions, most of the migrants come to South Africa without proper documents and have no formal residence. Since they cannot produce legal documents, their chances of being employed in formal firms or institutions are also low. Moreover, employing a person with no

legal documents is a criminal offense punishable by law (Immigration Act 2002, section 38). Therefore, many employers are not willing to employ a migrant who has no legal documents. As a result, it is the migrant that suffers. Skill deficiency is another factor that lowers the chances of employing some migrants. Coincidentally, migrants who have no legal documents are mostly unskilled (Adepoju 2008). This not surprising considering that human capital and financial resources are pre-condition for South African embassies to grant a visa, study permit or work permit (Crush & Dodson 2008). It is worth noting that this makes it difficult to employ unskilled, illegal and refugees in the formal sectors except doing manual labor that pays less.

1.3.2 Access to accommodation and housing

Migrants have challenges accessing social services such as accommodation and housing. The challenge of the accommodation of migrants is exacerbated by different factors. Most of post-apartheid migrants are employed in low-paying jobs yet their responsibilities with regard to maintenance of families and relatives left behind at home are huge. Many migrants wish to save as much as possible in order to remit meaningful amounts of money back home (Taylor 1999, Adams et al. 2005, Ratha et al. 2007, Collinson et al. 2006). As a result, they opt to live in shacks and/or in areas that are characterized by overcrowding, lack of clean water and with no electricity (Dumba et al. 2010). Migrants are confined to informal settlement are also due to their lack of legal document and financial constraints. Staying in inhospitable areas is the option for them to continue staying in South Africa.

Solomon (2000) has observed that most migrants, especially undocumented migrants, arrive in South Africa as destitute, jobless, and with no other investment or surety. As a result, they experience what he has called, 'segregation' in terms of residential areas whereby without formal documents one cannot access formal housing (Palmary & Landau 2009). Coupled with their own poor economic status, migrants are also accused of fraudulently occupying government houses built for low income South Africans (Pillay et al. 2008). Even the local South Africans who are willing to rent their houses, popularly known as RDP houses (Westelt 1999) are afraid to allow migrants to occupy them. This pushes poor migrants further into the unfriendly squatter camps because they are not capable of acquiring and paying modest housing.

In short, the challenge of lack of proper and humane accommodation for migrants in South Africa is as complex as any social phenomenon. It is not an isolated challenge. It is also linked to, among other factors, legal documents, financial constraint, and social fears among the local nationals to rent their RDP houses to migrants even when they are willing to.

1.3.3 Obtaining legal documents

Prior to colonialism, Africans lived in communities in which identification was through, for example, tribe, clan or family name. People could migrate from one place and settle in another place by following traditional customary laws (Comaroff 2013). For instance, they could ask the chief of the area for permission to settle without having obtained any legal documents or permits (Phiri 1983). In other instances, African tribes or communities could fight over land to settle (Raftopoulos 2008). My use of the above example of pre-colonial migrations is not to romanticize precolonial migration. Rather, I would like to suggest that borders of one community to the other were fluid.

Solid borders, as we have conceptualized nations today in Africa, as Griffiths (1986) pointed out, are product of colonialism. By implication, needs and concerns of indigenous groups were not taken into consideration, but Europe's political and economic interests (Englebert, Tarango & Carter 2002). Nevertheless, after the regularization of states by colonials, identification of human beings was quite revolutionized in which nation-state constructed identification marks are given or obtained depending on different factors like economic status, birthplace and the designated government departments like Home Affairs (Klaaren & Ramji 2001)

Migrants, depending on their reasons of migration to South Africa, are required to get state identification documents. Among the possible residency permits available to migrants are; asylum seeker status, refugee status, work or study permit. Some, according to the law, are able to get citizenship through naturalization. Migrants in South Africa need these documents for different reasons. As we have seen above, most of the employers are, by law, not allowed to employ a person without legal documents. Furthermore, to utilize financial services like banks or post offices migrants need valid documents. To access basic needs like public health services and education, the possession of legal documents is also a prerequisite.

A United Nations Charter on Human rights (UNCHR), which South Africa is a signatory, advocates that, every person, regardless of status, sex or origin has a right to basic needs like health and education. By ratifying such resolutions, a government makes a commitment to strive for the goal towards people within its territory. However, some service providers like health workers and education officials, have refused some migrants accessing such basic needs on the grounds of their legal documentation (Veary 2008, Crush et al. 2009, Landau/WaKabwe-Segatti 2009, Lefko-Everett 2010, Crush et al. 2010). As things stand, the importance of legal documents in South Africa is not only significant but essential.

Migrants, especially those who are financially struggling, generally have difficulty to access social services that are meant for all human beings because of lack of legal documents. Poor migrants have difficulties accessing legal documents. The process is highly technical. One needs supporting documents like police clearance, bank statement, medical health reports, which is itself a restraining process to acquire them. For refugees and asylum seekers, the interview is also complicated for ordinary people who have no idea what the government officials are looking for. The language has not been making things easier for migrants, particularly those who have no English background as a language. The whole process is conducted within a legal framework that is migrant restrictive in nature (Comaroff et al. 2003, Trimikliniotis et al. 2008). While push factors necessitated taking the risk of migrating, the hosts community makes a migrant feel unwanted and not welcomed both by the state legal framework and the attitudes of some indigenous on the ground.

1.3.4 Involvement with religion

Migrants' involvement with religion, to some extent, has been described as another surviving strategy. Menjivar (1999) argued that for migrants, religion has multiple functions. In this perspective, religious participation offers a way to express and interpret their individual interests, and to remain connected to their countries of origin (Adogame & Spickard 2010). Therefore, it acts as a means of asserting identity in a secluded society. Religion has the capacity to link migrants to resourceful people or centers. For Menjivar (1999), the linking phenomenon result into the creation social support networks. Individuals linked by networks could be either member of the Church or non-members, people who are holding a strategic position in the society like employers (Crush & Tevera 2010). While religion has the capacity to link-up migrants with

resourceful persons or places, it is just one of the social phenomena that is able to link migrants to resources.

Bouillon (2002) has argued that migrants revert to religion as a social capital to cushion against social challenges they experience, as in the case of South Africa. Muzondidya (2009) can be said to concur with Bouillon when he argues that Churches have become significant in providing crucial networks and social supports that migrants need to claim their space in South Africa.

1.4 Introducing Refugee Pastoral Care (RPC) at the Dennis Hurley Centre

Upon encountering migrants who were seeking material assistance from the archbishop's office, the Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Durban, Denis Hurley conceived migrants as a category of the poor who needed assistance from the Church because, according to him, both theologically and socially "they are neighbors" (Curran 2002:36). Informed by and following the Catholic Social teaching of the Church, Hurley believed he had an evangelical duty to support marginalized migrants to meet their basic human needs. Thenceforth, Bishop Denis Hurley initiated a mission outreach, Refugee Pastoral Care (RPC). The ministry has grown into a big project with infrastructure constructed to facilitate the ministry. In honor of the Bishop who initiated the ministry, the project has been named after him as Dennis Hurley Centre (DHC).

The Catholic Church's involvement in caring for migrants is not an isolated event, but part of its bigger project towards social justice. Massano (2012) has pointed out that there are many people who are concerned with social justice. However, causes of social injustice and means to fight for social justice remain contentious. The motivation of DHC towards social justice cannot be understood outside the Social Teaching of the Church and its theology. It is a result of the Catholic Church's revisited theological and pastoral approach that was clearly defined during Vatican II Council (1962-1965). Among other things, Vatican II Council¹ re-defined the mission of the Church from emphasizing on proselytizing to being at the service of one's neighbor. Within this revised theological thinking, the Church has an instrumental position, means to reach

¹ Vatican Council is the highest decision making body in the Catholic Church. It is headed by the leader of the Catholic Church, the Pope. The decision made at such councils bound to all local Catholic Churches in the world.

the goal, to make the lives of humans better. This was in contrast to the pre-Vatican II Council theology whereby the Church as an institution was at the center and humans were placed in peripheral. Humans were instruments designated to be at the service of the Church. Therefore, Archbishop Hurley's response to assist migrants was not sporadic but a practical response towards Catholic Social Teachings advocated by the Catholic Church during the Vatican II council.

The Church, in its social teachings, continues to encourage people to support the marginalized in the society. In the encyclical, Pope Francis (2013) reiterated that Catholic Social Teachings emanate from the theology of the Incarnation where the divine became human in Jesus Christ. To him, this has a significant implication in social life that a Christian has to see the divine in the other. According to Pope Francis the "involvement with the poor and marginalized is a theological category than cultural, philosophical, sociological or political one" (Francis 2013: 197). It is a call to love Jesus who prioritized those in underprivileged states. Therefore, the continuation of the works of the RPC is viewed from a theological background of the Catholic Church. The Church, guided by its theological position has embarked on helping migrants to access material and immaterial needs. The presumption of my study was that, the Church has become an avenue where migrants are able to create social support networks, which they engage to access their daily needs for surviving their experience that is interpreted as socially secluded.

Refugee Pastoral Care² operates with the motto: *Community Serving Humanity*. It supports more than 250 migrants by providing services that include accommodation, food and shelter for an initial period of up to two weeks. RPC also provides assistance with school fees and school uniforms for refugee children, counseling and helping in approaching the department of home affairs for work permit and permanent residence. Furthermore, RPC supports migrants for transition towards their independence. Due to hyperactivities and RPC's connection with the Church, it presented itself as an ideal place to engage as a case study for an examination of the relationship between religion and social support networks among migrants in South Africa.

²Henceforth Refugee Pastoral Care will be referred with initials RPC in the proceedings, and the Dennis Hurley Centre will be referred to as DHC

1.5 Research focus and methods

1.5.1 Research question

Therefore, in light of the foregoing discussion, the major question that this research seeks to find out is:

What are the different ways that migrants in South Africa engage religion to build social support networks?

The objectives of the study are:

1. To ascertain the socio-political and economic challenges faced by migrants attached to the Dennis Hurley Centre in Durban
2. To investigate the various ways in which migrants engage religion to create social support networks through and at Dennis Hurley Centre in Durban.
3. To analyze the relationship between religion and social support networks in the lives of migrants at the Dennis Hurley Centre.

1.5.2 Research methodology and design

This research is an empirical study and I took a qualitative approach. The main method I used in order to collect data was semi-structured interviews. I chose six participants with 50-50 gender balance. This was in recognition that migration challenges are not blind to gender differentiation. Before the interviews, I planned to have an ethnography where I wanted to observe and at the same time to create a relationship of trust as a preparation for interviews. I planned to spread my observation within the period of three months and another space of three months for interviews. I designed the spacing to give me ample time to reflect on each experience that would give me insights to the next activity of the research process. For data analysis, I used thematic analysis, a method that is data driven. In the analysis chapter I discuss the findings from the interviews and observations, and highlight how access migrants social support networks in formal and informal ways. I also elaborate on the importance of religion, in that it facilitates the creation and sustenance of networks and hold them together.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the background to the study. I have argued that migration is a complex social phenomenon. The literature has presented a migrant as a problem or a victim of circumstance. The conceptualization of a migrant as a problem or a victim is often accusative as it tries to point a finger at somebody or something as responsible for the migrant's challenges. While dismissing the binary presentation of migration. In this study I have argued for the importance of paying attention to the agency of a migrants than binary presentation. Migrants are human who can be anything, victims, victimizers, innocent, a problem, a solution, a blessing, a curse like any other person. However, I recognized some of their vulnerabilities that have originated from social structures, like laws, cultural differences and preferences. Even though some are vulnerable, however, I opt not to normalize migrants conditions that are socially constructed. On the other hand, my venturing into the study to find out the role of religion in the social support networks of migrants is itself a recognition of the role of religion in the lives of migrants. As to what extent religion plays a role in the life of my participants, is what I am going to discuss in the preceding chapters.

In the next chapter I am going to present the literature review on migration in South Africa. My conceptualization tool is the transnationalism framework. The study, being empirical, I am going to discuss the concept, 'religion as a social capital.' The concept is significant because I am going to use it as my analytical tool to interrogate my research findings.

1.6 Glossary of key terms

Asylum seeker: persons who are in the process of seeking the right to live in South Africa, because they are seeking relief from persecution in their country of origin. Asylum seekers are more regularly person fleeing political persecution (from the State) and the threat of imminent death.

Migrant : migrants refers to persons who through various means of movement cross national borders to travel from one place to another. While the terms in recent years has come to primarily denote person who are subjects of force to leave their place of residence because of war, or environmental disaster and threat to their lives

Refugee: persons fleeing hardship in their country of birth or residence and who has been granted residence in another country.

Social capital: Refer to those features of social organization such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficacy of a society by facilitating coordinated actions.

Transnationalism: process by which migrants forge and sustain multiple stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and their places of settlement.

Victim: In this thesis term victim denotes those any person whose legal, physical and moral security has been threatened or violated, through actions, omission or neglect. In this study the notions of victim, or victimhood will primarily be understood and discussed in relation to migrants who are particularly refugees.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

Post-apartheid South Africa is regarded as a migration state that struggles to reconcile the interests of the local citizens, capitalists, and migrants (Peberdy 2001). This literature review locates migration in South Africa within a theoretical framework of transnationalism. Transnational migration will be conceptualized within the context of colonial discourse because national borders as they exist today are reminiscent of colonial history, which Africa as a continent, underwent through its history of existence.

Building on the assumption that there are different stakeholders involved in processes of migration, I will also discuss the paradoxical position within which the government finds itself as it tries to reconcile interests of multiple stakeholders in migration. The government is important in this study because it the main power factor responsible for shaping migration discourse and policy in the country. In the literature review I will show that migration is shaped by South Africa's local socioeconomic and political context as well as global geopolitical and economic factors.

2.1 Transnational debates of migration and South Africa

Since the 2008's xenophobic attacks, there has been an increase in the number of scholarly works published about migration. McConnell (2009:35) and others have discussed migration in relation to how policy and social perceptions go hand in hand, and argued for the importance of addressing migration challenges as social-political problems in relation to xenophobic attacks. Other scholars, such as Belinda Dodson (2010), have argued that South Africa is failing to grasp the bigger picture of migration, and it is focused only on specific issues whilst over-looking related issues like brain drain, unemployment, increasing inequality among citizens, employment and HIV/AIDS. Such arguments are motivated by the desire to see the South African government focusing on wider social problems than isolating or blaming migrants and positing them as the cause of social problems (Dodson 2010).

Scholars like Neocosmos (2008) have located the social exclusion of migrants that lead to xenophobia within the wider discourse of exclusion. Within this discourse, exclusion is regularly conceived to be necessary for the existence of a community or a nation in that the 'others' must be excluded for the 'Ourselves' to 'be' (Neocosmos 2010). In other words, Neocosmos continued to argue that for one group to exist, the other has to be eliminated. Citizenship is defined by indigeneity and is conceptualized as passive (given) and essential in which there is no option for agency or self-determination. Following this line of thought, xenophobia is viewed as a necessary outcome of social relations. In this discourse there is a trajectory of a migrant being conceptualized as the 'other' who is to be secluded for the survival of the indigenous is located. Neocosmos (2008) does not in any way justify violence towards migrants, but aims, from a sociological perspective, to make sense out of the experience of migrants within South Africa's socio-political context.

McKnight (2008) approaches transnational migration into South Africa in relation to the social political change that took place in 1994, and relates it to instabilities in other African countries. He holds that the political shift to democracy in South Africa and its relatively developed economy, coupled with civil wars and political instabilities in other African countries, led to an increase in the number of migrants in South Africa (McKnight 2008). McKnight continued to suggest that, in return the South African government has focused less on refugee protection and concentrates more on containment, expulsion, and denial of rights of migrants. In this case, migrants experience exclusion both at policy and perception level. For McKnight (2008), this practice suffocates the Human Right Charter (HRC 1998), a global document that enshrines rights of individuals and responsibility of government to protect these individuals. He blames the government because the South Africa is a signatory (McKnight 2008).

Others scholars have presented migration in post-apartheid South Africa as a continuation of apartheid supremacy ideology. Muzondidya (2010) has argued that South Africans perceive themselves as superior than other Africans, and hence hold that African nationals that migrate into South Africa do not deserve better treatment or life conditions than local national. Migrants have been accused of jumping the queue and fraudulently taking state welfare like occupying government houses that were meant for South Africans (Pillay 2008). Furthermore, Muzondidya (2010) approaches the subject of migration along the line of xenophobic discourse. There he sees

xenophobia an effort to create and assert South Africans' superiority over other African nationals. The argument of Muzondidya (2010) may explain the other psychological reason of xenophobia, however, this study believes that the two concepts of migration and xenophobia, despite overlapping in other circumstances, are complex and can exist beyond the seeking and assertion of one's superiority of Muzondidya's post-apartheid discourse.

Furthermore, the discourse purported by Muzondidya (2010) stems from occidental notions of modernity. It was constructed to justify exploitation of South Africans. Apartheid supremacist ideology was constructed to portray "an image of post independent Africa as chaotic and uncivilized," (2010:42). The idea behind this was to claim that the social peripheral position black South Africans was nevertheless better than that of black persons living across the border (Muzondidya 2010). Mamdani (1997) had earlier on speculated that this supremacy is built on the prejudice that South Africa is more industrialized and advanced in relation to other African countries. In Mamdani's (1997) view, the notion of exceptionalism was fostered by isolation from the rest of the continent by the apartheid government.

The challenge I observe with Muzondidya and Mamdani's arguments is that they fail to extend their theories of exclusion beyond South African borders. In many ways, anti-migrant attitude are not limited to South Africans, such attitudes can be found also in other countries in the Southern African region. In 2016, the world has witnessed xenophobic attacks in Zambia, a country that has no history of apartheid. The theory also fails to recognize efforts majority of indigenous South Africans are making to see to it that anti-migrants attitude are not part of the nation's culture.

Nevertheless, migration in South Africa is a topic of important scholarly debate and research. As we have seen above examples, different scholars have approached to migration from different angles, particularly after the xenophobic attack of migrants in 2008. In this research I approach the question of migration not from the perspective of xenophobia, although I recognize how xenophobia affects the lives of migrants. In formulating this particular project, I was motivated by a wish to explore how religion facilitates social support networks among migrants for their survival in the host community.

The research study focuses on ordinary everyday experiences of migrants in South Africa. The research was conducted on the presumption of a social exclusion narrative in which I presumed that migrants, especially those that are semi-skilled and unskilled, experience more social exclusion in South Africa more than those that have special skills. Migrants social support networks are one of the ways migrants engage to circumnavigate these challenges. Religious institutions like the RPC is an example of migrants' engagement with religion. Therefore, in this study I looked at the role of religion in the life of migrants with the bias towards 'migrants social support networks' as they interpret their experience as social exclusion.

2.1.1 Social exclusion and xenophobia

In the section I discuss migration narratives in South Africa. I have divided the discussion into three main parts. In the first part, I discuss the general conceptualizations of migration within the South African context. The second part, I highlight three main social challenges that migrants encounter in South Africa; lack of employment opportunities, difficulties to access houses for rent and difficulties to acquire legal document. In the last part of this section I discuss some migrant coping mechanisms.

Landau (2009) discusses theoretically three narratives that migrants are likely to use when explaining their experiences in South Africa at social level; welcoming, neutrality, and hostility. Welcoming narratives are characterized by attitudes like the willingness of South African natives to share life as equals with migrants (Landau 2009). The willingness to intermarry foreigners and employers' willingness to employ foreigners has been cited as a sign of recognition of equality between South Africans and foreign nationals. While that might be the case, the willingness to intermarry or employ migrants can also have different motives. Chereni (2013) and Mawaza (2010) highlight that there have been reports of some employers who employ foreigners without legal documents, only to report them to police at the end of the month. This constitutes exploitation.

A second narrative is a neutral one. This narrative is the perception of a migrant as the '*other*' different human being, but has nothing to do with '*us*' the local nationals (Landau 2009) It is often characterized by stereotyping on the ground of language, dressing, and even skin color. Within this narrative, the migrant is made to feel inferior (Neocosmos 2008). For instance,

migrants are forced to at all times travel with their residence and identity documents. Police or the immigration officers feel they have the duty to ask migrants, at any time to produce valid documents and failure of which they are arrested and deported to their home countries or detention centers (Crush et al. 2010).

The third narrative is an open attitude of hostility from the public. Within this narrative, the migrant is made to feel that he/she has already been prosecuted in the court of popular opinion and found guilty (Landau 2009). He/she is made to feel inferior and not welcomed through violence, from state machinery and local citizens (Neocosmos 2008). Unlike the Hegelian 'other' in the master and slave relationship where the 'other' is necessary for the master's survival, in this narrative, the 'other' is like a parasite to be eliminated (Morris 1998). They feel they are regarded as a source of social problems which *bona fide* citizens experience.

Among the narratives suggested by Landau, hostility is argued to be the dominant narrative through which majority of migrants, especially undocumented or illegal migrants, explain their experience. It is expressed in different ways. For instance, the police brutality and deportation or segregation over employment opportunities are regarded as examples of socially excluding migrants by the formal structures of the state (Bronwyn 2002, Perbedy 1999). At times it takes the form of physical violence whereby migrants are beaten or killed for being non South Africans, as exemplified in the xenophobic attacks of 2008 and 2015.

Belinda Dodson (2010) in her article, "*Locating Xenophobia*" argues that the popular (mis)perception of migrants by South Africans has been informed by historical-political and contemporary political discourses. She further argues that during apartheid times hostility towards black Africans was explicit (Dodson 2010). The challenge is that, at the end of apartheid, the state did not bring in a clean break. There was only the transference of a system in which African migrants became *the pariah* of South Africa society, assuming the role of black South Africans in the previous regime. As such, the motto 'rainbow nation' remains an ideal rather than a practice among many South Africans (Dodson, 2010). Dodson holds that "the anti-foreigner attitude of post-apartheid state and society, thus, does not only resemble but also perpetuates and reproduces apartheid scaled from the intra-national to international level" (Dodson: 2010:12). At the receiving end of the transferred exclusionary operative system in the present society are migrants.

During the apartheid regime, South African migration policies were crafted with from a capitalist ideology with the intention of maximizing profit from exploiting cheap migrant labor (Adepoju 2008). Migrant laborers were both national and international. Post-apartheid migration policy has been argued to have been crafted in terms of 'alien control' than immigration management (Crush et al. 2007). For example, while post-apartheid South Africa witnessed the de-criminalization of South Africans from travelling with border passes, migrants are subject to travel with their legal documents (Crush 2007, Peberdy 2001). There has been a shift in perspective of migration policies, but the apartheid spirit of conceptualizing 'the other' as essentially different from 'Us' still persists. Within this discourse, that 'other' is an African migrant.

In post-apartheid South Africa, the (mis) perception of migrants, as the 'other,' is active and sometimes subtly perpetrated by politicians and government officials, the police and the media (Danso et al. 2000, Crush et al. 2007, Mawadza et al. 2010, Hungwe 2012). For instance, earlier, during the reign of President Nelson Mandela, the then minister of Home Affairs,, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was quoted to have said that "just as the country is trying to get to grips with determining and plotting strategies to meet its people's needs and develop, it faces deluge of migrants... mainly illegal" (Crush 1999:2). Such sentiments from top government officials flare misconceptions towards foreigners as a social threat (Monson et al. 2009), as people who are placing strain on state resources and engaging in criminal activities (Dobson 2010) and also over stretching social and medical services. They are perceived as people who are depriving South Africa's own citizens their social services which the government is providing (McDonald et al. 2000). Within this discourse, an African migrant is placed in a disadvantageous position.

No matter how subtly (mis)conceptions of migrants are expressed, they have a strong impact on the formation of public opinion. Chereni (2013) reported that in October 2003, the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki had told the general secretary of the Commonwealth that "he (Mbeki) has three million Zimbabweans in South Africa" (Crush et al. 2010:3). On the contrary, the very same year Statistics South Africa (SSA 2003), the government department responsible for demographic analysis, had estimated that the number of foreign born individuals in South Africa was just over 1.2 million (Palmary et al. 2009). The inflation of such figures by government officials is not innocuous; it has the power to create a discourse that service delivery is being hampered by migrants despite that the government is providing sufficient services.

The current president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, has made headlines in the media, especially regarding on his perception of other African countries and their nationals. Manik et al. (2013) have described Zuma's remarks as *faux pas* particularly when he spoke about the introduction of toll highways in Gauteng. "He remarked that, as South Africans 'We can't think like Africans in Africa generally'" (Manik et al. 2013). While his remarks were intended to convince South African nationals to accept newly introduced e-tolls, he was implicitly perpetuating a discourse of 'the other' and 'us' that is responsible for social exclusion of migrants in the South Africa's social space.

2.2 Migration in South Africa

The period from the late 1980s to mid-1990s have been a period of political and economic transition at intercontinental, regional and national levels. Of significance at continental level was the fall of communism in 1989, and the end of the Cold War. At a regional level, countries within the Southern African region experienced the dawn of democratic governments and economic restructuring. At the local level South Africans witnessed the demise of apartheid and the dawn of democracy. These events have an impact on migration in South Africa, and continue to do so up until today.

The collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 symbolized the collapse of communist ideology, which set apart the Eastern bloc and differentiated it from the capitalist ideology of the Western bloc. Its collapse had an impact on migration in many countries, such as South Africa. Dunning (2004) contends that during the Cold War, powerful countries like the United States and the United Kingdom, who were leaders in the Western bloc, supported other countries that opted for capitalism. Their support was methodological in the sense that it was a deterrent to the spread of communism perpetrated by the Eastern bloc countries led by Russia and China.

In Southern Africa, during this period, the Capitalist Western bloc countries supported government systems like apartheid in South Africa and other dictatorial regimes because of their politico-economic system of capitalism (Englund 2002). The upholding of democratic rule and human rights was not a criterion. The fall of communism in 1989 was a turning point. Western bloc countries and their allies shifted their support of capitalist policies towards an ideology of

human rights and democratic rule. Englund (2004) continued to argue that the Western governments pressurized Southern African countries that suppressed human rights to uphold them and adopt a democratic system of government. The pressure was exerted through means like economic sanctions, isolation from the international community, and through the withholding of aid to countries that depended on donor aid from developed countries (Englund 2002). On the part of political leaders, they had a hard choice, either to uphold human rights or to maintain an oppressive *status quo*, which had been operative since independence (Inglehart & Welzel, 2003, Diamond 2003, Blondel 2014).

Within the same period, when countries within the Southern African region were facing pressure to restructure their governmental systems, South Africa's apartheid government had its own social challenges both at local and international fronts. At the international level, it faced isolation from the international community because of how the apartheid system marginalized the majority of the population (Dunning 2004). At a local level, there was insurrection led by nationalists who wanted a democratic system of governance that hold human rights. Isolation from the international community and pressure from liberation movements resulted in the giving in of the apartheid regime to democratic majority rule in 1994. The demise of apartheid opened a new chapter in the history of South Africa. This resulted into the incorporation again into the international community. Among other things, the new dispensation signed the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) draft protocol and ratified its African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN) memberships.

South Africa's ratification of the African Union membership in 1994, as well as its membership in the United Nations and SADC, resulted in the lifting of trade sanctions and isolation from the international community (Dumba 2010, Bloch 2008). The incorporation into an international community conversely gave South Africa an obligation to abide by the protocol of these regional, continental and intercontinental organizations. One of the obligations is the opening up of borders to welcome migrants, especially the asylum seekers and refugees (SADC Protocol) (William 2006).

The ratification on international agreements, coinciding with the political and economic instability within the African continent, made South Africa a destination country for many migrants from the SADC region and beyond (Chereni 2013). It became an attractive destination

because of the political stability it gained and its developed economic status (Bloch 2008). By 1999 it was estimated that African migrants in South Africa originated from more than twenty eight (28) countries (McDonald, Mashike, and Golden 1999). While the accuracy of figures has always been problematic, however, the point that there was an increase in the presence of immigrants in South Africa as compared to South Africans emigrating, is less contested.

At a local level, as a gesture of good will, the post-apartheid South African government pronounced amnesties to certain categories of migrants in the country (Crush, McDonald 2001). For instance:

(I) A miners' amnesty announced in 1995 that allowed indentured migrant miners who had been working in South Africa since 1986 to apply for permanent residence.

(II) Amnesty for SADC nationals. This was announced in July 1996 and was meant to benefit SADC citizens who had stayed in South Africa for five years or more, who had been involved in economic activities and had no criminal record, as well as those who had married a South African or had dependents born or residing in South Africa legally (Crush & Williams 2001). Those covered by these conditions were allowed to apply for South African citizenship.

(III) Mozambican refugees who wished to stay in South Africa permanently were offered amnesty to become citizens. This took place between December 1999 and February 2000 and it is estimated to have benefitted over 200 000 Mozambicans (Crush and Williams 2001).

(IV) After 2000, the Immigration Act of 2002 (amended in 2004) encouraged the migration of skilled and semi-skilled workers to South Africa under the provisions of the corporate permit, quota work permit, and general work permits (Crush and Williams 2010).

These amnesties changed the migration landscape in South Africa. Circular migrants had to revise their status to become permanent migrants, and subsequently citizens. As a result of these conditions, South Africa has been more on the receiving end of migration than on the sending end.

2.2.1 South Africa as a migration state

As of now, it is difficult to claim that there is any African country that is not affected by migration. While some are considered 'sending countries' that send more migrants to other countries than they receive, other countries are both sending and transit countries. However, some countries are heuristically categorized as 'migration states (Hollifield 2004). Here I ask the question whether South Africa is a migration state or not. However, before affirming or negating I would like to point, briefly, to the six criteria that constitute a 'migration state', as argued by Castles and Miller (2009);

- (1) The globalization of migration where a country is receiving migrants from many source countries,
- (2) The growing volumes of migration,
- (3) Different groups of migrants - for example, refugees, labor migrants, students and trafficked individuals,
- (4) The growing feminization of migration,
- (5) The politicization of migration issues and,
- (6) The growing number of receiving countries that serve as both immigrant and transit countries.

South Africa, like many developed countries that are migration states, is experiencing what Massey (1999) called the '*post-modern paradox*.' Massey (1999) argues that while the global economy unleashes a powerful force that induces an in-flow of migrants from developing countries to developed countries. Simultaneously the political authority of these developed countries promotes policies that are restrictive forms of migration management (Massey 1999). This introduces a sort of dialectic between the economy and the state politics; investors have their own concern for cheap or affordable labour whilst the government has to protect the well-being of ordinary citizens by creating job opportunities. By restricting migrants, the government intends to reduce competition over employment created by business owners and business owners intend to utilize cheap labour from migrants (Massey 1999). In such cases, Massey speculates that, "these counteracting forces intersect at a time when artificial constraints to emigration from several populous regions have been eliminated... *at a time* when developing countries increasingly find it in their interests to promote international labour migration" (1999:310). Some

of the reasons why developing countries promote migration are monetary remittances (Jansen 2004). For instance, the Zimbabwe government signed bilateral agreements with the South African government on how to support Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa by giving them special resident permits (Crush, & McDonald, 2000). Such a bilateral has a direct impact on the economies of the countries in question.

While Massey referred to the condition above as postmodern paradox, Holliefield is said to have referred to it as the 'liberal paradox thesis,' (Gropas 2015). By this phrase, he meant that for developed countries to maintain a competitive advantage, governments must keep their economies and societies open to trade, investment, and migration. However, unlike goods, capital, and services, the movement of people can violate the principle of sovereignty which requires a degree of territorial closure. Therefore, developed nations find themselves in a very uncomfortable position wherein they are compelled to regulate migration while at the same time allowing for a certain degree of openness into the country (Gropas 2015). For instance, in 2010 the South African government passed an Immigration Act that encourages migrants with special skills to come into the country yet at the same time enacted other Acts that restrict the incoming of semi-skilled or unskilled migrants (Ratha 2007).

Beck (2000) believes that the paradox of migration lies with globalization. Beck argues that the world has entered a 'second age of modernity' whereby human rights precede international law. Within this 'second age of modernity' according to Beck, the power of the nation-state is increasingly being overshadowed by an increasing sense of meta-ethics. This, according to him, is an increase in the concern for human rights that stretches beyond national borders (Beck 2000). Globalization and information technologies have brought in a sense of closeness among people who are physically far from each other. The option of total isolation is untenable in the 'age of modernity' where globalization is a reality. This is increasingly making it difficult for any state to regulate migration. South Africa, as a migrant state is undergoing a similar experience. The government is torn into different parts: it feels it has an obligation to the global community to protect migrants, it also feels obliged to enhance citizens' interest, for they are the ones who voted them into political power. On the other hand, the viability of government is also sustained by investors who favour migration. Thus, the government is put in a pressured position with regard to migration.

In practice the post-apartheid government has been hedging its migration policies (Buller et al. 2013). During the first years of its democracy, government policies on migration were on the left of the political scale, it opened up for many migrants and offered incentives for migrants to become citizens (Posel 2004). Less than ten year existence in power, the South African government has shifted from a liberal to a conservative approach. It now encourages special skilled people and big investors to migrate into the country and at the same time it is restrictive towards unskilled and poor migrants (Peberdy 2001).

2.2.2 South Africa's restrictive migration policies

In many cases, the paradoxical position of developed governments consequently lead them into the crafting of restrictive migration policies than management migration policies. Restrictive migration policies involve increasing deportations, surveillance and the harassment of migrants to deter them from migrating into the country (Crush et al. 2002). As the government implements restrictive policies, migrants also craft more and more migration strategies, some of which are dangerous and costly (McDowell, Provine 2013, Lefko-Everett 2010, , Bloch 2008). Migrants, from a rational point of view, take risks because they believe push-pull factors are outweighed by imagined expectations after migrating.

There are stories of migrants being eaten by crocodiles whilst crossing the Limpopo River from Zimbabwe to South Africa as they try to avoid being arrested by border control policing (Crush et al. 2002). Others have been eaten by wild animals in Kruger National Park, as they try to improvise illegal entry points into South Africa because of restrictive migration policies (Chereni 2014). Restrictive migration policies may not be effective as intended as they fail to deter migrants, but in a long run, they serve a political purpose. For instance, according to Massey (1999), socially restrictive migration policies have the capacity to help in the definition of a citizen's personal identity and create a sense of belonging to local nationals as they enjoy a greater sense freedom and benefits than migrants. On the part of migrants, they feel secluded and not belonging due to restrictive policies (Crush et al. 2002).

In the South African context, restrictive migration laws have been argued to have served as a reason for justifying the abuse of migrants by some law enforcement and other disgruntled citizens (Minter 2011). To some extent, restrictive migration policies from developed countries

have been described to have been helping in the creation of a conducive environment for hostility and social exclusion by ordinary citizens towards migrants (McDowell and Wonders 2010). Migrants, are thus, treated with disdain. As a means to survive within such hostile environment migrants start improvising strategies. One among many is the formation of migrant enclaves and social support networks.

2.2.3 Migration and social support networks

The concept, 'network' is generic, to convey any meaning, it needs an explanation and contextualization. In this project, I am engaging the concept in relation to 'social support networks' as a way of describing a social process in the context of migrant's experience. Garbarino describes social support network as a "set of interconnected relationships among a group of people that provide an enduring pattern of nurturance and provides contingent reinforcement for effort to cope with life on a day to day basis" (1988:5). Therefore, the concept, social support networks conveys a social phenomenon that invokes a process of support that range from interpersonal exchanges to which Garbarino suggests that it also involves the provision of "an individual with vital information, emotional reassurance, physical and maternal assistance and a sense of self as an object of concern" (1998:4).

According to Garbarino (1998), social support networks can be formal or informal. Formal social support networks are established rationally, with a certain structural organization. Informal social support networks are less deliberately established, at times unintentionally and ad-hoc. Their existence is sustained by a need they are meant to serve (Garbarino). In the case the need ceases, such networks would cease to exist *ipso facto* or evolve into something different. Migrant social support networks fall in the latter category because they exist and are sustained by the inflow of new migrants who are in need of support as they struggle to settle in their new environment.

Castles et al. (2009) has argued that migration is a lucrative business that is self-perpetuating. The industry is facilitated by migrant social networks (Massey 1999). Castles *et al* have argued that the migration industry "embraces a broad spectrum of people who earn their livelihood by organizing migratory movements" (2009:201). By referring it to industry, Castles *et al* implicitly acknowledge the money or profit some people are getting out of it. The migration industry incorporates agencies in the place of origin, transit and destination countries (Castles et al 2009).

For example, in countries of origin, migrant networks, assist with job search, travel offers by both legal and illegal transporters.

At the destination country, migrant networks are used to assist businesses and service opportunities (Elrick 2008, McGregor 2010). Lawyers, labour recruiters, interpreters, housing agents and brokers, Elrick (2008) argues, are among agents that have a direct stake in the migration industry. They have an interest in migration flows continuing, despite states' efforts to implement restrictive measures. Migration, for Elrick, is sustained by the services it offers to stakeholders. As such, migration becomes a cumulative causation (Donato et al. 2008). According to Massey (1999), the theory of cumulative causation states that, as more and more individuals migrate and create migration network connections in the destination country, they also lower the costs of migration, be that psychological, financial or material costs. In turn, Massey (1999) continued to argued that, networks induce additional migration and consequentially creating more migration network connections. These networks subsequently create social structures that maintain and sustain migration.

2.3 Religion and migration

One of the social institutions that has and continues to play a role in the creation and sustaining of migrants social support networks is religion. Religion is a generic and abstract term. It can be used to refer to institutionalized structures like Churches, Faith Based Organizations, personal practices and beliefs, etc. Tracy McIntosh (2007) argues that religion is an elusive reality that we as human being sense that we immediately understand yet when we go deeper, we find it difficult to define. McIntosh views religion from a sociological perspective and conceives it as "those shared ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that have their central focus on some transcendent otherness" (2007:276). McIntosh's understanding of religion is underpinned by a 'social institution' that has a focus on transcendent 'Otherness,' who among Christians, is referred to as God. Beckford (2003) is not focused on the definition of religion, but ways through which religion is expressed. For him, religion is a product of social interactions, structures and processes, which in turn influence social life and cultural meaning (Beckford 2003). For

Beckford (2003), there is a dialectic relation between the society and religion in the sense that they shape each other.

This view has been discussed previously by classical sociologists such as Emile Durkheim is understood by Ling & Bouma (2008) to have argued that religion was not divinely inspired, but human inspired so as to support human aspiration of social cohesion. Unlike Durkheim, according to Matthewmann (2007) Karl Marx is said to have conceived religion as an oppressive tool that the rich use to control the poor. Weber, however, saw religion as an inspiration tool towards development (cited in Matthewmann 2007). These different views on religion point to Tracy McIntosh's argument that religion is an elusive social phenomenon. However, the arguments outlined above are pinned on what religion does to the society (Marsh Campbell, R. and Keating 2014). Religion is engaged for multiple reasons by different individuals and categories of people. Therefore, this research study holds the view that religion is a social phenomenon. However widely religion is practiced, it cannot be presumed to serve similar ends, and practiced in a similar manner Smith & Marranca, 2009. Various factors come into play when it comes to religion, such as the environment, culture, politics and economy (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007).

Levitt (2007) in her book, *God Needs No Passport*, look at the role religion plays in helping migrants to make sense of the new places they find themselves in after migration. Her empirical study took place in the American context. For her, as people migrate, so too does religion (Levitt 2007). Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) discussed how religion links migrants in both societies of origin and to the new destination, to facilitate a kind of simultaneous embeddedness. Obadere and Adebani (2010) discussed the role religion plays among Nigerians as they seek visa to go to developed countries like Europe and America to search for a better life.

Unlike the above scholars who have looked at the direct engagement of migrants with religion, Ebaugh and Chafetz (2002) focused on the position and influence of religious organization in migration. They hold the view that through the physical and social space that religious institutions occupy, they provide to migrants with resources to negotiate with their new social milieu (Ebaugh et al. 2002). This was in relation to the process of settling migrants in their new habitat. Thus, religious institutions, because of their ethos, are well positioned to support migrants.

Vertovec (2010) presents a similar argument to Ebaugh *et al* (2002) when he argues that religions play a significant role in the lives of migrants. Among other things, Vertovec (2010) mentions religion's capacity to form migrants' transnational social support networks. Beyond instrumentalism he discusses what happens during a social encounter with the 'other' (Vertovec 2010). According to Vertovec (2010) when religious migrants have encounters with the 'other religion' it has the effect of helping both parties to make clear the distinction between religion and culture. Through the encounter with the other, self-awareness and religious ideas are purified and adapted (Vertovec 2010). This argument has also been by Cadge and Ecklund (2007) who argue that religion is transformed through migration. Religion, while serving the practical needs of migrants, is itself transformed through the encounter with the other.

2.3.1 Religion and migration in South Africa

Classical sociologists such as Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim did not agree on the function of religion. Some of the probable reasons for continued disagreement about the nature and role of religion could be the context within which religion is studied, as well as the personal disposition of the researcher or author. However, there is a general agreement among scholars of religion that religion has important social functions (Inglehart, Basanez, Moreno 1998). South Africa as a social field of the study has its own context that informs on how migrants engage religion on the social front for their particular course.

Chidester (1996) in his book, *Savage Systems*, argued that in Southern Africa, religion has been a site of struggle from the early colonial period, into postcolonial period. Within this struggle, religion has been defined and adapted according to the needs of the category of people with power (Chidester 1996). People have engaged with religion, whether for incorporation or exclusion of the 'other,' or to re-enforce their own position of power (Chidester 1996). Similarly Elphic and Davenport (1997) have claimed that religion in South Africa has often been used to serve interest of the dominant group on the political front. Elphic and Davenport (1997) developed their line of thought in the context of an apartheid government that used religion to justify racial segregation, *vis-à-vis* the post-apartheid government led by African National Congress (ANC) with its reconciliation program that relied on religion, in terms of the framework and facilitators of the program.

In their article, Hansen, T.B., Jeannerat, C. and Sadouni (2009) echoed the main argument that runs in the text of Chidester's book, *Savage Systems*. These scholars have argued that while modern South Africa is a home to diverse people for generations, their cultural and religious authenticity is rooted somewhere else (Hansen et al 2009). Therefore, "the large part of urban space in South Africa is sites of struggle for success, tragedy, drama and aspiration, but rarely sites of 'the proper' – neither the culture nor the spiritually proper" (Hansen 2009:191). The discourse has created cities as 'no man's land.' Hansen *et al*'s (2009) argument of tracing the roots of African religions to the far distant past could not be understood as factual and innocent, but nevertheless ideological. There is a possibility that religion is engaged to alienate indigenous Africans from claiming ownership of city space. While the rich and powerful have used religion to protect their social status, as Chidester (1996) suggested, they have also used their prowess to disenfranchise the poor from their own land.

Levitt has stressed that "religion is a key to how people make places for themselves in the world" (2007:64). As the rich are engaging religion to cement their position in South African society, the marginalized have used religion to access their basic needs (Wilson 2001). At times they have engaged religion to console themselves in their sufferings by aspiration for a better life after death. In South Africa, Levitt's argument is augmented by Hansen *et al* who argue that "religious experience and religious practice are crucial to the hopes and aspirations for a new kind of self-making that the new post-apartheid society has ushered in" (2009:192).

After the fall of apartheid, the dawn of majority rule coincided with the phenomenon of globalization. Black African migrants to South Africa hoped for integration into the local community as South Africa joined international community (Gibson, Gouws 2000). However, contrary to these hopes, migrants continue to feel socially secluded. It is within this context that religions and transnational religious institutions, are promising inclusion into something larger and universal than what globalization is failing to achieve. For migrants "the reaching for the universal and the truly global and modern often takes place through religious practice" (Hansen et al. 2009:193). In other words, Hansen *et al* (2009) argue that religion is able to unite people regardless of their nationality or social status. Religion, for Hansen *et al* (2009), has the ability to produce an inclusive desired belonging, a sense of personal dignity and respect, and the recognition migrants need as human beings. For instance, *ortho-praxis* like liturgy is re-designed

to be more inclusive Hansen et al (2009). The use of different languages and rituals that are closely connected to migrants and the local communities have been a source of inspiration and a symbol of inclusion into the global community.

The argument developed by Hansen *et al* (2009) is supported also by White (2000) who has argued that among those on the periphery of South African society, religion has a social function because it gives them a sense of belonging and recognition of their human dignity as persons. Landau (2009) expresses a similar sentiments, through his claim that religions in South Africa are used by migrants to claim social place in a contested space. Landau's (2009) argument is developed against the background of the violence towards migrants that took place in 2008 in South Africa. During the violence, Landau (2009) commented that religious organizations were at the forefront rendering assistance in the form of material and immaterial support. To assert religions' inclusive nature, Landau continued to suggest that during May 2008 and May 2015 violence towards African migrants, Churches and religious organizations have provided more shelter and protection for more migrants than any other humanitarian organizations

2.3.2 Religion and social capital

Attempts to define religion has been a controversial subject among scholars. Berger (2011) has argued that Any attempt to define what religion is, has shown to be biased in one way or the other. In spite of that, there is a general agreement among scholars that religion operate at different levels levels (Park 2005) In this study I argue that persons can engage religion as a form of social capital. In order to understand the implication of the argument that religion is a social capital, I will start by looking at significant concepts of capital and social capital.

Social Capital

Putnam (2001) developed his understanding of social capital following Bourdieu (1985) who had suggested earlier that social capital should be intentionally developed. Putnam's (2001) conception of social capital has both individual and collective aspects. He described social capital as "those features of social organization such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficacy of a society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam 2009:276). Putnam's (2009) emphasis is on characteristics of social organization such as trust, norms and networks. For him, the core idea of social capital theory is that networks have value and that

social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups. Putnam (2009) differentiated social capital from other capitals by placing it at *meso*- level in which it is held neither in the individual nor in an organization, but in the relationship that exist between or among individuals and/or in organizations.

Coleman (1990) discussed social capital *via negativa* with an emphasis on desired results. He described social capital as a resource that is accessible by group members to achieve "certain end that would not be attainable in its absence" (Coleman 1990:302). In this, he understands social capital to be the product of social structures, composed of complex elements beyond simply network configurations. Coleman's structural understanding of social capital represents resources that reside in the "function-specific relationship in which individuals are embedded" (1990:302)

Smidt (2003) after comparing the Putnam's view of social capital to that of Coleman concluded that the continuity of social capital is not guaranteed by specific individuals but a need it serves through its accumulated capital. Individuals may come and go, but social capital remains and continues to serve needs it is meant to address (smidt 2003). Smidt's (2003) view is shared by Lewicki, R.J. & Brinsfield (2009) who hold that social capital is created through human interactions. As social capital is created through interactions, norms and expectations emerge and structurally "these redundant exchanges become networks or web of activities that occur both within and across organization," (Lewicki et al 2009:276). As it creates its own norms through interactions, social capital becomes cumulative to serve more needs as they arise (Putnam 2001).

Putnam has suggested that "social capital is never a private property" (1993:170). It is open to all members of the group despite the fact that members may benefit from it differently depending on one's capacity and position she/he holds within the social group. That is also the reason why Burt (2001) treated social capital metaphorically for the fact that people who are well connected are likely to do better in life than those who are less connected. Personal connections, in this case, increase an individual's chance to access resources he/she needs in life.

Fukuyama (2001) conceives of social capital as an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals. Woolcock and Naravan (2000) understand social capital to be norms and social relations embedded in the social structures of society that enable people to coordinate action and achieve desired goals. Therefore, Fukuyama agrees with Putnam

and Coleman that social capital is relational in character. Portes (2003) also stressed that social capital is inherent in relationships. Therefore, we can argue here that for one to possess social capital, one must be related to another. It is the 'other' who is the source of one's advantage. What this means, according to Fukuyama is that, for a person to possess social capital, he or she must be related to the other and it is the 'other' who is an actual source of advantage. To achieve the desired goals, Fukuyama (2001) argues that social capital has to be associated with the radius of trust, a circle of people among whom cooperative norms are operative than any authoritative coercion.

Putnam (2000) has differentiated between two types of social capital depending on their functionality; bonding capital and bridging capital. Bonding capital benefits members within a network by undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity (Putnam 2000). It has the capacity to enhance cohesion within specific members of a network. The major setback of the bonding capital is that it has the capacity to antagonize those outside the group. Bridging social capital serves to generate broader identities by extending the networks of relationship beyond the smaller group (Putnam 2000). Putnam (2000) was aware that bonding and bridging capital are not exclusive in their functionin, and that. agency plays a determining factor in whether social capital is engaged in bonding or bridging. Brune and Bossert (2009) has described trust as the 'glue' that makes relationships hold together, whichever way in which social capital is engaged. This glue can be used to bond within an inner circle or to bridge the relationship further outside the inner circle.

While Putnam argues that bonding and bridging are two types of social capital, Burt (2009) conceives them as two characteristics of social capital. He further argues that social capital theory be restricted to social networks (Burt 2009). Within his restriction of social capital to social networks, Burt (2009) points out two important characteristics of social networks; social closure and structural holes of which both converge in what he called brokerage. The brokerage process involves the building of connections across groups to increase exposure and diverse opinion and resources. Brokers act as lynchpins or as gatekeepers (Fukuyama 2001). As a brokerage, social capital plays the role of drawing valuable information or resources together from different nodes and networks that are apart form each other (Fukuyama 2001). This understanding of social capital is closely connected to one of the major functions of social

support networks, which is to collect and share vital information on opportunities, and to minimize dangers that may befall members of the network. Burt (2009) describes closure as an act of strengthening connections within the group in order to focus on a limited set of opinions, practices and goals. Closure is associated with trust and alignment, and ultimately, for Burt, it augment efficiency in terms of relationship. Contrary to social closure, social holes are gaps that exist between two networks in which a broker is needed to connect them and a broker can be individuals or institutions (Burt 2009). Therefore, "brokerage and closure are in a perpetual cycle as a network duality, mending and undoing one another" (Burt 2009:39). However, networks with social closure are vital sources of social capital because they have dense ties and enable members to benefit from easy access to resources held by members within a society.

One of the aspects that contribute to the expansion of social capital are its productive networks. Bartkuset (2010) has argued that networks are important for building and expanding trust reservoirs. Within a productive network, Bartkuset argues that members are often able to form perceptions of other members despite incomplete information. This perception is based on the information on the reputation of the network and from the network. It is the willingness to trust early that raises the level of generalized interpersonal trust. Putnam (1995) and Lin (2001) have argued that migrants are able to trust Faith Based Organization and Civil society groups than Government Institutions like Police and Political parties because of the reservoir of trust built around these institutions. This leads to the discussion as to how religion is a social capital.

Religion as social capital

We have seen above how different social groups, those in power as well as those on the periphery, engage religion for their own benefit in different ways (Comaroff, J. and Comaroff, J.L., 1999). Religion as a form of social capital takes different dimensions. Ysseldyk (2010) DeYoung (2009) identify three significant dimensions of religion; individual identity, cultural identity and structural organized dimension. Religion as individual identity refers to how an individual feels within oneself and the ability to define oneself in relation to his/her beliefs (Ysseldyk (2010) . Organized or institutional religion refers to an effective faith community with structures like leadership and/or any other resources they may need to exercise their religion like a Church (Fukuyama 2001). Greeley (1997) and Brown (2007) suggest that the different dimensions are not necessarily distinct but interrelated. In spite of their inter-relatedness, all

three dimensions have social implications and can be engaged as a social capital, depending on the goal one intends to achieve.

Putnam (2000) has argued that the theory of social capital undergirds the alleged benefits or effects that occur primarily, but not necessarily, on the basis of face to face interactions. This is echoed in a social principle of 'homophily' suggested by McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook (2001), who argue that contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people. The principle is built on the assumption that similarity breeds friendship. McPherson et al. appeal to empirical studies, particularly in social psychology, which claims to have established that "attitude, belief and value-similarity lead to attraction and interaction" (2001:439). In their analysis of the empirical studies, McPherson et al. made the proposition that "people who are more structurally similar to another are more likely to have issues-related interpersonal communication and to attend to each other's issue positions, which in turn leads them to have more influences over one another" (2001:416). Building on the principle of homophily, religion is, as a structural organization, a form of social capital in the sense that it brings people together where they learn to trust each other to solve personal issues beyond initial issues that brought them together in the first place.

When Putnam (2000) argued that religion as social capital with both individual and collective aspects, he could be understood to suggest that social capital is both personal and institutional, because while the two are not the same they are supplementing each other. When understood as a personal facet, Putnam (2000) argues that social capital becomes transferable. An individual can take social capital along with them as he/she enters into another social relationship. On the other hand, when social capital is understood as structural variables in which an individual is embedded, then an individual cannot take along social capital when he/she moves into another relationship. Thus, in relation to religion, one can argue that it is possible to take along one's religiosity in any form when entering another relationship or leave it out completely, depending on how valuable or not it might be. Smidt's (2003) suggestion that how one chooses to conceive of social capital influences how one studies it, implies that the choice is between either one or the other. However, in this study, I see religion as a resource of social capital, which reconciles the individual and the institutional aspects.

Social capital is generally used to denote any facet of social relations that serve to enable members to work together to accomplish collective goals, therefore, "faith communities, to which people worship together are arguably the single most important repository of social capital" (Putnam 2000:66). Smidt (2003) concurs with Putnam when he argues that religion is one of the most significant elements in the formation of social capital. The conception of religion in this research study is explained by Putnam (2003) when he asserts that Church affiliation provides important services and resources to their members and others in the community.

Religion has the capacity to equip its adherents with a conceptual framework through which can (and should) view the world and all its creations (Levitt 2001). This conceptualization informs the behavior of individual members of any specific religion. For instance, some of the common behaviors associated with religion, according to Putnam, are "volunteering or charitable contribution" (2000:2). Hence, religious structures have been found to generate social capital, not only for the voluntary actions among religious members, but also beyond religious communities to the secular world. Religious involvement, therefore, has the potential to foster social trust that is essential for the formation of capital.

Smidt (2003) has observed that different religious traditions may be relatively similar in nature, although they vary in terms of the social capital they raise. For example, different religious traditions may emphasize norms of honesty and compassion, yet on the other hand may promote other facets like organizational structure and authority. This, according to Smidt (2003), has the capacity to raise social capital in different ways among members of different networks. Therefore, "not all religious structures foster the same level of social capital, opportunities to develop skills, networks vary across religious borders with regard to such factors as congregational size, liturgical practices and forms of Church polity" (Smidt 2003:11). As such, religion as social capital has to be understood within its specific context because it is influenced by a number of factors, such as socio-political and historical contexts, as well as the theology upon which religions justify their activities.

However important religion and religious institutions are as one of the sources of social capital, Putnam (2000) argues that religion is still a contested subject in terms of its social function. Fukuyama (2001) had argued that while any category of capital can be directed toward malevolent, antisocial actions, religion as social capital facet is not exempted from being

malevolently used. However, Fukuyama insisted that religion is social capital mainly when it serves benevolent ends. The research study is not focused on how religion serves malevolently but seeks to explore the creative ways migrants engage religion to respond to their needs within a socio-political context we have argued above that they experience social exclusion.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed and discussed selected literature on migration, religion and social capital. I have looked at migration as a human phenomenon that takes place all the time, and it has also discussed migration with a scope of transnationalism. Highlighting the point that religion plays a significant role in the life of such category of migrants, I have discussed religion as a social capital. In the next chapter I will discuss methodologies that have been used to collect and analyze the data. Taking a qualitative approach, I will discuss different aspects and tools of qualitative approach that have facilitated in the process of collecting and analyzing the data. I have also reflected on ethical issues which I have undertaken during the entire process of the research.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Introduction

Outlining the methodology used to collect and analyze data in research projects is significant in order to establish the validity and rigour of the findings. In this chapter I will outline the methodology, design and methods of my research project. This include considerations about the choice of research design, methods that were used to collect the data, challenges encountered in the process of collecting data, ethical consideration, my position as a researcher and limitations of the study. I also highlight important events and processes that took place from the initiation of the research project, during the research project to the final stages of analysis. Their importance lies in the fact that they have influenced research processes and findings.

3.1 Research design

This research project took a qualitative approach, with a combination of methods. All methods that I used for data collection focused on capturing the lived experience of refugees. To enter and become familiar with the field of research, I used ethnographic approach, a research method that involves studying people *in situ* (Hancock 2002). That enabled me to conduct direct observations and make first contact with refugees and migrants at RPC at the Dennish Hurley Centre. I observed how migrants are welcomed, kinds of questions they are asked and the kinds of assistance RPC is able to offer them.

The first thing I did was to go to the RPC office at DHC where I met the administrator to negotiate to use their program as a case study. He accepted and gave me an acceptance letter which I submitted together with my proposal to the Research and Higher Degrees Committee (R & HDC). After going through oral review, the R & HDC approved the project partially, subject to the review by the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee. The Research Ethics Committee granted full approval of the project on 17th December 2015.

As part of the ethnography, I twice attended the '*Healing Touch of Christ workshops*.' These are organized on a monthly or quarterly basis by the RPC depending on financial and client

availability. In the workshops I became a participant observer (McCall 2006) whereby I, as a researcher, immersed myself in the activities of the group. When I was starting the ethnography, there was some resistance from participants to interact with me, but by the time I started doing interviews the participants had become familiar with me and were willing to take part in the interviews. The strategy of using an ethnographic approach at the outset of the project helped me to build trust among participant towards the me as a researcher, and helped me develop trusting relationships in preparation for the interviews. The ethnographic introduction to the research field also gave me an intimate view into how refugees interact with religion through their activities and participation in RPC.

RPC organizes a number of spiritual recollections and social gatherings with the migrants that make use of the centre. I attended two of these spiritual recollections, as well as one social gathering. My attending these activities helped to strengthen the relationship of trust that became very significance in the collection of data through interviews. However, in order to begin the interviewing process, I had to wait for full approval of the project by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Social Science Research Ethics Committee. I received Ethical Clearance in December 2015.

It was during the time of ethnography that I learnt of the structural organization of the Dennis Hurley Centre. The DHC is like an umbrella organisation that coordinates different socio-pastoral ministries of the Catholic's Archdiocese of Durban. RPC is one of the semi-autonomous outreach ministries at DHC, established to focus specifically on the welfare of refugees. Therefore, in this study, the use of the term, DHC has a specific reference to RPC that deals with the welfare of a specific category of migrants who are refugees.

3.1.1 Sampling procedure

My recruitment of the interview participants was based on a number of factors. First of all, with the support of the gatekeeper, I selected participants that I felt had successfully dealt with their traumatic experiences of migration. These were people who were in a relatively state of mind, hence making the interviews possible and safe. I had to do my own assessment of the possible participants through our interactions in different forums. One important forum was the Healing Touch Workshops. There, I observed how the RPC helps refugees to deal with their traumatic

experiences. Refugees chosen to be approached as interview participants displayed some stability in these workshops, through how they were at home with their experience and used their own stories to help others. I tried to avoid recruiting those who had not dealt with their traumatic experiences, despite having a mechanism at hand to deal with any eventualities that might be caused in the course of the study. I felt that it would not be ethical to interview refugees in vulnerable and psychologically unstable mental situations.

The other sampling criteria was language. All interviews were done in English in order to limit the challenges translation during the interviews. This was made easier because, part of the program to support newly arrived migrants at the RPC is the teaching of languages; English and IsiZulu. Therefore, looking at the period they have stayed in South Africa, the English fluency participants was sufficient enough to engage in a meaningful conversation. All the interviewees were able to speak English, which made it easier to communicate during the interviews.

3.1.2 Semi-structured interviews

Chereni (2013) argues that stories or excerpts of migrant narratives reveal more about their personal aspirations, than statistical or geographical representations. Because I aimed to get the participants to tell stories about their experiences. I opted for semi-structured interviews. The interview guide and questions were therefore strategically designed to elicit personal narratives of participants' lived experiences and social relations (Kvale 2007). These semi-structured questions were less rigid and enabled participants to construct their own narratives (Weiss 2006). It gave participants freedom to express their narratives without being constrained, but also allowed me as the researcher to intervene with minimal responses, probing and encouragement. Kvale (2007) has argued, that when the researcher plays this role it helps to elicit rich relational data.

A qualitative approach and the use of semi-structured interviews was suitable in my project because, as it is by Berg, qualitative methods allow a researcher to share participants' "understanding and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives" (2007:7-8). Therefore, it was through engaging in interactive conversation that I was able to ask follow-up questions and ask for clarity in order to understand their life experience better. Initially I had intended to conduct face to face interviews, however, because I

was selected to go on an exchange programme to the University of Oslo in Norway, I had to rely change my approach. After consultation with the participants and my supervisor, I decided to conduct the interviews via Skype.

Critical questions with regard to use of Skype hinge on the authenticity of impression management (Peterson 2005), which is negotiated between the researcher and respondent. A mediated interview is certainly not the same as a face to face interview. However, Peterson (2005) has pointed out that authenticity is socially constructed, and that it is changing at all times. Furthermore, it is not easy to measure the authenticity of participants even in a face to face interview. As Sullivan (2013) has argued, it is difficult to gauge authenticity, whether it is through face to face or online interactions, because there is no criterion to judge the authenticity of participants. Sullivan states that "regardless of the environment, online or in person, there will always be 'posers'" (2013:56). Posers are participants who present their narratives in such a way to impress for their own personal goals than effort to present the way they see or understand and relate to their social reality in their everyday lives. Participants will always find a way to conceal information, or their own impression, for different reasons, meaning that authenticity is always mediated, regardless of the form and technology used in the interview. Contrary to Sullivan, I feel it is not fair to think that participants could be posers. I take their experience as authentic because I have no criteria to judge it as inauthentic. Besides, I am also aware that the construction of the data is a mutual exercise between participants and the researcher.

Sullivan (2013) has also argued that the use of communication programs like Skype has the ability to mimic face to face interactions, and that they include the possibility of a presentation of the self in authentic way, almost like in face to face interaction. Furthermore, "because the researcher and interviewee are participating in an exchange relationship that is visible [when interviews are conducted via Skype], one's own eyes, gestures, shrugs, winks, smiles, frowns and verbal cues are all visible part of the process, allowing for impression management" (Sullivan 2013:56). This, according to Goffman (1959) constitutes successful interaction, and is possible even via Skype interviews.

Berg (2007) and Sullivan (2013) also suggest that Skype, although not identical to face to face interview, is similar to such interviews in many ways, particularly with regard to unstructured or semi-structured interviews. During the interviews I was not able to get a full view to observe all

body language, but I was able to read facial expressions, and pick up cues from the voices and the tones used by the participants. Moreover, the participants appeared to be comfortable and willing to share their life experience freely in front of a computer screen. This, to a certain extent could be attributed to the relationship of trust which I had established prior to interviews. In this project, the participants were not strangers to me, nor was I to them. I had established relationships with the participants, through face-to-face contact, before the interviews were conducted. This made the Skype interviews easier to manage, and mediation was not a big problem as the participants and I already knew each other. The interviews went on without me feeling any discomfort or 'posing' from any of the participants.

Another challenge that could have arisen from technologically mediated interviews was the level of technological literacy and access to technological equipment, for the participants. To circumnavigate these challenges, I had to engage the services of a research assistant. He happened to be fellow student of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, who was at the time doing his PhD. We also happened to be in the same cohort of Religion and Migration at UKZN. His familiarity with Information and Technology (IT) helped to facilitate interviews.

3.1.3 Transcription

Oliver, Serovich & Mason(2005) have argued that translation and transcription are important stages in data analysis. These stages are important in the sense that data can be altered when translation and transcription are not done carefully. In order to minimize the altering or losing the richness of the data through language translation and transcription, I decided to chose my participants who have sufficient understanding of English language. I also did transcription myself on the interviews I did. Therefore, all the interviews were conducted in English, as understanding of and ability to speak English was part of the sampling criteria. The reason for choosing to conduct the interviews in English was related to a wish to avoid the alteration and modification that takes place in language translation. With permission from participants, all interviews were recorded on a tape recorder. All interviews were transcribed verbatim, to ensure accurate data analysis. This was significant in the analysis process because it allowed me to, during the analysis process, to go back to conversations, and look for non-verbal cues and tones in the conversation. It was also significant in the sense that it helped to minimize the challenge of

reading my thoughts and biases into the data. The detailed transcription and the written notes I made myself during the interviews were analyzed together.

3.1.4 Method of data analysis

I chose a thematic analysis method, articulated by Braun and Clarke (2006) as a method that limits the researcher from reading their own assumptions into the data, but at the same time allows a researcher the flexibility to judge what is necessary to determine a theme from the data, depending on the main question. By virtue of the fact that thematic analysis is data driven, I saw it as a suitable method for this research project. The relationship between data collection method and data analysis method enhanced the ability to identify themes from semantics as well from latent levels that are underlying ideas, assumptions and ideologies that inform and shape the semantic content of the data collected from participants (Braun et al. 2006). Hence, in my analysis I identified themes that I saw to be in line with the often shared traits and beliefs that were expressed in different ways like by body languages, voice tones and my participants' taken for granted beliefs.

The study falls within the field of sociology of religion, in this field, social meanings are not essential but constructed (Burr 1995). This means that meanings and experiences are not inherent in individuals, but are socially produced and reproduced through social interactions (Burr 1995). I chose thematic analysis to because of its descriptive style well fitting for a study that is sociological in nature. Hence, thematic analysis in this study relied on a constructivist conceptualization of social reality. This is contrary to the attitude of taking what one sees or understand as a truth and not aware that it is one's own interpretation. Constructivists are able to accept that in explaining a social reality, it is more of interpretation because the same things can have different interpretation than one. In other ways, I avoid the normalization of social realities.

3.2 Positionality and reflexivity

Pamela Moss (1995) has described reflexivity as the introspective aspects of thought that are self-critical and self-consciously analytical, which is essential in social scientific research. Therefore, it is significant to acknowledge the position that a researcher has within a research

project, and to be critical of the capacity of the researcher to enhance or blur research findings. As a researcher, I was aware that I have multiple positions that I needed to negotiate throughout the research process.

In addition to being a student and a researcher, I am also a member of the clergy in the Catholic Church, the same church that runs the RPC at DHC. Aware of the importance of the position I hold in the Church in question, I explained my position as a clerk and a student of sociology of religion to the gatekeeper before starting the empirical research. In relation to the participants, I tried to de-emphasise my position as a clergy and rather emphasised myself more as a student of sociology of religion, who had come to the center to understand migrant experiences of religion and social support networks.

I partially concealed my positionality as a clergy not as a way to deceive my participants. On the contrary, I knew that to be a clergy in the Catholic Church is a position that comes with power. Therefore, I held a conviction that if participants were to know my Church position outright, they might alter their behavior and attitude to impress (the clergy in) me. Secondly, my position would have reduced their freedom to speak and act during the interviews, and it may also have influenced some participants to decide not to take part in the project. It is difficult for a lay person to say 'no' to a clergy, because of the power that is associated with someone in that position. This was something I wanted to avoid.

I did not intend to conceal my clergy position for the whole duration of the project. I decided to gradually disclose myself fully during the negotiating process as I became more familiar with each of the participants. I first wanted the participants to meet me as 'Mark the researcher', not as 'Mark the Catholic Clerk'. With time, I did, however, fully disclose my position within the Church. The idea of disclosing what I am 'fully' was mainly motivated by two reasons. Firstly, it as my ethical obligation to disclose my full identity to my participants. Secondly, being an ethical obligation, it was important for me that as the participants were opening themselves up to me, that I did the same. After full disclosure, I anticipated a change in their attitude towards me, yet it did not alter my relationship with the participants. Rather, my revelation brought us closer together.

On the other hand, my own position as a migrant studying migration and religion through Catholic organizations, I carried with me some beliefs and biases which could be blind spots in the research process. For instance, when I started this research project, I presumed that I shared a similar experience with other migrants in South Africa, such as my participants. As time went by I started noticing that their experiences and mine are more different than similar. Upon my arrival into the country, I had a room to sleep in, I had legal documents to study and reside in South Africa, and I was able to open a bank account and live freely. Many of my participants, however, came to South Africa barely knowing anyone, and many did not have a host or any place to sleep and live at all. These migrants lacked the social-psychological certainty which I enjoyed. When comparing my experience with that of refugees, I realized I had more access to security and safety than they had. For example, if I was to encounter any threat or harassment I was free to approach the police without fear because I had legal documents. My participants could not enjoy that confidence towards the state, because of their fears of arrest and deportation.

I had presumed that my position as a clerk would be a stumbling block in the collection of data as some participants may present facts especially their plight to a priest than a researcher. I thought they might assume that I am in a position to help them find solutions to their needs. This was especially because many migrants/refugees were still rebuilding their life after the 2015 violent attack on migrants. I made it clear during my negotiating access that my study was conducted for academic reasons. This worked as the participants did not expect any material benefits from participation, except helping me to complete my research project and my Masters degree. Despite not getting any material benefits, the participants were willing to participate in the research study, because they wanted their stories to be heard and they enjoyed having someone to speak to.

In order to understand their experiences I was asking for clarity by asking them to cite examples. My assessment is that, participants tried to narrate their experience in the way that they interpreted them. I hold this opinion because I noticed a pattern in what I observed in the office at RPC, during the 'Healing Touch of Jesus Workshops' and during the interviews. These were different forums, but there was a pattern in their narratives. The pattern was that my participants decided to migrate because of social challenges, their journey to South Africa was difficult, their welcoming in South Africa upon arrival was not pleasant and out of desperation, they found

themselves at the RPC to seek help. More importantly, the body language was not quite different and which I believe it takes a professional, to be consistent with body language in different forums on the same story that does not represent his/her personal feelings or understanding. I believed my participants were not professional but ordinary migrants who volunteered to share their experiences.

Given my educational level and my position as a Masters Student, I was aware of my academic privileges during the research process. I also had access to a car during the whole period I was doing research at RPC. This placed me in an outsider position in relation to my participants, as they did not have the privileges and material resources I enjoyed. Thus, on the first day that I entered the research field, I noticed their distancing from me. I had to humble myself to try to emphasise that what mattered in my interaction with them was the human relationship, not material things or academic positions. As such, I tried to give the participants the due respect they deserved as human beings. For instance, I would ask them to teach me some phrases like greetings, thank you etc, in their home languages. This kind of attitude was part of a strategy on my part to seek acceptance from the participants by proving to them that they have something to offer me. In due course I felt I shortened the social and class distance between the participants and myself. My interaction with participants helped to form a relationship of trust despite our inequality based on power imbalance and status.

One of the challenges a social researcher may encounter during research in the social sciences is what Rose Gillian (1997) referred to as the 'god-trick'. This is an attitude of claiming to see the whole world while remaining distanced from it; 'seeing everything from nowhere'. Demosh (2003) has argued that a researcher needs to recognize that differences in power, knowledge and truth claims affect research processes and interactions. Gillian and Demosh's arguments were a constant reminder for me as a researcher to be acutely aware that the knowledge produced within social research is always partial and mediated, because it entails power relations such as gender, politics, culture or economics. Moreover, I could not take for granted power issues enshrined in categories like 'gender', 'refugee', 'widow' or 'undocument. Such social categories carry with them baggage like power, emotions, and history. While acknowledging multiple identities, my focal identity during the research process was the participants status as migrants.

The knowledge produced in research processes, Kabayasha (1994) argues, occurs within a context of social relations and development processes within local and broader social realm; it is always partial and representative. Being conscious of this enhanced my awareness that as a researcher, my 'view' of the research 'problem', the participants and their stories was produced from a specific angle that had its blindspots. Therefore, I am aware my findings are interpretive and partial, yet still have the capacity to reveal part of broader patterns of networks aligned with religion. This acceptance and acknowledgement of interpretation and partiality in knowledge production is one of the ways which Kabayashi (1994) argues a researcher can avoid naturalizing tendencies towards socially constructed knowledge. Therefore, whilst I have tried to be faithful to the data, I acknowledge that I have interpreted it from my own specific position that is influenced by, among other factors, worldview, personal experience and faith.

3.2.1 Personal motivation

When I started this research project, I was motivated by the fact that since 1994, South Africa has seen an increase of migrants coming from different countries into South Africa. There have been a wide range of migrants like students, economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, etc. People have different reasons why they migrate to South Africa. The South African government has legal responsibility to protect and support migrants within its territory. Unfortunately, whether by design or default, the country faces challenges in providing resources and infrastructure to support migrants that arrive. The plight of migrants has motivated Faith Based Organizations (FBO) like the RPC at DHC to initiate programs that are aimed at the welfare of migrants, particularly the refugees.

When refugees arrive in South Africa, they need the means to overcome the challenges that come with migration. One of the strategies is social support networks. These are significant in the sense that they facilitate access to social resources. Some refugees come to places like RPC at the Dennis Hurley Centre where they access those networks.

3.3 Ethical considerations

In their book, *Research Ethics for Social Scientist*, Israel and Hey (2006) have argued for the importance of ethical issues in research. They contended that ethical behavior in research is significant because it helps to protect both participants and the environment from harm (Israel and Hay 2006). This is because research, if anything, is supposed to "offer potential to increase the sum of good in the world" (Israel and Hay 2006:2). Oakes (2000) has also warned social scientists that they have no inalienable right to conduct research involving people. He has stressed that doing research that involves people, in large part, depends on participants' good will. Therefore, as a researcher, I had an obligation to avoid or at least to minimize harm to participants that might incur due to the research process. Among issues addressed in this regard were consent, confidentiality, and power relations.

3.3.1 Consent

Since this research project depended on the good will of both migrants and the RPC at DHC, I had to get permission in the form of a letter from RPC gate keepers to conduct my planned research. Moreover, after recruiting all the interviewees, I once again had to conscientize them the goals of the project. For instance, that it is purely academic, and that it does not entail any material benefits for participants. To show their willingness to participate in the study, I asked each of my interviewees to freely and willingly make a decision to participate or not after discussing with them all that would be involved if they agreed to participate. To express their commitment to participate, they signed a consent form (See appendix ii) that described their rights and my expectations. The consent form stressed also that they retain their right to withdraw from participation if they decide to do so, at any point or stage within the research process. In other words, their right to withdraw is never forfeited by the act of signing the consent form.

3.3.2 Confidentiality and privacy

Confidentiality, as one of the ethical considerations in the research, aims at protecting participants from harm, whether foreseen or unforeseen (Baez 2002). As a way to protect the confidentiality of participants, especially my interviewees, all names of participants have been anonymized in this research report. To uphold the integrity of respondents interviewees took

place at one of the RPC offices where confidentiality and privacy were ensured. With regard to the medium of communication, there was a concern that the propriety (internet service providers) of Skype may be recording our conversation and that they had the possibility to trace the location and identity of the people, as well as the computers used.

This may threaten the promise of confidentiality. First of all, I did not plan to discuss anything illegal that might put participants into problems. Secondly, I made it clear to my interviewee about the reality of Skype in relation to confidentiality, so that they could make informed decisions. In spite of that, as a precaution, I created a dummy Skype account, from which I deleted all information and blocked all contacts after the conclusion of the data collection process. All the recordings of interviews were safely stored on my computer during the process of writing this research dissertation, and upon my submission, the interview material will be stored in the office of my supervisor at UKZN, for up to the stipulated period of five years before being disposed of securely.

3.3.3 Power relations

Susan Boser (2006) has argued that in qualitative research, power is a factor. Power can be used to coerce people to participate, or refuse to participate, depending on how it is handled (Boser 2006). Power can also be used to collect rich data, and poor data, depending on how relationships and power asymmetries are negotiated. In this research study, I had to grapple and constantly negotiate with asymmetrical and complicated power relations between myself and the participants by creating a friendly environment to enable my participants to feel accepted and recognized, not merely as migrants, but as human beings.

Despite the fact that gate keepers told me that they liked the way I conducted myself thus were ready and willing to help me complete my research project, I cannot be sure that this was because of my conduct alone, or because of the clergy in me. Furthermore, it could be possible that their pre-knowledge that Catholic clergy have a seal of confession³ was a factor. It has the capacity to influence the respondents' sense of trust that their narratives are safer with a Catholic

³The vow which Catholic priests promise never to reveal whatever they hear during the sacrament of confession no matter what circumstance

clergy, than with a University student. In short, while I believe my conduct enhanced the data collection, I cannot be certain how the clerical character influenced conducts of participants.

3.4 Limitations of the study

The RPC at DHC as an FBO is a theologically based centre for Catholic Social Teaching.⁴ In spite of that, the study did not intend to discuss the theology under which the organization operates. Rather, it sought to study human experience, especially the networks that emanate from such a religious organization. It sought social phenomena that are not directly initiated by the theological understanding that undergird the organization. Therefore, the study has used sociological tools in an effort to understand the social behavior of refugees in their relationship with religion.

The study is also aware of the complexity involved in the discussion of the term 'religion.' As a theological body with its beliefs and *orthopraxis*, these theological beliefs and practices are significant in the study of religion and so is religion cannot be separated from its institutional nature with its operating structures. The study has looked at in two ways (1) as a social entity, and so is religion as a social institution with its operating structures in which individual humans participate in its construction, (2) as *orthopraxis* with its shared ways of thinking, telling, and acting that have their central focus on the transcendental (Tracy 2003). Therefore, it approached religion, not as a complete social entity, but as a social entity that is under construction, yet guided by specific doctrines and practices. Since it is under construction, the study looked at migrants as people who participate in the construction of religion. Since there are many religions, out of which religious people and the academic community struggle to agree on the meaning of religion, it would be unfair on my part to generalize the findings of this particular project. However, I cannot rule out any possible compatibility of the findings with the setup, function and role of other religions.

⁴ Catholic Social Teaching is a body of doctrine developed by the Catholic Church on matters of social justice. Among other issues, it involves the distribution of wealth, social organization and the role of a state

The study is also aware of the complexity involved in the discussion of the term "religion." Howsoever important religion is, as a theological body with its beliefs and *orthopraxis*, these theological beliefs and practices are not focused on the study. Rather, the study looked at religion as a social entity in which individual humans participate in its construction. Therefore, it approached religion, not as a complete social entity, but as a social entity that is under construction. Since it is under construction, the study looked at migrants as people who participate in the construction of religion. Since there are many religions, out of which religious people and the academic community struggle to agree on the meaning of religion, it would be unfair on my part to generalize the findings of this particular project. However, I cannot rule out any possible compatibility of the findings with the setup, function and role of other religions.

Conclusion

There are different methods I have used in the research project. Despite their seeming differences, they all converge on the point that I wanted to understand how migrant's understand lived experience in South Africa. I have also discussed ethical steps I undertook, and the ethical challenges that shaped the process of this research project. The ethical issues were mainly designed to protect the interest of the participants, as they are generally regarded as a vulnerable social group.

The next chapter is the presentation of the data. I will focus on what is taking place at RPC in relation to lives of migrants that are attached to the organization. I will highlight more the experiences as migrants understand their situation. Prior to my presentation of migrants' socioeconomic challenges of housing, employment and legal documentation, as a scenic setting, I will present some of challenging experiences related to their migration *vis-à-vis* religion.

Chapter Four: Ways Migrants Engage religion as Social Capital at Refugee Pastoral Care

Introduction

The RPC is a religious organization that deals with the welfare of migrants in Durban. In this chapter I will present the processes that migrants undergo through the RPC to access their needs that are associated with migration experiences. As I have presented above that my approach towards religion is both institutional and at the same time a theological body with orthopraxis. The two approach towards religion culminates at the RPC as it combines both aspects in its strategy to support migrants. Initially, the exercise to acquire social assistance revolves around the creation and maintenance of social support networks in an 'informal way,' (Garbarino 1998). Yet in our case, religion operates as a social capital both in formal and informal way. This is in consistency with the definition of social capital by Putman any feature of social organization such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficacy of a society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam 2009:276). Below I will demonstrate that the Church, through the RPC is able to provide migrants trust, norms and networks that are facilitating their action to access social needs. These social support networks are partially accountable for helping migrants to meet their basic social needs.

The main source of data on migrants' experience was collected through semi-structured interviews with 6 migrants. These interviews took place over three months, between the 28th January 2016 and the 31st March 2016. Below are brief personal profile of interviewees. All their names are anonymized to protect their identities. However, biographies are true in the sense that they reflect what the interviewees said about themselves. I verified by sending a copy to each interviewee to verify their stories and they did verify without alterations.

1. Naje

A Burundian National. She migrated to South Africa after amidst the escalation of tribal wars. By the time she came to South Africa, she had a visa and was able to access higher education institutions. She was hosted by her brother who already lived in South Africa. Upon the expiry of her visa, she felt locked down that she could not access even her own academic transcript. At the

time of the study, she was neither studying nor working. Naje survived on the material support given by the RPC. Her initial contact with RPC was through friends who were members of the Burundian community in South Africa. Naje hopes to go back to her home country one day.

2. Jane

Jane is from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and migrated to South Africa together with her three children. Her husband was killed during the civil war in DRC. She was encouraged to migrate to South Africa by her friend who was sympathetic with her miserable situation after the death of her husband. This friend linked Jane with her cousin as a possible host in South Africa. Unfortunately, things did not work well with the host. Jane explained to me that she had contemplated suicide numerous times. With information from other migrants, she ended up seeking help from the RPC. Since she linked up with RPC, she claims she re-discovered the will to live again. Jane runs her own small business to survive in South Africa.

3. Lackson

Lackson is a Burundi national, who is married and has three children. He migrated to South Africa after escaping the persecution from the militia in Burundi. Once he was shot in the leg and he is still nursing the wound after more than a decade. He was imprisoned during the civil war and escaped with the help of a Catholic priest and Amnesty International, who negotiated his escape route. Lackson assists at the DHC.

4. Milos

Milos is a Burundian national, married, with three children. He came to South Africa more than two decades ago after the rupture of civil war in his country. Upon migrating to South Africa, he had no any personal contact to anyone living in the country. He claims to have had two things when coming to South Africa: self confidence in his profession as a tailor, and trust in the divine providence.

5. Titani

Titani is from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). He is married and has two children. He migrated to South Africa after the collapse of education system in his country, due to the civil

war. He came to South Africa as a Primary School Qualified teacher and wanted to advance his education. On the contrary things did not work according to his wishes. In South Africa he could not find employment befitting his qualification.

6. Nadu

Nadu is also from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) . He migrated to South Africa in 1999 after losing hope due to unending civil wars in his country. He is sickly and paralyzed by stroke. When he arrived in Durban, he claims he was running a barber shop. Now that he is unable to work, he is sustained by the support from the RPC and other NGO's who support migrants and vulnerable people in Durban. His initial contact with RPC was through a friend.4.3
Presentation of data from interviews

In this section I am going to present, in thematic approach, migrant experience of reception in South Africa, especially with the bias towards their reception at the RPC. Migrants' experience outlined in this section are only those that are drawn from interviews I had with the participants. The participants, as their profiles indicate above, were all refugees, running away from their home countries due to civil wars. Themes that have been identified in the section are the following: displacement and flight, trauma upon arrival, cultural shock and, gender and family.

4.1.1 Displacement and flight

In the interviews, my participants narrated the circumstances surrounding their departure from their home countries as undesirable. For instance, Lackson said of the circumstances leading to his migrating from Burundi to South Africa:

After the breakout of civil war in 1993, I was shot by the militia. I was taken to hospital. I stayed in hospital nursing gun wounds. When I was able to walk, I run away to Tanzania since I was among people wanted by the militias. They followed me in Tanzania and took me back home to Burundi where I was put in prison again. I was in jail for two years. Since I had no money to take me to South Africa directly, I had to move slowly. First, I went to Zambia. From Zambia I went to Malawi, where I stayed at Dzeleka refugee camp on the outskirts of Lilongwe.

Although Lackson's destination was South Africa, he could not afford a straightforward journey. As a result, he had to move slowly to South Africa, something which made it an arduous journey. What makes migrating journey difficult is not only lack of transportation. Lackson had said that, *"In Mozambique I was put in jail for being an illegal migrant."* he was arrested for crossing a national borders without the proper documentation.

Milos had more or less a similar experience as he said, *"at times we have slept in bushes for days or open markets on our slow journey to South Africa."* To make it to South Africa, Jane and her children has to use cargo trucks as she said, *"We paid a truck driver who took us from DRC to South Africa"* Considering the distance between Democratic Republic of Congo to South Africa, and using a Cargo truck, one can only appreciate challenges she went through. Jail, sleeping in open markets, camps or cargo trucks are symbols of hardships migrants encounter on their way to South Africa

Upon arriving in South Africa, participants, time and again have shown the attitude of placing themselves against local community. For example, during interviews, all six participants felt being treated differently in South Africa by local community or state agents. With regard to reasons why participants felt treated differently, their prompt answer was that South African community is xenophobic. While it has been strongly supported by literature that some sections of South Africans are xenophobic (Neocosmos 2008), participants' suffering in South Africa are just a part of the long ordeal that starts from home countries. It is also within this context of suffering that participants engage religion through the RPC as a remedy. Religion was significant among participants as it instilled in them a sense of trust, which they felt lacked in the socio-political structure like the police or migration officers. Their trust towards religion was rooted in its transnationalistic approach.

4.1.2 Trauma and reception in the host community

Often circumstances leading to fleeing home, especially for refugees, are very challenging and painful. Reception in the host country had not been easy among these participants too. Jane's story is an example. *"I came here in South Africa in 2012. I came because of the war in my home country. Life was very tough, especially after the death of my husband who was killed by soldiers. I was afraid of myself and my children. So I decided to come here in South Africa for*

safety." Upon arriving in Durban, Jane was disappointed when she went to Police station looking for help as she said, *"They (the Police) explained to me they had no place they can accommodate me."* The police, who she believed were suppose to help her, betrayed her trust when they told her that they could not help with her needs.

With regards to challenges participants encountered during their settling process, there was a sentiment that expressed a double standard among refugee community itself. For instance, Naje said, *"Some people (fellow refugees) from home, you may have their phone numbers, but when they know that you are in the country, they switch off their phones."* The statement suggested to me that it is not only the local community that makes migrants' arrival frustrating. Some migrants, especially 'seasoned' migrants, through cutting off communication channels they had established, as Naje indicated, they shun away from the responsibility of hosting a fellow migrant. While the experience of Naje may sound an isolated case, in fact it is a common trend among migrants. I observed that out of 9 migrants who came to the RPC for help, three people had similar experience to that of Naje. Whether it was the police that failed to assist participants or fellow migrants, the RPC is highlighted as the reliable source of help.

4.1.3 Cultural shock

Out of six participants I interviewed five came to South Africa with no English language background. They experienced a communication breakdown. Such failure to communicate, according to Hungwe (2012) places migrants in vulnerable positions as they are easily identified as '*makwerekwere*,' a pejorative name for black migrants regardless of legal status (refugees or economic migrants) in South Africa. Here, the use of vulnerable is in line with xenophobic tendencies associated with local community. In this case, by speaking different language from local community members, some xenophobic sections take advantage to abuse migrants.

Thus, due to failure to communicate in local languages, many migrants are easily identifiable as foreigners when they come to South Africa. They are susceptible to xenophobia as they live in a society where black migrants are generally experience xenophobic tendencies as contrary to non-African migrants. Motha (2005) has referred to this phenomenon as '*Afrophobia*.' Whichever term one may define the tendency, migrants' lack of social linguistic tools connect to the local community. Their lack of communicative tools frustrate their self esteem too. Personally, as a

student, I have gone through such frustrating experiences of communication breakdown due to language barrier. As such, I found it easily to relate to many of the experiences of my participants. However, my experiences are not intended to prove the reality of challenges of communication here but to support claims of participants as not only limited to migrants who are refugees only

The traumatic experiences created a feeling of uncertainty among participants, especially those who took long to settle. For instance, Naje had to start questioning her choice to migrate to South Africa as she said, *"I was frustrated and wanted to go back but I could not. I did not have transport money to go back."* Jane is a typical example as she said *"I had no place to stay, I had no food to give my children. Life was tough. I wanted to kill myself, I had no family to share with my experiences"* Fortunately on Jane's part, after contemplating suicide for a number of times, she claimed *"My life was saved through my participation in the 'Healing Touch of Jesus Workshops."* Jane said that she feels that she owes her 'second' life to the RPC, as they supported her in times of great need. Her statements, are a compliment to the RPCs programs and consequently religion that it presents itself as a social capital for migrants.

4.1.4 Gender and family

Family is another social institution that is affected by migration. Miles, when he was coming to South Africa, had to leave his family behind *"I came alone. My wife and children followed later."* That was a hard choice, he said, especially considering that he got married in Zambia whilst on his way to South Africa. He explained to me that;

In 1996 the civil war started again in DRC. My business was targeted too. I run away and settled in Tanzania but with little success as I was confined to a refugee camp. Then I moved to Zambia. I stayed in Zambia for close to two years. However, life was still difficult in Zambia. Economically, I had little success and life in general was tough. My only success in Zambia was that I got married there and I have two children and I also adopted another child. It was from Zambia that I decided to move to South Africa. In South Africa I went straight to Durban.

Miles highlighted that different social issues like economy, war, refugee camps and success were all related to his migration. While he cherished his family as his only success, he had to make a

difficult choice when he decided to leave the family behind in search of greener pastures in South Africa. Unlike Milos who left his family behind, Jane could not leave her family behind as she said, "*I came with my four children.*" After her husband was killed her children were the only family she felt she had. When she decided to migrate, she had to migrate with them.

To use experiences of Milos and Jane, I had to ask myself the meaning of family within the midst of migration. Jane conceptualized migration as a way of cutting herself off from her birthplace and past which were source of her misery. Milos conceptualized his migration as a search for economic wellbeing his family that he left behind. Though in different ways, in both cases family played a driving role in the choice to migrate to South Africa.

Milos and Jane's commitment towards their family amidst challenges of migration illustrate the importance of analysing experiences of migration not only of individual migrants, but also of their families and relatives. Both Milos and Jane had a vague idea what to expect in South Africa, but they made different choices with regard to family. Milos was a male who opted to leave his family behind and Jane was a female who migrated together with her children. The actions of these two migrants also mirror what I observed at the RPC during ethnography. I hardly saw men with child/children alone yet it was common among women. While I do not intend to suggest that women care more for their children and family than men, it observed that women and men migrants have different experiences when it comes to family relationships and responsibilities. In the literature on migration men have been viewed as 'typical' migrants, who travel alone and leave their families behind. Women, however, have traditionally been presented as people 'left behind' or to be accompanying partners of migrants (men).. However, with the increasing feminization of migration these gendered patterns of migration are changing. An example is Jane and other female participants in the study. This confirms the argument that migration is not a patriarchal phenomenon but rather human phenomenon. However, challenges migrants experience at other times are shaped by gender.

4.1.5 Lack of employment opportunities

What I noticed among participants was that seldom they cited economic reasons for their migration. Civil wars was the main reason. Milos had this to say, "*I run away and settled in Tanzania... then to Zambia but with little success economically.*" Similarly, Lackson said, "I

came to South Africa because soldiers were looking for me to kill me." Jane also decided to leave for fearing her life was in danger since her husband had already been killed. The choice of participants to cross different countries that were relatively peaceful on their way to South Africa was motivated not only by political stability but also by economic prosperity.

In Tanzania, Milos' main challenge was a lack of economic opportunities. He said *"I run away and settled in Tanzania but with little success as I was confined to a refugee camp."* Similarly, Titani, Nadu and Jane came to South Africa, among other reasons, looking for economic wellbeing. Economic reasons, while they were seldom explicitly mentioned in the participants' narratives, nevertheless played a significant role in the choice of South Africa as a destination. This is not to dismiss the significance of persecution as a major push factor. Rather, from participants, I see that peace cannot be separated from economic prosperity. South Africa, being an economic powerhouse in the region, presents itself as a better destination for migrants who are in search of, not only safety but also economic prosperity.

For those who are lucky to be employed like Lackson, despite claiming to have experienced xenophobic tendencies, he was able to smile as he said, *"from the time I got a job, I am happy. I do not care what whatever names they call us foreigners."* Lackson, like Milos, is also speaking on behalf of the group when he uses plural, 'Us foreigners.' This implies to me that they take their circumstances as particular cases and prefer to speak on behalf of the general experience of migrants.

The other aspect I noted from participants, especially those who were struggling to secure employment was that they closely link their failure to secure employment to their background as foreigners. Nadu had this to say, *"They don't want to employ us foreigners."* The question as to who does not want to employ foreigners is a contested issue. Some blame local employers as being xenophobic. However, looking at the employment act (2001 Sec. 38), I noticed that legally it is not easy for migrants to be employed in South Africa as it has many restrictive measures like valid documents, which are difficult to obtain by any migrant, let alone migrants who are refugees. Whether it is xenophobia or fear of the reprisal from the law by firms, participants felt their chances of getting employment are lower than their indigenous peers. Failure to secure employment was one of the reasons migrants found themselves seeking assistance at the RPC.

4.1.6 Difficulties related to housing and accommodation

The difficulty in accessing accommodation is one of the challenges that participants spoke about. Jane gave an example of her own experience upon arriving in South Africa when she said, *“You may have contacts of people you know, but once you arrive, they switch off their phones.”* That was in reference to how she struggled to find accommodation when she came to Durban, despite having been assured of support by migrants from her home country. She rationalized this behaviour by arguing that, *“You know, life is not easy for a refugee to accommodate others”*. When I asked her what could she do if she meets a migrant looking for accommodation, she said, *“I refer a person to the Refugee Pastoral Care.”* Since it was at the RPC that she found a relief of her migration challenges she sees the organization as the reliable and trusted place to start with for struggling migrants.

Unlike Jane who explicitly spoke about the problem of accommodation and saw a solution to the RPC, Titani was quick to suggest a different solution to the problem when he said that *“We, migrants share rooms.”* The statement that 'we migrants sharing rooms' was itself ambiguous. It was not clear as to whether it was an act of generosity or it was a cost sharing strategy. Whether it is the case like that of Jane or Titani, both highlight the difficult of accommodation migrants face in South Africa. Among other solution to the problem the RPC presented itself as an alternative.

4.1.7 Challenges with access to legal and social services

In South Africa, like most states, migrants are required to have documentation in order to reside and work legally in the host country. Prior to their departure from their home countries, the participants expressed lack of awareness of the significance of legal documents. The significance of getting legal documents from Home Affairs office in South Africa was repeatedly highlighted by my participants during the interviews. When Jane wanted her children to be enrolled into school, she said, *“they had to ask for our legal papers. Fortunately, I have at least Fs and not refugee status. However, they accepted it”*. While it may sound a surprise that Jane had asylum seeker document, she still remains a refugee in her mind. It was only that the Home Affairs office, instead of giving her a refugee status, they gave her asylum status. This, according to her, was determined by the Home Affairs because they were not satisfied with her story to give a

refugee status. For Jane, legal documents were key in order to ensure the enrollment of her children into schools. Legal documents are important not only to access social services, but they also act as personal security to shield oneself from detention and subsequent deportation by the government. In the case of Naje's husband, she said *"he was arrested and spent 6 months in jail for not having legal papers."* As such, to avoid such undesirable misfortunes, the acquiring of legal documents becomes non-negotiable and stay in South Africa legally, the possession of legal documents is certainly *a sine qua non*.

The exercise of obtaining such legal documents, however, was often an enormous challenge for my participants. Most of the participants that go to Home Affairs through the RPC are not well educated to speak English sufficiently. According to Titani the screening process is often unfairly undertaken because of the language barrier. This, according to him, consequently lead to the denial of the necessary legal documents being granted to deserving.

The issue of migrants accessing legal documentation is not straightforward at all times. Nadu narrated his ordeal. He said, *"I have a legal document with expiring date {00/00/00}."* In his interpretation, it means that it has no expiry date. And he continued:

The challenge has been that whenever I want to access public services like education or banking, I am told this document is invalid. Twice I have been arrested by police and taken to court on the accusation that I am in possession of invalid document. In both cases the court ruled in my favour that the document is valid. Despite the court's ruling, I still cannot access any public service. For example, I am not able to access my letters because Postal Officials do not recognize the validity of my document. This affects me so much because I have many friends outside the country who send me valuable things but I cannot access them.

In his effort to rectify the problem Nadu approached resourceful persons and organizations, but he has not yet been able to successfully resolve the issue. He told me that *"when I went to the RPC to seek support with regard to my challenge concerning legal document, they told me they have no means to help me with the problem of the ambiguity of my legal document."* Nadu also went to the Diaconia Council of Churches, a Christian ecumenical FBO that among other things,

deals with migrants' welfare. Diaconia referred him to a lawyer who charged him an exorbitant fee before agreeing to take his case. Nadu lamented, "*I cannot afford to pay any fee to a lawyer.*" His lack of publicly recognized identification document was a source of frustration as he failed to enjoy access to public services.

While the experience of Nadu's is a special case, Jane's experiences of acquiring legal documents was typical of my participants' experiences. Jane had this to say, "*We did the interviews. They rejected us, but told us that we can appeal. I appealed but until now they haven't called me yet.*" Despite being frustrated with the Home Affairs Office, Jane is still hopeful that one day she will be granted refugee status, as this will fully legitimize her stay in South Africa.



Picture 1: The Denis Hurley Centre (left) and Emmanuel Cathedral (center)

After presenting the RPC as one of the religious organization that provide support in the form of social capital to the migrants, I now look at some of the dynamics involved in the acquiring of the support needed.

4.1 Ethnographic observations at RPC

Prior to the interviews, I did an ethnographic study at the DHC over the period of May to July 2015. Twice I attended, as a participant observer, workshops organized by the RPC known as *'Healing touch of Jesus workshops'* in June and July 2015. Once I attended a spiritual recollection that took place the first weekend of August 2015. Theoretically, as a researcher, I decided to immerse myself in the activities of the group (McCall 2006) fully so that whilst studying participants, I had the opportunity to go through the experience of the workshop in the same way that they did. That was because I saw my participants as what Chereni (2014) calls connected agents or relational subjects. Therefore, as a migrant student, I decided to relate to with them in a humane way than interacting with participants as scientific samples only. Below is the description of my observation.

4.2.1 Reception of migrants at the RPC

On the first day of my ethnographic observation I came at DHC early, an hour before the opening of business hours at 8:00 am. The main building was not yet open except the gate into the compound. By the time I arrived, there were already many people in the compound. I approximated them to be over 100. These were young and old, men, women and children. When I looked around I noticed there no men with children. It was either both a man and a woman with a child/children around them, or a woman alone with a child/children. The weather was chilly and some of the children were poorly dressed in relation to the winter weather.



Picture 2: Cardinal Napier, Archbishop of Archdiocese of Durban, giving a word of encouragement to the newly arrived Migrants at RPC.

The scenario gave me an impression that migration process affects men and women differently depending on gender and age. I felt women could be more vulnerable than men, especially migrating with children. I was very sympathetic towards migrant women and their children for going through a difficult experience of migration as the experience of participants has shown above.

A few minutes before 8:00am a guard opened the main entrance door. Then I saw people coming closer to gather at the entrance, but nobody was allowed to enter. I followed the crowd. I assumed we all wanted to enter, but was not sure what was happening and why were we not allowed to enter despite the door being opened. At exactly 8:00 am, one of the officials of the DHC came to speak to the people who gathered at the door. He spoke in four languages; English, French, Swahili and IsiZulu. Among these languages I could only understand fluently English and he said, *"Those who have come to clinic go that side, [(pointing to a door far end of the building)], those who want Refugee Pastoral Care Centre, you enter the main entrance and wait here [(pointing at concrete seats inside where there is a space like a courtyard)], and those who have come for meal, you wait outside and will be called when it is ready."* Immediately after the announcement I saw people going accordingly in the directions they had been instructed to.

Since my main focus was migrants, I followed the category of people who wanted to go to the RPC. While I was among that group, the official who made announcement noticed me and invited me to join him into one of the offices. Whilst in the office, he briefed me that in the DHC building the RPC has three offices downstairs, one workshop for a tailor, a classroom and storeroom in the second floor. One of the offices is for the RPC director, the second is used by the social workers, and the third is for the rest of the RPC personnel.

In his briefing he continued to say that when migrants come they first meet social workers who take their particulars in details, assess their situations and send recommendations to the director. It is the director who is supposed to authorize any assistance recommended. Then other RPC staff implement recommendations according to responsibility of officers. He gave examples that for those who need food or clothing, the staff member in-charge of the storeroom assist in that regard, those whose kids need school uniforms are referred to a tailor for measurements and those who need to learn languages or be escorted to home affairs, are referred to another staff member. His briefing took about 15-20 minutes. I was impressed with orderly arrangement of the RPC which he narrated.

My observation at the DHC showed that religion as an institution has mechanism to support migrants in their basic. However, the interaction that takes place at the centre between migrants and the institutional Church, through its Refugee Pastoral Care ministry is formal. The formality comes in because, all migrants have to go through specific routines established by the institution. This formality or bureaucracy they experience seemed deterring as had immediate needs that needed immediate attention.

4.2.2 Migrants and social workers at the RPC

One of the important exercise that takes place at the RPC is the assessment exercise. In this exercise, the centre establishes needs of the person and ways it can help. During the assessment process, I noticed that social workers were more focused on facing their desktop than migrants. They only had to turn their neck to face migrants when doing an assessment that involved asking semi-structured questions. The fact that the social workers were focussed on the desktop and forms gave me an impression that they were concerned with the quality of the answers they filled

in the form. This, I felt, somehow reduced their capacity to listen to the language of migrants spoken by their bodies.



Picture 3: Office layout of social workers' office

Questions asked during assessment by the social workers involved structured questions, that were designed to get a clear picture of the migrants background and social needs. Examples of assessment questions were like: *where are you from? Why did you come to South Africa? Do you have where to stay? Do you have food? Clothes?* These officials restricted their assessment to the structured questions. I observed that they did not have follow-up questions. After filling in forms, the social workers would write their recommendations to the director. They kept a copy for the report and would send a migrant away with a duplicate to the director for authorization on the needs identified. After observing ten migrants going through a similar routine, I decided to go to the director's office and observe there as well.

4.1.3 Migrants and the RPC Director

The setup of the office of the director was different from that of social workers. There was an office desk that separated visitors from the director himself. On the desk there was a desktop computer and a document tray. On the wall there was a portrait of Bishop Dennis Hurley, the founder of the center. When I entered I was welcomed and given a seat at the far corner, an angle that also gave me an overview all activities in the office.



Picture 4: Director's office

Migrants who have been assessed by the social workers, came in individually or as a family to meet the director. After assessing information on the duplicates the director authorized assistance that he deemed significant and that was availability. Those who needed food, blankets or clothes, were referred to the officer in charge of the storeroom. Those who needed accommodation were told to wait so that later on they would be escorted to the '*shelter*.' Children who needed school uniforms were directed to the tailor for measurements to be taken.

IsiZulu language course is one of the activities that take place at the Denis Hurley Centre as a way to equip migrants with local language as a tool for integration. Participation in the course is optional and any person is welcomed regardless of religion.



Picture 5: English and isiZulu learners in the classroom at the RPC

4.2.4 The 'Healing Touch of Jesus' workshops

After my observation on the reception of migrants at the RPC office, my next exercise was to observe migrants who were recommended to attend the 'Healing Touch of Jesus' workshop. These were migrants who were deemed psychologically traumatized by migration experiences. They were asked to come on a particular weekend for the workshop. The *'Healing touch of Jesus'* workshops, according to the director of the RPC, take place on monthly or quarterly workshops. They are organized by the RPC. They are intended to heal, in the director's words *'those who are broken hearted and spirit.'* In other words, they target migrants who have gone through traumatic experiences and are in need of psycho-social and spiritual healing. These workshops, according to the director, take place depending on the availability of funds and migrants themselves that are deemed in need of healing. I was invited to attend for the purpose of my study. The director told me that we were all (facilitators, migrants and myself) to gather at the premises of the DHC so that we could travel together to the venue of the workshop.

The workshop took place at the Archdiocese's Glenmore Pastoral Centers (PC). As we were entering the premises of the Glenmore, the first thing I noticed was the serenity of the place. The grass was neatly trimmed, the air was fresh and the people that welcomed us did so warmly and openly. Each of the participants was allocated a bedroom. Rooms were tidy and the beds were neatly made up, like a normal hotel room. What differentiated these rooms from those of ordinary hotel rooms were the crucifixes hanging on the wall. These crucifixes were not only in bedrooms, but also in the corridors, conference rooms and dining rooms. The crucifixes, because of their presence in every life, I thought they were likely to leave a lasting impression of the Christian religion for people who visit the place. As for migrants who are not Christians, I thought the image of seeing a human figure on the cross is likely to evoke the feelings of suffering which they could easily associate with their own sufferings. However, as a researcher, I could not ascertain as these were reasons for the choice of the place. There could be other reasons for the choice of place. For instance, it could be cheaper or to bring business within religion's networks or the serenity which migrants needed to recollect themselves.

The first session took place after supper at 7:30pm. There, we were introduced to each other, the ground rules of the place and the workshop itself. One of the rules of the workshop was the observation of silence, and when speaking was required to speak in hushed voices in order to

avoid disturbing others. On Saturday, we had two sessions; one started at 9:00am and the other at 3:00pm. On Sunday we had one session that started at 9:00am. One thing I noticed during these sessions as that the Bible and Jesus Christ were at the center of all sessions. For instance, in every session facilitators started with a prayer that ended with the phrase, *'through Christ our Lord.'* The prayer was followed by facilitators' pre-arranged readings from the bible, especially stories related to Jesus' successes.

The importance of this detailing on the workshop is in its symbolism. The serenity of the place, the cross and the use of the bible are chosen for the meaning they have within the religious context. For example, the cross is associated with the crucified Jesus, yet the serenity of the place retreat centre is itself an aid in the healing process, a recollection of the traumatic experience but within the context of crucified Jesus. This is to evoke the feeling that migrants' migration challenges are not unique to them only.



Picture 6: Participants during the workshop

During the entire workshop, facilitators, while aspiring for an ecumenical approach by encouraging participants to pray in their own religious tradition, emphasised the role of the Catholic faith. A typical example of this was the fact that on Saturday and Sunday the Eucharistic celebration was held at 11:00am. While people who receive communion during the Eucharistic celebration were only Catholics, it was part of the program and every participant was encouraged to attend. Such openly religious events made me wonder as to what exactly were the end or goals of the 'workshop', was it only psycho-social and spiritual healing as I was told by the gatekeepers, or did it have multiple goals?

While I could not publicly dismiss the pronounced goal of the workshop— that it was primarily to help individual to deal with their traumatic experience— I presumed that the program has the capacity to achieve other unspecified and unintended goals. An example of a possible unintended outcome of the workshop is that, to a certain extent, it facilitated the connection and communication of migrants. This is likely to be in line with McPherson's (2001) homophily principle of *'birds of the same feathers flock together.'* Migrants meet and interact in an atmosphere where they are given opportunities to know each other's personality and stories.

On the other hand, Christianity by its nature, is a transnational religion and proselytizing religion. As such, I kept wondering whether the workshop was part of what Moore (1995) called 'Selling God'? I also thought that it is possible that through the workshop, religion could engage what Freston (2008) referred to as a means through which Christianity makes itself relevant in the society. Thus, while I thought it would be unfair to dismiss the main goal of the workshop of 'healing the broken hearted' I also could not dismiss other assumptions

In my observations and informal conversations with the official at the RPC, as I have presented above, I came to understand that for migrants' to be able to access social support from the RPC, they are required to go through the RPC's bureaucratic structures. They go through an assessment procedure before assistance is given. Beyond offering material support, I also learnt through my participant observation at the 'healing touch of Jesus workshop' that migrants are introduced to spiritual exercises. While these workshops are primarily meant to bring psycho-social healing to the migrants, my critical look at such workshop compels me to think that there is more to them than psycho-social healing. For example, the venue, the methodological tools used, and the facilitators themselves are not in any way neutral but biased towards Catholicism. As such, while other objectives like proselytization may not be publicly intended, their possibility cannot be dismissed. Nevertheless, I am not in any way accusing the RPC of mis-using its resources, be they material or human resources, to exploit the vulnerability of migrants in order to lure them to Catholicism, rather, I am suggesting that the possibility of achieving other unintended or unpronounced objectives cannot be dismissed.

The analysis of the interviews as well as ethnographic observation point to different ways which migrants engage religion as a social capital. Among them, for instance, I have identified that they engage religion as a social institution that nurture norms of trust through its ability to listen to their stories

and act upon them. This has been highlighted primarily in the interviews as participants time and again presented the RPC as a focal or turning point of their lives in their migration experiences. Secondly, ethnographic observation has also shown that, the RPC identifies traumatic experiences of migrants as another area that need special attention. It is the reason why they established programs like Spiritual and counselling workshops. Beyond the RPC capacity to provide some basic needs, it is also responsible for providing forums where migrants connect with other people who help in easing the process of accessing basic needs of migrants like accommodation, legal documents and employment.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed ways of the ways migrants engage religion as a Social Capital at the Refugee Pastoral Care. I primarily engaged participants to highlight the significance of religion in the migrants' search for answers to their needs. Secondly, I have also engaged my field notes, in order to highlight how the RPC engage religion as a medium to respond to socio-psychological needs of migrants. Consequently, beyond the intended needs set by the RPC for its programs, migrants utilize the opportunity of programs as a forum to connect with other persons. It is through these connections that migrants are also able to get social basic need like those underlined by the study. In the following chapter I am going to analyze the relationship between religion and social support networks in the lives of migrants at the Dennis Hurley Centre.

Chapter Five: Analysis of the relationship between religion and social support networks in the lives of migrants at the Denis Hurley Centre

Introduction

In this research project, religious communities emerged as a strong social force through which migrants used the RPC to ease their post-migration settlement in Durban, South Africa. Drawing from participants' account of their various experiences, as well as what I have observed at the RPC, I observed that religion plays a significant role in different ways and at different levels in order to ease socio-economic and political challenges faced by migrants. In this chapter, I present a critical analysis of the ways that migrants engage and mediate religion in their effort to ease their socio-political and economic challenges. In this regard, I show how religion emerged as social capital– wherein religion is used in substantial and instrumentalist ways. Finally, I have sought to show how religion as a social capital is used specifically to forge and sustain social support networks that help migrants face and overcome obstacles related to housing, employment and legal status.

With regard to the understanding of religion in this section, I rely on Tracy's (2003) description of religion as shared ways of thinking, telling, and acting that have their central focus on the transcendental. Drawing on Tracy's (2003) description, I have identified two different levels at which migrants engage religion in order to cope with migration challenges. The two levels I have identified are (I) Institutional Church, (II) Personal Faith. In this analytical chapter, I not only offer a detailed examination of the various ways religion is used to produce and sustain social support networks between migrants, and with the host society. I also reflect on the dialectical relationship in which the presence and experiences of migrants determine and transform religion in question in, its mission and ministry.

5.1 Religion and social capital at the RPC

Social capital, according to Fukuyama (1997:4), is "the existence of a certain set of informal values or norms shared among members of the group that permits cooperation among them." Beyond cooperation, Putnam's definition that focuses on the achievement of certain goals is also significant in the conceptualization of religion as a social capital. For example, religion is able to provide norms and values that inform goodwill of its members. Bourdieu (1992:119) also described social capital as the "the sum of the resources actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationship of mutual acquaintance and recognition." For Bourdieu (1992) an institution is important as a center that brings people together, but in itself is not social capital. In this line of thought, the Church as an institution is not social capital if an individual remains distanced from it. Rather, the affiliation to a church as an institution, as well as religion as faith and shared belief, that makes it a social capital (Smidt 2003). As a social capital the Church enables participants to secure certain benefits by virtue of their membership within a certain social network of believers.

By the virtue of their membership, participants have expectation they long to see the Church as an institution is able to accomplish towards them. While the Church is not legally bound to provide socio-economic needs of participants, participants felt the Church has a moral obligation. This moral obligation is derived from Church's transnational nature. In other words, migrants conceptualizes the responsibility of the Church towards them not only basing of what they experience of it in the host community. Rather, they apply their knowledge of the Church from their home country and project their aspiration towards the Church in the host community. In this analytical chapter, I not only offer a detailed examination of the various ways religion is used to produce and sustain social support networks between migrants, and with the host society, but I also reflect on the ways that the presence and experiences of migrant determine and transform the church, its mission and ministry.

5.1.1 Institutional Church and social capital

As I have introduced above, the church as institution is not social capital on its own, but it provides the conditions and contexts for the production of social capital through membership,

affinity and ritual practice. For Tracy (2003), institutional church offer social and physical structures that hold together shared beliefs and ways of acting. The conditions and practices of religion are held together in the belief in the transcendent at its core. In terms of DHC-RPC, as a wing of religion, it offers migrants membership and/or a venue of associating with others. In this context, migrants, who are Catholic, regardless of their origin, possess a certain sense of belonging to the community that makes them feel a kind of membership of the local church because of its transnational nature. In her book *God Needs no Passport*, Levitt (2007) reminds us that the Church itself is a transnational faith community, a community within which people migrate with their religion. One of my participants, Lackson, proudly referred to himself, *"I am a Catholic and enjoy being with others, praying as well as interacting."* His members in the Church provides him with an avenue to connect with members of local community. In the case of a peer migrant who has no affiliation with the Church as a member, Lackson has an added advantage of interacting more with people. This consequently would enhance his social networks. In this way, the Church continues to sustain trust among its members, in which migrants like Lackson are part of. In other ways, through the RPC, the Church provides a home by the virtue that he does not feel a stranger.

Some participants, while not over-emphasizing about their religious association with Catholicism, nonetheless recognized the value of membership to this faith community as a capital in forging relationship with RPC and other migrants. This can be seen in the following statement made by Jane *"I am not a Catholic now. I just come to attend some programs when they invite us because I know how important these meetings are."* Participants appeared to recognize what the Church stands for, and the image it has created of itself as a compassionate institution in society. Jane feel obliged to attend Church activities as a kind of reciprocity, for what the Church did to her in her time of need, and in order to strengthen their bond (Putnam 2000). When I asked Naje, What is your religion? She said, *"Catholic sort of."* I asked what the connotation 'sort of' meant, and she she said, *"I was a Catholic before, I know the Catholic Church well but am no longer practicing faith as a Catholic. I go to Pentecostals."* Although she is no longer a Catholic in the sense of formal membership, Naje, like Jane above, affirmed her historical relationship to, and familiarity with Catholicism and still retains a certain deep seated membership as portrayed in the response, 'sort of' despite being a member of Pentecostal Church.

My experience with her was not unique because other respondents who were not Catholics also indicated a similar attitude. For instance, Nadu said, *'I belong to a certain Charismatic Church even though I come here for help. I feel the Church is the same everywhere so I come to help whenever they need me.'* Thus, despite the wide recognition of RPC as a Catholic faith-based initiative, this does not deter migrants from participating in its programs. While Catholic migrants are quick to assert their membership in the church as a way to strengthen their bond with DHC-RPC, non-catholic migrants similarly make efforts to articulate their historical relationship with, or affinity to Catholicism as they to forge relationship with RPC that are based on group membership around shared values, ideals and beliefs (Fukuyama 1997).

From my interaction, observations, and interviews with the migrant participants, those who were Catholic had deliberately sought out and associated with a Catholic faith community for devotional and material sustenance. Baas (2010) has argued that it is not uncommon for migrants to seek out faith communities upon arrival in new host country. He found that migrant Indian students who are newly arrived in Australia found that places of worship provided them with support, information, and building friendship, thus strengthening their social capital in the host community (Baas 2010). For non-Catholics, their primary motivation for joining the RPC was not primarily for information but material assistance. However, according to participants, information which was not a primary need, became vital in their process of obtaining their socio-economic needs.

It is my view that migrants who are, or were Catholic declare their membership, and prior knowledge of the church when they approach PRC as a Catholic faith based-institution. Their challenges evoke PRC's moral and pastoral responsibility to support them, as members of the faith community. For instance, Nkunda had asserted that, *"Refugee Pastoral Care is run by the Catholic Church. ...When I was directed here, I knew they would help me."* Not only that he was told by other people that the RPC would help him but also because he knew the Church helps people. His knowledge that the RPC would help him was not only based on information from fellow migrant who directed him to the RPC, but was also informed by his prior understanding of the Catholic Church. By the virtue that the RPC belongs to a transnational faith community, migrants projected attitudes and expectations of Catholicism, they knew membership in the Church entitled them to some form of pastoral or social support (Levitt 2007). Several migrants,

especially those who are Catholic, knew or suspected that the church had a responsibility to support the needy. My observation and interaction with migrants at RPC affirms Coleman's (1990) notion that social capital is a resource that is often more easily accessible through group membership, to achieve certain ends that would be difficult to attain without it. Participants found religion through the RPC as a resource and they engaged it to gain access to their needs. In the course of engaging the RPC, they also become nodes of support networks as they continue sharing the information regarding how others could also access their needs. In addition to participants producing social relationships through formal membership, the church's perceived moral and pastoral obligation to assist them and subsequently the Church's ability to help strengthen the migrants' support networks.

In addition to formal membership, and pastoral obligation as sources of social capital, Ebaugh and Chafetz (2002) argue that religion is a social phenomenon that provides migrants with resources to negotiate their new social milieu. Migrants, especially refugees, when they arrive in South Africa, not only lack material things but are also disoriented. As argued by Baas (2010) migrants often make churches, mosques, and temples their first point of contact in the host country. Jane shared the following with me; *"When I arrived in South Africa, I did not know what to do. I tried to look for jobs but I could not find anything. I did not know what to do with my children..I even contemplated suicide."* It is not only Jane who was disoriented. Milos is another example. He said, *"I did not know what to do. My friend took me to the centre."* For these migrants they began to find stability and direction through informal networks of information and friendship that directed them to the RPC where they found formal assistance. For example, Milos said of his link to the RPC that, *"when I asked a person at the bus station for help, he told me they help migrants at the centre and took me here. He assured me that I will get help there. Definitely I got not only where to sleep but also employment. I am a tailor there now"* In similar manner, Titani got his job at the RPC through his friend who came to ask for assistance and coincidentally heard the RPC was looking for an English teacher as Titani said, *"it was my friend who told me they were looking for an English teacher at the centre."* It was not Titani's initiative that he got work through the RPC but because he had a friend who was at the right place and at the right time. He shared information that led to the finding of employment. Without these agents, it is difficult for migrants like Milos to locate the RPC as it is located inside the city and without his personal friendship, Titani's story would have looked very different. Garbarino (1998) argues

that informal connections or networks forms the basis a great deal of social capital, as suggested from the accounts of the participants in this study.

While participants like Milos and Jane who had no immediate person to connect them to the RPC, Lackson had a different story. Upon arrival in Durban, his first option was to look for the help he needed most from the RPC. He said that *"I came to the RPC because I knew Fr. Serkudi who invited me would help. He made sure that I get where to sleep and gave me a job as well"* (Fr. Serkudi was a missionary who had worked in Burundi before he was transferred to South Africa to work at the RPC as a Chaplain a refugee Chaplain). The friendship of Lackson and Fr. Serkudi developed because of their membership in the Church prior to his migration. When Lackson arrived in Durban, his friendship with Serkudi was translated into a resource. His faith as well as background knowledge of Catholic social teaching provided him with a devotional and pastoral foundation that enabled him (a) to navigate the uncertainty of migration when he arrived in South Africa, and (b) to translate pastoral friendship with fr. Serkudi into material benefit and resources for settlement. This link to faith communities, whether formal or informal appear critical, because as Hagan and Ebaugh (2003) have argued, religion provides resources and conviction to effect the decision to migrate, also provides the psychological state of mind to endure the hardship of migration and settlement.

Fukuyama (2001) has stated that such formal and informal cooperations are essential for social capital to benefit the actors in the social contract. For migrants like Jane, Milos, and Lackson, to achieve their desired goals, for example accommodation or employment, there was both formal cooperation with the RPC structures and informal information networks with friends. *For instance Jane said, "When I came to the RPC, they took me to the shelter. However, it was not a good place to stay with my children. Later on they helped with a small money for business, but it is still struggling. Now at least they help with paying rent where I am renting. It is a nice place."* Though in a different way, Lackson, as seen above, was provided for by a priest, both in his own capacity as a friend and as a representative of the Church.

For migrants to access their needs, formal networks (membership of the catholic church or RPC) and informal networks (friends, strangers and referral service) played different but equally significant roles in facilitating access to resources and information. This was attested by all participants. For instance, Lackson found himself at the RPC through Fr. Serkudi, Jane through

her friend, Milos through a fellow migrant he met at the bus station, Titani through a friend who he was sharing the room. Whichever cooperation is at play, formal or informal, migrants approach the Church as an institution that is self-mandated, apart from liturgical activities, to help the needy, as articulated in its teachings at the Vatican Council II document, *Gaudium et Spes* (#26) - that the mission of the Church, in relation to the poor and the needy is founded on truth and justice and animated by love.

5.1.2 Personal faith and social capital

After looking at how religion is engaged by the migrants as social capital, both at the institutional and personal level, I feel it is important to highlight a few points with regard to the relationship between the two. The institutional faith community and personal faith are not entirely separate entities, but compliment each other. An institutional Church is quite visible because it has a structures that migrants easily identify with. This includes buildings, ritual calender, hierarchy of leaderships, specialization of laborers, and bureaucracies. Since it is easy to locate institutional capital, the kind of networks that exist within institutional Church are what Gabrino (1983) has referred to as formal networks. The RPC is an example of the Church's formal institution upon which migrants engage as social capital. This comes out clearly in the particularly in the origin of the RPC itself. The founder, Denis Hurley was a bishop and initiated the ministry in his capacity as a bishop after observing the plight of migrants.

Unlike the institutional Church as a form of capital, personal faith is engaged by participants as social capital through informal networks. As we have seen earlier in different cases above. However, to clarify the point, I quote Milos who said, *"I am refugee and a Catholic, but a person who took me to the RPC is not a Catholic. He is just a countryman I met at the bus depot in Durban."* The countryman, after seeing that Milos is stranded, he had to take initiative and directed him to the RPC. So was Jane. The person who led her to the RPC did not do that as a member of the Church but as a friend who saw another person in need as she said, *"When my friend saw that I was suffering too much, not knowing what to do, she told me, why not go to the centre (RPC) there they help refugees. So I came and was helped."* Given these examples, informal networks are responsible in directing migrants to the place of resource and the Church's availability made it to be a social capital to these participants.

Chidester (2003), in the book *'What Holds Us Together'*, stated that social capital is more than social networks, but also feelings of connectedness to a group or community and personal commitment. What is fascinating is also that after getting needs participants came for at the RPC, they do not go away completely. Lackson said, *"The centre is now my family. I have friends here. Besides, I am also a Eucharistic minister. I feel at home here. The centre has connected me to many people and institutions."* *Not only is Lackson finding the RPC a home. Similar sentiments are expressed by others. Nadu was emphatic when he said, "I do not work here at the centre. But I come every Sunday for mass. At the centre I have very good friends. Everytime I am around, I come to say hi to them. They are my friends."* Therefore, the feeling of belonging to the group of faith that is inculcated among the individual members is what makes it possible to imagine personal faith, devotion and practices as social capital. What is different between social networks (social capital) generated by formal church relation and by personal faith is that the church determines the extent, or level of involvement based on its internal order and dogma.

Participantson the other hand rely on organic and dynamic relationships to determine the nature and extent of their relationship with the church, other migrants and with the host society at large. These “networks and intimacies are often negotiated through a complex matrix of needs that enable migrants to move from vulnerability to secure settlement– a movement that always informed by personal faith, devotion and affinity to a faith community” (Settler 2016:np). Therefore, when the church, through para-liturgical services, interact with the personal faith of individual migrant believers they create intimate relationship and at the same time feel closely connected to other members of the group. The relationships that are created in this context are significant as they link migrants to local community members. These kinds of relationships meaningfully shapes hopes and expectations of migrants towards religion.

5.2 Producing and sustaining social support networks for migrants at RPC

Migrant social support networks are facilitated by the continuous sharing of information on the resourcefulness of the RPC, and the RPC's ability to respond to migrants' needs. In this case, as religion extends its regime through influence, it also creates and encourages the extension of social support networks among migrants. Migrants are able to acquire their needs like

accommodation at the shelter, legal documents, employment, and/or psycho-social healing through formal networks at the RPC. However, migrants' coming to the DHC is often the result of informal networks. This was the case with Nadu who said, *"I arrived in Durban without having any contacts on the ground. At the bus station in Durban, I approached a person begging for help for food and accommodation... It was this guy who directed me to the RPC at DHC).* Similarly, Jane also indicated that she heard about the RPC through acquaintances .

Similarly, bonds of relations (Putman 2000) that are forged and made possible at the RPC rely significantly on ongoing relations outside the formal programs and processes of the RPC. For example, Milos said, *"Since I am working here at the center, I always connect employers to other migrants who are looking for jobs. Many people call me, 'hey Milos, do you have anybody who can do this or that for me?'" I try to connect them because there are always people looking for work here."* People do not call him in his capacity as a tailor who assist at the RPC but as a migrant who knows other migrants who are in need of a job. Lackson claimed to be good at finding accommodation for migrants said, *"I am a member of a group that find accommodation of others."* Through Lackson, migrants are able to find accommodation as he acts as a link between migrants and landlords by his being a member of the housing association. This, to me, suggests that migrants are not passive receivers or victims as social exclusion theory portrays them, instead, they actively participate in the shaping of their lives through their own networks and agencies.

The nodes that link migrants and resources are informal in the sense that they do not have established, organized, and recognized structures like offices, personnel or hierarchies. These informal networks, when they bring migrants to the RPC, constitute what Putnam (2000) refers to as 'bonding'; that takes place in the atmosphere of religion through activities such as devotions, liturgy or workshops, which are capable of forging affective connections between migrants. When migrants who have bonded with fellow migrants like Lackson, they go out to do what Putnam (2000) would call 'bridging.' This happens when migrants create relationships with people who are outside their migrant groups, such as landlords and prospective employers.

While many connections are informal in nature, it is the RPC that acts as a hub, or 'linchpins' are suggested by Fukuyama (2001). They draw valuable information or resources together from different nodes and networks that are distinct from each other. In this context, religion is involved

in brokerage as it builds connections across groups to increase exposure, and diversify the resources that them together as an organism. The RPC has formal structures and personnel it engages in its day to day operations to help migrants. Therefore, the significance of religion in such circumstances is its linking ability, who it works like a hub that holds together informal support networks between migrants. It not only holds them together but also nurtures the nodes with values and norms, and create what Bourdieu (1985) called relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.

A critical aspects of this study is the finding that migrants at RPC are not only benefiting from institutional and personal religion as social capital, but they also participate in the production of religion's social capital. Lackson, for example, participates in the faith community of the Emmanuel Cathedral Parish as a Eucharistic minister. He emphatically said, "*I am a Eucharistic minister. Every Sunday after mass, I take the sacrament of Eucharist to the sick and the old.*" He doubles as a producer and a consumer of religion's products. This is because, as a Eucharistic minister, he is a member of the liturgical committee, that decides the way the liturgy is to be celebrated. His position also provides him with an opportunity to interact more regularly with church members, especially those to whom he administers the sacrament of the Eucharist and those in the liturgical committee. Hence, Lackson's position offers him an opportunity to disrupt exclusion narratives and to create a narrative of inclusion. He creates an affective relationship on different fronts; the people he administers sacraments to, the members of the liturgical committee, and the migrant community which he is also a part of.

Migrants active participation in liturgical and para-liturgical services disrupts the narrative that presents migrants as either victims or criminals. As Coleman (1988:5) has argued "social capital is a resource based on trust and shared values, and develops from the weaving together of people in communities." This suggests that people learn to trust a migrant through shared faith and regular interactions. This places migrants like Lackson in a privileged position to vouch for migrants, whether for houses to rent, or in brokering employment. Migrants such as Lackson are responsible for reshaping the image of migrants from being negative to become positive, or at least normal.

However, social support networks, particularly informal relationship of support, despite the positive role they play; (a) are open to abuse and leave migrants more vulnerable to exploitation,

and (b) can be exclusive and sectarian in nature. As such the the circulation of information, knowledge and opportunities is often limited to small enclaves that are oriented towards nationalism, ethnicism, racial groups, or all-male groups. This adds to the vulnerability of other migrants who are not part of the enclave, leaving them locked out from accessing certain opportunities. For example, migrants at the RPC have nationalists groups like the Burundian community or DRC community. Milos said:

Here, in Durban, Burundians refugees have an association, a Burundian community. I am the chairman of the group. We have no building structures. So, normally we meet here at the Cathedral especially Sundays afternoon. We discuss many things that can help us to be better here in South Africa. We try to help each other with suggestions on how to survive here.

The group, no matter how well-intentioned it was, it was established for Burundians and thus by its nature, it excludes migrants who are non-Burundians. For example, when opportunities for accommodation or employment arise, non-Burundians have lower chances of gaining access to this information because they are excluded. Members of these exclusive groups or enclaves are privileged because they get primary access to information. Other migrants have reported that at the RPC some networks are organized around ethnic interests within national groups of migrants, Jane reported:

There is one of DRC group, but I do not attend because me, I am munyamulenge, and one of the things I run away from my country is that people from the other tribes they do not accept us. They treat us as like are foreigners in Congo. They do not accept us, so it is not easy to associate with them."

Jane's remarks reveal a deep ethnic resentment and, despite coming from the same country, she maintains her status outside narrow ethnic collectives, which limits her access to information on opportunities. Nonetheless, Jane is a regular participant in the RPC's 'Healing Touch of Jesu's workshops. Despite her choice to participate in the RPC's workshops, Jane maintained her status as a non-catholic and decided to stay out of nationalist or ethnic groupings. Thus Jane accesses social support networks on her own terms, which ensures minimal disruption to her ongoing stability and security. From my analysis, at a practical and observable level, the Dennis Hurley

Centre, through RPC, has put in place various practical measures to accommodate different expectations and needs of migrants.

The Church is aware of the tension related to reconciling different identities whether cultural, ethnic, gender, or religious affiliation. The Church as a faith community, according to Ebaugh and Chafetz (2002) has methodological tools and resources to help migrants negotiate their social contexts. Contrary to the 'othering discourse' of migration that presents migration as a problem to be eliminated (Neocosmos 2008, Dodson 2010, Hungwe 2012) the Church, through liturgical and para-liturgical services, does neutralize the risk of ethnic or nationalist sectarianism. Through its workshops, RPC does not depict the migrant as a problem to be eliminated, nor are migrants only presented as victims. As empathizer, the Church makes an effort to walk together with migrants in their effort to search the meaning of their lives in their new social context.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I want to reflect on whether the presence of the RPC at DHC, and how it has affected changes in the local Catholic community, especially the Church's understanding of its identity, social teaching, liturgical celebrations and social services. While this was not an explicit focus of the study, it remains a set of questions that linger in my mind. Cadge and Ecklund (2007) have argued that when two or more religious traditions encounter each other through migration, religion is transformed. A similar sentiment is shared by Vertovec (2010) who argues that when migrants' religion encounter that of hosts communities, it is an opportunity for both religious traditions to look critically at themselves and separate religion and culture.

The moment the Catholic Church opened its doors for migrants, through the RPC, there have been observable changes. Typical examples of this are the liturgical celebration and the Church's administration. In the liturgical program, every Sunday there is time specified for migrants to celebrate the Eucharist in their various languages, including French and Swahili. In terms of administration, there has been a priest appointed to be the chaplain of the migrants. The position was created specifically because of the presence of migrants at the centre.

The transformation taking place is not only limited to what is physically observable. It goes deeper to involve social, cultural and psychological aspects. By the virtue of the fact that migrants are offered space at the Cathedral to meet for their own liturgies, meetings where they discuss issues pertaining to their own needs and aspirations, suggests a welcoming attitude on the part of the local faith community. Furthermore, the presence of migrants at the RPC has provided the Church with an opportunity to exercise its pastoral ministry in a visible manner. For example, clerics shape their homilies to inculcate the compassionate attitude of donating. Therefore, I would argue that migrants at the RPC have, and still are, changing the shape of the Catholic Church in Durban and the faith community at large.

At the RPC, the immediate beneficiaries of the social support networks underscored by religion are the migrants. However, when migrants interact with religion, there is a two-way transformation taking place between migrants and religion; both shape each other. I have tried to show that as the church reaches out to migrants, the faith community is transformed through interaction. Similarly, as the RPC expands its membership base, so are migrant social support networks expanded and deepened.

Migrants are able to access their social needs for employment, accommodation, and legal services through social support networks at RPC. In the process RPC is the center or hub that holds social support networks together. The RPC bonds migrants from different places together. It also bridges migrants with non-migrants of different social and economic statuses, cultural, and political background together. In this context, capital for social networks are made possible through both formal membership of the church, as well as from informal associations formed through shared experiences, faith and feelings about migration discovered during the 'Healing Touch of Jesus' workshops. Thus, religion is a vital force that brings different categories of people together in an atmosphere of trust and support.

Chapter Six: General Conclusion

Introduction

In this study, I have examined the role that religion plays in the lives of migrants at the RPC. In this chapter, I am going to give a résumé of the main arguments of this research project. I am going to outline the main question that guided the research study, and the specific objectives that I set out to achieve. This short chapter also outlines the research findings on how migrants engage religion as a social capital to achieve their psycho-social and economic needs through the RPC. My study started from the presumption that religion is a complex social phenomenon which different groups of people and individuals engage to achieve different ends. In my case I emphasised migrants as a social group that engage religion as a social capital for multiple reasons. Because my focus was on this particular group, the findings cannot be generalized to represent all migrants. Therefore, before concluding, I will give my recommendations for further research in the area of migration and religion.

This research project started by acknowledging that migration is a human social phenomenon that is taking place globally. Therefore, the scope I used to understand the social phenomenon of migration is transnationalism. This conceptual framework normalizes the migration of people across national borders, whether it is permanent or circular, as a human social reality. Migration is constantly changing in its forms and direction. While acknowledging that migration is a human ongoing phenomena globally, the study narrowed the focus by looking at the migration within the region of the Southern Africa, with a particular interest of South Africa as a social field of the study.

Locating migration within the socio-political and historical space of the Southern African region, the study has argued that post-apartheid South Africa should be regarded as a migration state because it has been receiving more migrants than any other country in the region. The literature on migration within the Southern African region has presented migration in South Africa in binary terms. It has presented South Africa as a site of struggle between blacks indigenous South Africans and black migrants from other African countries. This representation has been shaped by xenophobic prejudices and attitudes that African migrants in South Africa experience, whether through formal state structures, service providers, or physical violence. The binary

representation of migration has led to the theorization of migrant's experience as social exclusion. In the social exclusion representation of migration, migrants are considered to be either a victim or a victimizer. Migrants are presented as victims and the indigenous are presented as victimizers. Within this narrative of social exclusion, migrants and indigenous are presented as two social groups that are othering each other.

The study was undertaken on the presumption that migrants are like any other human beings who have their own agencies. In the course of the study I faced a challenges with regard to the aspects of the study that involved religion. Personally, I believe in the human agency of migrants yet I noticed that religion, mediated by the Church, has enforced a conceptualization of migration in binary terms. In this binary representation, the Church has conceived of migrants as victims, and presented itself as a compassionate partial observer, who favors and has a mission to save the victimized migrant. The difference between my personal perception of migration that is informed by transnationalism, and the Church's presentation of migration that is informed by social exclusion, became a source of tension in me as a researcher. Rather than compromising the position of the church and my own position, I opted to sustain both by keeping the tension ongoing as an existential condition of undertaking this study.

Before I entered into the field to do research, I set out three main objectives. The objectives were: (a) To ascertain the socio-political and economic challenges faced by migrants attached to the RPC at DHC in Durban, (b) To investigate the various ways in which migrants engage religion to create social support networks through and at Dennis Hurley Centre in Durban, (c) To analyze the relationship between religion and social support networks in the lives of migrants at the Dennis Hurley Centre.

The following is a summary of the findings of this research project.

1. The assumption that the socio-political and economic context that migrants find themselves in South Africa make them more vulnerable than indigenous South Africans is plausible. While accommodation and employment are also basic problems both migrants and local community members are experiencing in South Africa, legal documentation is not that difficult to get for indigenous. However, migrants have to struggle more to get legal documents as they go through assessment program, through which other get them others are denied and arrested or deported.

Furthermore, the recognition of the type of legal documents migrants get is less recognizable in terms of accessing basic needs of housing, employment and other public services. Even when they get the recognition status as a refugee, the recognition of national identity document and refugee status document are not equally recognized by service providers. For example, with national identity document one can easily get employment or loan and consequently able to find accommodation as well. On the other hand, refugee status, though recognized by state, some public and private sectors are very suspicious of the document. This gives local community members an advantage over migrants. It is on this background that migrants are disadvantaged. Aware of the fluidity of the concepts of vulnerability, I use the concept in the context referring to migrants' access to basic needs of housing, employment and legal documents in relation local community members who are struggling to find similar basic needs.

"I explained to them that I have just arrived in South Africa and I don't have a place to live. They explained to me they had no place they can accommodate me. They said I should sit down and wait till Monday, then on Monday they will show me a place to go to I had heard about shelter but when I asked him, he told me he didn't know where I can get shelter."

She had difficulties accessing, not housing only but also employment and legal documentation. Her difficulties partly arose from the fact that the people she knew were no longer available. In the case of Lackson, the priest who invited him to South Africa used his influence to ensure that Lackson gets employment, housing and legal documents. At the time of study, Lackson, in his individual capacity, narrated that he was playing an important role of helping migrants to access housing.

While I may attribute Jane and Lackson's challenges and chances of accessing basic needs respectively, on each of their networks, I find it difficult to establish that social capital is the only condition for migrants to access such basic needs. There are other factors that could enhance chances of accessing such basic needs. For instance, human capital, being at the right place by chance, the host community's beliefs of care and concern, are some of the factors that may play a role in the accession of basic needs of migrants.

The literatures' binary presentation of migrants as a category of people who are socially excluded is somehow misleading. It has the potential to undermine efforts of some members of host community who go beyond ordinary hospitality to the integration of migrants within their communities. Therefore, my findings in the study dispute the normalization of migrants as socially excluded people in a South African context. Rather, I acknowledge migrants' individual experiences of seclusion which they experience in their effort to find housing, legal documentation and employment..

The process of normalizing victimhood of migrants in is not only found in the literature. Some migrants themselves participate in the normalization of the discourse of victimhood both explicitly and implicitly. It serves some of their interests like gaining sympathizers by portraying local community members as villains. Sympathizers. Example of a sympathizing organization is Refugee Pastoral Care. The RPC is significant because of its material capacity to provide basic needs of accommodation at the shelter. Not only does it provide shelter but among other things, it mentors migrants to be independent and earn their own livelihood. Furthermore, it also helps in migrants' access legal documentation at the Home Affairs office by helping in the language interpretation. In the case that migrants presents themselves as non-victims, they would have no need to seek the support of Refugee Pastoral Care and consequently, Refugee Pastoral Care would become obsolete. It exists for a sole purpose of caring for the migrants who are struggling to meet basic needs. Participants saw religion as an anti-dote to minimize the impact of migrant challenges identified in the thesis. . Among the participants, religion is a social capital which they engaged to negotiate their social context in accessing their basic needs, particularly those underlining the study. .

2. After investigating the various ways in which migrants engage religion to create social support networks, I have ascertained that migrants engage religion as social capital to access their needs, whether material or not. They engage religion as social capital mainly at personal and institutional levels. At a personal level migrants use their personal religiosity as a resource to create mutual and reciprocal relationship with fellow migrants, and to gain access to other resource centers. These relationships operate at an informal level. I refer to them as informal because, though rooted in their sharing of similar beliefs, operate further outside the perimeters of institutional Church practices. Migrants also use their religiosity or personal faith as a

resource to make sense of their traumatic experiences, especially as they relate their painful experiences to those of the biblical, crucified Jesus. They see themselves as innocent people suffering in the hands of bad people. Religion provides consolation by idolizing the perseverance and by arguing migrants to remain resilient for God sees and would give a favourable judgment one day. This is attested in their time and again reference to God.

At institutional level, migrants engage religion as a social capital as it gives them a sense of belonging and ownership. When the dominant social narrative suggests that migrants are strangers in the society and not needed, their belonging to a transnational Church makes them feel belonging. The sense of belonging affirms their identity and motivates them to become whatever they can through their own agency. The sense of belonging varies depending on different factors like an individual migrant's participation in liturgical activities. For example, a migrant who holds an administrative position in the Church has more sense of closeness than one who is a Catholic and comes for Sunday service, but who does not play any pastoral role. In this case, the earlier could be described as having more social capital than the latter. Therefore, while different migrants engage institutional religion as a social capital, the degree of social capital achieved varies from one individual to the other.

Steve Biko, then activists against the South Africa's apartheid government, had said that "the most powerful tool in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Bricmont 2007:280). This was understood by Bric Bricmont mont to mean that a powerful group may have at its disposal all the military weapons it wants but if the soldiers, officers and the vast majority of population are not willing to follow orders, the oppressor is effectively powerless. The power of oppressors, in that case, resided in their ability to control the mind of the oppressed, by for instance, manipulating the population to accept orders or oppressive structures as naturally or divinely given. While respecting what religion is doing in the life of migrants in the host community, I see religion also as a social factor that makes migrants accept their status quo as socially normal.

Basing from participants, religion in the host community is not playing an active role in equipping migrants with intellectual tools needed to utilize their human potentials. For instance, in all the programs I have attended at the RPC as well as interviews with participants the focus had been to

deal with aftermath experiences of migration. I did not observe anything questioning migrants, particularly refugees as to why they are migrants in the first place. Like Biko who believed that real liberation starts with equipping the oppressed with proper idea that refuse to accept their oppressed status you, I believe the importance of such a question would also equip migrants to be active and deal with reasons that are forcing them to migrate from their home countries.

3. Upon analyzing the relationship between religion and social support networks in the lives of migrants at the RPC-DHC, I have established that their relationships are contingent and ad hoc. They are contingent because they depends on what religion is able to provide to migrants. In the case that religion becomes sterile or unable to provide an atmosphere for migrants to create reciprocal relationships, unable to hold different aspirations of migrants and resources together or in the casereligion stops providing needs to migrants, the relationship is likely to cease or would take a different shape altogether. The relationship between religion and migrant social support networks is sustained because of the goals they are able to achieve.

The relationship is also an *ad hoc* in the sense that the RPC-DHC was solely established to cater for the welfare of migrants, particularly the refugees from the Africa's Great Lakes Region. In the event where migrants stop coming to the RPC to seek assistance, the organization would cease to exist, as its existence depend on the incoming of migrants into the city and consequently their coming to the RPC-DHC to seek support. Without migrants who are struggling to earn a living in Durban, the RPC -DHC would stop functioning. Therefore, this ministry relies on the presence of migrants for its existence.6.2 Recommendations for further research

1. Over the course of this research project I noticed that there are other FBO that are assisting migrants in Durban, such as the Diaconia center, an Ecumenical FBO that would have offered an ideal comparative study on how different religions are able to support migrants. I recommend a comparative study to find out how different religious traditions deal with the migration.
2. I also recognize that the experiences of children's are not reflected in this study. Though I ventured into the research with the intention of not involving minors as participants, however, I noticed that many programs that are run by the RPC are oriented only towards

adults. Therefore, I recommend that future studies examine how and to what extent RPC responds to the welfare needs of unaccompanied minors.

3. This study incorporated both men and women as participants because it assumed that gender is an important facet in migration experiences. In this study I did not go further to explore how religion tackles differences that come with gender. Therefore, the study recommends a comparative study on how religion plays a role in the lives of migrants, especially those challenges that are related to gender..
4. South Africa, because of its liberal values, also welcomes migrants who are members of the LGBTI community, that have runaway from social discrimination and persecution from other African countries. Since the Catholic Church sees migrants as neighbors, I recommend a further study to investigate how religion support migrants who are facing social discrimination based on their sexual orientation.

Conclusion

Among migrants that are associated with the RPC, the significance of religion is well expressed by all my participants. However, the level of satisfaction with the services of the RPC differs, depending on different factors like human capital, level of personal commitment, personal background and one's capacity to create relationships. Individual migrants have a unique relationship with religion. The type of relationship one has with religion determines the way one engages religion as a social capital.

Thus, when discussing religion in relation to a social category of people, one has to bear in mind that religion is experienced differently, that it affects people's lives differently, at individual (personal) and communal (social) level in different ways and degrees. As such, any statement or position with regard to religion and migration in this research study is not to be normalized or essentialized. The narratives of participants' experiences expressed in this project were circumstantial and interpretive rather than aimed at exploring and verifying 'truth' or 'fact'.

Therefore, using the case study of the RPC at the DHC in Durban, South Africa, I conclude that the significance of religion in the life of migrants associated with the FBO resides in its ability to

provide resources, such as social and liturgical spaces, where migrants can come together and sustain relationships. Beyond the provision of social and liturgical space and material resources, religion at RPC provides bonds of trust, affect, and affinity that produce and sustain social support networks that help migrants to overcome trauma, navigate settlement, and imagine future possibilities.

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