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**PHD RESEARCH THESIS**

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**Beyond Homeland Crisis: Identity Negotiation of Black  
Zimbabwean Women migrants in the South African Metropolis of  
Johannesburg**

**By**

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the School of Arts, University of KwaZulu-Natal

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## Declaration

I, Joana Gadzikwa declare that the work described in this thesis has not been submitted to UKZN or other tertiary institution for purposes of obtaining an academic qualification, whether by myself or any other party.

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Date: 11 July 2017

I hereby agree to the submission of this thesis for examination:

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_  
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## **Abstract**

The thesis interrogates the identity creations/recreation and negotiations/re negotiations of Zimbabwean women migrants living in the metropolis of Johannesburg. The study combines the self-descriptions of women migrants with media narratives about Zimbabwean women migrants to unearth an area of research that has received little attention from the scholarly community. The research employs ethnographic, in-depth interviews with Zimbabwean women immigrants living in Johannesburg to gather narrative data about their lived experiences. Together with a qualitative content analysis of articles published in Johannesburg-based news websites on Zimbabwean women migrants, details of the immigrants' experiences are extracted to determine the types of identities they construct.

The media narratives provide the basis for identifying emerging themes using the Grounded Theory Method (GTM), and a theoretical framework for understanding how the migrant women's experiences are constructed through the othering process. The underlying ideologies in the media narratives on Zimbabwean women migrants are further explored using a combination of Gee's framework and a Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA). The second stream of data, the migrant women's narratives, shed light on the growing phenomenon of the feminisation of migration. The interviewees described a transnational place of space, located in a realm somewhere in between, where their identities are negotiated. While home, as perceived by the women migrants interviewed in this study, remains their country of origin, belonging becomes a concept that requires redefinition. Using the metaphor of transnationalism and transmigration, their identities remain tied to what they become when they enter South Africa. To the people back home, the women migrants attain a saviour identity through remittances. Notwithstanding the challenges the metropolis poses to non-nationals, the women migrants interviewed in this study professed resilience, even self-sacrifice, for the sake of their children, parents, relatives and siblings. The analysis of the women's narratives also reveals their agency in the migration matrix that goes beyond economic gains. While monetary gains remain an important factor in the feminisation of migration, the women's narratives revealed other benefits that are in line with their caregiving and nurturing inclinations.

Bringing together the findings from the two data streams through a triangulation, points of divergence and convergence between the women's self-description and the media narratives are apparent. In terms of identities, the media has constructed demeaning discourses upon which the Zimbabwean women migrants' collective identities can be deduced. The discourses of xenophobia, identity crisis, victimhood and vulnerability provide a fertile ground for the cultivation, culturing and subsequent harvest of identities such as prostitutes, criminals and vagabonds that the media presents to the public domain. In contrast, however, the women's self-descriptions bring to the fore valorised identities of great benefactors, opportunists and agents who are the architects to their own personal growth and development in their land of exile.

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## List of Acronyms

DZP	Dispensation of Zimbabwe Project
ZSP	Zimbabwe Dispensation Permit
VFS	Visa Facilitation Service
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
DA	Discourse analysis
GTM	Grounded Theory Method
FDA	Foucauldian discourse analysis
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
SAPS	South African Police Service
EU	European Union
VV	Victimhood and vulnerability
IX	Institutionalised xenophobia
PS	Prostitution
CM	Criminalisation of migration
IC	Identity crisis
VSV	Victims of sexual violence
VD	Vulnerability to destitution
BDSM	Bondage, dominance, sadism and sadomasochism
SP	Single parenthood
VET	Vulnerability to emotional turmoil
LE	Liminal existence
EH	Exclusion from healthcare
HT	Hate speech
TAD	Threats of arrest and deportation
PHS	Poverty, hunger and starvation
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project

## CHAPTER ONE

### CONTEXT OF STUDYING IDENTITY NEGOTIATIONS

#### 1.1 Introduction to and the Context of the Study

The study began at a time (2015) when South African authorities through their Home Affairs Department were in the process of renewing work permits formally awarded to Zimbabweans in 2009 under the Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project (DZP). These work permits were issued to undocumented Zimbabweans living in South Africa to regularise their stay in the country. The current renewal of the work permits is done under the auspices of the Zimbabwean Special Permit (ZSP), a successor of the DZP, as announced by the then-current South African Home Affairs minister, Malusi Gigaba, in the last quarter of 2014 amid fears by DZP holders of deportations back to Zimbabwe (Chiumia and van Wyke, 2014). Many Zimbabweans who were using fraudulent identity documents or who were simply in South Africa illegally after fleeing political violence, economic crises, instability, livelihood failure and a perceived imminent state collapse welcomed the ZSP programme and submitted their applications through a private and international company, the Visa and Permit Facilitation Service (VFS Global). Zimbabweans in Johannesburg wishing to renew their DZP, thus, flocked the Midrand offices, which is one of the four centres in the country facilitating applications for ZSPs.

However, the current ZSP holders form only one of the many categories of Zimbabweans in South Africa. The 2013 election results, which triggered an economic downturn, activated a new wave of displacement of Zimbabweans to join the hosts of other Zimbabweans already in South Africa at the time, as asylum seekers, illegal immigrants, expatriates, refugees, border jumpers, students, work permit holders, dependants of permit holders, reunified spouses or fiancés, and so on. One fascinating finding by Crush and Tevera (2010) that inspired this research to focus on black Zimbabwean women migrants was that there are as many women migrants as men in South Africa, which paradoxically confounds the traditional migration matrix. Traditionally, migration was a male-dominated initiative, as men moved to the cities to work, leaving their families behind, which they would occasionally visit and support with their financial earnings. Moreover, most Zimbabweans (25 percent) prefer to settle in Gauteng (Crush and Tevera, 2010), which the

metropolis of Johannesburg is a part of. The metropolis of Johannesburg presents a fascinating terrain for studying the transnational identity negotiations of the black Zimbabwean women migrants who, according to Crush and Tevera (2010), come in on holiday visas. The never-ending stream of migrants brings with it human debris, spewed into a complex metropolis with its own challenges and crises. Another paradox surrounding Zimbabweans in South Africa is that many are non-refugees, and their being in the country is because of social problems in Zimbabwe that are so daunting that there is no immediate remedy.

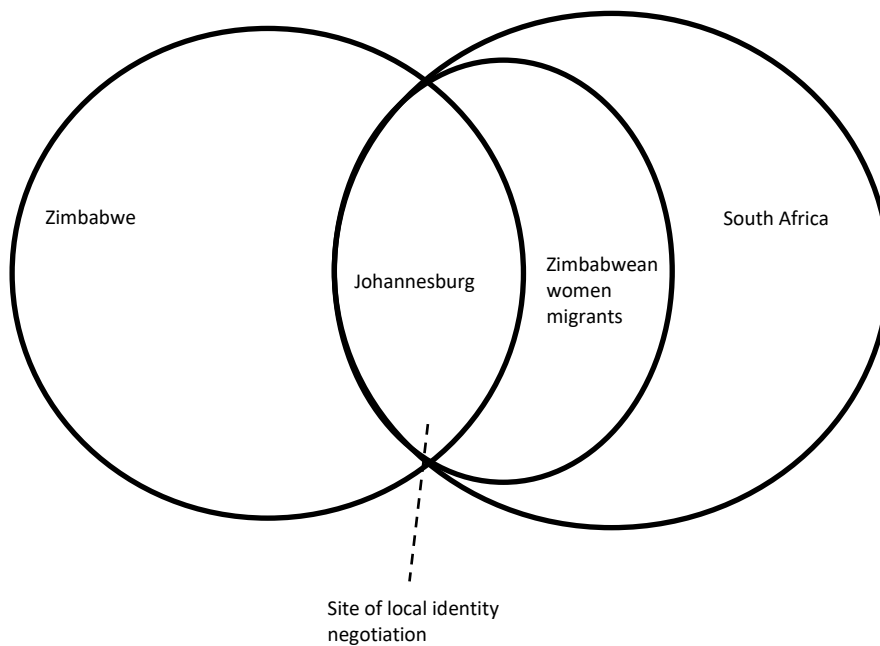
Zimbabwe is currently experiencing serious unemployment, economic, political and social problems, resulting in standards of living spiralling downhill and forcing people to head south, despite warnings of the dangers and uncertainties that await them. Soon after his inauguration, the then newly-appointed vice president of Zimbabwe at the time, Phelekezela Mphoko, is quoted in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* (2015) as warning Zimbabweans not to leave Zimbabwe for South Africa, as all they will meet is death. Mphoko, who is also former Zimbabwean ambassador to South Africa, is further quoted in *The Chronicle* as stating “If you're a girl, *omalayitsha* will detain you at their house... They'll hire you to their friends and by the time they recoup their money you would have fallen sick and come back home in a coffin carrying flowers on your chest.” Nevertheless, fleeing homeland crisis, Zimbabwean women plunge into the unknown, where words of warning by those who have been there are not enough deterrent, or at least the unknown risk does not compare to the dire circumstances under which they have been living.

A brief look at the metropolis of Johannesburg through the lenses of forerunners in the academic field presents an interesting opportunity to put this research into perspective. On the metropolis itself, various scholars have divergent ideas and ways of describing the city. According to Mbembe and Nuttall (2008:1), the metropolis of Johannesburg is “the premier of African metropolis, the symbol par excellence of the African modern”, a city of “superfluity”, of “mimicry” and “falsehoods” (Mbembe, in Mbembe and Nuttall, 2008:38). As a symbol par excellence in terms of infrastructure, technological and industrial sophistication, the metropolis offers job-seekers a myriad of possibilities to escape abject poverty; however, at the same time, there is a lack of originality, which means that a sustained and long-lasting livelihood for the inhabitants of the city is not guaranteed. For Mbembe, the temporariness of what the city offers has its roots in how the

metropolis was birthed, out of copying and parody. Le Marcis, in Mbembe and Nuttall (2008:172), describes Johannesburg as a place of “suffering” and of “mercy”. Earlier, Simmel (1971) had found cities in general to be places of isolation and anonymity. What is intriguing about the metropolis of Johannesburg as forming the context of studying identity negotiations is the juxtapositions of parallel realities. Furthermore, it is a city that seems to symbolise the impossibility of the existence of opportunities without risks.

## 1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this thesis is to present an ethnographic exploration of how identities are negotiated, often with transnational ties, in the intersection of multi-ethnic realities of day-to-day lived experiences by black Zimbabwean women migrants in the metropolis of Johannesburg, South Africa. Of particular interest to this study is how identities are negotiated by black Zimbabwean women at the transnational field of the intersection of multi-national and multi-ethnic social space that Zimbabweans occupy in South Africa. The intersection of study as envisaged in this thesis is shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1: Local identity negotiation**

The study draws from the local experiences of black Zimbabwean women living in the metropolis of Johannesburg. The experiences of black Zimbabwean women aged between 18 and 65 years of

age are explored with the aim of finding out how they create/recreate and negotiate/re negotiate their local identities as they go about their day-to-day lived experiences in the metropolis. The narratives of their lived experiences within the metropolis are then used to try to understand how they create and manage their identities.

The ethnographic description undertaken in this study includes how identities are formed and negotiated among black Zimbabwean women migrants in the metropolis of Johannesburg, South Africa. Transnationalism is theoretically explored, together with how the participants identify and define themselves. As black Zimbabwean women enter South Africa, they are faced with a different culture, unfamiliar environment, different set of beliefs and values and new challenges. In the process of deciding what to embrace from the new socio-cultural environment and what to retain from their home country, negotiations, adjustments and sometimes new identities are formed in the quest to fit into the local social milieu. Indeed, there has been great concern over the increasing number of Zimbabweans living in South Africa, particularly those who maintain a transnational lifestyle of occasionally visiting their country of origin. The issue of how migrants are assimilated or incorporated into the host countries forms the core of how individual migrants view themselves and how their local identities are shaped. Many Zimbabweans, who have migrated to South Africa for various reasons following the 2000 economic downturn, are constantly involved in negotiating new socio-cultural spaces that in turn shape both their individual and cultural identities (Muzondidya, 2010). Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa have thus attracted a plethora of scholarship ranging from issues of xenophobia (Crush and Yudelman, 1991; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Abdulla, 2000), to historical relationships between the countries that has made South Africa an attractive destination for Zimbabwean migrants (Mlambo, 2002). This ethnographic description adds to the growing body of knowledge on identity formations in a globalised and cosmopolitan social context.

South Africa has been an important destination within southern Africa for Zimbabwean professionals, traders, labour migrants and refugees. The attractiveness of South Africa often lies in a shared history of the struggles against white minority rule, a shared border and shared languages (McGregor, 2010). Unlike the pre-apartheid immigrants' cohort to South Africa, mostly from Zimbabwe, who came to work in the mines, the post 2000 displacement of Zimbabweans has seen an increase in the number of women moving to South Africa, attracted by informal trading,

self-employment, and work and study opportunities. Although some of these women might have come with the intention of staying only temporarily, the lack of opportunities to meet their social and economic aspirations have prevented them from returning to their home country. As a result, these women maintain a transnational life by having two homes. It is against this backdrop that the study purposes to explore the experiences of black Zimbabwean women in the greater Johannesburg metropolitan that help shape their trans-local identities only focusing on their experiences in South Africa. Given the fluidity of identities, the study seeks to identify and explore the local transnational spaces, culturally and socially, from the point of view of the black women migrants themselves.

When migrants arrive into their host countries, information coming through the media in its various forms, especially reportages about foreign nationals, influences their perceptions about their new environment. The information that emanates from the media is circulated within migrants' networks and is also central to the decisions that they make and subsequently how they identify with the place. Notwithstanding financial constraints, media reportages about foreigners can also influence migrants about which city in which to live and which part of the city to consider for accommodation. Information coming through the media is also important for migrants when it relates to their home countries, or the plight of fellow Zimbabweans in the country. Because Zimbabweans in South Africa make headline news for a vast array of reasons (Raftopoulos, 2009), an understanding of what Zimbabweans in South Africa make news headlines for presented an interesting starting point for the exploration of individual identity creations among these migrants. The women migrants did not necessarily have to have been exposed to the media texts under examination, as the two data sets are collected, analysed and interpreted separately, and only then inferences are drawn from both at the triangulation stage. Moreover, the media texts analysed may or may not have had an influence on the local identity negotiations of Zimbabwean women migrants; either way, this aspect lies outside of the scope of this study. It is against this backdrop that the thesis triangulates the ethnographic findings with the discourse analysis of media texts collected through a qualitative content analysis.

In this study, qualitative content analysis and textual analysis as data collection methods are used interchangeably. The triangulation itself involves, but is not limited to, identifying specific synergies or lack thereof between the reportages in the selected media texts and the narratives of



the experiences of black Zimbabwean women migrants living in Johannesburg. To achieve this purpose, the study identifies and analyses media texts reporting on Zimbabwean women migrants. The media texts are considered in terms of both content and message. The news stories involving Zimbabwean female migrants are taken from popular publications headquartered in Johannesburg, the metropolis in which participants for the ethnographic exploration reside. An explanation of the rationale for the choice of such publications and methodologies to be used will be explained in the methodology section of this thesis.

### **1.3 Background of the Study**

As a post 2000 Zimbabwean migrant living in South Africa, I became more acquainted with the day-to-day experiences of living in a foreign country and some of the influences that this has on what transnational “Zimbabweanness” means. My experience this far as a first generation black Zimbabwean woman immigrant living in South Africa, who occasionally visits home, cannot encapsulate all dimensions of this situation that I share with many others. The challenge of negotiating and managing an identity that oscillates between two countries is a complex issue that cannot be addressed by a single theory, study or discipline. Indeed, identity, whether individual or collective, is itself a complex and abstract phenomenon to grasp – more so if compounded by transnationalism. However, the complexity of the issue should not act as a deterrent for scholarly considerations, but rather as a stimulus. At stake here, then, is the plethora of undocumented transnational experiences intertwined in the human experience of migration, dislocation and displacement – characteristic features of the experiences of black Zimbabwean women migrants to South Africa. In a similar vein, Castells (1996:3) notes “In a world of global flows of wealth, power and images, the search for identity, collective, or individual, ascribed or constructed, becomes the fundamental source of social meaning.” When people are displaced, the search for a local identity becomes an everyday lived experience as they try to fit in, be accepted and function in the new socio-cultural milieu. Identity construction, by default, knowingly or unknowingly, then becomes a preoccupation for displaced individuals. Thus not addressing this phenomenon, and allowing the reconfigurations of trans-local identities by black Zimbabwean women in South Africa and the spaces in which these take place to remain in obscurity, will be counterproductive to the growing body of literature on transnational identities.

This study specifically uses the mass displacement of Zimbabweans following the year 2000 economic downturn in Zimbabwe as its point of departure. Most Zimbabweans relocated, mainly to South Africa, to escape the economic and political problems that Zimbabwe began to experience. Various studies have been conducted on Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa, notably on the diverse ways Zimbabweans use to survive in South Africa's cities and how they respond to the difficulties and challenges posed by their new environment (Muzondidya, 2010); how Zimbabwean farm workers in Limpopo province of South Africa negotiate issues of sovereignty, citizenship, cultural politics of vulnerabilities and economies of survival (Rutherford and Anderson, 2007); discourses of otherness and xenophobia by Zimbabweans and on Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa (Landau, 2006a); the historicity of Zimbabweans' migration to South Africa (Mlambo, 2002; Ranger, 2004); and the continuous widening of the gap between white and black Zimbabweans living in South Africa in terms of how they assume and maintain their Zimbabwean identity (Muzondidya, 2010), among others. However, none of the existing studies specifically address the experiences of black Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa and how they construct and manage their identities. This study uses the existing body of knowledge and literature on migration studies of Zimbabweans in South Africa as a starting point, surveying extant literature of previous migration studies.

Transnational movements have always been an important element in the Zimbabwean context, with Britain and South Africa being the most popular destinations. Britain's attraction to Zimbabwean migrants has much to do with its being the former coloniser of Zimbabwe. There is considerable literature on Zimbabwean migrants in Britain, and drawing insights from this literature will only enrich the background information of this study. In contrast, Zimbabweans are mainly drawn to South Africa by virtue of a shared border, a shared history of colonisation between the two countries and the promise of achieving their economic aspirations. These pull factors of migration into South Africa by Zimbabweans have attracted significant scholarship, which will form part of the background information to this study.

The South African media have been rigorously involved in bringing to the fore stories about Zimbabwean migrants in the country. Stories about xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals that made news headlines form just one group of many examples. Though the media do not aim at

documenting the journeys of foreign nationals from migrants to transnational identities per se, the researcher believes that a studious perusal of some these media texts will give this study further background information that will aid understanding of the transnational identities of black Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa. It will be interesting to explore the interplay, should there be any, between identity formations and images that come through media pertaining to migrants' issues. In this study, media texts concerning Zimbabwean women migrants are selected through a qualitative content analysis for the purpose of analysing them through a poststructuralist discourse analysis. The sampling procedures will be explained briefly in the methodology section of this thesis.

Media descriptions form part of the ascribed identities given to Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa. Banda and Mawadza (2015) posit that the South African media's representation of Zimbabwean women migrants contributes to how readers view and define immigrants. Since the media texts to be analysed are drawn from Johannesburg newspapers, by default, the Zimbabwean women immigrants are themselves consumers of such texts. Their identities are, to some extent, thus shaped by discourses "filtered through the lenses of subjectivities defined by the communicative contexts" (Banda and Mawadza, 2015:47), or how the media define the communicative context by assuming the main platforms that deposit ideas into the public domain.

#### **1.4 Contribution of the Thesis to Academic Enquiry**

The thesis straddles the two broad disciplines of media studies and cultural studies in a number of ways. Firstly, the continued presence of migrants in a post-apartheid South Africa adds to the already existing dynamics of multiculturalism. South Africa has always been deemed a "rainbow nation" owing to its emblematic multiracial and multicultural diversity. However, the rainbow nation ideal has not seemed to easily transfer into reality, according to Manger and Assal (1996:41), who assert that "Most South Africans continue to live in segregated enclaves and interaction is hindered by a perception of others based on fear and stereotyping." Unless one delves deeper into these fragmented "enclaves", to the smallest level possible, it is not easy to decipher the intricacies of what constitutes the myth of the rainbow nation. Moreover, black Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa, as they negotiate, carve and reconfigure their identities, add to the diversity of multiculturalism by forming their own enclaves, an act that requires its own

interrogation. This thesis makes a modest contribution to the cultural studies body of knowledge by extricating Zimbabwean women migrants, from the maze of South Africa's multicultural diversity, for a microscopic enquiry. According to Hall (1980a), cultural studies encompass all the practices, human activities and human praxis through which men and women make history. Because this study sought to explore the experiences of black Zimbabwean women migrants that shape their identities, it fits into the categories that Hall (1980a) identifies as part of cultural studies.

Furthermore, the thesis adds a poststructuralists and postmodern dimension to the study of local identity negotiation. Media texts sampled from Johannesburg publications through a qualitative content analysis or textual analysis are triangulated with the experiences of black Zimbabwean women. It is believed that data triangulation will generate richer findings about local identity negotiations, while the media texts are expected to give an overview of Zimbabwean women migrants' experiences, the women's self-narratives, on the other hand, are expected to provide more detailed accounts about their identities.

Various theories are identified as relevant to this thesis, where theory triangulation is the ultimate end result. However, to draw insights in an exhaustive manner from all these identified theories has proven to be intractable. Therefore, a theoretical framework for understanding female immigrants' local identity negotiation has been designed. In drawing insights from the existing theories cited in this study, the thesis proposes a theoretical framework for understanding the nuanced details of Zimbabwean migrant women's local identity negotiations in the metropolis of Johannesburg.

### **1.5 Aims of the Study**

The aim of the thesis is to describe the findings of both an ethnographic study of the experiences of black Zimbabwean women immigrants in the metropolis of Johannesburg and those of the textual analysis of selected media texts written about Zimbabwean women migrants. To achieve this aim, the thesis employs methodological triangulation, data triangulation and theory triangulation. The theory triangulation entails drawing insights from different theories of understanding migrants' experiences in their host countries, thereafter developing a context-specific theoretical framework for understanding identity negotiations in a trans-local and

transnational setting. Methodological triangulation involves combining ethnography with qualitative content analysis, while data triangulation includes identifying some synergies among the data sets, namely ethnographic interviews, textual analysis of news media texts and a review of extant literature. The data that is gathered through textual analysis and face-to-face in-depth interviews with black Zimbabwean women immigrants in South Africa is then triangulated. With this goal in mind, the researcher remained open to the generation of themes as they emerged in the data sets.

The overall aim of the study lies in its mission to develop a purely basic communications and cultural studies research. Du Plooy (2008) defines a basic communication research as any study designed to investigate and develop theories to explain a particular phenomenon. Basic researches also aim to build and expand on the body of existing knowledge in a given discipline. Wimmer and Dominick (1997) in Du Plooy (2008) write that, simply put, basic research is academic sector research as opposed to applied research. As a purely basic academic research, driven mainly by the curiosity of the researcher, it is outside of the scope of this academic thesis to inform any policy making dealing with migrants' and migration issues. At best, the thesis intends to add to the growing body of knowledge on diasporas', transnationals' and migrants' experiences in their host countries. Moreover, even against this backdrop, the study has never been intended to be generalised, but rather the aim is to gain an in-depth understanding of a specific group of people in a specified locale.

As a basic research, the initial intention of the study is, therefore, to explain the issue of identity negotiations by black Zimbabwean women in South Africa, particularly their local identities in the metropolis of Johannesburg. The experiences of the migrants dating back from their home country are included in this study inasmuch as they have a bearing on the participants' identities in their host country. However, identities are fluid and, as such, it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate people's experiences based on time and location. Moreover, the researcher believes that the home country experiences of the migrants have a bearing on who they become in the host country, and thus the narratives are included here as they also contribute to the framework of studying identity negotiations as envisaged in this thesis.

The overarching intention of the study is to add to the existing body of knowledge on this all-important, but highly transitional, subject of creation/re-creation, negotiation/re-negotiation and management of individual identities. Migration itself brings change that is specific to individuals and comprehending how they negotiate and manage such dynamics is the main focus of this study. It is also of interest to the researcher to find out how black Zimbabwean women migrants negotiate the differences in the social milieus as brought about by displacement, migration and movement, and how these effect changes in their identities.

In furthering the trans-local and context-based study of identity construction, the researcher also develops a Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) argument on the local print and online media's treatment of migrants' issues – particularly those pertaining to Zimbabwean women – with a view to identify the power relations at play. The pervasive nature of the media, and the discourses thereof, which makes it impossible for one to be immune to their influences in one way or the other, has prompted the researcher to consider the media landscape as one of the sites for ascribed or othered identity formations. To achieve this aim, the researcher conducts a textual analysis of print and/or online news media texts on Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. This process involves using the online archival system to access news stories on Zimbabwean women migrants. According to Grbich (2007), textual analysis or textual perusal forms part of the commonly used data collection methods in researches with a constructivism or interpretivist epistemological position. The news texts are selected only from publications based in the metropolis of Johannesburg through a textual analysis for the purpose of doing a discourse analysis. Using purposive or judgmental sampling, media texts published between 2012 and 2015 are collected. News stories are selected as long as they were written about Zimbabwean women migrants.

## **1.6 Study Objectives**

Du Plooy (2008) identifies four distinct categories of social sciences research objectives, which are exploratory, descriptive, explanatory and predictive objectives. However, she goes on to affirm that research “objectives are not necessarily mutually exclusive” (Du Plooy, 2008:48), which means that one study can have more than one research objectives. Moreover, these broad research objectives may complement each other, thus integrating them can enrich a research study. The objectives of this study are skewed to the exploratory and descriptive categories. The purpose of

conducting an exploratory research is to obtain new insights, while descriptive researches are aimed at describing the characteristics of phenomena (Davis, 2014). The exploratory objective is not used as an end in itself but as a means of providing thick descriptions of identity constructions and negotiations in a transnational and trans-local context. Given the transitional nature of identities, the exploratory dimension is used to investigate the time-sensitive context of identity negotiations, while the descriptive strand is used to consolidate the findings through the theoretical lenses of existing literature, and thereafter develop a theoretical framework for understanding female migrants. The study's chief objective is to obtain new insights of identity negotiations by Zimbabwean female migrants within a specific milieu and in a specified historical juncture. The data collection methods used are not purposed for replication or generalisation. Succinctly, the objectives of the study are:

1. To explore how identities are created/re-created, negotiated/re-negotiated and sustained by black Zimbabwean women in the South African metropolis of Johannesburg.
2. To examine the elements that contribute to shaping who female Zimbabwean migrants are, who they become and who they want to become when they move to Johannesburg from Zimbabwe.
3. To investigate the aspects of identity that black Zimbabwean women gain or lose as a result of transnational migration.
4. To identify and explore the representations of Zimbabwean women migrants in a selection of news media texts extracted from Johannesburg-based newspapers.

### **1.7 Positioning of the Research**

The study draws from the hermeneutics philosophical line of thought and research design. A hermeneutic approach to research is defined as “an interpretive inquiry seeking to understand the meanings of parts within a whole” (Grbich, 2007:20). Dilthey (1976), quoted by Warnke (1987:5), describes the development of modern hermeneutics as “liberation of interpretation from dogma”. This simply means that the interpretation of texts or any type of phenomena within the hermeneutics field of enquiry is not confined to predetermined sets or rules. Hermeneutics has its origins in the interpretation of the Bible, where the central debate is whether to interpret it as

unified whole or as individual books (Warnke, 1987). To be liberated from such presuppositions is a characteristic feature of modern hermeneutics. Drawing from the field of hermeneutics, the researcher believes that the two polemic views of interpretation complement each other, and they both lead to a comprehensive understanding of phenomena. Simply put, understanding the sum of the parts can still lead to the understanding of the unified whole. Similarly, the research process entails recruiting individual interviewees, and transforming their narratives into texts for interpretation. The process of identifying individuals for interviews can be equated to breaking down the population in order to understand the parts that make up the whole – in a similar way to Derrida position of “deconstruction” (Norris 2004:ix). However, within hermeneutics, objective interpretation is impossible, because understanding is never without presupposition or prejudice.

Hermeneutics is thus not only concerned with the interpretation of text, but also “of human action” (Bryman, 2012:28), or finding explanations for why human beings act the way they do. Similarly, in Gadamer’s account of hermeneutics, two types of understandings are distinguishable: the understanding of truth-content and that of intentions (Warnke, 1987). It is through the understanding of intentions that multiple interpretations are likely to emerge. The content of a social action or social phenomena serves as a starting point for the understanding of the intentions. Moreover, in understanding a text, attention is not given to finding truth, because truth is elusive and subject to interpretation. This study therefore does not claim to establish truth, nor is it concerned about arriving at a universally acceptable interpretation of the texts and the women’s narratives. The texts interpreted are indeed subject to multiple readings, therefore no claims are made of objectivity.

### **1.8 Philosophical Considerations and Broad Assumptions**

The study is situated in the interpretivism philosophical paradigm in general, and in Lincoln and Guba’s (2000) constructivists research paradigm in particular. Interpretivism is “associated with the philosophical position of idealism, and is used to group together diverse approaches, including social constructionism, phenomenology and hermeneutics; approaches that reject the objectivist view that meaning resides within the world independently of consciousness” (Collins, 2010:38). In this philosophical research paradigm, objectivity is replaced by subjectivity. That is to say, meaning resides in the subjective realities the world offers. Because neither the researcher nor the subjects can objectively distance themselves from the issue being studied, their interpretation of



concepts under study is subject to personal experiences and backgrounds. This philosophical perspective allows the researcher to see issues under study from the perspectives of the subjects, in the same way that Johnson *et al.* (2006:132) say that “capturing the actual meanings and interpretations that actors subjectively ascribe to phenomena in order to describe and explain their behavior” is the premise of interpretivism.

The interpretivist philosophical worldview is hailed for its suitability for the understanding of complex issues that cannot be reduced to the physical-law-like rules that positivists advocate (Snape and Spencer, 2003). Interpretivist inquiry, therefore, attempts to embrace the complex and dynamic quality of the social world and allows the researcher to view a social research problem holistically, get close to participants, enter their realities and interpret their perceptions appropriately (Shaw, 1999). An interpretivist researcher can draw a complete picture of the complex social problem by considering the whole contexts in which the investigation is being carried out. Yet to get to the core of complex social problems, interpretations have to be made in real-life world settings, where participants are under relatively less pressure to please the researcher.

Furthermore, the study is epistemologically oriented to interpretivism and its sub-divisions of phenomenology, subjectivism and hermeneutics. According to Collis and Hussey (2003:48), “epistemology is concerned with the study of knowledge and what we accept as being valid knowledge”. Epistemologically, the researcher believes that knowledge is based on the dynamic and fluid perceptions of individuals, hence the choice was made to situate this study within interpretivism and its sub-branches. Bertrand and Hughes (2005) assert that phenomenology and hermeneutics are widely related. Bennington and Gay (2000) in Bertrand and Hughes (2005:223) describe phenomenology as a philosophical endeavor to describe the “perceptual act, or the relationship between perceiving subject and what is perceived, as it is perceived.” Though there is a clear distinction between the subject (that which is perceiving) and the object (that which is being perceived), phenomenologists advocate the study of both in order to obtain rich and thick data. Similarly, “hermeneutics, asserts that meaning arises out of ... the hermeneutic circle, the cyclical interaction between the work as a whole and its constituent parts” (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005:225). Hermeneutics, as part of the humanities, is firmly grounded in its aim to holistically

understand phenomena by considering all the parts that make up a whole. In this study, the methodologies for data collection, analysis and interpretation will be grounded in the three aspects of interpretivism, i.e. phenomenology, subjectivism and hermeneutics.

The choice of these broad assumptions is also informed by the researcher's ontological orientation. Saunders *et al.* (2009:110) define ontology as "the nature of reality ... and assumptions researchers have about the way the world operates and the commitment held to a particular view". The researcher believes that reality is not independent of the mind. People see, and ascribe and attach meaning to reality. Therefore, phenomena and their meanings are continually being negotiated in their social contexts by social actors. Reality, then, becomes a product of both social construction and human imagination. This study is thus ontologically oriented within the constructivism research paradigm, and research methods used are informed by both the epistemological and ontological orientations of the researcher.

### **1.9 Type of Study**

The study is a qualitative research study, situated within the interpretivist methodological paradigm. The interpretivists' research paradigm emphasises words over numbers for the purpose of understanding of a social phenomenon. Van Maanen's (1983:9) qualitative research methods include:

an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.

The researcher interprets the rich and thick data gathered through in-depth interviews and textual analysis. It is very important to point out, at this stage, that the researcher is aware of the criticism levelled against qualitative researches. One such criticism is that qualitative researchers gather vast arrays of data yet their holistic interpretation methods do not give a clear framework to counter the possibility of self-delusion. It is not because the researcher has full control of the process of interpretation that self-delusion arises, but rather when researcher arrogantly believes that his or her interpretation is absolute. Indeed, the amount of data gathered can be so overwhelming that making sense of it becomes a challenge, and doing so in such a way that precision is upheld, in the same way as exactness is prescribed in quantitative methods, seems illusive and difficult to achieve

(Kvale, 1996: 32). Texts are also polysemic, making it difficult to formulate with a universal framework of interpretation. However, rather than being a weakness, the absence of a framework for interpretation in qualitative researches is what makes them suitable for exploring complex issues that cannot be reduced to numbers and to universal ways of interpretation.

The study also employs different types of triangulations in order to enrich the findings. Du Plooy (2008:39) defines triangulation as “using two or more theories, types of sampling, investigators, and sources of data and/or data-collection methods.” Three types of triangulations exist: theory triangulation, methodological triangulation and data triangulation. This study uses methodological triangulation and data triangulation, as described in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

### **1.10 Research Problem Statement**

Elliott and Du Gay (2009:xii) state that “Postmodernity, at least in terms of identity, involves the deconstruction and reconstruction of the self as fluid, fragmented, discontinuous, decentered, dispersed, culturally eclectic, hybrid-like.” Owing to its transitional nature, identities are likely to be influenced by the physical and social-cultural milieu that the individual finds herself or himself in, among other factors. Identities are always in flux: an identity is not a destination; therefore, studies of identities rapidly create gaps. Bauman (2009) further acknowledges “the increasingly fractured, fluid, mobile and liquid dimensions of identity strategies available” (Elliott and Du Gay, 2009:xiii) to individuals due to globalisation.

However, Friedman (2000), Lane and Husemann (2008) and Castells (2010) maintain that globalisation is destructive to personal identity itself. They argue that globalisation dissolves the delineated differences among cultures, bemoaning the disappearance of unique cultural aspects from which individuals draw when constructing their personal identities. Indeed, several years earlier, Erikson (1968:15) had already conceptualised the individual’s predicament as “identity crisis”, owing to a cocktail of modernity, postmodernity and, lately, globalisation. Erikson’s concept of identity crisis was further popularised by its entrance into dictionaries and its later definition by Guralnik and Rogoff (1979:968) as the uncertainty “of one’s feelings about oneself, especially with regard to character, goals, and origins ... as a result of growing up under disruptive, fast-changing conditions.” What can be gleaned from these concerns here is the causal link between identity construction and structural/systemic changes.

The study specifically problematises transnational identity negotiations, where conflicting individual and collective identities of black Zimbabwean women arise as they find themselves living in the unfamiliar environs of the metropolis of Johannesburg, South Africa. Having left their country of origin to escape political and economic crises, they have come to a place in which they have to negotiate, renegotiate and at times reinvent their cultural and individual identities, and are faced with the additional challenge of forced to decide what to take from the new environment and what to retain from the old self. This conflict of identity is experienced at different levels. At an individual level, there are battles of a sense of self in terms of values and beliefs that define a black Zimbabwean woman. At a collective level, there are challenges of what it means to be Shona or Ndebele, and what “Zimbabweanness” means is then put to test in a cosmopolitan world of the metropolis of Johannesburg.

A historical analysis of the background of the mass migration of Zimbabweans to South Africa points to the socioeconomic and political crisis bedeviling Zimbabwe over the past decade (McGregor, 2010; Muzondidya, 2010; Rutherford and Anderson, 2007). The social, political and economic problems faced by Zimbabwe compounded by a perceived lack of a plausible solution have sent the citizens, mostly young, in search of a better life. However, migrants face a number of unforeseen challenges (Abdullah, 2000; Landau, 2006a). Indeed, the problems and challenges faced by migrants in the host countries are often inexhaustible, as in many cases, the problems are context-, gender-, age- and class-specific.

This study singles out the transnationalism of black Zimbabwean women in Johannesburg as a phenomenon that plays a role in shaping migrants’ identities both in the host and homeland. Indeed, the close proximity between the two countries allows the migrants to assume transnational identities. However, the varying expectations exerted on the woman migrant in each context can cause immense pressure on her, to the detriment of the social fabric. The researcher is cognizant of the arguments made by others such as Pasura (2008), who identifies a failure to adapt to new gendered identities as a major cause of divorces among Zimbabwean families in Britain as one of the challenges that migrants face away from home. The shift from traditional gender roles of Zimbabwean families in Britain as the women migrants suddenly become breadwinners has had a negative impact on the Zimbabwean institution of marriage. Similarly, Hungwe (2012) discusses the problems emanating from multiple identities of Zimbabweans in South Africa. She argues that

the predicament of Zimbabwean trans-migrants in South Africa lies in the fact that they are stigmatised and given spoilt identities in the host land, while at the same time they are ascribed damaging identities in their homeland.

Choosing black Zimbabwean women trans-migrants in Johannesburg South Africa offers an opportunity to explore more intensely the peculiarities of the role transnationalism plays in shaping identities of a specific gender in a specific context. Previous research has only treated immigrants' identities more generally in terms of gender (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Pasura 2010; McGregor, 2010; Hungwe, 2012; Crush and McDonald, 2013), and research looking at Zimbabwean women migrants in a specific context is nonexistent. This study will thus explore how black Zimbabwean women, living in the metropolis of Johannesburg, South Africa create/recreate, negotiate/re negotiate and manage their identities.

This exploration takes into account the media, which, in its entirety, gives people a frame of reference. However, media (un)representations of migrants give rise to a preoccupation with boundaries and spaces, imaginary or real, in the minds of both migrants and the natives. Problems emanating from media (un)representations of migrants range from creating a specific stereotype to creating a notable media blackout, rendering a particular group insignificant. Jackson in Teverson and Upstone (2011:57) notes that "the center needs its margin; hence the paradox that the 'other' in terms of gender and cultural identity are marginalized but also given their own places ... those constructions serve to reinforce the power relations of gender identities." In terms of media representations, then, whether women occupy integral positions in a media text or if they are given peripheral coverage gives rise is a text in itself, which has to be read by taking cognizance of the context. Moreover, Danso and McDonald (2001) argue South Africa's print media coverage of cross-border migration has the potential to influence public opinion. Their findings reveal that print media coverage of cross-border migration is negative and unanalytical, and therefore potentially capable of instigating xenophobia. The study will make use of selected print and online media texts from publications serving the Johannesburg metropolitan city for the purpose of analysing their representations of black Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa. The researcher will identify specific themes for analysis of these media text.

### **1.11 Sub-problems**

Migrants' identities are sometimes created as a response to societal pressures to which immigrants are subjected in the host land. Hungwe (2012) discusses the spoilt identities ascribed to migrants both in South Africa and by fellow Zimbabwean at home: they are regarded as outsiders both in their homeland and in the host land. As a result of these spoilt identities, migrants retaliate by carving images of power, both physical and economic, in both situations. Migrants then do not seem to fit in well in any particular society. The existence of these outsider identities, though not primarily the focus of this study, is likely to be noted. As Mbembe (2001:87) writes, "In most of the major urban centers ..., distinctions between 'indigenes,' 'sons of the soil,' and 'outsiders' have become commonplace... giving rise to exclusionary practices, 'identity closure,' and persecutions, which, as seen can easily lead to pogroms, even genocide."

The study began at a time when the South African community as whole was gripped by xenophobic sentiments and pockets of xenophobic violence, vigils and protests. Reports on King Goodwill Zwelithini's comments, made at a "moral regeneration" meeting held in Pongola in northern KwaZulu-Natal on the 20<sup>th</sup> of March 2015, that foreigners should go back to their home countries as they are spoiling the South African society with their *amanikiniki* (an Isizulu word for goods) sparked a wave of xenophobic violence across the country. The Zulu king's speech was first reported in *The Mercury's* sister newspaper, *Isolezwe*, and on the radio station *Igagazi FM*, and later on became prominent news on different media outlets countrywide. The events that followed this speech, such as shops in the central business district of Johannesburg closing down during business hours, protests against the king's remarks in different parts of the country and sporadic xenophobic attacks, offered evidence of a nation living on the brink of a xenophobic disaster. Moreover, the attacks on African foreign nationals by black South Africans signified a different level of an identity crisis. Paradoxically, black South Africans equate the word foreigner to mean blacks who are originally from other African countries. It is against this backdrop of xenophobic sentiments, violence and hostility towards foreigners that this transnational identity negotiations study takes place.

### **1.12 Key Research Questions**

1. How do black Zimbabwean women create/re-create and negotiate/re negotiate identities in Johannesburg?

2. What elements contribute in shaping who they are, who they become and who they want to be in the metropolis of Johannesburg?
3. In terms of identity, what do Zimbabwean women migrants lose or gain as a result of transnational migration?
4. How are Zimbabwean women migrants represented in a selection of news stories extracted from Johannesburg-based news media publications?

### **1.13 Conceptualisation and Operationalisation**

This section explains some of the terms that are frequently used in the study, such as migrants, transnationals and identity. Conceptualisation of these terms is not in any way unitary or exhaustive. Rather, the terms are conceptualised in relation to how they are used in this study.

#### **1.13.1 Migrants**

The term migrant refers to an individual who has moved across a border for reasons of personal convenience, without taking much cognisance of external influence (Peruchoud and Redpath-Cross, 2011). For many migrants, moving across a border seems to be a voluntary activity, usually for personal enrichment, economic or otherwise. However, this does not seem to be the case with many Zimbabweans in South Africa, which is why the term is more of an umbrella term, encompassing other definitions of migrants such as illegal or irregular migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, exiles, transient migrants and cross-border traders. All these different categories of migrants with time in the host country will later translate into diasporas or transnationals, or become assimilated into the country.

Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa fall under two broad categories, which are legal or documented and illegal or undocumented migrants. Crush and Tevera (2010) define illegal migrants as people who do not use the designated ports of entry but enter the country clandestinely by jumping the borders, swimming through the rivers and so on. Owing to rampant corruption at most of South Africa's ports of entry, illegal migrants do not have to risk their lives by crossing through rivers; instead they often pay their way through corrupt immigration officials. Legal migrants, in contrast, are those who obtain visas and the necessary documentations, such as work and study permits, spousal visas and so on, to live in South Africa legally.

The South African context presents a complicated terrain for categorising Zimbabwean migrants. There are interesting overlaps, as shown in Figure 2 below. People begin as migrants, as represented by the biggest circle, then become into transnationals when their lives are now based in the host country but they still maintain ties with the homeland. Diasporas then form within transnationals: as people from a specific country of origin harbour memories of returning home, they can form networks to strengthen each other or to retain some of their cultural values. This study is interested in both the transnationals and the diasporas that part of Figure 2 representing transnationals including the overlap with migrants, or the black Zimbabwean women who live in South Africa but return home from time to time. To be included in this study, these transnational and diasporas had to have been living in South Africa and intermittently going back to Zimbabwe or maintaining ties with people back home.



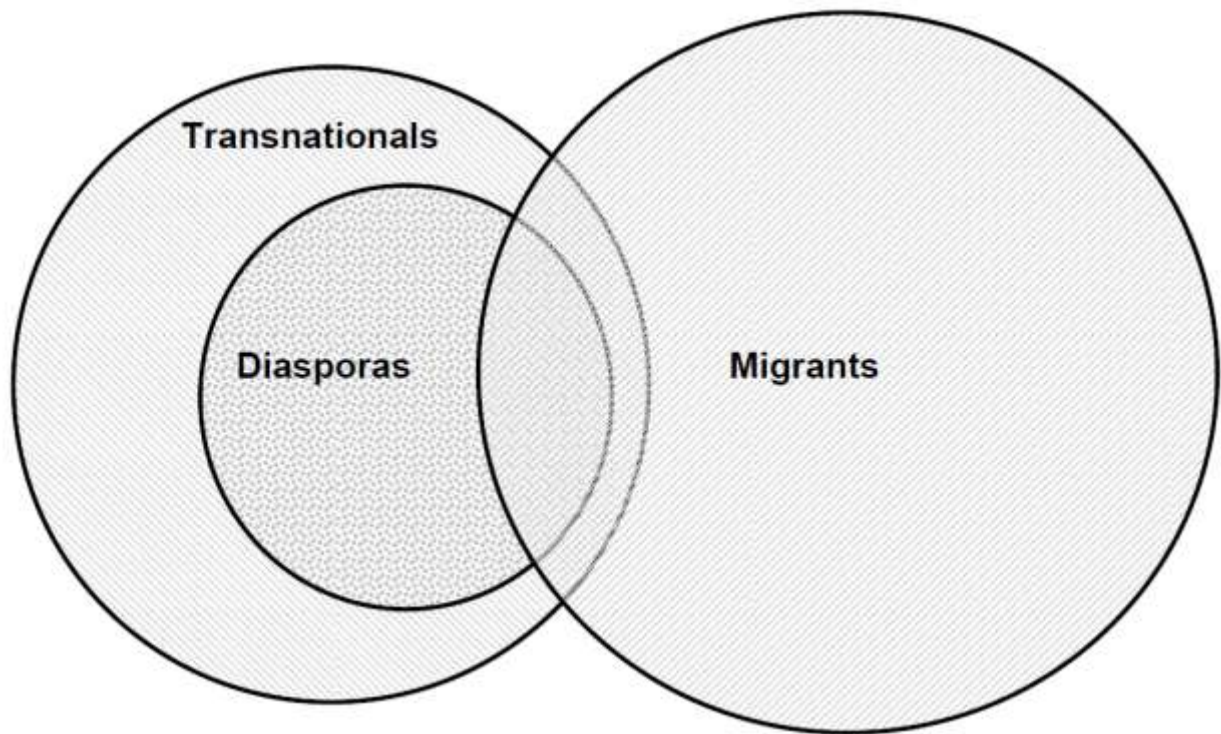


Figure 2: Relationship between diasporas, transnationals and migrants, modelled after Bakewell (2008)

### 1.13.2 Diaspora

In conceptualising the term diaspora, Pasura's caution (2014) that diasporas are both real and imagined social formations, and are multifaceted fluid entities that continually evolve over time and space, seems invaluable here. The term's applicability has broadened over time, thus its inclusion in this study. Historically, the term diaspora has been used to explain the experiences of Africans in the North Atlantic and the transatlantic slave trade only, neglecting those of migrants in the Mediterranean, the Indian ocean and the recent movements within the African continent (Jayasuriya and Punkhurts, 2003; Larson, 2007; Zeleza, 2005). Pasura (2014) identifies a gap in literature concerning the experiences of dispersed people within the African continent in particular. However, the concept of diaspora seems to have broadened to include movements within the African continent, as this study will show. Moreover, Bakewell (2008) advocates a shift from the narrow focus of the concept on diasporas outside the continent to include those within Africa.

Pasura (2014:10) defines diasporas as "groups who were forcibly expelled from their homelands and who remained socially marginal in host lands as they wait to return."

Previously, Cohen (2008) had conceptualised diasporas as victims, trade, labour, imperial and cultural-based migrants. What is interesting to note between these two definitions is a lack of spatial reference to a specific host land. Rather, there is a focus on the forced nature of the movement itself, and both definitions acknowledge the victimisation and marginalisation of diasporas in host lands.

An all-encompassing definition of the concept is given by Tololyon (1996:5), who asserts that the term diaspora “now shares meanings with a semantic domain that includes terms like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest worker, exile community, oversees community...”. While most definitions seem to refer to a collective community, Tololyon’s (1996) stands out as including individuals who may or may not necessarily have been attached to a group for the concept to apply to them. The singularising aspect of the term signals a specific paradigm shift of the applicability of the concept to include a range of diverse individuals living in foreign lands. In terms of this study, a focus on the experiences of specific Zimbabwean female migrants in South Africa will contribute to filling in the gap in the literature on African diasporas within the continent.

### **1.13.3 Transnationalism**

Transnationalism is a term that has been theorised by researchers to the extent of becoming almost a catchword (Pasura, 2012). Transnationalism and diasporas appear to be synonymous terms, yet in actual fact there are some notable differences. Pasura (2014) notes that transnationalism is the umbrella concept under which diasporas are regarded as examples of transnational communities.

Faist (2000) defines transnationalism as transnational social formations in which sustained relationships and networks are maintained across multiple nation states. Transnationalism has emerged out of migrants’ simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society (Levitt and Schiller, 2004), giving rise to hybridity and deterritorialised identities and plural attachments (Pasura 2014). Transnationalism begins with an individual or a group’s dispersal from a specific original centre followed by retaining of memories, myths and visions of the original homeland, and finally a continuously sustained relationship with the homeland (Sefran, 1991). Similarly, Vertovec (1999:447), cited by Pasura (2012), defines “transnationalism as a social morphology, as a type of consciousness, as a mode of cultural reproduction, as an avenue of

capital, as a site of political engagement, as a reconstruction of place or locality”. Interestingly, in this definition is the idea that individual or groups have to make a conscious decision to maintain ties with their homelands. This conscious effort is what qualifies migrants as being transnational. Another interesting aspect is the idea of cultural reproduction and the recreation of homeland ideals. Migrants might be dispersed in the physical sense, but they bring in memories into the host lands and revive them by recreating some of their homeland cultural aspects.

#### **1.13.4 Identity**

In order to understand the term identity, the sociological perspectives proposed by Antony Giddens are addressed, as they are relevant to how the subject is discussed in this thesis. According to Giddens (1991:2), identity, as in “self-identity”, is an individual project where the individual draws from the prevailing mechanisms in both the environment and the social milieu to forge his or her projections of the self. Different eras that societies go through, such as modernity or post-modernity, provide mechanisms with which individuals construct their self-identities. Most importantly, the individual as an agent plays a significant role in selecting from the social milieu aspects that they allow to influence them in their construction of a distinct personal identity. As Giddens (1991:2) points out, “the self is not a passive entity, determined by external influences; in forging their self-identities ... individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications.” Thus individuals are active participants in their own identity creations, inasmuch as they are influenced by matters from their environment. Giddens’s reflexivity, speaks of the internal processes within which an individual engages to negotiate and forge a distinct self-identity.

Fearon (1999) summarises the sociological perspectives of the word “identity” into two categories: social and personal. The personal identity, he says, comprises distinguished characteristics that a person takes pride in, which are in the form of dignity, pride or honour. Social identities are the rules and characteristic attributes or features that define membership to a particular social grouping. There are some clear overlaps between the two types of identities as defined here, mainly because once personal identity characteristics are shared by members of a group, they are built into the social identity features that distinguish that particular group. However, of relevance to this study is the personal identity type. Deng (1995:1) postulates that individuals define their identities “on the basis of race, ethnicity,

religion, language and culture”. The list of characteristic features of personal identity provided here is not exhaustive, neither does it present the broad categories of attributes from which a number of other characteristic features can be drawn.

Furthermore, Hall (1989:6) quoted in Fearon (1999) defines identity “as a kind of unsettled space, or an unresolved question in that space, between a number of intersecting discourses. ... [Until recently we have incorrectly thought that identity is] a kind of fixed point of thought and being a ground of action ... the logic of something like a ‘true self’ ... [But] Identity is a process, identity is split. Identity is not a fixed point but rather an ambivalent point.” What this means is that personal identity is subject to a number of external influences in the socio-cultural environment. Owing to the correlation between transformation in the socio-cultural environment and personal identity changes, individual identities are ever changing. This fluidity of identity resulting from the ever-changing nature of intersecting discourses calls for constant interrogations of the concept.

Furthering the notion of fluidity, Castells (2010:10) proposes three forms of identity building: “legitimising identity”, “resistance identity” and “project identity”. Legitimising identity leads to the formation of a civil society and the structuration of members in a society, and this process is always in flux. Resistance identity creates communities of common interests, usually bound by resistance against a perceived common enemy. Castells (2010) explains his last form of identity building, project identity, as the desire by an individual to create personal meaning and history. This process leads to subjects and individuals who are nevertheless the products of the various social actors and life’s experiences. As a project, this type of identity construction is a lifetime quest. All three forms of identity construction are fluid and are determined by context. Similarly, Lock and Strong (2010) emphasise the social construction of the self in identity building. In emphasising the social influence on identity, they posit that selves arise as individuals internalise the attitudes of the generalised other. Thus, without interaction with others, the different forms of an individual’s identity cannot be realised.

Identity in this study, however, is not to be considered in a generalised manner because a broad view of the term tends to dilute its application. Identity thus will be explored only in terms of how black Zimbabwean women come to define themselves, both subjectively and in relation to the social spaces they occupy in Johannesburg, South Africa. This definition will encompass who they are, who they become and who they aspire to be as they deal with managing an

identity that transcends a single political boundary. Nevertheless, it is still important to view identity formation as both fluid and complex, and Pasura (2014) acknowledges that migrants' identity formations have to be explored in their specific contexts.

Hungwe (2012) argues that Zimbabweans in South Africa construct and reconstruct transnational identities by resisting ascribed stereotypical descriptions such as *makwerekwere*, and negotiate the nuances of belonging. Identity creation in this current study, however, is also subject to the material, economic and symbolic resources at the disposal of the migrants. The thrust of this study is to explore how black Zimbabwean women in South Africa describe themselves in relation to the social context in which they find themselves and how these descriptions influence their perceived local identities in a transnational and at times transitional space. Since identity is a fluid concept, some of the ascribed aspects of identity are explored through the lenses of selected media texts. The black Zimbabwean women in this study did not need to have read the media texts in question, as triangulation is done at the penultimate stage of this thesis. Essentially, the theme of identity will be focal point of triangulation of these two separate data entities.

#### **1.14 Thesis Outline**

In order to answer the research questions, How do Zimbabwean women migrants carve and negotiate their identities? How does this influence who they become? How do they define themselves and how are they defined by the local media? The researcher has identified a number of themes that are classified into chapters in this thesis. Chapter One introduces the study by presenting a brief background to and positioning of the research, the broad aims and objectives, the contribution of the thesis to academic enquiry and the key research questions.

Chapter Two, deals with the theoretical framework or existing knowledge of understanding migrants' interactions in their host countries. The chapter critically examines existing theories and ideas on how migrants make sense of themselves in relation to their new socio-cultural surroundings. Included here are structuration, assimilation and multiculturalism theories of how migrants negotiate and renegotiate their way around the host countries. The theories are discussed in terms of both their merits as well as their shortcomings. Thereafter, a more refined framework is developed to best understand women migrants in the given social context.

Chapter Three builds on the theories discussed in the theoretical framework section to consider extant literature on migrant studies. The chapter explores recent studies on migrants' identity constructions, negotiations and re-negotiations in a globalised host destination. Because trends in society continue to influence how migrants respond and adjust to their moving, research needs to constantly update to factor in these changes. The literature surveys provided in this chapter afforded this research an opportunity to build on what has already been discovered.

Chapter Four details the overall research methodology adopted to answer the key research questions. The chapter explains the triangulation of the ethnographic and the textual analysis components of the study. Specifically, the chapter provides an explanation of the ethnographic in-depth interview processes and the textual analysis as the data collection methods employed in this study. The chapter further expounds on FDA and the thematic analysis as the two strands of data analysis procedures used in this thesis.

Chapter Five addresses African feminism and how it differs from the other types of feminisms, especially western feminism. African women have a distinct history, culture and values, and their issues cannot be understood through the lenses of feminisms that emerged outside of these context. There are context-specific issues of African patriarchy, matriarchy and the history of colonialism that western-developed types of feminisms do not take into consideration. Such issues are pertinent to the understanding of migrant women of an African origin and negotiating and forging their identities in a diasporic space within the African context.

Chapter Six presents a thematic analysis of the media texts gathered through a textual analysis of Johannesburg-based English newspapers. Using the Grounded Theory Method (GTM) of identifying emerging themes from the media texts, themes are generated and categorised for a subsequent discourse analysis. The chapter ends with a context-specific theoretical framework for understanding media representations of Zimbabwean women migrants.

Chapter Seven presents the findings of a discourse analysis of the media text reporting on Zimbabwean women migrants. Discourses are analysed through a combinations of FDA and Gee's (1999) framework.

Chapter Eight offers a presentation of the ethnographic findings together with a discussion and interpretation of the personal narrations of the Zimbabwean women migrants. The chapter

quotes in verbatim the women migrants' narratives to ensure that the data is interpreted from the perspectives of the women migrants. The personal narratives are then interpreted through the lenses of the discussed theories. The chapter also presents a critical discussion of the limitations of the current theories in explaining the experiences of the women migrants.

Chapter Nine brings together the findings gathered through the textual analysis and the in-depth interviews with women migrants. The chapter presents the intersections of the media narratives and the Zimbabwean women migrants' personal accounts in relation to the women's identities. It is at these intersections that descriptions of identities, local or transnational, can be unearthed. The chapter ends with research conclusions and recommendations for future researches.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on exploring the existing theories relevant to migration. However, a search for theories that would be applicable to understanding transnational identity creations and negotiations proved unsuccessful. Existing theories focus on understanding how migrants are assimilated into their host countries, as with the assimilation theory, suggesting that migrants cut ties with their countries of origin and become bounded to their destination (Nyamnjoh, 2007). Thus, no existing theory addresses the transnational nature of the experiences of migrants in their day-to-day lived experiences in their host countries. In order to gain insight into the identity creations/recreations and negotiations/re negotiations of Zimbabwean women migrants living in the metropolis of Johannesburg, the existing theories that are of relevance to the study are therefore addressed here with the aim of establishing new ways of understanding these phenomena. I draw largely from three major migration theories: the structuration theory, assimilation theory and multiculturalism theory and, although not specifically developed for understanding migrants, Foucault's theory of governmentality. As stated above, the theories discussed in this section do not quite explain the peculiarities of transnational experiences; thus an attempt is made, using the existing theories as a starting point, to develop a framework for understanding identity negotiations of Zimbabwean women in the metropolis of Johannesburg, South Africa.

#### 2.2 Structuration Theory

There are macro and micro factors that influence migration in this fast changing and globalising environment. It is therefore difficult to find a theory that is able to exhaustively address the issues of migration. Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, through its emphasis of both individual and societal forces as determinants of migration, does however present a holistic approach (Tammaru and Sjoberg, 1999). Gregory (1994:600) describes the structuration theory as "an approach to social theory concerned with the intersection between knowledgeable and capable social agents and the wider social systems and structures in which they are implicated". According to this explanation, migrants (agents) influence the wider societies as they are in turn influenced by the societies themselves. In other words, there is a symbiotic relationship between migrants and the communities in which they find themselves. Scholars who advocate



the Giddensian approach to the study of migrants also emphasise the use of qualitative techniques (Tammaru and Sjoberg, 1999), mainly because, as per the definition of the structuration theory, migrants are “knowledgeable and capable social agents” (Gregory, 1994:600).

Giddens’ structuration theory proposes six important fundamentals to the study of migration: agency, structure, the duality of structure, institutions, the dialectic of control, and time/space relations. All six components are explained here, as they are lenses through which one can interpret how identities are forged by migrants.

Firstly, agency refers to individual migrants. According to Giddens, all actions by the agents or the migrants are “intentional or purposeful” (Giddens, 1979:56). The migrant is equipped with knowledge and understanding that helps her to weigh her options for decision making processes. Migrants are constantly tapping into the knowledge they have about their current locations to evaluate how their needs are met. According to Giddens (1984:282), “[t]he knowledgeability of human actors is always bounded on the one hand by the unconscious and on the other by unacknowledged/unintended consequences of action”. Unless otherwise brought to their attention, migrants might not even be aware that they are constantly warring within themselves with decision making processes. This study intends to tap into the knowledge that these agents have to determine the sort of influence it has in shaping their identities.

The second element in the Giddensian approach to migration is structure. Giddens (1984:377) defines structure as, “rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems. Structure only exists in memory traces, the organic basis of human knowledgeability, and as instantiated in action”. This simply means that the rules that govern society are intangible; the Giddensian framework conceptualises structure as existing in the mind. Giddens also differentiates structure from system. Where structure refers to rules and resources existing in the mind, systems are the relations that these have with the external social societal arrangements. Structuration then refers to the processes of social change in society (Wolfel, 2005). Structure is both influenced and influences migration in the Giddensian framework. In this study, I am interested in the feminisation of migration as a structure that comes to existence through Zimbabwean women migrants.

Giddens explains the third element in the structuration theory, the duality of structure, as the interplay between agency and structure that influences both, and where both are also influenced by social change. The duality of structure explains how migrants' physiological and psychological changes are both influenced by the host communities and how they also influence societal development and the structures within it. Halfacree's study (1995) on how migration influences the structuration process of the American society reveals that when women comply with the migration decision of men, they contribute to the further entrenchment of patriarchy in the American society. Paradoxically, migrations of minority groups leave a void in the structuration process of their home countries, and in the host countries, these minority groups promote the structuration of the majority (Wolfel, 2005). In other words, minority groups are ever on the losing side – at home, when they leave they miss an opportunity to form a strong coalition with those who remain, and in the host countries they are faced with yet another insurmountable world order. Using the Giddensian element of the duality of structure, it will be interesting to find out how transnational identities are both shaped and in turn influence the structuration of societies in the host countries.

The fourth element in the Giddensian framework is the dialectic of control, which explains the power relations that exist between the agents and their structuration social milieu. According to Giddens (1984), all actors have some sort of power to shape the structuration process which results in their oppression. If an actor does not have power, he or she ceases to be an agent. In relation to transnationalism then, migrants have power to shape the social contexts in which they find themselves, even if it means that those environments are oppressing them. Regarding the dialectic of control, Giddens further identifies that resources are available to agents as sources of power. Agents only need to identify these resources and have an understanding of their sources of power in order to be able to utilise them to influence social change.

Giddens's structuration theory identifies institutions as its fifth element. Institutions are types of routinised practices that are collectively observed by members of a particular group. Giddens identified four types of institutions – symbolic, political, economic and law institutions – that agents use to influence the structuration of society (Wolfel, 2005). Institutions are different from resources in that agents engage with intuitions more routinely and regularly than they do with resources. An emerging example of an institution in migration studies is a set of networks. Two types of broad networks can be identified: networks that migrants form with people in the host countries and network ties with people in their countries of origins.

The last element of Giddens's structuration theory is time-space relations, by which Giddens explains the temporal and spatial dimensions of life that he believes are essential components of social behaviour (Craib, 1992). According to Giddens, all social systems are embedded in time and space (Giddens, 1991): "Space is not an empty dimension along which social groupings become structured, but has to be considered in terms of its involvement in the constitution of the systems of interactions" (Giddens, 1984:396). In the era of intense globalisation, the element of time-space relations is becoming more a prominent factor in shaping social interactions. Globalisation has influenced the framework of social interactions and has altered the dynamics of time and space relations. Connectivity, which is enabling time-space compression, allows for instantaneous interactions and sending of messages, regardless of geographical distances. Societal structuration is no longer an aspect of individual physical locations. Structuration, like any other social phenomena, is becoming more and more globally determined. Thus, applying the ideas of the Giddensian element of time-space relations to modern day transnationals, diasporas or immigrants is the same as appreciating the ever-changing factors of societal structuration.

### **2.3 Assimilation Theory**

The assimilation of migrants into their host communities has been used to understand migration for a long time now, albeit with a plethora of academic lapses (Alba and Nee, 1997). However, the term assimilation itself seems to suggest inferiority of migrants' cultural identities, in that they have to be schooled into new cultural ways to ensure successful integration into their host societies. Assimilation also seems to suggest a complete negation on the part of migrants of their cultural and ethnic origins in favour of their host countries' cultural orientations. Over the years since its conception, the term assimilation has gone through constant redefinition and reassessment of its applicability to current experiences of migrants (Alba and Nee, 1997; Barkan, 1995; Kazal, 1995; Morowska, 1994).

Park and Burgess (1969:735) in Alba and Nee (1997) provide a comprehensive definition of assimilation as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life." However, this definition depicts assimilation as a one-sided concept, in that it is only migrants who acquire the histories and memories of their hosts to ensure harmony and societal cohesion. Two issues

can also be identified here: either locals do not want to learn new cultural values brought in by migrants or that the migrants themselves have nothing to transfer to the people in their host communities.

In the process of redefining assimilation theory, Zhou (1997) analyses the experiences of second generation migrants, i.e. the experiences of children born to contemporary migrants, in the United States of America. In his findings, the theory takes an interesting twist, giving rise to what he termed segmented assimilation. Three scenarios are evident in the segmented assimilation argument: growing acculturation and parallel integration into the middle class societies, permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass, and a deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity. Second generation migrants are located mainly in these three segments.

Notwithstanding the controversies surrounding the applicability of the assimilation theory to contemporary migrants, immigrants' adaptation to different cultures remains an under-studied phenomenon. Moreover, the theory fails to acknowledge that certain dynamics in one migrant cohort do not have a universal meaning. However, applying the knowledge of the assimilation debate provided this study with an interesting background in terms how ethnic groups come to share common cultural values or how repulsion and fragmentation takes place.

#### **2.4 Multiculturalism Theory**

Hitherto, not all migrants' experiences in host countries are that of assimilation. Some migrants prefer to actively maintain their home cultural identities while remaining within their host countries. This situation leads to multiculturalism in the receiving country. Koopmans and Statham (1999) assert that owing to international conventions providing migrants with rights to their own cultures, thus giving rise to migrants pushing for cultural recognition in the host countries, the resultant scenario is multiculturalism. Without migrants' integration into majority cultures, transnationalism instead of multiculturalism may result. Nevertheless, the assumption of this study is both transnationalism and multiculturalism have a significant impact on how migrants identify themselves.

Conceptualising multiculturalism invokes three distinct uses – a demographic descriptor, as a set of norms and as government policy – in political demographics (Calma, 2007). Although the term multiculturalism is too broad to be conceptualised within demographic circles only, it is concisely defined by Sardar and Van Loon (2004:123) as “the common notion that describes

diverse races living in pluralistic harmony ... it sees diversity as plurality of identities and as a condition for human existence.” It is important to specify here that multicultural diversity is not only in terms of race. The use of the expression “plurality of identities” in this definition opens the term up to a multiplicity of factors other than race, as people are identified by, in addition to race, ethnicity, nationality, language and religious affiliations among other factors.

Indeed, multiculturalism in South Africa, owing to Zimbabwean migrants, is a result of multiple factors. South Africa has been a destination for temporary migrants from Zimbabwe for a period that dates back the country’s apartheid days. Cross border migrants would come in and return to Zimbabwe, but return migration is no longer a common feature. In Makina’s (2012) quantitative survey of Zimbabweans living in South Africa, which explored the determinants and probability of their returning to their country of origin, the findings reveal that the likelihood of migrants returning home will increase if political and economic stability is achieved. Indeed, two thirds of the respondents to his survey revealed that they would return home should there be political and economic stability there. Makina is also of the view that prolonged stays in the host country by Zimbabweans are owing to the fact they have managed to maintain strong transnational ties with their societies of origin, which in itself gives rise to multiculturalism in South Africa.

## **2.5 Foucault’s “Theory” of Governmentality**

The choice of the term governmentality to describe a theory, from all the terms Foucault coined, was in the context of this study for heuristic reasons. The term, as it is explained here, seems to encapsulate most of the main ideas Foucault raises that are related to identity. It is very important to point out at this early stage that Foucault himself disliked calling his ideas theories, but rather referred to them as tools, techniques and mechanisms, in their fragmented forms, which scholars or individuals can draw upon to understand human phenomena at a particular historical juncture. The term theory, as adopted in this study, simply means a set of ideas that can be used as points of departure, if not as lenses through which human activities can be looked at. While theories can be restrictive, as interpretations can only be done within the tenets of their central postulates, this study cautiously approaches Foucault’s ideas inasmuch as they relate to reading narratives of identity construction within the broader postmodern and post-structural realm of interpretation.

Governmentality, in Foucault's conceptualisation, refers to how a state exercises control over people through neoliberal means (Taylor, 2011). One bone of contention in the theory of governmentality is power. In ideas of governmentality, the state manages its people effectively by instilling in them, through disciplinary institutions such as the military, schools, prisons, hospitals, etc., sets of normalised beliefs and values from which individuals draw upon to self-regulate. This decentralisation of power creates micro-powers in society: hence power becomes omnipresent and is bestowed right down to individuals themselves. In Foucault's own words this type of control culminates into a prototype of exercise of power where "We are never dealing with a mass, with a group, or even to tell the truth, with a multiplicity, we are only ever dealing with individuals" (Foucault, 2006a:75).

For Foucault, governmentality results in biopower, which is the subjugation of individuals in society through influencing them to follow prescribed methods of behaviour. Biopower is instigated on individuals for positive reasons, however, like the preservation of lives. An example of this power would be the state's use of institutions in society to encourage people to abstain from sex and or to adhere to one sexual partner with sole aim of preserving lives. Such discourses, emanating from the state, can become ubiquitous, their sources may become difficult to even trace and they can be deeply engrained in a nation psychic, reaching their zenith when individuals claim authorship of those ideas. When this happens, the state will have managed to micromanage the lives of its citizens.

Foucault's notion of micro-powers in society can be understood through his analogy with the model prison, the Panopticon. Through architectural means, the Panopticon is an annular building with cells occupied by one inmate at a time surrounding a central structure housing the prison guards. This type of a prison is designed in such a way that prisoners cannot see whether the central structure has a guard watching them or not. This, coupled with the fact that the inmates are kept visible all the time using both natural lighting and artificial lighting from the central tower, compels the prisoners be at their best behaviour all the time. The feeling by the prisoners of being watched without knowing who is watching them thus compels them to internalise the mechanism's desired set of conduct (Taylor, 2011). Similarly, the state exercises control over people through surveillance mechanisms to instill in the people what the state deems normal. People behave accordingly, not knowing who is watching them, to the extent that there is a blurring of sovereign power, disciplinary power and an individual's autonomy. Following the arguments on the state's subtle but significant distribution of power, it is not far-

fetched to acknowledge that individuality and individual identities are products of this power (Taylor, 2011). In a similar vein, Littlejohn and Foss (2005:331) writing on Foucault's ideas conclude that this "disciplinary power or the prescription of standards of correct behaviour....will shape who we are and how we think".

Foucault further explains governmentality through the notion of technologies of power, which are utilised in the creation of knowledge. In technologies of power, power is exercised through the control of how knowledge is produced, whose voice and interests are normalised. According to Grbich (2007:147), "Foucault exposed the manner in which the state had created the powerful discourses of 'madness' and 'sexuality'... filtered down (these ideas) to the population" through both sovereign and disciplinary power. Through technologies of power, the state is able to disseminate information, which individuals can then use to normalise certain sexual behaviours and shun others that are deemed contrary to what is purported as acceptable and normal. For Foucault, sexuality and even gender identity, then, is not inherent in human beings as a naturally given attribute, but is rather socially constructed through discourses. The social construction of sex and sexuality is also, according to Foucault, historical specific, that is to say, at every historical juncture certain forms of sexuality are normalised and permissible. Gender identity, therefore, is fluid and always in flux. A number of feminists have appropriated Foucault's ideas, as in the work of Judith Butler. Following Foucault, Butler (1990) argues that biological endowments are neither the foundation of sexuality nor of gender identity. Instead, gender identity is socially constructed through powerful discourses that serve as normative and regulatory frameworks for sex and sexuality.

According to Rabinow (1991:258) governmentality in the Foucauldian sense is also exercised by the state through the "right of death and power over life". More succinctly, this type of power is explained by Taylor (2011:41) as both biopower, the power which takes hold of human life, and sovereign power, as "the right to take life or let live". In reading Foucault, Rabinow (1991) suggests that the state exercises the right to give life to its subjects, or to take it away in various ways. When the state is under attack, it sends its citizens to the war front and, most probably, to meet their untimely death. Apart from waging wars, the state would also directly exercise power over life through the death penalty, the right to take life from those who have contravened the statutes of the sovereign. Sovereignty is the power that deduces and takes away not only life, but holds sway over lives in bondage, in slavery and in poverty. Following

this line of thought, the state has immense power to either enable prosperity or to impoverish its subjects.

For Foucault, the state is responsible for three levels of power developed over time, namely sovereign power, where criminals are punished based solely on the crime; disciplinary power, where power is exerted towards the criminal's character, living conditions and psychological state; and biopower, where power is no longer targeted at the individual but at crime rates, populations and demographic groups (Taylor, 2011). In summation, the state has refined its power to manage and control individuals and groups in society in such a way that each evolutionary level takes from its predecessor.

## **2.6 Post-Feminism and Engendered Migrants**

Since this study aims to investigate women migrants' identity creation/recreation and negotiation/re negotiation, it will be great injustice to ignore feminism movements, both as possible lenses through which research data is interpreted and as central tenants for understanding women's lived experiences. The women in this study are the essential point of departure to warrant the inclusion of feminist literature. With a plethora of feminist politics tackling issues of patriarchy, male supremacy, sexism, and misogyny, and attempts by some feminist theories to replace the narrative of woman-as-housewife with woman-as-supermom, it is very important to sift through all these and focus only on those that are relevant to contemporary matters of femininity, or lack thereof. As Foucault (1984:344) in McRobbie (2007) observes, "now it's quite clear that the danger has changed." Feminism has indeed gone through disintegration, reintegration and deconstruction, making a strategic entry point into this body of knowledge is of paramount necessity.

Post-feminism, regarded in some literature as second and third wave feminism (Mann and Huffman, 2005), is the entry point this study used to access discourses of African feminisms. Mann and Huffman (2005) propose that third wave feminism is a new paradigm for framing and understanding the gender relations that have emanated from a critique of the inadequacies of the second wave. Their study explores the developments in feminist discourses and categorises the paradigm shifts into "waves". However, the term "wave" seems to problematise the developments in feminism as passing fads. While second wave feminism seems to be critical of feminist discourses, third wave is more concerned about incorporating new ideas but maintaining the same mainstream feminist ideologies (Mann and Huffman, 2005). These



divergent thoughts in the post-feminism literature allow the researcher to approach the data with an open mind.

McRobbie (2007) explores second wave feminism more extensively. Criticising the premature celebrations of feminism, she is of the view that women seem to be victims of the same policies that are in place to safe-guard the equal rights that feminists have been fighting for. McRobbie (2007:720) criticises the “post-feminist guise” of equality in education and workplaces, the “post-feminist masquerade” of women in consumer culture and “new sexual freedoms” accorded to women as major areas for patriarchal resurgences. Her main argument is that equality, as feminists have been fighting for, is an illusion that only exists in the minds of women. She argues that a critical look at this thin veil of this illusion shows a new system of managing women to the benefit of patriarchy. In a similar vein, Crossley (2010) further expounds on the post-feminist social movement and how young international women students at a college in London negotiate and resist feminist identities. Her findings reveal that transnationally mobile women do not identify themselves with feminism because of the negative image of feminism and the ambiguity of the meaning of feminism. The women in her sample stereotypically defined feminists as “lesbians” and “bra-burners”.

While the different waves of feminisms seem to have set the agenda for women’s issues in society, their ideas are not always applicable to different settings. In the interests of this study, the various strands of feminisms that are closer to the target population will be discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis. Ideas from mainstream feminisms and their different waves were introduced here because African feminisms seem to have emerged as reactionary measures to the inadequacies of western feminisms in addressing women’s challenges across different cultural backgrounds.

## **2.7 Emerging Femininities**

For the purposes of this study, speaking of emerging femininities is a way of highlighting the social construction of gender by Zimbabwean migrant women living in the metropolis. Gill and Scharff (2011) bemoan the tendency by scholars to study girls and women outside of the concept of femininity, while, in contrast, there is a wealth of information on masculinity. The lack of investigation into “hegemonic femininity”, as alluded to by Gill and Scharff (2011:2), means that this concept remains in obscurity, especially when pitted against masculinity.

However, the newness of femininities as discussed in this study is approached with caution, knowing fully well that it is a concept that is always in flux. For this reason, femininity is highlighted in the context of diaspora.

By way of definition, Brownmiller (2013) states that femininity as a socially constructed phenomenon that begins in childhood with parents or guardians buying their girl children specific toys, sets of clothes and sometimes lipstick, mainly to socialise them to take up specific roles in life. Biological femaleness is insufficient, therefore society, through the concerted efforts of members within socialising institutions, has to help women attain the feminine virtues of vulnerability, need for protection, compliance and avoidance of conflict (Gill and Scharff, 2011). As a socially constructed phenomenon, the journey to arriving at womanliness is rigid, full of dos and don'ts that are imposed on the female sex. Brownmiller (2013) further cautions that to be insufficiently feminine means to be mannish or unattractive, which is considered as a failure on the part of the female child, and this failure can even be extended to her whole family. Femininity forces on women a rigid code of appearance that appears like a strait jacket, symbolised by lipstick, high heels and polished dressing forming a mask that women wears in order to be accepted socially (Chowaniec, Phillips and Ryttonen, 2009). No human being is capable of functioning continuously under the imposed limitations of femininity, thus the notion of masquerade helps explain women's coping mechanism.

As a phenomenon that is constantly in flux, Gill and Scharff (2011) attribute the fluidity of femininity to, in more recent times, broader social issues of post-feminism, neoliberalism, subjectivity and transnationalism. They contend that these prevailing social circumstances are contributing to a new type of femininity. Reflecting on transnationalism and femininity, Bose (2011) interrogates films that focus on Indian diasporic space in the United States and England. Rose attempts to read how displacement adds to shifting patterns of sexualities and femininities as represented in these films. She traces how nostalgia about home contributes to the possibilities new diasporic sexualities. Her findings reveal that Indian diasporic films are framed at the interplay between urbanity, globality and the women's sexuality, feelings of nostalgia, memory, longing and a desire about home. She concludes that gendered sexual identity construction, or femininity, in the diasporic space is a difficult terrain to negotiate for the Indian women in the films, given the clashes between strict Indian traditions and a more liberal Western culture.

Furthermore, in elaborating how new femininities emerge, Erel (2011) investigates how migrant women from Turkey living in Britain and Germany are “challenging stereotypical views on femininities and family” (Gill and Scharff, 2011:230). Erel’s book chapter, based on empirical findings, explores how migrant women’s expressions and articulations of their sexual identities challenge the traditional normative views on womanliness in the Muslim culture. One of her interviewees articulates her distaste for heterosexual marriages and motherhood, arguing that such institutions contribute to the furtherance of capitalism. She prefers individuation and autonomy as means to undermine the pervasiveness of capitalism.

The Turkish migrants in Erel’s study face marginalisation, both at home and in their host countries, because of their views that challenge the notions of Turkishness and femininity, and the same time subvert eastern descriptions of the traditional Muslim woman. She concludes that, because of their identities, ascribed and self-articulated, Turkish women who challenge stereotypical views on femininity risk marginalisation at home and the dangers of not being fully integrated, even in Western liberal societies. Similarly, Kim (2011) explores the figure of the *Missy* among the young Korean married women. The young Korean married women prefer to be addressed as *Missy*, a term that emerged from a media frenzy created by an advertising campaign, rejecting the traditional title *Adjumma* because of its associated connotations of domesticity and dependence (Kim in Gill and Scharff, 2011:147). The *Missy* title in the Korean social sphere refers to a young married woman who wants to look, dress and behave like an unmarried woman. In the same way the Turkish women resist marriage, the Korean women reject the title for married women associated with marriage and dependency.

Simone de Beauvoir (1949), in *The Second Sex*, is one of the key theorists to tackle the issue of femininity. For Beauvoir, there are two main methods of subjective becoming or modes of experiencing and relating to the world, namely, femininity and masculinity (Bjork, 2010). In this ontological stance on the issue of femininity, women are endowed with their own “paradox of subjectivity” (Bjork, 2010:41). According to Beauvoir, women, arguably “find themselves conditioned primarily as a determined being rather than a free becoming; as immanence more than transcendence, as the inessential in relation to the essential and as objects in relation to a superior subjectivity: man” (Bjork, 2010:41). It is thus impossible to understand femininity in its own right without making reference to masculinity. This comparison, then, shows that men and women are worlds apart in terms of their becoming and their beings. Moreover, the woman’s mode of becoming is often riddled with challenges.

Echoing similar views to those of Beauvoir, Schippers (2007) outlines three components that comprise femininity: the social location in which individuals, regardless of gender, can manoeuvre through performance; the set of practices pertaining to behaviours and characteristics associated with what it means to be feminine; and the social and cultural significance of the enactment of femininity. Both Beauvoir and Schippers agree that femininity is an attribute of lived experience rather than a biological one. Since femininity is a result of certain performances and practices, both men and women are free to adopt those set of practices. The adoption of such practices and performances, by a man or a woman, has certain cultural and social consequences.

## **2.8 African Femininity**

Nervous conditions were added to the narrative of African societies when African femininity was compared to the Western forms by defining it through the lenses of Western masculinity and comparing it to patriarchy. Africa has, and is still, going through tumultuous times of colonialism, imperialism, violence, wars, post-colonialism and more recently globalisation, for example, that what then emerges is a melting pot of femininities. Perhaps it is important to start by distinguishing African femininity from other forms, especially Western femininity. According to Akudinobi (2005:135), African femininity, in European films is depicted as a “masquerade ... a guise” and as “a nexus of needs and desires”. As a masquerade, African femininity is constructed in through the colonialists’ unconscious and sometimes perverted desires. The films examined by Akudinobi (2005) present African femininity as a counterfeit construct aspiring to be as close to the original Western femininity as possible. This is because, in the films, native African women are being taught to adopt Western values in order for them to satisfy the desires of the colonialist.

Perhaps an interesting starting point to the contextualisation of African femininity is the issue of female circumcision. Female circumcision is central to the social construction of African femininity in so many ways, and chief among them is the idea of defining a woman’s entrance into womanhood – a construct valorised in the societies in which the practice is prevalent. Whether the women undergo female circumcision out of their own volition or not is an issue that this section is not concerned with. What is of concern here is how female circumcision comes to be associated with African femininity despite the fact that it is confined to relatively

few societies. Perhaps the entrance of female circumcision into the discourses of African femininity is based on the intersection of the two regarding female sexuality.

Alternatively, it might be because female circumcision and African femininity share a common fate of arousing much debate. Indeed, it is because of such controversy that Nnaemeka (1994:4) in defence of the practice argues that “some women undergo breast reduction for some of the reasons that some young girls undergo clitoridectomy – to be more attractive, desirable, and acceptable. For the women in areas where clitoridectomy is performed, beauty is inextricably linked with chastity and motherhood.” The comparison of female circumcision to the Western practice of breast reduction is meant to silence dissenting voices concerning this aspect of African femininity. Such central aspects of African femininity have become subjects for international condemnation, especially when read out of context, where the problem might not be the customs per se, but rather the lenses through which these practices are looked at:

.... the local has become a global concern, “female circumcision” has become “female genital mutilation” (FGM), and a “traditional practice” has become a “human rights violation.” Under that gaze of international attention, the issue of female “circumcision” has come to constitute a site for a number of emotionally charged debates around cultural relativism, international human rights, racism and Western imperialism, medicalization, sexuality, and patriarchal oppression of women, resulting in an onslaught of discussion and writing on the topic (Shell-Duncan and Herlund, 2000:1).

The image of the black woman is distorted, not only by colonialists’ and imperialists’ stereotypical representations, but also by the narrow frameworks by which African femininity is constructed. Indeed, imperial and colonial fictions present complicated and problematic relationships as emblematic African femininity. As a result, the scope of the representation of African femininity shrinks to a mere focus on the sexuality of the black woman, whose sexual drive is often seen with subscription, as mysterious as “as bewitching sexuality enticing yet abhorrent,” “libidinal quicksand,” as enigmatic and “as an object of sensational investigation and voyeuristic mystification” (Akudinobi, 2005:136). Indeed, the black female sexuality is often depicted as shrouded in mystery. The fascination with black female sexuality is epitomised by the infamous story of Sara Baartman’s objectification, the exhibition and commodification arising from her breast, buttocks and genitalia. The black female sexual organ

is often separated from the rest of her body and scrutinised in this manner, and such objectification marks an endless string of the subjugation of the black woman. These discourses then build on to the construction African femininity.

However, through the lens of the African writer, African femininity is constructed quite differently from those images coming out of colonial literature. For instance, in Tsitsi Dangarembga's classic novel, *Nervous Conditions*, her character Tambu is able to overcome "the poverty of blackness on one side and the weight of womanhood on the other" (Dangarembga, 1988:16) through sheer determination. The whole narrative is about Tambudzai, the protagonist, who, growing up in a poor rural Zimbabwe, manages to carve her path into stability in life, both physiologically and psychologically. She overcomes both her brother's and her father's incessant relegation of the female members of the family into his bigoted type femininity. It is quite clear that both the brother's and father's prejudices against women are not representative of the Shona culture, as Tambu is eventually helped by men to realise her dreams of getting an education. In the whole novel, the women are portrayed being engaged in economic activities, in some cases where the man of the house has failed to do so, for the benefit of the whole family. Strikingly evident is the sharp contrast between Tambu, who remained sensitive to her traditional values, and Nyasha, her cousin, whose "Englishness" (Dangarembga, 1988:207) drove her into a nervous breakdown. African femininity here is associated with stability, emotional balance and resilience.

## **2.9 Conclusion**

This chapter introduced and analysed some of the existing theoretical frameworks underpinning migration studies. The chapter discussed the structuration, assimilation and multiculturalism theories of migration. After sifting through these migration theories, their suitability to bring to the fore the nuances of identity creation/recreation, negotiation and re-negotiation of Zimbabwean women migrants was deemed questionable. Foucault's ideas of governmentality and post-feminism notions were then also discussed as possible solutions to the lapses in migration theories to providing lenses through which the narratives of Zimbabwean women migrants can be approached. When this did not seem plausible, the chapter argued for a paradigm shift in the understanding of migrant experiences. Hence, this chapter has advocated a theoretical framework that is context-specific in order to capture the nuances of the migrant women's experiences. However, the insights borrowed from the theories discussed in this section will present an informed starting point for the development

of the theoretical framework that this study will use to understand Zimbabwean migrant women's experiences.

## CHAPTER THREE

### LITERATURE REVIEW

*Advocates of the usefulness of the concept of diaspora argue that it opens up avenues for understanding processes in the post-modern world, a world of transnationalism, of travelling, of cross-culture borrowing and of mixed, hybrid cultures (Manger and Assal, 2006:7).*

#### 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided an explanation of the theories that this study uses to approach the notion of identity negotiations. The study draws largely from three major migration theories, namely, structuration theory, assimilation theory and multiculturalism theory, and from Foucault's theory of governmentality. As already been established, the existing theories do not seem to provide the necessary lenses for understanding the intricacies of the identity negotiations of Zimbabwean women migrants in a city characterised by the polar opposite possibilities of opportunity and despair, abject poverty and affluence, marginality and security, connectivity and isolation. Chapter two thus ended with a proposal to develop a framework for understanding identity negotiations, catering for some of the nuanced experiences the migrant women may have in the metropolis. This chapter presents a review of literature relevant to the concept of identity negotiations of black Zimbabwean women in the metropolis of Johannesburg and how local print media, through othering, ascribing and writing, contribute to the concept under exploration.

Literature on transnationalism and identity negotiations of Zimbabwean migrants is often found in the newly emerging narratives of diaspora, mainly in Britain. Many scholars have deemed the Zimbabwean communities outside the borders of Zimbabwe, especially those living in Britain, as new African diasporas (Koser, 2003; McGregor and Primorac, 2010; Pasura, 2008), which are highly fractured and politicised (McGregor 2010, Pasura 2008). However, the South African context presents a different scenario with regards to Zimbabwean migrants, mainly because of the close proximity between the sending and the host country. This chapter explores literature on transnationalism of Zimbabwean migrants in both South Africa and the UK. The two countries present an interesting juxtaposition as they have both become popular destinations for Zimbabwean migrants (McGregor and Primorac, 2010). A



review of studies done on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa and other parts of the world is needed to establish what is already in existence in the body of literature about the phenomenon of transnationalism as it relates to Zimbabwean nationals in other countries.

### **3.2 The Discursive Construction of the Zimbabwean National Identity**

A national identity, idealised or enshrined in tangible objects like national symbols and artifacts, foregrounds individual identities because people incorporate national identities into their personal identities by adopting “nationally defined” beliefs, values, assumptions and expectations (Morrow, 2007). According to Castells (2010:30), nationalism is a widespread reconstruction of identity on the basis of nationality usually as a defensive mechanism against the threats of “the globalization of the economy and the internationalization of political institutions; the universalism of a largely shared culture...” on national identities. Paradoxically, globalising forces did not have the anticipated impact on national identities, which was the homogenising effect. Instead, there has been the affirmation of a type of nationalism that is independent of nation states, political boundaries and sovereignty. In other words, one does not really have to be residing within the country to be influenced by its nationalism. National identities, real or imagined, are political and cultural constructs that induce a sense of belonging through a shared experience, a shared narrative and a shared history.

With regards to the emergence of a national identity, Castells (2010:34) quotes Rubert de Ventos (1994), who suggests a four series historical interaction. These four series are, “primary factors (ethnicity, territory, language and religion) ....., generative factors (development related such as communication technologies) ....., induced factors....., and reactive factors.” This explanation seems plausible, for the main reason that it is fluid and emerges from a number of factors. This segment of the thesis explores some of the pertinent factors leading to the emergence of the contested, constituted and socially constructed Zimbabwean national identity.

Zimbabwe’s national identity is constructed and contested, albeit discursively, out of a number of national discourses, myths and symbols. National identity speaks of a broad concept that brings the citizens of a nation together to commonly identify with a social artefact, imagined or real, and thus the citizens are inspired and find an anchor or a pivot in life. According to Ravengai (2010), a national identity is an abstract concept that encompasses any myths, stories

and beliefs that are propagated by ruling elites to justify their staying in power. The Nehanda myth, the history of colonialism, political discourses, ethnicity, language and tribalism are some of the social artefacts from which Zimbabweans collectively draw their inspiration and thus a sense of national identity.

The Nehanda myth is one of the profound political and religious symbols instrumental in constructing the Zimbabwean national identity. It arose in the first Chimurenga war against white settlers in then Southern Rhodesia, when a woman by the name of Charwe wokwa Hwata, the spirit medium of Nehanda (the female spirit believed to bring rain and fertility to the land) was executed by the British South African Company (BSAC) in conspiracy with the British Imperial Army on Wednesday, the 27<sup>th</sup> of April 1898 on treason and, later, murder charges (Charumbira, 2013). It is from this execution that the myth of Mbuya Nehanda was birthed, and the memory of it has persisted at each juncture in the historiography of Zimbabwe.

The Nehanda spirit was used by the liberation war fighters as source of inspiration, as they invoked it many times for their protection, even holding the belief that victory against colonial settlers was assured as long as the spirit was with them. The ruling party then sensationally invoked the Nehanda symbolism to legitimise their political control, labeling any dissent as turning away from the spirit of Mbuya Nehanda (Charumbira, 2013; Ranger, 2004). Such betrayals are not only seen by the ruling party as treasonous, but also an act of losing one's identity. The Nehanda myth is thus constantly propagated into the nation's psychic through the ideological state apparatuses available to the ruling elites, such as schools and the state controlled media, to the extent of becoming a hegemonic source of national identity.

The soapstone birds from Great Zimbabwe and the Great Zimbabwe ruins also have been national symbols whose contested meanings have been used to define nationalism and perpetuate the belief in sacred leadership, albeit with a 21<sup>st</sup> century twist (Huffman, 2014). Both the soapstone birds and ruins are discussed here as symbols with historical and geographical ties to the country. The Great Zimbabwe Ruins is composed of massive stonewalls from which the name of the country is derived. Its popularity as a national monument and a site for tourist attraction further endorses its usefulness by the ruling elites to compel the people of Zimbabwe to accept their leadership. The soapstone birds, represented in an iconic symbol on the national flag, on the coats of arms and on the banknotes, were once

sold to colonialists, ending up on foreign shores. The last half of the soapstone was returned to Zimbabwe from Germany in 2003 and was received with pomp and appraisal, with chiefs believing that the avenging spirits within the birds contributed to their return. The meanings attached to these symbols are carefully crafted and propagated into the Zimbabwean society as part of a national identity to form part of what Ranger (2004) calls nationalist historiography.

In most African societies a national identity is birthed from history, and national struggles against colonial settlers. During the colonial era, a national identity was born out of the struggle to fight against a common enemy, fighting for freedom and fighting to take back the land, which was and still is the national heritage. The fighter identity permeated every sector of the society as people began experiencing the pinch of land dispossession. However, in the post-colonial Zimbabwe, the fighter identity still serves as a national identity, but is accessible only through historiography. The contestation of this national historiography, depending on who is telling the history and for what purpose, leads to multiple and sometimes conflicting national identities. The 'patriotic history' is propagated by the ruling elite through television, speeches, youth militia camps and re-written history books (Ranger, 2004) to indoctrinate the loyalist and unquestioning agenda into the national psychic. Once this is achieved, a national identity of revolutionary zealots, eulogising the liberation war heroes, while blind to the current situation will be produced. The ruling party, ZANU-PF, is set on maintaining its version of national memory (Ravengai 2010). Those who receive the revolutionary gospel are then identified as patriotic, while those who criticise are regarded as sell-outs or puppets of the West.

Since a national identity is a socially constructed, and sometimes is even an imagined, concept, the area of construction itself resembles that of a battlefield. Ravengai (2010) calls the site of national identity contestations the political theatre. In Zimbabwe, the political theatre is dominated and controlled by the ruling party. The creative space in Zimbabwe is a contested arena where a national identity and nationalism are constructed, questioned, challenged and sometimes accepted. A national identity, then, becomes a broad term defining what speech is permissible and what not (Ravengai, 2010) is. Owing to the unbalanced nature of the creative space, the ruling party has used its political muscle to propagate a Zimbabwean national identity that is synonymous with ancestral purity. The dominant ideology then means that for anyone to lay claim to the Zimbabwean heritage, be it in the form of land, voting rights or simply participation into politics, one's ancestors had to be purely Zimbabwean. This ideology resulted in the infamous land reform in Zimbabwe, because white commercial farmers were

not seen as having the ancestral lineage to tie them to the land that they had acquired during the colonial period. This discourse of ancestral purity still serves the ruling party's populists propaganda, and therefore it is given much attention on the political theatre.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) asserts that as an imagined, constituted and constructed project, national identity produces equally constructed social and political artifacts and national symbols. The national anthem is one such artifact serving as a source of Zimbabwean national pride. The current national anthem's text was written by the late Solomon Mutswairo and the music was composed Fred Changundega to replace an anthem for Africa as continent (Mutemererwa, *et al.* 2013). The national anthem, as a mirror image of the Zimbabwean national identity, eulogises the history of Zimbabwe's liberation war and encapsulates the struggles of the people, arousing feelings of national pride, identity and belonging (Mutemererwa, *et al.* 2013). Vambe and Khan (2009) quoted by Mutemererwa *et al.* (2013) explain the phrase from the Zimbabwean national anthem, *yakazvarwa nemoto wechimurenga, neropa zhinji ramagamba*, translated as 'Zimbabwe was born out of the fire of the liberation war, and a lot of blood of the heroes spilled', as pointing to the painful memories of the sacrifices made by the gallant fighters to liberate the country from the grips of the colonial oppressors. The text from the Zimbabwean national anthem quoted here reflects the act of sacrifice that birthed the country, of which the citizens are constantly reminded.

However, the Zimbabwean national anthem is not the only reminder of the suffering and the struggles of the nation. In post-colonial and post-independent times, the lived realities are tell their own story. In her book, *Though the Darkness: A life in Zimbabwe*, the former prime minister of Zimbabwe Sir Garfield Todd's daughter, Judith Todd, chronicles the vile evils and atrocities perpetrated on the citizens of Zimbabwe by the ZANU-PF regime since independence in 1980. Todd (2007) chronicles the disappearance of journalists, when they were taken for re-education in Mozambique, the tortures and killings of civilians in the *Gukurahundi* massacres in Matabeleland, and the sporadic intimidations across the country of citizens. The atrocities committed on Zimbabweans by state agencies have created a nation of victims. Sadly, even the former prime minister's daughter is not spared the evil that is entrenched in the national psychic; she tells, in her autobiography, of being raped by a brigadier in Mugabe's cabinet because she opposed the *Gukurahundi* massacres:

“The brigadier led me into a bedroom, opened a bottle of beer for each of us, unstrapped his firearm in its holster, laid it on the bedside table next to my head and proceeded. I did not resist. Before long the subjugation was over, he dropped me back at our offices and I tried to continue on my road precisely as if nothing had happened” (Todd 2007:51).

This happened, according to Todd (2007), a day after she coincidentally met the late Rex Nhongo, who was at the time the Army Commander Lieutenant General, and she had professed her knowledge of the situation in Matabeleland, which the regime thought to be classified information. Rex Nhongo is Solomon Mujuru, the former vice president, Joyce Mujuru’s husband, who was later (15 August 2011) found burnt beyond recognition in his farm house. The circumstances surrounding his death remain mysterious, but it is widely believed to be the work of the regime’s state agencies. Judith Todd’s memoir chronicles the atrocities, genocides, violence, intimidation, silencing of dissenting voices, and betrayals as part of the country’s history and national identity.

### **3.3 The Tractability of Transnational Identity Negotiations in a Globalising World**

Transnationalism and identity in the era of intense globalisation can be understood by tracing the previous eras that provided the infrastructure for the emergence of cosmopolitanism and universal civilisation (Palmer, 2003). To do this, pre-modernity, modernity and post-modernity, as eras that preceded globalisation, need to be considered. To understand their contribution towards the rise of globalisation, the philosophical epochs that shaped how the world was viewed in the eras are also discussed to give a comprehensive background to globalised identity formation.

Pre-modernism describes a philosophical world view before modernism, premised on the co-existence of the natural and the supernatural. Epistemologically, faith and mysticism were the bases for explaining the causes of natural events (Hicks, 2004). During this philosophical epoch, sacred authority as opposed to secular authority was the moral guiding principle of behaviour. Religion played a central role in shaping both individual and collective identities, and human beings were generally viewed as altruistic.

Following the pre-modernity age was modernity, sometimes regarded as the age of Enlightenment. Modernity is an era that propelled us into the age of globalisation (Macionis and Plummer, 2008). Giddens (2002) describes modernity as a term that summarises the steady progress, punctuated by distinct phases, of societies from as early as primitive civilisations to modern ages characterised by industrialisation and capitalism. Of importance in this study is to establish what constitutes modernity, as these are elements that laid the structural conditions for the alleged pervasive nature of globalisation. According to Giddens (1991:2) “modernity is a post-traditional order”. This assertion, read in the light of what other scholars (Macionis and Plummer, 2008; Giddens, 2002; Cohen and Kennedy, 2000) have written about the institutional conditions encouraged by modernity, means that industrialisation, urbanisation and institutions of democracy, for instance, have eroded the traditional units of family, kinship, clanship. Modernity then replaced nucleic social institutions with broader and more complicated unifying agents of civic organisations, democratic institutions, unions and neighbourhood clusters in urban centers. In other words, modernity fragmented individuals in societies to re-group them at another level. In the same manner, globalisation destroyed distinct and well-defined, geographically bound culturally sustaining connections and replaced these with global clusters of individuals who share some common interests (Tomlinson, 2003).

Furthermore, Hicks (2004) describes the elements of modernity as universal and absolute truth, objective knowledge, reason and progress. The philosophical worldview that emerged during the age of modernity was regarded as modernism. Epistemologically, knowledge was based on objectivism, empiricism and science. From the epistemological grounding of modernism, metanarratives such as structuralism, capitalism, individualism, patriarchy, liberalism, science and technology emerged (Hicks, 2004). Of importance to the era of globalisation were the products of modernity in the form of major technological advancements that provided the infrastructure for linking humanity across the globe into a single cultural hub.

Of the three philosophical epochs, postmodernism is closest to humanities and related professions. As an era, postmodernity is the latest. However, postmodernity is so overreaching, that mentioning its position in history is just one way of simplifying this complex era. An understanding of postmodernity can also be accessed by identifying its proponents. Hicks (2004) notes the familiar postmodern vanguard, including Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jean-Francois Lyotard and Richard Roty. These familiar forerunners of postmodernism view structure, reason and truth to be constrictive and they advocate harnessing of power for social

change. Postmodernism encourages people to question existing power structure and to confront the social and political ills of the time.

Postmodernism is also a critique of modernism and structure and is sometimes referred to as poststructuralism. Postmodernists challenge ideas of the norm, universal truth, the binary distinctions of elements in society and the structures that form elements of modernity, as captured in Lyotard's (1984) definition of postmodernism as incredulity towards metanarratives. This simply translates to skepticism towards objective truth. Moreover, the postmodern vanguard saw not only see the collapse of grand narratives, but also the flourishing smaller narratives.

Epistemologically, postmodernism hinges on skepticism about the overreaching power of reason, science and universal truth to solve all the ills men encounter (Hicks, 2004). Michel Foucault quoted by May (1993:2) challenges the premises of modernity when he says "It is meaningless to speak in the name of -- or against -- Reason, Truth, or Knowledge," thus emphasising the postmodern assumption that narratives or stories are subject to different interpretations. There is no basis for refuting or accepting one's interpretation, and the whole notion of truth is subjective. Postmodernism is thus premised on a rejection of the power of grand narratives, or "the danger of a single story" to use the Nigerian storyteller Chimamanda Ngozi Andichie's words (Andichie, 2009).

In terms of identity, then, the postmodernists agree that who we are is a result of the intersection of systems, structures and threads, whose weaves form not a single pattern, but a myriad of complicated patterns. As an individualised project, postmodern identity is characterised by "pulsating desire and frenetic depthless-ness ... (and the era is also characterised by) cultural dispersal, discord and disillusionment" (Elliott and Du Gay, 2009:xiii). From a postmodern and poststructuralist perspective, therefore, identity emerges as result of the external influences of the symbolic systems of the prevailing structural and systemic formations (Bauman, 2009; Tomlinson, 2003; Palmer, 2003; De Burgh-Woodman, 2012). There are no longer absolute truths or grand narratives to explain identity formations. Another aspect that deserves attention in the concept of identity construction/deconstruction, which also overlaps with both modernity and postmodernity, is globalisation.

In more recent times, globalisation seems to be an extension of both modernity and postmodernity in a number of ways. Firstly, globalisation is explained here not as an ideology, but rather the process of structuring economies, societies, institutions and cultures, among factors (Castells, 2006). As an extension of modernity, globalisation is a process that can be seen to be linking nation states that were previously demarcated and separated from each other during modernity. Political boundaries and the formation of nation states were both products of modernity and are, when interpreted in the postmodernity era, methods of governmentality. Moreover, the infrastructures that enable real-time communication and information sharing, wealth production on a worldwide scale are elements of modernity.

Yet the relationship between globalisation and postmodernity is more intricate and complicated than being merely a historical process; indeed there are no clear-cut demarcations of when one began and when the other ended. Moreover, while postmodernism challenges the cultural homogenising power of globalisation as one of the myths of today, the influence of the globalising agents on individuals and collective identities cannot be ignored. Understanding identity in the era of intense globalisation from a postmodern point of view is thus to accept the assumption that everything is possible and that identities are at best socially constructed or at worst mere inventions (Castells, 2006). Moreover, Postmodernism challenges metanarratives, such the cultural imperialism thesis based on the assumption that globalisation destroys identities (Tomlinson, 2003). In line with this postmodern point of view, then, alongside this grand narrative, there would be smaller narratives that would serve to subvert and even challenge the assumed seamless extension globalisation.

Exploring how personal identities are viewed, in view of modernism and postmodernism, and in the era of globalisation, shows divergent ideas of a polemic nature. These views are synonymous with the polemic debates of the globalisation, cosmopolitan and liberalism (Cowen, 2002) versus the anti-cosmopolitan, anti-liberal and anti-cosmopolitan agendas (Palmer, 2003) that are characteristic in today's academic circles. While the anti-globalists critique believes that globalisation and cosmopolitanism are hardly new phenomena, (Tomlinson, 2003; Palmer, 2003; De Burgh-Woodman, 2012), with little or no influence on personal identity, critics of the increasing freedom of trade and movement are of the view that globalisation and cosmopolitanism destroy local differences and contribute to the loss of personal identities (Friedman, 2000; Lane and Husemann, 2008; Castells, 2010). Palmer (2003), however, furthers the opinion that humanity is fully compatible with globalisation and



that personal identities thrive well in a world of increasing cosmopolitanism. The anti-globalists, like the postmodernists, refute the homogenising power of globalisation. While acknowledging the enabling nature of globalisation for greater cultural exchange, postmodernists reject the obliterating power of cosmopolitanism on individual identities. They argue that human beings are intelligent enough to live in a globalised world while maintaining their individual identities. If anything happens to the individual's identity, it can only be mutation, of which the individual is in control.

De Burgh-Woodman (2012) presents a postmodern interpretation of the self/other nexus in the era of globalisation. Analysing the literary work of the nineteenth-century writer, Pierre Loti, de Burgh-Woodman emphasises the glocalism of individual identities in the age of globalisation. She refutes the homogenising effect of globalisation on individual identities, rather furthering the view that identities are forged somewhere in between, and not from a position of certainty. This paper furthers a very important postmodern trajectory of the re-evaluation, re-conceptualisation and the transformation of the self through constant interaction with the other in a globalised context. The influence of globalisation on the self-motif, de Burgh-Woodman (2012) interprets, is not a case of the individual absorbing from a tabula rasa state, but rather a give-and-take relationship, which cannot be explained in absolute terms. This postmodern approach, of glocalisation rather than globalisation, is sometimes criticised for its hesitancy and lack of boldness in establishing boundaries, choosing rather to focus on the in-between-ness of identity construction (de Burgh-Woodman, 2012; Kjeldgaard and Storgaard, 2010; Thompson and Arsel, 2004).

Similarly, Bauman (2009), moving beyond the modern/postmodern divide in identity construction and reconstruction, reflects on the melting pot identities in the age of globalisation. He advocates a move away from Erikson's pathological view of the identity crisis concept with its negative connotations and replaces it with his analogy of the melting of metals. Identities, like solids, are melted for the purposes of molding more useful, effective and better adapted tools to function in the globalisation era. Erikson's (1968:15) "identity crisis", when viewed in light of Bauman's (2009) arguments, speaks to a period of intense identity negotiations and re-negotiations, used to equip the individual for greater use in the globalising world.

The term identity crisis then loses its negative connotations, becoming a necessary period in an individual's life for defining and re-defining one's self for the purposes of adapting to the ever-

changing globalising world. Sarah Nuttal, in her paper titled “Stylizing the Self” echoes similar sentiments, speaking of the “jamming, remixing, and remaking” of identity, and of the “recalled and reworked (and) in turn cross-pollinated” (Nuttal and Mbembe, 2008:99) experiences of youth identity creation and recreation in a cosmopolitan social context. The self, in Nuttal’s (2008) study of the youth identity negotiations/re-negotiations, reinvents by remixing identity for the purposes of reinvigorating and self-stylising in order to fit the cosmopolitan environment of the metropolis.

### **3.4 The Popularity of South Africa as a Destination for Zimbabwean Migrants**

The practice of transnationalism is mostly embraced by Zimbabwean migrants in countries in southern Africa, mainly because of the shorter geographical distance between the home country and the host nation. Travelling between Zimbabwe and the host countries within southern Africa is relatively cheaper, compared to the fares migrants who are in other parts of the world; are expected to pay. This factor has encouraged transnationalism, where Zimbabwean migrants within the region find themselves belonging to more than one country. While other southern African countries, particularly those bordering Zimbabwe, have been popular destinations for Zimbabwean migrants, South Africa seems to be the most popular. About three million Zimbabweans are estimated to be living in South Africa, followed by about four hundred thousand in Botswana (Pasura, 2008). Various reasons, ranging from political, economic, social and historical, as to why South Africa is the preferred destination by Zimbabwean migrants have been cited by different scholar (McGregor, 2010; Pasura, 2008; Wright, 1995).

It is argued that most Zimbabwean labour migrants, professionals, traders and asylum seekers prefer South Africa over any other southern African country mainly because the two countries share a history of struggle against white minority and other, precolonial, connections of shared languages (McGregor, 2010). The relationship between the countries is deeply embedded in the fight against apartheid that was waged in South Africa and the liberation struggle against colonialism in Zimbabwe. Both countries and the citizens thereof played active roles in ensuring the success of the struggles. Moreover, while South Africa and South African homes were host to freedom fighters and war refugees during the liberation war in Zimbabwe, the same gesture was returned by Zimbabwe and Zimbabwean homes during the struggle against apartheid. It is this historical symbiotic relationship that Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa use to justify their presence in the host country.

Drawing on his own primary research and from a range of published researches, Pasura (2012) tabulates the history of international migration from Zimbabwe into five overlapping phases:

**Figure 2: Zimbabwe's Five Phases of Migration, 1960-present**

Period	Nature of emigrants	Number of emigrants	Destinations
1960-1979	Migration of political exiles, labour migrants to South Africa	210,000	Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Britain, South Africa
1972-1989	Flight of white Zimbabweans	142,000	South Africa, Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand
1982-1987	Ndebele migration	5,000	Botswana, South Africa and Britain
1990-1998	Migration of skilled Professionals	200,000	South Africa, Botswana, Britain, United States and Australia
1999-present	The great exodus	3-4 million	South Africa, Britain, Botswana, Australia, United States, Canada, New Zealand

Adapted from Pasura (2012)

The tabulation of the phases of international migration by Zimbabwean migrants simplifies an otherwise complex phenomenon of an ever increasing mass exodus of people of a single nationality. The mass emigrations from Zimbabwe were prompted by political uncertainty, the economic meltdown, ethnic violence and opening of global opportunities (Rutherford and Anderson, 2007; Ndlovu, 2010; McGregor, 2010; Muzondidya, 2010; Pasura 2012). The first phase of migration, as indicated in Table 1 above, was mainly the resultant of push factors regarding the liberation war against colonialism. This phase was marked by political exiles to surrounding southern African countries and beyond. The second phase commenced at the attainment of independence, where white Zimbabweans migrated out of fear of a black majority rule. The post-colonial civil war in Matebeleland then prompted the mass migration of

Zimbabweans of the Ndebele origin mainly, to South Africa, marking the onset of the third distinct migration phase. The shrinking of the economy of the 1990s, following the adoption of ill-informed economic structural adjustments models, prompted the migration of skilled professionals to greener pastures elsewhere outside Zimbabwe (Zinyama, 2000). These movements of professionals in the fourth phase were also a result of the opening of global opportunities. The last phase, deemed the great exodus, refers to the indiscriminate emigration of Zimbabweans regardless of race, gender, age, and social status, due to disgruntlement as a result of political instability, declining standards of living, economic downturn and spiralling unemployment (Pasura, 2012).

Moreover, many Zimbabweans are drawn to South Africa by the promises of a better future that the country's stable and growing economy offers. South Africa's growing economy is the only one in southern Africa that seems to offer the hope of the African dream and at the same time afford Zimbabwean migrants an opportunity to maintain ties with their homeland. Hope of improving their livelihoods, in a country whose culture, language and tradition is not completely alien, increases the likelihood of a Zimbabwean migrating to South Africa, rather than to any other country in the region. Moreover, it is a well-known fact that political boundaries instituted by colonisers divided people sharing the same languages and cultures, so crossing to either side makes little or no difference.

Thereafter, Zimbabweans living in South Africa have two choices, either they become assimilated into the host country or they become transnationals. Either way, there are consequences that the migrants have to constantly negotiate and re-negotiate. As McGregor (2010) points out, the close embeddedness of Zimbabweans in South Africa has produced frustrations and insecurities alongside opportunities. In her study on "the working conditions, uncertainties and anxieties that mark the social experience of the group of Zimbabweans who work on South African farms" (McGregor and Primorac, 2010:59), Blair Rutherford also reveals that Zimbabwean farm workers in Limpopo are constantly negotiating discursive practices of vulnerabilities, economies of survival, xenophobic sentiments and anthropologies of social sufferings.

Earlier scholars have stressed the structural forms of historical specificities in influencing the emergence of transnationalism and diaspora formation. In an interview with Kuan-Hsing Chen in 1992, Stuart Hall emphasises the historical conjectures that give rise to the creative energies

of specific diasporas (Morley and Chen, 1996). For instance, specific historical repertoires become underlying structural formations that encourage or dispel the creation of diaspora or transnational identities. In terms of South Africa, the post-apartheid era opened up a new dispensation for Zimbabweans diaspora and transnational formations (Muzondidya, 2010). Moreover, the liberalisation of the South African economy as a result of a black majority rule coincided with the onset of an economic downturn in Zimbabwe. Skilled professionals from Zimbabwe therefore migrated to South Africa in large numbers in a bid to escape the shrinking economy back home caused by economic structural adjustment programmes. Migration was further intensified by the politically induced economic meltdown between 2000 and 2008, when the then South African president Thabo Mbeki was in denial of crisis conditions in Zimbabwe (McGregor, 2010).

These particular historical specificities were further compounded by the era of intense globalisation, which catalysed accelerated mobility. Indeed globalisation and free market economies, which are characteristic of this era, gave rise to a particular breed of migrants with a constant dialectic relationship with their host countries. Nyamnjoh (2007) thus calls for scholarship to interrogate the dynamic historical immigration patterns and their impact on receiving communities. He contends that African politics and policies have to be informed by the findings of scholarly works on the prevailing patterns of migration.

In order to understand the patterns of migration in Africa, and specifically why South Africa became a popular migrant destination, it is important to borrow from neoclassical models of migration. A study by Wright (1995) refutes the applicability of the structuration model to the southern African context, rather endorsing the neoclassical theories, which suggest that movements of people within the region are mainly from non-capitalist economies to capitalist economies. According to this theory, migrants generally assess their earning capacities and search where there is greater value for their labour. Migration then becomes a calculated individual response to disparities in earning potentialities within the region and within individuals of the similar professions and qualifications. The capitalistic nature of the South African economy then is the major luring agent to migrants in the region, and owing to increasing pressure from their point of departure, more and more Zimbabwean migrants flock into South Africa with the hope of earning more money than would be possible in their home country.

However, South Africa's attractiveness is also subject to the evils of capitalism. Many proponents of the cheap labour thesis argue that the influx of Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa contributes to the exploitation of workers, both local and foreign. Rutherford (2010), in studying Zimbabwean farm workers in the Limpopo province of South Africa, found that many foreigners, out of desperation, cling on to their farm worker jobs regardless of the poor remuneration. This historical juncture is also characterised by the rise of migrants prone to exploitation as cheap labour and useful to prop capitalism (Wright, 1995; McGregor, 2007). Depending on an individual's entry point into the country's socio-structural pattern, migrants thus already place themselves into a specific stratum.

### **3.5 Xenophobia, Re-Imagining Identities**

Black foreign nationals in South Africa, mainly of the African origin, live in fear of xenophobic violence at the hands of vigilante groups in various townships of the country. Xenophobic violence, equated to the Rwandan genocide, is a pathological pogrom that has put South Africa in the spotlight from international communities each time such atrocities erupt (Neocosmos, 2008; Crush, 2000, Danso and McDonald, 2001). Xenophobia is defined as a "morbid dislike of foreigners" (*Perspectives*, 2008:2), the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers (Hussein and Hitomi, 2014), or, and as how most South Africans have come to understand it, the violent dislike of the *Makwerekweres*. In the wakes of the infamous xenophobic attacks of 2008 and the most recent ones between April and July 2015, the media, both national and international, across different platforms has been awash with horrific and graphic images of the brutalities against foreign nationals. The 2008 xenophobic violence left 62 people dead, including Mozambicans, Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Somalis and South African nationals.

The various spates of xenophobic violence in South Africa have resulted in several studies, which have attempted to unearth the underlying causes of such hatred for black foreigners. Some have attributed the attacks on foreigners to South Africa's history of violence and discrimination; fear of loss national identity; perceived threats, imagined or real, posed by foreigners to the resources, citizens and economic success of the country (Harris 2001); xenophobes' lack of knowledge about the migration; and any information about foreign nationals which in turn limits intercultural integration (Mogekwu, 2005).

Earlier (1990), Frantz Fanon traced the cause of xenophobia back to the post-independence chaos of lawless seizing of capital and the means of production by emerging indigenous elites from the departing Europeans. This situation wrought clear divisions between the indigenes and the perceived other, with the former being inclined to use violence to protect what they perceived as being theirs and the latter being on the receiving end of such atrocities (Fanon, 1990). This history of self-enrichment through obscene means seems to be embedded in the social fabric of South Africa; indeed, acts of xenophobia are now accompanied by looting of foreigners' goods, household or retail.

The current spate of morbid fear and anxiety towards black foreign nationals by black South Africans is alleged to mirror the same sentiments that whites had for blacks during the apartheid era (Danso and McDonald, 2001; Matsinhe, 2011). According to Fanon (1967:151), the "black man (was) a phobogenic object, a stimulus to anxiety" for whites' hatred for blacks. The black man was the victim of this anxiety, which was then meted to them in different ways and in different proportions, resulting in brutalisation and/or even murder, and racial segregation. Now, the victim has become the perpetrator. Black South Africans have become phobogenic unto fellow Africans, "hence Africa's fear of itself" (Matsinhe, 2011:295).

Many studies have highlighted the negative perceptions of black South Africans towards African immigrants to the country (Crush and Pendleton, 2007; Danso and McDonald, 2001; Matsinhe, 2011; Neocosmos, 2008). To many South Africans, white foreigners are either tourists or expatriates, while black foreigners are *Makwererekweres*, with all the negative connotations the term carries (Matsinhe, 2011; Danso and McDonald, 2001; Landau, 2006a; Hussein and Hitomi, 2014). Yet there is no tangible difference between black South Africans and other people from other parts of Africa except for language. The word *Makwererekwere* is then derived from this language difference: it mimics the way black foreigners speak, which to South Africans is the mere production of meaningless squeaky sounds (Siziba, 2013). Language is then used as a marker of identity; it distinguishes between insiders and outsiders, and is used to otherise the *Makwererekwers*.

As a marker of identity, language has had profound implications on how Zimbabweans negotiate and carve their identities when they enter South Africa. There are two main linguistic dialects that the Zimbabwean population uses, Shona and Ndebele. "The Ndebele-speaking Zimbabweans have linguistic and cultural affinity (which allows them) 'pass' as South

Africans in everyday interactions” (Polzer, 2008b, 20). Ndebele-speaking Zimbabweans, being Nguni language speakers, have much in common with South Africans of the Xhosa and Zulu language backgrounds. They share the same surnames and their languages share lexicon and meanings (Worby, 2010). Therefore Ndebele-speaking Zimbabweans easily adopt a local identity, and are assimilated into the communities. Some even cut ties with Zimbabwe completely. Shona-speaking Zimbabwean migrants, in contrast, find it hard to fit in and often remain isolated in the communities in which they choose to settle because of their linguistic handicap (Muzondidya, 2010; Sibanda, 2010; Ndlovu, 2010).

However the Ndebele/Shona dynamics do not just end with how they interact with South Africans. Siziba (2013:180) speaks of the “othering within the ‘Other other’ sub-group” as Zimbabweans bring their tribal rivals to South Africa, using language as a basis for such kind of hostility. Ndebele-speaking Zimbabweans feel more at home in South Africa because of their cultural and linguistic proximity – to the extent that they feel Shona-speaking Zimbabweans are the ones who are encroaching, and therefore have no right to be in the country (Siziba, 2013).

What is ironic about xenophobic attacks in South Africa is that they are directed towards black foreigners from neighbouring countries or from communities that xenophobes perceive to be economically and culturally backward (Hussein and Hitomi, 2014). Findings from the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) suggest that South Africans believe that black people from other countries steal their jobs, milk resources from South Africa to remit to their home countries, use the country’s welfare system and bring diseases (Crush and Pendleton, 2004). The *makwerekwere* image and stereotype, with all its dehumanising connotations, takes centre stage in the psychic of the xenophobes as they justify their actions by making scapegoating of the foreigners, blaming them for the rising unemployment (Nyamnjoh, 2006).

This situation poses the question: Who counts as a foreigner or an immigrant in the perceptions of South African xenophobes? To answer this question, Neocosmos (2008) traces the discourses of exceptionalism that are perpetuated and maintained by all citizens. The dominant ideology among South Africans is that South Africa is not really an African country and that “that its intellectual and cultural frame of reference is in the USA and Europe” (Neocosmos, 2008:590). The perceptions of South Africa as being exceptional to the rest of the continent stems from its relative industrialisation and infrastructural development compared to the other



African countries. Whereas the rest of other African countries are perceived to be primitive, backward, authoritarian, poverty-stricken, failed states, South Africa stands out as a beacon of democracy and reconciliation, and the discourses of exceptionalism, as they seem to fuel Afriphobia, are then held un-analytically and uncritically by South Africans.

Further to the discourses of exceptionalism, another aspect that seems to be contributing to xenophobia in South is the hegemonic idea of indigeneity (Hussein and Hitomi, 2014; Neocosmos, 2008). The post-apartheid South African political stance is to redress the economic imbalances the apartheid system created. In so doing, the government needs to identify the previously disadvantaged and disenfranchised indigenous people and come up with policies to bring these people up to par with the people who had benefited from the apartheid system. These initiatives, being good and ideal as it seems, are responsible for further entrenching exclusion, discrimination, and the othering of those deemed unqualified to benefit.

Indeed, Neocosmos (2008) warns of the dangers of the discourses of indigeneity, symbolised by the exclusionary politics of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), which emphasises race and birth as a qualification for being indigenous. These exclusionary politics give way to the hegemonic view that only black South Africans, as the indigenes, are qualified to acquire resources, get jobs and enjoy the fruits of the country's new and emerging democracy. As "South Africanness" continues to be defined along racial and national stereotypes as a passport to accessing resources, then the othering of people will continue to be entrenched the national consciousness.

The South African press has also contributed to creating a negative view of foreigners among local people (Danso and McDonald, 2001). Danso and McDonald's analysis of English-language South African newspaper clippings reveal that newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor were negative about immigrants and immigration, and extremely unanalytical and uncritical about cross-border migration in the region, reproducing and reinforcing the assumptions and stereotypes made by South African citizens about migrants. General assumptions that newspapers reproduced were that foreigners "steal jobs", they are mostly "illegal", and that "foreigners are unacceptably encroaching on the informal sector and therefore on the livelihoods of our huge number of unemployed people" (Danso and McDonald, 2001:124).

Newspapers also added to the negative perceptions on migrants by reinforcing the belief that they cause a drain on the South African economy. The South African English-language newspapers quoted in Danso and McDonalds's study (2001:124), such as the *The Star*, 18 September 1995, selectively sourced the following quote from police and government officials: "The government has to spend about R397,000 on each illegal alien which translates into about R1,98 billion being spent on maintaining illegals last year". Neocosmos (2008) notes that, these reportages have contributed to the hegemonic discourses of fear and xenophobia in the public sphere. Indeed, xenophobic perceptions have been difficult to eradicate from the South African national consciousness, as evidenced by violence and brutal attacks on foreign national at chronological intervals – an act that can be likened to the Rwandan genocide (Neocosmos, 2008; Crush, 2000; Danso and McDonald, 2001).

It is within this social milieu that Zimbabwean women migrants forge and negotiate their identities. While the study is not about xenophobia, it can be rightly assumed that xenophobic sentiments and attacks on foreigners by South African indigenes have profound influence on migrants' transnational experiences and thus local identity negotiations. Xenophobia in South Africa also produces transnational experiences that call for specific interrogation. Nowhere in the world have migrants been subjected to such hatred, discrimination and brutalities at the hands of locals in the name of fighting for resources.

### **3.6 Diasporas or Transnationalism: The Politics of Belonging**

Developing a sense of belonging in the host country for many migrants follows a complicated string of events. According to Bhugra (2004), when migrants are exposed to new cultures in their host countries, their ethnic identity may change, notably, in the areas of language, religion, food and shopping habits, and may result in migrants developing a sense of belonging. Belonging is linked to identity in a number of ways. It is about what one identifies oneself with, in terms of spatial, cultural and traditional choices available accessible to one because of constant mobility. Owing to mobility in the age of globalisation in cosmopolitan metropolises, both belonging and identity have become fluid. As poignantly described by Kryzanowski and Wodak (2008:97), there is "...an endless search for belonging to the constantly changing other as well as having to cope with constantly shifting legal and bureaucratic requirements for social acceptance and divergent parameters for recognition."

The concept of home, for most Zimbabweans, is one that has been deeply etched in their psychic, constructed along spatial, historical, political and ethnical lines. A paper by Ndlovu (2010) exploring the conceptualisation of home, family and ethnicity by Zimbabweans under increased transnational migration gives interesting insights into the politics of belonging. She asserts that, for a long time, Zimbabweans have had a territorial, provincial and parochial sense of Zimbabwe as home. For most Shona-speaking Zimbabweans, home means a rural home in Mashonaland (a conglomerate of provinces in Zimbabwe occupied by people who speak the different dialects of the main language Shona), and while for Ndebele-speaking Zimbabweans, the perception of home is largely centred on nostalgic memories of one's village in Matabeleland. During colonial times and the following period of increased urbanisation, Zimbabweans regarded their villages as places of permanent belonging, a place to which to always return for major events of one's life, a place to fall back on when the city fails. The trend remains, as festive and holiday times are marked by hordes of Zimbabweans streaming back to their respective villages. In the wake of transnationalism and large scale displacements, nostalgic memories of home are psychologically induced by the strangeness and spatial differences of transnational spaces in which migrants find themselves.

Ndlovu (2010) concurs that the concept "home" is emotionally loaded, embedded in the politics of belonging. Exploring the concept of where one's home is, in migration literature, is a move away from the charges of reductionism levelled against the push and pull reasons that have for a long time been used to explain patterns of human movements. Perceptions of home among Zimbabwean trans-migrants are complex, and exploring such issues adds flesh to the skeletal and impersonal findings of analyses based on engagements with push and pull factors. For instance, Bozongwana (2000) explains the anthropological factors that mark one's perception of belonging to a particular place in Zimbabwe. He makes reference to the two major stages in one life: birth and death. At such events, there are specific rituals that are performed to cement the relationship between the individual and their place of birth. One such ritual is the burying of the umbilical code in the hut of one's rural home at one's birth. In the event of the same individual dying, be it in a faraway place because of recent phenomenal transnational migration, the same individual is still expected to complete the cycle of belonging, started with the burying of the umbilical code, by having his or her body repatriated for burial in his or her rural home.

Mbiba (2010) highlights the critical importance placed on a rural burial by Zimbabweans both in the cities in Zimbabwe and in the diaspora as a mark of belonging. Drawing on evidence from Zimbabwean funeral parlours in London and interviews with Zimbabweans in Britain, Mbiba (2010) concludes that, of all the organisations that migrants choose to affiliate themselves to, burial societies were predominantly of greatest priority for the purposes of body repatriation for a rural burial. Because it is extremely expensive to repatriate a body to Zimbabwe from as far away a place as Britain, financial contributions are drawn from a broad spectrum of individuals, family, neighbours, communities in the diaspora and sympathetic organisations, and often online platforms are utilised to mobilise supporters just to make sure the cycle of belonging is completed.

The cities, as with many African countries, are seen as colonial creations resulting in ethnic attachments superseding national belonging (Gaidzanwa, 1999; Mbiba, 2005). Mbiba's (2010) study reveals that the post-colonial state is riddled with weakened national identities and fragmented ethnic belongings that add to the desirability of rural burial as a signifier of ultimate and absolute belonging for Zimbabweans in and outside Zimbabwe.

The renowned Zimbabwean novelist and short story writer, Charles Mungoshi, in his novel *Waiting for the rain*, has notes the following about how home in the village is perceived by Zimbabweans:

Not until you cross Chambara river into the old village with roofless huts and gaping doorways and the and the smell of dog-shit and burnt rags are you at home. And then the signature of time truly appears in the work scarred body of an abandoned oxcart with its shaft pointing an accusing finger at the empty heavens, and the inevitably thin dog – all ribs and fur worn down to the sore skin – rummaging for something to eat among the ruins.

Not until you look towards the east and see the tall sun-bleached rocks of Manyene Hills casting foreboding shadows over the land beyond like sentinels over fairy-tale land of the dead, are you really at home, Mungoshi (1981:40).

In this passage, even though the rural home invokes images of dire poverty, emptiness, hunger, barrenness, aridity and starvation, it is conveyed that one will never feel a sense of belonging

until these imagined psychic tensions are fully realised and confirmed by a physical presence. The home, with its poverty, for Mungoshi is always a place to return to, where individuals are reunited with family and kinship, and where they are sobered and cleansed of the poisons of city life. Mungoshi's sentiments about home in an era of rapid urbanisation in 1981 were prophetic of the looming and foreboding age of globalisation, transnational migration and diasporic settlements. In these historical eras the yearning for home was a constant nagging aspect. Now, home is normally thought of by most Zimbabweans living outside the country with a sense of nostalgia. Home is a place where Zimbabweans return to dead or alive; it is a place not to be forgotten, as it is crafted somewhere in the subconscious mind.

Another emblem of belonging is exhibited in how terminally ill Zimbabwean women in the diaspora care for relatives back home through remittances. A study by Martha Chinouya (2010) in McGregor and Primorac (2010) recounts real life stories of how HIV positive Zimbabwean women in Britain negotiate the complex tensions of belonging by fulfilling their obligations of sending remittances home to care for parents, siblings and sometimes their own children. Despite their ill health, which sometimes prohibits them from being as productive as they should to earn money to send money home to take care of dependents left behind, the HIV positive women migrants who informed Chinouya's study could not escape the "moral duty", and "social debt", as (Kane, 2002: 251) aptly describes the obligation, that they assume by virtue of leaving the country for the diaspora.

This study also reveals that the Zimbabwean women migrants' belonging to Zimbabwe was bound by the fact that most of them had left their children behind, citing various reasons such as insecurities about their legal status in the host country, fear of the difficulties of raising children in a foreign land as a single mother, and a desire for the children to grow up in Zimbabwe and to embrace Zimbabwean values. An interesting symbiotic relation between the HIV positive Zimbabwean women in Britain in Chinouya's study and their families, which can also be used as a show of perceptions of belonging, is that while their relatives depended on the migrants for financial support through remittances, the women migrants also relied upon the people left behind for emotional support. Emotional support was exported to Britain from Zimbabwe through prayers to help the women migrants cope with the illness. The women interviewed in the study, attested to the immeasurable strength they gained through knowing that people at home are praying for them (McGregor and Primorac, 2010). This relationship

reveals the almost mystical and unexplainable that belonging brings to someone's well-being – to the extent of transcending geographical boundaries and distances.

One of the reasons for a strong sense of belonging to the home country for most migrants is the precarious living conditions in the host countries imposed upon foreigners for visa requirements (Chinouya, 2010; McDonald, *et al.* 2000). Most foreigners do not have the necessary documents in order to qualify for the different categories of visas, such as work permits and study permits. As a result, they stay in their host countries illegally, and this in turn affects their sense of belonging. Notwithstanding the number of cross-border traders, South Africa is home to large number of foreign nationals (McDonald, *et al.* 2000), mostly from Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho. Inasmuch as these foreign nationals would want to embrace their host country as a place of relatively permeant belonging, a lack of the necessary documents to guarantee them a life without troubles with authorities means that their life is always in limbo. For example, most Zimbabwean migrants working in South Africa without work-permits, rather using corrupt immigration officers at the end of the year to reverse their overstay, cannot fully identify with the host country. Nyamanjoh (2007) poignantly observes that the othering of foreigners, the resentments against immigrants and the targeting of minority ethnic groups for blame for the social ills are the contributory factors that make belonging to the host country such highly contentious political issue.

Paradoxically, even globalisation seems to further exacerbate the obsession with political boundaries and further entrench belonging as a political phenomenon (Nyamanjoh, 2007). In the era of intense globalisation, where human movements across the globe are accelerated, where easy real-time communication that defies geographical distances, where multiculturalism is universal, where cosmopolitanism is pervasive, one would think migrants' assimilation into various communities would be as easy.

Yet migrants' vulnerabilities and insecurities are intensified by the popularity of anti-immigration sentiments, obsessions with ethnic purity politics, and obsessions with notions of identities of authenticity and indigeneity (Nyamanjoh, 2007; Mbembe, 2001). These issues force even third generation migrants, born and raised in the host countries, to look elsewhere for belonging and nativity. In cosmopolitanism, related to globalisation, belonging is constantly defined by relationships forged by migrants that make them feel at home away from home, not merely by spatialised assumptions. According to Nyamanjoh (2007), bounded immigrants,

diasporas, ethnic minorities and trans-migrants trapped in South African cosmopolitan spaces are likely to feel like travellers in permanent transit.

Moreover, experiences of xenophobia in South Africa, culminating into derogatory name-calling, and stereotypes such as *Makwerekwere* to refer to black foreigners, play a potent role in shaping migrants' sense of belonging (Muzondidya, 2010; Nyamanjoh, 2007; Hungwe, 2012). Foreigners try to manage the *Makwerekwere* identity by faking identity documents, learning the language, marrying South Africans, dressing like locals and copying mannerisms of the locals (Hungwe, 2012). For most foreigners, managing the *Makwerekwere* identity in this manner is a way of asserting their belonging. Indeed, Hall (1996) and Wilmsen *et al.* (1994) in Muzondidya (2010) argue that "identities are constructed at the point of intersection between external discourses and practices and the internal psychic processes that produce subjectivities about self and others" (McGregor and Primorac, 2010:37). Thus, the South African experience is likely to produce migrants with a very weak affiliation to the host country. Other names that are popularised by the media that contribute to the further alienation of migrants are border jumpers, asylum seekers and illegal immigrants.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

Migration is a tale of endless possibilities. The chapter explored extant literature on gendered migration as it relates to identities of the Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. The concept of the national identity, what constitutes it and how it feeds into personal identities in general is discussed in terms of the female gender. As a socially constructed phenomenon, the concept of national identity is often manipulated and propagated by the powers that be to attain political ends. However, this does not negate the relative influence of aspects of the national identity in shaping the personal identities of its citizens.

The chapter also reviewed literature on the aspects of belonging. As delicate, intangible and inexplicable as belonging is, it speaks to personal identity negotiations and serves as a driving force behind decisions the Zimbabwean women migrants make in the host countries. Notwithstanding who the migrant woman become, which forms the main subject of this thesis, a sense of belonging seems to be a foregrounding force to buttress identities, both at home and in the host country.

The chapter finally discussed the issue of xenophobia and the othering of foreign nationals. In relation to identity, xenophobia, the fear of the other in the Fanonian sense and Afriphobia emerged as the underlying currents in the psychic of some the indigene that propel them to resort to name-calling, giving foreigners spoilt identities and, occasionally, resulting in violence.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodologies employed in the thesis for the realisation of the research goals and to answer the research questions. In explaining the research methodology, a chronological categorisation from broad to narrow aspects of research methods to be used is presented. Saunders *et al.* (2006) proposes in the following order the basic formulae to explaining research methodologies as: philosophies, approaches, strategies, choices, time horizons, and techniques and procedures. By following this order, it is easier to obtain structure in methodological explanations of research theses.

#### 4.2 Research methodology

This study adopts a qualitative approach that is located within Lincoln and Guba's (2000) constructivist or phenomenological methodological fundamentals. Creswell (2014:246) defines qualitative research as "a means for the exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem." It is important to point out from the onset that qualitative researches are often criticised for their lack of clear controlled settings and thereafter internal validity (Clark and Creswell, 2008). To address this shortcoming, this study employs three different types of triangulation adapted from Angelopulo and Barker (2013): theory triangulation, methodological triangulation and data triangulation. One type of a methodological triangulation is a "within method" triangulation. Denzin (1978) in Clark and Creswell (2008:108) defines a "within method" kind of triangulation as the use of multiple techniques within a given method to gather and interpret data. This type of triangulation ensures internal consistency and reliability of the qualitative data collected. The researcher is also aware of criticisms hauled at social constructivism. One such criticism is the allegation that the physical world itself becomes a subject of the imaginations of social scientists (Donatella and Keating, 2008; Gray, 2004; Babbie, 2014), as phenomenologists believe that social reality is dependent on the mind of the researcher. However, such criticism is merely polemical, which is outside of the scope of this thesis.

Within the interpretive-constructivist philosophical paradigm, the thesis relies on a wide array of “within” qualitative research triangulation and theory triangulation. The interpretive-constructivists paradigm is a philosophical school of thought where “interaction between the researcher and the participants is felt to be essential as they struggle together to make their values explicit and create the knowledge that will be the results of the study” (Clark and Creswell, 2008:75). Given the escalation of disagreements regarding paradigms, the core of Lincoln and Guba’s (1990) constructivist methodological principles emphasises paradigm purity with a specific set of ontological, epistemological and axiological axioms. The thesis is solely based on the interpretive-constructivist research paradigm, for the main reason that an effort to transcend the paradigmatic dichotomisation is an excuse for intellectual indecision. Henceforth, the methodology of this thesis is designed within the interpretive-constructivist research paradigm.

In order to answer the research questions, extant literature is reviewed from a number of disciplines such as migration studies, sociology, psychology, media and cultural studies. In line with Saunders *et al.* (2006), in research taxonomy of methodological elucidation, a philosophy is preceded by an appropriate approach. In this thesis, the interpretive-constructivist research paradigm is followed by the inductive approach in the research design process. Clark and Creswell (2008:14) define inductive logic as “an emphasis on arguing from the particular to the general, or an emphasis on ‘grounded’ theory.” The extant literatures surveyed together with the multi-disciplinary theory are the specific tenets of the grounded theory, from which inferences can be made about identity construction.

In the light of interpretive-constructivist methodological approaches, the thesis employs appropriate strategies. A strategy of enquiry is “a bundle of skills, assumptions, and practices that researchers employ as they move from their paradigm to the empirical world” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:29). The empirical strategies of enquiry used in this thesis are the in-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis or textual analysis as data collection methods. These strategies form part of both methodological and data triangulations. Qualitative content analysis is used to gather news media texts written about Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg, while in-depth interviews are used to gather narratives from the selected participants about their lived experiences in the metropolis of Johannesburg.

The research is premised on the qualitative ontological assumption that “knowledge [can] be acquired by discovering reality through the eyes of the people who experience it” (Du Plooy, 2008:30). The study employs face-to-face in-depth interviews, participant observation, open-ended conversational inquiry and narrative inquiry as data collection methods for primary data. Six face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted with Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. The face-to-face in-depth interviews yielded a wide array of qualitative and narrative data in the form of words and expressions, which the interviewees used to describe their lived experiences as transnational migrants. The researcher conducted all the interviews herself. The researcher also audio recorded and transcribed the entire interview narratives. Recording was preferred to allow for an uninterrupted, conversational type of an atmosphere that could not have been possible when the interviewer had to constantly jot down notes. The interviewer carefully explained the interviewing process, the purpose of the interviews and the fact that participation was voluntary. The participants were also made aware of the recording process and with their consent the interviews took place.

The narrative data gathered through in-depth interviews is analysed using two specific data analysis techniques: thematic analysis and narrative enquiry. Chase in Denzin and Lincoln (2013:43) allude to the fledgling stage of narrative inquiry; she offers a preliminary definition of this type of qualitative research data analysis method as “meaning making through the shaping or ordering of experience”. The take of this study on narrative inquiry is premised along similar lines as identified by McAdams *et al.* (2006), i.e. focusing on the relationship between Zimbabwean women migrants’ stories and their identity development. The narrative inquiry as a data analysis method is used alongside theme analysis. The researcher immersed herself into the texts and narratives gathered through in-depth interviews with a view to identify emerging themes. The themes were determined when researcher read through the data several times to formulate a description of and to categorise the emerging themes.

The second qualitative data collection and data analysis methods employed in this study are qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis respectively. The researcher retrieved news or feature stories and opinion pieces about Zimbabwean women migrants, available online and on print news publications serving the Johannesburg cosmopolitan city of South Africa. Using online search engines, the researcher collected news stories, features and opinion pieces about Zimbabwean women published on news websites focusing on events happening in the metropolis of Johannesburg. Although news websites have readership that is not

geographically bound, their origins can always be traced back to their hardcopy bases as publications serving the metropolis. It is with this view in mind that news websites have been selected as previously meant to serve a particular locality, in this case the metropolis of Johannesburg. Only articles about Zimbabwean women in Johannesburg were selected for analysis. For the purposes of this study, only news (both hard and soft news) and opinion pieces published between the year 2012 and 2015 were chosen. The researcher did not necessarily distinguish between hard news stories or feature stories or opinion pieces; as long as it was a media text depicting the lived experiences of Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa, it was selected for analysis. The researcher then conducted a poststructuralist discourse analysis on the selected media texts to ascertain the hegemonic ideas present in the media concerning women migrants in the metropolis of Johannesburg. The poststructuralist discourse analysis of the media texts also presented an opportunity for this study to construct an outsider narration of the lived experiences of Zimbabwean women migrants as they are represented in the media.

The narratives data gathered through the two different methods described in this methodology section (face-to-face in-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis) and analysed (theme analysis and Foucauldian in combination with Gee's discourse analysis) are triangulated. However, the data collection methods themselves are mutually exclusive. The triangulation process entailed exploring particular synergies and divergences of what is represented in the media and the perceptions of the interviewees regarding the issue of transnational identities. Thus, triangulation in this study moves beyond the techniques of using it for validity purposes or as a checklist for evaluating the quality of the research study to include the post-modernist version of triangulation. This type of triangulation also serves to reinforce widely accepted beliefs in the interpretive-constructivist research philosophy that there are multiple forms of realities and in some cases research is, at best, able to draw attention to their incommensurability (Bergman, 2008). The narrative stories of the Zimbabwean women migrants represent a particular kind of reality that, when triangulated with media representations of their lived experiences, bring to the fore part of the multiplicity of realities in existence.

### **4.3 Unit of analysis**

A unit of analysis, though a term popularised by content analysts, simply means a basic element of a scientific research. Similarly, Du Plooy (2007:53) defines units of analysis as "the smallest

elements investigated.” For research to be focused, it should have pre-conceptualised and definitive unit(s) of analysis. Although this study is neither quantitative nor purely a content analysis in its framework, the pre-conceptualisation of units of analysis proved valuable throughout the research process. Du Plooy (2007) identifies the different categories of units of analysis as physical units, syntactic units, thematic units and propositional units. This study uses thematic units of analysis for both sets of data. Thematic units are repeated patterns of propositions or ideas related to the issue being studied (Du Plooy, 2007). The recurrent themes within both the in-depth interviews with Zimbabwean female migrants and the selected media texts are identified for analysis in this study, and the specific themes are the units of analysis.

According to Deacon *et al.* (1999), the unit of analysis is not easily defined with texts as it is with samples involving people or institutions. In other words, it is easier to define a unit of analysis within a quantitative research paradigm than it is in a qualitative research. Therefore, in the narratives gathered through in-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis, clearly defined units of analysis are not easily attainable. The researcher was thus only able to define the themes and the ideas in the texts after a thorough immersion into the collected data. Nonetheless, it has already been established that the units of analysis for in-depth interview are the individuals, while the unit of analysis for the qualitative content analysis are the social artefacts in the form of the news articles.

The researcher then allocated the data into specific categories. As indicated above, the researcher triangulated the different perspectives of realities of the different angels. Bertrand and Hughes (2005:263) define triangulation as “the use of more than one (usually three form(s) of evidence, in order to test an observation”. In this study, three forms of evidence are used: extant literature, media texts and narratives gathered through in-depth interviews. While extant literature was reviewed prior to the data collection, it was not used to identify the thematic units for theme analysis. However, themes were generated using the grounded theory method. The aim was to interpret the data without the contamination of preconceived notions.

In light of the ethnographic inquiry employed in this study, part of the units of analysis that are used in making sense of the in-depth interview data are the individuals themselves. In the interviews, the participants brought in their lived experiences in a transnational milieu. Not according them a special focus as units of analysis would have robbed this thesis of the rich meanings that could be gleaned from their narrations. As observed by Gray (2003:26),

“experience is not only an authentic and original source of our being, but part of the process through which we articulate a sense of identity”, thus analysing individual participants and their lived experiences has afforded this study an avenue to explore transnational identity formations of the Zimbabwean women migrants. Gray (2003) uses the example of how Stuart Hall, who inhabited double identities in his lived experiences growing up in Jamaica and later in his life as a migrant in Britain, to explain the fluidity of transnationalism as it relates to an individual’s identity. This example is apt in illustrating an individual as a unit of analysis in qualitative inquiry.

#### **4.4 The study’s population and sample**

The research terms population and sampling are interrelated as they both deal with subjects to be studied in empirical inquiries, hence their appearing in the same section in this thesis. Since their meanings are specific to research, this section will begin by defining these two terms. Deacon *et al.* (1999:118) define a research population as “the total range of content you want to make inferences about”. Simply put, a population is the total number of subjects from which a sample can be drawn mainly, because it is practically impossible to investigate the entire population. Similarly, Miles and Huberman (1994:27) note that “you cannot study everyone, everywhere doing everything”, thus one needs to first define the study population, then further narrow it down to a study sample.

Sampling, in contrast, is viewed by positivists as selecting a smaller group to represent a larger group for the purposes of generalising the results (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005). Though the term sampling is mainly used by positivists, non-positivist researchers still have to select their subjects, thus the term found its way into non-positivist and post-positivist researches. Within non-positivist research paradigms, as in this thesis, the term sampling is used in less rigorous sense; that is, the purpose is not for generalisation of the findings to the entire population, but rather to recruit participants and to select items to inform the study. In this research, sampling referred to the process of selecting subjects for the research. The selected sample has to be of such size to meet the aim of generating rich and thick descriptions about the phenomena under investigation, so the sample does not necessarily have to be representative of the population.

Against this backdrop, non-probability sampling was used for both data sets. According to Du Plooy (2008), non-probability sampling means that every unit in the population does not have an equal chance of being selected as part of the sample. Non-probability sampling procedures

were preferred in this study because it was impossible to draw a sampling frame from the study population due to the qualitative nature of the study. Bertrand and Hughes (2005) assert that non-probability sampling is appropriate for qualitative researches where results are not intended to be generalised to the whole population. Du Plooy (2008) identifies examples of non-probability samples as purposive, convenience, volunteer and snowball samples. The researcher used all these sampling procedures at one juncture or another in the data collection process.

Purposive sampling was the main sampling method used by the researcher to ensure that the participants and the media texts enlisted possessed the desired criteria for the study. The study has two types of primary data evidence, and purposive sampling method was used for both. Purposive or judgmental sampling method was used to select participants for the in-depth interviews from a population of Zimbabwean women migrants living in the metropolis of Johannesburg. According to Du Plooy (2008), purposive or judgmental sampling is used where the researcher has prior knowledge that can be used to define certain parameters about the population. Parameters for inclusion as a participant in this study, were: one had to be a black Zimbabwean, female migrant, residing in Johannesburg, while maintaining ties with her homeland through regular visits or other forms of constant communication. These parameters allowed the researcher to select participants possessing key information to the phenomenon under study. Guided by the population parameters, participants were identified and approached for recruitment into the study. This type of sampling then paved way for the other methods of sampling as far as the in-depth interview data set was concerned.

The researcher then explained to the purposively identified Zimbabwean female migrants the importance of their participation for this research and how confidentiality was to be guaranteed, should they decide to volunteer to be part of the sample. Purposive sampling was used alongside convenience sampling in many occasions during the data collection phase. The researcher used social contacts and her social capital base to speak to potential participants for recruitment. The Zimbabwean female migrants, after being spoken to, had to volunteer to participate introducing the recruitment process to volunteer sampling. Volunteer sampling is often criticised for attracting approval seeking individuals or people with similar educational and intelligence levels (Du Plooy, 2008). In this study, this weakness is overcome as volunteer sampling; alongside other non-probability sampling procedures were used. All participants were aware of the fact that participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at

any point during the interview process. Participants, upon volunteering to take part, were also asked to sign an explanatory informed consent form.

Another non-probability sampling method that proved invaluable was snowball sampling. Snowball sample is defined by MacNealy (1999:177) as “the population of interest [that] cannot be identified other than by someone who knows that a certain person has the necessary experience or characteristics to be included.” At the end of each interview session, the researcher asked the participants to recommend other possible participants. Participants identified through snowball sampling came from areas within Johannesburg. They generally trusted the researcher because they were recommended by someone they know.

Snowball sampling was also appropriate because the study is not concerned with these women’s immigration statuses – whether they were in South Africa legally or illegally, documented or undocumented. The study is of the view that, once someone’s life straddles two or more countries, transnationalism becomes the resultant phenomenon. Deacon *et al.* (1999:53) agree that “snowball sampling is mainly used where no list or institution exists that could be used for the basis of sampling.” While there are institutions and lists for documented Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa, they leave out illegal and undocumented migrants. The *SW Radio Africa* estimates between 1.5 million to 3-million Zimbabweans living in South Africa since the much disputed 2013 elections. However, precise figures of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa are difficult to obtain, partly because of irregular migration and partly because of inadequate documentation systems. In light of these factors, snowball sampling allowed the researcher to tap into the social networks and social groupings that Zimbabwean woman migrants form. The personal recommendations that the respondents gave allowed the researcher to map out the social networks that young Zimbabwean women transnational migrants use to create and manage their identities.

The researcher followed a similar sampling procedure when selecting media texts reporting on Zimbabwean women migrants Johannesburg. Purposive sampling was the main sampling strategy used. The sampling procedure for this data was staggered into different levels until the specific media texts were selected. Media is broad and the term encompasses all the different platforms in which information is disseminated. The population at this level is all the media platforms that were used to disseminate information to the people in Johannesburg during the relevant time period, and these were print, electronic and broadcast. Convenience sampling



was used to settle on specific platforms from which to draw another population for further sampling. According to Du Plooy (2007:114), “a convenience sample is drawn from units of analysis that are conveniently available.” Conveniently available to the researcher in this study were print and online media outlets involved in putting information about Zimbabwean women migrants into the public domain. Print and online media platforms were thus used, and media texts available in the form of texts and videos treating the subject of Zimbabwean women migrants were retrieved for the analysis of media representation of the same reality. The ubiquitous nature of technology, particularly of mobile phones, is largely contributing to the proliferation of representations of different realities of the same issue, especially on the Internet.

This level of selecting media platforms was then followed by another sampling strategy for choosing the actual media texts for analysis. Owing to the niche nature of the study, the researcher used purposive or judgmental sampling to select the online or print stories covering black Zimbabwean women migrants. Depending on the volume of online and print news available covering black Zimbabwean women migrants, the researcher kept research open for other sampling procedures.

#### **4.5 Analysis of Findings**

The research employs qualitative data analysis methods. Babbie (2014:403) defines qualitative data analysis methods as “the nonnumeric examination and interpretation of observations, for the purpose of discovering patterns of relationships.”

##### **4.5.1 Thematic Analysis**

Thematic analysis (TA) is one of the widely used qualitative data analysis methods (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis, 1998; Roulston, 2001). Braun and Clarke (2006:79) define thematic analysis as “a method of identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data.” In other words, TA entails a search for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon or the answering of a research question (Daly, Kellehear, and Gliksman, 1997). TA offers a systematic procedure that permits the researcher to analyse, not only the frequency of codes, but also their meanings in contexts, “adding the advantage of the subtlety and complexity of a truly qualitative analysis” (Marks and Yardley, 2004:57).

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:493), “conceptual analysis is also sometimes known as thematic analysis.” TA, put simply, is a method of data reduction by means of categorising the data into themes. The data reduction and the processing of generating codes for this study followed Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six phases of conducting a TA on the data, namely; becoming familiar with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, producing the report.

#### **4.5.2 Grounded Theory Method**

Grounded theory method (GTM) of data analysis was postulated by the sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967 as an alternative to positivism (Strydom and Bezuidenhout, 2014; Babbie, 2014). Strauss and Corbin (1998:23) define grounded theory as a theory that is “discovered, developed and provisionally verified through a systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon”. It is through the analysis of data that a new theory is developed. In exploratory qualitative studies, GTM is used as a data analysis method that aims to capture, in a heuristic manner, models for understanding emergent ideas for further empirical interrogations (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). In interpretivism, grounded theory is derived from the views of the participants (Creswell, 2014).

The grounded theory method of developing a theory is used when there is particular dissatisfaction with the existing theories for explaining a given social phenomenon (Strydom and Bezuidenhout, 2014; Babbie, 2014). Babbie (2014) notes that qualitative researchers working inductively to develop a theory may sometimes build, expand or elaborate on existing theories. Babbie’s (2014) notion presents a slight deviation from how GTM was previously perceived, opening up new avenues of deriving theories from the data. Previously, GMT was perceived as an inductive procedure to develop theory without prior knowledge of literature, where creativity was hailed (Mouton, 1998). Available literature was deemed to be an impediment to creativity (Gray, 2004). This initial position that a review of literature at the beginning of a research study tends to blind the researcher from new possibilities and creativities has now been reversed (Babbie, 2014).

The GTM is most suitable for analysing human experiences (Strydom and Bezuidenhout, 2014; Denzin and Lincoln 2008; Babbie, 2014). In this study the, GTM was be used to analyse both data collected through the in-depth interviews the researcher conducted with black

Zimbabwean women living in the metropolis of Johannesburg and the media texts on Zimbabwean women migrants published in Johannesburg-based newspapers between 2012 and 2015. The in-depth interview questions were based on how the black Zimbabwean create/recreate and negotiate/re negotiate their transnational identities in the metropolis of Johannesburg. The GTM of data analysis was adopted because of the unique nature of identity negotiations, varying from context to context.

As a data analysis method, GTM involves four stages that are conducted sequentially, namely, “comparing incidents applicable to each category, integrating categories and their properties, delimiting theory (and) writing theory’ (Strauss, 1987:105-13 cited in Babbie, 2014:405). These four stages of theory development are taken in this study to mean comparing responses from participants (the open coding stage), integrating those responses (the axial coding stage), finding appropriate lexicons to define the theory, and writing explanations of the theory. The procedure of developing theory from data, in this study, follows the same pattern as outlined in the coding section. Data gathered through qualitative content analysis is subjected to the four stages of theory development as outlined in the GTM in order to allow the researcher to formulate a framework for understanding local transnational identity negotiation.

GTM is also used to precede the discourse analysis of the retrieved news articles reporting on Zimbabwean women migrants. The four stages of GTM are used to categorise and sort the contents of the news articles from which the themes were generated. This process entails reading through the news stories and categorising grouping incidents belonging to the same category. A name is then assigned to each category of data. The name of the category summarises the issues raised as they appear in the news story.

#### **4.5.3 Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis (DA) is used to analyse both the interview data and the selected letters to the editor, news and feature stories written about Zimbabwean women migrants in the metropolis of Johannesburg, South Africa. A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) alongside Gee’s (1999) model of discourse analysis is employed for unpacking both data sets. The word discourse simply means how language, both spoken or written, is used to express ideas and thoughts that, in turn, effect how meaning is constructed and conveyed in social settings (Bezuidenhout and Cronje, 2014; Gray, 2004; Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Discourse analysis,

therefore, is an attempt by researchers to deconstruct texts to determine how authors choose words to construct an aspect of social reality (Bezuidenhout and Cronje, 2014). Foucault quoted in Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:12) defines a discourse as:

a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation [...Discourse] is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form [...] it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history [...] posing its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality (Foucault 1972: 117).

This definition reflects the beyond the word and sentence type of discourse analysis, where signs derive their meaning because of their relation to reality. Words, sentences and language are used to create discursive formations whose rich meaning reflect power relations, social inequalities and social struggles, and identities in society. In terms of this definition, there is nothing outside the text. Gleaned from the Foucauldian explanation of discourse, also, are the situatedness of text and the interrelationship between texts and society. However, Foucault is quick to point out the transitional nature of discourses, as they are time and history sensitive. Any text produced is a representation of a fragment history of that particular society and an understanding of the text cannot be reached without consideration of the time in which it was produced. Meaning, therefore, becomes an unstable flux, offsetting the earlier structural assertions of the totalising effect of language and texts in reflecting reality.

This study uses the poststructuralist Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis to analyse both texts written about Zimbabwean women migrants published in the Johannesburg media and the narratives of the Zimbabwean women migrants in the metropolis gathered through in-depth interviews. The discourse analyses are guided by the philosophical assumption that truth, meaning and understanding of reality are discursive constructions. With poststructuralist discourse analysis, texts are analysed for the interplay of power relations. More importantly, subjects and objects of the texts are investigated for their meaning and relevance to the historical context in which they were consumed.

#### **4.5.4 The Foucauldian Discourse Analysis**

Central to the Foucauldian model of discourse analysis are power relations. According to Foucault (1980:93), “these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse.” Thus, in any society, the production of texts, in all their various forms, is the starting point in the process of making a discourse. With Foucault’s conceptualisation, it is important to note that a single text of its kind cannot produce a discourse because what follows production is accumulation. Similarly, texts without circulation have no power to transform into a discourse. A discourse, just like an ideology, is located somewhere between the consumption of texts and the knowledges that individuals derive from them. Foucault calls these forms of knowledge “discourses of truth” (Foucault, 1980:93). Foucault’s notion of a discourse is similar to Marx’s ideology (Hook, 2007). In the same way as an ideology is perpetuated over time, through production and reproduction, circulation and accumulation, so are discourses.

Having explained Foucault’s discourse briefly, it is important to consider the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA). According to Hook (2007), FDA is concerned with power, discourse and history. It is important to identify the type of power that is at play in the production of a discourse. Foucault (2006a:75) identifies biopower as one such example, which is the state’s way of positively influencing people through neoliberal means. This kind of power is not forcefully exerted on people but rather is exercised through subtle persuasion. When performing an FDA, power cannot be separated from the discourse itself, because it is the discourse that generates the power. The power of the discourse is in its ability to covertly control people, even those involved in the production of knowledge, or what Foucault (1980:118) refers to as “regime of truth”. Discourse then is the invisible superstructure that governs what can and cannot be said or written. Discourses are also never complete or absolute (Hook, 2007), therefore it is important to understand the historical-social milieu in which they are circulated. In conducting an FDA, therefore, the historical context has to be carefully established in order to gain a holistic understanding of the particular discourses at play.

Following the FDA, it is not the subject/writer/author who decides what is to be included or excluded. In the production of text, the writer is constrained by discourse from as early a level as what thoughts are permitted. Therefore, the FDA advocates a move away from focusing on individuals involved in the writing of the texts to unearthing the discourses that are at play that allow the conception, production and circulation of such particular texts. Said’s (1983:186)

discussion of Foucault gives further insight into the exemption of individual subjects in the FDA. He says; “Over and above every opportunity for saying something, there stands a regularizing collectivity called a discourse”. Apart from setting parameters of sense making, discourses are also part of a string of communication that connects them to broader political formations, the combination of which results in “coherent political matrix of knowledge” (Hook, 2007:108). Through DA, Foucault envisages a political critique of the underlying structures in societies that govern what qualifies as knowledge to be circulated within a given socio-historic milieu.

Up to this point, it seems that in FDA discourses are only subject to external influence. Yet in addition to the invisible, but identifiable, influence of discourses, Foucault (1981:62) mentions “societies of discourses”, which also play a gatekeeping role in determining what is to be regarded as truth and false. Societies of discourses such as body of knowledges and different professions institute their own laws of inclusion and exclusion when it comes to what passes as knowledge. An example of such societies of discourses can be fields of journalism, with their own unique styles of writing and their own codes of ethics. For a text to be distributed within the journalistic societies of discourses, it has to satisfy the journalistic rigor as prescribed by the set rules. Since Foucault advocates a macro analysis of broader formations of knowledge and tracing them to the broader political formations, this study presents a holistic FDA of news media texts without paying attention to specific media houses, or analysing the individuals who wrote them. It is with the view that texts, collectively, over a period of time, form a discourse, also adding on to broader political formations that this study seeks to unearth these discourses at a macro level.

According to Hook (2007), a FDA should not only concerns itself with finding the multiple meanings inherent texts, but also with the inadequacy of meaning, with what is impossible or unreasonable within certain discursive locations. In other words, the search for the denotative meanings of texts should be the first level of performing a FDA. However, a FDA should move beyond interpreting texts to analysing their limitations, inadequacies and insufficiencies in presenting holistic insights into the broader issues. To identify the limitations of the texts, an understanding of the socio-historical events that led to their formations is also needed. It is within these socio-historical milieus that an evaluation of what is considered reasonable, in relation to the messages of the texts, is possible.

From this discussion, what can be deduced is that the FDA has three dimensions of analysis, which are power, history and discourse (Hook, 2007). In this study, these three dimensions are explored as they relate to the media texts about Zimbabwean women migrants. The power dimension involves a descriptive and interpretive analysis of the contents of the media texts. The researcher acknowledges that the meanings of a text are polysemic. Thus, the goal of this dimension is to unpack and explore the multiple meanings inherent in these media texts. However, when performing an FDA, it is within these multiple meanings and the influence they have on individuals and in society that power is generated. The second dimension of analysis, the history dimension, focusses on presenting explanations of the cultural, socio-historical context within which these texts are interpreted. The third and final analysis involves the identifications of the discourses that emerge and their intertextuality with other broader and larger discourses in society. It is important to reiterate here that FDA is systematic and sequential. Thus, it is not possible to identify the discourses without first unearthing the power relations at play in the text to be analysed.

#### **4.5.5 Gee's Framework of DA**

This study approaches discourse analysis from a poststructuralist linguistic philosophy, which claims that our access to reality is through language (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Through language and representation, then, reality is deconstructed, recreated and reenacted for others to have mental access to what is going on around them. According to Gee (1999) we choose our language carefully to suit a situation. This means that, while language has the power to ascribe meaning to a situation, it is not responsible for the situation to be there in the first place. Thus reality exists, but it takes language to put this reality into perspective. Gee further explains the relationship between reality and language using the old adage of the “chicken and egg” (Gee, 1999:10). It is unclear what comes first, our descriptions of reality or the situation itself. The representation of reality, then, spoken or written, is characterised by many versions, depending on the speaker's or the writer's choice of words, what is included or excluded, what is given salience in the texts (Fairclough, 1995a, van Dijk, 1991). The writer's choice of words has power to shape perceptions of the readers. Most of what we know about the world and our beliefs are shaped by the media (van Dijk, 1991). Gee (1999:10) further states that “we use language to build identities”. It is in the interest of this study to unpack the kind of identities news media build for Zimbabwean women migrants. To do this, a systematic model of DA is used, alongside the FDA as explained earlier in this thesis.

The news media texts, collected from Johannesburg news websites and written about Zimbabwean women migrants, are analysed in this study through the lenses of the building tasks of DA postulated by Gee (1999). For a systematic model of discourse analysis, Gee (1999) suggests six building tasks with guiding questions; (1) semiotic building, (2) world building, (3) activity building, (4) socioculturally-situated identity and relationship building, (5) political building and (6) connection building. For the purposes of systematically building an argument from a DA perspective, the framework offers guiding questions for unpacking texts. When followed chronologically, the framework guides a discourse analyst, from simple interpretations to complex inferences in DA. Questions on the building tasks of discourse analysis as postulated by Gee (1999:92-94) have been adapted as follows:

Questions asked within the building tasks:

A. *Semiotic building*

1. What systems of knowledge and ways of knowing are relevant (and irrelevant) in the situation?
2. What social languages are relevant (and irrelevant) in the situation?

B. *World building:*

3. What are the situated meanings of some of the words and phrases that seem important in the situation?
4. What situated meanings and values seem to be attached to places, times, bodies and institutions relevant in this situation?
5. What institutions and/or discourses are being (re-)produced in this situation and how are they being stabilized or transformed in the act?

C. *Activity building:*

7. What is the larger or main activity (or set of activities) going on in the situation?
8. What sub-activities compose this activity (or these activities)?

D. *Socioculturally-situated identity and relationship building:*

10. What relationships and identities (roles, positions), with their concomitant personal, social, and cultural knowledge and beliefs (cognition), feelings (affect), and values, seem to be relevant to the situation?



11. How are these relationships and identities stabilised or transformed in the situation?
12. In terms of identities, activities and relationships, what discourses are relevant (and irrelevant) in the situation? How are they made relevant (and irrelevant), and in what ways?

*E. Political building:*

13. What social goods (e.g. status, power, aspects of gender, race, and class, or more narrowly defined social networks and identities) are relevant (and irrelevant) in this situation? How are they made relevant (and irrelevant), and in what ways?
14. How are these social goods connected to the cultural models and discourses operative in the situation?

*F. Connection building:*

15. What sorts of connections – looking backward and/or forward – are made within and across utterances and large stretches of the interaction?
16. What sorts of connections are made to previous or future interactions, to other people, ideas, texts, things, institutions and discourses outside the current situation (this has to do with “intertextuality” and “inter-discursivity”)?

#### **4.6 The coding of the data**

Central to both thematic analysis and grounded theory method of data analysis is the coding process (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Gray, 2004; Babbie, 2014). According to Cassell and Gillian (2004:257), a code is simply “a label that is attached to a section of text to index it as relating to a theme or issue in the data which the researcher has identified as important to his or her interpretation”. The terms “code” and “theme” can be used interchangeably (Marks and Yardley, 2004:57). The process of coding is highly systematic, where the research is involved in identifying patterns, and categorising and sorting out the data for greater clarity (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Baxter and Babbie, 2005). Codes are generated depending on the purpose and the questions the researcher seeks to answer (Ritchie *et al.*, 2014; Marks and Yardley, 2004; Cassell and Gillian, 2004). Though the process of coding is repetitive and rigorous, it essential for the identification of the sources of data, which includes making explanatory notes and other documentation, known as “housekeeping coding”, or “descriptive coding” (Baxter and Babbie, 2005:266; Cassell and Gillian, 2004:257; Bradley 2007:255; Wimmer and Dominick,

2006:117). The descriptive coding process is in line with the thrust of qualitative enquiries, which envisages holistic designs that seek to understand complex human social phenomena incomprehensible through numbers and statistical procedures (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013; Du Plooy, 2007; Clark and Creswell, 2008).

Identifiable in literature are the different types of coding, namely; axial, open, hierarchical, inductive, deductive, semantic, latent, realist or essentialist, and constructionist coding (Marks and Yardley, 2004; Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholson and Ormston, 2014; Given, 2008; Braun and Clarke, 2006). The different types of coding processes, as identified in literature here, reflect a polar opposite kind relationship between some sets. The first set to be identified, with an oppositional relationship, is deductive and inductive coding. When applying deductive coding, the researcher approaches the data with a predetermined code that he or she has drawn from existing theories (Marks and Yardley, 2004). Inductive coding, in contrast, requires themes or codes to be generated from the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In other words, in inductive coding, the researcher allows the data to speak for itself, without the researcher's influence. Inductive coding seems to be ideal in research data interpretation and analysis; however, themes cannot be entirely inductive, and as Marks and Yardley (2004) argue that the researcher begins with prior knowledge and preconceptions that will inevitably influence the identification of themes. Similarly, Ely *et al.* (1997:206) criticise the notion of "themes emerging" as the source of misconception that themes reside in the data, yet, "if themes 'reside' anywhere, they reside in our heads from our thinking about the data and creating links as understand them."

Another contrasting set of coding for theme development identifiable in the literature is semantic and latent coding. The difference between semantic and latent coding can easily be understood following the literal meanings of the terms. While semantic coding, sometimes regarded as manifest coding (Given, 2008; Marks and Yardley, 2004; Boyatzis, 1998), entails generating themes that reflect the explicit content, in latent coding themes are developed by making inferences of underlying assumptions of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Ritchie *et al.*, 2014). These two coding processes can be used sequentially in theme development for the full understanding of a human problem. The semantic/latent distinction of coding is similar in many ways to the realist or essentialist/constructionist ways of coding. The essentialist way of coding entails generating themes emanating explicitly from the data, while the constructionist way involves making inferential decisions.

Another type of coding essential in qualitative data analysis is open coding. Open coding forms part of the initial stages in inductive coding process and is important for determining what is to be coded (Babbie, 2014; Marks and Yardley, 2004; Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholson and Ormston, 2014). Babbie (2014:410) defines open coding as “the initial classification and labelling of concepts in qualitative data analysis.” At this stage in the coding process, codes are generated following a rigorous and systematic sequential procedure of interrogating the data using specific questions derived from the purpose of the research study and analysing the data to the smallest unit of possible phenomenon, punctuated by constant reference to the theoretical perspectives underpinning the study and a constant review of the relevance of traditional variables (Gray, 2004). Open coding is particularly relevant in the GTM of qualitative data analysis, where there is need for the coder to be open to emerging variables influencing the research findings (Babbie, 2014; Gray, 2004; Bezuidenhout and Cronje, 2014). The unanticipated codes arising during the open coding process provide a starting point to the GTM of qualitative data analysis (Baxter and Babbie 2005; Creswell 2003; Babbie, 2014; Creswell, 2014).

Last in the coding process is axial coding. Babbie (2014:410) defines axial coding as “a reanalysis of the results of open coding in Grounded Theory Method, aimed at identifying the important, general concepts.” Axial coding uses the results of open coding to further categorise and regroup the data for the purpose of identifying core concepts (Bezuidenhout and Cronje, 2014; Babbie, 2014; Gray, 2004). As a phase that comes after open coding, axial coding helps with linking and finding connections between the identified themes. Given (2008) further explains axial coding as the phase in which categories generated during open coding are pursued at greater depth, concepts that stand out are refined and redefined and relationships among these categories are established.

Following a postmodernist and poststructuralist approach, the researcher advocates a move beyond the confines of a unilateral coding process and adopts a hybrid approach to the generation of themes. The coding process is line with the interpretivism and constructionism research paradigms in which this study is situated. The research process is mainly inductive in the sense that interpretation is grounded in the data even though the research design itself is still “theory-laden” and ideas are informed by available literature (Ritchie *et al.* 2014:12). The theories explained in this study are used for their heuristic value, and this research adopts an inductive approach to the coding of the data and to the generation of themes.

#### **4.7 Feasibility of the study**

The researcher is aware of the criticisms levelled against qualitative researches concerning issues of validity, reliability and generalisability that are used to judge the merits of quantitative studies. It is important to emphasise here that these three canons will be re-conceptualised in the study to capture the key issues that are of concern to qualitative researches. As a qualitative research, this study is concerned with key issues of dependability, credibility and trustworthiness. While positivists hail the scientific trinity of the three canons of validity, reliability and generalisability, Lincoln and Guba (1985) consider the credibility, dependability, transferability, authenticity and confirmability of qualitative studies. In this study, therefore, the three scientific canons are re-conceptualised to adopt what qualitative researches in the interpretivists' paradigm are concerned about in place of the trinity. This study's dependability, credibility and trustworthiness can be assessed when one looks at the research design in holistic terms.

As stated earlier above, the study extensively uses triangulation as a quality control measure. The study employs three types of triangulation; methodological triangulation, data triangulation and theory triangulation. Methodological triangulation is the use of more than one methodology or data collection technique for a single research problem (Angelopulo and Barker, 2013; Babbie, 2014; Marks and Yardley, 2004). The study employs several types of qualitative approaches, such as in-depth interviews, content analysis and semiotic textual analysis. Data triangulation "involves an attempt to get closer to the truth by bringing together multiple forms of data," (Denzin and Lincoln 2013:422). The study uses data collected through in-depth interviews, and the researcher collated and analysed media text representations of the same phenomena. Theory triangulation is defined by Angelopulo and Barker (2013) as the use of a variety of perspectives as theoretical lenses to interrogate the research findings. In this study, theories are drawn from a broad spectrum of disciplines, for example, psychology, sociology, media studies and cultural studies among other disciplines. The study will likely stand the tests of dependability, credibility and trustworthiness, because triangulation brings in aspects of complementarity (Donatella and Keating, 2008), where the different methods, different data sets and different theories complement each other in the exploration of the phenomena in question.

In qualitative research, therefore, the question to be asked is, Is one measuring what one thinks is measuring? Validity questions have to follow a continuum of the extent to which our observations indeed reflect the phenomena that are of interest to us. The phenomena are a series of events that have to be connected together following a traceable and transparent thread. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2013:396) “the lifeworld is a world interpreted by social actors. These are first order cognitions and constructs; the social scientist or qualitative researcher must interpret the actors’ meanings and provide second-order constructs and accounts.” It is the manner of interpretation of such lifeworld that validates qualitative research. Qualitative researchers need to show relationships in their narratives by showing the relatedness of their observations, findings, claims, explanations and conclusions (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013). In so doing, validity is achieved.

The researcher scheduled interviews with young Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa from June to December of 2015. The timeframe was chosen by taking into consideration the time required for the researcher to obtain ethics clearance from the institution. Collection of both data sets was conducted concurrently. However, the researcher started retrieving print and online news articles, feature stories and letters to the editors on young Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa from beginning of the year 2014. The qualitative content analysis of the news articles and was a flexible process, owing to the online presence of most print news outlets. For news stories that are follow-ups to previous events, the researcher used the online archival systems to follow up the stories in retrospect.

The budgetary requirements for this research were minimal. The researcher incurred costs in printing consent forms, money for fuel to drive to suitable to the convenience of the interviewees and other ad hoc costs. These costs were covered by the researcher’s personal funds.

#### **4.8 Ethical considerations**

The researcher subscribes to the ethical position for non-positivists as outlined by Lincoln and Guba (2000), cited by Bertrand and Hughes (2005), who posit that the moral dimension of the research is intrinsic to the research process. In the framework suggested by Lincoln and Guba, “ethical issues are a part of the research from beginning to end” (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005:14), therefore, in this study, the ethical considerations were considered in three parts;

protecting participants from harm, protecting the right of the researcher to conduct research, and to reduce the likelihood of legal action against the researcher, the research participants and the institution. These moral decisions and ethical considerations were constantly reflected upon throughout the research process.

As already stated, the researcher interviewed young Zimbabwean female migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. Participation in this study was strictly on a voluntary basis and the interviewees were at liberty to withdraw from the interviews at any point. The researcher also sought consent from the participants for their names to be attached to their responses. If a participant(s) felt uncomfortable with their names being used, the researcher ensured confidentiality by substituting their actual names with pseudo names. The researcher was aware that asking participants questions about their perceived transnational identities is tantamount to invasion of privacy, thus, the use of pseudo names was appropriate as respondents will be de-identified with the data.

To protect the institution and the researcher from any form of legal action, the researcher used consent forms that participants were asked to sign before the interview process as confirmation that they had voluntarily agreed to participate. The consent form explained the purpose of the research and how the research data will be used, stored and disposed. Participants were also assured that their responses would be used only for scholarly purposes.

In line with the University of KwaZulu-Natal's humanities guidelines, the researcher applied for and obtained ethical clearance before going to the field to gather data for this study.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### AFRICAN FEMINISM

#### 5.1 Introduction

Identity negotiations by migrant or displaced women are likely to be affected by the dominant cultures of the host countries because women are subjected to these countries' expectations. Nonetheless, in order to understand women issues, it is often argued that we need to read them in the context of a feminist tradition. Migration, as war, has proven to be the site of important debates between feminists and gender critics regarding issues such as oppression, sexuality, women's rights, etc. Even in its reluctant attitude towards feminist approaches, this study could never have been conducted without finding something to admire or oppose that affects women's lives. As Catherine Sedgwick once observed: "I do not believe that men can ever feel so pure an enthusiasm for women as we can feel for one another" (Walker, 2000:205). The new migrant women's world presents new identities defined by much pain, misuse of the woman's body, challenges at every step of their lives such as forced migration, job restriction for women, struggle with diseases such as breast cancer, and unwanted pregnancy, which have created bonds between women in the world for one another, as a veneration for womanhood or sisterhood itself as a critique of patriarchal power and false democracy. Truly, post-colonial women find themselves in a different cultural situation of violence, migration and lack of choices forcing women to demand space in education, profession, and politics for their voices to be heard.

The view that women are viewed as second class has been, to some extent, noncontroversial since Simone de Beauvoir's (1949) *The Second Sex*, no matter how opponents try to deny it. Almost everybody agrees that the world is largely ruled from the male principle. Studies by women, such as this one, force us to see the world from a female perspective – although the question of whether we need a genderless society in which women act like men and vice versa has proved to be yet another problem dividing feminists and gender critics. One interesting gender activist today is Judith Butler, who argues that gender is socially constructed; as such, it is not something determined by nature or biology; rather, it is performed (Butler, 1990). For much the same reason, the post-colonial gender critics (or feminists) I will refer to below disagree with Western feminists; they feel that Western feminism does not capture their post-colonial realities such as race, class, wars, etc. to which they are confronted on daily basis. In

other words, the Western version of feminism seems to suggest universality of women issues but ignores the cultural context.

It is because of her gender-agreement rather than feminism that Tsitsi Dangarembga takes a different view in criticising patriarchy in her Shona culture. She sees a place for a woman to reject oppression while remaining an African woman within her culture because culture is larger than gender, and not all that culture prescribes for a woman has to be rejected. Such a rebellion against African tradition is at work in Tsitsi's *Nervous Conditions*, through her African westernised girl, Nyasha. One can tell that her favoured character is Tambuzai, a local girl who seeks emancipation while remaining sensitive to her culture as a woman and a Shona soul, but refusing to be locked in the walls of the prison of male dominance. One may argue that the reconstruction of feminist discourse in Africa is, following Tsitsi's example, transcending sexual difference by rewriting womanhood beyond colonial, patriarchal codes and sees in its difference a gift to the world. The attempts to define the woman space both within and outside one's country, the need to reconstruct a new self within spaces – physical, cultural, psychological – of her own defining is what this study grapples with.

While it becomes customary to refer to any criticism in women's writing as "feminism", the critique in this study is not entirely feminist. It suggests a wide range of critical methods – cultural studies, post-colonial studies, gender criticism, etc., – in order to avoid the tension between feminism and masculine studies. I regard feminist approach as a limitation to the study of identities inside the socio-cultural contexts that shape them. I also argue that the post-colonial histories within which these migrant women live may be taken into consideration. Thus, while these women are women, they are something else as well to ponder over: they are African, foreigners, political and economic victims, blacks, etc. it is these categories, as already said, that make their condition different from European women. In this sense, the expression of their identities in South Africa involves much more attention to factors outside their gender as a category alone, which form a nexus of diverse/complex experiences.

Whereas many studies have analysed challenges faced by migrant women in general, this study uses migration to examine Zimbabwean women's new identities, how they perceive themselves and imagine themselves as different in the new spaces and cultures. Such identities are contrasted with old identities in order to see how the process of migration has changed them, depending on their personal longing for emancipation. In trying to determine how these women



fail, or on to a more improved womanhood, it is also important to know if they remain African. Such an approach breaks new thematic ground in the study of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. The point, however, is not necessarily to show that migration shapes identities. Rather, it is to show that history has created conditions for new identities to be formed as a result of public practices of our society.

As already said, crossing borders is not an experience that invites Zimbabwean women to test the limits of their culture; instead, it creates a platform through which they can invent new identities given their exposure to new and diverse experiences. One may ask: Does South Africa offer her woman migrant any emancipatory choices? Let us begin to answer the question by considering what many cannot deny. Recently, South African television announced that male violence targets foreign women in the country. Looked at critically, this violence is not only a threat to the woman's bodies, but becomes a way through which their cultural values are destroyed. A foreign African woman who, by taking pride in her values, refuses to submit to the violent masculine discourse of the country is at risk of experiencing worse. In a country that associates politics and work opportunities with the female body, the foreign woman is at greater risk of being relegated to the outskirts of social life if she wants to remain loyal to her old identity. This way, to make South Africa a home to dwell in is to bring one's identity to adjust herself to the realities of the place. By this, I mean, South Africa is like a bank and one who enters it must not think first how much she can get out of it rather how much she can put in it. Moreover, although violence is a disturbing issue that affects both the local women and the foreigners alike, its importance lies in the fact that it helps us to explore the parallels between higher middle class women and lower class Zimbabwean women who are victims of violence, as well as the way in which it has negatively influenced their identity, with many becoming prostitutes.

However, emphasis on the masculine world of violence to explain the formation of Zimbabwean women's new identities in South Africa may prevent one from addressing the efforts by the same women to challenge that masculine dominance. In their efforts to redefine themselves as more than just migrants, many Zimbabwean women have succeeded in business, or excelled in education where many men have failed. These efforts erase the binary between male/female, strong/weak, native/foreign, etc. These exploits will be missed if the scope of study does not provide space to deal with categories such as class and profession, to which some positive identity negotiation respond. That part of analysis, however, raises some

questions of whether women who have achieved in their lives did so because they imitated masculine tradition of exploitation and oppression, or if they followed female perspectives in their success. The question of whether to become men or remain women in their perspective is essential to this study. In other words, these women have succeeded whether by becoming like men or have they adopted a masculine stance of oppressing and exploiting others?

Having said this, identity is something transitional, a passage rather than a destination. As such, the study of the identity rapidly creates a gap. This gap reflects the changes we see in and can describe in people's identities, and the changes that cultures we live in allow, and so our analysis of them should be culturally-oriented. But the fact that women issues could be better understood through the web of economic, social and political factors that shape them should not be viewed as a sign or evidence of fully comprehending the social context, because these factors turn out to be shifting, and so are the identities they seem to shape. Put simply, the identity this study describes could become different by the time of this work's reception by the public. Thus, for the sake of the study, the interviewees were mostly women who have been in the country for a longer period of time (5 to 10 years), in order to decrease the possibilities of rapidly shifting identity, which would make it difficult to speak of them with a degree of certainty.

## **5.2 Identity Crisis in African feminism**

Feminism, as significant as it, is a difficult concept to grasp, especially because as a movement it is so fragmented. For women worldwide, the question is not just about whether to be a feminine feminist, but also about which feminist perspective to choose. In their varied, but sometimes overlapping, forms, feminisms – western feminisms, liberal feminisms, left-wing feminisms, right-wing feminisms, conservative feminisms, mainstream feminisms and many others – are so disconnected that it becomes impossible for the women's rights advocates from these camps to speak with one voice. For instance, the highly contentious debates around same-sex relationships and recognition thereof might be pertinent in one camp but at the same time foreign, if not irrelevant, in another. Consequently, many of the existing feminisms champion contentious issues with which many women in different ideological enclaves cannot relate, and as such many more variants of feminisms may still emerge.

As tensions within feminism as an umbrella body for championing women's rights continue to grow, the fluidity of the already existing brands of feminism becomes more and more apparent. One brand of feminism that has emerged as a result of dissatisfaction with mainstream feminism, and which this study cannot afford to proceed without acknowledging its significance, is African feminism. Goredema (2010:34) defines African feminism as an "epistemology and a form of rhetoric that has provided arguments, which validate the experience women of Africa and of African origin against a mainstream feminist discourse." African feminism as an emerging variant is born out of the view that Western feminism cannot address the concerns of Africans, as African women's experiences are shaped by events and a history that are unique to the continent. A history of colonialism, apartheid, displacement, dispossession, and a violent past of liberation struggles all combine to create an African reality that shapes the experiences of the women of the continent. Likewise, Steady (1981) cited in Mikell (1995:407) considers the different types of oppression to which African women have been subjected, providing a concise description of African feminism as "dealing with multiple oppressions". There are layers of oppressions to which African women have subjected because of their history that they need dismantle, and the challenge lies in agreeing on the form of oppression to tackle first.

In light of these definitions of African feminism, mainstream feminism seems to have set out on a divergent and more resolute path from that which African feminism envisions, given the current situation of the African woman: championing the equality of women to man. As such, mainstream feminism is riddled with limitations and shortcomings when it comes to addressing the concerns of African women, because the focus is often foreign to the continent and is guided by Western (European and American) principles of fighting for female equality (Oyewumi, 2003). In Western feminism, power is clearly defined in binary terms, the "haves" of power (the men) and the "have nots" (women). This is not to say women in Africa do not want equality; rather, it is not really a pressing issue and as urgent as, for example, fighting against child marriages, abductions of girls and so many other contemporary problems bedeviling women in the continent. In the African context, inequalities are more structural and systemic with roots in a history of colonialism, a violent past. The focus of African feminism is not to fight men, or to fight for equality, but rather to fight systems that are in place that subjugate women. Once those systemic and structural issues are addressed, equality will be achieved.

Highlighting the signs of the imminent divorce of African feminism from Western feminism, Mikell (1995) acknowledges the anger some Africans feel towards what they perceive as Western feminism's attempt to co-opt them into a movement defined by ideologies of individualism and a radical opposition to patriarchy and the ultimate hatred of males. African women's disassociation with Western feminism is epitomised by Buchi Emecheta, an African sociologist and authoress, in her response to a question about her affiliation to feminism while she was giving a lecture at Georgetown University in 1994:

“I have never called myself a feminist. Now if you call me a feminist, that is your business; but I don't subscribe to the feminist idea that all men are brutal and repressive and we must reject them. Some of these men are my brothers and sons. Am I to reject them too?”

Her response is archetypical of the African woman's rejection of Western feminism ideologies, that while in African societies the values of community living, of Ubuntu, of families, of clans and of tribes living together as humanity, of the whole village sharing the burden of raising a child, Western societies are driven by individualism. In the African societies, when one excels, regardless of gender, one's success is celebrated by the whole family, village or community. As such, it defies African logic to bring in gender divisions in terms of women fighting against men in the name of struggle for equality or emancipation. Therefore, it might be that African women are not against being called feminist, but rather do not agree with the core values of the Western movements and waves of feminisms.

However, even though African women of African origin have a shared history that seems to be shaping the discourses of African feminism, there are still some schisms within this emerging movement. Divisions arise, especially with questions of who has the right to speak about the women's experiences. Is it middle class women with the intellectual power and means? If so, who gives these women such power? And can they articulate the needs and aspirations of women in different cultural and religious backgrounds? These questions, together with so many other variations characteristic of the lived realities in the African continent, give rise to the fluidity and transitional nature typical of any type of feministic movement.

Goredema (2010) discusses the heterogeneity of African feminism by using the analogy of political boundaries as just one example. She acknowledges the differences in the histories,

cultures and traditions of the African countries as cause for the fragmentations of African feministic ideas. She further acknowledges that even within the same country, the different linguistic and tribal groupings also produce variations in the types of feminisms that emerge. For instance, in South Africa, Zulu-feminism might not necessarily be the same as Afrikaner feminism, and the same applies to all the other official and unofficial linguistic groups in the country. Similarly, Arndt (2002) proposes that the African brand of feminism, just like a chameleon, should be malleable and adjustable to the different situations presented by the socio-cultural heterogeneity in the continent. Thus, in the same manner as a chameleon changes its colour to blend with its surrounding environment, so too should African feminism if it is to be of relevance to different women in different social milieus. What is being proposed by this metaphor is that it is not important to have different names for African feminisms in different settings, but there should rather be a mutation and adaptation of the same brand.

The crisis of identity in African feminism is further exacerbated by its dependence on African history. African feminism is shaped by the continent's distinct political eras of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial historical junctures. For Gaidzanwa (2012), the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles in different parts of Africa informed the development of specific strands of feminisms that focus on asserting the rights of women within those contexts. Since African countries were colonised by different colonial masters and at different times in history, the experiences, effects and intensity of colonialism were also heterogeneous. African countries also attained their independence at different times and through varied means. Countries that attained their independence earlier will more likely present different issues relevant to women as compared to countries that had a prolonged settler rule.

### **5.3 Current trends within African feminisms**

As has already been established in this section of the thesis, different strands of African feminisms are shaped by the prevailing socio-economic and political status of the country in which it is emerging. It is these variations in the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions in different countries in Africa that give rise to different brands of feminism. For instance, McFadden (2010) attributes the emergence of a distinct brand of feminism in South Africa to the neoliberalism and neocolonialism ideologies that were adopted at the fall of apartheid. McFadden (2010) notes, that the current state of feminism in South Africa is a result of the actions of an entrenched white elite acting in collusion with an emerging black ruling

class. Through this radical stance, the white elite and the black ruling class are then accused of acting in cohort to enact policies, rules, laws and governing structures that promote the status quo that is unique to women in South Africa. The actions of these two forces, in South Africa, then give rise to unique strand of feminism that is different to any other in the continent.

It is clear that there are variants between Western feminism and the different strands of African feminisms (Goredema, 2010; Atanga, 2013; Oyewumi, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2012). Despite variants within African feminisms, African feminists are not concerned with issues such as control over reproduction or with debates about discourses of patriarchy; the emerging ideas are distinctly heterosexual, pre-natal, power, bread-and-butter issues (Madunagu, 2010). Moreover, according to Turshen (2010), African feminisms are mainly concerned with women's empowerment rather than women's liberation. Women empowerment, in the African context, is two headed. The first form of empowerment has to do with what Turshen (2010:2) refers to as the "interpretive power", or the struggle that African feminisms have over who defines and contextualises feministic ideas in the continent. For real empowerment to take place, African women themselves should be able to chart their way forward as far as feminist agendas are concerned.

The second form of empowerment Turshen (2010) considers for African feminism is the relationship that African women have with resources available to them in their different localities. Paradoxically, it is the African governments, not the United Nations or non-governmental organisations as previously acknowledged in the different nation states of Africa, that are able to empower African women (Kanji and Jazdowska, 2010). Turshen (2010) notes that the state can empower women by helping them realise their individual aspirations. In doing so, the state, can then empower women to define and articulate their struggle and at the same time enable them to access real resources in their countries.

While it is impossible to give an exhaustive discussion of the current trends of the different strands of African feminisms in different contexts, the selected brands a glimpse of the status of these transitional and fragmented conceptualisations of women's struggles. The selected brands of African feminisms are highlighted here not because they are superior in any way to what is taking place in the other parts of the continent, but because of rather the proximity of these contexts to the overall context of this study. In theorising the current state of feminism in South Africa, MacFadden (2010) contextualises the ideological position of exceptionalism as

a notion of identity that is adopted by the South African nation and filtered through to the type of feminism that women have adopted. As an ideological stance, exceptionalism was infused into the nation's psychic as far back as the colonial period. South Africa has always been seen as different from the rest of the continent. In contextualising the discourses of exceptionalism in South Africa, and relating them to women issues, MacFadden (2010) probes the realities of women of different races, class and social location in South Africa since independence.

MacFadden (2010) argues that black women in South Africa are presented with challenges that cannot easily be redressed by affirmative action programs or by gender mainstreaming. Her arguments are based on the claim that the economic restructuring process adopted by the ruling elite at the fall of apartheid did not include a clear program to ensure women have access to resources. Women in South Africa therefore find themselves in exceptionally difficult positions economically, while at the same time are socially strangled by high levels of sexualised violence and brutality, which are commonly reported about black people by the predominantly white South African media. Similarly, Gaitskell *et al.* (2010) observe the triple oppression of black women in South Africa. They lament that in South Africa, black women are oppressed in three ways; oppressed as blacks, oppressed as women and oppressed as workers.

In understanding the state of feminism in Zimbabwe, Kanji and Jazdowska's (2010) analysis of the role of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) and the World Bank's formulated and sponsored Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) gives invaluable insights. The government of Zimbabwe adopted ESAP in 1991 with the hope of entering into a competitive, export-driven industrialised economy. Some of the results of ESAP were currency devaluation, reduction of government expenditure on social welfare, retrenchment of workers and so many others.

In a study conducted Kanji and Jazdowska (2010) in mid-1991, with 120 randomly selected households in Kambuzuma (a high density suburb in Harare), women were found to be severely affected by ESAP than men. They used a combination of quantitative and semi-structured interviews to collect gender-disaggregated information on paid and unpaid, work, income, expenditure, leisure and social activities between men and women in the wake of an ESAP-driven economy. Their findings reveal that women in Kambuzuma were working very hard to generate income to buy food for the family, to maintain relatives and families in the rural areas

and to care for sick relatives. They also found that women's work was generally unpaid and undervalued, for instance domestic work was not considered as work. All the women in their sample thought that they were worse off in the aftermath of the ESAP-induced price increases and cutbacks in social services. The main reason for this the women in Kanji and Jazdowska's (2010) sample gave was that they were more concerned with household consumption and welfare than men. Given these intractable challenges, which are more structural and systemic, Zimbabwean feminism has a mandate to redress imbalances rather than fight for the liberation of women.

Reflecting on the victories of African feminism, Ahikire (2014) argues that African feminism has become an ideological entity in the political arena, which has shaped societal visions leading to new imaginings of African identity, both within the continent and in the diaspora. She argues against the depoliticisation of the language employed in contemporary African feminism, stating, for instance, "Empowering women does not mean excluding men, men have to be brought on board" (Ahikire, 2014:18). For her, such liberal attitude to African feminism contributes to the reversal, if not erasure, of the gains made so far. She notes, with concern, the upsurge of efforts to re-legalise discrimination against African women through state structures. Citing three case studies of Namibia, Kenya and Uganda, where legislation is being used to entrench the structural and systemic domination of women, Ahikire (2014:21) advocates the re-conceptualisation of terms such "engendering", "gender mainstreaming", "empowerment", "gender-sensitive". In Namibia, efforts to legalise the practice of wife-swapping, which she interprets as gentlemen's agreement to exchange wives for sex without the consent of the women involved, is as disconcerting as it sounds, but without a clearly defined stance in African feminism, it would be difficult to challenge such motions. Similarly, in Kenya, the bill to allow polygamy and the law to enforce a dress code for women in Uganda are structures that some African governments put in place that erodes the gains of African feminism.

The different strands of African feminisms seem to be addressing issues of women who are citizens within a particular country and at a given juncture. What is lacking in literature is a type of feminism that prioritises the interests of women in general, regardless of nationality or citizenship. The emergence of regional, ethnical or cultural distinctions of feminisms, with distinctions such as Nigerian, South African, Zulu or Afrikaner feminism (Goredema, 2010), shows that migrants' and immigrants' interests are excluded within these clearly territorially defined strands of feminisms. The increasing feminisation of migration (Hofman and Buckley,



2011; Gouws, 2015; Hungwe, 2015; Ranga, 2015) is indicative of trends in African feminisms where the rights of more and more women on the continent are marginalised because they are living outside of their countries of birth.

#### **5.4 Matrifocality in African feminism**

Feminism recognises that historically established gender and sexual roles are socially constructed rather than biologically determined (La Barbera, 2012; Butler, 1990). Therefore, different societies have varied gender role expectations depending on the definitions that they have constructed and interpreted from their lived realities. One of Africa's great historians, Egyptologist, physicist, philosopher and anthropologist, Cheikh Anta Diop, developed an essential guide to African feminism that can be considered relevant to the twenty first century ideas on African societies. Speaking anthropologically, he envisages that there is a basic global division of people into two sub-categories: the Southerners (or Negro-Africans) and the Aryans (a category covering all Caucasians, Semites, Mongoloids and American Indians). His polemic discussions led him to the observation that the "Aryans have developed patriarchal systems characterized by the suppression of women and a propensity for war ...while the Southerners, on the other hand, are matriarchal" (Diop, 1978:3). It is within these polemic debates that this section explores literature on the role of matriarchy, especially as it relates to African feminism.

In the footsteps of Cheikh Anta Diop, Amadiume (1987), in her book *Male Daughters and Female Husbands*, subverted the global gender narratives that propagate the dominance of patriarchy. Using empirical evidence gathered from the Nnobi community of Eastern Nigeria to buttress her assertions, Ife Amadiume pieces together arguments for matrifocality, in which "mother and children formed distinct, economically self-sufficient sub-compound units classified as female in relation to the male front section of the compound" (Amadiume, 1987:27), as an African phenomenon. In the Nnobi community, men and women have equal opportunities to amass wealth, which in turn earns them titles. The women, who according to Amadiume (1987) include rich windows, barren women, or wives of rich men, successful female farmers and traders, have authority to resolve disputes and to perform juridical roles in the community. As "female husbands" (Amadiume, 1987:31), the women can marry for procreation purposes. The female husband can marry another woman and appoint male relative of her choice to father children with her "wife". The children that the "wife" bears belong to the female husband. In such a community, the blurring of boundaries between biologically

determined patrilineage and matrilineage power results in the relatively equal distribution of such power across the gender spectrum.

Amadiume (1997) later explains the matriarchal ideology, as rooted as it is in history, as a metaphor deriving from the nurturing, love, protection that stems from a mother's womb. She argues that a European feminist, using Western feminism lenses, will not fathom matriarchy as an ideology and as a way that African societies are structured. As opposed to patriarchy, matriarchy does not seek oppression, but rather glues societies together in the spirit of humanity. Amadiume (1997:23) argues that in Africa, "We already have a history and legacy of a women's culture – a matriarchy based on affective relationships – and this should be given a central place in analysis and social enquiry". True to most African societies, what Amadiume is stating here is that it does not matter who gives the affection in the household or kinship system, whether male or female, what is important is that children draw their strengths from a culture of love that resonates with a matriarchal system, a culture of humanism.

Matrilineal kinship in the African context is not based on the absence of the male figure, but rather in the love, affection and nurturing that is experienced in the uterine relations. These uterine relations mean that it could be a male figure or a female one, from the mother's side, who steps in to ensure that children are given the support that they need to turn out well in life. While acknowledging patrilineal descent in the case of children inheriting their father's surname, totem and other markers of identity, matriarchy still has a place in how the children are raised and from where those children draw their strengths and inspiration, as in the case of children being sent to their maternal uncles and aunts when they are facing problems in life. The strong maternal relations present a different analytical framework of rethinking kinship, gender and African feminism.

Furthering matriarchy as an ideology social ordering in Africa, Amadiume (2002) questions the place of the new, assertive, individualised woman that the globalising neocolonial social context has produced. She uses two case studies, one Zambian and the other Nigerian, to explore the role of matriarchs in the lives of the African women. Using archeological evidence, Amadiume (2002) chronicles the body culturing of Bemba girls at the coming-of-age ceremonies. The archeological evidence that she uses to buttress matriarchy in the context of Bemba society revealed that the elderly woman responsible for teaching the girls was equally revered as a chief and took part in decision making processes at the traditional judiciary courts.

In the Nigerian case study, however, Amadiume (2002) contrasts the lives of two young girls, Florence, who respects and embraces the wisdom of the matriarch in her village, and Asikiye, who rejects the authority, knowledge and tutoring of the elderly women. Using the lenses of Western feminism, Asikiye would be hailed for subverting the oppressions of tradition. Asikiye escapes to live in the city. The question that Ife Amadiume leaves the reader with, is whether Asikiye has made the right decision or not, and to whose benefits. The city itself is a place with its own perils, and Amadiume (2002) paints a gloomy picture of Asikiye's chances of surviving without the social support that a matriarchal society would have given her.

Using her own life story, Salami (2014) draws a sharp contrast between her two grandmothers, one Nigerian and the other Finnish, to demonstrate the existence of matriarchy in African societies and how African feminism should use matriarchy as a point of departure. She describes her African grandmother as someone who would strike a good balance between being firm, strict, and a strong disciplinarian, and being affectionate. Her Finnish grandmother, on the other hand, was more liberal and more relaxed in as far as teaching children around her.

While acknowledging the challenges that African women face, some rooted in historical events while others in the continent's underdevelopment, Minna Salami argues that the media's representation of African women shape the perceptions and the illusions people have of African womanhood and subsequently African feminism (Salami, 2014). African women are normally depicted through the media as "Strugglers", "Survivors", and the: "Stereotyped Empowered African woman", to use Salami's (2014) words, and are therefore in need of rescue from the outside world. The matrifocality of African societies is lost in the media narratives. Stories about powerful African women, the likes of Kuti, Gambo Sawaba, Muthoni Likimani, Thenjiwe Mtintso, Djamila Bouhired, Charlotte Maxeke, and Albertina Sisulu (Salami, 2014; Abbas and Mama, 2014) who fought and mobilised for the liberation of Africa, give precedence to an empowered African woman who is not only involved in the care giving of her family, but is sensible enough to fight injustices of national relevance. Though African societies are not completely matriarchal, if stories about what women do were to be given prominence, they would reveal that they are not entirely patriarchal. The role played by women in different aspects of African societies – be it livelihood, nurturing children, instilling discipline passing on knowledge to future generations, fighting against injustices and many other roles – might have been overshadowed by what Adichie (2009) warns as the danger of a single story.

A different feministic vision that can be read in the same vein as matrifocality is depicted in Vera's (1993) literary work, *Nehanda*. Her work is centered on Zimbabwe's female legend, Nehanda, who led the first war of 1896 to 1897 against the British (Charumbira, 2013). Vera made an effort, as she later admits, to depict:

....a woman (who) had led the first rebellion not only physically, but spiritually, which, in fact, was the basis of our entire armed struggle that followed the Second Chimurenga. It's based on the spiritual belief arising from her (Nehanda) words, "My bones will rise again." (Muponde and Taruvinga, 2003:222)

A number of scholars (Charumbira, 2013; Ranger, 2004; Chigwedere, 2010; Muponde and Taruvinga, 2003) have agreed on the cultural nationalistic role that Nehanda played during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle for independence. Yet in Zimbabwe's nationalist historiography, Nehanda emerges as not only a source of inspiration, a spirit medium, but also as one who physically masterminded and led the first rebellion against the British. Through the character of Nehanda and the other women characters, Vera depicts women who are at the center of their community, as child bearers, those responsible for water and fuel supply and cooking food for the family, as well as wives and mothers. Apart from Nehanda, who has already subverted what is regarded as moving away from the home sphere, the female character Vatete is also involved with judicial matters as she "arbitrate(s) in matters of the village, especially those concerning women" (Vera, 1993:9). In a show of matrifocality, it is not coincidental that through the character of Nehanda in this novel and in reality in the Zimbabwe, a national identity is birthed. Vera's novel revives in the Zimbabwean consciousness the memory of Nehanda, the woman who led the first uprising against colonial settlement, who later on inspired the liberation struggle that brought Zimbabwe's independence.

The women in Vera's novel are industrious, working alongside their male counterparts, not as the stereotyped second class or subjugated individuals that Western feministic ideas seem to suggest (Chigwedere, 2010). However, scholars like Mazrui also believe that rural African women, even though they are at the center of economic activities, are still powerless (Kokole, 1998, cited in Chigwedere, 2010). This observation raises the issue, by whose standards or yardsticks are we using to measure who is oppressed and who is not? It seems problematic to ignore African women's own agencies in the whole gender role matrix and impose foreign

ideas on how they should live their lives. It is also not clear why stepping out of the home sphere, by a woman, is regarded as empowering. What is clear in Vera's *Nehanda* is the peaceful coexistence of males and females as they perform specific tasks for the harmonious upkeep of the household and community. Throughout her story, Vera highlights the values of patriarchy and advocates a purely African self-identity that is free of influence from Western hegemony.

African identity in the Fanonian sense thus needs not to be mirrored against Western values as if to say the West is the standard that the African race aspires to be (Fanon, 1967). A similar perspective can be gleaned from Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions*, where her female protagonist, Tambu, criticises the colonial value system "which made a mockery of the people I belonged to and placed doubt on my legitimate existence" (1988: 163). It is no surprise that Tambu, educated as she became, and remaining sensitive to African cultural values as expected of her in the Shona culture, had a balanced nervous condition. The argument that these two authoresses put across is that, outside of tradition and traditional values, African women, educated or uneducated, are vulnerable and disempowered.

Alice Walker (1983) presents an interesting yet controversial dimension to the conversations of black feminism or feminism by people of colour. She advocates the use of womanism, a concept later taken up as "African womanism" (Chigwedere, 2010:23) in place of feminism. Walker's Afro-American conceptualisation of womanism introduces fluidity and the blurring of the binary sexual boundaries, as she defines a black feminist as a woman "who loves other women, sexually and or asexually... committed to the survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female" (Walker, 1983:XII). While touching on caring and the communal as the guiding spirit of womanism, Walker's conceptualisation is rejected by African scholars (Acholonu, 1995; Chigwedere, 2010) on the basis of it including aspects of lesbianism and homosexuality, a subject regarded as taboo in Africa, and criminalisation in Uganda and Zimbabwe (Gaidzanwa, 2012). Catherine Acholonu, in her book titled *Motherism: The Afrocentric Alternative to Feminism*, totally rejects Walker's womanism in favour of patriarchal ideologies, which she regards as more natural, family-oriented and exalting mother's caring and nurturing abilities (Acholonu, 1995). Acholonu stresses the patriarchal values of caring for the family, which include caring members of the family regardless of gender, bringing people together in a commune that transcends the nuclear family to include the extended family, the community, the nation and beyond.

What can be understood from the discussions about matriarchy and matrifocality as an African phenomenon is that the African feminist's epistemology has produced advocates of women empowerment through education, healthcare, access to resources etc., but at the same time allowing women to maintain their traditional gender roles of mothering children and being a wife. Atanga (2013) advocates a paradigm shift in African feminism, from focus on women as victims of male dominance to acknowledging the agency African women in the home as wives and mothers, and in the public life as economically and politically empowered individuals taking part in the development of the respective countries.

### **5.5 Women sexuality in African feminism**

Sexuality, just like gender, is socially constructed (Berger and White, 1999). The construction of sexuality in African feminism has been centered on heteronormative sex roles (Atanga, 2013). Ellece (2011) conducts a critical DA of the ritual advice given to women before traditional marriage ceremonies in Botswana. The findings of her study reveal that women, who have not gone through the ritual advice ceremonies, where young girls are taught how to conduct themselves in the heterosexual marriage structure, are not considered as real women in the Setswana culture. Such social construction of gender and sex roles contribute to the normalisation of heterosexuality and often, in unfortunate developments, to homophobic expressions (Atanga, 2013).

Similarly, heteronormative constructions of sex and gender roles in the form of ritual initiation of young girls are also practiced among the Bemba people of Zambia, and the Wakirike and Nnobi Igbo people, both of Nigeria (Amadiume, 2002). In these initiation ceremonies, young girls are advised on heterosexual marriage roles and told to embrace their feminine gender roles when they get married. In terms of sexuality, most African scholars on African feminism agree that heteronormativity is salient within the African context, often with religious underpinnings (Atanga, 2013; Ellece, 2011; Acholonu, 1995; Abbas and Mama, 2014; Amadiume, 2002; Ahikire, 2014; Goredema, 2010). As there are still other agendas to be explored within heteronormativity by African feminism, such as “the heterosexual oppressions of women (e.g. female genital mutilation, forced marriages, polygamy)” (Atanga 2013:310), it is difficult to tell when attention can be shifted to other forms of sexualities.

Traditionally and culturally, nothing is available on other forms of sexualities. As Gaidzanwa (2012:9) points out, “There is still very little open and tolerant discussion of various sexualities and sexual possibilities in Africa.” Amadiume (2002) observes that young girls in Bemba communities of Zambia are taught at the initiation ceremonies industriousness and loyalty to their own sex. In the African culture, sexuality has always been defined in binary terms, hence there are ceremonies to socialise people into their respective gender roles. Any hint of homosexuality in African feminism, as with Walker’s (1983) conceptualisation of womanism as an alternative ideology for black feminism, is vehemently rejected by Ocholonu (1995) as un-African. In real-life circumstances, the hostilities around homosexuality are characterised by the “corrective” rapes and murders of lesbians in South Africa, Uganda and other countries (Gaidzanwa, 2012; Mwikya, 2014). Scholars of African feminism would rather risk delving into contentious issues, which will earn them notoriety as puppets of Western feministic agendas.

Through the initiation ceremonies for young girls, it seems that the women who come out of these rituals are equipped to become agencies of their own sexualities within the heteronormative boundaries. Bakare-Yusuf (2013) uses storytelling to uncover the sexual pleasures of the African women in the Nigerian context. Her storytelling technique uncovers female sexual pleasures within the traditional boundaries, which are characterised by the agency and the power of the women. This finding is quite contrary to what Western feminisms envisages in its fight against patriarchy: women are cowed into submission and subjugation for the benefit of the male counterpart. In the same vein, Tamale (2013) in her article titled “Eroticism, Sensuality and ‘Women’s Secrets’” uncovers the role played by the elderly women among the Baganda of Uganda, who assume the roles of parental aunts in tutoring young women to ensure their agency in sexual matters.

Culture plays a crucial role in the construction of what desires and pleasures can be pursued and are permissible; in fact, culture in conjunction with society are the gatekeepers of sexualities (Oloruntoba-Oju, 2010). In line with collectivism and communality, values by which many African societies abide, the sexual configurations that are allowed in societies are also subject to societal consent, spoken or unspoken. Even though Western philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes and David Hume) and psychoanalysts and psychiatrists (Sigmund Freud, Emmanuel Kant and Jacques Lacan) had already established that sexual desires are a result of

the body's involuntary response to libidinal energies (Oloruntoba-Oju, 2010), desires whose orientation an individual has no choice over, they did not give individuals the right to pursue desires and pleasures that are contrary to societal values and norms.

Sexuality is one area where clashes between conservatism and postmodernism become apparent. Postmodernism promotes the unregulated sexualities and exploration of new sexual configurations. As people keep pushing the boundaries that cultures and societies have set regarding sexual desires and pleasures, it remains unclear when and how the line will be drawn in future when attention is shifted to other areas such as incest, bestiality, etc. In many parts of Africa, for example, the responsibility is placed on women to be chaste and pure until marriage. Many African feminists are of the view that such restrictions disempower women (Oloruntoba-Oju, 2010; McFadden, 2003; Pereira, 2003; Tamale, 2013; Bakare-Yusuf, 2013).

When discussing what shapes female sexuality norms in Africa, it is impossible to ignore the role that colonialism played in framing heteronormative values. According to Tamale (2013), colonialists colluded with African patriarchy to institute customary frameworks and structures, which ushered in new ways of domination. In these structures, women's sexualities were medicalised and reduced to reproductive purposes. Gaidzanwa (2012:9) makes similar remarks: "The contestations around women's sexuality have often had to be couched in terms of women's health and reproductive rights, rather than the right of women to express, shape and explore desire and sexuality on the same terms as men." Religion also played a role in defining the morals and circumstances within which sexualities could be expressed. However, as Tamale (2013) points out, this resulted in restrictions and gender-skewed morality, with women being burdened with the responsibility of maintaining chastity and virginity. Earlier on, Oloruntoba-Oju (2010) bemoaned the policing of women in Africa as a major hindrance to the actualisation of female sexual desires.

When it comes to women sexualities in Africa, African feminists do not seem to have made inroads, as the issues around them are embedded in viewpoints of a polemic nature, one rooted in conservatism and the other in postmodernism. In the journal *Feminist Africa*, African feminists such as Patricia McFadden (2003) and Charmaine Pereira (2003) have grappled with the issue of how sexual pleasure can be a way of reclaiming women's agency. To reclaim women's agency and as a way of subverting patriarchy, Bakare-Yusuf (2013) argues for the removal of restrictions that society imposes on women's sexualities. As clashes between



conservatism and postmodernism with regards to women's sexualities escalate, it is important to acknowledge that there is a thin line between pleasure and danger. For scholarly purposes, female agency, emancipation and liberation are quite estimable ends, following postmodernity. However, reality always has a way of bringing checks and balances that are not subject to scholarly and academic types of reasoning. It will be interesting to find out, in real-life circumstances, what women would do with the agency and the liberation that African feminist are advocating. It would also be interesting to find out whether women benefit from exploring their sexualities without societal or cultural restriction.

### **5.6 The future of women issues in the African perspectives**

By way of concluding this discussion on African feminisms, I will turn to Chigwedere's (2010) insights on futuristic agendas of women's causes. In her reading of Yvonne Vera's novel, *The Stone Virgins*, which envisions the "womanist consciousness" (Chigwedere, 2010:34) gleans an ideological principle to bring African feminisms together, to bring to the fore some of the pertinent factors to be considered in formulating African feministic agendas. In the novel, Vera (2002) highlights the central roles, at diplomatic, military and political levels, women played during Zimbabwe's liberations struggle. Zimbabwean women, who received the same training as men, went on to fight a bloody war alongside their male counterparts, to remove the colonial settler regime that had displaced and disposed citizens of their land. It then becomes paradoxical to imagine that this caliber of women, who fought the evils of colonialism and were instrumental in bringing about independence, would be silenced by patriarchy. If any war is to be waged, imagined or real, in the African context concerning the rights of women, surely it is not responsibility of the West to come to the rescue of African women. Indeed, history has proven that African women can rise up to challenge any form of oppression.

African scholars agree on communalism as that basis on which African societies are built (Atanga, 2013; Bakare-Yusuf, 2013; Abbas and Mama, 2014; Amadiume, 2002; Acholonu, 1995; Chigwedere, 2010). As such, African societies place great value on the greater good of the community, the family, kinship and the nation over the liberation of its individual. Individual rights are recognised, as long as they are not in conflict with the well-being of the community as a whole. This does not negate the importance of women's struggles, but rather emancipation has to be pursued within the confines of the greater good of the society (Atanga, 2013). Communalism as a central ordering of African societies is explored succinctly by

Chigwedere (2010), who advocates African womanism instead of African feminism, because African womanism embraces communalism as an aspect of the African heritage, which has some good values. Therefore, any African futuristic feministic agendas should be conceptualised within these “socio-historic, cultural and economic contexts” (Chigwedere, 2010:41). Any African feministic cause that does not take cognizance of this reality risks being alienated from the people it is supposed to serve.

It has already been established that it is impossible to have a single African feminism strand, hence there are multiple African feminisms. However, having multiple forms of feminisms across the continent does not seem to solve the problem of the tendency of some women trying to speak on behalf of other African women’s experiences. Goredema (2010) posits that African feminism is largely a response of middle-class educated black women who undertake to write on behalf of the poor and the uneducated. As long as this continues to be the case, African feministic methodology and theory remains questionable in the same manner Western feminism has become. A progressive way to counter such risks is to allow people to speak for themselves and their own lived realities. Educated middle-class black women should not assume positions of superiority as to speak on behalf of whom they perceive to be downtrodden, oppressed, voiceless and uneducated. On an epistemological level, it is important to develop theory that is grounded in the data, rather than to come up with frameworks that are designed elsewhere.

Another important aspect that needs to be considered by African feminisms is the matrilineal context of most African societies. In matrilineal contexts, women are not directly oppressed by their male counterparts (Amadiume, 1987; Salami, 2014; Abbas and Mama, 2014; Charumbira, 2013). Matriarchy is a reality even in modern and almost-Westernised societies, as the relations between children and their mothers are stronger, in many cases, than those with their fathers and the fathers’ kinship. In a show of matriarchy and uterine bonds, Buchi Echemta quoted by Goredema (2010:38) declares, “some of these men are my brothers and fathers and sons. Am I to reject them too?” It then becomes problematic to come up with a feminism that is contrary to the uniting nature matriarchy. Therefore, African feminisms need to use matriarchy as a starting point for the exploration of women issues for their agendas to be relevant to the social contexts.

## CHAPTER SIX

### A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF NEWS MEDIA TEXTS ON ZIMBABWEAN WOMEN MIGRANTS

#### 6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, an overview of African feminisms was provided, including their main tenets and how they differ from Western strands. Themes emerging from African feminisms as explored in literature in the previous chapter are the closest to subjects of this study. While this research report writing was not necessarily viewed through the lenses of African feminisms, the insights gained are relevant in as much as the thesis is reporting on women migrants of an African origin whose host country is also part of the continent. This chapter presents the data from the textual analysis of news articles extracted from Johannesburg-based newspapers. The chapter includes both an overview and a thematic analysis, through GTM, of the news media texts. GTM is the preferred method of generating themes mainly because of the researcher's dissatisfaction with current theories of exploring migrants' experiences in their host countries. Current theories do not seem to capture the nuances that different contexts present. As a "systematic, inductive, and comparative approach for conducting inquiry for the purposes of contracting theory" (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007:1), GTM offers the researcher the means for a clear categorisation of the media texts that is free from preconceived notions.

This chapter presents a preliminary analysis of the news media texts published by Johannesburg-based newspapers. Media representations of individuals or groups demonstrate some value judgements and perceptions that society has of such groups or individuals. Such perceptions, when repeated by the media, can become hegemonic. The findings of the thematic analysis describe how news media texts were used to represent individuals, groups and identities of Zimbabwean women migrants. In terms of the identities of the Zimbabwean women migrants, news media through representation provide a bird's eye view of a sub-set of a community, and the issues highlighted about individuals and/or a group of people. According to Chilwa (2011), media representations are laden with ideas and value judgements about social events, people and relationships.

**Table 1: Overview of news media texts**

Source	Headline	Summary
<i>The Star; IOL</i> – 14 July 2015	Hospitals held our babies for ransom	The news story reports on two Johannesburg hospitals, Pholosong Hospital in the East Rand and Leratong Hospital outside Krugersdorp, withholding newly born babies from their mothers, only releasing them when mothers settle the hospital bill. A Zimbabwean woman migrant was allowed to give birth at Leratong Hospital, but was later threatened with arrest for failure to pay the hospital charges.
<i>The Star; IOL</i> – 24 January 2013	Fears for health of deported triplets	The news article is about a Chipso Chiramba, who was deported back to Zimbabwe together with her new born triplets amidst outcry against her deportation by people who knew her, citing humanitarian grounds. Chiramba from rural Gokwe, Zimbabwe had entered South Africa illegally after being thrown out of her husband's house.
<i>Mail &amp; Guardian</i> – 20 September 2013	Foreign mom's neglect turns fatal	The feature article is about a Chenai Mushangazhike, whose newly born son died at Charlotte Maxeke hospital due to oxygen deprivation when an ambulance came late to take her to hospital. Previously, she had been turned away at the first public clinic she had gone to for ante-natal care because she had failed to produce her asylum seeker's document and she could not afford the payment required from undocumented migrants. She then sought the intervention of Lawyers for Human Rights to access that healthcare that she needed for delivery. The story refers to the South African healthcare policy that forbids undocumented migrants from seeking health-care at public hospitals unless they pay private hospital fees. Chenai's second child was also snatched from her at the place where she begs for a living.
<i>The Star; IOL</i> – 23 October 2012	High time we learnt a lesson from Zimbabwe	Two Zimbabwean women estimated to be 15 or 16 years of age, both with babies on their backs, appeared one morning at the writer's suburb begging for food and used clothes. The fathers of their babies had both disappeared. They had crossed the border to South Africa to escape extreme poverty. They now sleep in a container and depend on donations for a living.
<i>Mail &amp; Guardian</i> – 23 August 2013	Migration is a tale that knows no bounds	The feature story starts with a caption describing the plight of Zimbabwean women migrants, some with babies, sharing a room stashed with cross border trading goods. A quotation from a Zimbabwean woman author No Violet Bulawayo is used as lead paragraph and illustrated the indiscriminate nature of migration, i.e. both the rich and the poor are subjected to the same squalid living conditions when they enter South Africa. The article highlights how Zimbabwean women migrants are represented as collective groups in the media, so that their individual journeys and stories are overshadowed.
<i>Africa News Slider</i> – 23 February 2015	Zimbabwean Woman Threatens Lawsuit Over "False" Story	A Zimbabwean woman, Tholiwe Maphosa, threatened to sue South African newspapers for using the image of her and her father in a story that alleged that a Zimbabwean woman and a Nigerian man got stuck while having sex in Yeoville, Johannesburg. The supposed Nigerian man in the story is Tholiwe's father who is a <i>Malayitsha</i> (transporter). Tholiwe claims that the picture was taken at her sister's graduation. The story went viral, both on social media and in the South African tabloids newspapers. This article also established that some of the images and the videos used the "false story" were extracted from Ugandan and other websites.
<i>The Star; IOL</i> – 5 April 2013	Promise of a job ends in mom's heartbreak	Victoria Muyambo's son was stolen by a woman who had promised her a domestic work job. Victoria met her soon-to-be-employer while begging in Pretoria CBD. She then travelled to Johannesburg with the woman who had promised to pay her R250 a day. Upon arrival at Park Station, on their way to

		Tembisa, the prospective employer disappeared with Victoria's two-month old baby.
<i>Times LIVE</i> – 10 January 2015	South African government declares war on Zimbabweans	The story reports of The South African government through its Home Affairs Department launching a crackdown on Zimbabwean migrants entering the country using fraudulent documents. Illustrating the story is a picture of a pregnant Zimbabwean woman illegally crossing the barbed wire fence after surviving the crocodile-infested Limpopo River.
<i>The Star; IOL</i> – 8 March 2014	Women in prison: ignored and neglected	The article is about Sun City Prison women inmates being denied special requirements to cater for their sanitary needs. A Viwe Tafadzwa, who at the time was serving a three year sentence for defrauding ABSA ( a bank in South Africa), complained of the limited supply of sanitary pads in the prison, which the inmates only received after going through dehumanising checks and verifications to ascertain whether they were really on their menstrual cycle.
<i>The Star; IOL</i> – 30 July 2015	Zim couple want SA travel ban reversed	Sithobekile Sibanda, who had travelled to South Africa to attend a church conference in Johannesburg, incurred a travel ban due to overstaying by hours the number of days she was allowed to spend in the country. While in Johannesburg, she suffered a cardiac-related ailment and was admitted at Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital. She was discharged on the day she was to leave South Africa and travelled to the border the same day only to arrive after midnight. She was then fined a two- year travel ban for failure to exit the country on time.
<i>Mail &amp; Guardian</i> – 17 May 2013	Zimbabwe wants SA to keep its citizens	Ndadzoka Pamberi (not her real name) spent a week in Lindela repatriation camp awaiting deportation to Zimbabwe. She used her time at Lindela to operate a makeshift hair salon for a fee. She later used the money to pay for transportation back to Johannesburg from Beit Bridge, the day she was deported. She made it back to Johannesburg on the same day by walking through bushes by day and hitch hiking in the <i>Malayishas</i> (Zimbabwean nationals who transport groceries to Zimbabwe from Johannesburg) by night. Back in Johannesburg, she went on to stay for eight years by paying her way out of several arrests.
<i>Times Live</i> – 21 July 2015	Desperate Zimbabwean women flock to cross-border trade despite risks	The article is in two parts. The first is about a Theresa Matanda, an accountant by profession, who after being widowed joined the cross border traders, risking rape, robbery and death because she could not get a job in Zimbabwe. Matanda, together with other Zimbabwean women, travels 3000 kilometres, sometimes in open trucks, through Zambia to Angola to sell clothes, bed sheets and tablecloths. The second part is about the bodies of Zimbabwean women that were found in Germiston, Johannesburg. A Zimbabwean gang was suspected of the crime.
<i>Times Live</i> – 6 May 2015	Foreigners cooped in cage	Lindela repatriation centre in Krugersdop on the West Rand is overpopulated and overcrowded. While it is mainly Zimbabwean men who are held at the centre, women, mainly Zimbabwean, are seen waiting in winding queues, some with babies on their backs, waiting to see their incarcerated husbands or relatives.
<i>Mail &amp; Guardian</i> – 28 November 2014	Xenophobia violates Health Act and migrants' rights to care	Xenophobia is more pronounced in the big cities such as Johannesburg or Cape Town. In these cities there are more cases of institutionalised xenophobia, where pregnant migrant women are denied access to healthcare services, even though the Health Act stipulates that foreign patients without any documentation should not be refused emergency medical treatment. A document contradicting this Health Act was circulated in Gauteng, and migrant patients without documentation were required to pay in full before accessing healthcare services. A Thembi Ndlovu's daughter, (both women are from Zimbabwe) who lives in

		Johannesburg had to go and give birth in rural Mvela, where her mother lives, fearing this institutionalised xenophobia in the hospitals in Johannesburg. Thembi Ndlovu, now married and living in Mvela, once worked in Johannesburg as a domestic worker where her then employer exploited her, knowing that she is a foreigner. Ndlovu also talks of her experiences as a victim of sexual exploitation on her journey to Johannesburg. A group of men sexually abused her, and one of them gave her R30, which she used for transportation to Johannesburg.
<i>Mail &amp; Guardian</i> – 16 March 2012	A sick system abuses its refugees	The soft news article is about how pregnant foreign women migrants suffer abuse at the hands of nurses, even though South Africa is under obligation, in terms of the Constitutional and international human rights protocol, to provide access to healthcare to everyone within its borders, including refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. Pregnant migrants mainly from Zimbabwe, bear the brunt of South Africa’s strained healthcare system. The women migrants’ situation is worsened by the closure of the Johannesburg Asylum Seekers Office, reports the article.
<i>The Star; IOL</i> – 16 May 2015	Operation Fiela like “ethnic cleansing”	Civil rights activists speak against the South African Government’s Operation Fiela. Operation Fiela was aimed at ridding communities of criminality and lawlessness. Zimbabwean activist, Elinor Sisulu comments on the inappropriateness of the time as it was only a month after the April 2015 xenophobic attacks on immigrants.
<i>Business Day</i> – 27 February 2013	Advocacy group hails NPA’s decision to probe allegations of mass rape in Zimbabwe	This article reports on the events of a press briefing that took place in Johannesburg. At the press briefing, the AIDS-Free World (a Canadian advocacy group) urged South Africa’s National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) to investigate allegations of politically motivated mass rapes of Zimbabwean women during the run-up to Zimbabwe’s 2008 elections. The AIDS-Free World claimed it had documented gang rapes of more than 80 women by men singing Zanu-PF (Zimbabwe’s ruling party) songs and wearing party T-shirts. South Africa enacted the Rome Statue into domestic law, which gives the country an obligation to investigate crimes against humanity and to arrest suspects once they enter the South Africa. The willingness of both the NPA and the Hawks (crime fighting units of South Africa) to carry out such an investigation could not be established.
<i>Times Live</i> – 14 March 2015	Don't border-jump into SA, there's death there: Zimbabwe vice president tells pupils	The story reports on one the vice president of Zimbabwe, Phelekezela Mphoko, and his warnings to Zimbabwean against illegal migration to South Africa. He warns the women of the likely dangers that they will encounter at the hands of the transporters. The vice president warns the women that the <i>Malayitshas</i> (transporters) will rape or kill them on the journey. He also warns them of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and coming back to Zimbabwe in a coffin.
<i>Mail &amp; Guardian</i> – 28 November 2014	Xenophobia violates Health Act and migrants' rights to care	Another Mavela resident, Thembi Ndlovu, was born in Zimbabwe but came to South Africa in 2002 to look for work as she could not eke out a living in her country with its “crumbling economy”. Her only daughter followed suit some years later and is living in Johannesburg. Ndlovu, who is now married to a South African man, lives in his Mavela house but when her daughter got pregnant she worried about being turned away from Johannesburg hospitals. “Just before nine months I told her to come this side,” she says.
<i>Daily Sun</i> – 12 February 2015	Cheaters stuck together after poking!	A Zimbabwean woman and a Nigerian man had their sexual organs stuck together while having sex at a flat in Yeoville, Johannesburg. The Zimbabwean

		woman's husband, a <i>Malayitsha</i> (transporter) was reported to be in Zimbabwe at the moment and was believed to be the only one who could free the stuck couple. The story also reports that the Zimbabwean, who was married in terms of custom law to the woman in the story, had been complaining about his wife cheating on him. The sister to the Zimbabwean husband told <i>Daily Sun</i> that her brother went on to get <i>muthi</i> (traditional medicine) to catch his wife. The article also reports that neither the paramedics nor the police on the scene could confirm whether the stuck couple had been taken to hospital or not.
<i>The Star; IOL</i> – 27 January 2015	Beit Bridge drug case postponed	A Memory Maphosa, 39, from Zimbabwe is co-accused, together with a Vuyiswa Mabasa, 23, from Lesotho of entering South Africa from Zimbabwe carrying ingredients associated with drug manufacturing. Police estimated the value of the substance to be worth about R8 million.
<i>Mail &amp; Guardian</i> – 19 April 2013	Who moved my country?	Everjoice J. Win, a Zimbabwean feminist, returns to Zimbabwe after living in Johannesburg for ten years. She struggles to fit in and to find her way around Harare, the city in which she grew up. She cannot relate with the news on radio, television and on the newspapers, which seems to be obsessed with superstition, witchcraft, sexual scandals and religiosity. She finds solace in shopping at the newly opened Pick n Pay branch at Westgate shopping centre in Harare. She also struggles with understanding the currency and pricing system of goods being sold by mobile vendors and at spaza shops. The Harare she knew, which was well structured with big departmental stores, is now replaced by disorderly and unplanned structures infested by vendors who sometimes are in the business of delivering goods door-to-door.

## 6.2 Applying the Grounded Theory Method (GTM)

The GTM of generating themes, as explained in the methodology section of this thesis follows systematic steps (Creswell, 2014; Babbie 2014). The steps to be followed, chronologically, are generating categories of the data, grouping similar categories together, threading the categories together into a story, delimiting theory, and writing the theory.

The initial step in the GTM is coding, which refers to both open coding and axial coding. Bohm (2004:270) defines coding as “the deciphering or interpretation of data and includes the naming of concepts and also explaining and discussing them in more detail.” To generate codes from the news media texts on Zimbabwean migrants, steps in the coding process as stated by (Creswell, 2014) were followed. The researcher coded the data by firstly reading through all the news media texts written about Zimbabwean women between 2012 and 2015 and downloaded from newspaper websites of publications headquartered in Johannesburg, and then writing summaries of each of the texts. Reading through all the news stories gave the researcher an opportunity to get a sense of the texts as a whole. The researcher then made a list of main and sub themes emerging from the texts. Themes were identified by finding the most

appropriate descriptive word or phrase for a cluster of data. Abbreviations were then assigned to the identified themes. The process of abbreviating the themes followed the same pattern of using the first letters of the words that make up the theme. Data belonging to each category were assembled together under a main theme. Table 2, below presents the main and subthemes identified in the data and the codes used.

**Table 2: Themes identified and codes used**

Main Theme	Subthemes	Codes
Victimhood and Vulnerability		<b>VV</b>
	Victims of Sexual Violence	<i>VSV</i>
	Vulnerability to destitution	<i>VD</i>
	Losing their children to baby-snatchers	<i>LCBS</i>
	Single parenthood	<i>SP</i>
	Vulnerability to emotional turmoil	<i>VET</i>
	Poverty, hunger and starvation	<i>PHS</i>
	Liminal existence	<i>LE</i>
Institutionalised Xenophobia		<b>IX</b>
	Exclusion from healthcare	<i>EH</i>
	Hate speech	<i>HS</i>
	Threats of arrest and deportation	<i>TAD</i>
Prostitution		<b>PS</b>
	Bondage, dominance, sadism and sadomasochism	<i>BDSM</i>
Criminalisation of migration		<b>CM</b>
Identity crisis		<b>IC</b>

Five main themes emerged in the analysis of news articles retrieved from Johannesburg's news websites. These themes are victimhood and vulnerability, institutionalised xenophobia, liminal existence, prostitution, and criminalisation of migration. Themes emerging in the retrieved stories were generated using the GTM. These methods of data analysis were incorporated because of their inductive approach to qualitative data (Baxter and Babbie, 2005). An inductive



approach to the data allowed the researcher to subject the news articles to scrutiny and, from this close reading, generate themes. As explained above, news stories were read and segments of the news articles depicting the same themes were grouped together. Names that summarised the categories were then assigned to the grouped segments, and these names became the themes. It was possible for some news stories to belong to more than one theme by virtue of the issues they raised.

Following the GTM of data analysis, themes emerged by applying both open and axial coding. Open coding is the first level of coding, in which concepts are identified through “conceptualizing the underlying pattern of a set of empirical indicators within the data ... that explains what is happening in the data” (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007:266). At the open coding level, the researcher categorised and sorted the texts, making notes on the ideas emerging from the data. The open coding also involved extracting excerpts, in verbatim, of each news story that contains the essence of the article.

The second phase was axial coding. According to Bohm (2004:272), “axial coding is applied in the middle or later stages of an analysis.” Bohm (2004) goes on to explain that axial coding is mainly applied to short textual segments. In this study, the short textual segments that were assigned a code through axial coding were the sentences in the excerpts extracted from the news stories. At this stage the researcher identified connections in the themes, and some themes were collapsed and others grouped together under a main theme. Baxter and Babbie (2005) argue that identified themes should possess heuristic value. The heuristic value can only be achieved when the codes and the themes are unitising (Babbie, 2014). This means that the codes and the themes need to aid in the understanding of the phenomena. In the context of this thesis, connections within the codes and the themes were made, inasmuch as they contributed to answering the research questions posed at the onset of this report. The central question to this section was: How are Zimbabwean women migrants represented in a selection of news stories extracted from Johannesburg-based publications?

The researcher read through the manifest content, in the form of excerpts from the news articles. The researcher then coded the latent content of the news media texts based on the meanings they convey. According to Babbie (2014:346), latent coding calls for the researcher to view the “underlying meaning” of the communication and make a subjective assessment in assigning names to the themes and the codes. The codes assisted in highlighting the main issues

that Johannesburg news media websites assume about women Zimbabwean migrants. While both the themes and the codes were a result of the researcher's own interpretation of the texts, they were generated by closely examining the texts for their denotational significations; therefore the thematic analysis is likely to be free from bias. However, this does not necessarily mean that another coder or interpreter would come up with the same themes and codes.

### **6.3 Excerpts from the thematic representations of Zimbabwean women migrants**

In the news media texts about Zimbabwean women migrants extracted from newspaper websites headquartered in Johannesburg, five main themes were found to be recurrent. These themes are victimhood and vulnerability (**VV**), institutionalised xenophobia (**IX**), prostitution (**PS**), criminalisation of migration (**CM**) and identity crisis (**IC**). These five themes occur in almost all the texts. The main themes were then coded with capitalised and emboldened letters (as given in brackets) to distinguish them from the sub themes, which were coded in italicised capital letters. The dominating theme was victimhood and vulnerability, which was a central focus in 16 of the 20 news articles. However, some of the texts treated more than one theme and, as such, excerpts taken from same story were given the same numerical name but under different themes. All the news media texts extracted present Zimbabwean women migrants in a negative spotlight. Though not explored in this study, it would be interesting find if there is a causal link between news media representations and readers' perceptions of certain groups.

#### **6.3.1 Theme 1: victimhood and vulnerability**

The images of the victimhood and vulnerabilities regarding the Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa is a theme that is explored quite extensively in the news media texts extracted from Johannesburg-based newspapers. Victimhood and vulnerabilities (**VV**) as a main theme emerged as Zimbabwean women migrants were represented according to the sub themes of victims of sexual violence (*VSV*), vulnerability to destitution (*VD*), losing children to baby-snatchers (*LCBS*), single parenthood (*SP*), liminal existence (*LE*), vulnerability to emotional turmoil (*VET*) and victims of poverty, hunger and starvation (*PHS*). In this corpus, stories portraying women migrants as being victims and vulnerable are so overwhelming that they reinforce and entrench particular stereotypes that negate the agency of the women in the migration matrix.

The news media texts, together with their manifest and latent meanings, contribute to the formation of a social milieu for the basis of “ascribed” identity (Castells, 1996:3). According to Banda and Mawadza (2015), for example, the South African media’s depictions of migrants contribute to how readers view and define migrants. The way readers view and define migrants is similar to what Castells (1996:3) calls “ascribed” identity. The theme of **VV**, together with its subthemes identified through latent coding give rise to a communicative context in which both readers and the migrants define who immigrants are.

**Text 1.** “Hospitals held our babies for ransom”: Johannesburg – East Rand mothers allege that Pholosong Hospital is withholding newborn babies from foreign mothers until they can pay for giving birth at the public hospital (*VET, VV*). Originally from Zimbabwe but living in Bramfischerville, Linda Mhlanga says that staff at Leratong Hospital outside Krugersdorp threatened to have her arrested in 2014 when she could not pay for the birth of her daughter (*TAD, LE*). “I was charged R800 for booking only, but I told them that I do not have money,” Mhlanga said. “They allowed me to give birth and threatened that they were going to send me to the police if I did not pay them (*TAD, LE*).” *The Star: IOL*, 14 July, 2015

**Text 2.** “Fears for health of deported triplets”. UNWANTED: Zimbabwean Chipso Chiramba is being deported from South Africa, together with her newborn triplets (*TAD, LE*). Chiramba had previously pleaded for a South African family to care of her triplets Danuel, Danisa and Danielle, saying she would rather be separated from them than take them back with her to Zimbabwe (*VET, VV*). On Monday, a Department of Home Affairs 4x4 collected Chiramba and her babies from the shelter where she had spent the weekend in the West Coast town of Vredendal, and took to a safe house in Malmesbury. On Tuesday morning she started the long journey to the Beit Bridge border post, according to friends from the shelter (*TAD, LE*). Chiramba gave birth to triplets on December 14 at Tygerberg Hospital. She entered South Africa illegally in September, after apparently being thrown out of her husband’s house in Zimbabwe (*VET, VV*). Chiramba was one of roughly two million Zimbabwean migrants living in South Africa. Exact numbers are hard to come by, as many are undocumented migrants (*VD, VV*).

Chiramba's niece, Hellen Ndlovu, said her aunt came to South Africa to earn money to send back to her mother in a small village in Zimbabwe's rural Gokwe region, about 200km west of the capital, Harare (*PHS, LE*). "If you are an undocumented migrant you will be turned away at the border, unless you want to apply for asylum" (*VD, VV, TAD, LE*). Once Chiramba's presence had been noted by the Department of Home Affairs, deportation proceedings began, even though her triplets were born in South Africa (*TAD, LE*). *The Star*; IOL, 24 January 2013.

**Text 3.** "Foreign mom's neglect turns fatal". Nurses and doctors are "forced" to treat non-residents, but such care is too often perilous (*EH, IX*). Chenai Mushangazhike\* sits on an old 25-litre paint bucket in the dark three-by-three-metre unit she rents in a derelict building in downtown Johannesburg (*PHS, LE, VD, VV*). The hood of her oversized sweater casts a shadow over her face. She rocks back and forth as her eyes shift blindly (*VET, VV*). The physical wounds caused by the traumatic birth of her fifth baby last year may have healed but, mentally, Mushangazhike has not recovered from the death of her newborn (*VET, VV*). "The doctors did what they could, but my baby didn't make it. He lived for only one day," she recalls. "It was the most painful experience of my life. It is a wound in my heart that will never heal." She looks down and shakes her head. "My little boy was breech [a baby that is born with buttocks or feet first as opposed to the normal head-first position]. They [the nurses] knew that, but they still sent me away" (*EH, IX*). Mushangazhike's pain did not end – nor did it start – there. She is Zimbabwean and feels like a stranger in a country where she had been living in legally as an asylum seeker for more than five years (*LE*). And she was treated as one (*IX*). But Mushangazhike's asylum-seeker documents had been stolen from her on the same day as her second baby was snatched from her arms outside of her building in 2008 (*LSBS, VV*). "I was told that replacing those documents would cost R3 000. As a person who begs for a living, I don't have that kind of money" (*PHS, LE, VD, VV*). *Mail & Guardian*, 20 September 2013.

**Text 4.** “High time we learnt a lesson from Zimbabwe”. In this file photo, homeless Zimbabwean refugees sleep on pavements in the bitter cold of winter around the Central Methodist Church in Pritchard Street, Joburg (VD, VV). The bell at the gate rings and I can make out from the accent that it is a Zimbabwean woman. I ask my wife to go and attend to her. After some 15 minutes or so she comes back into the house very upset, mumbling something about it not being fair and raiding the refrigerator and cupboards for food (PHS, LE, VD, VV). She puts it in two plastic bags, one for ready-to-eat stuff and the other for food that needs cooking. Then she goes into the bedrooms in search of clothes to give to the visitors outside. Going outside, I come face to face with two girls of about 15 or 16 years old, each with a baby on her back (SP, VV). It is very hot and they are sitting in the shade in the yard waiting for my wife to return (PHS, LE, VD, VV). They look thoroughly exhausted. It turns out that they ran away from poverty and hunger in Zimbabwe (PHS, LE). The fathers of their babies had disappeared (SP, VV). They entered South Africa a few weeks earlier in search of salvation (VD, VV). *The Star; IOL*, 23 October 2012.

**Text 5.** “Migration is a tale that knows no bounds”. Behind an apparently amorphous multitude are distinct individuals, each with a particular mission. Too often, however, the image of the collective overshadows the personal journey. Migrants are represented in the mass media or in politics as groups inhabiting camps, mines or slums, as masses flooding into alien countries, or victims of mob violence (VD, VV). The personal journeys – the disappointed hopes, lost loves, family quibbles, weddings and funerals, the daily experiences of hope or failure – have little public space (VET, VV). *Mail & Guardian*, 23 August, 2013.

**Text 6.** “Promise of a job ends in mom’s heartbreak”. Victoria Muyambo from Zimbabwe says her son was stolen by a woman who promised her a job, but disappeared with her baby at a shop in central Joburg (VET, LCBS, VV). Johannesburg – Victoria Muyambo was delighted when she was offered a job as a domestic worker. She is a street beggar and had been desperate to find employment (VD, VV). But that delight turned to horror when her soon-

to-be-employer snatched her two-month-old baby boy, Prince (*LCBS, VV*). The mother-of-two, who comes from Zimbabwe, met her “employer” Grace in the Pretoria CBD three weeks ago while begging on Nelson Mandela Drive. Desperate to find employment, Muyambo agreed to travel to Joburg with the woman. She said she was promised R250 a day as a domestic worker (*VD, VV*). *The Star; IOL*, 5 April 2013.

**Text 7.** “South African government declares war on Zimbabweans”. A pregnant woman crosses under a barbed wire fence, one of a group of 20 Zimbabwean men and women who crossed the border near Beit Bridge on March 31 and then braved the flooded and crocodile infested Limpopo River to get to South Africa (*TAD, LE*). The Department of Home Affairs has reportedly launched a crackdown, which started on New Year's Day, on illegal South African passport holders intending to enter or leave Zimbabwe through the Beitbridge border (*TAD, LE*) (caption). *Times LIVE*, 10 January 2015.

**Text 8.** “Women in prison: ignored and neglected”. Prisons such as Sun City do not cater for specific requirements of women serving their sentences at the jail (*IX*). But Viwe Tafadzwa\* says this usually does not happen: “We are given a limited number of pads, the warders want to see whether you’re really bleeding and don’t care how heavy your flow is.” Viwe, 26, is serving a three-year sentence for defrauding Absa out of R45 000 (*CM*). *The Star; IOL*, 8 March 2014.

**Text 9.** “Zim couple want SA travel ban reversed”. Anglistone Thembani Sibanda and his wife Sithobekile, both pastors, arrived in South Africa on July 12 for an international church conference hosted in Kempton Park, Gauteng. The summit also drew guests from the United States and Liberia. The couple was granted a stay of 15 days each, from the annual visa-free 90-day stay which applies to visiting Zimbabweans (*IX*). “On July 17, Sithobekile, who has a history of cardiac related ailments, collapsed. We rushed her to a general medical practitioner in Johannesburg who in turn referred her to Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital. She was subsequently

admitted until the 27th of July,” said Sibanda. “They temporarily discharged her at around 4pm on the 27th of July, which was apparently our last day according to the days we had been given by home affairs border officials upon our entry into South Africa.” The couple hurried for the border, more than 500 kilometers away but only arrived at the exit port after midnight. “That led to our ban from South Africa as we arrived two hours after June 27 ended,” he said (*TAD, LE*). *The Star; IOL*, 30 July 2015.

**Text 10.** “Zimbabwe wants SA to keep its citizens” (*LE*). The story of Johannesburg-based illegal immigrant Ndadzoka Pamberi, which is not her real name, is a familiar one. After spending a week at the Lindela repatriation camp awaiting deportation, Pamberi was taken by train to Musina, then across the border into Zimbabwe in a police truck (*TAD, LE*). While in custody at Lindela, she operated a makeshift hair salon, plaiting female immigration officers’ hair for a fee. That MONEY would later pay for her transportation back to Johannesburg from Beit Bridge. “By 4pm I hit the ROAD, walking in the bush for about two hours until it got dark and we started walking by the side of the road,” she said. She made it back to Johannesburg on the same day (*VV*). Malayishas, Zimbabwean nationals who transport fellow citizens’ groceries and other parcels from South Africa to Zimbabwe, provided transport back to Johannesburg, said Pamberi. “When you see a car that flashes its lights twice you run to that car because you know that’s the one that’s safe to use,” she explained (*VV, LE*). *Mail & Guardian*, 17 May 2013.

**Text 11.** “Desperate Zimbabwean women flock to cross-border trade despite risks”. After her husband died in 2011, Theresa Matanda looked for a job in Zimbabwe's capital, Harare, but with no success despite being a qualified accountant. With two young children to support, Matanda, 36, was pushed to join the swelling ranks of Zimbabwean women risking rape, robbery and death as cross-border traders (*SP, VV*). But some never make it home. The bodies of two Zimbabwean women, who had been assaulted before being killed, were recently found in Germiston, 15 km (9 miles) east of South Africa's capital Johannesburg (*VV*). Around 25 Zimbabwean women were

kidnapped in South Africa between May 30 and July 11, according to a report in the Zimbabwean newspaper *The Herald* (VV). A Zimbabwean gang is believed to be behind the attacks, targeting women at the border town of Musina by offering them transport for the 500 km journey south to Johannesburg, it said (VV). Despite the risks of cross-border trading, many women say they have no alternative.

“I will soldier on,” said Nora Sithole, 34, a single mother of three, who was robbed of her passport and over \$1,000 on the road last year (VV). *Times Live*, 21 July 2015.

**Text 12.** “Foreigners cooped in cage”. The Lindela Repatriation Centre, in Krugersdorp, on the West Rand, is an overpopulated limbo. The queues of people outside the centre, friends and relatives of those detained, are long and winding. Many of them are women with babies on their backs. It appears that it is exclusively men who are held in the centre (SS, VET, VV). Fathers accept money through the wire mesh and squeeze their faces against it to get a kiss from their children. The men are Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Tanzanians, Mozambicans, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and a few Chinese. *Times Live*, 6 May 2015.

**Text 13.** “Xenophobia violates Health Act and migrants’ rights to care”. Female migrants are particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation, exposing them to sexually transmitted infections, which makes it all the more urgent they be able to get access to health services, according to Nkomo (VSV, VV). Ndlovu says that just after crossing the border from Zimbabwe she was “used by men” on several occasions (VSV, VV). “They promised to help me and buy me food and I had nothing. I had no money to get to Johannesburg to look for work” (VD, VV). *Mail & Guardian*, 28 November 2014.

**Text 14.** “A sick system abuses its refugees”. The government is also considering withdrawing the work and study rights of asylum seekers, leaving them far more vulnerable to destitution than before (VD, VV). *Mail & Guardian*, 16 March 2012.



**Text 15.** “Advocacy group hails NPA’s decision to probe allegations of mass rape in Zimbabwe” (VSV, VV). CANADIAN advocacy group AIDS-Free World remained adamant that the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) would investigate allegations of a politically-motivated campaign of mass rapes leading up to Zimbabwe’s 2008 elections, despite apparent mixed messages on the part of the national prosecutor (VSV, VV). “This kind of action gives the women of Zimbabwe who were mercilessly raped a reason to hope and believe that justice is real,” (VSV, VV) said the organisation’s co-chairman Stephen Lewis. The organisation said it had documented brutal gang rapes of more than 80 Zimbabwean women by men singing Zanu (PF) songs and wearing the party’s T-shirts — as part of a widespread and systematic campaign, thus amounting to crimes against humanity. It had also identified more than 200 suspects (VSV, VV). *Business Day*, 27 February 2013.

**Text 16.** “Don’t border-jump into SA, there’s death there”: Zimbabwe vice president tells pupils’ School pupils should not try to jump the border into South Africa they might go back “in a coffin carrying flowers on your chest”, Zimbabwe vice president Phelekezela Mphoko, according to a report. Mphoko said: “If you’re a girl, omalayitsha will detain you at their house... They’ll hire you to their friends and by the time they recoup their money you would have fallen sick and come back home in a coffin carrying flowers on your chest” (VSV, VV). *Times Live*, 14 March 2015.

Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa fall victim and are depicted in the news media texts as being vulnerable to a number of institutions and individuals. They are vulnerable to neglect while seeking healthcare services for antenatal check-ups and delivery in **Text 1**, “Hospitals held (their) babies for ransom” (*The Star: IOL*, 14 July 2015). And, despite being legally entitled to receiving medical care in **Text 13** “Xenophobia violates Health Act and migrants’ rights to care” (*Mail & Guardian*, 28 November 2014), foreign women migrants are still denied access to healthcare services. Some women manage to access the much needed healthcare service for safe delivery, but are still depicted as vulnerable to emotional turmoil (VET), as in **Text 2** “Fears for health of deported triplets” (*The Star; IOL*, 24 January 2013). The fear of deportation back to Zimbabwe, where access to healthcare is even worse, is always

a threat when living in a country illegally. Others are not even able complain of their babies being used as ransom or to worry of their health in the face of deportation, as portrayed in the story in **Text 3** “Foreign mom's neglect turns fatal” (*Mail & Guardian*, 20 September 2013). Zimbabwean women are represented as examples of how not to live a life as in **Text 4**, “High time we learnt a lesson from Zimbabwe” (*The Star; IOL*, 23 October 2012). Through migration Zimbabwean women also lose their social status, as is demonstrated in **Text 5** “Migration is a tale that knows no bounds” (*Mail & Guardian*, 23 August 2013).

The vulnerability of Zimbabwean women migrants is further portrayed in **Text 6** “Promise of a job ends in mom’s heartbreak” (*The Star; IOL*, 5 April 2013), where a South African indigene promises a Zimbabwean migrant woman a job, only to disappear with the migrant woman’s baby. Zimbabwean women migrants also fall victims to the government’s wrath. In **Text 7** “South African government declares war on Zimbabweans” (*Times LIVE*, 10 January 2015), images of Zimbabweans as enemies of the state that the South African government has to use of force to quell are carefully constructed and placed at the readers’ disposal.

In worst case scenarios, Zimbabwean women migrants commit crimes and end up in prison. The headline in **Text 8** “Women in prison: ignored and neglected” (*The Star; IOL*, 8 March 2014), reveals how inmates, including Zimbabwean women migrants, are denied basic necessities for sanitary needs. If not being denied sanitary pads, it is squalid living for Zimbabwean women migrants in prisons in **Text 12** “Foreigners cooped in cage” (*Times Live*, 6 May 2015). Even those who are in the country temporarily will not return to the home country unscathed by victimhood and vulnerability, as in **Text 9** “Zim couple want SA travel ban reversed” (*The Star; IOL*, 30 July 2015). With nowhere to run to, the women migrants have to content to live in limbo as their home country, as in **Text 10** “Zimbabwe wants SA to keep its citizens” (*Mail & Guardian*, 17 May 2013). Those who decide to hold on to their country of origin and maintain a transnational migration lifestyle are free to do so, albeit, with dire consequences, as in **Text 11** “Desperate Zimbabwean women flock to cross-border trade despite risks” (*Times Live*, 21 July 2015). Alternatively, Zimbabwean women can seek asylum in South Africa, where “A sick system abuses its refugees” (**Text 14**) (*Mail & Guardian*, 16 March 2012).

*Victims of Sexual violence (VSV)*

Female migrants are depicted as victims of sexual exploitation and sexual violence. In **Text 13**, Zimbabwean women migrants as victims of sexual violence (VSV) is epitomised by Ndlovu, who speaks of being “used by men” (*Mail & Guardian*, 28 November 2014). In *Business Day* of 27 February, 2013, there were reports of mass rapes of Zimbabwean women in their home country (**Text 15**). The hegemonic perception of Zimbabwean women migrants as VSV is even used by the vice president of Zimbabwe to warn girls against migrating to South Africa. The vice president is quoted in *Times Live* of 14 March 2015 as saying, “They’ll (*omalayitshas*) hire you to their friends...” (**Text 16**).

#### *Vulnerability to destitution (VD)*

The sub theme of vulnerability to destitution (VD) is explored, both latently and manifestly, in three of the media texts in this corpus. **Text 5** for offers runs a general commentary on how migrants are represented in the mass media as groups of people who live in camps, mines and slums. The commentary is complemented by the picture of women, some with babies, inhabiting a makeshift shelter that resembles a public hall. **Text 14** establishes a direct link between the VD of migrants and major systemic issues emanating from the South African government’s policies “regarding work and study rights of asylum seekers” (*Mail & Guardian*, 16 March 2012). In **Text 6**, the VD of Zimbabwean women migrants is epitomised by Victoria Muyambo, a mother of two, who ekes out a living by street begging.

#### *Losing their children to baby-snatchers (LSBS)*

South Africa is a country with high crime rates. However, baby snatchers seem to be targeting women migrants for reasons not disclosed in the media texts. **Text 3** reports of how Chenai’s baby was publically snatched from her arms. On the same day, her asylum seeker’s document was also stolen. It is not clear whether the theft of identity documents was a ploy by the criminals to prevent Chenai from reporting the matter to the police, or if the two losses are unrelated. In another incident, **Text 6** reports of Victoria Muyambo, an immigrant from Zimbabwe, whose baby was snatched by her potential employer. Baby snatching is not unusual in the South African society; however, reports such as these further entrench certain ideas about women migrants. These ideas then build up to form codes through which the indigenes use define migrants.

#### *Single parenthood (SP)*

Single parenthood (*SP*) as a subtheme of **VV** is depicted in three media texts. **Text 4** reports on two young girls, estimated to be about 15 or 16 years old, each with a baby on her back, moving from house to house begging for food and used clothes. The fathers of their children are reported to have disappeared. **Text 11** also reports of Zimbabwean women crossing the border to South Africa for the sole reason of providing for their children in the absence of the fathers. Theresa Mutanda, a widow with two children to look after, joins the host of other “Desperate Zimbabwean women flock to cross-border trade despite risks” *Times Live*, 21 July 2015. In **Text 13**, a Thembi Ndlovu, from Zimbabwe, worries about her daughter who has just given birth, and is now faced with the reality of raising the child on her own because “the man who impregnated her is not helping her” *Mail & Guardian*, 16 March 2012.

#### *Vulnerability to emotional turmoil (VET)*

In an article published *The Star* newspaper’s *IOL* website titled “Hospitals held our babies for ransom” a Linda Mhlanga, originally from Zimbabwe but living in Bramfischerville, says that staff at Leratong Hospital outside Krugersdorp threatened to have her arrested in 2014 when she could not pay for the birth of her daughter. The case of Linda Mhlanga is a clear example of the representation of *VET*, a subtheme of victimhood and vulnerability. The emotional distress of pregnant Zimbabwean women migrants begins at the hands of healthcare workers who zealously enforce the rules that are designed to segregate foreigners from accessing basic services. The *VET* of the women migrants runs deep as they are then blackmailed, and are forced to choose between their new born babies and freedom. Mhlanga is quoted saying “I was charged R800 for booking only, but I told them that I do not have money... They allowed me to give birth and threatened that they were going to send me to the police if I did not pay them.” The charges are meant to be a deterrent to foreign women to bar them from competing for resources that are meant to be exclusively for locals.

According to Banda and Mawadza (2015), Zimbabwean women migrants are mainly associated with coming to South Africa to seek healthcare, especially during pregnancy. By covering such stories, whether in a negative or positive manner, the South African media sensitises their readers to the competition for scarce resources that foreigners bring. Banda and Mawadza (2015) conclude that the South African media is instrumental in the construction of discourses of exclusion by publishing news stories depicting psycho-social conditions that lead to moral panics. By enforcing rules of a segregatory system, the healthcare workers are exhibiting signs of moral panic.

Mhlanga's ordeal of victimhood and vulnerability did not end at the birth of her child; she suffered the same treatment when her daughter became sick: "When my daughter was five months old, she got sick and I took her to Leratong Hospital." She was only attended to and admitted after she paid R150 to open a file. When the girl was due for a check-up months later, health workers allegedly turned the pair away after Mhlanga could not pay R300. As caregivers in most African homes, incidences like these would distress women significantly as they will also see such cases as posing a threat to their ability to fulfil their gender roles.

In **Text 2**, for example, the subtheme of *VET* is depicted with more intense emotional turmoil as mother of newly born triplets, Chipo Chiramba, is deported back to Zimbabwe. She is forced to contemplate giving her triplets up for adoption rather than taking them with her to her rural home in Zimbabwe. Her emotional turmoil is transnational in nature as back home she had suffered another mishap: being thrown out of her matrimonial home by her husband.

In the *VET* subtheme, women migrants are represented as having suffered multiple tragedies. In **Text 3**, for example, Chenai Mushangazhike's traumatic experience of losing a baby during childbirth was not the only tragedy she had to deal with. Her second baby had been snatched from her the day she lost her asylum seeker's documents. Chenai's losses and despair are owing to the fact that she is a migrant woman. Her loss of asylum seeker's documents is symbolic of her loss of individual identity. Chenai's life, as depicted in this text, is destined to become worst, as she failed to raise money to replace her identity documents. With such representations of migrants, one cannot help but identify the agency deletion of the Zimbabwean women migrants and they cease to be authors of their own destinies.

#### *Poverty, hunger and starvation (PH)*

Another subtheme of **VV** is the emphasis on poverty, hunger and starvation of the women migrants in their home country. The sample texts below are examples of the characterisation of the Zimbabwean women migrants as people running away from extreme *PHS*.

**Text 2.** Chiramba's niece, Hellen Ndlovu, said her aunt came to South Africa to earn money to send back to her mother in a small village in Zimbabwe's rural Gokwe region, about 200km west of the capital, Harare (*PHS*) *The Star*; *IOL*, 24 January 2013.

**Texts 3.** Chenai Mushangazhike\* sits on an old 25-litre paint bucket in the dark three-by-three-metre unit she rents in a derelict building in downtown Johannesburg (PHS).

“I was told that replacing those documents would cost R3 000. As a person who begs for a living, I don't have that kind of money” (PHS) *Mail & Guardian*, September 20, 2013.

**Text 4.** It is very hot and they are sitting in the shade in the yard waiting for my wife to return (PHS). They look thoroughly exhausted. It turns out that they ran away from poverty and hunger in Zimbabwe (PHS) *The Star; IOL*, October 23, 2012.

**Text 13.** Thembi Ndlovu was born in Zimbabwe but came to South Africa in 2002 to look for work as she could not eke out a living in her country with its “crumbling economy” (PHS) *Mail & Guardian*, November 28, 2014.

In the texts above, the transnational nature of *PHS* of the Zimbabwean women is brought to the attention of the reader. In **Text 4**, for instance, the two young Zimbabwean women migrants ran away from hunger and starvation in their home country only to come to South Africa to beg for basic necessities. Similarly, **Text 3** illuminates the abject poverty of a Zimbabwean woman migrant by presenting a vivid description of her make-shift home in central Johannesburg. The description of the squalid living conditions given in this text, coupled with the avoidable tragedies that this Zimbabwean woman migrant has experienced, seem to vindicate the actions of the institutions in enforcing deportations of undocumented migrant women. The texts demonstrating *PHS* are part of a greater narrative that traces the lives of Zimbabwean women migrants' journeys into South Africa, which often end in tragedies and calamities. For instance, **Text 13**, narrates the story of a Zimbabwean woman living in South Africa who has escaped the economic meltdown. It is no doubt that Zimbabwean woman migrants in South Africa often swing between two extremes. However, it is also the constant association of Zimbabwean woman migrants with *PHS* that leads to their vulnerabilities and victimisations.

*Liminal existence (LE)*

The subtheme represents the second highest number (eight) of news stories reported in the Johannesburg newspapers in that of liminal existence (*LE*). The news stories report on Zimbabwean women migrants' uncertain legal status, and unfulfilled, even shattered, social and economic aspirations. **Text 1** presents a scenario where Zimbabwean women migrants' uncertain legal status is exploited to blackmail, further marginalised the already disenfranchised immigrant. Linda Mhlanga is threatened with arrest for failing to pay the hospital fees. Thus, threats work to intimidate migrant women as they are often in the country illegally and want to avoid any encounter with the police at all costs. The women migrants are not threatened by the possibility of a jail term for the offence of failing to pay hospital fees, but rather by the fear of deportation. **Text 2**, for example, reports on Chipso Chiramba's story, where she had used all the money she had to come to South Africa, and is being deported back to Zimbabwe after giving birth to triplets. Healthcare workers exploit the migrant's precarious situations in the process of enforcing the policy.

The ideological representation of Zimbabwean migrant women as people inhabiting spaces, both psychological and physical, of liminality is further constructed in **Text 3**, which tells of Chenai Mushangazhike's tragic loss of two children. Even though she had been residing in South Africa legally, she did not receive the medical help on time to save her son, because the nurses deemed her an illegal immigrant. The pain she has gone through has left her feeling alienated and disillusioned. *LE* is further depicted in **Text 7**, as "South African government declares war on Zimbabweans". The images of war that this news article paints epitomises the precariousness of the situations that Zimbabweans find themselves in as they enter South Africa. This is an ultimate ideology that the media has been building, which has life threatening consequences for the migrants.

Furthermore, the depictions of *LE* in the media texts written about Zimbabwean women migrants can be summarised by one word, "deportation": a term widely associated with migrants' borderline living in a foreign country. **Text 10** chronicles the liminal survival of yet another Zimbabwean illegal woman immigrant, Ndadzoka Pamberi. The pseudo name is constructed of two semantically contradicting Shona words that can be translated, literally, to "I have come back" (name) and "forward" (surname). When use in combination, the name and surname means going back and forth, an apt description of the lives of most migrants. Ndadzoka is said to have spent a week at the infamous Lindela repatriation camp and eventually taken by a train to Musina. The story of deportation represents what most Zimbabwean illegal

immigrants dread as they live in South Africa, with its close proximity to the sending country. While in Lindela repatriation camp, Ndadzoka operated a makeshift hair salon and made some money, which she money used to return to South Africa after deportation. To most Zimbabweans, deportation is not an endgame, but rather a temporary set-back that often characterises their stay in South Africa.

### **6.3.2 Theme 2: Institutionalised xenophobia**

Another major thematic representation of Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg is the portrayal of the women migrants as victims of Institutionalised Xenophobia (**IX**). With strong overlaps with Victimhood and Vulnerability (**VV**), **IX** is treated on its own here owing to the overwhelming latent content relating to this theme in the reports. This study argues that the representations of Zimbabwean women as being in conflict with the institutions meant to provide them with services tends to ascribe negative labels to the migrants and normalises the institutionalised xenophobia. Through coding of latent content, **IX** is explored through the sub themes exclusion from healthcare (*EH*), hate speech (*HS*), threats of arrest and deportation (*TAD*). Below are extracts from five media texts, from the corpus, whose latent content expresses the emergence of **IX**.

**Text 1.** “Hospitals held our babies for ransom”. Originally from Zimbabwe but living in Bramfischerville, Linda Mhlanga says that staff at Leratong Hospital outside Krugersdorp threatened to have her arrested in 2014 when she could not pay for the birth of her daughter. According to attorney Sasha Stevenson, with the human rights organisation Section 27, health facilities turning away new mothers and young children could be in contravention of the country’s National Health Act (**IX**). “The National Health Act provides that all pregnant and lactating women, and all children below the age of six – regardless of nationality – are eligible for free health-care services,” she said. “All persons regardless of nationality are entitled to free primary health-care services.” Helen Ndlovu, originally from Zimbabwe, also said that West Rand hospital gave her an R800 bill stemming from her 10-month-old baby boy’s stay. She was told that if the boy fell sick again, Leratong Hospital staff would not assist her child until bills had been paid (*EH*, **IX**). Gauteng Department of Health spokesperson Steve Mabona said the department will



investigate claims and visit Pholosong Hospital, but added that in general, undocumented immigrants are treated like private patients and expected to pay in full (IX). *The Star: IOL*, 14 July, 2015.

**Text 3.** “Foreign mom's neglect turns fatal”. Mushangazhike realised she was pregnant only at seven months, just days after the death of her fourth child. “After telling me that I was pregnant, the nurses at the Albert clinic in central Johannesburg asked for my papers so that they could make an appointment for the baby's delivery as I was already so far into the pregnancy,” she says, her voice nearly drowned out by the thump of loud music and inaudible conversation coming from the other side of the thin, makeshift walls that divide the units. “So, they [the clinic's nurses] refused to book an appointment for me because I don't have the papers [to prove my citizenship status]” (EH, IX). As her due date approached, Mushangazhike grew more and more anxious to access the care both she and her baby needed for a safe delivery. “I eventually approached Lawyers for Human Rights to help me get a date before the baby came,” she says. The humanitarian organisation wrote a letter to the clinic stating that the law did not allow it to turn a patient away because the patient did not have documentation (IX). “They [the staff at the Albert clinic] were forced to check me out, and they did. But they said all these hurtful things in the process (HS, IX). ‘You foreigners are trouble’ (HS, IX). You foreigners are stupid (HS, IX).” “There's no point in speaking up against people from here [South Africans] if you are a foreigner. You will die for nothing. They might even send you home without treating you,” she says (LE). “The nurses were so busy ridiculing me (HS, IX), I'm sure they didn't even listen when I told them that my child was breech,” says Mushangazhike. “I think about it over and over again and it just hurts. Maybe if they [the nurses] had booked an appointment for me and checked me out in time, my child would be alive” (VET, VV). *Mail & Guardian*, 20 September 2013.

**Text 13** “Xenophobia violates Health Act and migrants”. Another Mavela resident, Thembi Ndlovu, was born in Zimbabwe but came to South Africa in 2002 to look for work as she could not eke out a living in her country with

its “crumbling economy” (*LE*). Her only daughter followed suit some years later and is living in Johannesburg. Ndlovu, who is now married to a South African man, lives in his Mavela house but when her daughter got pregnant she worried about being turned away from Johannesburg hospitals (*EH, IX*). “Just before nine months I told her to come this side,” she says. Ndlovu’s daughter gave birth in Mavela, recovered with her mother for a few months, and returned to her life in Johannesburg. “But I worry about her. The man who impregnated her is not helping her; she is on her own,” Ndlovu says (*SP, VV*). *Mail & Guardian*, 28 November 2014.

**Text 14.** “A sick system abuses its refugees”. A lack of health service delivery to foreigners, which almost amounts to human rights abuses, costs South Africans far more than they realise (*EH, IX*). But in recent years South Africa’s friendliness has been heavily tested by large numbers of refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants, mainly from neighbouring Zimbabwe, entering the country (*IX*). *Mail & Guardian*, 16 March 2012.

**Text 17.** “Operation Fiela like ‘ethnic cleansing’” (*HS, IX*). Johannesburg – Speaking in Yeoville, Johannesburg, on Saturday morning civil society activists including expelled Cosatu general secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi, have slammed government’s Operation Fiela (*HS, IX*), as similar to ethnic cleansing. Zimbabwean activist, Elinor Sisulu, said the operation – a joint effort by SA Police Service, the army and the Department of Home Affairs – was a kind of “ethnic cleansing” in which foreign migrants to South Africa were being treated like criminals (*CM-0*). “Any state operation which was the image of cleaning or cleansing I find very disturbing, and I think the timing of it is absolutely unfortunate. Even if there was any merit in the operation, the timing (of Operation Fiela) is completely wrong” (*HS, IX*), Sisulu told Independent. *The Star; IOL*, 16 May 2015.

The headlines of the texts appear in the first lines of these excerpts. Generally, the themes of news articles are captured in the headlines. Headlines are strategically positioned (Chiluwa, 2011) in capturing the attention of the reader and thereafter settle in the readers’ cognitive memory. All the headlines under this main theme point to the institutionalisation of

xenophobia. Headlines such as **Text 1**, “Hospitals held our babies for ransom”, and **Text 14**, “Xenophobia violates Health Act and migrants” for example, do not only point to the theme, but also the actual institutions used to perpetrate xenophobic acts. **Text 14**’s headline summarises the systemic nature of **IX**, with “A sick system abuses its refugees”

#### *Exclusion from healthcare (EH)*

Zimbabwean migrant women are represented in the Johannesburg newspaper as a group of people who are in constant conflict with the country’s healthcare workers. **Text 1** reports of mothers with sick children being turned away from a public hospital over unsettled hospital bills even though this is in contravention the National Health Act, which makes provision for free healthcare service for pregnant women, lactating mothers and children below the age of six, quoted in the same text. The apparent *EH* of migrant women reported in this text emanates from parallel interpretation of the same National Health Act by the different parties involved. Sasha Stevenson, an attorney quoted in this text, interprets the National Health Act to mean free healthcare service to all women and children regardless of nationality, while the Gauteng Department of Health’s spokesperson, Steve Mabona, believes that undocumented immigrants are not covered by the healthcare act. The uncertainties surrounding what the National Health Act stipulate leaves women migrants at the mercy of the healthcare workers. The media illuminates the issue but at the same time contributes to an ideological construction of foreigners weighing down on the resources meant for locals.

**Text 3** reports on the tragic results of the *EH* of foreigners. The news story is centred on a Zimbabwean woman migrant, Mushangazhike by name, who was turned away by nurses at Albert clinic in central Johannesburg owing to lack of identity documentation. It was only after a humanitarian organisation, the Lawyers for Human rights, had written a letter to the clinic stating that law did not allow it to turn away patients on the grounds of failing to produce an identity document that Mushangazhike was attended to by staff at the clinic. However, the law could not protect the Zimbabwean women migrant and her unborn child from further exclusion, discrimination and segregation from accessing the healthcare she needed as she was eventually treated with disdain at the clinic. The staff at the clinic seemed to mimic the general sentiments about women migrants, when they insulted Mushazhike, saying “You foreigners are trouble”, and “You foreigners are stupid” (*Mail and Guardian*, 20 September 2014).

The characterisation of foreigners as burdensome and therefore unwanted is further represented in **Text 14**. Though a balanced analysis of *EH* is provided here, as denying healthcare to foreigners costs South Africa more, the text does not dwell much on the cost implications of this act. Attention is once again given to the overwhelming number of foreigners who, according to the text, are over-stretching the healthcare system. It seems as if the metropolis believes such representations of foreign women as burdensome. **Text 13** expounds on a Zimbabwean migrant woman having to travel to rural Mavela to access antenatal care, fearing being turned away by staff at hospitals in Johannesburg.

### *Hate Speech (HS)*

One of the ways **IX** was represented by the news reporters in the Johannesburg newspapers was through quoting, in verbatim, hate speech (*HS*). The *HS* quoted was not from ordinary members of society, but from people representing institutions and in situations where they are executing the duties assigned to them by the institutions. In **Text 3**, for example, healthcare workers at a clinic in Johannesburg hurled insults at Mushazhike, with “You foreigners are trouble” and “You foreigners are stupid” (*Mail and Guardian*, September 20, 2014). It could be possible that these comments were made outside of the mandate of the institutions, but in the absence of reports on the ramifications faced by individuals who said such insults, it becomes logical to associate these xenophobic utterances with the healthcare institutions. In **Text 1**, when asked to comment on the harassment of Zimbabwean women migrants by staff at Leratong Hospital, the representative of the Gauteng Department of Health, though unsure at the time, stated that undocumented migrants are treated like private patients at public hospitals. In the context of this subtheme, this seems to give hospital staff justification for employing *HS* at any foreign person who fails to produce documents for their legal stay in the country.

**Text 17** reports on yet another example of the **IX** through hate speech. The news article quotes the concerns by Zimbabwean activist, Elinor Sisulu, over the move by the South African to launch an “ethnic cleansing” dubbed “Operation Fiela” (*The Star; IOL*, May 16, 2015). The state operation was a joint operation among the major law and order institutions, the South African Police Service, the army and the Department of Home Affairs. The South African Government defines “fiela” as to sweep clean, to rid communities of crime and lawlessness (Operation Fiela, 2015). Even though this special joint operation was targeted at crime and lawlessness in general, this particular representation associates the move with an effort by the

South African government to remove undocumented migrants from communities. It is such associations of foreigners with criminality that tends to further entrench **IX**. The *HS* here is three pronged: coined by the government, executed by the institutions and put into perspective by the media. Associating migrants with the operation, especially by the press, is tantamount to hate speech, as *Fiela* represents unwanted rogue elements that have to be swept away to keep the society clean. The angle of the news story is condemning the government's operation as targeting foreign migrants. There is nothing in the South African Government's definition of "Fiela" that suggests the link to migrants or foreigners. It is the press, therefore, that is making such associations, and thus further perpetuating *HS*.

#### *Threats of Arrest and Deportation (TAD)*

**IX** is represented in the selected media texts through the subtheme, threat of arrest and deportation (*TAD*). Attention was given by the press to how Zimbabwean migrant women were threatened with the mentioning of the word "police" by staff at various institutions. For instance, in **Text 1**, the Zimbabwean woman migrant whose baby was held for ransom by staff at Pholosong Hospital in East Rand, Johannesburg attests "they (staff at the hospital) allowed me to give birth and threatened that they would send me to the police if I did not pay them" (*The Star IOL*, July 14, 2015). The **IX** here is that it is not just in the power of healthcare workers to force the migrant women to pay, but also in their ability call upon another institution (the police) to intimidate the migrant woman into submission to the health worker's demand, as if calling for reinforcement against a common enemy.

In **Text 2**, attention is given to the actual deportation of a mother of triplets and her newly born babies. The institutions, the hospital, police and Home Affairs office have successfully acted in collusion to execute a mission that started off as merely *TAD*. The text further makes reference to the number of undocumented migrants living in South Africa. Representations create value judgements, positive or negative, which members of a society, even those judged, can use to formulate social attitudes. Both value judgements and social attitudes are often subjective and transitional (Van Dijk, 1993). With such representations, it is not far-fetched to associate the threats that migrants receive from various institutions from which they seek help with media-fuelled discourses of deportations of women migrants. Representations of Zimbabwean women migrants' brush with the law are often linked with the idea of deportations. Below are excerpts from the corpus that are a representation of the subtheme *TAD*:

**Text 2.** “If you are an undocumented migrant you will be turned away at the border, unless you want to apply for asylum” (*TAD*). Once Chiramba’s presence had been noted by the Department of Home Affairs, deportation proceedings began, even though her triplets were born in South Africa (*TAD*) *The Star*; *IOL*, 24 January 2013.

**Text 7.** “The Department of Home Affairs has reportedly launched a crackdown, which started on New Year's Day, on illegal South African passport holders intending to enter or leave Zimbabwe through the Beitbridge border” (*TAD*) (caption) *Times LIVE*, 10 January 2015.

**Text 9.** The couple hurried for the border, more than 500 kilometers away but only arrived at the exit port after midnight. “That led to our ban from South Africa as we arrived two hours after June 27 ended,” he said (*TAD*) *The Star*; *IOL*, 30 July 2015.

**Text 10.** After spending a week at the Lindela repatriation camp awaiting deportation, Pamberi was taken by train to Musina, then across the border into Zimbabwe in a police truck (*TAD*) *Mail & Guardian*, 17 May 2013.

News media texts highlighting the precariousness of Zimbabwean women migrants’ stay in South Africa reinforce the negative perceptions people have, and many of the indigenes will subsequently use these discourses to further threaten migrants with arrest and deportation (*TAD*). The deportation subtheme portrays Zimbabwean women migrants as passive and in need of government intervention to point them to where they really belong. The fact that they have to be taken from one place to another in a government vehicle, like hapless objects, is a clear show of agency of Zimbabwean women migrants in the migration matrix.

### **6.3.3 Prostitution**

In **Text 18** below, Zimbabwean women migrants are represented as morally decadent individuals with an insatiable desire for sex. The woman migrant alleged to have been cheating on her husband is reportedly caught by means of some bizarre method Zimbabweans use to catch cheating partners. The story does not only bring to the fore immorality among the migrant women, but also the mystery surrounding the method of making cheating individuals getting stuck together. The story is alleged to have taken place in Yeoville, close to central

Johannesburg. The phenomenon of cheating can be equated to prostitutions as both involve having multiple sexual relations. Therefore, the woman migrant in this text is represented as a prostitute.

The story was reported in a tabloid news website, characterised by a capitalised headline. The sensationalised reporting of this event attracted readership.

**Text 18.** “CHEATERS STUCK TOGETHER AFTER POKING!” WE WANT TO SEE: Curious residents of Yeoville, Joburg confronted by cops after people said to have got stuck together while having sex. Cops clash with crowd outside a block of flats where two horny lovers could not be separated. A family member of the husband of the cheating wife said the husband had been complaining about his cheating wife. “He complained she was going out with his friend,” said the woman. “I think he locked his wife to catch the man she’s cheating with” (*BDSM, VV, PS*). She said in Zimbabwe, where they come from, it is a common way of catching cheating men and women (*BDSM, VV*). *Daily Sun*, 12 February 2015.

**Sequel to Text 18.** “Zimbabwean Woman Threatens Lawsuit Over ‘False’ Story”. Johannesburg. (News Of The South) – A South Africa-based Zimbabwean woman has threatened to sue over an image published recently in various media to back an allegedly bogus news article. Tholiwe Maphosa referred to the picture used to portray claims that a cheating Zimbabwean woman and Nigerian man had stuck to each other after having sex. It was sensationally claimed that the incident had occurred in Yeoville, Johannesburg. The story drew social media frenzy soon after being made public. Reports went as far as saying there was a stampede as scores of people tussled to catch a glimpse of the so-called cheaters. *Africa News Slider*, 23 February 2015

**Text 18** is followed by a sequel, published in *Africa News Slider*. This news website is not based in Johannesburg. However, it is included here as it elaborates on this controversial news story. In this sequel, the Zimbabwean woman whose image was used in the cheating story threatens a lawsuit over publication falsehoods against her image.

### *Bondage and sadomasochism (BDSM)*

In **Text 18** above, the sub theme of bondage and sadomasochism, coded *BDSM*, is present. Sadomasochism refers to “pleasure derived from pain and suffering of the other person in sexual encounters” (Barker, Iantaffi and Gupta 2007:197). In this subtheme, sadomasochism was identified as an act based on an individual’s sexual fantasies or urges that involve inflicting pain on another. In addition, sadomasochism involves some form of torture, humiliation and bondage (Barker *et al.* 2007).

In the context of this study, *BDSM* was enacted at different levels, in fantasy or in reality. At the first level, if the story is untrue, the writer of the news story seems to be imagining sadomasochism against the Zimbabwean woman migrant or Zimbabwean women migrants in general, by fantasising such an incident that resulted in the pain and humiliation of the other. Since there was a face of a Zimbabwean woman migrant working in Johannesburg attached to this news story, the humiliation that this woman went through, as described in the sequel, is characteristic of *BDSM*.

The second level of *BDSM* can be inferred from the truthfulness of the news story. If the story happens to be true, the Zimbabwean woman’s cuckolded husband would be the perpetrator of *BDSM* by using magical concoctions on his woman without her knowledge. The story represents bondage of the woman, both in the physical sense and in metaphoric terms. Assuming the story is true, the fact that the woman becomes stuck to her cheating partner during the sexual encounter is the physical aspect of the bondage. The other form of bondage represented in this news story stems from objectification of the woman by her husband that he does as he pleases with her body without her consent. Such bondage leads to sadomasochism, where the husband then derives pleasure in catching his cheating wife by humiliating her as reported in the news article.

### **6.3.4 Criminalisation of migration (CM)**

One of the ways migration is criminalised is by portraying migrants as criminals who are posing a threat to the South African community. In the texts below, the Johannesburg media bring to the fore narratives in which Zimbabwean women migrants are associated with criminal activities. **Text 19**, the article reports of two women, one of them a Zimbabwean woman,



entering South Africa with ingredients for drug manufacturing. Even the language used to describe what the women are accused of carrying changes as the article progresses. At the beginning of the article there is a level of uncertainty about the use of the substances the woman are carrying but, by the end of the report, the women are alleged, in no uncertain terms, to be carrying drugs. Language and how it was used in this corpus is dealt with in more detail in the discourse analysis section (Chapter Seven) of this study.

**Text 19.** “Beit Bridge drug case postponed”. Johannesburg – Two women accused of entering South Africa carrying ingredients associated with drug manufacturing appeared in the Musina Magistrate's Court on Tuesday, Limpopo police said (CM). “The two women, Memory Maphosa, 39, from Zimbabwe, and Vuyiswa Mabasa, 23, from Lesotho, appeared... on a charge of the possession of drugs,” Colonel Ronel Otto said (CM). The matter was postponed to February 3 for further investigation, and the women would remain in custody (CM). *The Star; IOL*, 27 January 2015.

**Text 8.** Viwe Tafadzwa, 26, is serving a three-year sentence for defrauding Absa out of R45 000 (CM). *The Star; IOL*, 8 March 2014.

**Text 17.** Zimbabwean activist, Elinor Sisulu, said the operation – a joint effort by SA Police Service, the army and the Department of Home Affairs – was a kind of “ethnic cleansing” in which foreign migrants to South Africa were being treated like criminals (CM). *The Star: IOL*, 14 July, 2015.

In the same vein of associating Zimbabwean migrant women with criminal activities, **Text 8** reports on the case of Viwe Tafadzwa, who is in the Sun City Prison of Johannesburg for fraud. Though the article is meant to be about how women in prison are neglected, the mention of Tafadzwa and the crime she committed directs the reader's thoughts to the link between criminality and migrants. As the media persist in criminalising migration in this manner, policies are then enacted to redress the perceived problem. **Text 17** reports of the condemnation of the South African government's Operation Fiela, a government policy enacted to address criminality associated with migrants. Gale (2004) rightly points out that media representation of migrants is instrumental in setting the grounds for government action. The media has the power to sway the government towards making a particular direction when it comes to policy

making. In the chronological ordering, according to dates of reportage, of media texts under this theme, there seem to be a build-up of representations that culminated into the enactment of Operation Fiela.

### **6.3.5 Identity crisis (IC)**

Excerpts from **Text 20** below explore the theme of identity crisis, coded **IC**. The article is an opinion piece, in which the writer expresses disillusionment and despair at her failure to relate with Zimbabwe upon her return after spending a decade in the diaspora. Although she is living in the same house she once lived before she left, and the physical attributes of the neighbourhood are unchanged, she cannot fit in, socially, culturally and mentally, back into the social fabric she was previously woven. As a coping mechanism, she resorts to shopping at the newly opened Pick n Pay, streaming her favourite South African radio station and chatting to her friends who are abroad. By tapping into her diaspora connections, Everjoice exhibits the fractured nature of an identity that is transnational, a phenomenon characteristic of Zimbabwean migrants (Koser, 2003; McGregor and Primorac, 2010 and Pasura, 2008). This text also shows how the subject straddles multiple geographic, socio-cultural and psychological homes.

**Text 20.** “Who moved my country?” After a decade away, Everjoice J WIN returns and battles with a different Zimbabwe (**IC**). Or is she ultimately the one who has changed? Ten years away from home is a long time. Home. A very problematic concept (**IC**). I was born and grew up in Zimbabwe. I only went away in my late 30s. I should feel at home. I MOVED back into my own house, dusted the furniture, killed the roaches and ran the rats out of the ‘hood. The street names are still the same. The villages are exactly where I left them. Yet I can no longer navigate this place (**LE**). In my neighbourhood, Westgate, a big Pick n Pay supermarket opened last December. That’s shopping I can understand. The familiar blue and red logo INVITES me in. I saunter down the wide aisles as I would in Rosebank in Johannesburg (**IC**). Here is my favourite Clover milk. My son’s Parmalat cheese. “Product of Zimbabwe” it says on the freshly packaged veggies. Yeah right. Who gives a fig? All I and other happy shoppers want is washed and ready-to-eat salad. It could be from Mpumalanga, just like the apples, the juices from Ceres

valley, or the toothpaste made in Isando. I live here physically, but I may as well be in Johannesburg. I shop at Pick n Pay. I stream my favourite Kaya FM on my laptop. Thank my EMPLOYERS for good bandwidth! I read the *Mail & Guardian*. I can't wait for the *Sunday Times*. *Mail & Guardian*, 19 April 2013.

Literature on postmodern identities celebrates the interplay of multiple elements in today's individual identity construction – a result of the unfettered global movement of people, goods and information (Hicks, 2004; Elliot and Du Gay, 2009; Castells, 2006; Friedman, 2000; Lane and Hesemann, 2008), Everjoyce, in **Text 20**, exhibits characteristics of a transnational identity. Her individual identity shows traces of the places she has lived before returning to her homeland. In terms of shopping and food, she identifies with Pick n Pay, a South African retail shop, and consumes South African products. Everjoyce's transnational identity is succinctly described at the end of the **Text 20** as “Everjoyce J WIN is a Zimbabwean feminist. Her body lives in Harare, her heart is in Italy and her head resides in Johannesburg” *Mail & Guardian*, 19 April 2013.

**Text 20** also exhibits an archetypal postmodern identity of spatial belonging. Ndlovu (2010) postulates that, the concept of home is deeply engrained in one are psychic and is constructed along spatial, historical and ethnic lines. In the Zimbabwean sense, the city is not a home, because many Zimbabweans, both in the diaspora and in the country, experience deep nostalgic memories of their rural homes as a result of their strong rural backgrounds (Mungoshi, 1981; Gaidzanwa, 1999; Mbiba, 2005). This text runs contrary to this view as it displays the fractured and fluid nature of postmodern and post-colonial identities. The subject in **Text 20**, upon her return to her home in the city, does not experience the unexplainable euphoria as described by Mungoshi (1981) that is associated with homecoming when one comes back to one's rural home. As if to reinforce the notion that only in a rural home can one find the warmth and sanctuary of belonging that comes in with kinship (as rural homes are usually organised along clans, relational and ethnic lines), the text presents the coldness that is characteristic of the city home.

#### 6.4 A Framework for Understanding Migrants' Ascribed Identities

The depictions of Zimbabwean women migrants by the Johannesburg-based newspapers, as suggested in the themes discussed in this section, can be summarised in Figure 3 below. The cyclical nature of representations as shown in the arrows that start and end at the Zimbabwean women migrants' identities, indicates that, the stories are written about them and they always contribute aspects about their identities. The presentation of the framework in a cyclical manner also symbolises of how news stories circulate in the public domain.

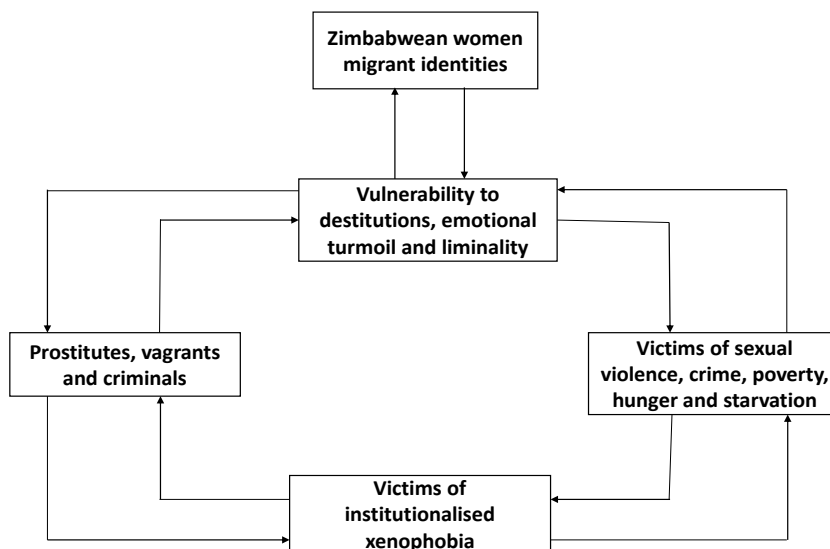


Figure 3: Zimbabwean women migrants' terrain of identity negotiations through the media lens

#### 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter reveals that the South African press, through its newspapers headquartered in the metropolis of Johannesburg, depicts Zimbabwean women migrants as victims of different types of calamities. The news articles were written about Zimbabwean women migrants, and were published in Johannesburg-based newspapers within a timeframe of January 2012 to December 2015. Almost all the themes that emerged from the 20 news articles analysed portray the women migrants as having suffered some form of tragedy or the other. These news articles associated migrants with negative images of victimhood, vulnerability, prostitution, and crime. The main and the subthemes that emerged from these media narratives thus deal with agency erasure of the women migrants.

In this section, the researcher applied GTM of analysing the media texts. Two methods of coding were applied. In the initial stage of generating codes, open coding was used to categorise excerpts of the news stories into specific main themes. These excerpts were extracted because of their significance in illuminating the central idea of the news article. Stories under the same category of the main theme were grouped together in preparation of the second stage of coding. Axial coding then involved reading through the excerpts line by line and assigning a code based on the underlying meaning of the sentence. The codes were refined several times and re-grouping of related codes happened on a continuous basis during the data analysis process.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### ZIMBABWEAN WOMEN MIGRANTS IN JOHANNESBURG: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NEWS MEDIA TEXT

*“The search for clarity and simplicity of meaning is seen as illusory because there will always be other perspectives from which to interpret the material under review. To seek a definitive account is, thus, a misguided undertaking” (Humes and Bryce, 2003:180).*

#### 7.1 Introduction

The media coverages of the Zimbabwean migration crisis in South Africa have been extensive at different junctures following major incidences of xenophobic attacks on foreigners, which often attract international media attention (Asakitikpi and Gadzikwa, 2015). It is no doubt these media narratives contribute to the formation of particular discourses about different groups of people. The South African media approach the issue of Zimbabwean migration from different angles. This section argues that angles and representations do not only inform readers, but contribute to the formation of discourses through which assumptions are made. Extant literature has already established discourses ranging from xenophobic attacks on foreigners of the African origin, of which the bulk are Zimbabweans, crime, foreigners getting into trouble with law enforcement agents (Neocosmos, 2008; Crush, 2000; Danso and McDonald, 2001; Hussein and Hitomi, 2014), to foreigners taking resources meant for locals, especially those seeking medical healthcare (Matsinhe, 2011; Landau, 2004; Nyamnjoh, 2006). These media narratives of migrants' situations in South Africa have attracted a plethora of scholarship from different academic disciplines.

From a media studies perspective, most of the scholarly writings existing in literature examine the South African media's coverages of migrants in more general terms (Crush and Pendleton, 2007; Banda and Mawadza, 2015). However, this study presents a narrow focus on Johannesburg media's representations of Zimbabwean women migrants. News articles were retrieved from the websites of the English newspapers headquartered in the metropolis of Johannesburg. A uniform search using the time frame of 2012 to 2015 on each of the website was performed using the phrase “Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg”. A total of 20 news articles was extracted, coded, classified into themes and used as the empirical basis for the DA. The DA here explores the intertextuality of these narratives with communication,

function and the context in which they are disseminated and the relationship they have with existing literature.

The previous chapter discussed the thematic representations of Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg newspapers. Five themes were identified, namely **VV**, **IX**, **PS**, **CM** and **IC**. In this chapter, the identified media texts are further analysed using a DA that combines the benefits of a FDA and Gee's framework of analysis.

## **7.2 Placing migration in discourse analysis**

In the contemporary South African media studies landscape, studies on the media's depiction of immigrants of African origin have generally focused on the coverages of outbreaks of violence against foreigners, the South African media's social construction of xenophobic news stories and how the media associates immigrants with criminal activities (Crush and Pendleton, 2007; Hussein and Hitomi, 2014; Crush, 2000; Danso and McDonald, 2001; Asakitikpi and Gadzikwa, 2015). Very few studies have used a critical DA to examine the South African media's representation of immigrants in the country. A slightly similar study, where discourse analysis was DA is applied to analyse the discursive depictions of Zimbabwean migrants by the South African media, has been done by Banda and Mawadza (2015), albeit on a broader scale.

Banda and Mawadza's (2015) DA of news articles about Zimbabwean immigrants published in various South African newspapers between 2000 and 2012 concludes that South African media associate Zimbabwean immigrants with job scarcity, poverty, crime and a strained healthcare system. They blame the South African media of instigating moral panics by depicting Zimbabwean immigrants as folk devils. Banda and Mawadza's work (2015) can be considered to be broader than that of the current study in the sense that the corpus was drawn from the South African media as whole and the news articles were treating Zimbabwean immigrants in general. However, there has not been a DA conducted on news articles depicting a specific gender in a specific locale.

DA is a method that has been approached from various perspectives (van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995; Gee, 1999; Foucault, 1972, 1977, 1979). The poststructuralist discourse analysis within the broader category of social constructionism is used here to analyse selected

news articles written on Zimbabwean women migrants. Central to poststructuralist discourse analysis within the realm of social constructivism is the elusive nature of universal truth, as our interpretation of a discourse is limited by what is presented in a text (Foucault, 1979). What has to be established as early as possible in a DA is that the search for truth is futile as truth is elusive and thus unattainable. We can only work within the confines of the frames that are erected around a particular media text thus, instead of searching for truth, focus should rather be on representation, or on understanding the discursive practices within which discourses are constructed (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002).

Using both the FDA approach and Gee's (1999) framework provide the researcher the lenses and the tools to explore the discursive practices and power relations inherent in the selected news media texts that demonstrate the social construction of reality. According to Foucault, knowledge is power and the production of that knowledge is also a show of power (Lock and Strong, 2010). To illustrate how discourses and discourse production are both power-laden practices, Foucault (1972:229) posits that "we must conceive of discourse as violence that we do to things, or at all events, as a practice we impose upon them; it is in this practice that the events of discourse find the principle of their regularity." Violence speaks of brutal force exerted on the weak by the powerful.

In the production of media texts, the writer, producer and everyone involved in the composition of the media texts assume power over how the events are described and how the characters in the text are portrayed. Thus both the characters and the events become the objects at the mercy of the composer, describing from whichever angle the writer so wishes. Foucault (1972:49) had previously described discourses as "practices that systematically form objects of which they speak," again pointing to the power of discourses to make, form or construct social reality. Although Foucault (1972:49) did not specify what constitutes the "objects", these can be deduced to mean the themes, statements, subjects or mental cognitions that particular discourses portray. The Foucauldian approach to DA therefore circumnavigates the structural analysis of deconstructing language in terms of lexis and syntax to focus on "the content of the language being used, the themes or issues being discussed in a conversation or a newspaper article" (Gee 2014:8). This type of DA therefore delves into the content of the media texts to explore not only the meanings, but also the underlying structures that have contributed to the manner in which they are composed. In line with the coding of latent content that was used in



the generation of themes in this corpus, such a DA that considers the underlying meaning, rather than loose sentences and phrases, is the most plausible approach.

The selected news articles are analysed not for what their writers were thinking at the time of writing the stories, but for the structures of knowledge that they present. Basically, the DA approach focuses on the writers’ meanings at the levels of composing the texts. Each news article is analysed for the individual ideas it represents about Zimbabwean women migrants, and the weaving together of these ideas then became discourses that can be read in relation to broader structures of meaning making prevalent in the context. The discourses are then analysed in terms of their productive power to creating meaning and generating structures of knowledge. The aim of the DA is not to characterise what the South African readers do with these structures of knowledge, nor to examine what Zimbabwean women migrants make of these discourses. Rather, it is an attempt to unearth the likely meanings and interpretations of the themes generated by news articles written about Zimbabwean women migrants in the Johannesburg media and how these may relate to broader knowledge structures that exist in the context.

### 7.3 Combining Foucault and Gee in Discourse Analysis

The two theorist of discourse analysis are combined in the analysis of media texts in this study. The main reason for doing so is that although Foucault treats the subject of discourse quite extensively (Hook, 2007), there is no clear model of analysis in the Foucauldian notion of DA. However, Gee’s (1999) building tasks can be categorised under Foucault’s three aspects of DA, which are; power, history and discourse. In this study, then, while Foucauldian aspects present the broader frameworks through which the texts were analysed, Gee’s building tasks are used to deconstruct and unpack the aspects of power, history and discourse inherent in the texts. Gee’s (1999) building tasks fits squarely into Foucault’s categorisation, as follows:

**Table 3: An Interpretive Analysis Framework by Combining Foucault and Gee**

Foucault’s Categories	Power	History	Discourse
	Semiotic building	Activity building	Political building

Gee's Building Tasks	World building	Socioculturally- situated identity and relationship building	Connection building
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A Foucauldian framework of DA has three dimensions; power, history and discourse (Hook, 2007), and each dimension requires a distinct type of enquiry. The first dimension in FDA is power. In this dimension, the researcher focusses on describing, interpreting and explaining the texts. According to Hook (2007:102), “Foucault is involved in a concerted attempt to restore materiality and power to what, in the Anglo-American tradition, has remained the largely linguistic concept of discourse”. The power dimension focuses on how language is used in textual representation. For Foucault, power is exercised so that discourses come into being (Jones, 20003). The intent of the analysis at this level is to unearth the special meanings of the narratives that convey a specific theme. Similarly, in Gee’s (1999) model the analysis of linguistic concepts is covered in the first two building tasks, semiotic building and world building.

The second dimension is history. In explaining Foucault’s conceptualisation of history, Jones (2003:146) states that, “the study of history involves working out how and why different discourses came to be established...” He further explains the history dimension of DA as a quest to discover why people “thought, said and did what they did” ones (Jones, 2003:146). To do so, an understanding of the context in which discourses are produced and what meanings they generate is needed. The analysis of the historical juncture in which texts are produced is therefore important in this dimension of DA. In Gee’s (1999) building tasks, activity building and socioculturally-situated identity and relationship building are used to access Foucault’s history dimension. The questions under these two building tasks direct the discourse analyst to interrogate the main activities and sub-activities, and the relationships they have with identities that emerge in that particular situation.

The third and final level in Foucault’s framework is the discourse dimension. At this dimension, the discourse analyst focuses on connecting power and history to the larger cultural and social discourses surrounding the interpretation of the data. The discourse analyst, then, has to establish specific factors in the situation that lay the foundations for the formation of particular discourses (Jones, 2003). Discourses are interlinked with processes that led to their formations. It is because of this that it is difficult to ascertain what was there first: the discourses or the

processes (Hook, 2007; Gee, 1999). To unearth the discourses that lead to a particular way of thinking and way of knowing, Jones (2003:147) proposes a “post-structuralists (strategy of) deconstruction”. To unearth the discourses underlying the ways of knowing and of talking about specific subjects in this study, Gee’s (1999) last two building tasks of discourse analysis are used. These two building tasks, political building and connection building, provide the tools in the form of questions that are necessary to unearth the underlying factors that lead to the formations of certain discourses and ways of talking about migrants. The connection building tasks, as postulated by Gee (1999), offer guiding questions that allows the discourse analyst to refer back to history and power, within the data and with other texts, to identify relations that culminate into nameable discourses.

In concluding this section, it is important to note that Foucault’s dimensions of DA overlap with each other. There are thus no clear cut boundaries between power, history and discourse because in the analysis one dimension builds on to the next. However, Combining FDA with Gee’s (1999) framework helps to define the boundaries that are not explicitly evident in Foucault’s dimensions.

#### **7.4 The feminisation of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa**

Migration has always been associated with men in search of work as they are culturally regarded as the breadwinners in the Zimbabwean context (Ranga, 2015; Crush and Tevera, 2010). As breadwinners and responsible for the upkeep of the family, Zimbabwean men have always been migratory – initially to work in the urban areas of their home countries and more recently to seek employment in the farms and mining, industrial and commercial sectors of more promising economies (Ranga, 2015; Rutherford, 2010; McGregor and Primorac, 2010; Rutherford and Anderson; Ranger, 2004). Recent trends, marked especially by the post 2000 politically induced economic downturn, have seen an increase in the number of Zimbabwean female migrants in South Africa (Pasura, 2008; Gouws, 2010; Ranga, 2015; Hungwe, 2015). The increasing feminisation of migration is presenting an unprecedented challenge to the traditional gender roles and hierarchies. In the traditional Zimbabwean context, women have to seek permission from a husband or a male kin before migrating. In most cases the permission is not easily granted, forcing some women to leave home without telling anyone (Levko-Everett, 2005). These women’s families will only become supportive upon realising that they are now dependent on remittances for their survival.

The “feminisation of migration” (Gouws, 2015:169) or the normalisation of female migration arose in the Zimbabwean context owing to multiple reasons. Notwithstanding the economic meltdown, which rendered the male breadwinner incapable of providing, other push factors included pressure from extended family members looking to the middle aged women for caregiving and deteriorating standards of living that force women to look beyond the national borders to maintain a particular lifestyle for their children (Hungwe, 2015; Ranga, 2015). Hofman and Buckley (2011:80) point to the “selfless sacrifice” of women in the migration matrix. Families in Zimbabwe are relying on the migration of women for their survival. Women are known for their devotion both to their children and to the extended family, hence, when they opt for a transnational life, their capacity to provide and to care for their loved ones is enhanced.

As corroborated by an ethnographic study conducted by McDuff (2015), the main push factors for Zimbabwean women migration are both political and economic. McDuff (2015) chronicles the experiences of Zimbabwean women migrants, ranging in age from 24 to 72 years, in South Africa and in the United Kingdom. The women migrants cited political persecution (both physical violence and psychological abuse) and economic hardships as their main reasons for leaving Zimbabwe. The participants in McDuff’s (2015) study were married, single, divorced and widowed women who were working in the foreign land to support their children, siblings, parents and a host of extended family. In the host countries, they were employed in farms, retail, education, public health and non-profit organisations. Crush and Tevera (2010:1) summarise the push factors to Zimbabweans leaving the country as “an economy in free-fall, soaring inflation and unemployment, the collapse of public services, political oppression, and deepening poverty”. Women are not exempted from experiencing these effects on their personal lives.

The main pull factors to the host countries, for women, also include a network of friends or relatives to help with the settling process in their destinations and the promises of finding employment. According to Rutherford (2010), Zimbabwean migrants rely on family, friends and social and religious networks in the host countries for the acquisition of the necessary documentations and to ease the settling process. Hungwe (2015) studies how Zimbabwean migrants coming to Johannesburg use their social capital in the form of social networks to help in the settlement process in the receiving country. Social networks do not only aid in providing

accommodation and food to incoming migrants, but the often exaggerated tales about the good life and prospects of higher earnings serve to create, perpetuate and lure new immigrants (Hungwe, 2015). These enticing stories, coupled with the migrants' show of luxury goods such as expensive cars when they visit their home countries, convince the non-migrants to make the decision to leave home in search of these "greener pastures". Johannesburg is often depicted in the tales of the migrants as a city of endless opportunities.

### **7.5 The corpus**

This study used a poststructuralist FDA in combination with Gee's (1999) framework to make sense of the textual analysis data. A corpus of 20 news articles was retrieved from Johannesburg-based English newspapers. News articles about Zimbabwean women migrants were extracted from five English Johannesburg newspapers, namely *The Sowetan*, *The Daily Sun*, *Business Day*, *The Star* and *The Citizen*. News stories were also retrieved from the weeklies hosted in Johannesburg: *The Sunday Times*, *City Press*, *Sunday World*, *Rapport*, *The Mail & Guardian*, *Financial Mail* and *The Daily Sun* (the Sunday edition of the daily tabloid). All newspapers were available online, some under a different name, for instance *The Star* newspaper was accessed through its *IOL* website.

A search for news articles was conducted on each website using the search functionality provided on the websites. The search for news articles followed the same procedure on all the websites. News stories were included in the corpus when they were published within the time frame of 2012 to 2015. Given that Zimbabwean migrants' issues in South Africa are broad and are both event and time sensitive, a relatively short time frame of four years was selected for the analysis. A uniform search was conducted on all the websites by combining the words "Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg". All the news stories written about Zimbabwean women migrants in Johannesburg were extracted for the purposes of performing a critical DA.

### **7.6 Results**

As already established in the thematic analysis section of this research report, five dominant themes emerged from the analysis of news articles retrieved from Johannesburg's news websites. These themes are victimhood and vulnerability, institutionalised xenophobia, prostitutions, criminalisation of migration and identity crisis. Themes emerging in the retrieved

stories were generated using the both thematic analysis and the GTM. These two methods of data analysis were incorporated because of their inductive approach to qualitative data (Baxter and Babbie, 2005). The inductive approach to the data allowed the researcher to subject the news articles to scrutiny, and from this close reading, themes were generated based on the reportages. As explained in the methods section, news stories were closely read and segments of the news articles depicting the same themes were grouped together (see, “Thematic representations of Zimbabwean women migrants” section of this study. Names, which summarised the categories, were then assigned to the grouped segments, and these names became the themes. It was possible for some news stories to belong to more than one theme by virtue of the issues the news articles raised.

### **7.7 Delineating Foucault and Gee in DA**

Graham (2005:2) outlines the dangers and the risks of doing a Foucauldian poststructural discourse analysis, such as inaccessibility of Foucault’s works, the risks of one’s work being dismissed as “unFoucauldian” the absence of clear prescriptions on how to go about doing a FDA and the fact that Foucault himself was hesitant about demarcating a theory: “I take care not to dictate how things should be” (Foucault, 1994: 288). In the light of these concerns, both critics and pundits are faced with a dilemma as to what criterion to use for inclusion and exclusion for one’s DA to qualify as being Foucauldian (Graham, 2005).

This section adopts a poststructural DA consistent with Foucault in the sense that it does not claim universal truth in how the media texts were interpreted. Characteristic of poststructuralism, this study acknowledges that the interpretations of the media texts under review are neither absolute nor definitive (Graham, 2005). In the same way poststructuralism forms the epistemological basis of this discourse analysis, this study also adopted a particular reverence for uncertainty, at the same time acknowledging the idea that there are other ways of interpreting (Humes and Bryce, 2003) the same media texts.

In terms of how Foucault’s DA can be applied, Scheurich, (1997: 107) suggests that “both epistemological and ontological; constitutes both who the problem group is and how the group is seen or known as a problem”. Using Scheurich’s interpretation of Foucault as an epistemological and ontological position, the researcher investigates how migrants came to be

described as a problem in the South African media context. The FDA is then used to interrogate the productive power of pathologising female migration.

As a way of circumventing Foucault's lackadaisical approach to DA, the researcher makes use of Gee's (1999) framework. According to Gee (1999:8), one example of a DA is to "look at themes or issues being discussed in a conversation or in a newspaper". This definition advocates an expansion of DA that includes not only linguistics and lexis, but the content of a text. Inasmuch as the content lends itself to an infinite ways of interpretation, Gee's framework provides a number of questions that can be used to interrogate the texts under study without interfering with the limitless inferences can be gleaned from the same piece of writing.

Gee's framework was also adopted because of the intersection it has with this study on issues of identity. Gee (1999:8) proposes a multilateral method of DA, which can be used to investigate "ways of saying (informing), doing (action) and being (identity)". In terms of identity, it is not just a question of what we consume making us, but also interrogating the identity or identities a "piece of writing [is] attributing to others" and how this helps the speaker or writer enact his or her own identity (Gee, 1999:18). In operationalising the ideas, Gee's classifications of questions are revised and classified under Foucault's tripartite broad categories of DA. In the same way as Foucault's categories are cumulative and interconnected in the sense that the power level, which was interpreted in this study to mean the productive power of a text, is instrumental in the capturing of history and the two build up over time to form a discourse, Gee's building tasks are also accumulative. It is then easier to find some synergies between the two as their ideas on DA build up from simple to complex, from manifest to latent, and from explicit to inferential in terms of analysing texts.

### **7.8 Discourses of victimhood and vulnerability**

The theme of victimhood and vulnerability of Zimbabwean women migrants, as depicted in some of the Johannesburg newspapers, has intertextuality with the themes of institutionalised xenophobia, crimes committed against Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa and Zimbabwean women migrants in identity crisis. Following Foucault, the researcher interpreted statements made in the media texts as privileging certain ways of perceiving women migrants. Explored in this section are statements that privilege the notion of representing Zimbabwean women migrants in a negative light as victims who are vulnerable to multiple forms of

calamities. These statements can be linked together to form a discourse. Foucault (1972:117) states that statements that belong to some discursive formation, when connected, form “a fragment of history”.

Owing to its overarching nature, the theme of victimhood and vulnerability represents the largest number (14) of stories reported in the Johannesburg newspapers. Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa are reported to fall victim to a number of institutions and individuals. In seeking healthcare services for antenatal check-ups and delivery, the Zimbabwean women migrants are reported to be caught between two extremes when “Hospitals held (their) babies for **ransom**” (*The Star: IOL*, 14 July 2015). Despite the fact that migrants are, under the South African law, entitled to healthcare, “**Xenophobia violates** Health Act and migrants’ rights to care” (*Mail & Guardian*, 28 November 2014) and foreign women migrants are denied access to healthcare services. Some women manage to access the much needed healthcare service and safely give birth, but are still kept captive by “**Fears** for health of deported triplets” (*The Star; IOL*, 24 January 2013). The fear of deportation back to Zimbabwe, where access to healthcare is even more difficult, is always a looming threat when living in a country illegally.

Borrowing from Gee’s (1999:92) questions on world building, it is important to identify the situated meanings of some of the words and phrases. In this study, the world building task is closely linked to Foucault’s power category. For Foucault, power knowledge accumulates to constitute the discourses through which the object can be disciplined (Foucault, 1972). To build up a world of victimhood for foreign women migrants, words such as **ransom**, **xenophobia**, **violates** and **fears** are used by the Johannesburg-based newspapers to frame a context the immigrants are to expect. The choice of these words from two reputable newspapers, or “regime(s) of truth” (Foucault, 1980a:118), is meant to be indicative of the precarious world Zimbabwean women migrants should expect when they enter South Africa. Foucault argues that the accumulation of texts produces discourses. These discourses, in turn, control people, even those in the production (Foucault, 1980a). The discourses produced by the negative portrayal of Zimbabwean women migrants in the Johannesburg-based newspapers do not only control the immigrants’ way of viewing themselves, but also shape producers’ and readers’ perceptions of migrants.

Furthering the discourses of victimhood and vulnerability, the *Mail & Guardian* of 20 September 2013 reports of a “Foreign mom’s **neglect** turns [that] **fatal**”. To interpret the



vulnerabilities of Zimbabwean women migrants represented in this text Foucault's ideas on governmentality become relevant. Foucault explains governmentality as the power some individuals or institutions have over giving and taking life (Rabinow, 1991) As explained above, Taylor, (2011:41) aptly defines governmentality as “the right to take life or let live”. In this text, the nurses and doctors who in this context have the power to “let live” neglected the pregnant Zimbabwean migrant woman with a life threatening case, resulting in the death of her son. It is very tempting to blame the medical personnel for this fatal incident, as the subtle hand of the state is invisible to the naked eye. However, reading in terms of Foucault's biopower, the state emerges as the root of this type of governmentality (Foucault, 1980a).

The text hints at the invisible hand of the state by the statement: “Nurses and doctors are “forced” to treat non-residents, but SUCH care is too often perilous” (*Mail & Guardian*, 20 September 2013). Though the article does not specify who is forcing the nurses and the doctors to treat foreigners, knowledge of the South African legal and policy framework is of help in interpreting this statement, pointing to the government as the instrument leading to the unfortunate incident under discussion. The legal and policy framework sends conflicting messages with regards to foreigners and access to public health facilities. Indeed, in the same article, the writer quotes two experts with divergent interpretations of the legal and policy framework regarding foreigners in South Africa:

Kaajal Ramjathan-Keogh, the head of the LAWYERS for Human Rights' refugee and migrant programme: “The Constitution provides for the right to basic healthcare for all.”

Versus

Gauteng health spokesperson Simon Zwane: The policy stipulates that “foreign patients without any documentation or permits shall not be refused emergency medical treatment”, according to the National Health Act. (*Mail & Guardian*, 20 September 2013.)

By leaving the law, subject to different kinds of interpretations, the state successfully manages to distribute its biopower (the subjugation of individuals in society through prescribed methods of behaviour) to different levels of its institutions. It then becomes difficult to trace such forms of power back to the state.

Zimbabwean women migrants are not only portrayed as victims in their host country; the crises are often traced back to their sending country. For instance, in the article titled “Migration is a **tale that knows no bounds**” (*Mail & Guardian*, 23 August 2013), it stated that when in South Africa, Zimbabwean women are more likely to lose their hard earned social status. Through representations that paint migrants as “groups inhabiting camps, mines or slums, as masses flooding into alien countries, or victims of mob violence” (*Mail & Guardian*, 23 August 2013), individuality is often rendered invisible. This portrayal runs contrary to the Giddensian approach to immigrants, which hails the agency factor of migrants in the host countries. What becomes apparent in the representations of migrants as an “amorphous multitude” (*Mail & Guardian*, 23 August 2013) is the loss of agency.

Through the world building task, Gee (1999:92) proposes questioning the discourses that are being “(re)produced” and “stabilised” within a given text. In the context of this media text, the women migrants, as represented, do not only lose their personal identities, but their agency as well. Such representation reinforces the discourses of victimhood and vulnerability, which transcend national boundaries, of women migrants. According to Foucault (1972), the discourses that emanate from how an object is described also make up the knowledges and practices through which that object is disciplined. The representation of Zimbabwean women migrants as living in squalors, stripped of all forms of personal identity, as victims has a way influencing them into victim mentality.

Consequently, when the researcher applied Gee’s (1999:93) “socio-culturally situated identity and relationship building” task, which in this study is linked to Foucault’s category history component of DA, a number of likely interpretations of the text emerge. For instance, the erasure of the individual identities of the women migrants in the text gives rise to a perspective where immigrants are seen in groups or large numbers with no trace of personal history. The representation of immigrants as groups of people inhabiting poor communities of South Africa has intertextuality with discourses on the influx of migrants as identified by Banda and Mawadza (2015). The images of groups, or “droves”, of immigrants “moving, running, emigrating, going, deserting, walking, quitting, flying, fleeing” (*Mail & Guardian*, 23 August 2013) contribute to the social construction of group identities. In addition, urgency is conveyed in the verbs used, creating what Banda and Mawadza (2015) refer to as moral panic as migrants

are described as taking South Africa by storm. According to Gee (1999:18), discourses “carry on conversations with each other through history, and in doing so form human history.” Since history is essentially a work of the present (Foucault, 1980a), the production of texts depicting migrants as having only a group identity contributes to the discourses of erasure regarding agency and personal identity.

Some of the Zimbabwean women in Johannesburg are a text, read as sending messages on how not to run a country down as in “High time we learnt a lesson from Zimbabwe” (*The Star*; IOL, 23 October 2012). In the phrase it is “high time we learnt a lesson from Zimbabwe” the writer signals “we” versus the “other” phenomenon, which resonates with “phobogenic” sentiments in the Fanonian sense (Fanon, 1967:151). In the media text, upon seeing two Zimbabwean women migrants with babies on their back at his house, the writer’s immediate reaction is to recount how South Africans need to learn from Zimbabweans.

The intertextuality of the Zimbabwean post-colonial journey is quite significant to the interpretation of this text. Indeed, one can only understand the meaning of this statement with background knowledge of what Zimbabwe went through, resulting in its citizens being reduced to beggars as reported in this article. At the surface level of knowledge production, the writer sympathises with the two Zimbabwean women migrants. However, borrowing from Fanon (1967:151), the Zimbabwean women in this context have become “phobogenic object(s), a stimulus to anxiety” for South Africans’ imminent fate of post-independent, post-colonial and post-apartheid state of African nations. The use of *we* is designed to create a space between the writer/fellow South Africans and the other (who is suffering because she is not a South African). The fear of the other is then justified, because the fellow African is a stranger who causes uncomfortable reminders. Because South Africans are also African, such phobogenic sentiments can only be explained as “Africa’s fear of itself” (Matsinhe 2011:295).

To further analyse the statement “it is high time we learnt a lesson from Zimbabwe”, Gee (1999:92) advocates semiotic building tasks, which aim to interrogate the “systems of knowledge and ways of knowing that are relevant in [a] situation”. Like Foucault’s notion of governmentality, this concept explains how the state exercises control over its people through neoliberal means (Taylor, 2011); both the systems of knowledge and ways of knowing are defined by the state. Borrowing from this line of thought, then, all individuals are subject to the influence of the state regarding how they perceive the world. The *we* versus the *other*

phenomenon that is central to this text can be traced back to the state in a number of ways. Firstly, the political boundaries are a colonial legacy, which the state is complicit to in terms of defining who is South African and who is not. Secondly, the state's propagation of discourses of nationalism gives birth to a national identity. According to Ravengai (2010), a national identity defines what speech is permissible. Castells (2010) further contends that a national identity is propagated by the state as a defensive mechanism against globalisation. The state's influence on the systems of knowledge or on what speech is allowed, within a given context, is so subtle that individuals involved in knowledge production are always under the illusion that they are the originators of the ideas they are circulating.

The discourses of Zimbabwean women migrants' victimhood and vulnerability is deepened by "the general strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation" (Banda and Mawadza, 2015:53). The biblical analogy of South Africa being Canaan, a land that flows with milk and honey, and Zimbabwe being Egypt the country of enslavement appears in the line "They entered South Africa a few weeks earlier in search of **salvation**" (*The Star; IOL*, 23 October 2012), illustrating the sharp contrast between the two countries. While South Africa is presented in a positive light, Zimbabwe is depicted as this inhospitable failed state:

The root of the problem is the political and economic **difficulties** that Zimbabwe finds itself in, which precipitated the **scattering** of its citizens across the world, **condemning** them to a life of **begging** and **hardship** (*The Star; IOL*, 23 October 2012).

Through lexicon choice, South Africa is presented in a positive light as the redemptive nation while Zimbabwe's problems are illuminated in such a way that the difficulties follow the citizens beyond the homeland.

Some headlines present heart wrenching events, such as "Promise of a job ends in mom's heartbreak" (*The Star; IOL*, 5 April 2013), where a South African indigene promises a Zimbabwean migrant woman a job, but then disappears with the migrant woman's baby. In another instance, the "South African government declares war on Zimbabweans" (*Times LIVE*, 10 January 2015), increasing the woes of Zimbabwean migrant. In worst case scenarios, Zimbabwean women migrants commit crimes and end up in prison. The headline "Women in

prison: ignored and neglected” (*The Star; IOL*, 8 March 2014) reveals how inmates, including Zimbabwean women migrants, are denied basic necessities for their sanitary needs. If not being denied sanitary pads, it is squalid living for Zimbabwean women migrants’ prisons, in which “Foreigners [are] cooped in cage” (*Times Live*, 6 May 2015).

Even those who are in the country temporarily will not return to the home country unscathed, as in the story headlined: “Zim couple want SA travel ban reversed” (*The Star; IOL*, 30 July 2015). With nowhere to run to the women migrants have to be content to live in limbo as “Zimbabwe wants SA to keep its citizens” (*Mail & Guardian*, 17 May 2013). Those who decide to maintain relations with their country of origin and maintain a perpetual and continuous trans-migrant lifestyle are free to do so – albeit with dire consequences, as demonstrated in the headline, “Desperate Zimbabwean women flock to cross-border trade despite risks” (*Times Live*, 21 July 2015). Alternatively, Zimbabwean women can seek asylum in South Africa, where “A sick system abuses its refugees” (*Mail & Guardian*, 16 March 2012).

In an article published *The Star* newspaper’s *IOL* website, titled “Hospitals held our babies for ransom” Linda Mhlanga, originally from Zimbabwe but living in Bramfischerville, says that staff at Leratong Hospital outside Krugersdorp threatened to have her arrested in 2014 when she could not pay for the birth of her daughter. The case of Linda Mhlanga is a clear example of the theme of victimhood, where a system zealously enforces the rules that are designed to segregate foreigners from accessing basic services. Mhlanga is quoted saying “I was charged R800 for booking only, but I told them that I do not have money... They allowed me to give birth and threatened that they were going to send me to the police if I did not pay them.” Even the charges are meant to be a deterrent to foreign women, barring them from competing for resources that are meant to be exclusively for locals. According to Banda and Mawadza (2015), Zimbabwean women migrants are associated with coming to South Africa mainly to seek healthcare, especially during pregnancy. By covering such stories, whether in a negative or positive manner, the South African media sensitises its indigenes to the competition for scarce resources that foreigners bring. Banda and Mawadza (2015) conclude that the South African media are instrumental in the construction of discourses of exclusion by publishing news stories depicting psycho-social conditions that lead to moral panics. By enforcing rules of a segregatory system, the healthcare workers are exhibiting signs of moral panic.

Mhlanga's ordeal of victimhood and vulnerability did not end at the birth of her child – she suffered the same treatment when her daughter became sick: “When my daughter was five months old, she got sick and I took her to Leratong Hospital.” She was only attended to and her daughter admitted after she paid R150 to open a file. When the girl was due for a check-up months later, health workers allegedly turned the pair away after Mhlanga could not pay R300. This theme pertains to women migrants because of their role as caregivers in families.

Another media text supporting the discourse structure of victimhood and vulnerability of Zimbabwean women migrants living in South Africa is that of “Promise of a job ends in mom's heartbreak” (*The Star; IOL*, 5 April 2013). The discourses of victimhood and vulnerability are constructed around lexis (**desperate, beggar, horror**) that depicts women migrants' precarious lives in the cities of South Africa. Below are extracts from the text:

Victoria Muyambo was delighted when she was offered a job as a domestic worker. She is a street **beggar** and had been **desperate** to find employment (VD, VV). But that **delight turned to horror** when her soon-to-be-employer snatched her two-month-old baby boy, Prince.

The mother-of-two, who comes from Zimbabwe, met her “employer” Grace in the Pretoria CBD three weeks ago while **begging** on Nelson Mandela Drive. **Desperate** to find employment, Muyambo agreed to travel to Joburg with the woman.

**UNWANTED:** Zimbabwean Chipu Chiramba is being deported from South Africa, together with her newborn triplets. **FEAR** has been expressed about the welfare of the newborn triplets of Chipu Chiramba, a woman who has been deported to Zimbabwe (*The Star; IOL*, 24 January 2013).

Although the choice of news stories is guided by the newsworthiness of an event, following specific news values, writing is never an innocent task. As Gee (1999:4) writes, “grammar simply does not allow us to speak or write from no perspective.” Thus, the story of a Zimbabwean woman migrant described as a **desperate beggar** who is experiencing **horror**, when read in the historical location of the discourses of the victimhood and vulnerabilities of immigrants, depicts dehumanising living conditions. Perhaps Amadiume's (2002) argument

that the city is no place for the African woman holds weight after all. However, such representations portray foreigners in a negative light, as intruders who are literally polluting the environment. Such representations are tantamount to what the African feminist Minna Salami bemoans as the media focusing on creating stereotypical images of African women as strugglers and survivors (Salami, 2014). Though Minna Salami was referring to Western media, South Africans rarely considers themselves as African citizens, rather identifying more with the West.

In his structuration theory of analysing migrants' experiences in their host countries, Giddens proposes "dialectic of control" as a theoretical strand for exploring the power relations between migrants as agents and their structural environment (Giddens, 1979:56). The environment here is not only the physical situation, but the entire socio-political, cultural and economic milieus. Borrowing from Giddens, the media contributes to the perceptions of immigrants as powerless in the face of the social contexts of South African metropolises. It is quite obvious from this corpus that the media texts are mainly skewed towards the "negative other presentation", as also noted by Banda and Mawadza (2015:53). The absence of representation is also a discourse in itself. In this case, such absence is of stories with positive acts done by women migrants. The "symbolic annihilation" (Metzeke, 2009:22) by the media of certain aspects of women migrants' experiences automatically gives precedence to one-sided "regime(s) of truth" (Foucault, 1980a:118), or more precisely "discursive practices that objectify and subjugate" (Graham, 2005:10) foreigners.

In furthering the discourses of vulnerability and victimhood of Zimbabwean women migrants, the *Times LIVE*, the official site of *The Sunday Times* newspaper, reports on the reaction of the South African government to a perceived enemy in "South African government declares **war** on Zimbabweans" (*Times LIVE*, 10 January, 2015). Although nothing in the headline suggests that the article is talking about Zimbabwean women migrants in particular, the picture of a pregnant Zimbabwean woman with the caption "A pregnant woman crosses under a barbed wire fence, one of a group of 20 Zimbabwean men and women who crossed the border near Beit Bridge on March 31 and then braved the flooded and crocodile infested Limpopo River to get to South Africa", positions Zimbabwean women migrants as the subject of this text. According to Chiluba (2011:197), "representation or meaning associated with certain people

can link them with particular patterns of behaviour and attitudes e.g. violence, robbery prostitution etc.” In reading the news article, the declaration of war by the South African government against Zimbabweans constructs certain identities for the Zimbabwean women migrants. The images of war construct identities of intruders, insurgent militants, militias, rebels, mutineers nuisances and criminals as some of the identities that can be associated with Zimbabwean migrants. It is no surprise that xenophobic violence broke out between April and June of 2015 in South Africa (Asakitikpi and Gadzikwa, 2015).

Other stories related to the representation of Zimbabwean women migrants as victims and vulnerable include:

“Zimbabwe wants SA to keep its citizens” (*Mail & Guardian*, 17 May 2013).

“**Desperate** Zimbabwean women flock to cross-border trade despite **risks**” (*Times Live*, 21 July 2015).

“Foreigners **cooped in cage**” (*Times Live*, 6 May 2015).

“Xenophobia **violates** Health Act and migrants' rights to care’ Female migrants are particularly vulnerable to **sexual exploitation, exposing them to sexually transmitted infections**, which makes it all the more urgent they be able to get access to health services, according to Nkomo. Ndlovu says that just after crossing the border from Zimbabwe she was “**used by men**” on several occasions (VSV, VV). “They promised to help me and buy me food and **I had nothing**. I had no money to get to Johannesburg to look for work (*Mail & Guardian*, 28 November 2014).

“A sick system **abuses** its refugees” (*Mail & Guardian*, 16 March 2012).

“Advocacy group hails NPA’s decision to probe allegations of **mass rape** in Zimbabwe” (*Business Day*, 27 February 2013).

‘Don’t border-jump into SA, there’s **death** there: Zimbabwe vice president tells pupils’ “If you’re a girl, **omalayitsha will detain** you at their house... **They’ll hire you to their friends** and by the time they recoup their money you would have **fallen sick** and **come back home in a coffin carrying flowers on your chest**” (*Times Live*, 14 March 2015).



Most of the stories report on the negative events that befall on women because of their biologically determined gender and sexuality. The texts speak of “mass rape, sexual exploitation, (being exposed) to sexually transmitted diseases, risks, abuses, (being) used by men, deaths, (coming) back home in a coffin carrying flowers on your chest” and many other horrors reported as awaiting Zimbabwean women migrant as they enter South Africa. Through such reportages, it is as if only migrant women are at risk, yet it is a problem that affects all women in general. Representations, through the lenses of Foucault (2006a), are better understood in so much as they fall under technologies of power. The control of how knowledge is produced, circulated and consumed is a form of disciplinary power. In this context, representations that show the risks of Zimbabwean women migrants face merge to form a string of thought, which subsequently constructs a discourse. The woman migrant become the object of this disciplinary power.

### **7.9 Discourses of institutionalised xenophobia**

Fanon (2008:168) argues that “Man is human only to the extent to which he tries to impose his existence on another man in order to be recognized by him. As long as he has not been effectively recognized by the other, that other will remain the theme of his action.” The symbiotic relationship of human existence is used to explore the discourses of institutionalised xenophobia found in the media texts written about Zimbabwean women migrants. Fanon is adopted in this section because he is considered the one of the best sources for understanding the post-colonial world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Mbembe, 2012; Wallerstein, 2009; Sonderling, 2014). The institutionalised xenophobia identified in the news media texts is unofficial, but is meted at women migrants sporadically across institutions. The official statement concerning whether migrants enjoy the same rights as indigenes when it comes to accessing healthcare and other amenities is vague and inconclusive. Therefore, a plausible explanation to the human behaviour exhibited by officials towards migrants can be understood in the Fanonian sense as man imposing his existence on the other.

The article “Xenophobia violates Health Act and migrants’ rights to care” (*Mail & Guardian*, 28 November 2014) clearly condemns the practice of ill-treating or tuning away foreigners from government hospitals. As the title explicitly states, the practice by some individuals in the health sector is due to xenophobia. Not only is this practice in violation of the Health Act, but also of the migrants’ rights to healthcare. According to the news article, foreigners are entitled

to healthcare, but hospitals in Johannesburg continue to turn away migrants seeking medical care. The basis on which the personnel in Johannesburg use to exclude foreigners from accessing healthcare reflects a recognition of the other. As Fanon (2008:169) further explains, “It is on that other being, on recognition by that other being, that his own human worth and reality depends. It is that other being in whom the meaning of his life is condensed”.

What we see in this text is a demonstration of the power relations that exist between foreign nationals and locals. One would assume it is given that locals, by virtue of being in their country, already have power over migrants, and that they do not need to validate it by further exclusionary practices. However, it seems that the human worth of the indigenes in the metropolis of Johannesburg is dependent on the practice of institutionalised xenophobia. Borrowing from Gee’s (1999) world building tasks, more specifically from the types of cultural models for connecting and integrating the situated meanings to each other, provides apt lenses for interrogating this status quo. In the South African context, the history of apartheid, segregation and exclusion laid the foundations from the practices of institutionalised xenophobia.

The practice of institutionalised xenophobia is engrained in the psychic of the personnel at hospitals in the metropolis to the extent that they even use “babies for ransom” for non-payment of fees (*The Star: IOL*, 14 July 2015). Members of staff at hospitals in Johannesburg are reported as making non-citizens pay hospital fees despite the fact that “all persons regardless of nationality are entitled to free primary health-care services” according to attorney Sasha Stevenson quoted in *The Star: IOL*, 14 July 2015. However, it would be naïve to blame the workers at various hospitals in the metropolis for perpetuating institutionalised xenophobia. Neither would it suffice to blame reporters, journalist and those in the media fraternity for writing xenophobia and therefore becoming the architects of such behaviour.

Indeed, Foucault (1977a) warns against privileging authors as originators of statements, and advocates a look at how discourses operate as parameters of sense making or “will to truth” (Foucault, 1981a:55) within which individuals speak or act. Both the actions of the hospital staff members and the writer of the text are subject to a particular discourse. The fact that the members of staff distinguish between citizens and non-citizens, who should pay and who is entitled to free treatment, and are even eager to solicit the reinforcement of other institutions (“originally from Zimbabwe but living in Bramfischerville, Linda Mhlanga says that staff at

Leratong Hospital outside Krugersdorp threatened to have her arrested in 2014 when she could not pay for the birth of her daughter”), is evident of “a coherent political matrix of knowledge” (Said, 1983:108).

The discourses that can be identified in this text seem to be emanating from a deep sense of national consciousness. While acknowledging some of the positive attributes of a national consciousness, Fanon writes about the divisive and fragile nature of such discourses:

Instead of being the coordinated crystallization of the people's innermost aspirations, instead of being the most tangible, immediate product of popular mobilization national consciousness is nothing but a crude, empty fragile shell. The cracks in it explain how easy it is for young independent countries to switch back from nation to ethnic group and from state to tribe—a regression which is so terribly detrimental and prejudicial to the development of the nation and national unity (Fanon, 1973:97).

In the same way that apartheid shattered and disintegrated and gave way to new forms of segregation and marginalisation such as institutionalised xenophobia, so does the current national consciousness form the basis of perceptions that are also transitional and fluid. Similarly, Dodson (2010:6) notes that the “construction of a new, nonracial sense of South African national identity after the end of apartheid inevitably meant the creation of a new oppositional other.” In the absence of non-citizens, people turn to tribalism and ethnicity as a basis for inclusion and exclusion.

In another example of institutionalised xenophobia, the *Mail & Guardian* of 20 September 2013 carries an article titled “Foreign mom's neglect turns fatal”. In the macro analysis of broader formations, which Foucault advocates in DA, such a text is produced following what is permissible and what counts as knowledge in a given context. The subject of the article resonates with Foucault’s formulation biopower, which “appears to function through dividing people into those who must live and those who must die” (Mbembe, 2003:17). Biopower is exercised on behalf of the state by the nurses at the clinic, and the grieving Zimbabwean woman is quoted in the text saying “So, they [the clinic's nurses] refused to book an appointment for me because I don't have the papers [to prove my citizenship status]”. In this decentralisation of biopower, “the condition for the acceptability of putting to death” (Foucault, 1975:228 cited

by Mbembe, 2003:17) is cultured and filtered down to institutions. When the state denies documentation to migrants, it can be read as signing a death warrant for those non-citizens. Similarly, Gee (1999:94) proposes “connection building”, identifying “intertextuality and “inter-discursivity” as the ultimate goal of a DA. In this text, without mentioning some of the institutions that were in conspiracy to murder, the Department of Home Affairs is implicated, as the migrant woman cites lack of proper documentation as the cause of her being denied healthcare. With this intertextuality, it is clear the institutions are acting in collusion to determine who is put to death and who is allowed to live.

The media are complicit, if not the instigator, in reinforcing institutionalised xenophobia by espousing the discourses of identity politics. For instance, in the article “A sick system abuses its refugees” (*Mail & Guardian*, 16 March 2012), the sub-headline reads “A lack of health service delivery to foreigners, which almost amounts to human rights abuses, costs South Africans far more than they realise”. In this statement alone, the emphasis is on cost and discriminatory ideologies. South Africans are documented for embarking on attacks on non-citizens in order to safeguard their “scarce” resources. If excluding foreigners from the health delivery system is costing South Africans more, as reported in this article, then xenophobic citizens are invited to be more resolute in inflicting harm on non-citizens in order to drive them out of the country. The article further reproduces xenophobic discourses by using unverifiable sources regarding the number of non-citizens entering South Africa:

But in recent years South Africa’s friendliness has been heavily tested by **large numbers** of refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants, mainly from neighbouring Zimbabwe, entering the country (*Mail & Guardian*, 16 March 2012).

Applying Gee’s connection building in looking at the backward or forward of the utterance, it is evident that the discourses of foreigners “swarming” South Africa are perpetuated by the media (Banda and Mawadza, 2015; Dodson, 2010; Danso and MacDonald, 2010; Matsinhe, 2011). News media text written about the overwhelming numbers of foreigners flocking to South Africa simply add to the existing forms of media representations, thus adding to anti-migrant sentiments, especially when such reports are associated with a strain on resources, cost to locals, competition for jobs and other socio-economic issues that resonate with the economically marginalised indigenes. Compounded with South Africa’s volatile situation, the

poor citizens then use non-citizens as scapegoats for their complex economic, social and political marginalisation.

### **7.10 Prostitution**

While many news reports in this corpus represent Zimbabwean women migrants as victims, vulnerable to all sorts of pogroms, chief among them institutionlised xenophobia, there is one text that reported a Zimbabwean woman at the centre of a bizarre incident. In the article titled “Cheaters stuck together after poking” (*Daily Sun*, 12 February 2015), a report is provided of a Zimbabwean woman migrant who could not be separated from her lover after sexual intercourse. The *Daily Sun*, being a tabloid, sensationalised the article with a bold headline and pictures of a crowd of people allegedly scrambling get a glimpse of the alleged occurrence.

It is important to establish the “semiotic building” that is essential to understanding the text. Semiotic building deals with the systems of knowing and the ways of knowing that are relevant to a particular situation (Gee, 1999). In this text, the producer, the *Daily Sun*, is well aware of its readership, which broadly comprises people with a propensity for sensationalised news without really being concerned about facts. The assumption of the producer here is that the readers are likely going to be convinced by the non-scientific and non-factual message. The picture of the crowd being controlled by the police might have been unrelated to the story – it is not proof that what is reported really happened. The publication is also keeping in line with the forms of knowledge and the ways of knowing that exist in its readership. In view of Ngara’s (2007:17) argument on the “spirituality-centered thought and wisdom ... the mystical ... the fantasy-oriented ... the supernaturally-oriented” as paradigms of knowing that exist in Africa alongside Western science, this section explores how the *Daily Sun*, exploited this to further the discourses of negatively portraying Zimbabwean women migrants.

Similar to the images of “libidinal quicksand” that imperialists and colonialists envisioned as a default state of African femininity, associated with the black woman’s genitalia (Akudinobi, 2005:135) the article quotes an anonymous source warning the cheater to “Leave my wife alone! I have put special muthi in her punani”. In terms of the discourses that have been identified in this corpus and the situated meanings of this statement (Gee, 1999), this utterance adds to the body of knowledge that posits that Zimbabwean women migrant bring nothing but trouble to the land. It is a way of representation that patronises the subject of the article, as

African traditional worldviews are normally associated with primitiveness and backwardness as opposed to Western science, which is intellectual, empirical, concrete and analytical (Ngara, 2007).

This statement then associates Zimbabwean women migrants with backwardness in two ways. Firstly, the idea that the special *muthi* has worked through her body to cause such commotion at the heart of a highly sophisticated metropolitan signals how the modern civilisation found in the metropolis of Johannesburg could not quench such primitiveness. Secondly, the story shows what is allegedly practiced where the woman comes from. It is implicit that if this woman and her husband were not so backward, the man could have solicited the help Western science, such installing surveillance cameras in the house, to catch his cheating wife.

The *Daily Sun* also quotes anonymous sources when it comes to concrete details that could corroborate the authenticity of the story. The following extract is an example:

A family member of the husband of the cheating wife said the husband had been complaining about his cheating wife.

“He complained she was going out with his friend,” said the woman.

“I think he locked his wife to catch the man she’s cheating with.”

She said in Zimbabwe, where they come from, it is a common way of catching cheating men and women.

“No one will separate them until the husband comes back from Zimbabwe to unlock them,” she said.

A Zimbabwean who spoke to *Daily Sun* said locking a woman with *muthi* was a common way of catching and punishing cheating lovers in their country.

As postulated by Gee (1999), it is important to identify the socio-cultural identities and relationships that are illuminated in a text. The identities of Zimbabwean migrants are constructed as those of a people deeply rooted in the mystical, whose powers emanate from the dark world. The writer made use of unnamed sources to show that the practice of using *muthi* on a woman’s genitalia for catching cheating men and women is common in Zimbabwe. This technique distances South Africa and its citizens from such backward practices, as “We [South Africans] always hear of such things happening [somewhere in Africa] but we have never seen

it". Once again, the *we* versus the *other* discourses are brought in to reinforce how South Africans are different from immigrants, who introduce strange knowledge systems and beliefs into a civilised society.

The article is an apt example of the stereotypical representation of Zimbabwean woman migrants as women of loose morals – which is how African women were viewed in imperialists' and colonialists' fictional films (Akudinobi, 2005). Cutrufelli (1983) quoted in Akudinobi (2005:135) reinforces this stereotypical depiction of African women by writing, "either overtly or covertly, prostitution is still the main if not the only source of work for African women." Furthermore, as an economic migrant, the Zimbabwean woman alleged to have cheated on her husband in the article would have come to South Africa to seek employment. Readers are thus inclined to read prostitution in this news story as a means to escape the abject poverty associated with economic migrants. This news story also fits into a work of fiction already established in that crucial detail is attributed to anonymous sources and the pictures included do not offer conclusive proof that what they are being purported to support actually occurred. As a constructed artifice, this piece of writing mimics the colonialist and imperialist discourses that vulgarise African femininity by associating a black woman's sexuality with horror, shock and disgust.

The subject matter of the story hinges on novelty, the strangeness of being stuck together after sexual intercourse. However, it is not just novelty that the reader takes from this text, but the "sorcerous sexuality" (Akudinobi, 2005:145) of the migrant woman as well. The Zimbabwean woman is reported to have been bewitched by her jealous husband, thus mimicking the Western idea that African women do not have control of their bodies and their sexualities. With regards to the struggle to control voices in African societies – or in any society for that matter – Foucault (1998) argues that to speak about sex is to wield power. What we find in this article is that the writer is exercising power, which he uses to break journalistic rules concerning attribution in order to further a particular agenda. Hiding behind the thin veil of anonymous sourcing, the writer is able, not only to insult Zimbabwean women migrants, but also describe and rewrite their femininity as being mysterious.

Foucault's statement captures the essence of this DA argument:

The deployment of sexuality, has its reason for being, not in reproducing itself, in proliferating, innovating, annexing, creating and penetrating bodies in an increasingly detailed way, and in controlling populations (Foucault, 1998:106).

In the context of this text, the author deploys sexuality to influence Zimbabwean immigrants into believing that they are trapped. This entrapment of the woman is symbolised at two levels. Firstly, the story shows that the woman is the property of her alleged husband, who does not only take ownership of her body, but of her dignity as well. The story shows the humiliation of exposing the woman in an act deemed entirely private, and suggests that only the husband had the power to free his wife. The line “No one will separate them until the husband comes back from Zimbabwe to unlock them” reinforces the ideas of ownership and control of the woman by her husband.

Secondly, the image of a woman “stuck” to a man, their sexual organs locked together, almost amounting to bondage, dominance and sadism and sadomasochism (*BDSM*), symbolises the perpetual entrapment of a woman to a man. In the stereotypical representation of women as commodities or as owned by a man in their lives, either a father or a husband, African women are depicted as property to be acquired. For instance, Western representations in fiction, whose architects lack full understanding of the context, see the payment of *lobola* as a transaction that marks the exchange of ownership of an African woman between her father and her future husband. This text mimics such representations, and leaves the reader believing that it is because the cheating man had refused to purchase the woman or his own that is why he is in this predicament. Moreover, the fact that the woman’s husband could control his wife in such a way shows a kind of “witch doctoring” (Akudinobi, 2005:145), a common practice “in Zimbabwe, where they come from, [which] is a common way of catching cheating men and women” as reported in the article, (*Daily Sun*, 12 February 2015).

What becomes more interesting regarding the publication of this story is the motive. In a sequel, titled “Zimbabwean Woman Threatens Lawsuit Over ‘False’ Story” (*Africa News Slider*, 23 February 2015), the truthfulness of the article in question is further questioned. Though the publication is outside of the study population, its inclusion here is based on the fact that it is a follow-up to a highly sensationalised story that has dire consequences when read in a DA context. This article claims that:



A South Africa-based Zimbabwean woman has threatened to sue over an image published recently in various media to back an allegedly bogus news article. Tholiwe Maphosa referred to the picture used to portray claims that a cheating Zimbabwean woman and Nigerian man had stuck to each other after having sex.

It could not have been a coincidence that the *Daily Sun* chose a Zimbabwean woman migrant's picture to buttress its claim. The question here is not on whether truthfulness is a journalistic canon that the *Daily Sun* abide by or not; rather, the issue lies in the discourses, in the prejudices the subject matter of the text reinforced – if not introduced.

### **7.11 Melting pot identities of Zimbabwean women migrants**

The melting pot of identities was adopted for the DA as a preferred term to identity crisis, which was used in the thematic analysis. As postulated at the beginning of this chapter, there are different readings and different meanings that can be understood from the same text. This section does not use the term identity crisis mainly because of its pathologising connotation of the Zimbabwean women who migrate. This section argues that in terms of personal identity, migration enriches the individual instead of taking away, as suggested in the term identity crisis. A DA of the opinion piece “Who moved my country?” (*Mail & Guardian*, 19 April 2013) brings to the fore the diverse ways in which someone's personal identity is enriched through migration. The article presents a personal reflection of one migrant, Everjoice, J. Win, upon returning to Zimbabwe after a decade away from home, living in different countries. This DA follows the chronical arrangement of ideas as they are presented in the article, in order to keep intact the writer's stream of consciousness.

The article is premised on the writer's inability to integrate into the Zimbabwean social space upon her return from living in other parts of the world. The first aspect that Everjoice reflects upon is a conversation she had with her aunt and other passengers on a ride to the city centre about state of religiosity in the country. While her aunt and the other passengers had derided the Mormon church as cult because of the absence of a cross on the building, Everjoice condemned such intolerance, attributing it to superstition. She tried to defend the presence of the Mormon church in the country by drawing on the intertextuality of Mitt Romney in the

argument. In defence, she said “You mean the Mormons? Mitt Romney's church? Where did you hear that from? You Zimbabweans and your stories!” (*Mail & Guardian*, 19 April 2013). While it is not in the interest of this DA to establish who was right between the two groups, the incident presents an example of how their “will to truth” (Foucault 1981a:54) had become so different, because the author’s worldview was broadened by migration while her aunt and the other passengers’ proceeded from a narrow framework. The writer, owing to her exposure to global politics, drew on the United States of America’s Republican Party’s presidential nominee, Mitt Romney, to justify that the building they discussed was of a legitimate church. There is a complete breakdown of communication as one uncle replies “Meat who?”. The article was published soon after United States of America’s presidential elections, thus it was strange for one living in a city not to know who Mitt Romney is.

According to Fearon (1999), there are attributes that define one’s membership into a social grouping or “external influences” (Giddens, 1999:2) one uses to forge personal identity. What we see in this conversation is a clash of these external influences, which are crucial in shaping one’s worldview. Everjoice drew from a richer source of information, which can be attributed to her migration experience, to make value judgements, while her fellow Zimbabweans in the car drew from a narrow framework based on superstition, if not fear, of the other.

Without denigrating the “supernatural-oriented” (Ngara, 2007:20) epistemological position that has, arguably, permeated Zimbabwe, a spirituality-centred worldview seems to thwart pluralism, heterogeneity and multiplicity, which are the hallmarks of post-modern societies. Everjoice complains of being unable to relate with news in the public sphere, because “The local papers are too full of stories about goblins, witchcraft ...” These stories are skewed to one side, in this case are spirituality-centred, and therefore produce homogenous discourses. Without over-valourising migration, it is not far-fetched to consider non-migrants as suppressed by a narrow-minded view of the world. What the traveller-cum-migrant, the writer of this article, observes about her fellow citizens upon her return is a people denied an ability to think critically over issues.

Using the truth versus false dichotomy that Foucault envisages in discursive analysis, the spirituality-centred approach that governs the terrain of legitimate knowledge in Zimbabwe is synonymous to the sense of truth that the Greek poets advocated as that “which inspired respect and terror, that which one submitted because it ruled,” (Foucault 1981a:54). In terms of

personal identity, therefore, Zimbabwe would be emblematic of a context where “reflexive life-planning becomes impossible, except for elite inhabiting the timeless space of flows of global networks and their ancillary locales” (Castells 2010:11). Everjoice explains her coping mechanism:

I socialise more with my friends strewn across the globe. I have deep Skype conversations with Neelanjana in India, political discussions with Jorge in Brazil or Wandia in Kenya. I keep up with Laura in New York on Google CHAT, Shamim in Johannesburg by SMS and Korto in Liberia on Facebook (*Mail & Guardian*, 19 April 2013).

In this text, we can see that there is the betterment of someone because of migration. The writer is now in a position to glocalise her individual identity in the age of globalisation (de Burg-Woodman, 2012), an upward mobility that she has acquired because of living as an immigrant at some point in her life.

Glocalisation of identity is not the only luxury that the writer is able to enjoy because of migration, but she also afforded an opportunity to join “the forbidden speech of politics” (Hook, 2011:523). Foucault considers politics and sexuality as prohibited areas of discourses that are reserved for a few privileged speaking subjects (Hook, 2011). This is true in the Zimbabwean sense, in that politics is a forbidden subject to ordinary people but is reserved for the privileged few. In the excerpt below, the unlicensed Everjoice strays into the forbidden subject and uses her connections abroad to have her thoughts published.

There is another whole world in Zimbabwe, the one you don't read about in the papers. Here is where I discover just how many white people there are in Zimbabwe, the old and the new ones. The old ones (in both senses of that word) have their own universe. I have discovered “missionaries” in long blue skirts in Mabelreign. Young Christian volunteers from the US are here to “spread the word”. They too live in a parallel universe, away from the “Zimbabwe will never be a colony again” mantra in the public arena (*Mail & Guardian*, 19 April 2013).

In the Zimbabwean panopticon, casting doubt on the national identity or any myths, stories and beliefs propagated by the ruling elites to justify their staying in power (Ravengani, 2010) is an unforgivable offence punishable by imprisonment, on a lenient sentence, or death. What saves the writer from persecution is the maze of globalisation. The rhetoric on sovereignty is one of the myths of nationalism that the ruling elites have adopted to justify their clinging to power. Using Foucault's characterisation of discourse then, at this historical juncture in Zimbabwe, the "will to truth" (Foucault 1980a:55) is composed of any discourse governed by what favours the ideologies of the ruling elites. The truth conditions are established around the socio-political circumstances.

The article ends with a short biography of the writer, which summarises the nature of melting pot identities (Bouman, 2009) in the era of globalisation. It reads: "Everjoice J WIN is a Zimbabwean feminist. Her body lives in Harare, her heart is in Italy and her head resides in Johannesburg." All these different places have contributed to who the writer has become, and is becoming. Identities are forged from somewhere in between, not from a position of certainty. Migration, in this context, is an action that adds to an individual's experience, resulting in a more accomplished self. The whole experience of migration itself also prepares one for the world of globalisation.

### **7.12 The criminalisation of female migration**

The DA employed in this section of the thesis involves combining Foucault and Gee for their complementary as well as overlapping ideas. Gee (1999) proposes the pairing of "small-d-discourse" and "big-D-discourse", which helps the researcher to move from the manifest to latent, explicit to inferential, in order to come up with a systematic method of going about analysing a text. The small-d-discourse helps a researcher to focus on the text, and to pay attention to the language used. The big-D-discourse then guides the researcher to consider the knowledge being produced and circulated by the text, and how that knowledge builds up to inform beliefs and actions. In addition, Foucault introduces the necessary tool kit for a comprehensive understanding of how this knowledge or discourse feeds into history and power. In this DA, a text as product is considered for its intended meaning, and the knowledge it produces is analysed in terms of the context in which it is circulated and its likely effect.

The thematic analysis of the media texts on Zimbabwean women migrants dealt with in the previous chapter yielded a number of themes, one of which was criminalisation of migration. This section follows up on the thematic analysis, delving deeper to consider the texts in more detail by applying a DA. From the corpus, two texts were found to associate Zimbabwean female migrants with crime. The texts to be used in this section, by headline, are “Beit Bridge drug case postponed” (*The Star; IOL*, 27 January 2015) and “Women in prison: ignored and neglected” (*The Star; IOL*, 8 March 2014).

The criminalisation of migration takes place in many forms. For instance, Parkin (2013) in her study of the criminalisation of migration in the European Union (EU) identifies domestic legislation of EU member states, irregular migration, immigrant detention and discourses in the media that link immigration to notions of crime, deviance and security, as some of the ways in which migrants are criminalised. However, it is important to consider a working definition for the term that is currently popular in academia. According to Palidda (2011:25), the criminalisation of migrants involves “all the discourses, facts and practices made by the police, judicial authorities, but also local governments, media, and a part of the population that hold immigrants/aliens responsible for a large share of criminal offences.” This comprehensive definition encompasses all forms of communication that links migrants to criminal activities; pertinent to this study is the media’s focus on reporting on crimes committed by foreign nationals. One may ask: Should the media be silent on the crimes committed by immigrants in the host countries? To answer this question, it is important to consider whether the effect of reportages is either abetting or hindering criminality among immigrants. What seems to be the outcome of the media reporting on crimes committed by immigrants is an intensified and indiscriminate hatred for non-citizens.

The number of studies on the criminalisation of migration across Europe and the US has been rising in the past three decades (Parkin, 2013). Such studies, as highlighted in *Racial Criminalization of Migrants in 21st Century*, edited Salvadore Palidda, illuminate the gravity of the problem. In this book, Palidda (2011) explores any correlation between the criminalisation trends in European countries and the increase in crime rates. His findings reveal no correlation between the criminalisation of immigrants and the rise in crime rates. Rather, he found a strong correlation between intense economic difficulties and an increase in crime and, consequently, upsurges in xenophobic incidents.

The South African press has for a long time been associated with negatively reporting on black foreign nationals from other African countries (Danso and McDonald, 2001; Neocosmos, 2008; Banda and Mawadza, 2015). Negative reportages on immigrants aid, if not instigate, the build-up of negative sentiments among locals towards non-citizens. The media similarly has criminalised immigrants. Under the guise of reporting facts and/or newsworthy events, the newspapers headquartered in the metropolis of Johannesburg have added their fair share to the criminalisation of migration. For instance, in the excerpt below, two migrant women, one from Zimbabwe and another from Lesotho, are reported to be appearing in the Musina Magistrate's Court on charges of carrying ingredient for manufacturing drugs.

Two women accused of entering South Africa carrying ingredients associated with drug manufacturing appeared in the Musina Magistrate's Court on Tuesday, Limpopo police said. "The two women, Memory Maphosa, 39, from Zimbabwe, and Vuyiswa Mabasa, 23, from Lesotho, appeared... on a charge of the possession of drugs" (*The Star; IOL*, 27 January 2015).

The above is a clear example of the criminalisation of female migration in the South African context. Notwithstanding the editorial policies at this publication, one thing is obvious: female migrants have been reported to have attempted to enter South Africa with drug manufacturing substances, which "police estimated the value of the substance at about R8 million". Drug trafficking is one area that incenses locals and many believe foreigners are contributing to the proliferation of drug abuse in poor communities in South Africa. Recently, in February 2017, there have been reports of locals demonstrating in Johannesburg and Pretoria central business districts against foreigners bringing drugs to communities.

At the surface level, this text appears innocent and unassuming. However, when related to the discourses that such reportages filter into the general populace, other levels of signification can be established. To unearth the subliminal message which this text is laden, Foucault's definition of discourses becomes relevant. According to Foucault (2002:54), discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak". In relation to the criminalisation of female migration, it is not only about creating a collective identity for Zimbabwean migrant women in South Africa for which these discourses are responsible, but also the collective consciousness of those spoken about.

FDA also advocates an interrogation of power. In the context of this text, power is embedded within the discourse itself, which determines what to be talked about, how it can be talked about and by whom. The fact that the text is in the form of a hard news story format is also an aspect of power as expounded by Foucault (Foucault, 2006). A hard news story format leaves the impression of truthfulness and factuality, hence no further defence is needed in convincing the reader of the authenticity of the discourse. The South African Police Service (SAPS) as the main source of this news story is incorporated to further endorse authenticity. It can be argued that both the media and the law enforcement agency are complicit in fanning discourses that criminalise migrants – again introducing questions regarding the qualification of both the writer and the source to speak on behalf of the migrant women in this article.

Preceding the drug smuggling story about a Zimbabwean woman migrant in the same news website is the article about another Zimbabwean woman migrant who is in prison for defrauding a bank. The excerpt below is another example of the criminalisation of female migration by a Johannesburg-based English newspaper:

But Viwe Tafadzwa\* says this usually does not happen: “We are given a limited number of pads, the warders want to see whether you’re really bleeding and don’t care how heavy your flow is.” Viwe, 26, is serving a three-year sentence for defrauding Absa of R45 000 (*The Star; IOL*, 8 March 2014)

Foucault suggests that instead of questioning what is revealed in a text, we should rather ask “What subject-positions are made possible within texts?” (Hook, 2001:527). In the news article titled “Women in prison: ignored and neglected” (*The Star; IOL*, 8 March 2014), another native South African assumes the privileged position of speaking about the experiences of a non-citizen migrant woman. While the headline does not necessarily require the writer to elaborate on the type of crime the migrant woman committed, for no other plausible reason than effect, this detail is included. The special-effects here become the criminalisation of female migration. Such representations simply add to the growing discourses representing migrants as imminent threat to society.

Another subtle form of criminalisation of migration is presented in the news story of a Zimbabwean migrant woman who was threatened with arrest for failure to pay hospital fees. She said, “They allowed me to give birth and threatened that they were going to send me to the

police if I did not pay them” (*The Star: IOL*, 14 July, 2015). It is not clear whether the police here are the SAPS or immigration officials, thus blurring the distinction between criminal law and immigration law. In South Africa, many foreign nationals are harassed by members of the SAPS and are treated like criminals over issues of identity or asylum seekers’ documents. Borrowing from James Paul Gee’s toolkit on doing a DA, the statement on criminalising female migration above can be analysed through the “political building” lenses (Gee 1999:93). In this category of DA, Gee (1999) proposes the identification of the social goods that are relevant to the situation and how they relate to the broader discourses in operation in the context. What we see in this statement an exercise of power by a local South African over a female immigrant – or at least that is how it seems at the surface level of signification.

It is also important to recognise that power is neither unidirectional nor fixed. Such an exercise of power has its roots in phobogenic sentiments in the Fanonian sense. In the slave-master relationship that Fanon observed, the black man was a phobogenic object, or “a stimulus to anxiety” for white’s hatred for blacks (Fanon, 1967:151). The situation described in this excerpt mirrors what Fanon calls phobogenic sentiments, where someone with seemingly greater power is driven by the fear of the other to apply discriminatory practices. Similarly, Matsinhe (2011) had noticed phobogenic sentiments by black South Africans towards fellow Africans, resulting in them resorting to exclusionary practices. Following this line of argument, the flexing of power by a local relates to the negative perceptions of South Africans have of African immigrants, which speaks the discourses of xenophobia as alluded to by various scholars (Crush and Pendleton, 2007; Danso and McDonald, 2001; Neocosmos, 2008; Matsinhe, 2011).

According to Parkin (2013), detention, incarceration and deportation of the migrant together with the social construction of immigrants as outsiders and as vagrants are all acts of criminalising migration. However, the media’s obsession with covering stories of migrants’ detention and deportation also adds to the growing discourses of criminalisation of migrants. Below are texts from two different Johannesburg-based newspapers reporting on the control and deportation of illegal immigrants of Zimbabwean origin:

“Fears for health of deported triplets”. UNWANTED: Zimbabwean Chipso Chiramba is being deported from South Africa, together with her newborn triplets. Once Chiramba’s presence had been noted by the Department of



Home Affairs, deportation proceedings began, even though her triplets were born in South Africa (*The Star*; IOL, 24 January 2013).

The Department of Home Affairs has reportedly launched a crackdown, which started on New Year's Day, on illegal South African passport holders intending to enter or leave Zimbabwe through the Beitbridge border (*Times LIVE*, 10 January 2015).

The media is complicit in the criminalisation of migrants in a number of ways apart from bringing issues of migrants' detention and deportation into the public arena. First of all, the use of adjectives such as "illegal" in describing migrants confers upon them a criminal status. The term illegal evokes images of dishonesty, secrecy, deceitfulness, treachery and criminality. The media do not qualify whether migrants' lack of proper documentation is an act of deviancy on their part or it is an administrative issue with home offices. Readers are left to formulate their own opinions over the issue of migrants, and sometimes these ill-informed perceptions lead to xenophobic sentiments and, subsequently, violence. In addition, Foucault (1980) suggests that DA should not only concern itself with abundance of meaning, but should also busy itself with the scarcity of it. It is in this scarcity of meaning that the intentions in the illuminated discourses become more apparent. Parkin (2013:4-5) proposes the use of terms such as "undocumented", "irregular", "semi-compliant" and "non-compliant", as opposed to "illegal" migrants.

Finally, texts are not innocent. For example, to read the article chronicling the deportation of the mother and her triplets as a mere reportage of facts would be naïve for a study employing FDA, such as this one. The chronicling of the event, much to the amusement and vivid images it stimulates in the human imagination, can be equated to what Foucault (1977) describes in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Quoted in Mbembe (2003:19), Foucault describes "how the execution of the would-be regicide Damiens went on for hours, much to the satisfaction of the crowd." The condemned would be paraded before execution in order to send a warning to the people watching. In the same manner, the vivid descriptions of the deportation of Chipo Chiramba with her newborn triplets warns other undocumented female migrants of how the government is determined to take punitive action beyond every form of humanitarian reasoning.

Essentially, the criminalisation of female migrants of a Zimbabwean origin in the Johannesburg-based newspapers takes on very subtle forms. Under the pretext of reporting facts, the newspapers are responsible for mediating discourses of criminalisation of female migrants. Since news media outlets are already viewed in the public domain as sources of factual information, their texts and knowledges are likely to be regarded as “discourses of truth” (Foucault, 1980a:93). Moreover, legitimate questions can be asked over who has a right to speak about women migrants’ experiences in their host countries. In hindsight, and in terms of Foucault’s notion of power lying in one’s ability to produce discourse, and the power of those discourse to be a record of history at specific juncture of time, the production and consumption of texts needs to be approached cautiously and critically.

### **7.13 Conclusion**

The DA of news media texts extracted from newspapers headquartered in the metropolis of Johannesburg revealed that media outlets focus on negative reports that portray migrant women as vulnerable victims, criminals, objects of institutionalised xenophobia and as prostitutes. This section argues that the constant association of women migrants with negative discourses contributes to their further victimisation. Moreover, the absence of positive reports in this corpus was also noted a means to illuminate the negative discourses associated with women migrants. These news media texts, through their autonomy in deciding what they consider newsworthy, intentionally and unintentionally, become the architects of xenophobic sentiments that seem to be embedded in the psychic of locals in the cities of South Africa.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### ZIMBABWEAN WOMEN MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES IN THE METROPOLIS OF JOHANNESBURG

#### 8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a DA of news media texts written about Zimbabwean women migrants. The aim was to find out the types of representations with which the women migrants are associated with in the Johannesburg news media landscape. Using a combination of a FDA and Gee's framework, Chapter Seven, further analysed the types of knowledge the themes identified in Chapter Six. Both chapters identify media narratives and the identities they construct for Zimbabwean women migrants in South Africa. However, speaking about and for others is not something to be taken lightly. As already been established in the FDA, narratives produce discourses. Both discourses and narratives present a record of history of a particular juncture. It then becomes a question of who has the power to produce narratives and to influence the discourses that enter the public domain. According Foucault (1980), quoted by Taylor (2011), power is not always an external force that acts upon us; rather it is something that makes us who we are. It thus becomes an anomaly if who we are is spoken about or written on our behalf.

This chapter argues therefore that identity is informed by experience and, as such, it is the Zimbabwean women migrants themselves who have authority to narrate their lived experiences and speak about who they are, who they want to be and who they are becoming. This chapter examines the structural constrains and subjectivities that inform Zimbabwean women migrants' experiences of Johannesburg as a city of their chosen destination, transit, transient or many other statuses. Using their narratives, quoted in verbatim, this chapter investigates the Zimbabwean women migrants' lived experiences in a foreign land. Their narratives do not only give us an insight into the lives away in a foreign land, but also how they forge their identities at the intersection between being and becoming, between home and a far-away place. Notwithstanding the multiple challenges women face in the cities, both presented by their country of origin and their host countries, they display agency by taking the initiative to move, defying previously held ideas about women being left behind as men migrate (Ranger, 2004; McGregor and Primorac, 2010; Crush an Tevera, 2010; Ranga, 2015). In this chapter, I argue

that no single approach is sufficient to understand the migrants' experiences, and in turn what they become in terms of identity, be it local or transnational.

Lived experiences are complex phenomena, which at times are subject to an individual's personal circumstances. As such, they reflect the prevailing economic, political and social situations that hinder or enable an individual's desires and aspirations. Women migrants' lived experiences are partly shaped by the networks that they form as they settle into their newly found places and spaces of abode. It is these networks that women migrants use to enter the job market and claim a position in their new society.

## **8.2 In-depth interviewing and analysis**

To gain an in-depth understanding of Zimbabwean women migrants' subjective experiences of living as foreigners in Johannesburg, an open ended interviewing approach was used. The researcher conducted multi-sited interviews with six Zimbabwean women migrants living in the metropolis of Johannesburg. This approach was adopted because it moves away from the rigorously structured question-and-answer style, which stifles narratives. The interviewees were given leeway to elaborate, which gave the researcher an opportunity to understand their frames of reference. Following the semi-structured way of interviewing, further probing questions were used, which were outside of the interview schedule, depending on matters arising. The questions focused on the experiences of the women migrants in the metropolis, the changes they see in themselves, the changes that other people – both back home and in the host country – see in them and the factors that they think have influenced the changes that they perceive in themselves. The researcher conducted, tape recorded and transcribed all the interviews.

All women were informed, beforehand, about the procedure and purpose of the interview, and an informed consent form was signed by each of the women. The women were assured of the confidentiality with which their responses were to be treated, including de-identifying them by way of using pseudonyms. During the interviews, women narrated painful experiences of living in limbo, of losing and sacrificing for a dream, and of alienation. At the end of each interview, the interviewees were given an opportunity to ask questions about the nature of this study. It was at this moment that the concerns of the interviewees were also addressed.

The interview data was analysed by drawing insights from FDA and Gee's framework of DA. For instance, Gee (1999) postulates that one approach of DA is to look at themes or issues being discussed in a conversation. It is in these themes and issues that are used to gain an insight into the identities of the speakers. The first two building tasks in Gee's (1999) framework, namely the descriptive and interpretive analysis, which were equated to the power dimension of DA in the Foucauldian sense, were used as frameworks to interpret the women migrants' narratives about their experiences in the metropolis of Johannesburg. Gee (1999) further postulates societal analysis and political analysis, which in this study were equated with Foucault's history and discourse, respectively, as the subsequent levels of analysing texts in DA. At these two levels of DA, the Zimbabwean women migrants' narratives were interpreted in the context of the socio-historical and political contexts in which they were produced. In line with the poststructural approach to DA, the researcher paid attention to the meanings that the women attached to their experiences.

### **8.3 Kudzai's experience**

In January 2008, Kudzai joined the innumerable number of Zimbabweans who had headed south in search of a better life. She had just completed her first degree with Honours. In the footsteps of many who had come to "city of Egoli the place of gold", as she describes it, she had to rely on a network of relatives and friends to find her feet in the strange place: "I stayed with a relative for a couple of months when I came to Johannesburg in January 2008". A decision to migrate is often accompanied by getting in touch with those who have gone before in order to ease the process of settling in and familiarising oneself with the new place. Usually, prior arrangements are made, requests for help sent and an agreement reached before someone even considers purchasing the bus or air ticket. Johannesburg might not necessarily be the chosen city for settling, but owing to the existence of someone who is willing to take the migrant in, it often becomes her destination or transient place in the migration process.

While in Johannesburg, Kudzai further used her networks in order to get a job: "I looked for a job through word of mouth and found work as a scullery worker at Delforno Restaurant in Centurion, despite having an Honours degree." It is this sheer determination and show of humility – that no matter the level of education, one is willing to take a menial job – that many South Africans would interpret as foreigners taking their jobs. According to Banda and Mawadza (2015), the moral panic over jobs emanates from the sentiments most locals share

that foreigners are willing to accept jobs for lower wages. The complex circumstances that forced Kudzai to settle for a menial job are what need to be understood in order to create a clear picture of her newly found identity.

On the Giddensian structuration theory, Gregory (1994) posits that migrants are knowledgeable and capable social agents. One such knowledgeability is the ability to analyse the situation and do the best one can do with the given resources. Instead of mourning and complaining about lack of employment in her area of specialisation, Kudzai accepted what was available: a menial job, knowing that it was a temporary engagement while she searched for another one. Indeed, Kudzai was very clear that the job she was doing was not commensurate with her level of education, if not far below her expectation: “The job was really degrading but what I kept telling myself was that this was only going to be a stepping stone for me to get the career that I had studied for, i.e. something in the field of communication since my degree is from Social Sciences, plus I also needed the money so that I could fend for myself.”

It is migrants like Kudzai whose efforts are described by Giddens (1979) as “intentional or purposeful”. The decision to settle for a demeaning job is not always guided by desperation, but rather, in some instances, it is the determination to avoid idling that drives one to be economically productive at all costs. Unfortunately, such efforts as displayed by Kudzai are not always interpreted in as a drive to be independent and a desire for honest work. They are misconstrued to mean foreigners are willing to work for lower wages, therefore feeding into the exploitative nature of the system, or simply to mean foreigners are stealing jobs meant for locals.

Kudzai’s patience and resilience is further demonstrated by her narration of staying with degrading jobs for over a year, knowing fully well she was overqualified. She had to go through what Nuttal and Mbembe (2008) describe as redefining the self for the purpose of adapting. Kudzai said:

I worked in different stations (scullery, salads, grill) in the restaurant kitchen for 6 months, earning from R1750 to +-R2700 (I don’t remember the exact amount) when I finally left. I moved out after my second month at the restaurant and shared a room close to the restaurant (walking distance) with two other girls who were working similar jobs, also from Zimbabwe. I later

became a waitress at two other restaurants in Centurion i.e. Capello and Bambatta 'til May 2009 when someone advised me to go and drop off my CVs in small colleges in Pretoria by going door to door.

In terms of identity, Kudzai's resilience resonates with Tinarwo and Pasura's observation (2014) that women are more equipped to survive in the diaspora, as they are willing to enter the social ladder at any level. It is perhaps coming from a background where men are mainly regarded as breadwinners and women as housekeepers and child minders that allows women to fare better and be more resilient in foreign lands where such skills are required when one does not get a job of one's choice.

The journey to becoming or to realising one's desired identity in a foreign land is a humbling one. Kudzai speaks of sharing a room with "two other girls who were working similar jobs also from Zimbabwe"; what brings them together is the shared experience of displacement and homelessness. Of course her roommates had their own stories about their journeys to their own self-realisation, but Kudzai's narrations speak to the giving and taking involved in the negotiation and re-negotiation of self-identities that characterises non-citizens in their host countries. She had to suspend her dreams, desires and aspirations of living as a university graduate and take up a menial job for a pittance. Though temporary for Kudzai, her situation reflected Parkin's observation (2013:244) that "migrants live with a loss that is always present, if not in reality at least in its potentiality".

Kudzai's patience, coupled with meeting the right people in her network of friends and acquaintances, eventually paid off. Heeding the advice to drop off her curriculum vitae at colleges in Pretoria, she finally found a job that matched her academic qualification. She said:

I did this only one day and two weeks later I was called by a Head of Department at Rosebank College to come for an interview for an independent contractor Journalism lecturer position for Diploma students (NQF5). I started work in May 2009 and that's how my lecturing career took off. My first salary was R5250 at a rate of R145 per hour and I remember calling my friend who I was staying with to come and join me at the mall for some KFC. Because I was earning significantly more, I could now afford to rent on my own and send a little bit of money back home to my parents and that is what

I did. I was that excited about that money. I moved around a lot working at different Rosebank Campuses because as an independent contractor the more you work, the more you earn so I worked in Pretoria, Benoni and Braamfontein.

With her new job, Kudzai is now able to make use of her knowledge and enter a higher level in the South African society. In line with the extended meaning of the term diasporic, i.e. identities are characterised by a desire to return to the homeland, Kudzai's newly found employment could afford her an opportunity to keep in touch with those left behind in the form of remittances. Kudzai's migration and desire to work improved her livelihood, earning money to take care of both herself and her parents, vindicate arguments in literature on African feminisms that posit that African women have always been industrious and selfless (Madunagu, 2010; Turshen, 2010; Amadiume, 1987).

Kudzai's narration of her experience in the city, which culminates in securing a better paying job, is infused with a sense of accomplishment and celebration. Her satisfaction is not derived from the amount of money she was earning, but from the joy of being able to share it with her parents. In that sense, she claims a space in the realm of the previously stereotyped masculine identity, in the Western sense, of being a breadwinner. The freedom to seek employment by African women is not a new phenomenon, as Turshen (2010) observes that African feminisms need to address issues of empowerment rather than liberation.

Moreover, remitting is part of the grand narrative of transnationalism in the Zimbabwean migration matrix. According to Hungwe (2014), Zimbabwean migrants are trans-migrants who use remittance as way of maintaining multiple obligations and identities. Kudzai's remittances are part of maintaining a transnational identity. Migrants such as Kudzai maintain ties with relatives in the sending country as they believe that if they do not succeed in the host country, they will have a home to come back to. Thus identities are always managed in this transnational manner.

#### **8.4 Beyond the economistic framework of gendered migration**

While literature on migration celebrates economic gains as the ultimate reason migrants remain in foreign lands (Rutherford and Anderson, 2007; McGregor, 2010; Pasura, 2010; Zinyama,



2000), the women in this research found new desires and sources of satisfaction, using these to sustain their lives away from home. It is undeniable that economic gains might have served as the initial pull factor to Johannesburg, but as they settle, desires and goals shift as the realities of the demands of the metropolis weigh on them. For Mandisa, who moved to Johannesburg in 2009 and is living as a single parent raising three children, economic gains are not factors she considers at the moment as far as decisions on where to rent are concerned. Mandisa prioritises the safety of her children, even if it means the rentals consume more than three quarters of her monthly income. Her account reveals a downgrading of the quality of life for her children in terms accommodation, safety and security:

You have to rent where its safe, especially when you have children, you have to weigh down your options. Me the safety of my children comes first. I have heard friends telling me, why don't you go and stay in Cosmo City? Why don't go and stay in Soweto or places like that? Okay, you have removed these children from a proper home set up in Zim, and you putting them to South Africa, where they have to start living in a life in a flat, which they have never experienced before, they don't even have a playground. Where they were used to have a playground, when they want fresh vegetables they have got a garden back then. We have all that back home. And you are coming into a foreign land, where you don't even have a flower.

Mandisa's account reveals multiple losses owing to migration. The loss of a home and a playground for her children makes economic gains a farfetched ideal to consider. Her account also displays aspects of femininity such as caring, nurturing, love, protection and self-sacrifice for the sake of the children, as identified by Amadiume (1997). In line with matriarchal values, Mandisa forms a distinct economically self-sufficient unit with her children: "they don't have a father in the picture, so I cannot take both parents from them."

Mandisa is not new to matriarchal values and matrilineal comforts as she herself was raised by a divorced mother. She said, "I was raised up by my mom, single-handedly and this is what she instilled in me. They [her parents] got divorced when I was in grade six, my little sister was in grade two. Here we are, maybe she also held on to motivate me, seeing the importance of bringing up your children alone." Her move to Johannesburg was not driven by dreams to be

rich, but rather by a desire to provide for the children. Her matriarchal obligations are her first priorities.

Kudzai also does not measure her gains in Johannesburg in terms of money, but rather speaks about personal intrinsic virtues, where money is a means to an end:

I never thought I would ever leave Zimbabwe because there was never a reason to. However, after failing to secure employment, I lost any sense of self-worth in Zimbabwe because I was always a dependent. I tried to make a living but the money was just never enough. I found myself unable to dream big because not having any real assets just made me envious of others and made me resent myself. However, when I came here I found myself able to dream again, to make plans, to acquire assets, to choose the life I want, to retain my self-worth.

In terms of personal identity, Kudzai's lived experience in Johannesburg is a journey towards attaining independence and self-worth. This type of identity construction can be understood within the ideological construct of exceptionalism. As a brand of African feminism, exceptionalism hails women's agencies in both public and private domains (McFadden, 2010; Turshen, 2010). In terms of this brand of African feminism, Kudzai's narrative exhibits a notion of identity that is characterised by upward social mobility. As has already been established, literature on African feminism speaks of empowerment rather than liberation of African women from patriarchy (Mikell, 1995; Oyewumi, 2003; Ahikire, 2014; Amadiume, 1987; Diop, 1978; Acholonu, 1995). Kudzai speaks of her yearning for independence, not from the shackles of patriarchy, but from the evils of neoliberalism and neocolonialism. It is a desire to be exceptional.

Nyasha is a single woman who came to Johannesburg in 2008. She shares an apartment with her cousin. When she came to Johannesburg she did a hairdressing course, and at the time of the interview, she was working at a beauty salon as a cosmetologist. Her identity in Johannesburg is characterised by a sense of security and peace of mind rather than making a lot of money:

I work and I know that my salary is coming end of the month. I won't be scratching my head and be thinking, ohhh my gosh! Am I going to get it [salary] after three months or four months. When I left Zimbabwe it was difficult. When I left Zim things were bad, they were getting worse.

Nyasha also shares how migrating to Johannesburg has afforded her an opportunity to go back to school and be independent. Again, this is more about empowerment than liberation from the restrictions of patriarchy, as is evident in the dialogue below:

**Nyasha:** I have added a qualification to myself. That has changed my opportunities, when I am looking for a job anywhere, it helps. The references also help as well, because I worked with Vuyo. I don't know if he still does the hairdressing for *Generations*. He does the hair for the entire cast of *Generations*."

**Interviewer:** A lady?

**Nyasha.** No it's a guy.

**Interviewer:** So you worked with him?

**Nyasha:** Yes I worked with him, in Soweto.

**Interviewer:** so why then did you move from hair to nails?

**Nyasha:** I was tired, and because I have got a skin problem and I have got eczema. I was just tired of hair as well. Every time I have to touch water and with hair, you have got no option. And I get reactions, most of the time. More than when I am doing nails. I have now been empowered as a woman, to work for myself, to be independent. I am independent right now. I don't depend on any one, not even a blesser. So I am happy about that. And in that I can stand on my own.

Women migrants interviewed in this study celebrated their economic independence without really quantifying it in terms of monetary gains. The fact that they are able to look after themselves without depending on a man or on parents was regarded as a successful lived experience away from home. Nyasha also regards her working with a highly regarded hairdresser, who does hair for the entire cast of *Generations* (a popular South African television program), as one of her successes of living and working in Johannesburg. The fact that she has worked with such a popular hairdresser gives her professional identity a competitive advantage

among her peers. Building relevant social capital is one of the most important skills one needs to have in a world where referrals are required in order to obtain desired employment. It is such social capital that Nyasha intends to use further to improve her opportunities in life.

Patricia is another Zimbabwean woman migrant living in Johannesburg. She came to South Africa on a study permit in 2008. Initially she wanted to go Australia, but changed her mind when she took a gap year in South Africa. At the time of the interview, she was working as an administrator. Apart from acquiring an education that she came to South Africa for, she speaks of gaining self-confidence, a broader understanding of different cultures, and an empathetic personality:

I have gained an education. And through education I have also gained a lot of different things as well, like confidence, you also begin to be very open minded because you meeting a lot of people with different perfections. So in situations like that you actually accumulate that personality of listening to what other people have to say, you are also keen to know their experiences and what they have experienced. Not that I am saying in Zimbabwe, you are not able to do that, but in Zimbabwe it's the same social background. So there is not really much that you can be enthusiastic about or you can be keen to learn. Unlike when you are here, you kind of want to know and learn more about other people. I think it's also because when you go back home you also want stories to tell, so you want to learn more of other people so that you can also tell your family when you are back home and to share some of the experiences.

Her account supports the argument for multiculturalism. Multiculturalism results when people of different cultural backgrounds harmoniously live together (Koopmans and Statham, 1999; Calma, 2007; Sardar and Van Loon, 2004). Though the South Africa multicultural society is characterised by stories of racism, xenophobia and Afriphobia, among other discriminatory practices, there also exist some communities where people share stories of their humanity and learn from each other. Patricia has learnt more about other cultures so that she can share this knowledge with people back home. Again, multiculturalism mutates into transnationalism. Moreover, a study by Makina (2012) shows that Patricia's experience is not unique as multiculturalism is possible in South Africa because Zimbabwean migrants are able to maintain

strong international ties. It is in those stories that she shares back home that define Patricia's transnational identity, and the gathering of the stories in South Africa affirms a multicultural context.

Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa are mainly regarded as economic migrants because there is no war in Zimbabwe. Indeed, the women in this study revealed that they migrated for economic reasons. However, their desires and aspirations were not to pursue riches and prosperity, but rather to gain personal independence, social security, self-confidence and self-worth. It is evident that their means of livelihoods were under threat back home and this was interfering with their personal identities. As such, migrating to Johannesburg was a way of reclaiming what they had lost along the way. While their goals may shift, at time the interviews were conducted, it seems that making ends meet, being able to take care of themselves without external help and keeping a job were the ultimate evidence of achievement for the Zimbabwean women migrants in this study.

### **8.5 Living in limbo: negotiating transnational identities of unfulfilled desires**

Literature on the meaning of home and a sense of belonging for Zimbabweans celebrates the rural home as an ultimate place of belonging (Mungoshi, 1981; Mbiba, 2010; Gaidzanwa, 2005; Ndlovu, 2010). Most Zimbabweans perceive political boundaries as colonial creations, and home and belonging to them are constructed along provincial and ethnic lines (Ndlovu, 2010). It is no surprise that Zimbabweans do not feel at home either in the city or in any part of the world.

A sense of belonging is something that an individual feels as a result of a number of complex factors. When asked what she had lost by moving to Johannesburg, Kudzai responded with certainty: "A sense of belonging. I am not at home in Johannesburg and I am not at home in Zimbabwe. I feel like I am in limbo, living in some isolated realm located in SA." By moving to South Africa, Kudzai relinquished her birth right affiliation to her home country, but at the same time has failed to properly integrate herself into the society of the host country. Indeed, her response shows that migrant assimilation into a host country is impossible. Theoretically, for Kudzai to feel at home in Johannesburg means that she needs a total erasure of her memory and experience of home and start on a tabula rasa level to assume the new ways, values, norms and experiences to create new memories, and thus assimilate into the Johannesburg culture.

Since this is humanely impossible, home and belonging for Kudzai remains somewhere in between, a realm, not a physical space, but a new conception that is of a transnational nature.

Johannesburg is a city where one's identity and belonging are constantly being questioned, challenged, negotiated and renegotiated. For many foreigners, a foreboding awareness of unbelonging sets in as they enter the metropolis. It is the proliferation of anti-migrant sentiments, of discourses of identities of authenticity and indignity, and the ubiquitous nature of literature on ethnic purity that contribute to migrants' feelings of insecurity and vulnerability (Mbembe, 2001; Nyamanjoh, 2007).

Language is central to migrants' exclusions and inclusions into the South African communities, which in turn contributes immensely to their perceptions of regarding the city as home. Ruvimbo finds language as a barrier to her sense of belonging to the metropolis of Johannesburg and to South Africa at large:

And unfortunately, even though I have tried to learn the language or whatever, they can still catch me that I am a foreigner. So it's those things, the constant fear, that, at any point they will say foreigners or people will start attacking foreigners or when you go to places, sometimes they can even say that we cannot employ you because you are Zimbabwean. So it's all those frustrations that I had to deal with. I guess when I was still a student, it wasn't so bad, but when I actually started going into the job market, trying to look for work and stuff, then they tell you know what, because you are a Zimbabwean, yes you are good, you are a good candidate, but unfortunately, if you don't have an ID, so that process is very frustrating and I assume everyone finds it frustrating.

The issue of language is popularly used as an exclusionary measure by most South Africans, from which the derogatory nomenclature *Makwerekwere* was coined to refer to anyone who speaks any other language outside of the South African vernaculars. The term *Makwerekwere* was coined as an onomatopoeic mimicry of the perceived sound of the languages of non-citizens. Thus the *Makwerekwere* identity is ascribed to black people who speak differently and different languages that are not part of South Africa's vernacular languages. As such, *Makwerekwere* identities affect migrants' sense of belonging in South African communities

(Muzondidya, 2010; Nyamanjoh, 2007; Hungwe, 2012). What frustrates Ruvimbo in this regard is that when in Johannesburg she is seen as “other” first before she is considered a human being.

Ruvimbo’s account also alludes to the precariousness of her existence in the metropolis. Her affiliation to the country is always challenged through language, giving way to questions about whether she is in possession of an identity document or not and perceived and real threats of xenophobic violence. Her stay in South Africa is therefore characterised by living in suspension, in limbo. The comforts and securities that come with one being at home and from a sense of belonging are eroded by the precarious living conditions of foreigners (Chinouya, 2010; McDonald *et al.*, 2000). The South African government, like any other government in this era of global movement of people, had established institutional barriers to foreigners’ access into the job market. Work permits, asylum seekers permits, South African identity documents and many other legal documents are used to regularise foreigners’ stay in the country, and are used as measures of controlling who enters the country and subsequently, access to the job market. These documents are another form of Foucault’s (2006a:75) biopower. Through neoliberal means, the state is capable of controlling its citizens and the non-citizens within its borders. The unfortunate aspect is that foreigners are then subjected to multiple forms of control that go beyond what the citizens of a country endure. The frustrating barriers of exclusions that Ruvimbo face are deeper and their roots are far beyond the human faces that she interacts with when looking for a job. The exclusionary measures are crafted and orchestrated from the state’s biopower.

Moreover, black South Africans have a hegemonic perception that presupposes that every black foreign national should be able to speak vernacular languages. Failure by black non-citizens to understand or communicate in local languages is received with indignation, disappointment and further discrimination of the foreigner involved. Patricia’s narrative describes such unpleasant encounter:

But when you go out now, and when you meet people publicly now, they expect you to speak in their vernacular languages. And that’s difficult because sometimes you don’t even know how to communicate with them, because the only thing that you know is English and English is a very common language you expect people to know. And one thing that I have

noticed is that black South Africans here, what they assume is you are black you speak Xhosa, Sepedi, you know, all those languages. But if you are speaking to a white person, obviously it's English, that's what you gonna communicate with.

The expectation by black South African of black foreigners being conversant in vernacular languages creates friction and anti-migrant sentiments. Together with the discourses of perceiving black non-citizens as migrants or *Makwerekweres* and white foreigners as expatriates or tourists (Matsinhe, 2011; Danso and McDonald, 2001; Landau, 2004; Hussein and Hitomi, 2014) by black South Africans, an inability to speak local languages makes black foreigners anxious. This anxiety contributes to their liminal existence, both imagined and real, hence their belonging becomes marginal.

Chipo came to Johannesburg from Bulawayo after having completed her university degree and had similar experiences of language being an impediment to her successful integration into Johannesburg society and professional milieu. Her experience at work shows a level of alienation and feelings of exasperation: "Although I may have a job, interacting with clients and colleagues and not being able to speak their language is difficult. I have had to develop emotional intelligence, something I didn't quite have to back home." She speaks of having to develop emotional intelligence, which means she has to tolerate forms of abusive and demeaning or condescending reactions that she receives from clients because of not being able to speak a local language.

However, this emotional intelligence is just a coping mechanism, because she as a foreigner cannot dream of fighting for the right to be herself lest she risk losing her job. Instead of succumbing to victimhood, Chipo regains control by silently playing along, maintaining peace with South African clients and work colleagues to her benefit. However, she resorts to what Landau (2006b:125) "an idiom of permanent transit" where a migrant asserts his or her transience with some aura of superiority. Tolerance becomes one of the survival skills that non-nationals have to learn in order to adjust into their new identities as third or fourth class citizens.

For Mandisa, living in limbo entails shifting her goals, desires and aspirations. It also involves making life adjustments for herself and her children by lowering the standards of living. For many people, economic migration means driving flashy cars, taking care of relatives back



home, acquiring properties both in the host and home countries and sending children to better schools. This is not the case for Mandisa after she and her children migrated to Johannesburg from Gweru. She laments of the drop in the standard of education for her children:

Back then they were going to total private schools. My kids started school at Midlands Christian School. Here is their picture (pointed to the picture on the wall). That's where they were going to school. That same level of life and expectancy they have in life dropped drastically because of the changes of things. So even when I came here and I look at the education and everything, and when I compare, and my heart is sore, it's painful. It's really not what I had dreamt of for my children.

But this is the best that I can do. I am doing the best that I can for now. This is my best, it doesn't mean it's their best. They have to learn from these experiences and take it for their own lives. So I always tell them in life, I am doing the best that I can. Henceforth, I say, I would rather be with them, teaching them and training them. Right now, if I am with them, I put everything on the table, and I tell them, this is what I got. This is the budget, what do we do with the budget. That's the kind of life we live. That way they also kind of know. I don't just do it alone.

When we leave our children back home, I remember they told me the other time, mummy do you know, aunt used to say your mummy is busy eating Nandos right now. We never thought that this how life is like. But now they know that when I have half a loaf, I am having it with them. And for me it gives me peace of mind, knowing that we have eaten. Whatever we have eaten that day, I know me and my children have eaten.

Despite the challenges she faces in the city, such as occupying marginal positions, financial insecurity and downgrading her lifestyle, Mandisa's resiliency is heroic. Mandisa's account counters previously accepted beliefs that women migrants are confined to domestic duties while men are economically productive immigrants as exemplified by the men as breadwinners and women as housekeepers and childminders motifs, which portray women as dependent on men, eroding their access to resources and productive opportunities (Tinarwo and Pasura,

2014). A study conducted by Kihato (2007) confirms that migrant women's difficult circumstances help them assume heroine statuses as they manage to pave way for themselves and their children, even in the face of oppression, to transform their living conditions. Mandisa's narrative shows a woman making use of her life's circumstance to secure her children's future.

The women in this study agree that they live in marginality when they are in Johannesburg. The issue of language differences pits them against South Africans, who then use language as an exclusionary tactic. Failure to speak in a vernacular is an unforgiven sin for most black South Africans. However, foreign women resort to "tactical cosmopolitanism" (Landau 2009:198) to circumvent the paralysing influence of their limited understanding of vernacular languages on their aspirations in life in the metropolis. Language difference is one area in which non-national women migrants are rendered liminal in the city. Moreover, liminality is also expressed by the women migrants in their observations of how life has changed – not for the better but for the worse. Home is remembered fondly, with memories of better standards of living, good quality education for the children and spacious accommodation. Their narrations express an outsider type of lived experience in the metropolis.

### **8.6 Migrant women's identities as constructed by people back home**

Zimbabweans who migrate to South Africa are seen differently by people back home. They are sometimes regarded as different because of their experiences in South Africa. Such perceptions among those left behind are mainly informed by stories, sometimes those in the media, of the perilous conditions migrants face in South Africa. In some cases, the perceptions are based on stories of how Zimbabwean migrants cross the infamous Limpopo River through illegal channels, the risks involved and how the migrants are cheated of their money by people posing as guides to cross the border into South Africa. While these migrants immensely contribute to the livelihood of those they live behind, they are sometimes regarded with disdain and are given derogatory identities by their homeland kin.

A study by Hungwe (2012) explores the multiple identities of Zimbabwean migrants through the lenses of those who remained behind. Using the changes that they see, in terms of character, fellow Zimbabweans have names that they attribute to the migrants when they return home either for holidays or permanently after they have spent some time in South Africa. Hungwe

(2012:134) notes the terms “*Injiva* (among Ndebele) or *majoni-joni* (among the Shona)..., *Umjubheki* (derived from Jo'burg UMWENELA)...[and] *Umgoli* – derived from EGOLI – meaning Johannesburg”, as some of the names ascribed to Zimbabwean migrants to South Africa when they return home.

Hungwe (2012) explores the *Injiva* identity, where the Zimbabwean migrants are viewed as outsiders because of their experiences of living in South Africa. The return migrants further entrench the *Injiva* identities by expressing exaggerated difficulties in speaking their native languages, by inflecting a mixture of Zulu, Afrikaans and Xhosa para-linguistics in their speeches, and by showing off their expensive cars and playing loud music. The *Injiva* identity is associated with violence, troublesomeness and irresponsibility and aggression – quite a sharp contrast to the *makwerekwere* identity, which is characterised by passivity and timidity.

Ruvimbo’s account of how she unconsciously inflects, in her speech, para-linguistics that she has acquired through her lived experience in Johannesburg confirms Hungwe’s (2012) *injiva* identity:

And I have found that in my speech and stuff I’ve actually started using, I don’t know what to call them a lot more colloquial, slang that is used here, people always laugh at me when I’m in Zimbabwe for using words such as shoo! Nee, I say all these things. I say all these thing that South Africans say. I hardly ever used to use then, but I am so used to them now.

Living in Johannesburg, albeit on a liminal level, the Zimbabwean women migrants cannot help but maintain strong ties with their homeland. To some of them, home is of high sentimental value, which words cannot capture. Their identities, then, are of a transnational nature. The women in this study intimated their constant journeys back home. Nyasha expressed her unequivocal connection with both her homeland and her people.

**Interviewer:** But, how often do you go back home?

**Nyasha:** Twice and sometimes three times in a year. I visit my parents, my young sister and my niece. I go back to see them. I love to see my parents. I love going back home. Home is best. There’s no other place like home.

Zimbabwean women migrants' identities cannot be fully understood without considering how they are viewed by other people in their homeland. In the return journeys, time and again, migrants realise what is expected of them by relatives and friends, which in turn shapes their behaviour, both at home and in the host country.

When asked how other people back home view her, Kudzai's response was "my family has always loved my fiery spirit. Other people respect me because I can make financial contributions." It is, probably because of her fiery spirit that Kudzai made such a "perilous journey to South Africa" (Hungwe, 2012:135). This observation shows that even back home the view of women as having agency in the migration process is a norm. Kudzai also earns the respects of her parents as a financial provider, a status she has acquired because of migration.

Nyasha too is a financial provider for people back home:

**Nyasha:** Yes, they see me differently. They do hey! They expect change, in the form of money, in the form of just growth as an individual. They expect me to give them money. Like let me say, not only do they expect money, not friends only, but also relatives if I can say. They expect money because they think everything is flowing well for me, so they expect me to give. That's the thing.

**Interviewer:** And if you don't give?

**Nyasha:** If I don't give, it's fine but they are not so happy about it.

Nyasha's response confirms the *makwerekwere* versus the *injiva* identity dichotomy ascribed to Zimbabwean migrants by locals in South Africa and Zimbabweans back home, respectively. "The *injiva* and the *makwerekwere* identities belong to one individual" (Hungwe, 2012:137), who has to learn to adjust depending on where they are, and the social expectations of those around them. Back home, Nyasha is regarded as a financial benefactor, despite what she experiences as a migrant woman. It is because of such expectations that she feels obligated to send money and to remain in the host country when it is not economically viable to do so. Similarly, a study by McGregor (2008:466) reveals that skilled migrants from Zimbabwe prefer to remain in England despite the "bare life" of abject poverty, deskilling, dehumanising living conditions and sometimes losses of social status. Despite their precarious situations, they continue to send money home with the hope that things will get better in the host country.

The obligation to send money home is overwhelming, and sometimes the money is not used as intended by the sender. Those who leave their children back home, with relatives and family, are forced to remit on a regular basis to meet their matrilineal roles. In the case of Mandisa, as with many migrants, the money she has previously sent for her children's fees was diverted for other purposes:

You need to be sending money time and again. You might even be sending money and you don't know what those people [will do with the money]. In my family we were building, I remember, if you try and send money for fees, they will put it into building, into bricks, because they don't value what I value. We don't see the same way. So for me any time, no matter what it takes, I will be with my children, until God gives them their own families.

Many people in Zimbabwe do not know how migrants live in their host countries. They believe, as some return migrants show-off rented cars (Hungwe, 2012), that migrants are making a lot of money. Mandisa's relatives had this belief: "When we leave our children back home, I remember they told me the other time, mummy do you know, aunt used to say your mummy is busy eating Nandos right now". Eating takeaways and fast foods is considered as sign of living in luxury. These perceptions come from the *injiva* identity ascribed to migrants in Zimbabwe.

Ruvimbo's relatives find her more vocal when she returns home. When asked how other people in Zimbabwe see her, she responded:

I suppose they actually see me differently because aunts and staff that come home often say that now you are very South African. I don't know what very South African mean. I don't understand that concept. That concept is still something that, I think it baffles my mind. And I am like, what does being very South African mean? I guess they think, ahh, I am a lot more opinionated than I was before, because, definitely, now I speak up more. If I see something is wrong, there is an injustice, I speak out more. Maybe being South African, to them, means that you are a lot more vocal that, you know, the conservative girl that was staying in Zimbabwe. And maybe being Zimbabwean means you are a lot more, I don't know, conservative, and you

sort of just listen to people. And, your opinion, you try and suppress it as much as possible. I don't know, that's a mystery to me.

South Africans are known to be quite militant in the face of injustice, perceived or real. Having learnt from the experience of fighting and defeating apartheid, South Africans now take to the streets in protest, speak out, use social media platforms. The #feesmustfall, #rhodesmustfall and more recently #zumamustfall are among some of the examples of dissents Using Razon and Ross's (2012:495) line of argument that individual identities are fluid and a result of constant negotiations and re-negotiations, a give-and-take symbiotic relationship between the individual and his or her social milieu, Ruvimbo's acquired assertiveness and militancy against perceived injustice is a consequence of her "insider and outsider" continuum of living in South Africa. Her conservativeness is diluted as she gains some of the non-conformist attitude that sometime pervades the society of her host country.

Patricia narrates similar experiences of becoming outspoken and candid about issues and expressing her dissenting ideas relatively more freely after having lived in Johannesburg:

Here people are free to say whatever they feel concerning other issues. In Zimbabwe you can't speak openly about things. Here it gave me more confidence to speak-up my mind. I think it's a factor that changed my self. Because here I am at liberty to say that I don't like that leader or so forth. People here speak their mind – I think that factor changed me.

The Zimbabwean migrant women's experiences and constant brushes with uprisings, protests and vibrant debates in Johannesburg's public sphere influence their identity. The women's changes in identities due to absorbing elements of nonconformance are also captured by Massolo (1992:338), who notes, quoted in Castells (2010:246), that "women's subjectivity of experience of struggle is a revealing dimension of social construction of new collective identities through urban conflict". The tensions and clashes of ideologies in the city, expressed verbally or otherwise by contending groups, are usually enacted in the public domain, which in turn shapes the inhabitants' perceptions and eventually informs their identities. Other people, back home in Zimbabwe, notice this change in their returning migrant relative. They view them "as the trouble solvers – any pending disputes are solved by the *injiva* upon their return"

(Hungwe, 2012:134). Zimbabweans back home tap into the militancy of the return migrants to solve sometimes long-standing disputes.

Inasmuch as identities are fluid and transitional, it is interesting to note that other people are able to notice the changes in an individual when they have spent some time away from home. The overt signs of identity transformations are symptomatic of an innate change, which can induce irreversible traits in migrants. The fact that identity transformations occur even after briefly staying in a foreign land also shows that when migrants return home for holidays, they are likely going to adapt some characteristics that will in turn help to shape who they are and who they become. This type of identity construction is not necessarily be reductionist but rather accumulative. In this case, transnational migrants tend to gain from the complementary advantage of their experiences in more than one country.

### **8.7 What the women perceive to have lost through migration**

In the era of intense globalisation and an accelerated rate of global movement of people, there is a need to re-think identities. Individual and collective identities are no longer forged around distinct communities. Instead there is a constant flow of goods, information and human capital around the world, which affects identities. They are no longer fixed at one particular community or cultural influence. As indicated in Chapter One of this research report, the study aimed at exploring the local identity negotiations of Zimbabwean women migrants as they intersect with home and host country communities. As Castells (2010:63) positions that “locally based identities intersect with other sources of meaning and social recognition, in a highly diversified pattern that allow for alternative interpretations” was adopted in this study. Using the Zimbabwean women’s narratives, inferences are then made about identity negotiations and re-negotiations.

In the process of identity negotiations and re-negotiations in the metropolis of Johannesburg, the Zimbabwean women migrants reminisce about what they perceive to have lost because of their movement. Mandisa’s account reveals how she thinks migration has re-oriented her ideology. She speaks of how she has come to appreciate what she used to take for granted when she was back home:

Looking back, the way I used to see life, the things that were important back then, are not as important. I have things that I really value. I have seen life, in a different perspective. I see life with different eyes. The things that I now really value more than things that I used to take for granted, like having proper shelter, you know, a proper house. I used to take all that for granted. Maybe I thought it's my right. But I have learnt to see reality. Not knowing what I am going to feed my children ... I have learnt to appreciate more the things we take for granted when we were back home.

So when I moved to South Africa it actually helped me to grow. I am not naïve anymore. I used to be very naïve, I am telling you. Also, I think it's because of the Christianity background, we are very naïve. We don't see life as it is.

I was this zealous type of person. I used to be like, I can do this. I used to have that faith. I think that faith also helped me to take it for granted.

But now I really, really, really appreciate the little things. At times I miss my mum so much, then I realise, what can I do? I feel like if I have money, I will just go. I will leave the kids and just go. But also at the same time, they miss their grandma, but then I can't even afford.

Her account reflects her nostalgia at the thought of her mother, a person she believes is an embodiment of warmth, love and affection. She is convinced that her mother is capable of replenishing her vitality and zeal that she herself is losing through mothering and secular jobs in a foreign land. But perhaps it is not only her mother that she is yearning to go back to, but rather the homeland itself. Maybe Bozongwana's (2000) theory about Zimbabwean's sense of belonging as marked, in one's life, by the major events of birth and burial, where rituals are performed to seal that belonging, is relevant here. The symbolic burial of one's umbilical code in one's mother's hut at birth signifies a life covenant of returning home, dead or alive, for Zimbabweans living in any part of the world. The theory is supported by Mbiba's (2010) study on Zimbabweans living in England and their prioritising affiliation to a burial society to ensure that their bodies are repatriated back home in the event of their dying in a foreign land. It is



conceivably such connections with home, both spiritual and physical, that Mandisa is longing for; it is not just a matter of missing her mum.

Similarly, Patricia expressed her disillusioned sense of belonging because of her separation from her immediate family. It is within this context that her subjective becoming can be understood, both by her and by any other person. It is almost as if a Zimbabwean woman migrant lacks identity without her immediate family. Indeed, the detachment from family brings with it the hardships that the woman migrant experiences in the host country. Patricia's account of what she has lost by moving to Johannesburg shows that home for her is located elsewhere. By living in Johannesburg, she has lost:

that family-oriented situation that you cannot get from a phone call. They do support me through phone calls and all that, but it's not the same. I speak to my mum and to my dad all the time when I am here, but I just feel like I need to see her or to see him, you know. Because, when I get home, it's just me, you know. It's different now when you are at home, you know that even when you gonna travel, you gonna meet your family and gonna talk at the end of the day. I don't have that here. So it's kinda lonely for me. Even if people expect that when you are young, that you are an extrovert, I think it's different for single women in terms of what they lose. When you are married and your family is here, you are at peace, you are not lonely.

For Patricia, even Giddens's time-space compression that technology allows, connecting people around the globe (Giddens, 1991), cannot solve her nostalgic moments in the metropolis of Johannesburg. She does not consider her communication with her family through the telephone as sufficient to result in the emotional stability that face-to-face daily interaction would produce. Even though she has been living in Johannesburg for over seven years at the time the interview was conducted, she does not consider herself as belonging to the metropolis. Patricia describes herself as an introvert, and therefore does not go out as often as other people would expect her to do, by virtue of being a young person. She perceives home as where her immediate family resides. The loneliness that she is experiencing because of living away from home is ultimately shaping her becoming and thus her personal identity.

Indeed, her account reveals a personal identity that is forged somewhere in between two cities and two countries. Her interactions in both social milieus are constrained and limited by structural and social factors. This observation supports Elliot and Du Gay's (2009) notion that postmodern identities lack depth and are characterised by a type of frenzied instability. When in Johannesburg, her awareness of being away from home and language barriers are some of the issues that prevent her from claiming that psychological space as one would, to use as a site for identity construction. Patricia's narrative also reveals that her contact with her original support base via technology is frustrating as it does not compare with the benefits of the face-to-face conversations, discussing the mundane, that she would freely have had she been living in Zimbabwe.

Chipo expresses similar sentiments of losing "...real family bonding. The family thread is now only connected via Skype, WhatsApp groups, and Facebook. It is online-based as compared to the real face-to-face bond we had growing up." Zimbabwean migrant women interviewed in this study reveal a heavy reliance on technology to keep in touch with relatives, family and friends back home. In terms of identity, this reveals a shift in the sites for both collective and personal identity constructions. Chipo's account of using social networking platforms as some of the spaces that she uses to forge her personal identity as well as to assert her belonging somewhere else other than her immediate social context also reveals a change in how identities are constructed, maintained and managed in the era of globalisation. WhatsApp and Facebook groups are some of the common sites where migrants form communities with family, friends and relatives. It is in these sites where identities are forged. However, such scenarios where migrants utilise global platforms and transform them for their own personal use challenge the notion that globalisation and cosmopolitanism destroy local differences and contribute to the loss of personal identities (Friedman, 2000; Lane and Husemann, 2008; Castells, 2010).

Chipo's account is in line with the anti-globalists' and the postmodernists' worldview that personal identities thrive well within the eras of both globalisation and cosmopolitanism, as postulated by Palmer (2003). Instead of being swallowed up in these globalising platforms, migrants and those in the diaspora are utilising these facilities to connect with family back home and thus assert their personal identities. There is more glocalisation rather than homogenisation as envisaged earlier on, and Chipo's narrative is testimony to mutation of personal identities in the era of globalisation.

In yet another show of the paradoxical effect of cosmopolitanism and globalisation, Ruvimbo's account shows her unexpected consciousness of her Zimbabwean identity when she moved to Johannesburg:

I think if anything, I have become a bit more, I appreciate, sort of my culture more. Like I said I never really liked speaking in Shona and stuff like that, but when I came here, I started to actually enjoy the Zimbabweanness and the silly things that we share as Zimbabweans.

Ruvimbo became more conscious of her Zimbabwean identity when she was faced with Johannesburg's multicultural and cosmopolitan social milieu. Such a scenario, as presented here, refutes the assimilationists' ideas of understanding migrants' experiences (presented by various scholars such as Park and Burgess, 1969; Zhou, 1997; Morowska, 1994; Barkan, 1995). As a way of resisting the memories, values and norms of their host countries, migrants find themselves wanting to assert their own, as shown by Ruvimbo's sudden interest in speaking her mother language and affiliating with Zimbabwean mannerisms. The fact that she was not really interested in speaking her mother language when she was still in Zimbabwe shows that migration has brought about an awakening of her Zimbabwean identity, which was lying dormant in her all the years she has been at home. It is not her Zimbabwean identity that she perceives to have lost through migration, but rather what she has come to realise as un-Zimbabwean aspects that she allowed to define herself growing up in the city of her home country.

The nuances in their identity as migrant women live the monotony of the mundane in a foreign land call for different analytical frameworks. The narratives provided by the Zimbabwean migrant women in this study concerning what they have lost by moving to Johannesburg are so complex that existing lenses are limited in providing an understanding of how these experiences shape their identities. The women migrants bemoan loss of family support, constant communication with people back home and previously held conceptions about the mother language, among many others aspects of personal identities. Communication with family and that social support that such brings emerged as the greatest loss the women have incurred by migration. One would assume that in the era of globalisation and the ubiquitous nature of technology and the infrastructures of instant communication and instant messaging, nostalgic sentiments about home and belonging are an issue of the past. But this is not so with

the Zimbabwean women migrants in this study. Belonging, home and Zimbabwean women migrants are triadic concepts that cannot be bridged by the superfluity of connectivity that the technologies of globalisation bring to the new migration landscape.

### **8.8 Beyond homeland crisis: Mandisa's experience**

Zimbabwean migration post 2000 has been characterised by intractable crises, both in the host countries and at home (McGregor, 2010; Muzondidya, 2010; Ruthford and Anderson, 2007). In Zimbabwe, political persecutions and the economic quagmires that lead to a plethora of social crises have been persistent issues that have ejected many Zimbabweans from the country to various destinations across the world. Following arguments on xenophobia in South Africa (Hussein and Hitomi, 2014; Crush and Pendleton, 2004; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Neocosmos, 2008; Danso and McDonald, 2001) and various narratives of migration crises in different parts of the world, it becomes apparent that the crises spill over the national boundaries. One way to understand this effect of displacement on a humanitarian level is to pay attention to the intimate details that migrants provide about their life experiences in and out of their home country.

Mandisa tells of how trauma from childhood coupled with her lived experiences at home and in Johannesburg has shaped her becoming. She describes herself as an introvert, who prefers being indoors over going out to meet people. However, while there is nothing amiss with being an indoors person, Mandisa's introverted temperament is a result of the traumatic experiences that she has been through in her life:

**Mandisa:** Unfortunately, I'm a very much indoors person. I'm very much private. I talk to people here and there. My life is a triangle, so my kids say. If we don't find you on that other angle, we will find on that other one. My life is like, home-work-church. So they know, if they don't find me here they will definitely find me there. So even when we close, even if it's Saturday and I don't have anything to do or there is nothing at my child's school, you will definitely find me in the house, if I am not in church.

**Interviewer:** so was it always like that even in Zim?

**Mandisa:** In Zim, because I was business person, I was always busy. Because, remember, I wasn't the one on the floor, like I am running the boutique, I will just put people in the flea market, so for it was more like I

am their buyer. I was so much involved in the moving up and down. Either if I am not in Botswana, South Africa, Zambia doing the shopping for the business, you will find me in church, or you will find me at home. I grew up like that.

Her life revolves around work, church and home, a tripartite pattern that she has used to define her lived experience at home and in Johannesburg. When Mandisa was still in Zimbabwe, she had the same type of lifestyle; the only difference was that she would travel outside the country to buy goods for her business. Such a lifestyle is quite common with women from conservative communities. But for Mandisa it is not the conservativeness of a society that imposes itself rather, she attributes her reclusive attitude to her upbringing and the traumatic divorce of her parents.

**Interviewer:** So you don't go out?

**Mandisa:** Like I was saying my mum and my father divorced when we kids; I went to live with my late sister back then. She was married and life was fine. But, I think, because of my parents' divorce, I learnt something. I grew up in very well-up family, when I was staying with my sister, but I knew this wasn't my life. I wanted a life where I had my dad and my mom. So I grew up bitter, reserved and I wasn't free. I wasn't happy. I wasn't that kind of a happy child because, you looking at the history.

My mum was abused, my dad used to beat my mum, and I saw that. I saw all that, so now, that transition from coming from our own home, going to stay in Gweru. And the relatives, you know they pull, let's take the children, let's stay with the children. Well, I was never abused in the family or what, in my sister's house. My mum's sisters, those are the ones who fought for my mum to get out of the marriage. But my mum said *handiende, ndogarira vana vangu* [I will not go, I will stay for the sake of my children]; she had resolved not to leave, she wasn't going to go until this incident when she was beaten by a hammer, and the door was curved in.

So I saw all that. So moving from there and going to stay with other people, this is not your house; this is not your home. The trauma, henceforth, I did

counselling. I am doing counselling. I still have to finish my course. I saw all that, and it was important at that particular time for me, we take things lightly, but it haunts us. As blacks, we think counselling is not important, especially with the kids. The children need to go through that [counselling].

Because I saw the beatings, I saw all that, at a point, it will come. You will see. You need to talk to people. Even if you don't go for proper counselling like, as a family unit, there should be an outlet. There should be a way to talk, to let it out and get proper counselling. And as children, you end up thinking maybe it's my fault. That happened a lot, and those things, we leave them inside. And people grow with that. And we grow with it.

Having been through various traumatic experiences, watching her mum being violently abused by her father, having witnessed the nasty divorce of her parents and having to live in her married sister's house, Mandisa grew up a reclusive child. Moving to Johannesburg was her way of escaping such a troubled childhood. Her adulthood is also marked by traumatic experiences of divorce. At the time of the interview, she was raising her three children alone. The father of her children having abandoned them, she had to assume both the fatherly and motherly roles. What seems to help Mandisa withstand these struggles, growing up in Zimbabwe and her lived experiences in Johannesburg together with her children, are matriarchal ideologies as explained (by Amadiume, 1987; Diop, 1978; Acholonu, 1995; Ahikire, 2014) in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Behind the amorphous of activities in which migrant women engage, is an untold story of hurts and sufferings that span geographical boundaries. Mandisa's account of focusing on work, family and church as she goes through her everyday life in Johannesburg is based on a personal journey that started in Zimbabwe. It is a reactionary measure to the traumatic experiences she has been through. Those experiences have shaped who she has become. Even though she is living far away from home, her behaviour and code of conduct in Johannesburg is still being influenced by both her childhood and adulthood traumatic experiences.

Mandisa's self-monitoring resembles a type of discipline of equal degree to Foucault's notions of governmentality and images of the panopticon (Taylor, 2011). Her experiences have erected walls around her being and she lives in a self-imposed sort of prison because of the norms of

behaviour she internalised while growing up. According to Foucault, power does not always act on us from outside; rather it is what makes us who we are (Taylor, 2011). In the same way, Mandisa taps into the power within her to impose on herself the will to self-discipline and to self-monitor.

## **8.9 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed Zimbabwean women migrants' lived experiences in the metropolis of Johannesburg. There is no doubt that women's subjective experiences of the world around them are different from those of men. Since Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, it has been recognised that there are "two main modes of experiencing the world: the feminine and the masculine" (Bjork, 2010:41). I was not oblivious to the multiple discourses that emerge in the continuum of gendered subjectivities that are challenging the hegemony of binary gender distinctions. However, my focus was on Zimbabwean migrant women's narratives and had nothing to do with discussions around the multiplicity of gendered identities available in contemporary societies. Women's narratives about their experiences were thus used in this study irrespective of the gender spectrum discourses. I used the narratives of the Zimbabwean migrant women living in Johannesburg to understand their lived experiences.

This chapter discussed women migrants entering the South African job market at a very low level despite being highly qualified. Although education might have played an important role in the decision to emigrate, with the hope of standing a better chance to secure employment, academic certificates are temporarily shelved out of desperation to be independent. The migrant women then settle for any job that comes their way and regard it as a stepping stone to prospects in their fields of expertise. This tendency by migrant women to settle for demeaning jobs, even if they are holders of university degrees, feeds into the hegemonic view by many South Africans that foreigners are contributing to the exploitative nature of the country's capitalist system (Ranga, 2015; Crush and Tevera, 2010; Rutherford, 2010, Hungwe, 2015). However, a job that is commensurate with the migrant woman's qualifications remains part of her aspirations, and taking a demeaning job is part of the tactics migrants use to navigate and circumvent overstaying their welcome in the houses of relatives and friends who would have offered to host them upon their arrival in Johannesburg.

The women interviewed in this study valued gaining self-confidence, self-worth and being independent more than making a profit out of their migration. While a decision to relocate to Johannesburg was arrived at by the women as a response to the economic hardships back home, the Zimbabwean women migrants mention security, confidence, self-esteem and independence as the major gains of their move. The security that comes with working and knowing that their salary is guaranteed at the end of the month was valued over how much they earn. Success in the metropolis was also measured by how often they are able to send money back home to parents, friends and relatives. Sending money home is linked to increased self-esteem, because it makes the people back home regard them more highly. Hungwe (2012) postulates that Zimbabweans living in South Africa are able to carve identities of *injiva* through their financial prowess that they would have earned by living outside of the country. By coming back with the much needed financial gains, migrants are often crowned judges, juries and advocates of outstanding issues. The relevance and importance of the Zimbabwean women migrants back home contrasts sharply with their subjugated identities that they assume or are viewed through in South Africa.

The Zimbabwean women migrants interviewed in this study reminisce of home. For these women, home is not just the geographical location of a place in Zimbabwe; rather, it refers to the people left behind, the ambience and the indescribable site of euphoria. As Nyasha would simply say, “There’s no other place like home.” Paradoxically, as migrant women seem to carry home in their hearts with the hope of being reunited with it, they go through their day-to-day lives in Johannesburg in limbo, yet are not able to fit in when they occasionally go back home for holidays. Kudzai expresses the despair of marginal existence both in South Africa and in Zimbabwe as “living in some isolated realm located in SA.” Migrants go through their daily lives in the host countries as if they are rehearsing for real living that will take place upon their return home. Only then can the isolated realm, which is Kudzai’s temporal home while living in Johannesburg, be understood. One wonders whether Zimbabwean migrant women living in Johannesburg lock themselves up in a sort of self-imposed prison of the mind, which stops them from gaining a sense of belonging in their place of residence.

Even though migration to South Africa seems to be disempowering in the face of xenophobia, exploitation and poverty back home, it is also a rewarding experience in terms of their identities. For the women interviewed, who grew up in conservative societies in Zimbabwe where standing up against injustice is frowned upon as rebelliousness, living in Johannesburg



helped them reclaim their voice. Johannesburg and South Africa at large is home to uprisings, protests and dissents against perceived injustices. By virtue of being in the midst of such discontents, which sometimes are regarded as testaments of a healthy democracy, the women migrants speak of going back home feisty, and with a mind to challenge injustices.

Zimbabwean migrant women's agency also has the potential to rearrange the metropolis's structuration process. As already been mentioned, migrant women are willing to settle for a menial job even though they qualify for higher paying jobs. The women's actions are intentional and purposeful. Such agency, as demonstrated by Zimbabwean migrant women, has the capacity to impact on the economic and social stratification processes. Despite the fact that this contributes to the devaluing of the labour force, the women migrants would have weighed their options and calculated the cost versus the benefit. As a result, these migrants emerge victorious as they would have nothing to lose and more to gain in the process. As non-citizens they are at liberty to chart their own economic journeys without the burden of setting the wrong precedence for future generations. In this case being a non-citizen is both empowering and liberating.

## CHAPTER NINE

### CONCLUSION: TRIANGULATING ZIMBABWEAN WOMEN MIGRANTS' IDENTITY NARRATIVES

#### 9.1 Introduction

Chapter Eight presented a discussion of the Zimbabwean migrant women's narratives drawn from multi-sited interviews held in Johannesburg. The women narrated their experiences in terms of how they have seen themselves from the time they relocated to Johannesburg, how other people, both in the host and sending country, see them, and what they have lost or gained through migration. Their accounts were interpreted inasmuch as they tell a story about their identities. This chapter brings together the discussions of Zimbabwean women's identities from both the media's perspective and from the women's own accounts. In line with the aim of triangulation in research, this chapter also serves to identify areas of overlaps and divergences in the media narratives and the women's accounts about their subjective experiences in the metropolis of Johannesburg.

The thesis set out to explore the identity creation/re-creation and negotiation/re-negotiation of Zimbabwean women migrants in the metropolis of Johannesburg. Key research questions were formulated to delineate the study. Key among the research questions were, How do Zimbabwean women migrants create/re-create and negotiate/re-negotiate identities in the metropolis of Johannesburg? What experiences shape their becoming? What do they lose or gain as a result of migration? and How are they described in the Johannesburg-based English newspapers? To answer these questions, a research study that goes beyond the women migrants' narratives and interpretations of their lived realities was designed. The study employed different types of triangulations, methodological, theory and data triangulations, to gain an understanding of Zimbabwean women migrants' identities in Johannesburg.

The study included analyses of both Zimbabwean migrant women's accounts of their experiences and media reportages of their stories with a view to go beyond single narratives. The connections between media narratives and the migrant women's accounts were taken from the idea that "society only has form, and that form only has effects on people, in so far as structure is produced and reproduced in what people do" (Giddens and Pierson, 1998:77). Media narratives about a particular group of people in society contribute to the structuration

process in the sense that they endorse and illuminate the class stratum into which that particular group of people is believed to belong. In media narratives, we find the production and reproduction of structure. This study aimed at identifying what the Johannesburg-based newspapers said about Zimbabwean women migrants, and what identities they ascribe to the women migrants. The women's narratives were then used to validate or refute what the media had to say.

Following Giddens's (1991) argument that there is a connection between the micro, that is the individual's sense of identity, and the macro aspects of society, migrant women's actions were seen to have power to shape capitalistic class divisions in the host country. The media narratives were seen to represent the macro aspects while the women's account of their experiences gave a glimpse of their self-identities. In further explaining the connection between individual identities and the world, Giddens writes the following:

The existential question of self-identity is bound up with the fragile nature of the biography which the individual "supplies" about herself. A person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity *to keep a particular narrative going*. The individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world, cannot be wholly fictive. It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing 'story' about the self (Giddens, 1991:54).

The Zimbabwean women migrants in this study supplied their biographies of their lived experiences in Johannesburg through the interview process. In their quest to take advantage of opportunities the city offers them, Zimbabwean women migrants were seen to contribute to the capitalistic modes of exploitation. In this way, they demonstrated agency in re-arranging the structuration process.

## **9.2 Migrant women's accounts meet media narratives**

Although Zimbabwean migrant women's narratives and experiences in Johannesburg are specific and sometimes personal, they share some commonalities with media representations. The issue of liminality and living in limbo is one of the themes that was identified in media

texts extracted from Johannesburg-based newspapers. The liminal existence of the Zimbabwean women migrants as depicted in **Text 2**: “Fears for health of deported triplets” (*The Star*; IOL, 24 January 2013), **Text 3**: “Foreign mom's neglect turns fatal” (*Mail & Guardian*, 20 September 2013) and in **Text 7**: “South African government declares war on Zimbabweans” (*Times LIVE*, 10 January 2015), for example, shows women facing marginalisation and deportation while seeking services that have to do with their feminine gender. The women in these media texts are used to illuminate the gravity of the migration crisis in South Africa, as in the example of **Text 7** reporting on “a pregnant woman crosses under a barbed wire fence”. The picture of the heavily pregnant Zimbabwean woman migrant going under the barbed wire fence that demarcates the border between South Africa and Zimbabwe, in this story, would be the face of the migration crisis and would symbolise the borderline existence of the women migrants in South Africa. This story is corroborated by Kudzai, who expresses her loss of a sense of belonging: “I am not at home in Johannesburg and I am not at home in Zimbabwe. I feel like I am in limbo, living in some isolated realm located in SA.”

The purpose of the data triangulation that was employed in this study was aimed at identifying synergies between the two types of primary data sets as explained in Chapter One of this thesis. The synergies were identified as area of overlaps in the way the Zimbabwean women migrants’ experiences were described in the media and by the women themselves. The research did not aim at identifying causality, as human identities and experiences cannot be measured through cause and effect models. Identities are complex and fluid and cannot be attributed to a once-off event such as the release of a news story. The liminality of migrants, as described by Landau (2006b:125) as the state of “nowhereville”, was expressed in the both the Zimbabwean migrant women’s narratives and the media representations. Even though the liminality of Zimbabwean migrant women was depicted in a number of the media texts that were analysed in this study, it did not necessarily mean that this had a causal link with the women migrants’ marginalisation, real or perceived. What this research was able to identify was that liminality was expressed in both data sets.

The findings of this study also reveal that vulnerability to emotional turmoil is an aspect that was expressed in both narratives. Migration across borders, in general, makes one vulnerable to a number of issues, such as feelings of being an outsider, rejection and being treated as second, if not third, class citizens. Migrants are generally excluded from some of the rights that

natives enjoy. The vulnerabilities the Zimbabwean women migrants expressed in both their narratives and in the media texts were by nature peculiar to the women because of the gender roles. The narratives used in this study confirm what Bjork (2010:42) describes as “Women’s individual becoming ... has to take place in a situation that differs from men’s, who are not torn in the same way between the values and demands of the common (androcentric) world and their personal, lived experiences.” **Text 4**, for example narrates the story of two young Zimbabwean women migrants, estimated to be 15 or 16 years of age, moving from house to house begging with babies on their backs. The story has it that the fathers of their babies had abandoned them. Similarly, Mandisa summarises her traumatic experience of separating with the father of her three children: “I had already separated with the father of my kids by then... Managing to give bread to the children, to make sure the children are going to school. In Zim I was left with nothing, so the little that I gained now is for the upkeep of the children. Just to be able to continue. If I had remained in Zimbabwe, I was now on zero.” In both narratives, the Zimbabwean women migrants have to look after their children in a foreign land without the support of the fathers. This shifts their identities from being mere women migrants to divorcees, struggling single mothers and so many identity profiles with which they are described or that they perceive themselves as.

Zimbabwean migrant women’s accounts and the stories carried in the Johannesburg-based news media also both reveal that in their quest to secure employment in the host countries, women migrants fall victim to “polarised opportunities” (McGregor, 2007:466). While unemployment is a serious problem in most capitalistic societies, in the case of migrants it is further exacerbated by the legal hurdles of work, study and asylum seekers’ permits, which they have to acquire before they can join the stiff competition for securing employment. For women migrants in particular, navigating issues of patriarchy, poverty and matriarchal roles adds extra burdens to their quest for economic emancipation. In the media narratives, **Text 6** “Promise of a job ends in mom’s heartbreak” (*The Star; IOL*, 5 April 2013) epitomises the complexities of life in a foreign land that renders migrants desperate. Out of desperation, the Zimbabwean migrant woman, who has been surviving through begging, loses her son to a would-be employer. The same desperation is what drove Kudzai, a university graduate, to take up employment as “a scullery worker at Delforno Restaurant in Centurion” upon arrival in Johannesburg. While unemployment is a common state of affairs for even native South Africans, what drives migrants to take such drastic measures are some of the intractable legal requirements with which they have to comply before they can be considered for certain jobs.

The pressure to send money home, usually to parents and siblings, is an issue appeared in both narratives. In **Text 2**, Chipo Chiramba's motive to migrate is described by her niece to the reporter as, she "came to South Africa to earn money to send back to her mother in a small village in Zimbabwe's rural Gokwe region, about 200km west of the capital, Harare" (*The Star*; IOL, 24 January 2013). In the accounts of the women migrants interviewed for this study, their identities of economic mercenaries and economic benefactors, in the host and home countries respectively, are also prominent. Kudzai celebrates being able to "send a little bit of money back home to my parents" while Nyasha laments "They [parents and relatives] expect me to give them money."

While the Zimbabwean migrant women who are living in Johannesburg might seem to have relocated, the fact that they remit part of their earnings to help with the upkeep of people back home or to invest in various projects is a sign of a transnational identity. Though they are living far away from home, some of the migrants interviewed are greatly influenced by their parents and relatives in terms of how they behave while in South Africa. Accounts of transnational identities were prominent in both narratives. For instance, Patricia describes her steadfastness in character as "My inward person did not change, I think I am a person who is not shaken by people, I stick to myself, to who I am", showing that she draws much from the values that she has learnt growing up. Through migration, many people become conscious of their identities – individual, ethnic and even national – to the extent that they begin to value those aspects that make them unique. It is the fear or guilt that comes with abandoning one's cultural values in favour of another one's that drives people to hold on to what they perceive as their individual identities. The migrant women interviewed in this study attest to the idea of being more aware of their Zimbabweanness when they are a foreign land than when they were living in Zimbabwe. As Ruvimbo stated,

When you go outside of your own country, you tend to gravitate towards people of your own country. You hang up with more Zimbabweans, just so that it feels more like home. I'm more comfortable with using Shona while I'm here. When I was at home I actually used to use English a bit more. But now when I am in the company of other Zimbabwean, I use Shona, I feel like I should use Shona, it's just this, I guess it's my way of defining myself as a Zimbabwean.

From these narratives, it is evident that Zimbabwean migrants' identities are transnational in nature, even without them necessarily having to be physically residing in both countries. Migrants carry with them the experiences gained at home, before relocating, everywhere they go. These experiences still shape their perceptions, beliefs, values, norms and, most importantly to this study, their becoming.

The decision to relocate and the actual act of migrating to another country is a demonstration of agency. From the subjective narratives used, it is clear that women's agencies are defined, contested and questioned. In the media text, Zimbabwean women migrants' agencies are challenged and contested through the construction of negative discourses of victimhood and vulnerabilities. The migrant women are represented as being prone to acts of institutionalised xenophobia, marginalisation and destitution. These obstacles tend to define the migrant women as a hapless group of people in need of some form of redemption. However, even within these discourses, there is a glimpse of the migrant women. Bjork (2008:42) aptly describes women's adaptations as they "have to become beings of change and self-transcendence". Migrant women's experiences in Johannesburg are marked by a series of adjustments. First, they have to learn to live as immigrants, who at times come to inhabit the peripheries, and second, they have to adapt to sharing spaces with the marginalised, the unwanted and the downtrodden of society. It is within these complex spheres that migrant women have to carve an identity for themselves. The women interviewed in this study alluded to their determination to survive and thrive for both themselves and for their loved ones back home, even in the face of these adversities.

### **9.3 Methodological triangulation**

To gain an understanding of the experiences of Zimbabwean women migrants in the metropolis of Johannesburg, multiple methodological approaches were employed. The women's experiences were accessed through the subjective narratives of the women themselves and those of the media. Methodological triangulation was employed in the collection and analysis of the data. The methods bridged the gap between outsider and insider narratives of the women's experiences. Where migrant women were outsiders to the social milieu by virtue of being immigrants, the news article writers of the media texts analysed in this study provided

insider perspectives to the Zimbabwean women migrants' experiences. The study acknowledges the complexity of human experiences, thus a postmodern approach was adopted.

Through textual analysis of news articles, stories written about Zimbabwean women migrants were extracted. These stories provided a novel way of seeing how women migrants were depicted and establishing the discourses that emanated from such constructions by others. News stories were first analysed for the themes inherent in the articles and thereafter for the discourses they generate. Approaching migrants' experiences through the media is not a completely new concept. A study by Banda and Mawadza (2015) exposes the discourses of exclusion and moral panics by examining, through a discourse analysis, 575 articles on Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. Their study sheds light on how "the readers' interpretations are filtered through lenses of subjectivities" (Banda and Mawadza, 2015:47). They question the concept of mediation and the myths of balanced reporting. In addition, they found that immigrants and their advocates were denied a voice in the articles. Instead, the news articles constructed a communicative context that associated migrants with crime, poverty, job scarcity and wanting healthcare. Similarly, the findings of the thematic and the discourse analyses of this study also revealed Zimbabwean migrant women as being associated with crime, prostitution and depleting healthcare resources.

This study also used narratives gathered through in-depth interviews with Zimbabwean migrant women living in Johannesburg. The women's subjective narratives bridged the gaps found in media depictions, which are often criticised for denying the immigrants a voice. Writers of news media texts have the prerogative to choose their sources, and it is the choice of the source that influences the angle of the article. The articles on Zimbabwean women immigrants, depending on the news angle, therefore have the power to further a particular agenda and to formulate, sustain or entrench certain discourses. The power of the media to shape perceptions is what Foucault regards as technologies of power (Grbich, 2007). Technologies of power, such as the media, are used in the creation of knowledge. Figure 3, in Chapter Five, presents a summary of the knowledge that was gleaned from the media that defines a terrain for identity negotiations of the Zimbabwean women migrants. The media inject into the communicative context images of vulnerability, victimhood, destitution, liminality, poverty, hunger, starvation and prostitution. I agree with Butler's (1990) notion that identities are socially constructed through powerful discourses that define both the regulatory and the normative frameworks.



In this study, the media as sources of knowledge about Zimbabwean women migrants were found to produce discourses that contradicted the narratives gathered through the ethnographic component of this research. Contrary to themes in the media texts, the Zimbabwean women immigrants' subjective narratives were laden with self-descriptions of agency. For example in news articles such as: **Text 1**, "Hospitals held our babies for ransom" (*The Star; IOL*, 14 July, 2015), **Text 2**, "Fears for health of deported triplets" (*The Star; IOL*, 24 January 2013), **Text 3**, "Foreign mom's neglect turns fatal" (*Mail & Guardian*, 20 September 2013) and **Text 4**, "High time we learnt a lesson from Zimbabwe" (*The Star; IOL*, 23 October 2012), and many other stories that depict the victimhood and vulnerability of the Zimbabwean women immigrants, the migrant women were portrayed as helpless individuals, whose circumstances had weighed them down and reduced them to objects needing salvation, at least from themselves. In Text 3, for example, the Zimbabwean woman immigrant has to be deported, an act regarded by the Home Affairs authorities as an approach to help the woman. The hapless state of the women migrants, as depicted by the media, renders them victims rather than authoresses of their lives away from home. However, the women's narratives, to use Kudzai's self-description as an example, are self-confessions of their agency, showing calculated decisions about what job to take and where to live. In Kudzai's narrative, we find a Zimbabwean woman taking advantage of the system to her own gain. When women choose to migrate, especially for economic reasons, they are clear on what they want to achieve through such a decision. They arrive with clear visions and an aim to make a living and be able to send money back home. As such, the vision serves as a central guide to their stay in the host country. While the news stories can be said to be documenting a portion of some of the experiences of Zimbabwean women immigrants in South Africa, they lack an account of what happens to the women migrants after, for instance, the act of deportation.

The news media texts analysed in this study are mainly about the victimhood and vulnerability of the Zimbabwean women immigrants. In Chapter One, for example, I delineated the onset of this study as coinciding with the South African Government, through its Home Affairs department, instituting successive dispensations to regularise undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. The Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project (DSP) and the Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP) were efforts by the South African Government to provide legal status to the many Zimbabweans living in the country. The hope was that those who did not take the initiative to apply for the permits would be deported back to Zimbabwe. However,

deportations efforts by the South African Governments are often met with ridicule by the immigrants themselves. Aided by the corrupt officials and a police service “mobile-ATMs” (Templeton and Maphumulo, 2005), Zimbabweans are rarely successfully deported – that is, if they are ever taken to the repatriation centers at all. **Text 10**, “Zimbabwe wants SA to keep its citizens” (*Mail & Guardian*, 17 May 2013) for example, emphasises this state of affairs. The article’s lead, “The story of Johannesburg-based illegal immigrant Ndadzoka Pamberi, which is not her real name, is a familiar one”, also reveals that this narrative is a common one in the midst of a corrupt system. The article reports on a Zimbabwean woman immigrant, who was held in Lindela repatriation center, and thereafter deported back to her country. She then uses the money that she made, through hair dressing at the repatriation center, to bribe her way back to Johannesburg. While there are elements of the victimhood in this article, the agency of the immigrant woman is evident in how she exploited the system to her advantage. With such a system in place, it is not surprising that the Zimbabwean immigrants who failed to obtain the DZP and thereafter ZSP were not perturbed.

The methodological triangulation employed on this study combined the analyses of data using a thematic analysis and DA. Both narratives, media and women’s accounts, were treated for the themes they reveal. From the migrant women’s accounts, themes which show the sacrificial nature of women emerged. Women’s subjective narratives revealed that they are in the metropolis for reasons that go beyond economic gains. The migrant women’s self-descriptions celebrate their sacrificial nature, an attribute that is parallel to the ideologies of matrifocality, which places importance on kinship and communalism as postulated in other works (Atanga, 2013; Bakare-Yusuf, 2013; Amadiume, 2002; Acholonu, 1995; Chigwedere, 2010). The migrant women expressed their satisfaction with being able to send money home to take care of parents, siblings and relatives. The migrant women’s self-descriptions resonate with ideas of African feminisms, which valorise the greater good of a family, clan or community over individualisation.

A sharp contrast to the communal ideologies that came out of the migrant women’s accounts is the criminalisation of migration, which is inherent in the media narratives. In a similar scenario to what was described by Abbas and Mama (2014), that the ideals of matrifocality are lost in the media narratives, the news articles on Zimbabwean women migrants were instrumental in diluting any form of virtue in the feminisation of migration. In the media narratives, emphasis is given to the depiction of the migrants at being best as victims and at

worst as criminals, as viewed through the eyes of the South African citizens. For instance, **Texts 18** “cheaters stuck together after poking! We want to see” (*Daily Sun*, 12 February 2015), presents the sensationalised story of a Zimbabwean woman migrant stuck to a Nigerian man. The article epitomises what Akudinobi (2005:136) terms “voyeuristic mystification” of Zimbabwean femininity. This type of discursive construction of Zimbabwean women immigrants bring to the fore distorted identities of a particular group of people.

Employing methodological triangulation in the manner in which this study was conducted resulted in the benefits of bridging the gaps within the subjective narratives that formed the primary data of this study. While media narratives brought out the negative aspects of the women migrants being guided by the novelty journalistic news value, balance is achieved by giving the immigrants a voice in the feminisation of migration matrix. At the intersection of these narratives, the identities, ascribed and self-proclaimed, of the migrants can be inferred. Both narratives converge on the transnational identities of the Zimbabwean women migrants through remittances, constant communication, homeland influence on the daily experiences and constant reminders of the “deficits of belonging” (Landau, 2009:202) emphasised through liminality.

#### **9.4 Conclusion**

The metropolis of Johannesburg presents a fascinating yet complicated terrain to study the identities of immigrants. Using multiple forms of triangulation enabled the researcher to explore Zimbabwean women immigrants’ identities through their own words and through the watchful gaze of the media. The methodological, theory and data triangulations utilised in this study allowed the researcher to reconsider how women immigrants negotiate and renegotiate their identities in an unfamiliar social milieu. Earlier researches had already established the fluidity of identities (Castells, 2010; Bauman, 2009; Nuttal and Mbembe, 2009; Gray, 2003), an aspect that this study used as a point of departure.

The theory triangulation aspect of this study involved a review of migration approaches such as the structuration, assimilation and multiculturalism theories. Migration, and later on identity creation/recreation, negotiation/re-negotiation, is a complex phenomenon, and no single theory can fully explain it. The migration theories were thus briefly explained, but their suitability to provide lenses through which to explain the two streams of data utilised in this thesis was

hampered by their inherent limitations. One of the weaknesses identified was that migrants in South Africa are subjected to xenophobia, which immigrants in other parts of the world do not experience. The xenophobic sentiments that sometimes manifest in acts of violence against non-nationals were assumed to be stumbling blocks in the structuration and assimilation of migrants into the metropolis of Johannesburg. Although multiculturalism exists, to some extent, non-citizens are not at liberty to exhibit their unique cultural identities in their day-to-day lived experiences. For instance, Nyasha, one of the respondents, says she “Get[s] treated the same. What made it easier for me is the language, because I can understand it. I understand Zulu and Xhosa because it’s a mixture of our Ndebele.” Not all immigrants are this lucky to have overlaps of their cultures with those of some of the local people. Hence, although multiculturalism appeared a plausible theory to use, it had limitations.

As well as the theoretical reviews that were found to be relevant to this study were surveys of some of the bodies of knowledge that are informing debates about African womanhood. Debates around African femininities and African feminisms were regarded mainly because this research entailed female subjects and their becoming. In scholarship about African femininities, one of the central arguments has been to challenge colonialists’ and imperialists’ representations of some what they regard as aspects of African femininities. This raises questions about who should rightfully speak on behalf of a group of people. In a similar vein, some of the media texts analysed in this study were found to be expositions, knowingly or unknowingly by the writers, of Zimbabwean femininities. Ideas coming through the different brands of African feminism were also used as ideological lenses through which the migrant women’s subjective narratives and media texts were viewed. The findings highlighted patriarchy as an anchor in African feminisms. Furthermore, patriarchal ideals, of self-sacrifice for example, were the driving force for the women’s migration. The women’s narratives alluded to the satisfaction the immigrants drew from being able to send money to their parents and their siblings. In another show of matrifocality, one of the interviewees narrates her life of sacrificing herself for the sake of her children.

The women’s identities were found to be of a transnational nature. As Foucault speaks of power relations, governmentality and the state’s ability to exercise control over its subjects through neoliberal means, this study found the migrant women to be under external influences in their lived experiences in the city. In the media texts, the women’s identities are shaped by the legal frameworks governing their stay in the country. Their access to healthcare and to jobs is subject to their legal status. It is the issues around legality and illegality in their lives in the city that

makes them attract a plethora of news coverage. However, the string of the news stories written, about the Zimbabwean women migrants tell a single story: the story of victimhood. It is from this single story, then, that the migrant women's identities are framed, either as criminals, vagabonds, and poverty-stricken individuals, or as morally loose individuals, loosely translated as prostitutes. Notable in the media narratives, and in relation to Foucault's formulation, neither the circumstances that the women find themselves in nor the resultant ascribed identities are of their own making. External forces are at play both to shape and to name these identities.

In the women's own words, self-descriptions of transnational identities were also apparent. The Zimbabwean women migrants expressed their perpetual ties with their homeland, either through nostalgic memories, which at times are actioned by taking journeys to visit home, or by drawing from their knowledge of the lessons and values they learnt while growing in Zimbabwe to make decisions in the host city. The women spoke of expectations from people back home and how they aim to live-up to those expectations. Their identities in the metropolis of Johannesburg, therefore are a result of invisible influences from home and from their current places and spaces of habitations.

## **9.5 Future Research**

It was established quite early in this research that identities change rapidly and therefore have the potential to create gaps in the knowledge constantly and continuously. It was also envisaged that by the time this study would be completed, changes in terms of identities of the participants in this research would have taken place as well. Therefore, identities call for constant interrogation by way of research. Against this backdrop, I recommend future researches to adopt the same methods with a view to find out some of the changes that would have taken place in the identities of Zimbabwean women migrants.

Identity negotiations/re negotiations, creations/and recreations do not take place in a vacuum for Zimbabwean women migrants. Transformations, both in the host and the receiving nations, which are also subject to global changes, influence the identities of migrants. Societal arrangements owing to the influences of globalisation also have a bearing on people's becoming at an individual level. Since change is permanent, identities are never a destination but are always fluid and in flux. The findings of this study reveal that the identities of the Zimbabwean women migrants are transnational. Future research can focus on how women of

a Zimbabwean origin who have severed ties with their homeland create/recreate, negotiate/re negotiate their identities.

With time, the migrants of the post 2000 economic downturn will give birth to second and many other generations of migrants into South Africa. Future researches can also focus on how Zimbabwean second generation women migrants negotiate their identities. Comparative analyses between different generations of migrants would provide continuity in the knowledge generation pertaining to migration and identities.

Finally, the South African media, through its diverse platforms, continue to churn out information that relates to Zimbabwean women migrants into the public domain. This provides a continuous flow of information available for interrogation from different perspectives and by different disciplines. In this regard, studies on how migrant women are represented in the media should be seamless.

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#### **Addendum 1: Informed Consent Form**



## Explanatory Statement

Project Title: Beyond Homeland Crisis: Identity Negotiation of Black Zimbabwean Women in the South African Metropolis of Johannesburg

Student investigator's name:

Joanah Gadzikwa

Department of Media, Visual, Arts and Drama

Phone : 0765218248/0119504169

email: gadzikwaj@yahoo.co.uk

### Consenting to participate in the project and withdrawing from the research

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Participation is purely voluntary and should you feel you need to withdraw your participation in this study, at any point in time, please do not hesitate to do so. There are absolutely no ramifications in withdrawing. Please read through this Explanatory Statement in full before deciding whether you would like to continue or not. If you would like further information regarding any aspect of this project, you are encouraged to contact me on the phone numbers or email address listed above. Once you have read through the explanation statement, and you are willing to take part in this study, please sign the Consent Form and the end of this research explanation.

### What does the research involve?

The purpose of this research project is to find out how moving to South Africa from Zimbabwe has affected how you define yourself as a woman. The research is basically about transnational identity formations and management by black Zimbabwean women in South Africa. The research involves gathering information from black Zimbabwean women in South Africa about their experiences living in both countries and how this influences their identities. The interviews are part of this research process to help the researcher gather information about transnationalism and identity negotiations.

As a participant, you are expected to provide responses to the questions I will be posing based on the subject of transnational identities. The questions are mainly asking about your experiences; there is no preparation that is required. Please remember there are no wrong answers and there is no transnational experience that will be judged of less importance. Feel free to interject during the course of the interview, should you have any questions.

### Why were you asked to participate in this research?

You were chosen for this research because you are because you are a Zimbabwean female migrant in South Africa and you still maintain ties with people in Zimbabwe. You maintain ties by communicating with people back home and you visit Zimbabwe from time to time.

### Possible benefits and risks to participants

The research is of benefit to the scholarly community in the field of transnational migration and identities. Studies on the influence of migration and how migrants define themselves have been conducted on more general terms. This study will specifically look at black Zimbabwean women migrants in a relatively smaller geographical area. In this case other women who will access the results of this study, whether in scholarly publications or at the institution, will benefit in getting a better understanding of the influence of migration on the identities of black female migrants.

There is no possible harm or psychological trauma that will be directed to you as a participant. The questions to be asked in the sessions will not invoke any strong feelings. The questions themselves are based on how you view yourself having to live in two different countries.

#### Confidentiality

Your responses during the interview session will be kept confidential. Quotations from what you say during the interviews will be anonymised. I will use pseudonyms when using your quotations so that you will not be identified with what you will have said.

#### Storage of data

The data that you will supply in the interview will be used, strictly, for academic purposes. The interviews will be audio recorded and put on a Compact Disc (CD) for further reference during the write up process. I will keep the CD secure in my house for a period of five years after I have completed this project. Thereafter, I will incinerate the CD.

Should you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of the project, you are welcome to contact the:

Senior Administrative Officer

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC)  
University of KwaZulu-Natal

Email: [mohunp@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:mohunp@ukzn.ac.za)

Tel: 031 260 4557

Project: Beyond Homeland Crisis: Transnational Identity Negotiation of Black Zimbabwean Women in the South African Metropolis of Johannesburg

Joanah Gadzikwa  
PhD Student Researcher  
University of KwaZulu-Natal

I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement and I do hereby consent to participate in this project.

I consent to the following:	Yes	No
I confirm that I have read and understood the explanatory statement above	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to the interview session being audio recorded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to the use of my anonymised quotes in publications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to the use of my anonymised quotes in presentations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that disguised extracts from my interview will be quoted in the thesis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Participant Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## **Addendum 2: In-depth Interview Questions**

### **Research Project Title:**

### **Beyond Homeland Crisis: Transnational Identity Negotiation of Black Zimbabwean Women in the South African Metropolis of Johannesburg**

A good day to you. My name is Joana Gadzikwa and I am doing a PhD with the University of KwaZulu-Natal. As part of my research, I need to do interviews with willing participants. The overall research project is being supervised by Dr Nicola Jones.

I would like to discuss with you your experiences from the time you moved to Johannesburg from Zimbabwe. Please answer the questions as honestly as possible. Your participation is purely voluntary and should you feel you need to withdraw your participation in this study, at any point in time, please do not hesitate to do so.

Your responses during the interview session will be kept confidential. Quotations from what you say during the interviews will be anonymised. I will replace your name with a pseudonym when using your quotations in my thesis, so that you will not be identified with what you will have said.

1. Tell me about your experiences from the time you moved from Zimbabwe to Johannesburg.
2. How do you see yourself as a person living in Johannesburg?
  - a. How does it differ from the way you saw yourself when you were still in Zimbabwe?
  - b. How is it similar?
3. How do other people see you in Johannesburg?
4. How is it similar to the way other people saw you when you were still in Zimbabwe?
5. How is it different?
6. What factors have influenced the change you see in yourself?
7. In terms of your identity:
  - a. What have you gained by moving to Johannesburg?
  - b. What have you lost by moving to Johannesburg?
8. Do you have any questions concerning my study?

### Addendum 3: List of Johannesburg Newspapers

From: [http://joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=109&Itemid=9](http://joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=109&Itemid=9),

# J

OHANNESBURG, the headquarters of the South African media industry, boasts a lively and remarkably diverse range of media, including six daily newspapers and all the major broadcasters. The daily newspapers are:

- 
- *The Sowetan*, a morning tabloid aimed at a black readership. It has grown more serious in recent years as its readership has become more middle-class.
  - *The Daily Sun*, a racy new mass-market tabloid aimed at the working classes, which has been an instant success. It is now the country's largest-selling daily with a circulation around 250 000 by mid-2004.
  - *Business Day*, the country's most authoritative financial daily.
  - *The Star*, the city's oldest and best-known daily with a middle-market readership. It has morning and evening editions.
  - *The Citizen*, a morning tabloid with a readership among the working and lower-middle classes. It is strong on horseracing coverage.
  - *Beeld*, the country's largest Afrikaans daily, known for its strong news coverage.

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#### The city also hosts the country's major national weeklies:

- *The Sunday Times*, the oldest and largest Sunday newspaper and a national institution that offers populist and serious journalism in one package.
- *City Press*, aimed at a black audience, specialising in sport and political muckraking.
- *Sunday World*, rival to *City Press*, focusing on celebrity gossip, soccer and local good-news stories.
- *Rapport*, the country's dominant Afrikaans Sunday newspaper.
- *The Mail & Guardian*, an upmarket weekly known for investigative journalism and incisive arts coverage.
- *The Sunday Independent*, an upmarket rival to *The Sunday Times*, known for its opinion columns and features. It has ties to *The Independent* in London.
- *The Financial Mail*, the country's oldest business publication, which is modelled on the Economist.
- *The Daily Sun*, the Sunday edition of the daily tabloid.

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### Television

Johannesburg is South Africa's centre for television broadcasting, an industry that has become one of the city's major employers. The headquarters buildings of the state-owned South African Broadcasting Services (SABC), on a hill in Auckland Park, are among the city's most prominent landmarks. A spin-off industry of television production companies has grown up in the valleys around the SABC. The major players in the field are:

- The **SABC**, which has three separate television channels inside South Africa, as well as an external channel aimed at the rest of Africa.
  - **e.tv**, the fast-growing private-sector rival to the SABC, which has a more youthful, less serious image.
  - **M-Net**, an analogue pay-TV channel, broadcasts television dramas and most of South Africa's premier sports events.
  - **MultiChoice**, which started as the subscriber-management arm of M-Net, and is now the pioneer of multi-channel digital satellite television across Africa. **DStv**, which has more than 900 000 subscribers, offers up to 55 video and 48 audio channels 24 hours a day.
- 

## Radio stations

There is an astonishing radio hubbub in Johannesburg: more than 30 FM radio stations and almost a dozen AM stations broadcast from or can be heard in the city. There are national and regional stations, as well as community broadcasters that reach local neighbourhoods.

The formats span languages from Zulu to Greek, different kinds of music, actuality programming including talk radio, and religious and student stations. Some of the AM stations are available only at night when conditions improve for listening.

Read more: [http://joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=109&Itemid=9#ixzz3liWxG8d7](http://joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=109&Itemid=9#ixzz3liWxG8d7)



## Addendum 4: Ethics Approval Letter



24 June 2016

Mrs Jeanah Gadzikwa 206513510  
School of Arts  
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Mrs Gadzikwa

Protocol reference number: H55/0402/016D

Project title: Beyond Homeland Crisis: Transnational Identity Negotiation of Black Zimbabwean Women in the South African Metropolis of Johannesburg.

### Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

In response to your application received 14 APRIL 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

**PLEASE NOTE:** Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shamlia Naidoo (Deputy Chair)  
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr Nicola Jones  
cc Academic Leader Research:  
cc School Administrators: Ms Debbie Bowen

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

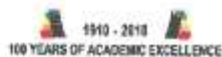
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Website: [www.ukzn.ac.za](http://www.ukzn.ac.za)



Fixed up Campus: ■ Etgwood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville