

Bodies that divide and bind: tracing the social roles of associations in Chinese communities in Pretoria, South Africa

**Dr G. Houston Project leader
Ms. M. Wentzel, Project leader
Dr K. Yu, Researcher
Ms. E. Vivier, Researcher
Democracy, Governance, and Service
Delivery (DGSD)
Human Sciences Research Council
(HSRC)**

Final Report: March 2013



HSRC
Human Sciences
Research Council

Bodies that divide and bind: tracing the social roles of associations in Chinese communities in Pretoria, South Africa

Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery (DGSD)

Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)

Final Report

March 2013



Table of Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations.....	7
Acknowledgements.....	8
Executive Summary.....	9
Introduction	13
<i>HSRC-CASS collaboration</i>	13
<i>Project background and objectives</i>	14
Literature review.....	15
<i>Chinese living in Africa and South Africa</i>	15
<i>Associations in the lives of Overseas Chinese</i>	17
<i>Three Chinese communities in South Africa</i>	19
<i>Chinese associations in South Africa</i>	22
Methodology.....	22
<i>Research sample</i>	22
<i>Sampling method and challenges</i>	23
Key Observations	24
<i>Migration patterns</i>	24
<i>Cultural identity</i>	26
<i>Relationship with other Chinese</i>	26
<i>Relationship with non-Chinese South Africans</i>	29
<i>Links with China/Taiwan</i>	31
<i>Main issues or problems experienced by Chinese people living in South Africa</i>	32
Findings: Chinese associations in South Africa	33
<i>Religious associations</i>	33
<i>Educational associations</i>	35
<i>Cultural associations</i>	37
<i>Political associations</i>	38
Discussion: the roles of associations for individual Chinese immigrants	39

<i>Religious associations</i>	39
<i>Educational associations</i>	41
<i>Political associations</i>	43
<i>Cultural associations</i>	44
<i>Social, sport and economic associations</i>	45
Conclusions	47
References	48
Appendix A: Information sheet and Informed Consent	52
Appendix B: Interview schedules.....	56

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ASPI	Australian Strategic Policy Institute
CASA	Chinese Association of Southern African
CASS	Chinese Academy of Social Science
DGSD	Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
PCA	Pretoria Chinese Association
PCS	Pretoria Chinese School
PECCC	Pretoria Evangelical Chinese Christian Church
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China (Taiwan)
SA	South Africa
SABC	South African Born Chinese
SACSA	South African Chinese Sports Association
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
UP	University of Pretoria
YCCL	Young Chinese Cultural League

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge Dr. Olive Shishana, CEO of the HSRC, and Ms. Bridgette Prince, Director of the International Liaison Office of the HSRC, for their continued financial support for the collaborative research conducted by DGSD and CASS. We would also like to thank the Chinese associations and individuals who participated in this study. Finally, we thank the Chinese Academy of Social Science, and in particular Professor Li Xinfeng, for their contribution to the research proposal and design, as well as the ongoing collaboration between our two institutions.

Executive Summary

Overview

Forming associations is a common way in which migrant communities support the integration of, and promote opportunities for new migrants, as well as preserve identity. This pilot study examined the role of associations in the lives of Chinese living in Pretoria. It is the first phase of a collaborative study between the unit for Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery (DGSD) at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in South Africa, and the Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS) in Beijing. The objective of the study is to explore the Chinese presence in South Africa and the South African presence in China. It is underpinned by a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) established between the HSRC and CASS in 2002, which aims to facilitate exchange and cooperation between the two organizations.

The objective of the South African part of the study was to examine how participation in Chinese associations (be they cultural, religious, educational, socio-political or commercial), or the lack thereof, would impact on immigrants' experiences of their adopted 'home' countries. The study focused in particular on social interactions and relations, and drew on individual perceptions of, and reported participation in several local Chinese associations.

Pretoria was chosen as the focus of this study because the majority of Chinese in SA studies have examined large and dense Chinese communities. More scattered and smaller settlement areas like Pretoria remain much more invisible in the literature; yet we hypothesized that it could present more and different challenges to immigrants' social interactions.

We followed the tradition set by previous studies that differentiate three distinct Chinese communities in South Africa: the descendants of the Chinese (mainly from Canton in China) who arrived in the late 1870s and consist now of 3rd or 4th generation South African-born Chinese (SABCs or Chinese South Africans); the Taiwanese who were first lured to SA in the late 1970s and 1980s under the apartheid government's industrial development policy; and the newer migrants arriving since the mid- to late- 1990s, mainly from the People's Republic of China (PRC), and consisting of both middle managers and professionals who arrived before 2000, and small traders primarily from Fujian Province arriving after 2000 (Huynh et al 2010). We found this distinction valid and useful, especially since some of the associations we uncovered during the study also organized themselves around this distinction.

Members of the HSRC team travelled to China in November 2012 for the first physical meeting with the CASS team and to find ways to facilitate the Chinese component of the research, with its focus on interviews with South Africans living in China. Whilst in China the research teams

travelled to the city of Guangzhou, which has the largest concentrated African population (Mainly Nigerians) in China, but could not identify or meet with any South Africans in the city. While in Guangzhou, the teams visited the Guangdong Museum of Chinese Nationals Residing Abroad in Guangzhou.

Methodology

This study consisted of 26 in-depth interviews and one focus group conducted in 2012, as well as document analysis. A snowball sampling method was utilized whereby interviewees were identified through personal contacts, organizational web pages and desktop research, and further referrals were then requested.

Findings

The following associations were identified in the Pretoria and Bronkhorstspuit areas and were categorized according to their expressed, primary and other functions:

- *Religious*: Pretoria Evangelical Chinese Christian Church (PECCC); Nan Hua Buddhist temple; Pretoria Fu-qing Fellowship
- *Educational*: Pretoria Chinese School (PCS); Chinese Saturday School; Nan Hua Temple
- *Political*: Chinese Embassy; Taipei Liaison Office
- *Cultural*: Pretoria Chinese Association; Pretoria Chinese School; Saturday market
- *Social and/or economic*: Saturday market; sports clubs; Northern Gauteng Chinese Sports Association; Beijinese Association; Fujianese Association

A few national associations of importance to the Chinese living in Pretoria were also noted and included the Southern Africa Chinese Sports Association (SACSA) (which runs the annual Easter tournament) and the Chinese Association of South Africa (CASA).

There were noteworthy differences in use of associations across the three Chinese communities, as well as within. The latter was most often based on age differences. With regard to religious associations, SABCs mostly attend local, non-Chinese Christian churches for religious purposes. Historically the churches were important in providing schooling for blacks (i.e. black Africans, Indians and coloured). Among this Chinese group, involvement with the Nan Hua temple is limited to the attendance of cultural events. Taiwanese and new migrants from the PRC utilise the temple, Chinese churches and local churches for social and economic

opportunities (e.g. employment, volunteer work, social interaction, learning English, accommodation, etc.).

Among the educational associations, the Pretoria Chinese School (PCS), established in 1934, was important for older SABCs for educational purposes, but also for social and cultural purposes; it was integral in maintaining Chinese identity. Younger SABCs, however, view the school today as useful only for providing education. They do not have a strong attachment to the Chinese language or culture, view themselves as South Africans, and prefer local schools. Furthermore, most of the teachers of the PCS and Saturday School are Taiwanese, although attitudes of the benefits vary: for some Taiwanese teachers the PCS is only a place of employment, for others it also encompasses their social world. New migrants seem to prefer using local schools for social and practical purposes, such as the need to learn English or make friends.

None of the interviewees from any of the three groups discussed associations in terms of their political functions today, with the exception of the national association, CASA. The political functions of associations, therefore, seem to be less relevant today. Some individuals in the Chinese community also question the continued legitimacy of CASA as a national body working to defend Chinese rights. Furthermore, embassies are viewed as administrative only; they only support the Chinese community via other institutions (not individuals). For example, the Taipei Liaison Office facilitates the donation of books to the schools.

The Pretoria Chinese Association (PCA), one of the main cultural associations in Pretoria, is open to all Chinese although membership is mostly SABCs and membership numbers are waning. Several older SABCs are involved in organizing cultural events and fundraisers for the Chinese communities. Younger SABCs mostly attend annual events and do not engage as a community outside those events. There seems to be little interest in cultural events by young Taiwanese and new migrants in general. Thus, attendance at cultural functions (hosted by PCA, Nan Hua temple, and Embassies) seem to be primarily for social- and business-networking purposes.

Sports clubs appear to be more popular among young SABCs than other (cultural events), and such clubs are also open to all Chinese communities. Social and commercial associations based on place of origin were also identified (e.g. Beijngese Association, Fujianese Association), although these appear primarily in Johannesburg. Sometimes new migrants approach established associations (e.g., the PCA, PCS and Nan Hua temple) to acquire advice and assistance (i.e. how to purchase a house or how to register a business). These engagements seem to be temporary, however, and rarely result in the formation of long-term friendships.

Conclusions

- Participation in associations is motivated by a range of tangible and intangible benefits, e.g. new social and economic networks, employment, religious fulfilment, education, Chinese/English language learning, preservation of culture and identity, belonging to a community.
- Use of local (i.e. South African) institutions (especially religious and educational) suggests that modes of engagement and adjustment are not necessarily identity-driven but rather pragmatic.
- The tangible and intangible benefits that motivate participation do not always coincide with the primary functions of the associations; it may be argued that associational bodies need to adapt to the changing needs of the Chinese communities.
- The primary benefits across all three groups seem to be social and economic, with interest in cultural and political benefits waning, although each individual story is unique.
- The hypothesis that associations would play an important role in the processes of interaction, adjustment and belonging of Chinese immigrants in Pretoria due to the relatively small size of the Pretoria Chinese community was not confirmed by the study. Chinese migrants generally seem to utilize informal social networks for those purposes rather than formal associations.
- There seems to be some generational differences in the way in which Chinese associations in Pretoria play a role in the processes of interaction, adjustment and belonging of Chinese immigrants in the larger community, although this may vary between the various groups of Chinese immigrants in South Africa.
- Key observations in related thematic areas indicate that further research is necessary to explore these issues more deeply. These issues include the migration history of Chinese migrants, family linkages facilitating migration and migration patterns; the migrants' integration in South Africa; the main challenges faced in South Africa by Chinese migrants; perceptions of South Africa; future migration plans, and links with China may be included in future research studies on Chinese in South Africa.

Introduction

HSRC-CASS collaboration

This project was jointly initiated in 2011 as a collaborative study between the unit for Democracy, Governance and Service Delivery (DGSD) at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in South Africa, and the Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS) in Beijing. Development of the original proposal was led by Professor Joe Teffo from DGSD and by Professor Xinfeng Li from CASS. It was underpinned by a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), established between the HSRC and CASS in 2002, which aims to facilitate exchange and cooperation between the two organizations. The HSRC component of the project, currently led by Dr Gregory Houston of DGSD, focuses on Chinese migrants' social experiences, and uses different venues of interaction, rather than follow most literature using chronology (the three waves) as the main analytical lens. It is the second study to be completed as part of the HSRC-CASS collaboration.

HSRC research visit to China

Members of the HSRC team travelled to China in November 2012 for the first physical meeting with the CASS team and to find ways to facilitate the Chinese component of the research, with its focus on interviews with South Africans living in China.

The primary investigator, Dr Gregory Houston, and Ms Marie Wentzel spent ten days in China – from the 1st to the 10th November. On the first day, two meetings were held in Beijing, the first with the CASS project team and the second with a team of African Studies researchers at the University of Peking. In the first meeting the South African team was informed about progress in the CASS component of the research and the major challenges faced by the CASS team. Among the most important challenges were the limited number of South Africans living in China (200-300) and the difficulties experienced in establishing contact with such South Africans. The South African team briefed the CASS team about progress in the South African research process and highlighted some challenges. The most important challenge was the difficulty experienced in gaining access to Chinese immigrants that had recently arrived in South Africa. This was due to a high level of suspicion of the researchers as well as limited time available to newly-arrived immigrants who are too busy trying to establish themselves in South Africa.

The South African team was informed that the majority of Africans living in China are based in Guangzhou in the south of China, and that there were likely to be only a handful of South Africans. The two teams then travelled to Guangzhou, which has the largest concentrated

African population in China – with about 50,000 Africans living in a part of the city known as African City. The latter is a collection of flats that consists largely of tenants from various African countries. However, the initial meeting was with two reporters from Guangzhou Daily Group – Qiu Ruixian and Echo Wang – who have a planned trip to South Africa in March 2013 to interview Chinese immigrants in South Africa. The South African team soon became increasingly aware of the significance of the issue of ‘overseas Chinese’, where Guangzhou has been one major exit point.

The following day was spent in the African City section of Guangzhou, where the South African team was taken to a shopping mall owned by Chinese traders but with largely African customers. The team visited the mall in the morning to get a feel of the building, and again in the afternoon to try to establish contact with South Africans visiting the mall. It soon became clear that the overwhelming majority of visitors to the mall were not South African, and very few people the team met indicated that they had South African friends living in China. The team did introduce itself to one South African individual visiting the mall, but his reaction to the questions put to him indicated a high level of suspicion and an apparent unwillingness to participate in the research. This confirms the challenge noted by the CASS team earlier of making contact with South Africans living in Guangzhou.

The teams visited the Guangdong Museum of Chinese Nationals Residing Abroad in Guangzhou the following day, and held a meeting with Professor Zhang Yinglong of the Academy of Overseas Chinese Studies at Jinan University. At the Museum, the key element that stood out during the tour of the museum was the variety of ways in which Chinese living abroad maintain a relationship with the Chinese mainland, including the formation of overseas associations, remittances to China, specific Chinese newspapers and magazines, sending their young family members for short periods to camps in China, and sending their children to study at special universities for overseas Chinese, and so on. This was particularly useful for the study of Chinese living in South Africa.

Project background and objectives

Chinese migration is primarily economically-driven; this is particularly true for Chinese migration to Africa (Mohan and Kale 2007). Some of these immigrants become settlers, despite initial plans for only a short stay; others continue to be sojourners. Whichever way, however, once one has stepped onto foreign soil—be it literal or cultural, complete or partial—one challenge is inevitable: social interaction and integration.

Due to the language barrier – often pointed out as the first and foremost challenge these Chinese immigrants face – we hypothesized that the existence of an institutional affiliation or

the lack of it would impact on immigrants' perceptions and living experiences in their adopted 'home' countries. Reviewing the literature on Chinese people living in South Africa (SA), however, we discovered that this is a topic seldom systematically explored. Another related dearth in literature is the role of certain cultural organizations, political associations, educational institutions, religious institutions and government representatives in the lives of Chinese people living in SA. The objective of the study was therefore to examine the connection between individual Chinese immigrants and existing associations (in a broad sense) in the greater Pretoria area.

Pretoria was chosen as the focus of this study because the majority of studies of Chinese living in SA have examined large, dense Chinese communities, especially in Johannesburg. More scattered and smaller settlement areas like Pretoria remain invisible in the literature; yet we hypothesized that it could present more and different challenges to these immigrants' economic and social interactions.

We followed the tradition set by previous studies that differentiate three distinctive Chinese communities in SA (Huynh, Park and Chen 2010; Accone 2006): 1) the Chinese (mainly from Canton in China) whose ancestors arrived in the late 1870s and consists now of 3rd or 4th generation South African-born Chinese (SABCs or Chinese South Africans); 2) the Taiwanese who were first lured to SA in the late 1970s and 1980s under the apartheid government's industrial development policy; and 3) the newer migrants arriving since the mid- to late- 1990s, mainly from the People's Republic of China (consisting of both middle managers and professionals who arrived before 2000, and small traders primarily from Fujian Province arriving after 2000 on their own and settling throughout SA) (Huynh et al 2010). These three communities are divided by "generation, culture and ethnicity, language, legal status, education, residential space, class, occupation and identity" (Park 2009: 153). We found this distinction valid and useful, especially since some of the associations we uncovered during the study also organized themselves around this distinction.

Literature review

Chinese living in Africa and South Africa

The cultural aspect of China and Africa's engagement, particularly in terms of face-to-face social encounters, remains somewhat under-explored. In *The Preliminary Mapping of China-Africa Knowledge Networks*, Carayannis and Olin (2012) identify three general foci in the literature on China-Africa engagement: 1) China's political involvement in Africa (most notably on peace and other military operations); 2) China's economic engagement and impact in Africa; and 3) migration and identity issues of the Chinese Diaspora, especially of Chinese living in Africa and

Africans living in China (SSRC 2012). Carayannis and Olin further claim that the former two have by far received the most attention from journalists and scholars, while the last “remain[s] understudied and under-researched” (2012:16). This is echoed by other scholars, for example, Kragelund (2009), who claims that the bulk of the cultural exchange literature is based on a combination of aggregate figures and sporadic information from news agencies, despite an increasing flow of people and the upsurge of interest in China on African issues.

Against this backdrop, Sino-South Africa migration literature merits special attention. Firstly, South Africa is not an oil rich country. Although South Africa has gold, iron ore, coal and other natural resources, these are not China’s primary natural resource needs. Secondly, South Africa’s physical infrastructure (e.g., electricity, roads, harbors, railways, water networks) and financial, banking, and informational systems are rated as impressive (albeit severely racially skewed) even by international standards (Habib and Padayachee 2000). This deviates from China’s most well-known resources-infrastructure exchange schemes in Africa. Thirdly, although among African countries South Africa is of primary importance to China as a trading partner (Payne and Veney 1998), the official relationship between China (PRC) and South Africa has been much shorter than the PRC’s relationship with many other African neighbors. The apartheid regime, for instance, only recognized Taiwan (ROC) and not the PRC, a situation which persisted until 1998 when South Africa broke off diplomatic relations with Taiwan and instead established a relationship with the PRC (Payne and Veney 1998). Lastly, SA is one of the first destinations of Chinese migrants to Africa and hosts the largest population of Chinese on the continent (Huynh et al 2010: 288). This means that the Chinese population in SA manifests a great diversity and heterogeneity in terms of place of origin (and thus identity), social and economic class, occupation, as well as migration intentions.

The general standing of the scholarship on Chinese living in SA, according to a prominent scholar in the field, Yoon Jung Park (2006), is that it has been severely limited: the majority of work has focused on the Chinese indentured mineworkers; in literature covering overseas Chinese around the globe, the Chinese in SA merit only a few lines or a few chapters at most; some works produced (e.g., those in the late 1970s and 1980s by Smedley and funded by the HSRC), were politically marred by biases; the only exceptions were an historical account by Yap and Man (1996) and some works by KL Harris. Since 2006, Park and her colleagues have embarked on a series of studies and publications on the South African Chinese, focusing on different Chinese communities predominantly in Johannesburg and the Free State province. Furthermore, although there is some consideration of the role of associations in the literature (Yap and Man 1996; Park; Accone 2006), we have not yet been able to identify a single SA Chinese study (except for work by Yap and Man, 1996) that looked specifically at Chinese associations and their roles in these immigrants’ lives.

Associations in the lives of Overseas Chinese

No major study of a significant overseas immigrant community is complete without exploring the associations established by such a community. Although there is limited literature on Chinese associations in South Africa, there are many studies of Chinese associations formed by Chinese immigrant communities elsewhere. These have been supplemented by numerous journal articles that focus specifically on, or deal in great detail with these structures. These studies take a number of forms: historical, in which the history of various communities and their organizations are examined; structural, in which the various structural characteristics of Chinese associations are analyzed; and functional, which focus on the roles played by Chinese associations. In terms of the latter, some studies focus on the ways in which associations facilitate the integration of, and/or promote opportunities for new Chinese immigrants in the host countries. Others look at the role of Chinese associations in fostering a Chinese identity. A third main category looks at the role these associations play in promoting transnational linkages between overseas Chinese and the Chinese mainland or area of origin of the members of the community. Finally, some studies combine one or more of these approaches.

In studies of early Chinese immigrant communities in the United States, for instance, emphasis is placed on the role these associations – family, clan or kinship associations, district or regional associations, and merchant associations ('tongs') – played in meeting 'the basic needs of sojourners, such as helping them obtain employment and offering different levels of social support, and organizing economic activities' (Zhou and Lin 2006: 267). These Chinese communities were therefore able to connect with each other in multiple ways and to obtain both tangible and intangible benefits. Similarly, in a study of overseas Chinese in Australia, John Fitzgerald (2007) demonstrates how the associations initially established by this community, such as religious and native-place associations, were established to cater to the specific needs of the community as an immigrant community. Anne-Christine Trémon (2007) points out in her historical study of Chinese associations in French Polynesia that the early village associations had a mutual aid function, with new immigrants looking to such associations on arrival to solve problems of lodging, finance, and, in particular, employment.

By contrast, according to Yen (1981), some of the early associations established by Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaysia played the dual roles of providing assistance and protection in times of need and catering to cultural needs by perpetuating descent lines, promoting clan solidarity, and fostering traditional values. These dual roles are also demonstrated by Marylene Lieber (2010) in her study of the Chinese community in Switzerland. She argues that associations formed by immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s primarily functioned to provide 'mutual assistance and the preservation of Chinese culture'. In *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: the history of Chinese in South Africa*, Yap and Man (1996) note that some Chinese

associations in South Africa in the first half of the 20th century were largely social and cultural, offering recreational facilities, organizing weddings and burials, housing religious shrines, celebrating major festivals, and even conducting fundraising and money-lending (Yap and Man 1996: 08, 215). They also acknowledge the importance of sports clubs and cultural events in forging links among Chinese throughout southern Africa (Yap and Man 1996: 392), and of Chinese schools and (albeit non-Chinese) Anglican and Catholic churches in providing education and motivating religious conversion (ibid.: 280).

Other studies of associations formed by the first waves of Chinese immigrants in some countries also demonstrate the role they play in defending and protecting Chinese communities against anti-Chinese discriminatory practices in the host countries. For instance, Yap and Man (1996) observe that most of the early associations formed in South Africa were primarily concerned with speaking on behalf of all Chinese against restrictions imposed by various white administrations. Similarly, Park (2008) briefly refers to the role the Chinese associations in South Africa played in trying to improve the position of Chinese immigrants during the apartheid era. In her Ph. D. thesis, in her discussion of Chinese associations in SA Park focuses almost exclusively on their political role. Despite their claim to be ‘apolitical’, she demonstrates “the almost constant activities of the various regional and national Chinese associations and individuals ‘fighting’ for increased rights or privileges and better treatment for their community” (Park 2005: 139).

Finally, most studies demonstrate the changing role of Chinese associations, with an emphasis on their transnational nature and the largely economic benefits arising from membership in them. For instance, Lieber notes that in recent times in Switzerland there has been a proliferation of ‘new official organizations from China, which have the objective of maintaining China’s ties with overseas Chinese and other ethnic Chinese’. This has also transformed the role of existing associations. The new organizations, as well as some of the old associations, go beyond ‘mutual help to promote the economic interests of their compatriots’ – immigrants from Taiwan or the People’s Republic of China (PRC) – ‘and their country in Switzerland’. Similarly, Zhou and Lin (2006) argue that increasing Chinese immigration from Hong Kong, Taiwan, the PRC as well as the Chinese diaspora have transformed Chinese associations in America. Family and district associations are increasingly being replaced by new ethnic organizations and service-oriented ethnic businesses which provide alternative sources of support for the various settlement needs of both old and new immigrants. Newer ‘ethnoburbs’, populated by new immigrants from the mid-1960s on, have emerged in some American cities. In these areas, associations are less likely to be formed on strong ties defined by blood, kin, and place of origin, but more on secondary weak ties defined by common socioeconomic status or other economic and professional characteristics.

Phillip Yang (2006) demonstrates how transnationalism – cross-country networking and interpersonal networking undertaken by immigrants – that bridges the immigrant’s home and host society and the establishment of transnational associations increase the potential for job opportunities, higher income returns, and social mobility for transnational immigrants. The expanding Chinese economy provides opportunity for Chinese entrepreneurs to move back and forth between the United States and China to do business in China, the United States, or in both places (Yang, 2006, 176). Similarly, Xiao-Huang Yin (2007) draws attention to the establishment of many new transnational organizations by recent immigrants from the PRC in the United States. They include various transnational community organizations, academic societies, and alumni associations. Founded by PRC immigrants along functional lines and in response to perceived common identities, these organizations have provided stability in the lives of new arrivals in America and played a vital part in binding Chinese immigrants together as a community. Thus, Yin argues, while the traditional Chinatown organizations were mostly concerned with building connections and strengthening ties between their members in America and their folks in China, the new hometown societies aim at reaching broader China-oriented goals.

What is quite clear from this review is that the role of Chinese associations and the specific forms they take – clan, district, socio-political, commercial or professional – differ from place to place, over time, and relevance.

An area of study that has been under-researched, however, is how individuals and/or specific groups of Chinese – based on place of origin, date of immigration, status, and/or age – relate to the associations established by overseas Chinese communities. As membership and participation in the activities of such associations have increasingly become voluntary, individuals and groups relate to these associations in different ways. On the one hand, some individuals participate in them by occupying positions in their structures and participating in the range of activities they engage in, and derive numerous tangible and intangible benefits from them. On the other hand, individual Chinese immigrants may choose to stay out of these organizations for a variety of reasons. Similarly, certain categories of Chinese immigrants may opt to participate in specific associations and not to participate in others, also based on the benefits they might derive from participation.

Three Chinese communities in South Africa

In South Africa, Chinese communities have a long history of establishing associations. Often, the existence of and boundaries between the three groups of Chinese communities are reflected in, but also sometimes overcome through participation in these associations. The migration histories of each of the three communities provide the background context within which to

understand how and why individuals from each of the groups relate to local Chinese associations.

Historical studies of Chinese living in South Africa suggest that the first groups of Chinese arrived in the late 1870s, and their 3rd or 4th generation South African-born Chinese (SABCs) descendants are otherwise called local Chinese or Chinese South Africans. In this report we use the terms SABC and Chinese South African interchangeably. Two main groups settled in different areas because of animosities fuelled by ethnic differences: the Canton group settled mainly in the Transvaal province and the Moiyeen group mainly in coastal towns (Park 2006). From 1904-1910, just over 60,000 indentured mine workers were brought in from northern China and all were mandatorily repatriated (although some speculate that a few succeeded in staying in SA) (Yap & Man 1996: 133). Most of the early Chinese who came to SA were attracted by the discovery of gold. Once in South Africa, however, they were banned from obtaining mining contracts due to anti-Chinese sentiment and racial discrimination at the time. Most therefore became shopkeepers and general dealers, and their businesses ranged from general shops, eateries, laundries, butcheries, tea-houses and fahfee games, to tailoring businesses (Accone 2006; Park 2006).

Many planned to return to China, but the loss of 'face' (i.e. the failure to make a fortune and return to China wealthy), as well as larger social and political events (China's civil war, the establishment of Communist rule, and South Africa's restriction of immigration) often prevented this (Park 2006, 2012; Accone 2006). During Apartheid, members of this group were classified as 'Asiatic' and 'Coloured' and were subjected to the restrictive policies which applied to non-Europeans (i.e. 'blacks'). However, through continual negotiations they were able to secure certain concessions and gradual improvement of their treatment based on their small number, their long-time residence in SA, their general acceptance among the Whites, their high standard of living, and their record as a quiet, law-abiding community (Park 2006; 2008), although without changing their official status. Members of this group are fluent in Cantonese, English and Afrikaans, but do not speak Mandarin.

In the late 1970s and during the 1980s many Taiwanese arrived in SA under the apartheid government's industrial development policy, which offered favourable investment incentives to Taiwanese entrepreneurs, partially due to SA and Taiwan's similar treatment as pariah states by the international community (Park 2008). Most of these Taiwanese investors settled in rural parts of SA adjacent to former homeland areas and established labour-intensive factories, including textile, garment, furniture and agro-processing plants (Park 2012; Mohan and Kale 2007). From the late 1970s onwards, migration from Taiwan to South Africa grew substantially due to the extension of economic incentives to Taiwanese investors. These ranged from paying for relocation costs, subsidized wages for seven years, subsidized commercial rent for ten years,

housing loans, cheap transport of goods to urban areas, and favourable exchange rates. Many have since become permanent residents. By the early 1990s, the number of Taiwanese in South Africa numbered close to 30,000, three times the size of the SABCs (Accone 2006). Unlike the SABCs, they were exempted from the existing apartheid classification and were, together with Japanese, recognised as 'honorary whites' (Accone 2006; Park 2009). This, together with the gaps in language, size, wealth, labour practices (Accone 2006: 265), views on public engagement in SA politics, as well as an alleged plot of this group to overtake the leadership of some SABC associations (Park 2009), created tremendous tensions between the two groups. Many of the Taiwanese immigrants left South Africa in the late 1990s and early first decade of the 21st century partly due to official recognition of the People's Republic of China, the post-apartheid crime situation, and waning business opportunities due to the influx of direct import of goods from the PRC. Numbers dropped from a high of around 30,000 Taiwanese immigrants in the mid-1990s to the current population of estimated to range somewhere between 6,000 and 12,000 today. According to one of our interviewees, about 2,000 live in Pretoria (Interview 9, 18 Oct. 2012). Many from this group speak Mandarin and English.

From the mid-1980s to 1990s, another new wave of migrants, mainly from the PRC, entered South Africa. Some scholars (Park 2012; Huynh et al 2010) also separate this newest wave of immigrants into pre-2000 and post-2000 ones. The pre-2000 group comprised mostly middle managers and professionals, often working on short-term Chinese state projects but who decided to remain in the country afterwards. They mainly settled in big cities and used their connections to China to enter import, wholesale and distribution businesses. Others expanded their initial trading business into mining, manufacturing and property development (Park 2009). Many speak Mandarin and English. The post-2000 group, in contrast, consisted of small traders and entrepreneurs with limited capital and low skills levels and education. They were drawn to Africa by the market for low-cost goods and low entry requirements (Brenthurst Foundation and ASPI August 2012). Members of the post-2000 group speak Mandarin and minimal English.

The post-apartheid influx of new migrants and their cheap imports (following the establishment of a bilateral trade relationship between SA and the PRC in 1992), labour difficulties and stricter labour laws caused many of the Taiwanese to close their factories and leave South Africa (Accone 2006: 265). As the Taiwanese also became more settled, and the number of new migrants increased, tensions between the Taiwanese and SABCs decreased, whilst tensions developed between the SABCs and Taiwanese on the one hand, and the new mainland migrants on the other. The influx of the mainland Chinese also challenged the other two groups' sense of identity, Chineseness, and their reputation: since local South Africans can hardly distinguish between these Chinese groups, all controversial and criminal activities, such as rhino horn, abalone and elephant tusk poaching, gill-net fishing, labour abuse, gang warfare, and fraud were attributed to all Chinese (Accone 2006: 267; Park 2009).

Chinese associations in South Africa

Both old and new Chinese associations in South Africa reflect the multiplicity of roles identified in the literature on overseas Chinese and exemplify the continuing challenges of interaction, adjustment and belonging, both within South African society and within and between these three Chinese communities. Individual participation also varies both across and within these groups and reflect varying kinds of benefits that Chinese derive from the associations, as well as their strategies for and levels of adjustment to life in South Africa. To an extent, the tensions and fissures, as well as linkages and engagements between the three groups influence and are influenced by participation in these associations.

According to Huynh, Park and Chen (2010: 301) there are over 120 different Chinese associations throughout South Africa and Lesotho, suggesting that the Chinese communities in SA are fairly well-organised. The first associations were established by local Chinese as early as 1906 (Yap and Man 1996: 67), and such associations form part of the Chinese historical experience and memory in South Africa. As noted previously, these associations served a number of roles, but were predominantly political and cultural, that is, engaged with the South African government on behalf of the Chinese, and preserved Chinese culture, identity and language through school facilities, and social clubs and functions. Yap and Man (1996) acknowledged especially the social and political roles of key institutions such as the Consulate-General, Chinese Schools, Anglican and Catholic churches, local clubs such as the Cantonese Club in Johannesburg, provincial bodies such as the Transvaal Chinese Association, and national, unifying bodies such as the Chinese Association of South Africa (CASA).

Tensions among the SABCs and Taiwanese in the 1970s and 1980s also led to the formation of many Taiwanese social, cultural, sports and business groups (Accone 2006: 264). The new migrants from mainland China have similarly created "home province associations" such as the Fujian association, which is the largest of its kind and has nearly 70,000 members across Southern Africa (Huynh et al 2010: 297). The diversity of the new Chinese immigrant population in South Africa is also reflected in the fact that two-thirds (numbering about 22) of China's provinces are represented in such associations in SA (ibid.).

Methodology

Research sample

Twenty-six interviews were conducted with individuals in this pilot study, while a focus group interview was conducted with members of the Board of the Pretoria Chinese Association (who were also individually interviewed at a later stage). In addition, follow-up interviews were

conducted with a select group of informants to obtain more information about some associations and institutions, such as the Pretoria Chinese School, the Saturday School and the Temple. The overwhelming bulk of informants (12) are from Taiwan, while 6 are SABCs and 8 are recent migrants from the PRC.

15 men and 11 women were interviewed, while 9 of the informants were between 50 and 70 years of age, only 2 were in their early 20s and the remainder in their 30s and 40s. The majority of recent migrants from the PRC (4) are former students at universities in Pretoria who have obtained employment as lecturers while one is currently studying at a university. The remaining 3 are shop owners or small business owners. Most of the informants of Taiwanese origin are employed either by the Temple or the Pretoria Chinese School, while only 1 is a retired businessman and 1 is a student. The majority of SABCs are business people or retired businesspeople, and 1 is a student.

Sampling method and challenges

A snowball sampling method was utilized whereby potential interviewees were identified through personal contacts, organizational web pages and desktop research, and further referrals were then requested. Interviews were conducted either in English or Mandarin. Participants were assured confidentiality and anonymity, therefore all names have been changed and only pseudonyms are used in this report.

The original aim was to approach individuals from each of the Chinese communities, starting with identifiable associations and their members. We interviewed key stakeholders within the Pretoria Chinese Association, the Pretoria Chinese School, the Saturday School, the Pretoria Evangelical Chinese Christian Church and the Nan Hua temple. We also interviewed several Chinese individuals employed or studying at the local universities, as well as a few traders.

Because of the snowballing sampling strategy, however, referrals were mostly to individuals within the same groups and who shared similar characteristics (e.g. SABCs; Taiwanese; organizational affiliation). We countered this challenge by specifically providing a list of categories for referrals. However, since one of our sources of referral was from the organizations we had already identified and approached, our participants could have been biased towards those who have some form of social affiliation. Our sample was also somewhat limited in terms of the inclusion of traders and other business people. Many of those whom we approached without any referrals were not prepared to be interviewed. Some seemed to be shy and said that there was nothing extraordinary for them to say, while others cited their busy schedules as reason for not allowing an interview. In terms of the latter, there are research findings that point to Chinese traders' extreme endurance for hardship, and some of those we

approached confirmed that they held two or more jobs and therefore had no free weekends or any spare time for non-business related activities. Other participants speculated that many of these traders and business people had deliberately chosen to maintain a low profile for fear of the alleged Mafia or other possible consequence upon undue attention. Some individuals also raised questions about the involvement of our research partner, the Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS), a Chinese government research agency, and indicated a general lack of trust in government-related activities.

Except for those associated with the Nan Hua Temple, members of Taiwanese-based associations were hesitant to agree to an interview. Similarly, we have yet to secure interviews with officials from the respective embassies. The social and commercial associations of the new migrants (e.g. Fujianese and Beijjngese associations) were also difficult to identify and may only be situated in Johannesburg given the relatively small Chinese population in Pretoria. Furthermore, in some instances we were only permitted to interview the head of a household, although other members may have different views or belong to different associations. Some associations also had limited, if any, documentation available.

As a pilot study, the sample was too small to draw conclusions regarding the three Chinese communities, but the findings do provide worthwhile insights into the roles of associations, as well as establish a basis for expanding and replicating the study.

Key Observations

The interviews in this pilot study generated insufficient information to draw conclusions about the role of, and relationships with Chinese associations in Pretoria. However, despite insufficient information arising in other thematic areas of the study, a number of general observations can be made from the interview data on these thematic areas. These are research themes that deserve further inquiry because they appear to be significant in the lives of the people interviewed. In addition, each theme on its own is a significant area of inquiry on Chinese immigrants in South Africa that can be developed further by extending the project to include more interviews on Chinese immigrants in Pretoria, as well as to conduct similar research on Chinese communities elsewhere in the country.

Migration patterns

SABCs are generally descendants of immigrants from Guangdong province, since Guangdong was the major port of exit for many Chinese emigrating or travelling to other countries since the 19th century. Many among the initial waves of Chinese migrants subsequently facilitated the migration of family members to work in their businesses soon after they had become

established in South Africa. Many planned to return to China once they had become successful, but stayed in the country because few achieved success (to their definition) and the internal conflicts within China that prohibited their return. They are now all naturalised South African citizens. Most of the younger generation members of this group are professionals.

A few of the older generation of interviewees in this category were born in Johannesburg and migrated to Pretoria at some stage in their lives. The parents or grandparents of some originally settled in Johannesburg before migrating to Pretoria. Most were born and had lived all their lives in Pretoria. At most, according to one of the interviewees, about 700 SABCs lived in Pretoria (prior to the migration of many to other parts of the country and emigration to Canada, Australia and elsewhere in the world). The current SABCs population of Pretoria is estimated to be about 200 people (Interview 5, 16 Oct.2012).

Most of the Taiwanese immigrants interviewed came to the country because of business opportunities and have (or had) their own businesses. A number of Taiwanese immigrants interviewed were brought over by family members already based in the country, or to serve in Chinese institutions such as the Temple, Pretoria Chinese School and Chinese churches. Consequently, the overwhelming majority were born in Taiwan, and most of their extended family members are still in their country of origin. Many have only their immediate families in South Africa, and some have siblings or other close relatives living in the country. One of the interviewees has children who were born in South Africa. It appears that the overwhelming majority in this Chinese community are businessmen, assistants in family businesses, or professionals. Many gained information about the opportunities in South Africa from friends who had opened businesses in the country. Some of the businessmen in this category settled in or near the bantustans before migrating to Pretoria after retiring or selling their businesses.

Most of the interviewees who were recent immigrants from the PRC came to South Africa to further their studies, and on completion of higher degrees decided to stay in the country. The majority initially planned to go to the United States or Europe to further their studies. They chose to come to South Africa after being advised by friends or family members who had spent time in the country, and obtained information about the country from these individuals, as well as from the internet. Most also found South Africa an attractive country due to its diverse culture, easy access, relatively high education standards, relatively low competitive nature of tertiary studies, low entry requirement for English, and, in particular, the low cost of university fees. Some were assisted by an agency within the Chinese Department of Education to come to South Africa, which applied directly on their behalf to educational institutions in South Africa. A service fee is paid to the agency for this assistance, and the agency is also responsible for advising prospective emigrant students about the various options open to them, facilitating

entry into the selected institution, making the travel arrangements, and setting up accommodation in South Africa.

The small number of businessmen from the PRC that were interviewed in this study came to the country because they had a family member already living here, were brought to the country by a company owned by the Chinese government, or came on their own to start a business. The majority came after 1994, one came in 1989 during a period when the Chinese authorities had opened up emigration opportunities for its citizens.

Cultural identity

It appears that the older generation of SABCs place great value on maintaining a Chinese identity through their culture, and most of those interviewed attended the Pretoria Chinese School or the Saturday School. They also send their children to either of these schools, celebrate various Chinese cultural ceremonies such as the Chinese New Year, and engage in various Chinese cultural practices such as honouring their ancestors (even though many are members of Christian churches).

The SABCs interviewed view themselves as more integrated within South African society than they were during the apartheid era, placing less importance today on Chinese culture although many have embraced Christianity. (The latter was largely for functional purposes, such as to gain admittance to the Church-run schools for whites during the apartheid era.) Many are still practicing Christians, and the Church is an essential part of their lives. Despite this, some retain some link with Buddhism because their parents and/or grandparents were Buddhists. They do this by visiting the Temple for prayers and to light incense sticks.

Many of the Taiwanese immigrants interviewed view the various Chinese institutions in the country (such as the Buddhist Temple) as being important mechanisms to teach Chinese people living in South Africa about their own culture. In some cases it is felt that the new migrants/younger Chinese do not uphold traditional Chinese culture.

Most interviewees in this study from the PRC appear to be neither religious (even though many do participate in activities of the Temple or a Christian church), nor interested in cultural activities (in part due to the lack of time – they are just too busy building up their businesses).

Relationship with other Chinese

Most of the elderly SABCs interviewed maintain strong links with other elderly SABCs, largely through native-place associations, or through active participation in various institutions and structures. These bonds were strong during the apartheid era, partially because of the

prohibition of inter-racial mingling that encouraged the development of a cohesive Chinese community, and continued into their old age. During the apartheid era there were regular meetings as well as participation in sporting activities with other SABCs. Nevertheless, there was some (albeit limited) opportunity for mixing with other racial groups, especially schoolmates from the white schools. These friendships with white schoolmates continued into old age for a few of the elderly SABCs interviewed, and they continue to invite these friends, or be invited by them to family functions.

Some SABCs, especially those from the older generation, have some negative perceptions of the newer immigrants (both from Taiwan and the PRC). One concern that emerged from the interviews is that the new immigrants are 'ruthless' and 'unscrupulous' in the way they conduct business. The SABCs interviewed tend to distance themselves from the new immigrants from mainland China largely for this reason. There also seemed to be limited interaction with new immigrants because of the language barrier, with the majority of new immigrants unable to speak Cantonese or English. SABCs, who are unable to speak Chinese, therefore find it difficult to interact with members of the other Chinese communities – both the Taiwanese and new immigrants from the PRC. Another reason mentioned is that some of the industrialists and business people among the new immigrants are wealthier than most SABCs. In consequence, there is a perception among interviewees that these immigrants look down upon the older immigrant community and are not interested in interacting with them. Some SABCs believe that most of the wealthy new Chinese immigrants tend to join recently formed commercial associations based on their places of origin in China, such as the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, instead of long-established organizations such as the Pretoria Chinese Association. Most new immigrants seem to settle in the same neighbourhoods in Pretoria (particularly in Pretoria East), which appears to mirror the trend in the United States where the new wave of immigrants settled in ethnoburbs. (However, as we indicate below, those new immigrants interviewed mentioned that living closer to other Chinese was not a conscious intention when they chose their place of residence.)

According to some of the SABCs interviewed, there are many new Chinese immigrants who are in the country illegally, who avoid interaction with other Chinese immigrants and do not participate in Chinese organizations because they do not want to draw attention to themselves..

Nevertheless, some older generation SABCs play a role in helping newcomers from their ancestral villages to settle in South Africa, giving them advice on where to buy goods, where to send the kids for schooling, and so on. These village associations function more like a support network. Some even facilitate the migration of family members from their villages in China through these associations.

The younger generation of SABCs interviewed find the Chinese community in Pretoria too small for there to be much interaction with other SABCs of their age. It appears that most young SABCs have many more non-Chinese than Chinese friends, with most friendships developed at school retained after they completed their schooling. These friends are also from all the different South African race groups. Those other young SABCs that they do form bonds of friendship with tend to also have stronger friendship circles with non-Chinese South Africans. The young SABCs interviewed identify the tendency among the youth whose parents are from Taiwan to form their own circles as an obstacle to interaction. Some young SABCs who are unable to speak Chinese find it difficult to interact with members of the other Chinese communities – both the Taiwanese and new immigrants from the PRC. The inability to speak Chinese also affects their participation in Chinese associations – such as the Chinese Association at the University of Pretoria. Sports, and in particular the Chinese Easter Tournament, does offer some opportunity to participate in sports teams made up exclusively of young South African born Chinese. However, if they do participate in such activities their interaction is limited to sports activities. They also tend to see many of the Chinese cultural events as adult events.

Many Taiwanese immigrants have left the country because of the declining opportunities for business. South Africa's recognition of the PRC instead of Taiwan led to a shift in import trends with more and more goods imported from mainland China than from Taiwan. The increasing imports from China also affected the manufacturing industries set up by the Taiwanese immigrants, which were in any case becoming less profitable because many were based far from markets in the rural bantustans as well as the introduction of increasingly less favourable labour laws for such businesses. Thus, many Taiwanese immigrants that were interviewed have lost contact with friends they had made in the local Taiwanese immigrant community who had emigrated from South Africa. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for Taiwanese immigrants to form small friendship groups with fellow Taiwanese living in South Africa with whom they socialise. Some Taiwanese raised concerns about this tendency. Some interviewees also however indicate that they spend more time with local South Africans than with fellow Taiwanese.

The younger generation of Taiwanese interviewed also find the Chinese community in Pretoria too small for there to be much interaction with other Chinese of their age. Many have many more and stronger bonds with non-Chinese than Chinese friends, with most friendships developed at school retained after they completed their schooling.

Interaction with new immigrants from mainland China is limited because of the political relationship between the PRC and Taiwan, as well as a number of negative perceptions Taiwanese immigrants have of the PRC immigrants. Some of the Taiwanese immigrants

interviewed see them as uneducated and uncivilised, with their only concern being business and to make money. Much of the interaction that does exist between members of the Taiwanese and new immigrant Chinese communities appears to be limited to business, and is not personal.

There appears to be very little interaction between recent immigrants from the PRC and members of the other Chinese communities living in South Africa. The exception appears to be those who attend functions of the Temple or local Churches that also have Chinese congregants. Among interviewees in this category there is generally limited awareness of long-existing Chinese organizations such as the Pretoria Chinese Association. Some of the long-existing institutions and their activities are seen to be too closely aligned to the Taiwanese immigrant community and Taiwanese government. There is thus reluctance on the part of new immigrants interviewed for this study to join these organizations or participate in their activities. There is also awareness among a few interviewees that some of their countrymen engage in criminal activities such as rhino and abalone poaching.

Relationship with non-Chinese South Africans

The older generation of SABCs interviewed appear to have friends among all South African race groups – in particular from the black (i.e. African, Indian and coloured) race groups of South Africa. In some cases this has been a consequence of doing business (in particular, the shops they own) in black neighbourhoods during the apartheid era. A few attributed this to growing up in predominantly black (mainly coloured and Indian) neighbourhoods during the apartheid era. The Indian area of Marabastad, for instance, was where many Chinese families lived at the time. In some instances, the children of such families spent some years attending schools reserved for Indian and coloured children (Interview 15, Oct. 2013).

The older generation of SABCs interviewed have strong memories of their treatment as a community during the apartheid era. They recall all the consequences of apartheid when they were growing up, for instance the humiliation arising from the need to apply for a permit to attend a school for whites even though they were born in South Africa. They had to apply for permission from the white residents of a neighbourhood where they wanted to buy a house. They recall the racism they experienced at the white schools they attended. Nevertheless, it was these humiliating situations which were responsible for uniting the Chinese community during the apartheid era.

They feel, however, that the Chinese community has become more integrated with the larger South African community in the new democratic era since 1994. Some interviewees feel strongly that Chinese immigrants should become assimilated because it makes it easier for the

local people to accept them. For instance, speaking the local languages removes barriers that might otherwise exist between Chinese immigrants and the local community. The SABCs is a more established community, most own their own houses in areas that were once restricted to whites in terms of the apartheid Group Areas Act. While the majority of their neighbours are consequently white, there are some black (African, Indian and coloured) and Chinese families living in their neighbourhoods. However, it is apparent in a number of interviews that some among the older generation of SABCs have limited interaction with their non-Chinese neighbours, despite having lived with them in the same neighbourhood for decades. Some interviewees indicated that they do not want to associate with their white South African neighbours in particular, largely because of their experience of racism during the apartheid era when they were required to obtain the consent of white residents of a neighbourhood they wanted to move into.

Some of the Taiwanese immigrants interviewed have close relationships with their other South African neighbours, often with closer relationships with white rather than with black South Africans. In part this could have to do with the fact that, unlike the SABCs, they were accorded with 'honourary' white status during the apartheid era. They consequently did not suffer the racial discrimination South African born Chinese had to endure as 'non-whites' in apartheid South Africa. One Taiwanese interviewee was very adamant that Chinese young people could be friends with, but should not marry people from other race groups.

Immigrants from the PRC appear to have limited interaction with non-Chinese South Africans – although those who came to study do socialise with non-Chinese locals as well as with other non-Chinese immigrants. The interaction is generally with fellow students or colleagues from work. Where there are cases of interaction with non-Chinese South Africans and immigrants, it is to some extent aimed at developing language skills – which some interviewees say is more difficult to do if they interact with other Chinese immigrants. Those new immigrants interviewed who own businesses interact with non-Chinese South Africans mainly on a professional level, although some do have some personal relationships with such business associates.

There is no Chinatown in Pretoria like those found in Johannesburg or other countries with a long history of Chinese immigration. Most of the PRC immigrants interviewed live in houses or flats with local and other immigrant communities. There appears to be little interaction with non-Chinese neighbours. They have little time to do so. Most of the interviewees have a limited social life, and find the lack of social opportunities in Pretoria in general and for Chinese immigrants in particular very restrictive when compared to China. The key difference between South Africa and China is the availability and cost of public transport. Whereas in the PRC the public transport system is extensive and travel costs are cheap, the opposite situation is found

in South Africa. This makes it difficult to have a good social life in South Africa when compared to the PRC, where they are able to go to bars, visit friends and spend time at shopping centres on a regular basis. Most also claim to have very little time to socialise, and if they have families in South Africa tend to spend their free time with them.

Links with China/Taiwan

Most of the older generation of SABCs interviewed have knowledge of family still living in China – mostly the offspring of siblings of their parents and/or grandparents. Some recall that their parents and/or grandparents had close links with family back in China, but that this bond has diminished because many of their own generation also migrated to places like Canada, Australia and Britain. They have very little contact with family in China. Some still have family property in villages in the PRC, but have little interest in them because they do not intend to return to settle permanently in China. Most have visited China on several occasions, but mainly out of curiosity about their ancestral villages. Some of their parents and/or grandparents who retained strong links with family back in China visited often (mainly going to Hong Kong because it was difficult to enter the PRC), and provided financial support to poorer relatives in China over the years. The recent economic growth of China has provided certain members of this Chinese community with opportunities to develop strong ties with China. For instance, the traders/importers in this community have strong commercial links with the PRC, and use agents in China to conduct business on their behalf with Chinese companies.

Taiwanese immigrants maintain strong links with their families back in Taiwan, and visit their home country regularly. Regular contact is also maintained by telephone and through social networks. Some provide financial support to their families in Taiwan, while others do not. A few have family members in Taiwan who regularly visit them in South Africa. However, some have family members who have emigrated from Taiwan to many different parts of the world, and have stronger links with them than with family in Taiwan. As is the case with traders/importers from the other Chinese communities in South Africa, Taiwanese immigrants have benefitted from the economic strength of China and have established links with businesses in Taiwan and China through agents based in both countries.

Few new immigrants interviewed have immediate family members living with them in South Africa, with most of their relatives remaining in China. They maintain regular contact with their families in China, phoning them on a regular basis and keeping contact on social networks. They also regularly visit their families in China. A few have facilitated the migration of members of their family to South Africa, providing support to them while they are getting settled. Most do not appear to financially support their families in China. Those business-people in this category of interviewees use visits to China to expand their business opportunities, but do not appear to

have formal links with any transnational business groupings. They see business opportunities in this country. (Interview 6, Oct. 2012). However, most claim that they do not intend to return to China and plan to remain in South Africa.

Main issues or problems experienced by Chinese people living in South Africa

The SABCs interviewed identified crime and corruption as major problems in South Africa. However, most plan to stay in the country, despite knowing of large numbers of SABCs who have emigrated. The main reason they give for wanting to stay in the country is that it is beautiful – people have a good life and the weather is good. Many seem to consider South Africa their home because they were born in the country – they see themselves as South Africans. A number have children who have emigrated – and support the emigration of their children because of crime and corruption. Some plan to leave the country once their children have settled in their new countries. It is largely the young who seriously consider emigrating – most of the SABCs interviewed know of people who have permanently left South Africa.

Taiwanese immigrants that were interviewed see communication as one of the key problems Chinese people living in South Africa face. Many arrived in the country without sufficient knowledge of English, and their initial intention was to stay for a short period before returning to Taiwan. Many feel discriminated against in South Africa because of the language barrier. Some argue that it is for this reason that Taiwanese immigrants should become more assimilated in order to remove the barriers between them and local South Africans.

This group of interviewees also identifies crime and corruption as South Africa's major challenges. They argue that many have left the country because of the crime situation. Nevertheless, many now consider South Africa their home, and have no intention of returning to Taiwan. Like the SABCs, this is largely because of their perception that South Africa has excellent weather and good opportunities. By contrast, they see more intensive competition and therefore the lack of opportunities in Taiwan as a barrier to returning to their home country.

One of the key problems for the PRC immigrants interviewed is communication, and many arrive in the country without a word of English. There is a conscious effort to deal with the issue of language in a number of ways, including attending local churches and sending their children to English-medium crèches and schools. Like most South Africans and other interviewees in the study, crime was identified as a specific problem. A number have been victims of crime. Some interviewees also expressed concern about the level of corruption. They see corruption being particularly directed towards Chinese immigrants because some are in the country illegally and

their limited language ability often prompts them to offer bribes to deal with any inquiry or probes. It is therefore known among members of the police that they do not have official documentation such as drivers' licenses, thereby making all Chinese immigrants targets for corrupt activities. Some of the older generation of new immigrants from the PRC that were interviewed find the lifestyle in South Africa very different from China, and do not intend to remain for long.

Most of the new immigrants from the PRC whose entry into South Africa was for educational purposes planned to return to China and have since stayed after obtaining good jobs offers in South Africa. This latter group seems to intend to remain in the country and have no immediate intention of returning to China, even though some still see China as home. These individuals have taken up permanent residency in South Africa, and see the country as their second home. The same applies to interviewees who were brought to the country by Chinese companies who had set up business in South Africa.

Findings: Chinese associations in South Africa

The associations based in Pretoria vary according to origin, function and membership. Some of these institutions' histories and activities intertwine, most likely due to the size of the city of Pretoria in general and the small Chinese population within it. We focused on selected religious, educational, political, and cultural associations and the roles they play in the lives of Chinese immigrants in the city. We excluded transnational associations as our focus was more on social interaction and adjustment occurring in Pretoria itself, and only limited use of such organizations was revealed by the interviewees, with one person claiming to be a member of a village-based association in China (Interview 13, Oct. 2012).

Religious associations

Pretoria Evangelical Chinese Christian Church (PECCC)

The PECCC was established in 1997 and is supported by the Chinese International Mission based in California. Its main objective is to convey Christianity to all Chinese in South Africa. Furthermore, the Church also assists newcomers to South Africa in legalizing their status, opening bank accounts, obtaining driver's licenses, etc. The PECCC has about 200 members, consisting mainly of families from Taiwan and Hong Kong, but also from Mainland China. However, only between 40 and 50 people attend Sunday services (Interview 1, Oct. 2012). The language barrier between the different Chinese communities also made it difficult to cater to all Chinese immigrants. Thus, the church assisted with the establishment of the Pretoria and Rustenberg Fujian (Fu-qing) Fellowships, with the congregation mainly consisting of migrants

from Fujian province (Wu February 2011). The PECCC also holds regular bible study with these Fellowships. Furthermore, the PECCC has an active youth group whose activities include going on camping weekends. The Church also started a student bible study group, the Chinese Christian Student Society (C2S2), which was registered as a student organization at the University of Pretoria in April 2011 (Wu, April 2011).

Nan Hua Temple

The Nan Hua Temple is the central religious and administrative office for Fo Guang Shan, an international Chinese Mahayana Buddhist monastic order based in Taiwan (ROC) and whose mission is to spread Humanistic Buddhism throughout the world. It is one of the largest Buddhist organizations (Fo Guang Shan brochure, n.d.). The temple is the largest in Africa and is situated just east of Pretoria in Bronkhorstspuit. It was built in 1992 when the Bronkhorstspuit municipality donated more than 18 hectares of land for the monastery. The Main Shrine was officially opened in October 2005. There are currently about 2,000 devotees across South Africa, consisting of about 1,000 Taiwanese, 1,000 people from Mainland China and about fifty South Africans (Interview 29, Nov. 2012). Of the 20 staff members (excluding the Masters), just over half are Chinese (from Taiwan and Hong Kong), and some live on the temple premises (ibid.). Devotees are often also the volunteers that assist during the events and functions (ibid.).

The Nan Hua Temple promotes Fo Guang Shan's objectives, namely: to promote Buddhist teachings through cultural activities; to foster talent through education; to benefit society through charitable programmes; and to purify human hearts and minds through Buddhist practices (Fo Guang Shan brochure, n.d.). To these ends, the Temple complex in Bronkhorstspuit also comprises the Nan Hua Academy, which offers courses in mathematics, English, accounting, and business to the local youth and young adults (ibid.). It also has a computer learning centre and a Chinese learning centre, mainly aimed at South Africans, and manages several different charities (Interview 29, Nov. 2012). Furthermore, the Temple promotes Buddhism among local Chinese and South Africans by hosting Chinese religious functions for the Chinese New Year and Spring Festival, hosting prayer ceremonies, as well as through the exhibition of Chinese art. It is thus "not only a religious place, but also a school, a refill station... [that offers] a sense of comfort to Overseas Chinese" (ibid.). The Temple also has good relations with local Chinese associations in Pretoria, particularly the Pretoria Chinese School and the Pretoria Chinese Association (ibid.).

Educational associations

The Pretoria Chinese School

Three key institutions were formed in Pretoria in the early 1930s, namely the Young Chinese Cultural League (YCCL), the Pretoria Chinese Association (PCA), and the Pretoria Chinese School. Given the relatively small size of the Chinese population in Pretoria, membership often overlapped, with the YCCL starting the school and all three sharing the school premises for their various activities. Even today membership overlaps in these three associations “because Pretoria is so small, it happens to be the same people in different associations” (Interview 28, Nov. 2012).

The school was started in 1934 by the Young Chinese Cultural League (YCCL) and the small Chinese community in Pretoria at the time. The PCS, much like the other Chinese schools, aimed at providing a quality education for Chinese children who were excluded from private, whites-only schools, as well as at teaching Chinese language (Cantonese), instilling a Chinese identity and preserving Chinese culture (ibid.: 283). The school soon became the centre of much of the Chinese community’s social and cultural engagements, providing facilities for local community associations (the PCA), recreation and sports activities, religious meetings, and traditional cultural events. Originally Chinese teachers were local SABCs, but from the 1970s onward most have been from Taiwan, and the language course has changed from Cantonese to Mandarin (Interview 28, Nov. 2012).

The school's history throughout the 20th century is marked by growths and losses in attendance, which were especially influenced by government policies such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, but also the opening up of government schools to the Chinese in the late 1970s (Yap and Man 1996: 306); on-going financial pressures since much of its funding depended on fundraising within the Chinese community and by the Consular-General; waning interest in Chinese culture and society on the part of the youth; and questions regarding the preservation of Chinese culture and unity versus assimilation with the westernized population (PCS 1984). Although initially Chinese parents believed that their children should learn Chinese at a local Chinese school, or in China, “over the years, the value of having a Chinese education waned...SABCs dearly wanted ‘white’ education” (Park 2008a: 79-84).

In 1991, the school expanded in order to include a high school, and also opened up to non-Chinese and soon received students from Poland, Russia, Korea, Taiwan and the PRC (<http://pretoriachineseschool.co.za>). Currently, the school has 5 Chinese language teachers, all of whom are Taiwanese, and 461 learners, of whom between 5-10% are Chinese home language learners, mainly from Mainland China. A small number of Taiwanese learners also

attend the school, and these are mainly the teachers' children and children of the officials of the Taipei Liaison Office. It is the only privately run and funded Chinese school remaining in the country which continues to teach a Chinese language and Chinese culture, and employs Chinese teachers (Park 2008a: 83; Yap and Man 1996: 298). The school also continues to host internal cultural events for its students (such as Confucius' Birthday and the Moon Festival), organises student trips to Nan Hua temple (Interview 10, Oct. 2012), and provides a venue for a Saturday School and market. Furthermore, the school receives donated Chinese traditional script textbooks from the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office via the Taipei Liaison Office in Pretoria (Interview 28, Nov. 2012). There is no official relationship with the Embassy, the Nan Hua temple or any other association, except that representatives of the Pretoria Chinese Association and the YCCL (whose membership overlaps) sit on the school board and are thus involved in the governance of the school (ibid.).

Mandarin is taught at the School, it has a number of Chinese cultural clubs, such as the Chinese Cultural Club and the Chinese Dance Club, and it engages in a whole range of Chinese cultural activities. In addition, the School arranges an annual tour to Taiwan, during which students, staff and anyone else interested in going are taught the culture and way of life in Taiwan. Groups of Taiwanese teachers are also brought from Taiwan for short periods to perform cultural activities at the School.

The Saturday School

The present Saturday school is a not-for-profit organization that offers Chinese language classes to Chinese and non-Chinese speakers. It began in 2002 and was originally aimed at the local Taiwanese community (being a much larger group at the time), with many of the teachers also being recruited from Taiwan. Although nearly 80% of the students are still Taiwanese, today the school also includes students from Mainland China, Hong Kong, Korea, and South Africa (Interview 21, Nov. 2012). The school was established by the Taiwanese Women's Association, the Buddhist International Association, and the Pretoria Chinese School, although the PCS only rents out its premises, while the Buddhist International Association runs the School (and the Women's Association is no longer involved) (Interview 28, Nov. 2012). The school also maintains an important relationship with the Taipei Liaison Office in Pretoria, which provides donations in the form of financial support and the provision of textbooks (Interview 21, Nov. 2012).

The primary purpose of the classes is to teach the Chinese language, this includes teachings in Chinese history and culture (Interview 21, Nov. 2012). Beyond the presentation of classes, the school does not organize any social or cultural activities or functions for students, parents or the local community. One exception is a joint dinner with the Cantonese community in Pretoria

every Chinese New Year (ibid.). Furthermore, the organizers and members of the Saturday school are invited to attend cultural activities hosted by the Taiwanese Liaison Office and the Nan Hua Temple.

Cultural associations

Pretoria Chinese Association

Historically, the Pretoria Chinese Association (PCA) has been a central community organization in Pretoria. It was formed in 1931, and its activities including addressing political problems faced by the Chinese (Yap and Mann 1996: 242). The association mostly played a social, community role and hosted cultural celebrations. Since the abolition of apartheid, its cultural functions have become its chief task (Interview 3, Oct. 2012) in order to “preserve Chinese culture and pass it on to the younger generation” (Interview 30, Nov. 2012). In addressing this role, the PCA supports the Pretoria Chinese School and organizes Chinese cultural events throughout the year. It also administers fundraisers for charities, especially for the Hong Ning Chinese Aged Home in Johannesburg. Initially only Chinese attended its events, but at present other communities are also invited (Interview 6, Oct. 2012). The PCA has a good relationship with the Taipei Liaison Office, the PRC embassy, as well as the Nan Hua Temple, and members of these organizations attend one another’s cultural functions (Interview 30, Nov. 2012).

Declining membership remains a challenge for the PCA, and membership has declined over the years from about 300 to 130 members. Although the PCA is open to all Chinese regardless of place of origin, history or language, membership at present tends to be mostly SABCs (Interview 15, Oct. 2012). This, one interviewee explained, is due to the language barrier, but also because SABCs are more similar in terms of culture and mindset, and the new migrants are more involved in their own commercial associations (ibid.). Still, the PCA is invited to anniversaries of what he calls the “commercial organizations” based on place of origin (e.g. Shanghai, Fujian, Hong Kong/Macau). One interviewee noted that it has become “a battle to keep the association alive”. It seems that the ordinary SABCs are not very interested in the PCA, or any other association, since “they are not under pressure anymore” (Interview 30, Nov. 2012). Many of the young, third-generation SABC have emigrated to Australia (Interview 6, Oct. 2012).

Still, the larger mandate or rationale of the PCA is cultural: to teach, preserve and observe Chinese cultural traditions. The long history of the PCA, alongside the strong sense of Chinese identity among older Chinese South Africans, and the continuing attendance of annual functions is evidence of the significant impact and place of the PCA in the local Chinese community. However, whether its cultural function continues to be of primary relevance today is debatable. Given the nature of perceived benefits of such events for the younger Chinese

South Africans, as well as Taiwanese and mainland Chinese, i.e. social and professional networking, it may be that interest in cultural preservation is diminishing across all three Chinese communities.

The Pretoria Chinese School

Although primarily an educational institution, given its historical role in the Chinese community as the centre of much of the Chinese communities' social and cultural engagements, as well as its role in teaching Chinese language and culture, the Pretoria Chinese School may also be categorised as a cultural association (See educational section).

Political associations

Chinese and Taiwanese embassies

The Chinese Consulate was established in Johannesburg in 1905 by the then National Party in China, which later formed the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan (Yap & Man 1996: 171). The Consul-General originally assisted in protecting contracted labourers in SA, but later this was extended to assisting all Chinese, especially the SABCs (Harris, 1996). During Apartheid, the Consul-General assisted SABC individuals and groups, together with other community organizations (such as the Central Chinese Association of South Africa) in protesting, appealing, and submitting letters and memoranda for concessions for the Chinese community (Park 2006; 2008a).

The Chinese Association of South Africa (CASA)

Although not a Pretoria-based association, the Chinese Association of South Africa (CASA) is noteworthy due to its recent political role, as well as the fact that some of the committee members of the PCA are also members of CASA. In 1981, 18 Chinese associations met and agreed to establish a national body comprising six regional member associations, which is today known as CASA (Yap and Man 1996: 413). The formation of CASA also "marked the official end of representation of Chinese South African interests by the diplomats of the Taiwanese ROC" (Park 2008a: 69) (namely the Consul-General).

CASA was established in order to attain full rights for Chinese living in South Africa, preserve Chinese cultural identity, promote the interests of the Chinese, assist the Chinese in overcoming difficulties, and promote good relations with other communities. Throughout the 1980s, CASA worked towards reform of discriminatory legislation via memoranda and other communication with government ministries. Most recently it succeeded, through a court case against three South African government ministries, to obtain full recognition of SABCs as

'previously disadvantaged' with regard to affirmative action policies (Huynh et al 2010; Yap and Man 1996: 412, 413).

Discussion: the roles of associations for individual Chinese immigrants

In our study we found that individual participation in each of these associations is motivated by a range of tangible and intangible benefits that the individual might derive from participating. These benefits include new social and economic networks, professional links, religious fulfilment, education, Chinese/English language learning, preservation of culture and identity, and political representation. The study also showed that participation often varies between the three distinct Chinese communities. Furthermore, the tangible and intangible benefits that motivate individual participation do not always coincide with the primary functions of the associations, suggesting that these associational bodies should (and often do) adapt to the changing needs of the Chinese community. Finally, we found that the primary benefits across all three groups seem to be social and economic, although each individual story is unique and thus generalising for the three groups is difficult. In this section we utilise the material gathered from in-depth interviews to examine the current role of the aforementioned associations in the lives of Chinese living in Pretoria.

Religious associations

Members from all three Chinese communities were involved in religious associations. Whereas SABCs attended local Christian churches primarily for religious purposes, Taiwanese and mainland Chinese involvement were also characterised by the need for socialising and social networking, as well as career and other economic opportunities.

Most of the SABCs interviewed regularly attend one of the local Christian churches rather than the PECCC or Nan Hua temple. This is to a large extent be due to the integral role churches played in the development of Chinese communities from the 1930s onwards, especially the establishment of mission schools for blacks and admittance of children from wealthier families to private church-based schools (Yap and Man 1996: 303). As a result, many Chinese converted to Christianity (ibid.: 280). The long-term impact of this was evident in some of the individual life stories, with differences appearing among the younger generation. James (61), whose grandfather emigrated from Guangdong in the early 1900s, grew up in Pretoria and briefly attended an Indian school and the Chinese School before being admitted, in the 1950s, to a private Catholic school. He therefore converted to Catholicism as a child and still remains a devout Catholic, attending services every weekend. He served for 15 years on several councils within his church, assisting with fundraising and financial management. Bill (70) was also a devout Catholic although he attended the Chinese School his whole life. Sam (63) similarly

attended the Chinese School as well as Anglican Schools and is actively involved in a local Methodist church.

Sarah, on the other hand, a third generation SABC, went to a Catholic primary school, was baptized as an Anglican, but is not actually very religious and thus doesn't attend church. She sometimes visits the temple with her family when they take foreigners, or for the Chinese New Year. Indeed, the involvement of the SABCs with the Nan Hua temple seems to be limited to Chinese cultural events, which will be discussed in more detail in the section on cultural associations. None of the SABCs were members of the PECCC.

Among the Taiwanese interviewed, most were not involved in any of the local churches, while some worked at the Nan Hua temple and others volunteered or participated in its cultural, social or educational activities. The diversity of involvement with the temple may be due to the fact that the temple provides an array of services beyond its spiritual practices, from charity to educational, and therefore invites people for various reasons.

Tracy, for example, came to South Africa in 1983 with her husband and two children. Her husband first worked in a factory in Durban, but when the factory closed they moved to Johannesburg and Venda, working in various jobs. When Tracy's husband died in 1998, a Taiwanese she knew suggested that she ask the temple for help with arranging the burial. She had never been to the temple before, but the temple organised the burial and also offered her employment. She has since become a Buddhist. Thomas (mid-50s) similarly found employment at the temple after he had to close his factory due to economic hardship and labour problems. Joanne (23), a student at the University of Pretoria, volunteered at the temple, but only as it provided an avenue for social activities with her friends. She also wanted to join the temple's holiday camp because it would be "entertainment during the holidays". Sue (37), on the other hand, has only visited the temple once, when her South African husband took her there to show her the place.

The recent immigrants from mainland China also seem to make use of religious institutions for social and other benefits. Cindy (33) arrived in South Africa in 2008 as a doctoral student at Tshwane University of Technology (TUT). She became involved in a local Christian church as well as the Nan Hua temple. Although a Buddhist, Cindy attended the local church and one of its Bible study groups after a Chinese friend recommended the church and because she knew the lady running the study group. Her visits to the temple were also not for religious purposes, but rather as a volunteer during festivals (either helping in the kitchen or selling items), also at the request of a friend who was volunteering. The extent of her participation in both associations was based on social reasons: in order to meet and engage with people as part of adjusting to life in Pretoria. She also explained that she rarely attended the temple for religious

purposes because it was too far (interviewees across all three Chinese communities noted the practical, distance and transport, challenges of visiting the temple). Thus practical issues were of concern to her.

In some instances, the church provided the main space for social engagement, as in the case of Melissa, a middle-aged shop owner from the PRC who, due to extremely limited English, had many difficulties adjusting to life in Pretoria. An elderly white English woman befriended her one day at her shop and taught her English. They began discussing the Bible until eventually an informal bible study group was established among Melissa and other Chinese. According to Melissa, this small bible study group eventually grew into the Pretoria Chinese church. Although a central aspect of her life for a while, the church no longer serves any social function for Melissa because most of her friends have since left the church, some due to the demands of their businesses. Melissa still attends church services, as well as a monthly meal and a braai for the mid-Autumn and Spring festivals.

Geoff, a PhD student who had only been in the country for five months at the time of the interview, said that practicing English was his primary concern and that he attended a local church as a way of doing so. Deirdre, on the other hand, arrived in SA in 2004 and runs clothing stores in Chinese malls. She used to go to the Nan Hua temple every month to light incense, but no longer has time to do so after she opened her 2nd shop. According to Deirdre, Chinese mostly attend church for socialising purposes. This was confirmed by Taylor who volunteers at the temple on weekends and describes the temple as “a social network centre; a meeting point”. It is through the temple that he engages with Taiwanese and SABCs. His wife, a Buddhist, first introduced him to the temple, and prior to meeting her he sometimes attended a local church with a university friend. Taylor’s sister has come to South Africa on a few occasions, stayed at the temple as a volunteer, and his parents also lived at the temple for a few months before they found a home in Johannesburg.

Educational associations

The two educational associations in Pretoria, the Pretoria Chinese School (PCS) and the Saturday School, reveal further differences between the three Chinese groups, as well as the different functions these have in the lives of Chinese. For the older generation of SABCs, the PCS has played an integral role in providing both schooling and a venue for social and cultural activities. Since the 1930s, the PCS provided a space for the Chinese community to come together for recreational, religious and cultural activities. The impact of the school therefore extended far beyond its educational function. Bill, for example, joined the PCS as a primary school student in the 1940s and he is currently on the PCA committee and the School Board. Bill is adamant that even though he feels at home in South Africa, he feels spiritually connected to

China, saying that “my heart is in China” and “deep down, China is still my home”. He attributed this sense of 'Chineseness' to the Chinese School. The younger generation of SABCs, he believes, will not develop such a connection because they generally attend local Westernized schools. The cultural role of the school is also confirmed in James' story. Growing up, James did not attend the school but did spend his weekends playing sports and teaching karate at its premises. Today he is actively involved in the school's activities, sits on the School Board, and speaks Cantonese (although he sent his own children to a private Catholic school).

Among the younger generation of SABCs, the relevance of the school beyond education seems to be waning. The low number of Chinese South African students attending PCS (between 20 and 40 out of 461) confirms that most Chinese parents are placing their children elsewhere. This seems to be out of educational and practical concerns on the one hand, and a stronger South African than Chinese identity on the other. Andrew (41) is a third generation SABC and attended both the Chinese School and a private English high school. Although his son is currently in the Chinese School, Andrew hopes that he will eventually go to the English high school because it has larger classes and is more "like the real world". Andrew sees himself as South African, admitting that “there is no Chinese in him”. He also intends to join his alma mater's "Old Boys Club". Sarah similarly only attended local schools and briefly attended the Saturday School when she was ten years old, although she didn't find it interesting or fun at all.

Many of the Taiwanese who we interviewed, on the other hand, are involved in either the PCS or the Saturday school, with the educational and professional (employment) role of the schools being prominent. Still, the benefits of their involvement vary. Sue is a teacher at PCS. She is married to an Afrikaner (whom she had met in Taiwan) and moved to South Africa due to their marriage. The school is mostly a place of employment for her, although she attends the Taiwanese National Birthday celebration every year as a member of the school. This is the only time that she socializes with other Taiwanese as she spends most of her social time with local South Africans and is not involved in any other Chinese associations. Mary (33), another Taiwanese teacher, moved to South Africa because she has family here and wanted to explore a new place. She applied for a position at the school prior to her arrival. However, she does not take part in any of the local Chinese associations outside of working at the school. Vera (47) on the other hand, came to South Africa in 1991 and has been teaching at PCS for 21 years. Apart from normal weekday teaching, she teaches two adult classes on Saturdays and prepares lessons on Sundays and during holidays. For her the school also serves a social function, explaining that “most of the people that I know in SA, both South African and Chinese, is through the school. The parents and my colleagues become my friends.” Joanne volunteers for administrative work at the Saturday School, but only began working there because her boyfriend, who is also Taiwanese, teaches at the School.

Among the Mainland Chinese interviewees, few currently had children at school age, none in the Chinese School. Most seem to place their children in local, English schools, perhaps in order to learn English, or due to practical issues such as location (the PCS is situated in the far south-east of Pretoria, especially significant given the limited public transport options in Pretoria). Cindy, for example, placed her son in a crèche run by one of the local Christian churches. She chose the crèche primarily because it is close to home, and although she is not a Christian, she believes that the crèche will teach him good values. She has also interacted socially with some of the other parents at the crèche, although most of her friends are Chinese. Cindy's involvement in both the church and the school therefore reflect a path less dependent on Chinese associations, yet utilising general, local associations for social and practical purposes.

Political associations

Although the PCA and the Chinese consulate were important role-players in the Chinese community in the past, none of the interviewees from any of the three groups discussed these associations in terms of their political functions today. Members of the PCA board, for instance, defined themselves as a strictly cultural, community association, involved primarily in organizing cultural events and fundraising.

Noteworthy is also the political role of CASA. It seems that some Chinese in South Africa question the continued legitimacy of an organization such as CASA given that there is no longer any discrimination against SABCs. One of our interviewees from the SABC group, who reflected on this question, argued that the Chinese community must have a voice: “you can't react to any attack on the Chinese community at that same time if you have no voice...[And the Chinese government] are only here in South Africa or any other country on a government to government level. They can't interfere with private matters and this was a private matter between Chinese and the government” (Interview 15, Oct. 2012).

Historically, the Chinese Consul-General supported Chinese language and culture, and the Taiwanese ROC consulate provided financial support for Chinese schools, sports and cultural activities, as well as school books and teachers (Park 2008: 65). Today, however, the embassies are perceived by members of the Chinese communities as administrative entities, which assist with passport issues for example, rather than entities that serve political or cultural purposes. Their political activities are believed to be strictly government-to-government. Still, some of interviewees do attend cultural events held either at the Taipei Liaison Office or at the Chinese Embassy. Furthermore, the Taipei Liaison Office facilitates the donation of Mandarin textbooks to the Pretoria Chinese School and the Saturday School (Interview 21, Nov. 2012; Interview 28, Nov. 2012), and, on occasion, assists with the sourcing of Taiwanese teachers as well (Park

2008a: 123). It thus engages with these associations on an institution-to-institution basis. In this regard it also plays an indirect educational and cultural role in the community.

Cultural associations

The Pretoria Chinese Association (PCA) plays a significant role in the cultural affairs of the Pretoria Chinese community. It supports the Pretoria Chinese School and organizes Chinese cultural events throughout the year. It also administers fundraisers for charities, especially for the Hong Ning Chinese Aged Home in Johannesburg. For those involved in planning and organizing these events, the PCA takes on both a work and social function. Many explain how they simply do not have any spare time outside of their meetings. However, given the shared history of many of these members (whose fathers or grandfathers were often similarly affiliated), the work of the PCA may very well take on a social function as well.

An important mode of participation in cultural associations is through attendance at their cultural events, which is generally not limited to members of any organization (although some require an invitation). Attendance is thus instructive of individual perceptions regarding the significance of these functions. There are also many associations whose main roles in the community are not cultural but who are involved in organizing, hosting, or accommodating cultural events and festivals, such as the Pretoria Chinese School (although their events are internal), the Nan Hua temple (whose functions are only religious), as well as the respective embassies. These Chinese celebrations include the Chinese New Year, Double Ten, Spring and mid-Autumn festivals and the dragon-boat festival, often serving both to commemorate tradition and to foster local cohesion (Harris 2010: 155). Growing interest in and attendance by South Africans, as noted by Park (2010: 473), is also indicative of the potentially shifting focus of these events, from inward-looking (aimed at cultural preservation) to outward-looking (aimed at social and cultural interaction).

Most of our interviewees were aware of these events, and many of them confirmed that they attend them. There does therefore seem to be some impetus for observing and preserving Chinese rituals, holidays and practices. We found generational difference in terms of their attitudes towards these cultural activities. All older generation SABCs that we interviewed, for instance, attend the Chinese cultural events and explained that each association invites the others to their events. Thus, the PCA attends the festivals of the Temple, and similarly invites the leaders of the Temple to their own functions. (To some extent our findings might be skewed here since most interviewees we were able to identify within the SABC group were members of the PCA and thus institutional relationships may influence individual activities.) Younger generation SABCs revealed a diminished interest in these events. According to Andrew, among the SABCs, these cultural events are often the only time when the members of the Chinese

community actually see one another and socialize. Thus, although "everybody knows everybody", everybody's daily activities and lives are not entrenched in the Chinese associations or the Chinese community per se, and there is limited social engagement outside of such events. Sarah, however, whose father is on the PCA committee, admitted that she attends "when my dad says that I should...we don't find going to these events entertaining...I only go because my parents told me that I had to".

The Taiwanese reflected similar tendencies and differences between the older and younger generations. Peter (mid-60s), for instance, attends all events as a member of the PCA. Mary on the other hand, remarked that these were too formal and really just "for old Taiwanese businessmen". Still, most Taiwanese attend the National Birthday hosted by the Taipei embassy every year. Those employed with the Temple would also automatically be involved with its functions (e.g. Thomas and Tracy).

Participation in events by newer migrants from Mainland China seems to be somewhat limited and often motivated by social rather than cultural interests. Although Harry is generally too busy for such things, he has on occasion gone with friends to functions organized by the Chinese embassy, such as the Spring festival. Cindy, as noted earlier, volunteered at the temple's functions for social reasons as well.

The long history of the PCA, alongside the strong sense of Chinese identity among older SABCs, and the continuing attendance of annual functions is evidence of the significant impact and place of the PCA in the local Chinese community. However, whether its cultural function continues to be of primary relevance today is debatable. Given the nature of perceived benefits of such events for the younger SABCs, as well as Taiwanese and mainland Chinese, i.e. social and professional networking, it may be that interest in cultural preservation is diminishing across all three Chinese communities.

Social, sport and economic associations

The final category of associations, which we consider broadly as social and economic, is one for which we have yet to access any specific organizations. In this category we include sports clubs, which have been popular in Pretoria since the late 1940s (Yap and Man 1996: 391). Quite a few of our interviewees confirmed belonging to particular clubs (e.g. golf, tennis, basketball) at one point or another, although not enough information has yet been collected to better understand the role of these clubs across the Chinese communities. According to Sarah, although the sports clubs have become the most popular associations among the younger Chinese, the Pretoria club is very small. For Sarah, the only organized activities she would be interested in would be sports-related, and these are the only Chinese activities she would really like to attend. Bill

similarly recognized that interaction among the younger Chinese tends to be limited to sports clubs and events. The annual Easter tournament (where all Chinese sports clubs throughout the country play against one another) is organized by the South African Chinese Sports Association (SACSA) and its Provincial member organizations. It seems that, as with cultural events, there is very little interaction among the Chinese outside of this tournament or the particular sports teams.

Several interviewees also referred to the commercial associations formed around place of origin, e.g. Taiwanese, Beijingsese, Fujianese, etc. The Taiwanese in particular seem to have several Taiwanese-specific associations with social, economic and even sport functions (see also Yap and Man 1996: 430). And although immigrants organize according to place of origin, they also invite one another, including the Pretoria Chinese Association, to their respective social or cultural events, as noted by members of the PCA.

Gary, a recent migrant from Mainland China, reported having been a part of the Beijingsese association, although it existed only in Johannesburg where there is a much larger Chinese population. Members of the Beijingsese group, he explained, would get together for dinner and converse, but according to Gary few were enthusiastic about these social meetings and the group eventually faded away (although the name still exists on paper). Other Mainland China interviewees reported not being involved in any of these associations, citing limited time and the need to learn English as reasons for not doing so. Deirdre further noted that information regarding these associations often appeared in the Chinese newspaper in SA. Although she herself does not belong to any association, she knows from friends that the Fujianese association organizes social gatherings for festivals, but doesn't offer any other kinds of assistance such as burial arranging and money lending. She admitted that she would only join an association if it offered legal assistance. Very little information was gathered regarding the economic support and/or commercial relationships that may or may not emerge from these associations.

Sometimes established associations such as the Pretoria Chinese School, the PCA, and Nan Hua temple are used, especially by new migrants and Taiwanese, as a means of acquiring social and economic advice and assistance (i.e. tangible benefits). Andrew, a third generation Chinese South African, explained that since the Chinese community in Pretoria is so small, finding and approaching locals within the associations is relatively easy. Usually these interactions are driven by the need to adjust to the new environment and the information sought deals mostly with practical issues such as how to purchase a house or how to register a business. These engagements are also usually temporary and rarely result in the formation of longer-term friendships. The economic nature of these interactions, however, seems to have created a

negative perception of new migrants among the SABCs, for whom the Chinese community is also a social network rather than just a business-oriented interaction.

Conclusions

The Chinese associations in Pretoria play various roles in the processes of interaction, adjustment and belonging of Chinese immigrants in South Africa. However, our hypothesis that associations would play an important role in the processes of interaction, adjustment and belonging of Chinese immigrants in South Africa due to the relatively small size of the Chinese community in Pretoria was not confirmed by the study. Chinese migrants generally seem to utilize informal social networks for that purposes rather than formal associations. Individual experiences reveal the multiple distinct ways in which people find their own places of community and modes of interaction with one another as well as with South Africans. In the effort to adjust to life in South Africa, numerous tangible and intangible benefits seem to motivate participation in the Chinese associations in Pretoria. Primary among these are social, practical and economic (employment), with cultural and political benefits and interests waning. Sometimes the benefits derived by the individual would cohere with the main function of a particular association, such as attendance at a local church for religious purposes. Sometimes benefits extend beyond an association's purported function and are often practical in nature. These would therefore depend on the circumstances of the individual immigrant, such as needing to learn English, having limited transport options, and requiring employment or other support services.

Other benefits are primarily social and address immigrants' need for belonging, community, and sense of identity (whether it be 'Chineseness' or 'South Africanness', as in the case of the older and younger generations of SABCs respectively, or based on one's place of origin, religious belief, profession, or even sport interest). Reasons for participating or not participating therefore vary in complex ways and are informed by a multitude of factors, which makes it difficult to generalize, and which the life stories of the individuals interviewed in this study confirmed. Often, work and family demands were cited as reasons for non-participation. Place of origin and language skills also had an impact, with the Pretoria Chinese community consisting predominantly of SABCs and Taiwanese, thus potentially limiting the involvement of new migrants.

The shift towards more social- and economic-oriented engagement manifests both within and across the three Chinese communities, thus reflecting but also transcending the group boundaries. And the use of local (i.e. South African) institutions (especially religious and educational) suggests that modes of engagement and adjustment are not necessarily identity-driven but, again, rather pragmatic. Significantly, the unique experiences and strategies

illuminated through this study is evidence of the plurality that characterizes the Chinese immigrant experience.

There seems to be some generational differences in the way in which Chinese associations in Pretoria play a role in the processes of interaction, adjustment and belonging of Chinese immigrants in the larger community although this may vary between the various groups of Chinese immigrants in South Africa. For example, all older generation SABCs attend cultural events organized by the cultural associations while the younger generation Chinese in South Africa have a diminished interest in these events. The Taiwanese reflected similar tendencies and differences between the older and younger generations while participation by the migrants from Mainland China in cultural events seems to be somewhat limited among all ages. Furthermore, for the older generation of SABCs, the PCS has played an integral role in providing both schooling and a venue for social and cultural activities while for the younger generation of Chinese in South Africa the relevance of the school beyond education seems to be waning. Most of the mainland interviewees place their children in English schools.

Issues such as the migration history of Chinese migrants; family linkages facilitating migration and migration patterns; the migrants' integration in South Africa; the main challenges faced in South Africa by Chinese migrants; perceptions of South Africa; future migration plans, and links with China may be included in future research studies on Chinese in South Africa.

References

Primary references (interviews and focus group)

1. Senior church leader at Pretoria Evangelical Chinese Christian Church (PECCC), (Taiwan), 2 October 2012, Pretoria
2. Senior temple leader at Nan hua Temple, (Taiwan), 5 October 2012, Bronkhorstspuit
3. Focus group with board members, Pretoria Chinese Association (PCA), 9 October 2012, Pretoria
4. University lecturer at University of Pretoria (UP), (Taiwan), 16 October 2012, Pretoria
5. Businessman, member of PCA, (SABC), 16 October 2012, Pretoria
6. Businessman, member of PCA, (SABC), 17 October 2012, Pretoria
7. University student/lecturer, University of South Africa (Unisa), (PRC), 17 October 2012, Pretoria
8. Teacher at Pretoria Chinese School (PCS), (Taiwan), 18 October 2012, Pretoria
9. Teacher at Pretoria Chinese School (PCS), (Taiwan), 18 October 2012, Pretoria
10. Teacher at Pretoria Chinese School (PCS), (Taiwan), 18 October 2012, Pretoria
11. Teacher at Pretoria Chinese School (PCS), (Taiwan), 18 October 2012, Pretoria
12. Businessman, member of PCA, (Taiwan), 18 October 2012, Pretoria

13. Senior leader at Pretoria Chinese School, (SABC), 23 October 2012, Pretoria
14. Lecturer at University of Pretoria (UP), (PRC), 2 November 2012, Pretoria
15. Businessman, member of PCA, (SABC), 23 October 2012, Pretoria
16. Businessman, member of PCA, (SABC), 26 October 2012, Pretoria
17. Lecturer at UP, (PRC), 20 November 2012, Pretoria
18. Employee of Nan hua temple, (Taiwan), 15 November 2012, Pretoria
19. Post-doctoral student at TUT, (PRC), 26 October 2012, Pretoria
20. Student at UP, (SABC), 2 November 2012, Pretoria
21. Interview on Saturday school history, 3 November 2012, Pretoria
22. University student and Saturday school, (Taiwan), 10 November 2012, Pretoria
23. Mall tenant, (PRC), 12 November 2012, Pretoria
24. Tourist guide (PRC), 20 November 2012, Pretoria
25. Shop owner (PRC), 20 November 2012, Pretoria
26. Employee of Nan hua Temple (Taiwan), 15 November 2012, Pretoria
27. Student at TUT (PRC), 12 November 2012, Pretoria
28. Interview on PCS history, 15 November 2012, Pretoria
29. Interview on Nan hua temple history, 15 November 2012, Pretoria
30. Interview on PCA history, 24 November 2012, Pretoria

Secondary references

- Accone, D. 2006. "'Ghost people": localizing the Chinese self in an African context', *Asian Studies Review*, 30: 257-272.
- Brenthurst Foundation and the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI). August 2012. Fuelling the Dragon: Natural Resources and China's Development, Special Report. The Brenthurst Foundation. Available at URL:
[http://www.thebrenthurstfoundation.org/Files/Brenthurst Commisioned Reports/Brenthurst-Special-Report-Fuelling-the-Dragon.pdf](http://www.thebrenthurstfoundation.org/Files/Brenthurst%20Commisioned%20Reports/Brenthurst-Special-Report-Fuelling-the-Dragon.pdf).
- Carlson, J.L. 2000. 'Moving the Edge: The South Africans Who Are Chinese', *Macalester International*, 9: 208-215. Available at URL:
<http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1195&context=macintl>
- Carayannis, T. & Olin, N. 2012. A Preliminary Mapping of China-Africa Knowledge Networks. The Social Science Research Council (SSRC), prepared for The Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum.
- Fitzgerald, J. 2007. *Big White Lie: Chinese Australians in White Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Fo Guang Shan, n.d. Nan Hua Temple, South Africa brochure.
- Gao, J. 2006. 'Migrant Transnationality and its Evolving Nature: A Case Study of Mainland Chinese Migrants in Australia', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 2(2): 193-219.

- Habib, A. & Padayachee, V. 2000. 'Economic policy and power relations in South Africa's transition to democracy', *World Development*, 28(2): 245-263.
- Harris, K.L. 1996. 'Gandhi, the Chinese and passive resistance', in *Gandhi and South Africa: Principles and Politics*, edited by JM Brown and M Porzesky. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Huynh, T., Park, Y.J., and Chen, A.Y. 2010. 'Faces of China: New Chinese Migrants in South Africa, 1980s to Present', *African and Asian Studies*, 9: 286-306.
- Kragelund, P. 2009. 'Part of the disease or part of the cure? Chinese investment in the Zambian Mining and construction sectors', *European Journal of Development Research*, 21(4): 644-661.
- Lieber, M. 2010. 'Chinese Migrants in Switzerland: From Mutual Assistance to Promoting Economic Interests', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 6: 102-118.
- Mohan, G. & Kale, D. 2007. The Invisible Hand of South-South globalization: Chinese migrants in Africa. Development Policy and Practice Department, The Open University, prepared for the Rockefeller Foundation. Available at URL: [http://asiandrivers.open.ac.uk/documents/Rockefeller%20Report%20on%20Chinese%20diasporas%2010th%20Oct%203 .pdf](http://asiandrivers.open.ac.uk/documents/Rockefeller%20Report%20on%20Chinese%20diasporas%2010th%20Oct%203.pdf).
- Mohan, G. & Tan-Mullins, M. 2009. 'Chinese migrants in Africa as new agents of development? An analytical framework', *European Journal of Development Research*, 21(4): 588-605.
- Park, Y.J. 2005. Shifting Chinese South African Identities in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Park, Y.J. 2006. 'Sojourners to Settlers: Early Construction of Chinese Identity in South Africa, 1879-1949', *African Studies*, 65(2): 201-231.
- Park, Y.J. 2008a. *A Matter of Honour: Being Chinese in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.
- Park, Y.J. 2008b. 'State, Myth, and Agency in the Construction of Chinese South African Identities, 1948-1994', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 4(1): 69-89.
- Park, Y.J. 2008c. 'White, Honorary white, or Non-White: Apartheid Era Constructions of Chinese', *Afro-Hispanic Review*, 27(1): 123-138.
- Park, Y.J. 2009. 'Recent Chinese Migrations to South Africa: New Intersections of Race, Class and Ethnicity', in *Representation, Expression and Identity. Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Tina Rahimy (ed). E-book published by Inter-Disciplinary Press, 153-168. Available at URL: <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/ati/diversity/multiculturalism/mcb2/park%20paper.pdf>
- Park, Y.J. 2012. 'Living in between: the Chinese in South Africa'. Migration Policy Institute. Available at URL: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/print.cfm?ID=875>
- Payne, R.J. & Veney, C.R. 1998. 'China's Post-Cold War African Policy', *Asian Survey*, 38(9): 867-879.

- Politzer, M. 2008. 'China and Africa: Stronger Economic Ties Mean More Migration', Migration Information Source, Migration Policy Institute. Available at URL: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=690>
- Trémon, A. 2007. 'From "Voluntary" to "Truly Voluntary" Associations: The Structure of the Chinese Community in French Polynesia, 1865–2005', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 3(1): 1-33.
- Wu, D. February 2011. Douglas Wu Family Prayer Letter. Chinese International Missions. Available at URL: <http://cimusa.org>.
- Wu, D. April 2012. Douglas Wu Family Prayer Letter. Chinese International Missions. Available at URL: <http://cimusa.org>.
- Yang, P. 2006. 'Transnationalism as a New Mode of Immigrant Labor Market Incorporation: Preliminary Evidence from Chinese Transnational Migrants', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 2(2): 173-192.
- Yap, M. & Man, D.L. 1996. *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Yen, C-H. March 1981. 'Early Chinese clan organizations in Singapore and Malaya, 1819-1911', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (Singapore), 12(1): 62-92.
- Yin, X-H. 2007. 'Diverse and Transnational: Chinese (PRC) Immigrants in the United States', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 3(1): 122-145.
- Zhou, M. and Lin, M. 2006. 'Community Transformation and the Formation of Ethnic Capital: Immigrant Chinese Communities in the United States', *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 2(2): 193-219.

Appendix A: Information sheet and Informed Consent

CHINESE PRESENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA: A PILOT STUDY IN PRETORIA

INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM: INTERVIEWS

Who we are

Hello, I am (*fieldworker's name*). I am working for the Human Sciences Research Council. The HSRC is a national research organization with offices in Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, PE and Sweetwaters. The HSRC conducts policy-relevant social sciences research, with a unit dedicated to democracy, governance and service delivery.

What we are doing

We are currently conducting research a pilot study in Pretoria on the Chinese presence in South Africa. For this study, we are holding interviews with Chinese residents in South Africa to find out more about your reasons for coming to South Africa, your experiences of living in South Africa, and your relationships with other Chinese and non-Chinese in South Africa. We will use the information gathered from the discussion together with other research material to better understand the Chinese experience in South Africa.

Your participation

Your position has been identified as important in relation to our study and we invite you to share your views with us on a free and voluntary basis. If you do agree to participate in the study, we will meet with you individually for approximately 45 minutes of your time.

Please understand that **your participation is voluntary** and you are not being forced to take part in this study. The choice of whether to participate or not, is yours alone. If you choose not to take part, you will not be affected in any way whatsoever. If you agree to participate, you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time before or during the study without penalty or negative consequence.

Confidentiality

With your permission, the interview will be recorded. If you agree that your answers may be recorded, it will be linked to a fictitious code number. No one will be able to link you to the answers you give. Your name and the name of your organization will also not be attached to the transcript. The information will be stored electronically in a secure environment and used for research purposes now or at a later date. The audio tapes will also be stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the HSRC researcher for a period of one year after the completion of the project. Only researchers will have access to your answers, the tape recordings and notes.

Risks/discomforts

At the present time, we do not see any risks in your participation.

Benefits

There are no immediate benefits to you from participating in this study, and there will be no payment involved for your participation in the interview.

Contacts

If you have further questions about this project, about the results of this study, or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the project leader, Dr Greg Houston, at 021 466 7884.

Alternatively, you may contact the HSRC's toll-free ethics hotline 0800 212 123 (toll free when phoned from a landline from within South Africa), or the REC Administrator, Khutso Sithole, at the Human Sciences Research Council on 012 302 2012, e-mail ksithole@hsrc.ac.za / research.ethics@hsrc.ac.za.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign this informed consent form. If you have any questions at any time, please feel free to contact us on the telephone numbers provided.

CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in research on the Chinese presence in South Africa. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop participating at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively. I further understand that access to records of this interview will be carefully controlled and that files will be stored electronically in secured environments.

I will sign my name to indicate that I have agreed to participate in this research project as explained above. If I wish, I may use only my initials or first name in order to remain completely anonymous. If I do not wish to sign anything, I may tell the researcher that I am willing to participate and he/she will sign to confirm that I have agreed to the terms of participation.

I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally in the immediate or short term.

I understand that my participation will remain confidential.

I understand that the information collected during this research project will be recorded, stored electronically in a secure environment and used for research purposes now or at a later date.

I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

.....
Signature of participant **Date:**.....

I hereby agree to the tape-recording of my participation in the study.

.....
Signature of participant **Date:**.....

In the case where a researcher signs on behalf of participants not wanting to sign, such activity should be co-signed by an independent witness.

.....
Signature of independent witness **Date:**.....

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study!

调研课题：南非(比陀)华人的生活经历和感想

调研内容简介

我们是谁

你好，我是……我在南非社科院工作。南非社科院是南非国家级社会调研机构，在比陀，约堡，德班等城市均有分部。南非社科院从事政策有关的社会调研，我所在的部门专门从事有关民主，管理和公共服务方面的调研。

这个调研是关于什么的

目前的这个调研课题是有关南非(比陀)华人的生活经历和感想。我们准备采访一些南非的华人，了解他们来南非的原因，他们在南非的社交及其他方面的经历，他们与其他南非华人/非华人员以及机构之间的交往和关系，以及他们和国内亲友的交往和联系。我们将把我们访问中收集的资料和其他有关在南非华人的调研报告做比较和总结，以便对在南非华人的生活情况有更好的了解。

您的参与

如果您接受参与这个调研项目的邀请，和我们分享您的经历和看法，我们将感到不胜荣幸。如果您同意接受我们的采访，采访将持续大约45分钟-1个小时。

需要强调的是：参与或者不参与这个调研项目是完全自愿的。您完全有权决定不参与。如果您决定不参与的话，您不会受到任何负面的影响。如果您决定参与的话，您也可以随时终止采访。

关于保密方面的问题

如果您同意的话，我们将用录音机把我们的采访内容录下来。录音将用号码而不是您的名字保存下来，这样其他人就不会知道谁说了什么。您或者您所在机构的名字也不会出现在我们的报告中。录音将会被保存在一个安全的地方--

社科院办公室上锁的柜子里，研究员以外的人员将没有办法拿到录音。这些录音将会在柜子里保存一年(整个调研结束后)，然后被销毁掉。采访内容将只用于调研分析和报告。

风险/不适

目前我们不预计您的参与会给您带来任何不适。

报酬

参与这个调研项目将不会带来任何目前或者将来的物质报酬。

联系方式

如果您有有关于这个项目的其他方面的问题的话，包括这个项目的调研结果以及其他和这个调研有关的问题，您可以联系这个项目的负责人Greg Houston 博士，021 466 7884，或者余柯博士，012 302 2707。您也可以打南非社科院调研行为不符合规范的举报电话0800 212 123 (南非境内坐机免费)，或者社科院专确保调研行为符合规范的秘书，Khutso

Sithole, 012 302 2012, 电子邮件ksithole@hsrc.ac.za / research.ethics@hsrc.ac.za.
但是需要提醒的是免费电话和调研规范的秘书不讲中文，
所以如果你希望和一个会讲中文的调研人员通话的话，你应该和余柯博士联系。

如果您愿意参与这个调研项目，
请在以下协议内签名。如果您还有其他任何问题的话，请用以上任何一个联系方式联系我们。

同意参与的协议

我同意参与南非(比陀)华人的生活经历和感想的调研项目。我的参与不是被迫的，是完全自愿的。
。我知道我可以随时终止采访而不会对我带来任何负面的影响。
我也知道采访的内容将会被妥善的保存起来。有关文件将会保存在一个安全的地方。

我将用签名的方式表示我同意参与这个项目的意愿。如果我希望完全匿名的话，我也可以只签我的名(不连姓)或者只签我名字的第一个字母。如果我不想签任何东西的话，我也可以告诉调研人员我同意采访，然后让他/她代我签名。

我明白这个调研项目的参与不是为了任何目前或者将来的物质报酬。

我明白我的参与，身份和我所说的话将不会被泄漏给研究员以外的任何人员。

我明白我的采访内容将不会被用于调研以外其他的用途。

我将保留这个协议的一个复本。

签名：..... 日期：.....

我同意采访内容可以被录音

签名：..... 日期：.....

如果被采访者不愿签名而要求调研人员代签的话，独立的见证人需要在此签名：

见证人的签名：..... 日期：.....

感谢您同意参与这个调研项目!

Appendix B: Interview schedules

Individual questionnaire

1) Biographical background

- Please tell us about yourself– your age, marital status, education, occupation, etc.?
- Do you have any family living in South Africa? Who are they? What do they do?

2) Migration to South Africa

- Please tell us about you or your family’s migration to South Africa.
 - From which part of China/other part of the world did you or your family originate from?
 - When did you/your family migrate to South Africa?
 - Did you travel alone or with family members / friends to South Africa?
- Why did you or your family migrate to South Africa?
 - Where did you hear about South Africa as a possible migration destination?
- Do you have social networks in China / South Africa that facilitated your migration to South Africa? Please explain. Or any kind of organization?
- Why did you particularly migrate to this city? Please explain?
- Is the area/city where you or your family are staying the first place where you settled in South Africa? If not, please describe your migration history in South Africa.

3) Links with China

- Do you have family still living in China? Who are they?
- Do you still maintain contact with your family at home? If so, how often and in what ways?
- Do you support your family in China in any way, for example, financially?
- Have any of your family members visited you in South Africa?
- Do you still visit China? If so, for what reason and how often?
- Do you ever contact other Chinese (individuals/companies/institutions) in China who are not your family members? If so, how often? In what ways? For what reasons?

4) Experiences of living in SA

4.1 General

- What do you usually do during weekends (or spare time) in South Africa? Is it different from what you would do if you were in China?
- With whom do you usually spend your weekends? Is it different from what you would do if you were in China?
- To what extent do you find Chinese culture and South African culture similar? Please explain.
- To what extent do you find Chinese culture and South African culture different? Please explain.
- What are the main things that Chinese people living in South Africa most frequently

talk about?

- Are there any major problems that Chinese people face in South Africa? Please explain.
 - Please tell us about your experiences when engaging with South African officials, e.g. Department of Home Affairs, Health, Education, Police, etc.
- Is there any organization that engages with the SA authorities on your behalf (e.g. the Embassy)?
- Do you think that you are treated equally to other groups in South Africa? Please tell us about your experiences in South Africa.
- What is your general perception of non-SABCs' attitude towards you?
- Where would you call 'home'? Why?

4.2 With other Chinese in South Africa

- Do you have Chinese friends in South Africa? How did you get to know them? How often do you meet? What do you do when you get together?
- Please tell us about the neighbourhood that you are living in.
 - Are you living in a neighbourhood with a large Chinese community or in a neighbourhood with mostly non-Chinese South African residents, or maybe other nationalities?
 - How do you find living in such an area?
 - What are the advantages/disadvantages of living in such an area?
- Are you a member of any Chinese group/association in South Africa? If yes, please tell us about it. For example, type of organization; membership requirement (exclusive Chinese?); activities; etc?
- Are there any other social activities you participate in that are organised by a Chinese organization (e.g. sports, church, temple, school, PCA) or maybe the Chinese embassy?
- Do you have any other contact (other than organized social activities) with the Chinese embassy or other Chinese organizations in SA? If not, please explain why not. If yes, please elaborate on the nature of your engagement with those organizations.

4.3 With non-Chinese in South Africa

- Are you a member of any organization that is not exclusively Chinese? If yes, please tell us about it, for example, is it a South African organization?
- Do you attend any social gatherings which are not exclusively Chinese other than those that are work, business or study related? Please tell us about it.
- Do you have friends here in South Africa who are not Chinese? If yes, please tell us about them.
 - Are they South African? If not South Africans, from which countries do they originate?
 - How did you meet them?
 - How often do you get together and what do you do when getting together?
 - How close are you to your non-Chinese friends?

- To what extent do you think that the South Africans you are acquainted with know a lot about China or are they ignorant about your country?
- To what extent do you think it is important for an immigrant to interact with local people? Who do you think should take the initiative?

5) Long term plans

- Please tell us about your original plan for staying in South Africa. For example, for how long did you initially intend to stay in the country? Please explain the reasons for planned duration of stay.
- Has your plan changed? If yes, please tell us about your new plans. What are the main reasons for changing your plans?
- What is the one main thing that would keep you in South Africa?
- What is the one main thing that would motivate you to leave the country?

Association questionnaire

1) Biographical background

- Please tell us about yourself— your age, marital status, education, occupation, etc.?
- Do you have any family living in South Africa? Who are they and what do they do?
- Please tell us about your position with your institution (i.e. the embassy, church, temple, school, aid organization, etc.).
- How long have you been with this institution?
- Are you a member of any other organization?

2) Organizational information

- What are your organization’s main aims and objectives?
- Does your organization have specific aims and objectives in terms of promoting Chinese culture in South Africa?
- Are there regular cultural activities that your organization has organized to achieve your aims and objectives? Please explain with examples of such activities?
- Who is your organization’s primary target (audience)—local Chinese or all local residents including non-Chinese?
- How do you engage with non-Chinese?
- Does your organization belong to any social/professional network in South Africa or globally? Please explain.

3) Migration to South Africa

- Please tell us about you or your family’s migration to South Africa.
 - From which part of China/other part of the world did you or your family originate from?
 - When did you/your family migrate to South Africa?
 - Did you travel alone or with family members / friends to South Africa?
- Why did you or your family migrate to South Africa?
 - Where did you hear about South Africa as a possible migration destination?
- Do you have social networks in China / South Africa that facilitated your migration to South Africa? Please explain.
- Did the institution you are affiliated with play any role in your migration to South Africa?
- Why did you particularly migrate to this city? Please explain?
- Is the area/city where you or your family are staying the first place where you settled in South Africa? If not, please describe your migration history in South Africa.

4) Links with China

- Do you have family still living in China? Who are they?
- Do you still maintain contact with your family at home? If so, how often and in what ways?
- Do you support your family in China in any way, for example, financially?
- Have any of your family members visited you in South Africa?
- Do you still visit China? If so, for what reason and how often?

- Do you ever contact other Chinese (individuals/companies/organizations) in China who are not your family members? If so, how often? In what ways? For what reasons?

5) Experiences of living in SA

4.1 General

- What do you usually do during weekends (or spare time) in South Africa? Is it different from what you would do if you were in China?
- With whom do you usually spend your weekends? Is it different from what you would do if you were in China?
- To what extent do you find Chinese culture and South African culture similar? Please explain.
- To what extent do you find Chinese culture and South African culture different? Please explain.
- What are the main things that Chinese people living in South Africa most frequently talk about?
- Are there any major problems that Chinese people face in South Africa? Please explain.
 - Please tell us about your experiences when engaging with South African officials, e.g. Department of Home Affairs, Health, Education, Police, etc.
- To what extent do you think your affiliation with the institution has made life easier or more difficult for you in South Africa?
- Does the institution engage with South African authorities on your behalf?
- Do you think that you are treated equally to other groups in South Africa? Please tell us about your experiences in South Africa.
- What is your general perception of (non-Chinese) South Africans' attitude towards you?
- Where would you call 'home'? Why?

4.2 With other Chinese in South Africa

- Do you have Chinese friends in South Africa? How did you get to know them? How often do you meet? What do you do when you get together?
- Please tell us about the neighbourhood that you are living in.
 - Are you living in a neighbourhood with a large Chinese community or in a neighbourhood with mostly non-SABCs, or even other nationalities?
 - How do you find living in such an area?
 - What are the advantages/disadvantages of living in such an area?
- Are there any other activities (besides already mentioned) that you participate in that are organised by Chinese organizations, or perhaps the Chinese Embassy?
- Do you have any other contact (other than organized social activities) with the Chinese embassy or other Chinese organizations in SA such as sport, church, temple, school? If not, please explain why not. If yes, please elaborate on the nature of your engagement with those organizations.

4.3 With non-Chinese in South Africa

- Are you a member of any organization that is not exclusively Chinese? If yes, please

tell us about it, for example, is it a South African organization?

- Do you attend any social gatherings which are not exclusively Chinese other than those that are work, business or study related? Please tell us about it.
- Do you have friends here in South Africa who are not Chinese? If yes, please tell us about them.
 - Are they South African? If not South Africans, from which countries do they originate?
 - How did you meet them?
 - How often do you get together and what do you do when getting together?
 - How close are you to your non-Chinese friends?
- To what extent do you think that the South Africans you are acquainted with know a lot about China or are they ignorant about your country?
- To what extent do you think it is important for an immigrant to interact with local people? Who do you think should take the initiative?

6) Long term plans

- Please tell us about your original plan for staying in South Africa. For example, for how long did you initially intend to stay in the country? Please explain the reasons for planned duration of stay.
- Has your plan changed? If yes, please tell us about your new plans. What are the main reasons for changing your plans?
- What is the one main thing that would keep you in South Africa?
- What is the one main thing that would motivate you to leave the country?

Contact us

HSRC Building
134 Pretorius Street
Pretoria
South Africa
0002

Tel: +27 (0)12 302 2000
Fax: +27 (0)12 302 2001

