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International migration and residential segregation: The case of Black African migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa

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Abstract. Racial residential segregation is a noticeable feature of racially stratified countries such as South Africa, Brazil and the United States. Scholars of racial residential segregation have extensively studied the histories and current patterns of spatial segregation such as White areas, Black[1] areas or migrant[2] ethnic enclaves in urban spaces. In a racially stratified South African context, researchers have examined how colonial and Apartheid patterns of residential segregation impacted the post-Apartheid spatial demographic[3] architecture. Scholars however have paid little attention to how migrants, particularly Black African migrants, are affected by patterns and experiences of racial residential segregation in South Africa. I address this lacuna by examining, through sustained observational data, racially segregated residential patterns of Black African migrants in two residential suburbs of Johannesburg, namely Yeoville and Hillbrow. Drawing on observational data, I argue that South Africa's neo-liberal self-settlement refugee policy pushes low-income and vulnerable Black African migrants to concentrate in overcrowded inner-city ghettoes alongside Black South Africans. Based on African migrants' racially segregated lives, I propose an analytical category which I name *re-Apartheid existence* to capture the racially segregated lives of African migrants in 'post'-Apartheid South Africa which mirror Apartheid's racist spatial planning.

Keywords: Apartheid, Black African refugees, colonial, Hillbrow, international migration, Johannesburg, post-Apartheid, race, re-Apartheid existence, residential segregation, South Africa, South Africa, Yeoville

Introduction

This paper reports on Black African migrants' patterns of racial residential segregation in two inner city suburbs in Johannesburg, namely Yeoville and Hillbrow using every day observational data. Racial residential segregation is a salient and visible feature of past and contemporary South African society (Dubois and Muller 2022) and migrants are entangled in this phenomenon after they have arrived in South Africa. The two inner-city suburbs of Yeoville and Hillbrow were selected as research sites because of the high concentration of Black African migrants and Black South Africans in these areas and a negligible presence of other racial groups namely, Whites, Coloureds and Indians. Within this paper, the term *re-Apartheid existence* is used

[1] The term 'Black' is capitalized throughout the paper because it is used as a noun to refer to a group of people. At first mention, the term is also put within inverted commas to refer to its socio-political construction as opposed to a biological fact. Furthermore, by referring to African migrants as 'Black', I am not reifying them as a racially objective group but to highlight their racialized status in a racially stratified South Africa context.

[2] The word 'migrant' is here used as a broader and all-encompassing category that includes various categories namely, refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and economic migrants.

[3] Within this paper, the term 'socio-demographic' refers to the ethnic, racial and nationality or national-origin based characteristics of urban spaces.

to capture Black African migrants' racially segregated settlement patterns in inner city neighborhoods largely isolated from other racial groups such as Whites, Coloured and Indians (Donaldson, Jürgens & Bahr 2003; Dubois and Muller 2022; Katumba, Coetzee, Stein and Fabris-Rotelli 2021; Majavu 2022). The negligible number of White, Indian and Coloured South Africans in the inner-city neighborhoods of Yeoville and Hillbrow suggests that one hardly sees non-Black individuals in the neighborhoods and that these neighborhoods are predominantly Black comprising African migrants and South Africans.

Based on everyday prolonged observations and note taking of patterns of African migrants' racial residential segregation in two inner-city neighborhoods of Yeoville and Hillbrow in Johannesburg, I argue that the segregation patterns of Black African migrants reflects South African government's neo-liberal refugee self-settlement policies which perpetuate Apartheid's racialized spatial planning patterns (Dubois and Muller 2022). The post-Apartheid government's capitalist self-integration refugee policies therefore drive poor Black African migrants to concentrate in low-income overcrowded inner-city ghettoes alongside Black South Africans (Dubois and Muller 2022). Black African migrants in inner-city Johannesburg reside racially isolated and segregated from affluent White South Africans who predominantly inhabit rich suburbs around the city. In other words, Yeoville and Hillbrow represent the *re-Apartheid* ('the reproduction of Apartheid') of many other urban residential areas in post-Apartheid South Africa that mirror Apartheid's racist residential policies where racial groups lived segregated from each other (Dubois and Muller 2022; Smith 2022). When low-income and poor Black African migrants arrive in South Africa, they settle in these Black-majority urban spaces segregated from other South African racial groups effectively experiencing the legacies of Apartheid's racialized spatial architecture.

South Africa is a racially structured and stratified society like other racially defined social systems like the US where race functions as an organizing factor of social structure and everyday existence (Dubois and Muller 2022; Majavu 2022; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon, & Finchilescu 2005). Like other racially stratified countries, racial residential segregation is a visible and salient characteristic of social reality in South Africa (Smith 2022). While scholars more recently have claimed that residential segregation of communities has somehow attenuated and there exist many integrated communities particularly in high-income suburbs (Majavu 2022; Smith 2022), racial residential segregation is still a dominant and entrenched characteristics of residential patterns in South Africa (Majavu 2022; Rooyen and Lemanski 2020; Smith 2022). Racial residential segregation is still a pervasive problem in post-Apartheid South Africa in that communities are still socially and residentially segregated from one another still experiencing colonial and Apartheid systems of racial separation (Christopher 1990; Donaldson and Kotze 2006; Dubow 1989; Finchilescu, Tredoux, & Mynhardt 2007; Majavu 2022; Maylam 1990; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon & Finchilescu 2005; Smith 2022).

In contemporary South Africa, it is still common to hear people refer to residential areas or neighborhoods as 'Coloured area', 'Black area', 'Indian area' and 'White area' (Majavu 2022; Nengomasha 2021; Smith 2022). In other words, racial residential integration is a resilient socio-spatial reality in South Africa (Katumba, Coetzee, Stein and Fabris-Rotelli 2021; King 2011; Finchilescu, Tredoux, & Mynhardt 2007; Majavu 2022; Smith 2022). De-facto racial residential segregation in post-Apartheid South Africa can now be observed across the different provinces of the country (Majavu 2022). In the post-Apartheid context, race is not the only factor which explains residential racial segregation of communities but class is also intertwines/intersects with race to perpetuate residential segregation (Gradin, 2018; Hunter, 2010; Majavu 2022; Wray 2014). A

majority of Black South Africans are low-income and still live segregated lives in relatively under-resourced areas and the same holds true for the other non-White racial minority groups namely Coloured and Indians (Dubois and Muller 2022; Majavu 2022; Nengomasha 2021; Rooyen and Lemanski 2020; Smith 2022). Relatively, White South African who are predominantly middle class and rich live in affluent suburbs (Majavu 2022; Nengomasha (2021).

Racial residential segregation has been extensively studied and theorized in post-Apartheid South Africa in that scholars have analyzed the structure, dynamics, patterns and shifts and transformations of racial residential segregation in contemporary South Africa (e.g.,Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Christopher, 2001; Donaldson and Kotze 2006; Dubois and Muller 2022; Durrheim and Dixon 2010; Finchilescu, Tredoux, & Mynhardt, 2007; Gradin, 2018; Hunter, 2010; Katumba, Coetzee, Stein and Fabris-Rotelli 2021; King 2011; Landman 2006; Majavu 2022; Parry and Van Eeden 2015; Schensul & Heller, 2010; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon, & Finchilescu 2005; Wray 2014). However, scholars and researchers have paid little attention to how non-White migrants such as Black migrants experience racial residential segregation in post-Apartheid South Africa. This paper addresses this empirical and theoretical lacuna by examining patterns and lived experiences of Black African migrants in two residential neighborhoods of Johannesburg. The main research question that guides this paper is, *How are Black African migrants in Johannesburg inner-city neighborhoods residentially segregated and what does their lived experiences with racial residential segregation reveal about racial divisions in contemporary South Africa and the legacies of Apartheid policies of racial residential segregation?* Based on my findings, I develop an analytical tool which I term re-*Apartheid existence* to make sense of the racially segregated lives of Black African migrants in post-Apartheid South Africa which mirror colonial and Apartheid spatial planning.

This paper is structured as follows. First racial residential segregation theory is outlined followed by a discussion of racial residential segregation in South Africa. A review of immigration and racial residential segregation will be discussed then the research method (observational data) will be outlined followed by the presentation of findings on Black African migrants' everyday patterns and lived experiences with racial residential segregation in Yeoville and Hillbrow. The last sections will discuss and conclude the paper.

Racial residential segregation: A theoretical framework

As the main focus of this article is on Black African migrants' patterns and everyday lived experiences with racial residential segregation, I employ racial residential segregation theory. This theoretical framework or perspective provides the conceptual framing and interpretative perspective for the findings of this study. Racial residential segregation suggests that in racially organized and race-conscious social systems, urban residential neighborhoods tend to exhibit racially segmented settlement patterns which are largely based on race, such as White neighborhoods or Black neighborhoods (Boustan 2013; Johnston, Poulsen and Forrest 2007). Racial residential segregation perspective proposes that in racist societies, the phenomenon of urban racial residential segregation is structurally shaped by *discrimination*, *disadvantage and voluntary self-segregation* (Johnston et al. 2007). In relation to *discrimination*, the state, its agencies or White society perpetrate and enforce residential discrimination against non-White people (Johnston at al. 2007). In *de-jure* institutional discrimination and due institutional or systemic race-based discrimination, non-White people are pushed to concentrate in under-resourced neighborhoods such as inner-city ghettos and shanty towns segregated from affluent White areas (Johnston at al. 2007).

Racial residential segregation can also occur due to relative socio-economic *disadvantage* of non-White people and their inability to afford living in affluent neighbourhoods or suburbs and hence their concentration in overcrowded urban areas (Boustan 2013). In most cases, socio-economic disadvantage of non-White people in racially stratified societies is shaped by systemic discrimination against non-White people (Boustan 2013). *Self-segregation* also gives rise to racial residential segregation where Black people or other non-White social groups opt to isolate themselves from White areas due to perceived prejudice or racism (Boustan 2013; Johnston at al. 2007). The theory of racial residential segregation suggests that the different factors (discrimination, disadvantage and self-segregation) that shape residential segregation in urban settings do not necessarily occur in isolation but they may also manifest in combination (Boustan 2013). In South Africa, during Apartheid, discrimination was endorsed and perpetrated by the state and White people to residentially segregate non-Whites (Nengomasha 2021). At present, *de-jure*[4] discrimination does not exist, but residential segregation may happen due to socio-economic disadvantage and self-segregation also referred to as *de facto*[5] segregation (Dubois and Muller 2022; Majavu 2022; Nengomasha 2021; Smith 2022). I will use the theory of racial residential segregation and its associated concepts to analyze and interpret the patterns and lived experiences of Black African migrants with racial residential segregation in urban Johannesburg.

Racial residential segregation in South Africa

Spatial racial residential segregation in South Africa started with the emergence of White European colonial settlers (Dubow 1989). White Europeans created the *location* system, a settlement outside cities which they designated for Black Africans, while affluent towns and cities were reserved for White people (Christopher 1987). In the early twentieth century, *native reserves* were created as residential spaces for Black Africans and Black people were denied access to or residence in White-only cities and towns (Christopher 1987; Dubow 1989; Seekings 2010). Numerous laws were created to segregate Black Africans from residential areas inhabited by White Europeans in South Africa ((Dubow 1989; Seekings 2010). In the words of Dubow,

[residential] 'segregation' a policy dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century which in many respects established the ideological and political framework out of which apartheid was constructed and refined (1989: 1).

Racial residential segregation became more institutionalized and systematized after the onset of Apartheid in 1948 (Christopher, 1990; Dubow, 1989; Maylam, 1990; Seekings, 2010). Through the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, the Apartheid government initiated the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 that forced Indians, Coloureds and Black Africans to live in separate areas isolated from White Europeans (Christopher, 1990; Dubow, 1989; Maylam, 1990). Black areas, Indian areas, Coloured areas and White areas were created and policed during the Apartheid era (Christopher, 1990). Even though legal (*de jure*) racial residential segregation of the different racial groups was officially outlawed in the 1990s, *de-facto* racial residential segregation still continues in post-Apartheid South Africa due to legacies of centuries of structural and enduring

[4] *De jure* racial discrimination occurs when official or legal discrimination is practiced by the state and its agencies.

[5] *De facto* racial discrimination is not legally sanctioned and takes place when members of society choose to self-segregate or due to socioeconomic disparities.

residential segregation (Christopher, 2001; Dubois and Muller 2022; Majavu 2022; Seekings, 2010; Smith 2022).

Many scholars, researchers, the media and politicians have noted that the legacies of centuries of racial residential segregation still endure in the post-Apartheid era and that many cities, informal settlements and towns still bear the imprints of colonial and Apartheid segregationist laws and practices (Dubois and Muller 2022; Majavu 2022; Nengomasha 2021; Smith 2022). For example, Dubois and Muller (2022) found that many residential areas in contemporary South Africa still reflect past residential segregation policies where a majority of Black Africans still live in impoverished areas. Dubois and Muller (2022) also highlight that in many places, Blacks and Whites live isolated from one another where White people concentrate in affluent and gated suburbs. Melgaço, Pinto and Coelho (2022) found that the demographic characteristics of most South African cities and towns mirror colonial and Apartheid policies of racial segregation that established and entrenched racial segregation of South Africa's racial groups. Monama, Mokoele and Mokgotho (2022) also write that even though *de jure* residential segregation is outlawed, current patterns of many residential areas in post-Apartheid South Africa remain racially segregated.

Smith's (2022) study also revealed that post-Apartheid South Africa's neo-liberal residential policies in urban areas perpetuate Apartheid's racist policies and laws of racial residential segregation where Black Africans continue to inhabit under-resourced, impoverished and underdeveloped residential areas. Monama, Mokoele and Mokgotho (2022) found that segregated residential arrangement of a majority of South African cities and towns have not transformed into racially integrated residential spaces. Monama et al. (2022) argue that the current architecture of South African residential areas exhibit the residues of centuries of spatial segregation policies that residentially divided populations into different settlement spaces. Majavu (2022) argues that some White South Africans still choose to residentially self-segregate in post-Apartheid South Africa, a racist predisposition implanted and perpetuated during colonial and Apartheid eras. Referring to Cape Town, Rooyen and Lemanski (2020) found that in the post-Apartheid era, much of Cape Town's demographic characteristics still resembles past patterns of residential segregation owing to class and racial factors. Rooyen and Lemanski (2020) also argue that even though post-Apartheid governments attempted to promote inclusive and integrated residential spaces, *de-facto* race- and class-based residential segregation still endures due to post-Apartheid's neo-liberal settlement policies.

Katumba, Coetzee, Stein and Fabris-Rotelli's (2021) study revealed that even though racial residential segregation in some parts of South Africa has decreased, residential segregation still features in most parts of South Africa. Katumba et al. (2021) also argue that in Gauteng province, Black South Africans continue to experience residential isolation from Whites which they attribute to the continuation of Apartheid's residential segregation policies and practices. In another study, Nengomasha (2021) argues that many post-Apartheid cities such as Buffalo City, Cape Town, Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg, Mangaung, Nelson Mandela Bay, eThekwini and Tshwane still exhibit pre-1994 patterns of residential segregation even though racial integration is somehow evident in high-income and affluent suburbs. As discussed above, extant literature on racial residential segregation in South Africa largely suggests that even though some parts of South Africa have become residentially integrated, many residential areas in the country continue to exhibit colonial and Apartheid patterns and characteristics of race-based residential segregation (Smith 2022). In many parts of South Africa, Whites, Coloured, Indian and Black South Africans

still live in racially segregated communities even though state-enforced *de-jure* segregation no longer exists (Dubois and Muller 2022).

Immigration and racial residential segregation

As many scholars of immigration and racial segregation argue, in racially stratified host societies, the phenomenon of immigration is tied to experiences and patterns of racial residential segregation (Hahn 2022; Hwang and McDaniel 2022). For example, in White-majority and racially stratified receiving societies, Black African migrants and other non-White migrants tend to concentrate within racial or ethnic enclaves segregated from White people such as in the US (Massey and Denton 1989; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1999). Patterns of racial residential segregation of Blacks in White majority and racially organized host countries are mostly shaped by multiple factors such as White segregation, socio-economic disadvantage and self-segregation (Dill and Jirjahn 2014; Leslie, Frankenfeld and Hattery 2022). Non-White migrants usually experience racialized prejudice and discrimination and they choose to live in enclaves and non-White urban spaces segregated from White people (Dill and Jirjahn 2014; Leslie, Frankenfeld and Hattery 2022; Portes and Zhou 1993; Sleutjes, Valk and Ooijevvar 2018; Verdugo and Toma 2018; Waters 1999).

In relation to experiences of racial residential segregation of non-White migrants, Benassi, Bitonti, Francesca and Strozza's (2022) work on Sri Lankan migrants in Italy suggest that like other migrant groups in Italy, Siri Lankan migrants reside and socially interact within their own ethnic communities in urban centers. Such a study illustrates the ways in which non-White migrants living in White-majority host countries tend to create their own neighborhood niches due perceived racism and societal prejudice from White people. Benassi, Naccarato, Iglesias-Pascual and Strozza's (2022) study found that low-income and economically disadvantaged non-White migrants experience racial residential segregation in metropolitan centers of many White-majority countries namely Spain, the Netherlands, The United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany. Benass et.al (2022) suggest that factors such as economic disadvantage, unemployment and lack of adequate financial resources drive migrants in Europe to live in residentially segregated urban areas.

Another scholarly work by Chhetri, Chhetri, Singh, Khan and Gomes (2022) also found that recent migrants from China concentrate in spatially segregated urban areas in Melbourne, Australia socially segregated from White Australians. Other studies on the racially structured US context have also found that residential racial segregation in America is a dominant and entrenched phenomenon and non-White migrants largely reside in segregated areas (e.g., Ard and Smiley 2021; Cromley and Jie 2022; Dmowska and Stepinski 2022; Franz, Milner, Parker and Braddock 2022; Hahn 2022; Hwang and McDaniel 2022). Anderson and Simburger (2022) found that racial/ethnic minorities such as Latino and Asian migrants in the US experience racial residential segregation in the US. Anderson and Simburger (2022) also noted that race-based residential concentrations of non-White migrants in metropolitan US is a salient feature of migrant settlement patterns in the country.

Similarly, Friedman, Wynn and Tsao (2022) found that non-White migrants in the US residing in metropolitan areas experienced racial residential segregation from White Americans due to the legacies of long-standing White racism and prejudice. Křížková and Šimon (2022) also write that African-born and Caribbean/Latin American–born migrants in the US concentrated in Black-majority metropolitan areas segregated from White Americans due to White racism, prejudice and entrenched racial divide in the country. Malmberg, Andersson,

Nielsen & Haandrikman's (2018) work on racial/ethnic residential segregation patterns of non-White European migrants in Sweden found that many non-White migrants in the country concentrated in migrant enclaves segregated from White European people. Malmberg et al. (2018) argue that many Swedish urban areas are characterized by non-White migrants establishing ethno-racial enclaves.

The above studies suggest that immigration and patterns of racial residential segregation are closely intertwined formations in majority-White host societies due to entrenched racism, prejudice and discrimination (Anderson and Simburger 2022; Ard and Smiley 2021; Cromley and Jie 2022; Dmowska and Stepinski 2022; Křížková and Šimon (2022); Malmberg et al. 2018).

There exists little scholarly work, however, on the everyday patterns and experiences with residential segregation of African migrants in the South African context. The present study addresses this lacuna by examining the everyday racial residential segregation of Black African migrants in inner-city Johannesburg.

Neoliberal self-integration policies and racial residential segregation of migrants

Scholars and researchers examining immigration and residential segregation have noted correlations between host governments' neoliberal self-settlement models and patterns of racial residential segregation of migrants of colour (e.g., Dill and Jirjahn 2014; Freeman 2002; Kyle 1999; Massey and Denton 1989; Portes and Zhou 1993; Scopilliti and Iceland 2008; Sleutjes, Valk and Ooijevvar 2018; Waters 1999). South Africa and the US are of notable examples. Scholars suggest that non-White migrants living in racially stratified host countries that promote neo-liberal self-sufficiency models tend to concentrate in poor, underserviced and overcrowded inner-city suburbs or neighbourhoods spatially distanced from White-majority affluent suburbs (Dill and Jirjahn 2014; Freeman 2002; Scopilliti and Iceland 2008). Neo-liberal self-settlement policies of migrants refers to the ways in which migrants are responsible for their own settlement upon arrival in a host country and that state-subsidized housing is extremely limited or non-existent (Dill and Jirjahn 2014; Freeman 2002; Scopilliti and Iceland 2008; Sleutjes, Valk and Ooijevvar 2018).

South Africa adopts a neo-liberal self-integration policy of migrants and that migrants in the country are expected to fend for themselves and that state housing support for non-South African migrants is almost none existent or minimal (Crush, Tawodzera, McCordic and Ramachandran; Handmaker and Parsley) Due to such capitalist policies, migrants in South Africa are compelled to find accommodation on their own. In South Africa, therefore, neo-liberal models of self-sufficiency policies have resulted in impoverished Black African migrants to concentrate in either overcrowded inner-city ghettos or Black-majority informal settlements and townships located outside the major South African cities (Dubois and Muller 2022; Majavu 2022; Smith 2022).

Method

As the objective of this article was to examine patterns and lived experiences of racial residential segregation of Black African migrants in two inner-city suburbs of Johannesburg, I employed naturalistic observational method and detailed note taking to document the phenomenon (Wang and Repetti, 2016). Non-participant naturalistic observational method and field notes are used to document everyday lived experiences and interactions of people in their natural settings (Angrosino 2007; Ciesielska, Boström and Öhlander 2018; Davidson, Worrall, and Hickson 2003; Demiray, Mischler and Martin 2019; Meadowcroft and Moxley 1980; Miller 1977; Morrison, Lee, Gruenewald and Mair 2016; Wang and Repetti, 2016).

Non-participant naturalistic observational data collection method is a well-established and widely used social scientific method and is employed to capture and document the social

world as it is lived (Ciesielska, et al. 2018; Davidson, et al. 2003). Naturalistic observation method is, therefore, employed when researchers seek to record, examine and document the everyday realities of social actors and their social world (Meadowcroft and Moxley 1980; Miller 1977; Morrison, Lee, Gruenewald and Mair 2016; Wang and Repetti, 2016). Scholars suggest that non-participant naturalistic observation data gathering method is carried out with clear-cut and pre-defined objectives where researchers know beforehand what they would observes and focus on (Miller 1977; Wang and Repetti, 2016). This means that researchers should not enter the fieldwork frivolously and spontaneously without pre-defined aims and detailed objectives (Demiray, Mischler and Martin 2019; Meadowcroft and Moxley 1980; Miller 1977; Wang and Repetti, 2016). I conducted prolonged non-participant naturalistic observation in Yeoville and Hillbrow from 2018 until 2021 and collected a focused observational data and note taking on patterns and lived experiences of racial residential segregation of Black African migrants in the two urban neighborhoods of Johannesburg.

Black African migrants' experiences of racial residential segregation in Johannesburg

The case of Black African migrants in Yeoville

Yeoville is an inner-city residential neighborhood in Johannesburg located adjacent to other urban residential areas namely Berea, Bertrams, Hilbrow, Bellevue and Doornfontein. During Apartheid years, the neighborhood was predominantly inhabited by White South Africans due to racial segregation laws that allocated urban neighborhoods and suburbs to Whites (Nengomasha 2021). After the end of Apartheid and the advent of democracy, the demographic picture of Yeoville gradually turned from White-only suburb to a predominantly majority-Black neighbourhood as was also the case with many urban areas in South Africa (Nengomasha 2021).

Soon after the repeal of racial segregation laws, many White South Africans who enjoyed segregated lives in major South African cities started moving out of the neighborhood as Black South Africans began moving into urban areas (Dubois and Muller 2022). When Black African migrants started arriving in South Africa after the dawn of democracy, Yeoville became one of the main destinations for the migrants. The availability of amenities, proximity to the central business district, affordability of shared apartments and the presence of established migrant communities in the neighborhood has particularly attracted many Black African migrants to establish themselves in the inner-city neighborhood. African migrants residing in the neighbourhood come from different African countries such as, *inter alia*, Nigeria, the Democratic republic of Congo (DRC), Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Somalia, Mozambique, Lesotho, Eswatini, Eritrea, Malawi and Ghana.

Therefore, at present, the neighborhood of Yeoville is inhabited both by Black South Africans of various ethno-linguistic groupings[6] and Black African migrants from various African countries. I hardly observed people of other South African racial groups in the area such as Coloured South Africans, Indian South Africans or White South Africans. A negligible number of Asian migrants from China, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, who operate shops in the neighborhood, also reside in Yeoville. Apartment buildings and public spaces in Yeoville are inhabited and frequented by Black South Africans and Black African migrants. Also local schools,

[6] The various South African ethno-linguistic groupings residing in the area include, isiZulu, IsiXhosa, isiNdebele, Tshivenda, Sepedi, Setswana, Sesotho, Tsonga and SiSwati.

churches, shops, betting sites, restaurants, bars, cafes, hair salons, barbershops, and markets are also frequented by Black Africans residing in the area. The various local churches in the area namely Churches Baptist Convention of South Africa, Seventh Day Adventist Day Church, Victories Gospel Ministries Worldwide, Gospel Assembly Church International, Saint Aidan Church, Chapel of Solution Church, Bethel Messianic Assembly are attended by predominantly Black African migrants and Black South Africans. The schools in the neighborhood namely Bellevue Primary and High School, Yeoville Boys School, Yeoville Community School, Yeoville Pre-school and day care centre and United Church Schools are also predominantly Black African migrants and Black South Africans.

Many African ethnic food restaurants belonging to Nigerians, Ghanaians, Ethiopians, Cameroonians, Malawians, Zimbabweans and Black South Africans line Raleigh Street, the main street of Yeoville, and other nearby streets. Hair salons and cosmetics shops belonging to mainly Nigerians and Ghanaians also line the streets of Yeoville. Street vendors, mostly African migrants, sell various wares on the streets. Food items, African spices, African clothes, vegetables, fruits and other items are also sold in Yeoville's main streets. Black African migrants and Black South Africans come together at night for drinks and African foods at Time Square, a busy building complex on Raleigh Street where foods and drinks are sold. The streets in Yeoville are always populated and overcrowded with Black people and that the presence of other South African racial groups is very minimal in the neighborhood. For example, one hardly sees other racial groups in the streets and public spaces of Yeoville. Black South Africans and Black African migrants share apartments in the neighborhood and they live as a cohesive Black-only community despite their national and citizenship differences.

The inner-city neighborhood of Yeoville can therefore be demographically described as a *Black-majority neighborhood* rather than a racially integrated urban residential space. During Apartheid, a White-only residential neighborhood, the socio-democratic characteristic of Yeoville has drastically transformed into a Black-only residential domain. Many White South Africans who previously inhabited Yeoville had abandoned the neighborhood almost completely and they have not returned to the area over the last few decades since the end of legal Apartheid. Low-income Black African migrants coming from various African countries residing in Yeoville are experiencing South Africa's centuries-old racial residential segregation with which South Africans of all racial groups are familiar. Yeoville, therefore, appears to be a microcosmic example and representation of other numerous urban neighborhoods in South Africa that exhibit racial mistrust, residential segregation, racial inequalities and persistent inter-group separation. Black African migrants in Yeoville exist residentially segregated and socially disconnected from other non-Black South African racial groups due to lack of intergroup conviviality and integration. South Africa is not only a racialized society but a racist society as well (Dubois and Muller 2022) and the racist societal dynamics is affecting negatively the lived experiences of Black African migrants in Yeoville.

Black African migrants in Hillbrow

Like Yeoville, Hillbrow is an inner-city residential neighborhood which is located close to the Johannesburg Central Business District, Braamfontein, Berea and Yeoville. Hillbrow was a White-only residential neighborhood during Apartheid era and it only started becoming a Black-majority neighborhood after the end of Apartheid rule (Nengomasha 2021). Many White residents left Hillbrow and other inner-city neighborhoods in Johannesburg and moved to other suburbs as Black South Africans begun moving into the area (Nengomasha 2021). Like the demographic characteristics of Yeoville, the inner-city neighbourhood of Hillbrow is now a predominantly Black

residential neighborhood populated by both Black South Africans and Black African migrants originating from various African countries. The previously White- inhabited apartment buildings in Hillbrow are now occupied by Black South African citizens and Black African migrants. Black African migrants originating from countries such as Botswana, Mozambique, Nigeria, the Democratic republic of Congo (DRC), Cameroon, Lesotho, Zambia, Angola, Senegal, Eswatini, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Malawi and Ghana live in Hillbrow. There are also a few Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis who operate businesses in the area.

One can hear African languages such as Zimbabwean Shona and Ndebele, Nigerian Igbo and Malawian Chichewa spoken in the streets of Hillbrow. Particularly Nigerian migrants are ubiquitous throughout Hillbrow. When I walked the streets of Hillbrow, it felt like I was in Nigeria or Zimbabwe. Black residents hardly interact with other racial groups in Hillbrow because they are not there. As is the case with residents in Yeoville, Black South Africans and Black African migrants share apartments in Hillbrow. Black African migrants and Black South Africans own various; they also work as employees in grocery shops, hair salons, cosmetics shops, hair shops, bars and night clubs. There are also some clothing and grocery stores owned by Asian migrants in the neighborhood and their employees are mostly Malawians, Zimbabweans and Black South Africans. African-owned ethnic restaurants, bars, grocery shops and other small businesses line the Hillbrow streets, namely Smith Street, Quartz Street, Pietersen Street, Claim Street, Wolmarans Street, Leyds Street, Bok Street, Koch Street, Kapteijn Street, Esselen Street, Kotze Street, Pretoria Street, Van Der Merwe Street, Caroline Street, Goldreich Street and Bruce Street. Almost all of the African shops in Hillbrow are situated on ground floors of residential buildings.

Many Black African migrants and Black South Africans also sell their items on the streets of Hillbrow. Some of the wares which are sold by streets venders include, vegetables, fruits, second hand electronics, clothes and shoes, candies, chewing gums, belts, earrings, socks, biscuits and cigarettes and women's hair. Mostly Zimbabweans, Malawians, Black South Africans and Mozambicans are the ones who sell such items in the streets of Hillbrow. There are also Black African tailors in Hillbrow who are mostly Malawians and Nigerians. Most of the security guards working in the buildings in Hillbrow come from DRC, Nigeria, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. A majority of the hair salons and cosmetics shops in Hillbrow are owned by Nigerians and Ghanaians and the employees are mostly from the same countries. The many churches in Hillbrow such as, Cathedral of Christ the King Catholic Church, The Revelation Church of God, Greek Orthodox Church Cathedral of Saints, Yahweh Shamma Church, Brethren in Christ Church, Hillbrow Seventh Day Adventist Church, Johannesburg Central SDA Church, Centurion College, The Revelation Spiritual Home are frequented by Black African migrants and Black South Africans. Other organizations and institutions in Hillbrow such as Hillbrow Boxing Club, Saint Paul's High School and Hillbrow Community Health Centre predominantly provide their services to Black African migrants and Black South Africans who are residents in the neighborhood.

The night life in Hillbrow is vibrant with numerous bars and night clubs lining the various streets of Hillbrow with their loud music blaring. From my frequent observations, almost all the patrons of the bars, restaurants and nightclubs in Hillbrow are Black South Africans and Black African migrants. I hardly saw members of other racial groups entering these places. One can see African migrants from Zimbabwe and Nigeria drinking together and playing pool with Black South Africans at many of the bars and nightclubs in Hillbrow: They speak English to communicate with each other. During the day and during the night, the streets in Hillbrow are crowded with Black Africans of various national origins, nationalities, ethnicities, cultures and languages. There are hardly seen any White South Africans either residing or walking in the streets of Hillbrow. The

current demographic composition of Hillbrow is now different from how it was during Apartheid times when it was a White-only residential inner-city neighborhood.

Black African migrants residing and operating businesses in Hillbrow have made the inner-city neighborhood their home. As Black African migrants in Hillbrow have become more established, they function as a magnet for other newly arriving fellow country men and women to settle and make Hillbrow their future home. Furthermore, as the more established and newly arriving Black African migrants make Hillbrow and other inner-city neighborhoods their homes, they also experience racial residential segregation and indirect White racism through racial segregation. White South Africans tend to avoid low-income inner-city neighborhoods in South Africa which they stereotypically associate with crime and decadence (Dubois and Muller 2022). Black African migrants, therefore, become victims of White racism and negative anti-Black stereotyping in South Africa. Hillbrow, as a majority-Black residential neighborhood, stands as a symbol of racial divisions and race-based segregation of communities where dynamics of immigration and racial residential segregation intersect.

Discussion

There is limited empirical work and theorizing on the everyday lived experiences with racial residential segregation of Black African migrants in the South African context and the focus of this observational research study was to address this scholarly gap. The main focus and objective of this article was to report on experiences of racial residential segregation of Black African migrants. Black African migrants residing in Yeoville and Hillbrow inner-city neighborhoods live a racially segregated and isolated urban spaces separated from White South Africans who inhabit gated and affluent suburbs (Dubois and Muller 2022; Majavu 2022; Smith 2022).

The majority of Black African migrants in South Africa are socio-economically poor and institutionally excluded with almost non-existent government support (Crush et. al. 2017) and hence their tendency to self-settle in poor, inner-city ghettos in major South African cities such as Johannesburg (Crush et. al. 2017). Even though there are few Black African migrants who are affluent and hence can afford to reside in middle-class suburbs, a great majority of Black African migrants in South Africa tend to be of low-income socioeconomic standing (Crush et. al. 2017). Due to their disadvantaged economic status, many Black African migrants are relegated to reside in either majority-Black informal settlements outside cities or in overcrowded inner-city ghettos alongside Black South Africans (Crush et. al. 2017)

Seen through racial residential segregation perspective, the experiences of Black African migrants in Yeoville and Hillbrow inner-city neighborhoods can be understood in terms of *discrimination* and *socio-economic disadvantage* (Boustan 2013; Johnston, Poulsen and Forrest 2007). As the thesis of discrimination suggests, a majority of White South Africans avoid inner-city neighborhoods and other residential spaces inhabited by Black Africans (Dubois and Muller 2022; Majavu 2022). As scholars note, many White scholars still exhibit Apartheid attitudes as they prefer to concentrate in gated and affluent residential areas away from majority-Black impoverished neighbourhoods and townships (Dubois and Muller 2022).

In the post-Apartheid context, the ways in which White South Africans avoid Black areas in inner cities and townships is a continuation of colonial and Apartheid attitude towards non-White people in South Africa (Donaldson and Kotze 2006; Dubois and Muller 2022; Finchilescu, Tredoux, & Mynhardt 2007; Majavu 2022; Katumba, Coetzee, Stein and Fabris-Rotelli 2021; King; Tredoux, & Mynhardt 2007; Majavu 2022; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon & Finchilescu 2005; Smith 2022) Seekings 2010; Katumba, Coetzee, Stein and Fabris-Rotelli 2021). The racist stereotyping of inner

cities and Black-majority townships in South Africa as spaces where crime is rampant, devoid of law and order and as impoverished has made many Whites to avoid such areas and reside in majority-White neighborhoods (Dubois and Muller 2022). White racism in post-Apartheid South Africa functions through avoiding Black areas and this speaks to the masked, latent and unspoken character of White racism in the country.

Interpreted through the theoretical concept of *socio-economic advantage*, the experiences of Black African migrants in Yeoville and Hillbrow also appears to be due to their disadvantaged and vulnerable socioeconomic background that relegates them to live in overcrowded inner-city ghettos separated from affluent suburbs (Dubois and Muller 2022). It should be noted that Black African migrants in Yeoville and Hillbrow live in overcrowded and poorly maintained rental accommodations sharing apartments with other fellow Africans due to their inability to rent or own decent accommodation. Economic disadvantage coupled with White racism and prejudice therefore structure the racially segregated experiences of Black African migrants in post-Apartheid South Africa, a country where class and race, in tandem, dictate residential patterns of social groups in the country (Smith 2022).

Scholars and researchers of racial residential segregation suggest that Black migrants of low socioeconomic status and disadvantage in many racially stratified countries are forced to reside in poor, under-resourced and overcrowded racially inner-city neighborhoods segregated from White Europeans (Dill and Jirjahn 2014; Massey and Denton 1989; Portes and Zhou 1993; Sleutjes, Valk and Ooijevvar 2018; Verdugo and Toma 2018; Waters 1999). As noted above, neo-liberal or capitalist self-settlement refugee policies and models of the South African government also explains the racially segregated and overcrowded settlement patterns of Black African migrants in the inner-city Johannesburg of Yeoville and Hillbrow (Monama 2022, Smith 2022). South Africa is not a welfare state and adopts a self-sufficiency refugee policy in which migrants in the country do not obtain state support such as housing which forces them to fend for themselves and live in overcrowded and racially segregated living conditions (Crush et. al. 2017; Handmaker and Parsley; Majavu 2022). The everyday lived experiences with racial residential segregation of Black African migrants in inner-cities of South Africa is also reflective of broader patterns of racial residential segregation in other racially stratified national contexts (Dubois and Muller 2022; Katumba et al. 2021; Nengomasha 2021; Seekings, 2010; Smith 2022).

For example, scholars of racial residential segregation suggest that Black African migrants in the US experience racial residential segregation due to societal prejudice, White discrimination and their unfavorable socio-economic background (Ard and Smiley 2021; Cromley and Jie 2022; Dmowska and Stepinski 2022; Franz, Milner, Parker and Braddock 2022; Hahn 2022; Hwang and McDaniel 2022; Massey and Denton 1989; Portes and Zhou 1993). Similar to the experiences with racial residential segregation of Black African migrants in South Africa, in many White-majority host countries, many non-White migrant communities also reside in ethnic enclaves or racially segregated urban spaces that are predominantly inhabited by Black and Brown groups (e.g., Cromley and Jie 2022; Dmowska and Stepinski 2022). The analytical category I developed, namely *re-Apartheid existence* can best capture the racial residential segregation patterns and lived experiences of Black African migrants in Johannesburg's inner-city neighborhoods which mirror Apartheid's segregation policies (Melgaço et al. 2022). The prefix *re* within the term *re-Apartheid* refers to the phenomenon of reproduction or perpetuity of Apartheid-shaped residential settlement patterns of Black African migrants in inner-city neighborhoods of Johannesburg (Smith 2022). As I have noted above, the racial residential segregation patterns of African migrants in Johannesburg reflects and reproduces historical residential settlement

architecture where Blacks and Whites lived socio-geographically separated lives (Majavu 2022; Smith 2022). The perpetuation and continuity of Apartheid's racialized residential segregation is also evident in other parts of the country where communities still live residentially separated existence (Smith 2022). Therefore, the residential isolation of Black African migrants in the two inner-city neighborhoods of Yeoville and Hillbrow is a mirror-image of pervasive racial residential segregation of Black communities across the South African spatio-demographic space (Majavu 2022; Smith 2022).

The study has limitations in that it is based on observational data of two inner-city neighbourhoods and it is difficult to claim that the *de-facto* racial residential segregation of Black African migrants in Johannesburg is also evident across the entire South African residential landscape. More research should be done on residential segregation patterns of non-White migrants across multiple urban spaces and townships in South Africa so that we can have confidence in arguing that racial residential segregation of non-White migrants in South Africa is indeed a national problem.

Conclusion

This paper examined, through every day naturalistic observational data and note taking, patterns of racial residential segregation of Back African migrants in Yeoville and Hillbrow, Johannesburg. Black African migrants in these inner-cities live racially segregated lives alongside low-income and working class Black South Africans. The present study addressed an under-researched and under-theorized phenomenon on the interface between immigration and racial residential segregation in the South African national context. Even though scholars cite societal exclusion, prejudice and discrimination as major sources of racial residential segregation of Black migrants in North America and Europe, the racially segregated condition of Black African migrants in Johannesburg is also due to neoliberal-oriented self-settlement refugee policies in addition to rampant racial discrimination. The pattern of racial residential segregation of Black African migrants in Johannesburg also reflect centuries of structured, institutional and entrenched realities of spatial segregation of racially defined communities imposed by racist White European settlers. In this paper, I developed an analytical concept which I termed *re-Apartheid existence* to capture the reproduction, endurance, continuities and persistence of colonial and Apartheid-era policies of racial residential segregation of non-White racialized groups in South Africa. Future studies may explore experiences of racial residential segregation of other ethnically and racially defined non-Black migrant groups in South Africa such as Asian and Arab migrants. More research is also needed on racially segregated lives of Black African migrants in other urban settings in South Africa beyond Johannesburg so that national patterns of immigration and racial residential segregation can be clearly established.

Conflict of interest statement

The author declares no potential conflict of interest.

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