



**Xenophobia and Human Security:
Gender-based Violence Experiences of Zimbabwean Women
Working in the Informal Sector in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal**

by

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Supervisor's Agreement

As the candidate's supervisor, I agree/~~do not agree~~ to the submission of this thesis.

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Declaration on Plagiarism

I, Marcia Victoria Mutambara. declare that this thesis submitted for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Conflict, Transformation and Peace Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal is my own work and it has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. Any citation, paraphrase, picture or graph extracted from the published or unpublished work of another person have been acknowledged in the work I present for examination.

Student: Marcia Victoria Mutambara

Dedication

This study is dedicated to anyone who dares to dream and is persistent to pursue their dream.

To all the women, toiling day and night for the betterment of their families' livelihoods,
may you get the break that you deserve in all your endeavours.

I dedicate this study to all the Zimbabwean women trying to make ends meet in a foreign land and

I am grateful for their selfless efforts which enabled me to collect incomparable data for this study.

“There is no tool for development more effective than the empowerment of women”

– Kofi Annan

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Abstract

The world is increasingly interconnected to such an extent that internal and international migration have become a glaring reality that is visible in all four corners of the globe. A dearth of research shows that the new wave of migration appears to be highly gendered with the number of women migrating increasing. However, the experiences that migrant women face tend to be similar and they face common challenges and vulnerabilities. Therefore, the central focus of the study was to probe the xenophobic and gender-based violence sentiments that migrant women encounter in South Africa. It specifically used a sample of Zimbabwean women working in South Africa's informal sector as their challenges are different from those women who were working in the formal sector. The study focused on the premise that there is a thin line between xenophobic sentiments and gender-based violence which affects the women's experiences and reality enormously. The study showed how the protracted economic challenges, coupled with cycles of structural poverty and violence in Zimbabwe constructed their insecurities. It showed that most of the women fled these insecurities to other xenophobic and gender-based violence related insecurities which they possibly did not anticipate before they made the decision to migrate from Zimbabwe to South Africa.

The study used a qualitative research approach to collect relevant data that comprehensively described the reality and experiences of informally employed Zimbabwean migrant women in South Africa. Snowball and purposive sampling was used to select the women who participated for the study. Thematic and content analysis were used to analyze the empirical data. To understand the lived experiences of the women, the study mainly used the structural violence theory, social ecological model and the social constructivism theory. These theories enhanced the understanding of how social reality constantly shapes the development of situations that disadvantage migrant women. In addition, the triadic conflict theory was also used to interpret the development of social and political conflict that affects migrant women.

The findings of the study revealed that most of the women experienced xenophobic attacks and in some instances, it was laced with gender-based violence attacks due to their identity as migrant and female. The findings of the study revealed that the women are not always victims, in some instances they manipulate their victimhood to have agency. This study makes a meaningful contribution to the body of knowledge as it attempts to highlight the fluidity of xenophobic and gender-based violence challenges that migrant women encounter, it also highlights the women's coping mechanisms.

Keywords: migration, human security, xenophobia, gender-based violence, agency

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Chapter One

Introduction and the Study Background

1.1 Preamble

The phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa has proven to be an ongoing social challenge regardless of the effort that the government and civil society organizations have done to curb it. Migrant women are some of the key targets of xenophobia because of the nature of their work as informal business traders in low-income zones where one's identity as foreign triggers the perception among locals that they are business competitors. Waiganjo (2017, 1) asserted that migrants are regarded as 'snatchers of opportunities' that are meant to be for local South Africans (see Crush and Tawodzerwa, 2014; Tella and Ogunnubi, 2014; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015). This chapter presents the background that places this study into context, specifically with regard to Zimbabwean migrant women. To contextualize the study, the chapter provides the background and a statement of the problem. It also provides the objectives and the key questions that guided this study. It is important to note that most of the Zimbabwean women who were part of the study revealed that they had experienced xenophobia in all its covert and overt forms as will be discussed in later chapters. This chapter also describes the rationale behind this study and finally, provides an outline of the structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Background to the study

"Migration has developed to be a way of life in Africa that constructs day to day human activity" (Gouws 2010, 2). Following the democratization of South Africa in 1994, there has been an increase in the number of migrants from other African countries, adding on to the trend of South-South migration (Sigsworth *et al.*, 2008, 4; Isike and Isike, 2012, 93). Isike and Isike (2012, 94) further purported that the movement of people into South Africa has increased, "not only through regular immigration of skilled professional and economic migrants from distressed economies, but also, through refugees fleeing from conflict areas such as Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Somalia, and Sudan". Migration encompasses any kind of movement that involves people who are referred to as refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people as well as economic

migrants (IOM, 2011).¹ These categories highlight the different kinds of groups of people that move from one place to another.

The 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention states that people can be defined as refugees when there is clear and reasonable ground that they have “a well-founded fear of being persecuted in their country of origin because of their affiliation with a particular race, religion, nationality or political opinion” (UN, 1951). However, this definition seems eurocentric for it only accommodates an explanation of the flow of refugees in European states. Often there are more third world country refugees than people moving in and out of European states (Bariagaber, 2016, 11). The idea that the initial existing definition of a refugee proved to be eurocentric and inadequate in explaining the large masses of African refugees, prompted the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)² to adopt a much broader definition in 1974 (Bariagaber, 2016, 11). Therefore, this study will use the OAU convention definition which states that a refugee is “a person who has fled from his or her state of nationality because of political, racial, religious, ethnic or other kinds of persecution to avoid warfare or other forms of violence” (OAU, 1974).

Unlike refugees, displaced persons are people who have moved from one area to another involuntarily without crossing any international borders (Bariagaber, 2016; United Nations Higher Commission on Refugees 2016). Thus, the definition by the UNHCR defines displaced persons as “persons or groups of persons who have been forced to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural and human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized border” (UNHCR, 2015). In the same vein, Caballero-Anthony (2016) highlighted that the definition of displaced people can also be used to refer to “uprooted people for they all share the same characteristics, such as moving from a place forcibly”. Economic migrants are then defined as people who voluntarily leave their country of origin, based on their own decision or choice to secure better standards of living and economic opportunities (Owen, 2016, 6).

¹IOM, World Migration Report 2011, available online at http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/WMR2011_English.pdf (last accessed 20 October 2016).

² The OAU was later transitioned into the African Union (AU) on 9 July 2002.

Current migration can be described as complex because of the increase of the number of people moving from one place to another. “It is also highly gendered with the number of women who are migrating increasing” (Gouws, 2010, 2). To comprehend the experiences of migrant persons, it is impossible to turn a blind eye to the idea of ‘gender’. This is because the experiences of males and females as migrant persons differ worldwide (see Isike, 2012; Phalane, 2010). Phalane (2010) argued that the experiences differ due to how their different roles, behaviour and relationships are constructed in their societies. Furthermore, the experiences between males and females as migrants are different because of the “different social economic, political and cultural locations which includes gender, race, nationality, culture, ethnicity, politics, family background, religious affiliations /creed” (Waiganjo, 2017, 2). The experiences that migrant women face tend to be similar and they commonly out bring attributes of vulnerability and challenges (IFRC, 2015, 3). From the above discussion, it is evident that migrants are located “outside of their habitual residences and often countries of origins (many times also away from their families), in a place where they might not understand the language or culture (IFRC, 2015, 3).” Scholars like Isike (2012, 208) asserted that most of the migrants who come to South Africa come with huge prospects of a life that has better standards of living; however, there are several complications between the country of their origin and the country of location. Their socio-economic and political backgrounds influence how they react to those challenges they might encounter in a transnational space.³ Therefore, scholars like Kwar (2004, 75) and Youkhana (2015, 10) have claimed that migrant women are often deprived of their familiar community support mechanisms and can be exposed to situations that endanger their livelihoods like xenophobia, gender-based violence and discrimination.

According to Adepoju (2007, 11), “many of the people in Africa who make the decision to migrate, do so for business, tourism and work purposes”. Adepoju further noted that besides the above-mentioned reasons, a major element that influences migration is the existence of political turmoil and conflict. Adepoju (2007, 11) labelled it “a theater of internecine conflicts” articulating that political and subsequently economic instability influences many to run away from their countries

³ The term transnational space considers the existence of complexities, networks and realities that greatly influence the lives of migrant people when they reach the country of destination. “The idea of a transnational space is drawn from the concept of transnationalism which refers to the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (see Matiniello & Lafleu, 2008; Glick Schiller, 2003).

of origin. Closer to home and for the specific focus group of this study, Zimbabwe's economic crisis over the years has seen several people, mostly women migrating into the neighbouring South Africa for economic reasons (Crush *et al.*, 2015; Dzingirai *et al.*, 2015).

The protracted economic downturn and political crisis in Zimbabwe in the past decade has influenced the migration of many people from Zimbabwe to South Africa (Crush and Tevera, 2010; Makina, 2013; Crush *et al.*, 2015).⁴ There has been an influx of Zimbabwean *migrants* into South Africa, and scholars like Crush and Tevera (2010, 9), Mutopo (2010, 465) and Muzvidziwa (2010) have pointed out that over the years, there has been a gendered reality of migration where “there are almost as many women migrants as men, those fleeing hunger and poverty, and those fleeing persecution and harassment”. This view coincides with the ideas of Lutz (2010, 1647) who posited that a dominant and characteristic feature of the twenty-first century is that females have become more migratory than men. The implication of these movements is that most of the women who migrate end up doing menial and informal jobs. According to Dzingirai *et al.* (2015, 5), “most of the migrants tend to work menial jobs, for instance, as farm laborers, domestic workers and casual workers”. Due to the nature and informality of their jobs, Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2015, 376) described this group as survival migrants who were forced to migrate Zimbabwe because of the extensive livelihood breakdown. Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2015, 366) further posited that the profile of the people moving from Zimbabwe to South Africa is mixed, comprising both refugees in search of long term refuge and those in search of temporary economic opportunities. However, in their quest for economic emancipation and sustainable livelihoods, most of the women encounter challenges that range from psychological to physical human insecurity. Several scholars put forward the view that migrant and refugee women face risks based on their sexual orientation, gender identity, race and on their migratory status (Fuller, 2008; Mutopo, 2010; Sigsworth, 2010; Nkealah, 2011 and Achiume, 2013)

The idea of starting a new life in a foreign land is not without numerous challenges. Being a female foreign national in an environment that is woven with resentment towards African migrants in the form of xenophobia does not make life any easier for the many foreign women who are in South Africa. “Violence against foreigners and violence against women are two forms of violence that are internationally condemned but they appear to be normalised ways in which the South African

⁴ It was reported that the Zimbabwean diaspora is now scattered in over 100 countries (Crush *et al.*, 2015, 365).

society interacts with minority and vulnerable groups” (Fuller, 2008; Sigsworth *et al.*, 2008; Sigsworth, 2010, 1). With the pervasiveness of gender-based violence in South Africa, foreign women are, therefore, in ‘double jeopardy’ at the intersection of two groups that are so vulnerable to exploitation and abuse (Sigsworth *et al.*, 2008; Sigsworth, 2010). While migrant and asylum laws ostensibly protect migrant persons from being persecuted because of their race, religion, nationality or being a member of a specific social group, the idea of being persecuted for one’s gender is often overlooked. Muzvidziwa (2012) noted that most Zimbabwean women move to South Africa in search of better standards of living and they usually fit into the informal sector. This is because opportunities in the formal sector normally require skills and educational qualifications which many would not have (Makina, 2013; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015, 20; Crush *et al.*, 2015; Dzingirai *et al.*, 2015, 5). As stated by Satterthwaite (2005, 8) globally, the job opportunities that most migrant women secure are in the informal unregulated sectors. As such, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) noted that “the increase of foreign labor reflects the long-term trend of informalisation of low skilled and poorly paying jobs”. Satterthwaite (2005, 16) further noted that migrant women are vulnerable to exploitation and victimization based on their gender.

1.3 Problem statement

Several studies have addressed the gendered stand point of xenophobia (Fuller, 2008; Sigsworth, 2008; Sigsworth *et al.*, 2010). Despite consideration of how women are affected by xenophobia, the studies appear to gloss over the day-to-day experiences of the migrant women and do not necessarily look at how xenophobia, gender and human security are intertwined. Work done by Fuller (2008) entitled *Perspectives: Xenophobia in South Africa* and Sigsworth (2010) entitled *Double Jeopardy: Foreign and Female* use a qualitative approach but have considered the experiences of less than four women in their studies. One narrative of a Zimbabwean woman considers possible sexual harassment, but none of the studies establish the link between xenophobia and gender-based violence.

Therefore, this study aimed to address this issue through an in-depth exploration of the possible xenophobic harassment and violence faced by Zimbabwean migrant women. It probes if these women feel more susceptible and if their safety and security is jeopardized in their self-created workspaces because they are women and because they are also Zimbabwean. It specifically

endeavours to establish how the discourse of xenophobia can easily be shifted to the level of gender-based violence.

This study also sets out to address how human security mechanisms can address all forms of insecurity that Zimbabwean migrant women encounter as they try to earn a living in the informal sector. The central argument is that the prevalence of moral ills of the society such as gender-based violence and xenophobic conflicts in the spaces they live, and work make it difficult for most of the women to feel safe and be easily integrated into society. The study contends that the existence and reoccurrence of structural faults like gender-based violence affects both local and migrant women in South Africa. However, the violent cycle of gender-based violence coupled with the protracted existence of xenophobia renders migrant females insecure and vulnerable. In fact, scholars like Von Kitzing (2017, 1) have posited the view that “the intersectionality⁵ of their ‘illegality’ and womanhood highlight their particular vulnerability and showcase the fluidity of xenophobic and gender-based violence”. The question that needs to be addressed in this study is how Zimbabwean migrant women navigate their human security in spaces where their rights are structurally diminished because of their identity as foreign women.

1.4 Gaps in research

The issues of gender-based violence and xenophobia have appeared on many different international platforms and have been discussed in different disciplines, but further research is required into South African society. The focus of this study is to establish how the concept of gender-based violence and xenophobia are intertwined. There is a glaring gap in international political studies in South Africa that looks at the gendered standpoint of the manifestations of xenophobia and the vulnerability of foreign women.⁶ There is exhaustive literature that narrates the outburst of xenophobic incidents and the experiences of African migrants, both males and females in South Africa (Dodson, 2010; Kange’the and Duma, 2011; Ramachandran, 2014; Adam and Moodley, 2015; Crush & Cabane, 2015). Scholars like Sigsworth *et al.* (2008) and Fuller (2008, 7) noted that

⁵ The concept of intersectionality was coined by the scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1989). The concept puts forward the idea that various social identities like race, gender, class and sexuality usually interlock with each other to influence the different world-views and experiences that individuals have.

⁶ Though they may be scholarly works that look at how xenophobia affects women specifically, it is evident that the issues surrounding the gendered nature of xenophobia are not talked about as much as they should be.

while those who initiate xenophobic violence certainly do not attack migrants or refugees based on gender, there is a gender standpoint that can easily be overlooked.

The uniqueness and the potential strength of this study lie in the establishment of the fluidity of xenophobic sentiments and gender-based violence sentiments. The study outlines how women negotiate their identity and security in their self-created workspaces being aware of the perils that come with being foreign as well as being a woman. It unravels the possible violence and victimization they encounter in the context of xenophobic conflict and gender-based violence. It is the contention of this study that a deep understanding of the different experiences of how the women negotiate their own personal identity and security could possibly help in structuring a peacebuilding framework that addresses the challenges that women encounter by being both women and migrants.

1.5 Research objectives

The objectives of this research are listed below:

1. To identify the key drivers of migration in to South Africa for Zimbabwean women.
2. To explore what Zimbabwean women understand about gender-based violence and xenophobia.
3. To examine the experiences of gender-based violence and xenophobia in the context of the women's livelihood.
4. To understand how the women negotiate and navigate for their own security amid gender-based violence and xenophobic attacks.
5. To understand how Zimbabwean women perceive their relationship with locals in the context of outbreaks of violent xenophobic attacks.

1.6 Research questions

Therefore, the research questions for this study are:

1. What are the reasons for Zimbabwean women's migration in to South Africa?
2. What do the Zimbabwean women understand by the term xenophobia?

3. How do the Zimbabwean women think they are specifically affected by xenophobia in their informal workspaces?
4. Does xenophobia manifest in ways which result in physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to Zimbabwean women?
5. What do the Zimbabwean women understand by the term gender-based violence?
6. How do the Zimbabwean women respond to xenophobia?
7. How do the Zimbabwean women perceive their relationship with locals in the context of outbreaks of violent xenophobic attacks?

1.7 Broader issues to be investigated

As a secondary objective, the study sought to look at the issue of security for women. It considers how Zimbabwean women and women in South Africa are caught in a continuum of insecurity. Thus, the broader issues to be investigated for this study are the specific and possible challenges that both Zimbabwean and South African women encounter. It is imperative to thoroughly look at the general gender-based violence experiences in South Africa. This will subsequently help in understanding how systematic challenges and misogyny affect the marginalized women residing in South Africa.

1.8 Key assumptions

It is important to note that the study bases its arguments on several assumptions. The first of these assumptions is that most of the Zimbabwean migrant women are illegal and do not have proper documentation to be staying in South Africa. According to Bloch (2010, 238), even though the Declaration of Human Rights clearly states that every individual has certain rights, those rights are extinct when one is undocumented. One is inclined to assume that their 'illegality' automatically places them in a position where there are easy victims of systematic xenophobia and gender-based violence. The other assumption is that the specific group of women who participated in this study have all at some point encountered xenophobia and gender-based violence in the spaces they work and live in. Drawing from the study conducted by Tshishonga (2015) entitled *The impact of Xenophobia-Afrophobia on the informal economy in Durban CBD, South Africa*, most foreigners

in South Africa are working in the informal sector: “They earn a living from activities such as hair salons, barber shops, clothing industry, nail bars, grocery, cellphone and computer stores” (Tshishonga, 2015, 169). The study succinctly posits that the informal sector appears to be a prime source of livelihood for both locals and immigrants. Subsequently, the prevalence of xenophobia happens to be more visible in this sector. In fact, in most cases, foreign-owned businesses are usually targeted when there is a xenophobic outbreak (Chinonoma and Maziriri, 2015, 24). To save money, most of the participants cut costs on rentals and live in the locations. As Monson (2015, 40) stated, they sometimes live in squatter camps or informal settlements where xenophobia appears to be rife. The latter suggests that most of participants have encountered xenophobia.

1.10 Scope of the study

The central focus of the study is how Zimbabwean migrant women working in the informal sector navigate for security in their workspaces. The researcher is aware that there are many migrant women from countries other than Zimbabwe in South Africa. The uniqueness of the delineation of Zimbabwean migrant women lies in the major drivers of migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa. The economic turmoil influences an influx of women migration. Furthermore, the study specifically focused on women who were working informally. The researcher was aware that due to the economic hardships in Zimbabwe, many skilled professionals left the country to pursue better careers which created a major ‘brain drain’ (Dzingirai *et al.* 2015, 6). The latter put forward the idea that there are also Zimbabwean migrant women working in the formal sector; however, the assumption of this study was that the challenges that migrant women face in formal working environments are possibly different from the challenges encountered in informal workspaces. The next section outlines the structure of this study.

1.11 Structure of dissertation

Chapter One: Introduction and Background

This chapter traces the trajectory of migration in Southern Africa, narrowing it down to the migration of women from Zimbabwe to South Africa. The hypothesis of this study lies in the negative implications of the migration of women to South Africa. It introduces and establishes some of the challenges that women face based on their gender and foreignness, specifically pointing out

the prevalence of xenophobia and gender-based violence. It also establishes the assumption that suggests the fluidity of xenophobic sentiments and gender-based violence. The underlying thematic concern of this study as well as the research problem are described. A brief discussion on issues concerning the gendered nature of migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa and how they are linked with human security issues is presented with the aim of showing the uniqueness of Zimbabwean migrant women in relation to other foreign women in South Africa. This is further developed through the background which traces the phenomenon of the massive movement of people from Zimbabwe to South Africa. This chapter also states the research questions and objectives that guide the entire study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews literature on migration and the discourse of xenophobia in South Africa. It further looks at the development of the concepts of human security. It attempts to show the link between the two concepts, specifically addressing the challenges that migrant women are likely to face. It focuses particularly on previous studies that unpack the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa. To contextualize the phenomenon of xenophobia, a section of this chapter covers a comprehensive study of literature on the gendered nature of xenophobia. The aim is to find out what other scholars have established and use the findings to advance the thinking of this study. This chapter sets the tone for the following chapters to query the implications of xenophobia in South Africa. Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven make use of some of the literature reviewed in this chapter to support arguments arising from the data collected.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework and Description of Research methodology

This chapter basically provides a map of the process of the entire study. The chapter first takes an in-depth discussion on the following theories: Structural Violence Theory, Social Constructivism Theory and the Social Ecological model. Each one of the theories attempts to nurture critical and comprehensive discussions of the prevalence of gender-based violence and xenophobia. This chapter also justifies the choice to use qualitative research. It further discusses the data collection methods used to gather information. Finally, it considers how ethical issues regarding the study were addressed.

Chapter Four: The discourse of human security and gender-based violence in South Africa

The chapter provides an in-depth exploration of the concept of human security in South Africa, specifically, when it comes to women. It shifts its attention to the widespread prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa. To have a better understanding, this chapter provides the findings from the data that was collected from local women, regarding their human security. It establishes that the insecurity of most of the local South African women is compromised by social structures that perpetuate the prevalence of gender-based violence. It therefore shows that the human security of Zimbabwean migrant women is specifically compromised due to their identity as foreign and female.

Chapter Five: Fleeing insecurity – Factors that influence the movement of women from Zimbabwe

The chapter sets out to discuss the different reasons that could possibly have pushed women to leave their home country for South Africa. It presents the idea that most of the women who decided to migrate from Zimbabwe to South Africa were forced to move because of livelihood breakdown subsequently compromising their human security. It briefly breaks down the concept of human security and narrows down the women's decision to migrate from economic, cultural and personal insecurities in their country of origin. In other words, the women run away from the structural challenges in Zimbabwe that compromises their basic human security concerns

Chapter Six: The gendered face of xenophobia – Probing the possible expressions of xenophobia and the victimization of women

The migration of women comes with a number of challenges and this chapter provides the experiences and effects of xenophobia on the lives of Zimbabwean migrant women. It aims to explore the possible challenges and victimisation that these women might encounter based on their gender as well as their nationality. It sets out to give an in-depth exploration of the possible harassment and violence they come across in the context of xenophobic conflict. It also provides the findings on how the Zimbabwean migrant women experience and negotiate xenophobic sentiments and gender-based violence.

Chapter Seven: Medical xenophobia – Accessing sustainable health security in a foreign land

This chapter sets out to present how the provision of medical care to migrants can possibly have xenophobic undertones. It shows that the concept of human security is constructed on basic human

rights which are inclusive of the importance of access to proper health care for every individual. However, despite these provisions, the chapter reveals that, in some instances, xenophobic attitudes and sentiments from the health care providers mostly in public institutions restrict the women from getting access to proper health care. The chapter presents a range of ways that xenophobia can manifest in the public health sector in South Africa.

Chapter Eight: Migrant women, informal trading and Agency

This chapter shifts our attention from the view that the lives of most of the Zimbabwean migrant women are marred with insecurities and that the women are vulnerable victims of the harsh societal perceptions about foreigners. Instead, it presents the women as bodies that actually have some form of agency amidst their vulnerabilities. It articulates how the women navigate and negotiate their survival in a space which seems to be more precarious and insecure than anticipated when they decided to move from their home country. The chapter reveals how the women sometimes unknowingly compromise their personal security with the hopes and intentions of acquiring more freedom and a legal status in South Africa.

Chapter Nine: Summary and conclusion

This chapter presents a synopsis of the complete work. It discusses the findings considering the research objectives that this study sought to achieve. It also shows the contributions that the study made to the body of knowledge. It discusses the concept of intersectionality incorporating the idea of being migrant as a variable that could possibly be used to understand the social problems that foreign women in South Africa encounter. As part of the critical analysis for the study, this chapter primarily focused on some of the themes that were not fully engaged with in the study but would be suitable for future research.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter served the key purpose of providing the study with background information. It briefly unpacked the concept of migration, narrowing it down to the specific context of the study, which is the migration of people from Zimbabwe to South Africa. It establishes migratory patterns between these two countries. Scholarship reviewed suggested that the movement of people has become more feminine over the years. To better understand these patterns, this chapter gave a detailed discussion addressing the trajectory of Zimbabwe's economy. It showed how the economic meltdown forces

many to migrate, including women. The central discussion that was pursued in this chapter was the fact that the migration of women to South Africa is not an easy transition; in fact, it is marred with several socio-political challenges like xenophobia and gender-based violence. This chapter puts forward the view that migrant women are more vulnerable because they are at the intersection of two groups which are vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Therefore, this chapter presented the research questions and objectives meant to provide focus for the study, determined the methodology used as well to guide all stages of inquiry, analysis and reporting.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The primary focus of this chapter is to provide a platform for understanding the way in which I theorize and develop the study within the context of gender and migration. This chapter looks at the current literature that addresses the issue of gender and migration, and this assists in ensuring that the gaps in this area of research are easily identified. The other aim of this section was to interrogate several studies that have been previously conducted on how the phenomenon of xenophobia is manifested, also unpacking the concept of human security in a transnational space. This will enable one to have a general understanding of what other studies have covered and how they might help shape this study. According to Cresswell (2006), this helps the researcher to gain an insight into what other studies looking at the same phenomenon have posited.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 International migration

According to Perbedy et al. (2007), the term ‘migration’ refers to “the movement of people across geographical boundaries with the mindset of attaining a new environment where they can decide to settle permanently or temporarily”. Currently, where the world is increasingly interconnected, internal and international migration have become a glaring reality that is visible in all four corners of the globe (International Organisation of Migration, 2015, 2; United Nations, 2016, 2). According to the IOM (2004)⁷ the phenomenon of migration is defined “as a process of moving, either across an international boarder or within a state.”

The 2013 United Nations Report on international migration revealed that from the period of 1990-2013, international migration has increased by over 50 percent, which is 77 million people (UN migration report, 2013, 1). Another report on migration by the International Organisation of Migration revealed that in 2015 alone, 244 million people had moved from one place to the other

⁷ IOM, Glossary on Migration (2004), available online at http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/serial_publications/Glossary_eng.pdf (accessed 20 October 2016).

across the entire globe. These statistics clearly indicate that over the years, international migration has indeed increased. These rising levels of migration have no doubt caught the attention of many scholars, who have attempted to address the matter from different standpoints. Waiganjo (2017, 18) posits that the movement of people has always been triggered by socio-economic and political reasons. As cited in Waiganjo (2017), Landau and Kabue (2009, 5) put forward the idea that, “the key drivers for migration could be narrowed down to three ‘Ps’, these comprise of passage, protection and persecution. The first P is drawn from the assumption that most migrants decide to move because they will be in search of profits and economic emancipation.” Whilst in search for profits, Waiganjo (2017) noted that some of the migrants view their first move as a step closer to gaining access to the first world western countries. Adepoju (2004) concurred with this view and noted that this movement could also be influenced by the search for passage into western countries. Still focusing on the three ‘Ps’, Landau and Kabue (2009, 5) further noted that, “some people migrate in search of protection in the host country”. Because of the political violence that transpires in several countries, migrants move from their countries of origin for the fear of persecution (Kok and Collinson, 2006, 57). As cited in Van Heerden (2017), Ndiaye and Araar (2013) noted that, “migration is sometimes caused by persecution, profit-centered development, or exploitation attributed to violent conflict”.

Aside from the ‘Ps’, there also other factors that influence migration. Writing earlier, Massey *et al.* (1993, 443) articulated that labour supply and the demand in relation to the wages paid explains an increase in migration. This, therefore, means that people who come from low-wage countries always migrate to high-wage countries. Thus, scholars like Kok and Collinson (2006, 57) noted that the South African labor sector has got skilled and unskilled people who move for the sake of economic emancipation from their original countries. Massey *et al.* (1993, 435) further noted that most migrants usually make the decision to move after a well-thought plan that clearly shows that the move they make will be beneficial to them in all aspects.

2.2.2 Transnational migration

According to Fournon and Glick Schiller (2001, 60), transnational migration can be defined as “a process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country”. Glick Schiller (2003) concurred with this definition and proffered a similar one

which defines transnationals as “those people who having migrated from one nation state to another live their lives across borders, participating simultaneously in social relations that embed them in more than one nation state”. Gouws (2010, 5) asserted that the movement of people to other countries entails that they may be integrated into their destination country, and still feel a sense of commitment toward their countries of origin, thus constructing a fusion of identities, that relates to the phenomenon of transnationalism.

“Transnationalism does not reject the existence of the porousness of borders, the difference in state, economic or political power, but a deep sense of comprehension that the relationship that exists between a citizen and the state is multiple, and it does not vanish” (Levitt and Javorsky, 2007, 134). Gouws (2010, 5) further purported that the phenomenon of transnationalism has specific characteristics. One of the characteristics resembles a high level of exchange by the migrants between the country of origin and the destination country. This therefore means that there is existence of ongoing relationships with the country of origin and the construction of new relationships with the destination country. Crush and McDonald (2000, 9) referred to these relationships as “the simultaneous embeddedness in more than one”. It therefore requires cross-border travel and contacts on a sustainable basis.

To fully comprehend the studies of transnational migration, Glick Schiller (2013, 26) offered definitions for the key concepts’ mobility, migrant and trans migrant. Mobility can be defined as “the movement of people from one place to the other for a number of reasons which may include pleasure, business trade, politics and family reunion”. Glick Schiller (2013) further posited that “to speak of an individual as migrant, is to examine the settlement process in situations in which a person who has travelled seeks residency in a context of relative disempowerment”. This, however, does not mean that all migrants can be labelled as trans migrants. Trans migrants are those migrants who despite encountering difficulties and experiencing insecurity in the host country, still develop networks and connections with people with their identity across borders while simultaneously settling in a new country. According to Stephen (2007), the term ‘transnational migration’ suggests that migrants can find themselves in a more or less permanent state of being between two or more locations. Thus, scholars like Schuerkens (2005), as cited by Vertovic (2009), posited that a transnational migrant “links the different contexts and contributes to changes in both locations”. The International Organisation Migration paper for 2010 posited that the concept of

“transnationalism is often as much about the people who stay behind as it is about those who make the move.” This paper further notes that the background and experiences that migrants have (including their family situation and conviction) play an important role in influencing the extent to which they will be involved in transnational activities. Some of these activities include the ability to send remittances back home.

2.2.3 Including gender into transnational migration

Since gender plays a significant role influencing migration patterns, it is important to incorporate it into transnational migration. Hondagneu (2003, 1) asserted that including gender is imperative as it constructs various sets of social relations that inform immigration and social institutions (for instance, family and labor markets) in both the country of origin and host country. According to Gouws (2010, 10), the drivers of migration for male and females are usually different. Earlier, Dodson (2001, 74) advanced the idea that most women are economically driven to move to South Africa. Dodson (2001, 74) further asserted that most migrant women move to South Africa to settle in the urban town centers for more access to informal opportunities. However, males migrate with the aim of tapping into the South African industries for employment. Despite the latter understanding of female migration, Dodson (2001, 74) further noted that “the movement of female migrants into South Africa is still tied to their males on decisions and motives to migrate”.

Scholars like Gouws (2010, 1) and Adepoju (2007) asserted that the transnational migration of women is constantly obscured even though there seem to be many women migrating. Sotelo and Claford (2006, 105) asserted that the issue of addressing international migration excluding gender is one that makes it challenging to explain why women make the decision to migrate. Waiganjo (2017, 22) posited that scholars who focus on the experiences of migrant women present them as powerless and helpless migrants who are incapable of navigating a discriminatory environment. A study by Kihato (2009) used the experiences of migrant women from the rest of the African continent to interrogate the nexus between urbanization, gender and migration. The study revealed that women can navigate around the challenges in the migration process; they endeavor to make decisions that could help them to form relationships that have lucrative benefits. As cited in Waiganjo (2017, 25), Kihato (2009) further revealed that “these agencies have the capacity of enabling migrant women realize their rights through pushing policies that are gender sensitive, as well as advocacy. Nevertheless, effective emancipation of migrant women could only happen if

such agencies applied feminist theories that would help them analyze the nature of the problem within a particular power structure before making any strategic interventions.”

The concept of transnational migration has the ability of either strengthening or addressing gender inequalities. Scholars like Waiganjo (2017, 25) put forward the idea that transnational migration could possibly be a platform to strengthen cultural and religious norms on the subjugation of women. On the other hand, there can be precarious consequences that make the lives of the migrant women challenging. Waiganjo (2017, 25) further noted that these consequences entail women being exposed to social and economic insecurity, xenophobic discrimination and gender-based violence, specifically sexual abuse. They are subject to these complexities because of their identity as women as well as non-citizens. In as much as the international community has seen conferences and meetings calling for the respect and dignity of women, the policies remain on paper and are barely implemented. The fact that most migrant women appear to have no legal status makes it very difficult for them to be protected from discrimination and abuse at the same time facilitating their inaccessibility to many resources and opportunities in the host country (Waiganjo, 2017, 26).

2.2.4 The concept of migration in the African context

International migration has developed into a common way of life, with most people deciding to move from one country to another as a strategy of improving their livelihoods. According to Adepoju (2007, 11), the African continent has a long history where people have moved across geographical regions both as internal and international migrants. Traditionally, most Africans have a history of migrating to Europe as they perceive it to have better opportunities; scholars like Isike and Isike (2012, 93) referred to this as ‘self-actualization’. This means that most of the people in Africa migrate to European countries with the aim of realizing their potential through the available opportunities in those countries. Because of the labor discrepancies, economic and political volatilities in Africa, Europe and America have increasingly witnessed an influx of migrant people from Africa. Waiganjo (2017, 27) posited that South to North migration is comprehensively documented, unlike intra-African migration because of the “availability of funds and agents who develop such research”. However, scholars like Adepoju (2000, 5) noted that the literature that is available on international migration reveals that migration in Africa is increasingly becoming more feminized as a number of women are now moving independently across borders in search of better livelihoods (see Peberdy and Crush, 1998; Gouws, 2010; Jamela, 2013; Crush *et al.*, 2015).

Traditionally, the pattern of migration in Africa was male-dominated, long-term and usually long distance (Adepoju, 2004 and Crush, 2008). It was mostly the males who would migrate in search of formal jobs while women's migration was limited or impeded by their reproductive roles (Gouws, 2010, 2). According to Crush, during the apartheid era in South Africa, black males from other African countries would migrate to be recruited with temporary work contracts to provide labour needs for the South African mining and commercial agriculture sector (Landau *et al.*, 2004; Crush, 2012). However, nowadays, the patterns of migration are characterised by the feminisation of migration whereby there are more women migrating independently of men (Adepoju, 2004, 68). Scholar like Gouws (2010) put forward the idea that the feminisation of migration is often intertwined with the feminisation of poverty. She suggested that the increased number of women and children who are impoverished⁸ in Sub-Saharan developing countries inform the number of women who decide to migrate independently.

The number of African women leaving their countries in search for opportunities has since increased. Phophiwa (2014) articulated that over “the past few decades, there has been an overall rise in the feminization of migration in Africa, as millions of women gradually become economic beings with a responsibility to contribute financially to their families”. The IOM suggested that women continue to contribute a significant number of international migrants, estimating that approximately half of the world's 1 billion migrants are possibly women (Human Development Report, 2009, 25). According to Mabera (2015), the concept ‘feminization of migration’ encapsulates how gender is central in migration. Mabera (2015) proposed that the ‘feminization of migration’ is hinged on three notions: “The first idea denotes the quantitative increase in female migration; the second notion entails the visibility of female migration in the migration literature; and the third perspective conceptualizes feminization of migration as an approach which addresses the gendered dimensions of migration, emphasizing the agency of women in the migratory context as well as the potential of migration as an empowerment tool for women”. Adepoju (2004, 68) went further and proposed that more than before, women are now migrating independently to cater for their own economic needs, rather than the traditional migration to join their husbands and families. Van Heerden (2017) concurred with this idea and reiterated that “women also initiate migration in search of better opportunities for themselves and their families”. Drawing from his earlier work,

⁸ Women and children are impoverished in most developing African countries due to the severe economic instability conditions they live in.

Adepoju (1997), affirmed the idea that, as much as the migration patterns have changed, the phenomenon “still remains a family matter very much”, with non-migrant members of the family intimately involved in and affected by migration decision-making. Also writing earlier, Adekanye (1996) suggested that the movement of females is not restricted by national borders. Adekanye presented examples of how professional women during the millennium era engaged in migration, mostly leaving their spouses behind to care for the home and children. This shift in migration reflects a visible shift in the status quo of gender norms and social construction (Adepoju, 2004; Muzenda, 2017). It raises new gender questions on women’s identities as mothers and breadwinners and how they can delegate the roles of the family to their male counterpart. Pophiwa (2014) is of the view that both male and female migrants move because of economic factors. “In developing regions, migration is usually undertaken to improve the family’s economic conditions” (O’Neil *et al.*, 2016). Van Heerden (2017) delved into another concept ‘feminization of poverty’ which will be fully explored during this chapter. He propounded that often women move, scouting for opportunities “that can address their living experience of unemployment poverty and inequality”.

The surge of political and economic turmoil in most African countries has pushed both single and married women to migrate independently in a bid to secure jobs and income that will sustain their families (Adepoju, 2004; Gouws, 2010). While some leave their home countries in search of opportunities using their educational qualifications, some come with no qualifications but with the hope and intention of looking for means of survival in what they perceive to be a better and thriving economy compared with their home countries. As such, these groups of people do not lean on educational qualifications, but create their own employment, therefore, fitting themselves in the ‘informal sector’⁹ of South Africa.

The movement of people from one place to another is an essential and fundamental social and historical aspect of African life (Adepoju, 2004; Gouws, 2010). Reflecting on the history of mankind, Africa is rooted in migration. The migration of people is something that is not new, with

⁹ Cano-Urbina (2015) propounded that the labor markets of most developing countries are often characterized by a number of people working in jobs that fail to (if not at all) comply with the labor regulations. These are the jobs that constitute what is known as the ‘informal sector’. The term informal sector was coined by Keith Hart in 1973 and “it refers to the jobs that are not acknowledged to be normal income sources on which taxes are not paid” (Hart, 1973, 68). Chen (2012, 6) noted that there are quite a number of different schools of thought regarding the notion ‘informal sector’. As such, there are different definitions which will be further explored in the later stages of the study. The study intends to operationalize the term ‘informal sector’ referring to all self-employment jobs created for the sole purpose of generating income to attain survival and normal living standards.

people moving from place to place with their livestock and belongings in search of favorable grounds and better livelihoods (Afolayan, 2004, Isike and Isike, 2012). Isike and Isike (2012) further posited that, since then, the movement of people has been characterized by people removing themselves from areas of economic instability and distress to areas which present better prospects of survival and self-actualization. According to the UN (2006a; 2006b) logically, in contemporary geo-political terms, the African continent has witnessed a striking increase in the number of people moving to the developed Northern countries. “Emigration to the northern countries usually comprises skilled workers, students, semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers” (Adepoju, 2004, 59). In the same vein, Isike and Isike (2012, 93) put forward the idea that on the flipside of the coin, African International migration is also intra-continental. It is characterized by the dynamic movement of people across borders in the global south; this phenomenon is known as the South-South migration (Ratha and Shaw, 2004). According to Ratha and Shaw (2007), “while the policy debate and research on migration has focused on South-North flows, South-South migration is almost as prevalent; nearly half the migrants from the South may be living in other developing countries” (Ratha and Shaw 2007, vii).

As cited in Isike and Isike (2012), Ratha and Shaw (2007) further articulated that there are approximately 14.5 million migrants who originate from sub-Saharan Africa, of which 10 million have migrated to other sub-Saharan African countries. South Africa is notably one of the countries, and scholars like Adepoju (2004, 60) stated that “the deteriorating economic, social, political and ecological conditions across the continent have produced changes in the direction, pattern, composition and dynamics of African migration”. Though experiencing migration from a sending perspective, post-independent South Africa has also been on the receiving end and has experienced an influx of African migrants. These migrants include those from regions other than the Southern African region (Bloch, 2010; Isike and Isike, 2012). For instance, scholars like Ngwenya (2010) posited that while migration to South Africa is usually within adjacent borders, a significant percentage of African migrants move from other regions other than the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Somalia and Sudan are some of the notable examples out of SADC that have people migrating to South Africa.

Ngwenya (2010, 11) suggested that the reasons why most migrants move to South Africa can be attributed to the idea that South Africa has one of the strongest and most lucrative economies in Africa. Scholars like Chinomona and Maziriri (2015, 21) have acknowledged one of South Africa's cities Johannesburg as a 'World Class City'; it is also known as the 'Golden Heartbeat of Africa' and the 'World Class African City'. Adepoju (2004) and Khan (2007) put forward the view that many African migrants move to South Africa because of its flexible asylum and immigration policies. Khan (2007) pointed out that the restriction of European asylum policies has left many migrants viewing South Africa as the only answer. On the other hand, some scholars argue that Africans that wish to travel to Europe someday, view South Africa as an attractive temporary transit country (Crisp and Kiragu, 2010; Isike and Isike, 2012).

2.2.5 The migration of people from Zimbabwe to South Africa

The movement of people from Zimbabwe to South Africa dates back to the twentieth century (Makina, 2013; Crush *et al.*, 2015). Scholars like Mlambo (2010) are of the view that for much of the twentieth century, migration patterns from Zimbabwe to South Africa were dominated by young unmarried men who moved from rural areas to work in the mines in South Africa. Mlambo's views slightly contradict with Gouws (2010) who posited that mostly married men would migrate in search for greener pastures to support their families. However, Crush *et al.* (2015, 366) justified the views put forward by Mlambo (2010) and argued that "Zimbabweans were never firmly or comprehensively integrated in the South African migrant labor system, primarily because there were alternative employment opportunities on Zimbabwe's own mines and commercial farms and in the towns".¹⁰

However, following the state-sponsored invasion of farms in Zimbabwe and the collapse of governance early 2000, the number of people migrating to South Africa has escalated. As cited by Bloch (2010) in Mc Gregor (2007, 806), "migrant people hailing from Zimbabwe have left a country with a collapsed economy, lack of jobs, hyper-inflation, human rights violations and persecutions of members of the political opposition". Mc Gregor further posited that these conditions compel most families to have their members go abroad to ensure basic survival, meet

¹⁰ By then, Zimbabwe had a lucrative economy which made it to be labelled the bread and basket of the Southern Africa region and it was those who resided in small towns near the borders of South Africa who usually migrated in search for jobs in the mining and agriculture sector of the South African economy.

their aspirations to accumulate wealth and education. Black *et al.* (2006, 116) concurred with this view and posited that “migration to South Africa is often a household poverty reduction strategy”.

Crush *et al.* (2015, 365) propounded that there have been three distinct phases of migration patterns of Zimbabweans to South Africa. The first was around the 1980s, the period in which Zimbabwe gained its independence and the mid-1990s when there was the demise of apartheid. The democratization of South Africa opened its doors to the rest of the continent (Gouws, 2010; Isike and Isike, 2012). At the same time, Zimbabwe had begun to experience a decline in the economic sector which saw the government adopting an Economic Structural Adjustment Plan (ESAP) which unfortunately worsened the situation (Morreira, 2010; Crush *et al.*, 2015; Muzvidziwa, 2012). Scholars like Muzvidziwa (2012, 218) pointed out that the term ESAP began to be used colloquially as the ‘extreme suffering of the people of Africa’. The democratization of South Africa¹¹ made it a more desirable destination for black Zimbabweans. Some of the policies that were put in place after democratization like “the deregulation of the informal economy in the South African cities provided new opportunities for cross border informal entrepreneurs” (Crush *et al.*, 2015, 367).

The second phase was from the mid-1990s to 2005 which saw the South African government putting in place strict migration measures. However, following the controversial Zimbabwe land reform programme in the year 2000, the migration measures had unpremeditated consequences (Makina, 2012, 368). The economic pressures in Zimbabwe intensified and most people found ways to migrate into South Africa. “The third phase gathered momentum in the year 2005 and has continued to the present” (Crush *et al.*, 2015, 365). The protracted meltdown of the economy and political situation in Zimbabwe culminated in high levels of unemployment, with inflation soaring daily and most of the households being entrenched in poverty (Pretorius and Blaauw, 2015). These deep-seated challenges force many people to move to neighbouring South Africa, which in their opinion seems to have a thriving economy (Makina, 2012; Crush *et al.*, 2015; Morreira, 2010).

Crush *et al.* (2015, 364) put forward the idea that the recent movement of people from Zimbabwe to South Africa can be defined as ‘mixed migration’. As cited in Crush *et al.* (2015), Klaauw (2009) and Linde (2011) articulated that the term ‘mixed migration’ to elucidate how challenging it is to

¹¹ The existence of apartheid in South Africa made it challenging for most African migrants to move into the country because of the known police brutality and strict laws against migrant people.

differentiate refugees and economic migrants within a single migration stream. Mixed migration flows are then defined as flows that include:

refugees, asylum seekers, people who are leaving their own country in response to governance and development failures, those who are seeking economic, educational and family reunion opportunities, as well as some who regard the journey to South Africa as a first step towards more distant destinations such as Europe and North America. (Crisp and Kiragu, 2010, 1)

As cited in Crush *et al.* (2015, 366) for over twenty years, Zimbabwe has grown to become a typical ‘mixed migration source’. Its distressed economy and continuing political crisis have contributed greatly to heterogeneous forms of migration (Chan and Primorac, 2007; Crush and Tevera, 2010, Chiumbu and Musemwa, 2012, Derman and Kaarhuis, 2013). Crush *et al.* (2015) posited that the migration of Zimbabweans to neighbouring South Africa has conventionally been labeled as temporary or circular. This is supported by the views of Makina (2013) who argued that people migrate temporarily to South Africa in search of economic opportunities that will enable them to send remittances while away.

It is difficult to produce reliable statistics of the number of Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa annually. This is because many of the people are undocumented and move in and out of the country through informal border crossings (Bloch, 2010; IOM, 2010; Makina, 2012). However, surveys that were carried out by the Human Rights Watch (2008) estimated the number of Zimbabweans residing in South Africa to be between “one million and one and a half million by the end of 2007”.¹² The push factors of migration in Zimbabwe appear to be intertwined with poverty (Dzingirai *et al.*, 2015). As cited in Dzingirai *et al.* (2015), Raftoplous (2011) argued that due to the distressed economy and closure of industries many are left unemployed without a stable income and entrenched in poverty, living on less than a dollar per day.¹³

Statistics produced from the study conducted by Crush *et al.* (2015, 367-368) highlighted that “by the late 1990s, then, migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa was considerably more diverse than anything seen in the past, women were migrating in significant numbers and they indicated to be

¹² Considering that the economic situation in Zimbabwe has not been resolved yet, the numbers are likely to have increased over the past ten years.

¹³ According to the United Nations, poverty is determined when an individual is living on less than a dollar a day.

the breadwinners of their families”. Most women in urban Zimbabwe view migration to South Africa as a panacea to the economic related problems in their family households (Muzvidziwa, 2012; Mutopo, 2010 and Jamela, 2013). Therefore, most Zimbabwean women relocate to South Africa in search for better economic opportunities and better standards of living. Scholars like Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzerwa (2015) articulated that migration from Zimbabwe can be labeled as ‘mixed’ in the sense that there are a number of reasons that drive people to move. While some migrate to seek long-term refuge, others migrate to seek temporary economic opportunities (Dzingirai *et al.*, 2015). The temporary economic opportunities that many Zimbabweans seek, prove to be very useful for they enable several migrants to send remittances back home (Graham *et al.*, 2005; Makina, 2013).

Several scholars writing about the migration of people from Zimbabwe have suggested that the severity of the economic and political problems in the country have contributed to increasing migration (Bloch, 2010; Muzvidziwa, 2010; Mlambo, 2010; Crush *et al.*, 2012; Dzingirai *et al.*, 2015; Muzenda, 2017). For one to comprehend the reasons why the movement of women has increased over the years, and their long-term involvement in both the formal and informal sector outside Zimbabwe, it is imperative first to have a clear picture of the extent to which the economic downturn has contributed to the last three decades of the Zimbabwean exodus.

Zimbabwe attained its independence from white rule on 18 April 1980, after almost a decade of liberation struggle. There were two main parties, Zimbabwe African Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo, and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe. In 1976, the two groups formed a military alliance which was known as the Patriotic Front. The Lancaster House Peace Accord that was convened in 1976 perpetuated conditions that saw the commencement of the first independent elections in the country. The elections saw Robert Mugabe becoming Prime Minister and Nkomo occupying a position in the cabinet. It was not long before “Mugabe sought a one-party state by sending the fifth brigade into Matebeleland to crush dissent, which became popularly known as the Gukurahundi” (Olnier and Holmes, 2010, 468; McDuff, 2015, 12).

Because of the Gukurahundi campaign (1982-1987), about 20 000 residents of Matebeleland died and almost a million-people fled Zimbabwe to work in South Africa. Using the theoretical lenses

of the triadic conflict theory,¹⁴ conflict emanates from a range of situations that influence the behaviour and actions of individuals. Mugabe's attitude and ambitions to eliminate opposition perpetuated a significant conflict event that has forever tainted the history of Zimbabwe. For the sake of brokering peace, Nkomo and Mugabe signed a unity accord that saw the coalition of PF-ZAPU into ZANUPF. According to Orner and Holmes (2010, 483) in 1987, "the Lancaster House Agreement slowed Zimbabwe's transition out of colonialism by protecting the land ownership rights of the white farmers, the government was able to make a number of economic improvements in the 1980s. Between 1979 and 1984, enrolment in primary schools increased from 82 000 to 225 million, and secondary school enrolment grew from 66 000 to 500 000." Essential public services were provided, seeing the building of clinics, roads and the improvement of sanitation services in the rural areas ensuring that most of the people had access to safe drinking water (Orner and Holmes 2010, 483.) As cited in McDuff (2015, 13), Orner and Holmes (2010) suggested that all the money that was injected into improving the socio-economic services in Zimbabwe came from international loans: "The industrial development was dominated by multinational corporations, such that most profits from economic growth went into the hands of a small, local elite or Western corporations."

After expansive social expenditure and limited economic growth, the end of the 1980's saw Zimbabwe having a foreign debt that was at least three billion US dollars. Inter-governmental organisations like the International Monetary fund and the World Bank had to put pressure on Zimbabwe to cut spending on social services and start focusing on repaying the debt that the country was owing. (Orner and Holmes, 2010, 485).

Towards finding an amicable solution to solve the debt crises, in 1991, Zimbabwe adopted its own structural adjustment programme (ESAP) which worked hand in hand with the IMF and World Bank.

According to Zeilig (2002), "the Zimbabwean dollar was devalued, government spending on social services was cut, import controls and export controls incentives were removed, and many state companies were privatized." However, the structural programme was not a success as it only worsened the economic situation. The prices of basic commodities spiked, real wages declined

¹⁴ One of theories that this study adopted, it will be fully explained in the next chapter.

subsequently increasing the levels of unemployment and poverty (Orner and Holmes, 2010, 485). Using the theoretical lenses of the structural violence theory, the advent of the ESAP further constrained the agency of the Zimbabwean economy to the extent that the economic policy fell short of all its optimistic projections of growth and investment (Raftopoulos and Phimister, 2004, 363). Galtung (1993,106)¹⁵ first defined violence as “avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or, to put it in more general terms, the impairment of human life, which lowers the actual degree to which someone is able to meet their needs below that which would otherwise be possible”. The salient word here is ‘avoidable’: one can argue that adopting ESAP was wrong and could have been avoided by taking alternative routes to solve the socio-economic crisis of the nation. The Zimbabwean government withdrew from ESAP in November 1997 and took direct control of social and economic policy. The opportunistic intervention of the country in the DRC crisis in 1998 further stifled the economic situation in Zimbabwe (Raftopolous, 2004; McDuff, 2015). Scholars like Moretti (2017, 17) put forward the idea that the unbudgeted entry into the DRC conflict weighed heavily on the national treasury’s purse. Subsequently it led to the massive crash of the Zimbabwean dollar and the stock market.

“In 1999, a new opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change emanated from the amalgamation of labor unions, groups opposed to the land grab initiative, and civic organizations that endorsed democratic constitutional reforms” (McGregor, 2010, 7). *‘The Land Is the Economy, the Economy Is the Land’* has been the driving slogan for the ruling party of Zimbabwe, ZANUPF. Premised on this slogan, in early 2000, the ruling party joined by war veterans embarked on the land reform programme that many scholars have noted had a major impact on how the economic situation in Zimbabwe unfolded (Nest, 2001; Raftopolous and Phimister, 2004; Crush et al., 2012; McDuff, 2015). When MDC supporters assisted in defeating the new constitution that was aimed at increasing the ruling party’s power, this expedited the legalised land takeovers without compensation; the government retaliated through an intensive programme of farm invasions, in which most white farmowners and black farmworkers were brutally beaten or killed (McGregor, 2010; McDuff, 2015). As the land reform unfolded, several white farmers were targeted and killed for dispossession to resettle black families on their farms (McGregor 2010; Crush *et al.*, 2012). Many international investors fled the country, resulting in

¹⁵ Johan Galtung propounded the existence of the structural violence theory that the study also adopted as a theoretical lens.

approximately 74% drop in the value of the Zimbabwean dollar (Orner and Holmes, 2016). “Short of foreign currency and unable to pay their debts, Zimbabwe began to print more money, which along with the cost of military involvement in the Congo and food shortages coupled with the land seizures, contributed to rising levels of inflation” (McDuff, 2015, 14). In reaction to the brutal killings of white farmers during the invasion, the United States Congress imposed economic sanctions on Zimbabwe which also impinged on the economic situation of the country (Tendi, 2013).

As one of its economic policies, the government embarked on operation *Murambatsvina* (which means drive out rubbish or clean the dirt) in 2005. This saw approximately 700 000 people living in informal urban settlements being driven out of their homes and into deeper poverty (McGregor, 2010; Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012) As cited in Dzimiri and Runhare (2012, 193), Potts (2006), Bratton and Masunungure (2007) and Mlambo (2008) asserted that the government of Zimbabwe justified the implementation of operation *Murambatsvina* stating that it was a move that was meant to do away with the increasing “economic saboteurs in the informal sector, such as money launderers who were carrying out black foreign exchange market¹⁶ and illegally building backyard industries, flea markets and kiosks”. The reason why *Murambatsvina* was questionable was that the military participated in the destruction of houses and illegal industries that were considered illegal. Furthermore, what caught the attention of the humanitarian international community was the fact that the operation was launched immediately after the violent 2005 parliamentary elections in which the ruling party Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) had reportedly lost in all the urban constituencies. Scholars like Dzimiri and Runhare (2012, 192) are of the view that because *Murambatsvina* was only confined in the urban areas where the ruling party had lost the election, “it was the government’s scorched-earth policy against urban dwellers for abandoning ZANU-PF and mass protests over the growing economic crisis”. From a humanitarian point of view, the operation destroyed the houses of poor urban dwellers who were left insecure and displaced. According to the Amnesty International Zimbabwe Annual Report (2007), most of the victims were unwillingly displaced to camps created for resettlement – Caledonia and Hopely farms. The report revealed that displaced people were subjected to terrible conditions, such as the

¹⁶ With the increased cash crisis and the lack of basic commodities in the shops, one could still find those necessities on the black market for an increased price. It was during that time that money launderers were making a profit from exchanging foreign currency on the street for an increased price.

lack of basic and essential services like water, shelter and sanitation. Therefore, scholars like Dzimiri and Runhare (2012) have argued that operation *Murambatsvina* compromised the human security concerns of most of the urban dwellers who were affected.

Given the political and economic downward spiral that was occurring in Zimbabwe, it is not surprising that most people viewed migration as the only way they could be emancipated economically. Using social construction theory, one can argue that the unfortunate unfolding of economic and political events shaped the migratory patterns of most of the citizens. The economic hardships left cross-border trading and migration as the only way of sustaining and maintaining the livelihood and well-being of families. Most people migrated to neighbouring and other European countries in search of better economic solutions. These countries included South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, UK, Australia and New Zealand (Makina, 2012; Dube, 2014).

As established earlier by Dzingirai *et al.* (2015), most of the people who migrated from Zimbabwe are undocumented and staying in South Africa illegally. This increases their vulnerability to exploitation and the existence of xenophobia. In an article entitled *The Right to Rights? Undocumented Migrants from Zimbabwe living in South Africa*, Bloch (2010) asserted that the migration of Zimbabweans to South Africa comes along with a range of challenges that include being exploited in the labor markets, being denied access to essential services and being the victims of xenophobia (see Dodson, 2010; Pretorius and Blauww, 2015).

Since 1990, there has been a myriad of research that has looked at the drivers of Zimbabwean migration, the uniqueness of the migrant population, and the impact of migration on sending and receiving societies. Few of the studies have specifically looked at how gender affects Zimbabwean migration (Tevera and Chikanda, 2009; Chikanda 2011; Crush and Tawodzera, 2011; Crush *et al.*, 2012). A close insight into the background of the migratory patterns of females in Zimbabwe can contribute to a deeper understanding of the key drivers of migration. In 1980, when Zimbabwe attained its independence, the number of men that used to travel to South Africa in search of working opportunities in the mines and farms declined (Mlambo 2010). Instead the migration patterns of Zimbabwe soon after independence were characterized by most of the population moving from the rural to urban areas within the country (Potts, 2010). Using the lenses of the social construction theory, one can note that for most of the people who were not staying in urban areas, the perception and assumption was that moving to the cities presented more economic opportunities

and jobs, hence perpetuating their movement. Both women and men were inclined to move from the rural settings pursuing new economic ventures (McDuff, 2015). However, these opportunities were not as readily available as many had imagined. Therefore, scholars like Jamela (2013) put forward the idea that “limited opportunities for work in the formal sector led some female internal migrants to start engaging in cross border trading” (Muzvidziwa, 2010, 81). The environment that was created aptly informed the decisions that women took. As Zimbabwe’s political and economic situation worsened, there was also an expansion of the informal sector, and men as well as women became traders, with the majority being women (Jamela, 2013). Prior to these social and structurally embedded challenges, the people who were usually migrants and traders had been young and single. One can note that the political and economic environment played a pivotal role in contributing and shaping the migratory patterns in Zimbabwe. Women were inclined to move across borders in search of better economic opportunities they had failed to secure in the urban areas as anticipated. Drawing from earlier studies, one study concluded that approximately “73% of Zimbabwean migrants to South Africa in the 1990s was married, 40% were household heads and primary breadwinners” (Crush *et al.*, 2012, 9). The latter statement reflects how the roles of women have since shifted. In the African culture, the role of being the primary breadwinner rested on the shoulders of the men in the house (Gouws, 2010).

As the economic and political game got worse, Crush *et al.* (2012, 18) noted that the percentage of people who migrated increased, with women accounting for a larger percentage. It was evident that those who had migrated were now staying away longer: “In 1997, 70% of migrants stayed less than a month away from home, but in 2006, half were staying away longer” (Crush *et al.*, 2012, 17). This is clearly an indication of how migration from Zimbabwe shifted from temporary to more permanent or indefinite. The movement of Zimbabweans to South Africa increased rapidly as the 2000s progressed and the economic situation intensified becoming even more precarious. Zimbabweans became economic migrants rather than refugees.¹⁷ As of 2012, women still made up 44 % of Zimbabweans who migrated to South Africa.

¹⁷ The difference between a refugee and an economic migrant is that the term refugee is more concerned about the human rights and safety of people. Refugees are forcefully moved away from their home countries because they will be at risk of being harmed or killed. However, economic migrants are more concerned about the economic advantage. Economic migrants consciously make a decision to move from one country to the other in search of better and more conducive economic opportunities to sustain their livelihoods (Settlement Services International).

2.3 ‘Xenophobia’ or ‘Afrophobia’

The challenge for South Africa is to formulate policy that takes advantage of the positive aspects of globalization, including the unprecedented movement of people with skills, expertise resources, entrepreneurship and capital, which will support the country’s efforts at reconstruction, development and nation-building. (Republic of South Africa, White Paper on International Migration, 1996, 6)

The latter statement puts forward the idea that for South Africa to be able to attain its promises of human rights, tolerance and prosperity¹⁸ successfully, it needs to develop norms, laws and practices that make the most of the existence of foreigners in the country, subsequently building a positive reputation to other countries, protecting the rights, security and livelihoods of all South African residents. In this case, the delineation of South African residents is not specifically limited to South African citizens, instead it refers to all that are residing in South Africa. Landau (2005, 3) put forward the idea that while it looks good on paper, “attaining democratic rights based on migration policy in South Africa is extraordinarily difficult”. This is so because, according to Dodson (2002), South Africa is a society which is extremely xenophobic; fear of foreigners does not value the human rights of those who are not South African citizens. Nyamjoh (2006) contended that the phenomenon of xenophobia is not only racialized, it is Africanized drawing on the fact that black foreigners are at the centre of this violence as the victims. Emanating from this context, some scholars such as Matsinhe (2011), Everatt (2011) and Mngxitama (2008) have labelled this kind of racialised xenophobia ‘negrophobia’ or ‘afrophobia’. The use of the derogatory term ‘kwere kwere’ is usually used to refer to black African foreigners. As posited by Nyamjoh (2006), the use of this term constructs the migrant as the ‘other’.

2.4 Defining xenophobia

Crush (2008, 15) worked with a common definition of xenophobia, which is simply the hatred of foreigners. According to the South African Human Rights Commission (1998), xenophobia is defined as “the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state”. Xenophobia

<https://www.ssi.org.au/faqs/refugee-faqs/148-what-is-the-difference-between-a-refugee-and-a-migrant> (accessed 14 September 2017)

¹⁸The Preamble of the Constitution of South Africa 1996 stresses that as a country, South Africa should ensure that the human rights and dignity of all those who reside in the country are upheld.

comprises “of all forms of discriminatory attitudes towards non-nationals, whatever their source of rationality” (Landau *et al.*, 2005, 4). Neocosmos (2010, 13) posited that “it is a discourse and practice which results in the social and political exclusion of its targets from the rest of the people.

Crush and Ramachandran (2009, 5) explored how the word ‘xenophobia’ has been derived from the Greek words ‘xenos’ and ‘phobos’ which mean ‘strange’ or ‘foreign’ and ‘fear’ respectively. The phenomenon emanates from irrational fear that might circulate amongst locals, in turn developing feelings of distrust and violent reactions to strangers (Adam and Moodley, 2015, 204). It exudes the deep-seated emotions (as well as developing emotions) of hatred, anger, jealousy and patronizing attitudes towards foreign nationals, coupled with violent behavior (Shinsana, 2008; Kange’the and Duma, 2011; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015).

Mogekwu (2005) put forward an anthropological definition of xenophobia: “fear and dislike of foreigners because of poor intercultural communication by which members of one national culture do not understand, appreciate and accommodate members of another national culture among them”. From the above definitions, one can argue that xenophobia is firmly established in the attitudes and behaviour of discrimination on non-citizens which subsequently results in human insecurities (abuse and killing of human life) and social exclusion.

2.5 The discourse of xenophobia in Africa

The phenomenon of xenophobia has been widely condemned by most African leaders as part of the process of addressing the issues that are detrimental to achieving national, regional and global peace (Kang’ethe and Duma, 2011). Xenophobia is not a new and peculiar concept that is only seen in South Africa. Anti-immigrant hostility is present everywhere including European societies (Akinola, 2014; Adam and Moodley, 2015). For instance, in Romania, xenophobia comes in the form of anti-Semitism, which is the hatred of Hungarian and Russian citizens who are Romania’s neighbours. Fearing domination, Romanians are said to be xenophobic in nature showing deep dislike towards immigrants (Saideman and Ayres, 2008). Akinola (2014) also noted that the Jewish cleansing by the Germans during the rule of tyrant leader Adolf Hitler portrayed unbelievable deep hatred and dislike amongst human kind.

Xenophobia is alive in Africa and most scholars agree that the 1994 Rwanda genocide is evidence that xenophobia is also existent in African spaces (Kang’ethe and Duma, 2011; Akinola, 2014;

Fourchard and Segatti, 2015). Scholars like Adam and Moodley (2015) asserted that the dislike of strangers can be said to be normal human behaviour. However, what is distinctively unique about South African xenophobia is the aggressive mob violence against foreign nationals.

According to Afolayan (2004), xenophobia has a historical dimension. In a bid to scout for favourable economic grounds and fertile lands, people have always moved from place to place. It was often not easy for groups or individuals to blend in with the different communities they would come across because of different lifestyles, religion and belief systems. Kersting (2009) suggested that the contrast between the belief systems usually conjured up feelings of distrust and hate that resulted in wars, strife and xenophobic tendencies.

In an article entitled *Black on Black: Xenophobic attacks and interstate relations in post-independence Africa*, Olukoju (2008) started from grassroots and traced the existence of xenophobia in Africa from the pre-colonial era. The concept of social exclusion which we have established to be a dominant characteristic of xenophobia emanated from marriage arrangements, whereby people were restricted to marrying people from clans that were different from theirs. The reason behind this practice was normally attached to the perception that the other clans were inferior. Most of the clans were socially constructed to view any other clan as a threat to the existence of their clan. Political supremacy proved to be a major cause of rivalry between clans. Like Olukoju (2008), Berge (2000) drew his arguments from the existence of the popular Mfecane wars (1820s-1830s), which over history have been named the 'time of trouble'. Mfecane, a Zulu word also known as difaqane or Lifaqane in Sotho means, "crushing, scattering, forced dispersal and forced migration."¹⁹ This period was characterized of non-Zulu clans being driven out of South Africa. Under the rule of Shaka the Zulu, the Zulu clan is believed to have waged wars against their neighbors in order to secure strategic and fertile lands. As cited by Tirivangisi and Rankoana (2015), Olukoju (2008) further posits that, "the history of subjugation or even enslavement of one group by another promoted mutual deep-seated animosity between tribes". The existence of this animosity between tribes and the challenges of one tribe trying to dominate the other can be used to comprehend the origins and existence of xenophobia in South Africa.

¹⁹ *General South African History Timeline: 1800s*. South African History Online. (accessed on 12 April 2018).

2.5.1 Afrophobia vs xenophobia

In their work entitled *Migration, Xenophobia and New Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Adjai and Lazardis (2013, 192) equated xenophobia with racism. They argued that during the apartheid era, racism which they refer to as ‘old racism’ was constructed based on race (a biological group) different to one’s own. However, the prevalence of xenophobia presents a new form of racism, one that is firmly established in discriminatory treatment and human insecurity based on national origin or ethnicity. Concurring to Adjai and Lazaridis (2013) in an article *Africa’s Fear of itself: The ideology of Makwerekwere in South Africa*, Matsinhe (2011, 295) unpacked the concept of afro-phobia. Drawing from the works of popular philosopher Fanon, Matsinhe (2011, 295) noted that “‘black man’ are phobogenic objects and a stimulus to the anxiety of white man”. Based on this assumption, Matsinhe suggested it would be reasonable to suggest that Africans are phobogenic to each other and they are a stimulus to their own anxiety. These narratives position the existence of the new form of racism that is labelled afro-phobia. It portrays the fear that Africa has of itself hating on black foreign nationals in South Africa. Scholars like UNISA theology Professor Rothney Tshaka (2010) took a radical stance to firmly denounce the use of the term xenophobia to describe the prevalence of violence against non-South African blacks in his article *Do our theological methodologies help us to deal with situations of violence in black communities, specifically afrophobia?* He defined “xenophobia as the fear of the other whilst Afrophobia is the fear of a *specific* other”. Tshaka embedded his discussion on the lecture that was delivered by a slave owner Willie Lynch back in 1772, entitled *The making of a slave*.²⁰ Deconstructing that speech depicts how Lynch encouraged other slave owners to capitalize on all the characteristics of their slaves.

Quoting Lynch: “Now that you have a list of differences ... I shall assure you that distrust is stronger than trust, and envy, stronger than adulation, respect or admiration. The black slaves after receiving this indoctrination shall carry on and become self-refuelling and self-generating for hundreds of years, maybe thousands.” Drawing from the latter quote, Tshaka pointed out that Lynch’s words proved true and they resonated with the prevalence of colonialism and capitalism and in the case of South Africa, they resonated with the prevalence of apartheid. “It is the very issues of envy and

²⁰ Willie Lynch: The making of a slave
http://www.finalcall.com/artman/publish/Perspectives_1/Willie_Lynch_letter_The_Making_of_a_Slave.shtml
(accessed 17 April 2018)

distrust that some blacks use to categorise and therefore justify resentments towards the black other.” Matsinhe (2011) articulated that the reason why there is the continued prevalence of this black on black violence is because it is entrenched in the mindset of the locals. The public is socially constructed to accept the European foreigners as tourists or possible investors, whilst African foreigners are viewed as people who are simply there to use the resources, take jobs at the same time as facilitating crimes. To strengthen this view, scholars like Chinomona and Maziriri (2015) and Crush and Ramachandran (2014) contended that the manifestation of afrophobia in South Africa emanates from the mind-set that the influx of immigrants limits the economic and social economic opportunities that are meant for those who are South African citizens.

In the same vein, Momodou and Pascoet (2013) argued that afrophobia is a form of racism whereby sentiments of inferiority are socially constructed towards other blacks. In fact, scholars like Tafira (2011) asserted that all the events that have been transpiring against foreigners in South Africa since 2008 should not be simply labelled xenophobia or afrophobia; instead they should be labelled as neo-racism, that is beyond the skin colour of another. The manifestation of afrophobia is characterised of distrust and envy towards immigrants who are black and are viewed as a threat because they are easily integrated into black communities. As posited by Tshaka (2010), “they are able to slip undetected into the black community and thus potentially steal the jobs and the women of indigenous black South African men”. A number of scholars have proposed this same idea to explain the roots of the phenomenon of afrophobia / xenophobia (Dodson, 2010; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2014; Nyamjoh, 2014, Pretorious and Blauww, 2015).

2.5.2 Theories explaining the concept of xenophobia

Since the protracted existence of xenophobia in South Africa, scholars have posited theories that attempt to explain the continued prevalence of xenophobia (Harris, 2002; Landau, 2005; Tella, 2016). These theories are divided into three categories, namely isolation, scapegoating, and the bio-cultural hypothesis. It is important to note these theories are not the theories that are going to be guiding this study.²¹

The isolation theory places xenophobia in the apartheid administration. It contends that due to the oppressive nature of the apartheid regime, South Africa was isolated by the international

²¹ Theories that this study utilized throughout the study are going to be fully unpacked in the next chapter.

community (Morris, 1998; Crush, 2000; Steenkamp, 2009; Matsinhe, 2011). During the apartheid era, the migration of whites into South Africa was considerably higher than the immigration of blacks into South Africa. This meant that there was minimal contact between South Africans and black immigrants (Tella, 2016). The advent of democracy in 1994 was characterized of a number of people from different African countries flowing into South Africa. This possibly could have influenced the development of hate and hostile sentiments towards foreigners, specifically black African immigrants.

Earlier, Morris (1998) argued that the ushering in of independence in South Africa was accompanied by an influx of immigrants from mostly African countries. What was striking about the increase in the number of immigrants entering the South African borders was that it comprised both legal and illegal immigrants. To better explain the isolation hypothesis, Morris (1998) argued that it would be very difficult or almost impossible for a society that had no history of integrating with strangers, to be welcoming to immigrants. To support this view, Dodson (2010) maintained the view that the closed-door policy based on racial segregation adopted during the apartheid era possibly played a significant role to the not so accommodating nature of local South Africans to foreigners. Drawing from the historical challenges that black South Africans endured, one would be inclined to think that democratic South Africa would be more accommodating of other fellow Africans; however, over the years the opposite has occurred with phenomena like xenophobia being rife.

To comprehend xenophobia in South Africa entails placing it within an extended history that includes the politics of exclusion and belonging embedded in the colonial era and apartheid (Misago *et al.*, 2009; Youkhana, 2015). People's sense of belonging is usually "tied to territoriality, memorizations of landscapes, lifestyles and cultural imprints, which are even reinforced in the context of migration". Youkhana (2015, 14) further argued that "senses of deprivation are stressed and gain particular meaning as the challenges in the country of immigration pressurize the immigrant or endanger their livelihood and increase their perceived loss of home." The notion of 'alien' in South African society emanates from the colonial period where it seems to have achieved a mere treacherous status (UNHCR, 2015). "During this period the state used the idea of the alien to deny both political rights and rights of residence to the city's surplus people.

“The system was put in place with the intention of promoting the well-being and security of the then white citizenry. Any person who was perceived not to be permitted to be in the urban areas was regarded as a drain on resources and a menace to the desired cultural and political order” (Masenya, 2017, 83). This appears to be a lingering legacy that continues to construct the approach to which those who are perceived as ‘outsiders’, ‘others’ or trespassers are treated. From its inception as the Union of South Africa in 1910, South Africa has always been a divided society, reflected in how the concept of social exclusion was woven into the political and social fabric, embedded by racist ideologies. This idea was strengthened by the views of the then Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, J.C. Smuts who blatantly stated that it was important to ensure racial separation (Deegan, 2005). These views propagated the rise of apartheid when the National Party came into power, subsequently leading to apartheid as the official government policy. According to Adjai and Lazaridis (2013), the legislation that was formulated excluded the black majority from partaking of the political and economic rights as white South Africans. To clearly explain the latter, Adjai and Lazaridis (2013) put forward some of the legislature. The enacting of the Population Registration Act No.30 of 1950²² resulted in people being ‘boxed’ into racial categories, namely white, black or colored (this meant either of mixed descent or a sub-group of Indians/Asians). The new legislation also put forward the Group Areas Act No.41 of 1950. This Act propagated the physical separation of the racial categories through the formation of separate residential areas for different races.²³

In 1971, through the Bantu Homeland Constitution Act, black South Africans effectively lost their citizenship of the Republic and this automatically positioned them to a level where they had no political economic rights. First, “it created racialized notions of identity and worth, which encouraged Black South Africans to see themselves not only as inferior to whites, but also as separate from the rest of the continent. Second, it encouraged separation and compartmentalization of various populations as a means of governance and discouraged integration or contact between groups” (Citizens’ Rights in Africa Initiative (CRAI), 2009, 1). Premised on the latter, it can be noted that the concept of exclusion is deeply embedded in the political and social fabric of the

²² The Population Registration Act

http://www.sahistory.org.za/timelines?field_timeline_categories_type_tid%5B%5D=93 (accessed 17 April 2018).

²³ The Group Areas Act of 1950. <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/group-areas-act-1950> (accessed 17 April 2018).

country. Therefore, scholars from earlier days, like Morris (1998) and later like Matsinhe (2011) have claimed that the apartheid regime shaped and established violence as the only medium of airing grievances and attaining political ends. In the same vein, one can argue that the vestiges of apartheid aided the shaping of the contemporary socio-political structures and approach to mobility and ‘outsiders’. This is reflected in the narrative of a Mozambican respondent in Atteridgeville acknowledged in Misago *et al.* (2009, 15):

This thing is something we inherited from the Boers because when we came to South Africa we arrived into their hands. They encouraged the hatred of outsiders and people would point out to them that at such a place there is a Shangani [Tsonga speaker from South Africa or Mozambique] person and they would come and deport you. So even the children grew up in that culture of discrimination where they could distinguish that this person is from this area and they are of a certain tribe.

To explain the isolation theory, Matsinhe (2011) posited that during the rule of the apartheid regime, South Africa separated itself from the rest of Africa. Matsinhe (2011) credited this to the development of technology and infrastructure which made South Africa liken itself to European countries. This possibly influenced the establishment of the Union of South in 1910, which perpetuated the socio-psychological belief that whites were perceived as good and valuable, whilst blacks were perceived as bad, evil and wretched. To strengthen the isolation view, Matsinhe (2011) further articulates that the unfolding of events shaped South Africans to see themselves in the image of their colonisers. This is a fantasy that finds meaning in the theory of South African exceptionalism, which constructs the idea that among others, South Africans are fairer in complexion than other African countries. Mamdani (1996) and more recently, Neocosmos (2010, 5) suggested “South African exceptionalism is viewed as a dominant arrogant public discourse according to which South Africa is somehow more like a Southern European or Latin American country given its relative levels of industrialization and increasingly liberal democracy”. Matsinhe (2011) also highlighted the important fact that during apartheid, the few immigrants who resided in South Africa only enjoyed minimal rights and were not amply protected by the laws of the state. Unfortunately, this reality seems to continue in contemporary South Africa.

Scholars like Steenkamp (2009) also contend that the existence of apartheid isolated South African administration subsequently triggering Afrophobia in contemporary South Africa. Steenkamp

(2009) put forward the idea that South Africans do not view themselves as Africans; instead they have a socially constructed view that any other African country is a war-torn zone with a poor economy. They perceive other African states to have poor standards of living with industrialization and obsolete development. Steenkamp (2009) further pointed out that before the advent of democracy, anti-immigrant hostility was not prevalent; however, the end of apartheid shifted the migration patterns and, in the process, triggered anti-immigrant sentiments.

In an article entitled *The limitation of 'inter-racial contact: Stories from young South Africa*, Vincent (2008) put forward the contention that despite the fact that the advent of political democracy in South Africa brought with it the removal of racial discrimination which was a barrier to people accessing their political, social and economic rights, it did not do away with inequalities. Vincent (2008) argued that the vestiges of apartheid left “contact within a context of unequal power relations in which ‘whiteness’ continues to be privileged over ‘blackness’”. As cited in Adjai and Lazaridis (2013, 193), Fin 24 (2007) posited that the gap between the poor black South Africans and whites is still visible with most black people still living in informal houses surrounding urban areas.

Illiteracy rates are high with around 24% of adults over 15 years old (6 to 8 million adults are not functionally literate); teachers in township schools are poorly trained, with matric pass rate low in the townships. While 65% of whites over 20 years old and 40% of Indians have a high school or higher qualification, only 14% of blacks and 17% of the colored population have higher education. (South Africa, 2010)

Looking at these statistics, one is inclined to argue that South Africa has a disempowered population. Structural faults like race and inequality shape the unfolding of events in democratic South Africa.

Based on discrimination and inequality experiences of black South Africans, one can argue that South Africans should be sensitive and sympathetic to the plight of their fellow Africans. In a survey that was conducted by the South African Migration Project (SAMP), when asked if migrants should be afforded rights, 35% of the respondents stated that foreign nationals were not supposed to be afforded these (Mc Donald *et al.*, 1998). It is against this backdrop, I argue that the prevalence of racial segregation and isolation under the Apartheid regime generated fertile ground for

xenophobia. However, the isolation theory has its shortcomings as it does not explain the socio-economic realities of most South Africans which also possibly influences them to be intolerant of foreigners. According to Tella (2016, 4), this shortcoming is addressed by the scapegoating theory.

According to Tella and Ogunnubi (2014, 148), the history of the scapegoat theory can be traced back to Freud's ego defensive mechanism, which he labelled as displacement. Hanson (2012) posited that "displacement refers to individual tendency to shift their aggression to another target when the original target is inaccessible or threatening". Hanson further simplifies this by providing an example of how a child beaten by their parent usually transfers the aggression to their younger siblings. The latter scenario describes how the person, or the group shouldered with blame is weaker or less threatening than the actual cause. In other words, the scapegoat theory emphasises the idea that susceptible target groups usually fall victims of blame by majority groups for all their misfortunes. As cited in Tella and Ogunnubi (2014, 149), Gibson and Howard (2007) noted that if there is to be economic or political instability, the scapegoat theory posits that there will be high beliefs that the minority will be posing as a threat to the majority, ultimately influencing aggression. Victims are usually minority groups with nothing to do with the predicaments. As cited in Tella and Ogunnubi (2014, 149), Gibson and Howard (2007) put forward the example of how Jews can be considered as one of the groups that was used as a scapegoat: "Not only were they blamed for the economic difficulties in the 1930s, triggering the holocaust perpetrated by Adolf Hitler, but as Gibson and Howard argued, the Jews have been blamed for Russian crises since time immemorial.

The scapegoating hypothesis locates xenophobia in South African's tendency to blame immigrants for their misfortunes. After independence in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) which assumed the position of the ruling and majority party in newly born South Africa, promised better opportunities and lives for all South Africans. The policies that were adopted aimed at healing the divisions of the past at the same time closing the gap between races, the poor and the rich. Policies like the Reconstruction and Development Programme were implemented as seeking to mobilize all the people and the country's resources towards removing the vestiges of apartheid and the building of a South Africa which is democratic, nonracial and a non-sexist future.²⁴ Despite these promises

²⁴ The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q> (accessed April 2018).

and commitments, the harsh reality is that the majority of black South remain poor amidst growing unemployment. Tella and Ogunnubi (2014) contend that this reality influences South Africans to seek an avenue to direct their frustrations and black foreigners are an easy target as they are perceived to limit the opportunities that are meant for the South Africans. There are a number of scholars who have analysed the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa within this context and these include Morris (1998), Crush (2000), Dodson and Oelofese (2000), Neocosmos (2008), Dodson (2010), Adjai and Lazaridis (2013), Akinola (2014), Crush and Ramachandran (2014), Hickel (2014), Tella and Ogunnubi (2014) and Tella (2016).

Morris (1998) posited that even though South Africa has experienced remarkable political transformation, economic redress has been happening at a snail's pace. Instead of blaming and directing their anger to the government, South Africans tend to blame foreigners for all their misfortunes. Neocosmos (2008) posits that since the 1990s a number of government departments, including the police, have viewed foreigners as threats to the survival of the South African state. Foreigners are viewed to have a direct negative impact to development, social service and national stability. There is misconception that foreigners are 'freeloaders' who are only residing in South Africa to benefit from the resources and services offering nothing beneficial in return (Akinola, 2014). In the same vein, in his analysis of the xenophobic experiences of Congolese and Nigerians residing in Johannesburg, Dodson (2010) and Crush and Ramachandran (2014) posited that statements that are usually made by politicians imputing foreigners for the levels of crime in South Africa influence the prevalence of police brutality and harassment and ostensibly influence ordinary citizens to develop xenophobic attitudes. In other words, the statements that politicians make construct the behaviour and attitude of how locals ultimately treat foreign nationals. Their perceptions are built on the information they get from their leaders. A classic example that shows how political leaders can fuel violence is that of the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini who in 2015 perpetuated the outbreak of xenophobia when he mentioned that foreigners were suffocating and denying locals access to the country's resources. In their study *Shades of xenophobia: In-migrants and immigrant's in Mizamoyethu*, Dodson and Oelofse (2000) contended that as much as it is impossible to analyze the outbreak of conflict without reference to socio-cultural differences between the different groups, the chief cause is embedded in economic survival. This is shown by the competition for basic services and needs (housing, social services, amenities). Tella (2016, 4) noted the gaps of the scapegoating theory stating that it fails to identify how foreign nationals are

identified by the locals. In other words, the theory does not pay attention to the distinct characteristic of foreigners that possibly makes it easier for locals to identify and ultimately scapegoat them. Tella (2016) then puts forward the bio-cultural theory to shed more light on this question.

The bio-cultural theory puts forward the argument that the phenomenon of xenophobia is caused by the biological and cultural differences between South Africans and foreign nationals. This can easily be identified by characteristics, such as language, dress, stature, and birth marks. For instance, one can easily tell if people are from West Africa if they are dressed in their cultural attire and language makes this easier, as even if foreigners speak the local language, they will not be as fluent as locals. According to Naidu and Nzuzwa (2014, 133), it is evident that in their process of reterritorializing their spaces, foreigners may never get the chance to assimilate with South African culture, making it easier to be identified as targets. Scholars like Morris (1998), Reily (2001), Steenkamp (2009), Klotz (2012), Nyamjoh (2010) and Everatt (2011) have put forward their ideas giving credence to this theory.

Morris (1998) posited that the bulk of Nigerian and Congolese immigrants in South Africa works in the informal sector and they are easily identified as foreigners because of their physical appearance, dress and more especially, their inability to understand local South African languages. In the same vein, Steenkamp (2009) contended that their language, dressing and darker skin color make it easier for foreigners to be identified. The assumption is that South Africans are lighter skinned than other nationalities. Steenkamp (2009) as well as Crush and Ramachandran (2014) agreed that people from other African countries are not usually treated equally in South Africa. They posited that people who come from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are treated better than those from countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique. This is possibly because people coming from the former countries are more like locals, in terms of the language they speak, as well as their appearance. Crush and Ramachandran (2014) also claimed that people coming from outside SADC (Southern African Development Community) such as Nigerians, Congolese, Somalis and Ethiopians, are generally persecuted more. According to Reily (2001), the South African police use distinguishing characteristics such as vaccination marks to identify immigrants. Nyamjoh (2010) agreed that police in South Africa often identify foreigners based on accents, hairstyle, clothing and sometimes immunization scars. Apparently, people who are dark skinned and do not understand South Africa's major languages are easy targets for xenophobic sentiments.

Amongst all the attributes, skin color is the most visible, hence a person who has a dark skin is usually assumed to be a foreigner. In some instances, black South Africans have been mistaken for foreigners. Scholars like Klotz (2012) have analysed how social relations have transformed from race to language from the time of apartheid, into the new democratic South Africa. He put forward the view that Ndebele-speaking Zimbabweans are easily assimilated into Ndebele-Zulu speaking South African communities. However, those Zimbabweans who speak Shona are easy to target.

The analysis that was made by Everatts (2011) regarding the May 2008 xenophobic outbreak revealed that some of the South Africans, especially those from Limpopo (Shangaans and Tsongas) were targeted because their attackers were not aware there were South African locals.

Drawing from the above discussion, it is evident that to better understand the existence of xenophobia in South Africa, it is necessary to use a combination of all three theories. It would be a mistake to analyse xenophobia from only one perspective. Therefore, a thorough analysis must acknowledge the circumstances of South Africa's apartheid isolation, post-apartheid socio-economic circumstances as well as the influx and distinguishable features of immigrants.

2.5.3 The manifestations of xenophobia in South Africa

Drawing on the works of Landau (2011), South Africans tend to perceive foreigners as a threat and blame them for the country's socio-economic ills. Using the triadic theory as lenses, I argue that the hostility between members of different groups usually emanates from competition over material interests. Akinola (2014, 57) strengthened this view and proposed that "individual vulnerability to economic and political deprivations that breed unemployment, low income and declining standards of living can generate xenophobia". A number of scholars have argued that it is the people suffering from poor economic conditions who generally perceive outgroups as threats to their livelihood (Mosselson 2010; Akinola, 2014; Adjai & Lazaridis, 2015). Articulated in many discourses, most of the popular views and perceptions are based on crime and "the image of a subtle invasion of South African territory" (Vigneswaran, 2007, 144). This is perceived to be illegitimate competition for scarce resources and opportunities – like jobs and social services (Pretorius and Blaauw, 2015, 810). These perceptions, myths and rumors seem to muster up collective action that can be recognized in different contexts-xenophobic or as criminality. According to Crush *et al.* (1999) as cited in Vigneswaran (2007), the construction of these triggering attitudes is often exacerbated through a variety of sources, particularly the media. As argued by Crush *et al.* (1999),

“scapegoating tendencies and public rhetoric of fear and loathing collectively shape and define the contours of symbolic threat posed by immigrants. That is, they transform diverse migrant groups in the public imagination as an undifferentiated mass, representing a menace and threat to the well-being and security of host populations.”

Scholars like Chiumbu and Moyo (2018, 136) asserted that mainstream media usually depicts migrant people negatively which in turn constructs negative stereotyping and victimization of migrant people. An article in the Mercury newspaper of 18 April 2017 (page 5) indicates that ‘floods’ of foreigners entering the country embolden the already prevailing fears and defensive attitudes of the society and can directly contribute to violence – verbal and physical. Nyamnjoh (2006, 142) proposed that “the careless use of the word ‘illegal’ when referring to migrants lends credence to them being labelled as criminals”. Nyamnjoh further purported that the label ‘illegal’ legitimizes police abuses and community ‘justice’ by placing the migrant as a criminal deserving of punishment. Premised on the latter, the report issued out by the UNHCR (2015, 23) articulated that “historical and current institutional factors have combined with the country’s socio-economic configurations to promote and sustain xenophobia and hostility towards foreign nationals as they continue to construct the South African citizen as ‘exceptional’ while rendering the migrant, particularly the poor African migrant, the ‘violable other’”. However, the creation of modern states came with an extensive framework of human rights and laws that oblige states to tolerate and accept people from other nations to visit, tour and trade in their states (Bloch, 2010; Kang’ethe and Duma, 2011). However, even though most countries adhere to international pacts and human rights laws that respect immigrant rights and human security, it has not been easy for most migrant people who often suffer from violence against foreigners (Kang’ethe and Duma, 2011).

In South Africa, xenophobia became the subject of public discourse and attracted international and regional concern when two Senegalese and one Mozambican were thrown from a moving train by a group of citizens who were blaming foreigners for their socio-economic plights (Adam and Moodley, 2015). This incident was a build-up to the shocking wave of violent xenophobic attacks that South Africa experienced in May 2008. The xenophobic actions were especially directed against migrants of African descent (Kang’ethe and Duma, 2011; Akinola, 2014). Furious South African citizens are said to have started the violent attacks and looting of foreigners’ property in the informal settlements and townships in the outskirts of Johannesburg, with the violence

spreading across the country, especially in the cities (Dodson, 2010, 3; Cabane, 2015, 56; Monson, 2015, 39). The violent episodes that continued for almost two weeks painted South Africa with a black brush and compromised how it was viewed in the regional and international sphere (Kange'ethe and Duma, 2011; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015). After almost seven years, once again in April 2015, South Africa was plunged into weeks of terror with the reoccurrence of the xenophobic attacks (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015, 20; Krönke, 2015, 1). According to Tella (2016, 2), "the 2015 attacks were ostensibly triggered by a speech by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in which he allegedly asked foreigners to pack their belongings and go back to their countries because they were enjoying South African resources at the expense of locals". Using the constructivism lenses, it is evident that the words of the Zulu king emanated from the dormant perceptions of the society towards 'outsiders'. As several scholars put it, there is a strong belief that 'outsiders' ostensibly threaten the economic livelihoods of the citizens of South Africa (Akinola, 2014; Krönke, 2015; Monson 2015). These views also validate the assumptions of the Triadic Conflict theory which propound that behaviour plays a major role in perpetuating a conflict situation. Therefore, it would not be wrong to suggest that the king's behaviour incited violence. The sporadic attacks that had been happening prior to the 2015 attacks indicate that the feelings of contempt had not been resolved since the May 2008 attacks. Feelings appear to have been dormant and tension was building up – the situation was a ticking time bomb waiting to be triggered. Undeniably the king's words exacerbated the situation.

Outbursts of xenophobic violence are usually characterised by the sporadic looting of property and goods from foreign owned shops (Commey, 2013; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015; Tshishonga, 2015). With the influx of migrants from different African countries, job opportunities are squeezed; hence, most migrants (especially those that do not have educational qualifications) turn to other socio-economic means of survival by creating small formal and informal businesses (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015; Tshishonga, 2015). However, the creation of these businesses often infuriates the locals and instigates xenophobic violence in the form of looting and burning down of both formal and especially informal businesses (Commey, 2013; Tshishonga, 2015). Poor (mostly black) South African nationals often justify their actions by claiming foreign nationals are responsible for their socio-economic plights like unemployment, poor service delivery and housing problems (Dodson, 2010, 5). Locals feel entitled to some of the informal businesses owned by foreign nationals who they believe have stolen their birth right and illegally shared fruits from South

Africa's new democracy (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013; Commey 2013; Crush & Ramachandran, 2014; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015)

Though the predominant images associated with xenophobia are the violent attacks, the phenomenon manifests in many subtle and non-violent ways, which makes it difficult to measure and report its true extent (Sigsworth, 2010; Akinola, 2014). Most migrants in South Africa have experienced and endured more insidious forms of xenophobia daily for as long as they have been in the country. "These forms include not only physical violence, but verbal and psychological abuse, structural and institutionalized violence, as well as the cultural and ethnic discrimination" (Sigsworth *et al.*, 2008, 1). Derogatory terms like '*kwere kwere*'²⁵ have been used often to refer to migrants (Matsinhe, 2011; Nyamjoh, 2014; Pretorious and Blaauw, 2015). Commey (2013) and Akinola (2014) further purported that in some instances, xenophobic attitudes are clearly evident when professional and legal migrants are restricted or denied career opportunities based on their foreignness. A massive pool of research and debate has emerged attributing xenophobia to racial discrimination, classism and social inequality and the general dislike of the influx of foreigners in South Africa (Reitzes, 2009; Richards, 2009; Greenburg, 2010; Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013; Akinola, 2014; Sebola and Tsheola, 2015; Tshishonga, 2015).

According to Sigsworth *et al.* (2008), xenophobia in South Africa is exhibited in several ways. "This ranges from everyday street-level abuse to discrimination and harassment by government officials and recurring bouts of popular xenophobic violence in varying intensity and scale" (UNHCR, 2012, 20). A number of scholars provide strong evidence and argue that 'outsiders', a group that encapsulates non-nationals, domestic living and working in South Africa encounter discrimination (Landau *et al.*, 2004).

Landau proposed that this discrimination is usually perpetuated by government officials, the police and the private organizations that are contracted with the mammoth task of "managing service provision and of managing detention and deportation processes". Specifically, 'outsiders' that hail from other African countries face disparate difficulties "in accessing employment, accommodation banking services, healthcare along with extortion, targeted corruption, arbitrary arrest, detention and deportation (Landau *et al.*, 2005; Crush, 2008; UNHCR, 2015). This validates the assumptions

²⁵ '*Kwere kwere*' is a derogatory term derived from the Xhosa language referring to nationals from African states (Gordon, 2007).

presented by the structural violence theory. Premised on the assumptions that structural violence is subtle, it is evident that social structures harm or disadvantage individuals. Designed to regulate the movement of people across borders, the immigration system, however, has also grown to be a driving force in instigating social violence and harm to those identified as ‘outsiders’. Arrest, detention and deportation seem central to any country’s immigration policy and over the past twenty years these practices have often been carried out in unscrupulous ways (Amit, 2010; Bloch, 2010). Xenophobic incited violence has become a longstanding feature in post-apartheid South Africa. Since independence in 1994, a large number of people have fallen victim to harassment, attacks and killings premised on their status as ‘outsiders’ or foreign nationals (Greenburg, 2010; Akinola, 2014; Krönke, 2015). Xenophobic violence has become prevalent across townships and informal settlements (Palmary *et al.*, 2003; Hickel, 2014; Monson, 2015).

Drawing on the works of Fuller (2008, 3), the violent attacks can be labeled as opportunistic crimes and conflict over resources. The situation has become sufficiently alarming to have become a driving force to round table meetings and discussions to solve the issue. The *African Peer Review Mechanisms Country Report on South Africa* cautioned that, “xenophobia against other Africans is currently on the rise and must be nipped in the bud” (Johwa, 2008).²⁶ More than a decade after the intense 2008 outburst, it is evident that anti-xenophobic violence has recurred over the years; hence, scholars like Abdi (2011, 693) asserted that “even though South Africans are prejudiced against African migrants the location where those attacks occur remain specific”. Abdi’s assumptions allude to the fact that it is rare to hear of migrants and refugees being harassed and killed in rich suburban areas in South Africa, nor do white citizens and white migrants seek their livelihoods in townships and informal settlements. As Mngxitama (2008, 177) put it, “there are no white *kwere kweres* in South Africa”. Thus ‘xenophobia’ is actually ‘Afrophobia’.²⁷ Misago *et al.* (2009, 2) argued that violence incited against migrants is best understood as “rooted in the micro politics of township and informal settlement”. Although there had been violence before, the violence was more intense and widely analyzed in May 2008 when attack across the country left approximately “62

²⁶The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is a self-monitoring instrument voluntarily agreed to by member states of the African Union. It is used by member countries to self-monitor all aspects of their governance and socio-economic development.

²⁷Xenophobia is the irrational fear of the unknown. It specifically relates to the fear or hatred of those of a different nationality Steenkamp (2009). This paper subscribes to the notion that the attacks in South Africa were mainly directed at fellow blacks Africans and this is where the term Afrophobia stems from.

people dead, 670 wounded, dozens raped and more than 1000 displaced” (Commeey, 2013). Landau (2011) put forward the idea that amongst the victims, a third of those who were killed were South African nationals known or suspected to have married foreigners. As much as these attacks bring up anti-immigrant memories, it is fundamental to be aware of the different sources of violent exclusion that have emerged from the country’s volatile and varied socio-political configurations. These views strengthen the assumption that violence is indeed socially constructed. Those who married foreigners were perceived to have betrayed the other citizens, hence, they suffered the same fate as the other foreign nationals during the attacks. Regardless of official claims that the government and the South African society had “moved on” (Black Sash, 2009), the violence did not end. Instead violent attacks on foreign nationals took on disturbing proportions that went on unreported. Since May 2008, there have been random and sporadic attacks against foreign nationals perceived to be jeopardizing South Africans’ security.

2.6 A review of the theoretical perspective of how the concept of security has evolved with time

According to Owens (2012, 551), “there are several theoretical perspectives that can be used to explain the development of the concept of security in International Relations.” Some of the theories include realism, liberalism, feminism and human security. According to Burgess and Grans (2011, 89), the state is seen as the main object of security and the one responsible for providing security in the international system. There are various key conceptual and theoretical debates around the concept of security in international relations. One of the theoretical debates is premised on the theory of realism. Glaser (2016), as cited in Collins (2016), noted that the theory of realism is widely embraced as the dominant theory of international politics. Realist driven debates play a pertinent role in influencing contemporary debate over national security and foreign policies. Baylis (2013) noted that there are a few key points that guide the functioning of realism. The first point is that the international system is anarchic: “In this context, anarchy does not refer to state behavior, it does not mean international relations are chaotic. Instead, anarchy describes the lack of authority in the international system.” Secondly, realists view power as the most important and defining feature of a state – survival is for the most powerful (Baylis and Smith, 2013, 108). As such, realists like Mearshiemer (2007) propounded that the main goal for all states is to lead and dominate in the international system. “According to this view, states always desire more power and are willing, if

the opportunity arises to alter or compromise the existing distribution of power in their favor (Baylis and Smith, 2013). This view concurs with Glaser (2016) as cited in Collins (2016), who emphasized that the anarchic nature of states is intrinsically intertwined with acquiring power. With the absence of international authority, states rely on their capabilities to achieve international goals. The conventional security (realists and neo-realists) approach²⁸ proffered by traditional theorists in politics which included the likes of Hans Morgenthau, E.H Carr and Karl Max, emphasized protection of the state or territory as the referral point of security.

As with realism where the issue of security is tied to the functioning of the state, the proponents of liberalism are of the view that world peace and security can only be attained and sustained if state actors are willing to co-operate with each other (Moravcsik, 2010). According to Patrick Morgan as cited in Collins (2016, 30), the liberalist tradition is rooted in the works of the philosopher Immanuel Kant. Collins (2016, 30) asserted that Kant advocated that “moral behavior resulted from moral choices that are guided by an inner sense of duty in individuals”. For instance, when individuals behaved according to duty, they were considered being moral (Williams, 2012). Immanuel Kant propounded that the only form of government which was justifiable was a republican government – an environment guided by constitutional rule, where monarchs ruled according to the law. He argued that republican states were peace producers because of the rule of law which inclined them to maintain peace. However, in his 1795 essay ‘Perpetual Peace’, Kant noted that being republican was not sufficient to guarantee world peace. The situation of international relations, its anarchic nature, unstable power balance and the inevitability of conflict and war endangered the republican state and made it difficult for liberal political orders to maintain their republican or liberal condition. Kant’s work refuted the realist argument that the concept ‘balance of power’ perpetuated the maintenance and achievement of peace. He argued that the idea was a fallacy “since it is the desire of every state, or its ruler to arrive at a condition of perpetual peace by conquering the whole world if that were possible” (Kant and Reiss, 1991, 103).²⁹ Liberal theorists recognize a wider set of values embedded in the concept of the state and state security. In

²⁸ The realist and neo-realist school of thought put much emphasis on the state as the significant referent of security, both as the lens through which the phenomenon of security can be comprehended, as well as the tool by which the phenomenon is retained and restored (Morgenthau *et al.*, 1979).

²⁹ These arguments even concurred with the views of other vocal realists like John Mearsheimer who articulated that the struggle for power would always make states to compromise going beyond the regulated rules so long it suited their interests in their quest for power.

other words, liberalists focus more on the state as a referent of security as well (Keohane and Nye, 2001)

However, feminist scholars like Cynthia Enloe, J. Ann Tickner and Amina Mama diverge from the idea of the state being the main referent of security; instead they proposed the idea of security is more concerned with the livelihood of women and other marginalized minority groups. Feminists have argued against the core concepts of International Relations together with the study of war and peace for decades (Wibben, 2010). Most of the work that feminists have written on issues concerning peace, war and violence try to bring out a clear picture of women's roles in peacemaking as well as war fighting (Enloe, 2000; Mama, 2014). Immediately after the end of the cold war in the early 1990s, feminists began to voice their concerns about 'security'. J. Ann Tickner published *Gender in International Relations: Feminists perspectives on achieving Global security* in 1992 and a year later, Betty Reardon wrote *Women and Peace: Feminists visions of Global security*. Though these women emphasised global security, they also provided groundbreaking arguments on the ongoing security debate regarding the state vs individual security (Wibben, 2010). They drew from traditional feminists approaches that include eradicating violence and a commitment to social justice for the marginalized. One feminist writer whose work has been a bastion of feminist security studies in international relations is Cynthia Enloe (1983, 2000, and 2004). Her work mostly focuses on the linkages between militarism, masculinity and women's lives. She upheld the feminist slogan "the personal is political in the international spaces and unveils how women are not recognized in international relations" (Enloe 1990, 195). She clearly highlighted how economic and security interests are intertwined, showcasing the relationship between structural and other forms of violence. According to Enloe (2004, 3), "all that is needed is feminist curiosity, where one takes all women's lives seriously, listening carefully, digging deeper, developing long attention span, being ready to be surprised". Basically, feminists argue that traditional security discourses in International Relations are flawed because they do not include the security of women and other marginalized groups (Edwards and Ferstman, 2010).

However, amid this debate, human security theorists have also deconstructed the concept of security, claiming it is about more than the state, preferring it to be more about the people (Chandler, 2004; Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012). Human security can be defined as safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions

in the patterns of daily life (UNDP, 1994). Considering the protection of human rights, personal security is relevant. It entails the protection of persons from violence whether from the state or external states, violent individuals or sub-state factors and domestic abuse.

Human security is people centered because it concerns how people live and breathe in society, how safely and freely they can exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities, whether they live in conflict or peace, how confident they can feel that the opportunities they enjoy one day will not be totally lost. (Fuentes & Rosa Aravena, 2005, 31)

More recently, the African Union (AU), in its Non-Aggression and Common Defense pact, included human security “in its vision of a united and strong Africa, based on respect for the principles of co-existence, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of member states, mutual, respect for individual sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state (Human Security Report, 2010). As such, up to today it has defined human security as:

The security of the individual in terms of satisfaction of his or her basic needs. It also includes the creation of social, economic, political, environmental and cultural conditions necessary for the survival and dignity of the individual, the protection of and respect for human rights, good governance and the guarantee for each individual of the opportunities and choices for his or her full development.

As stated by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), human security comprises anything that is empowering for individuals: human rights, economic social and cultural rights, access to education, health care and equal opportunities in all aspects. However, even though most countries oblige to international pacts and human rights laws pertaining to respecting immigrant rights and human security, it has not been easy for most migrant people who suffer negative experiences like the manifestation of xenophobia (Kang’ethe and Duma, 2011).

For the purposes of this study, adopting the hypothetical perspective of the human security framework brings to the fore the importance of prioritizing the security of the individual over that of the state. It is also important to note that the feminist perspective sheds more light on the importance of strengthening the human security framework. Not only does it consider the individual, it specifically focuses on reinforcing the security of individuals who are identified to be

part of the marginalized minority, which includes women, children, refugees and migrant people. It helps in addressing the underlying insecurities often encountered by the marginalized minority.

2.7 Understanding the concept of human security in International Relations

The aftermath of World War 2 in 1945 saw the development of groundbreaking concepts that still guide states in the international system. According to Scheinin (2016) under the principle of universality, the United Nations adopted the UN Charter (1945) while the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted as a resolution by the UN general assembly in 1948. These monumental decisions reiterated the principle that every human being is entitled to inalienable rights and as such addressed the questions of how territorial states should treat their own nationals as well as the nationals from other countries (Bloch, 2010; Scheinin, 2016).

An assessment of the human security implications of xenophobia and gender-based violence on the lives of the Zimbabwean migrant women can be situated within the framework of the human security concept. In the global discourse, the term ‘human security’ gained prominence in the 1990s at the end of the cold war between Russia and the USA. The term was officially coined in the 1994 United Nations Development Report and it proffered the definition which envisaged the protection of all human beings from both physical and non-physical threats (UNDP, 1994). A number of scholars have broadened the definition of human security to encapsulate “securing of people, their physical safety, their economic well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings and the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedoms” (Buzan, 1991; International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), 2001; Chandler, 2004; Tibaijuka, 2005; Dzimir and Runhare, 2012).

The UNDP report recognized the interdependence between security and development as the two main components of human life and human dignity (Katja, 2007). It listed seven dimensions of human security which entailed economic security, personal security, food security, health security, political security community security and environmental security. Isike and Owusu-Ampomah (2017, 3181) posited that “the human security framework accommodates a wider range of issues that not only constitute threats to human existence, but also breed insecurity and societal anarchy. It views security from the perspective of human well-being and includes broad issues of human concern such as security from poverty, disease, famine, illiteracy, environmental plundering and

unemployment, which singly or jointly, contribute to the impairments of human existence” (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 2.1: The elements of human security

Themes	Description
Community security	Protection of cultural and religious values, social cohesion.
Economic security	Employment, basic income, access to social safety net, education and vocational training, protection against unemployment.
Environmental security	Access to water, freedom from environmental despoliation.
Food security	Access to basic food, quality of nutrition, share of household budget for food.
Health security	Access to healthcare systems and quality of care, access to safe and affordable family planning, prevention of HIV and AIDS, poor hygiene, teenage pregnancy, substance abuse and general well-being.
Personal security	Safety from violent crime, all forms of physical abuse, rape and gender based violence based on sexual orientation
Political security	Civic participation, protection of human, women and girl's rights

Source: Isike and Owusu-Ampomah., 2017

In *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability: The Global Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*, Nef (1999) asserted that the concept of human security entails the existence of various dimensions that are linked together, focusing on human dignity and upholding human rights. The first dimension is environmental, personal, and physical security, which entails that communities and individuals have the right to ensure that their lives and health are preserved and that they can live in a safe and sustainable environment. The second dimension is economic security which focuses on the individual and community’s access to employment and resources that are essential to maintain one’s livelihood and improving their standard of living. The third dimension is social security which suggests that individuals need to be free from discrimination based on different social identities like, age, gender, ethnicity, or their social status. As Nef (1999, 18) further

asserted “this implies ‘safety nets, knowledge and information, as well as an ability to associate.” The fourth dimension is political security which posits that individuals have got the right to be represented politically, freedom of participation and the power to make decisions or choices that can effect change. This also includes legal security which notes the importance of every individual to have access to justice and protection from abuse. The fifth dimension is cultural security which entails “the set of psychological orientations of society geared to preserving and enhancing the ability to control uncertainty and fear (see Nef *et al.*, 1989).

2.8 The nexus between human security and gender

Since the inception of the notion of human security there have been protracted debates about its relevance in academia and in policy making (Christie, 2010; Marhia, 2013). The salient idea that emerges from the concept of human security is shifting the state as the main referent of security (Buzan, 2008; Christie, 2010; Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012). As cited in Christie (2010, 173), Edwards Newman (2001) gives a clear definition of security and argued that “in its broadest sense, ‘human security’, seeks to place the individual or people collectively as the referent of security”. Christie (2010) then argued that individual security does not break away from the state and the international system. This view concurs with the views of an International Relations constructivist Barry Buzan, who in his book, *People, States and Fear* (2008) pointed out how the concept is ‘too narrowly founded’ (14). Buzan’s main lenses of reality look and address security from all angles and he does not dismiss the idea that the individual is intricately interconnected with the state and the international system (Buzan, 2008; Stone, 2009). The growing paradigm of human security has attracted the evolving body of gender scholarship which includes critical feminists’ engagements (Hudson 2005; Hoogensen and Stuvoy, 2006; Christie, 2010 and Marhia, 2013).

Though the concept of human security claims to bring all the focus on the security of an individual, gender analysts poignantly posit that the construction of the security concept does not address the security needs of those who are marginalized. The complacency that international actors have about the “wholeness of the human security notion risks overlooking the fact that certain human rights can be undermined” (Hudson, 2005, 163). Therefore, most gender scholarship on security claims the concept often overlooks gender violence (domestic or sexual) and violence against marginalized groups (Hoogensen and Stuvoy, 2006). According to Hudson (2005, 157), the understanding of

issues concerning human security has to be widened to encompass the security concerns that specifically concern women. The feminist perspective argues that deconstructing femininity or masculinity into the term 'human' risks shadowing the gendered standpoint of security studies. "The term 'human' is presented as though it were gender-neutral, but very often it is an expression of the masculine" (Hoogensen and Stuvoy, 2006, 210). As cited in Hoogensen and Stuvoy (2006, 211), Blanchard (2003) and Burgess (2004) posited that the significant work that is usually done by gender International Relations scholars is normally not well received within mainstream security literature. From the outside, gender and security are analytically and politically compatible and scholars like Heidi Hudson have viewed the issue as complicated (Hudson, 2005, 161). This is because gender is not only intertwined with security. It is linked to other identities like class, ethnicity, race, nationality and sexuality which all intricately lead to a chain of inequalities. This concurs with the views of Carpenter (2005) cited in Hoogensen and Stuvoy (2006). Carpenter argued that, "when we discuss inequalities that exist between different identities, the inequalities are even augmented when gender comes into play".

According to Steans (2013, 2), gender is seen as the common and natural belief that one is either male or female. As cited in Butler (1990, 8), de Beauvoir (1973) noted that, "one is not born a woman or male but rather becomes one". De Beauvoir further noted that one can only develop into being a woman or a male under a social, cultural or religious obligation to be one. This is corroborated by Fagbeminiyi and Oluwatoyin (2010, 1) who stated that in the African society, roles distinctively define one's gender, for instance if one is female one is expected to follow the female gender roles which include house duties and child bearing while male roles usually include headship of the family. These views also concur with Hoogensen and Stuvoy (2006, 218) who stated that "gender is not fixed, rigid or static; rather, owing to the power dynamics of the gender identity, it is often subject to reification and essentialism by dominant discourses (attempting to make the dominant view of men's and women's roles and identities 'natural')". This therefore means that gender identity is how we (are constructed to) distinguish ourselves and what we (are made to) call ourselves. Steans (2013, 2) stimulated an interesting discussion of how "the belief of gender often gives rise to prejudices against groups and individuals who confound gender stereotypes". Reddy and Butler (2004, 119) concurred with this view and put forward the idea that "social conditions that determine us absolutely, restrict us absolutely and produce victims of us all". In other words, the general assumption that women are the weaker sex augments their vulnerability. As cited in

Alexander and Mohanty (2013), African feminists like Amina Mama (1997) stated that “prevailing gender ideologies have much bearing on the types of violence that are manifested in a given context”. Marhia (2013, 3) propounded that human security is complex as the term ‘human’ can be deconstructed to mean that some humans are more *human* than others. Marhia (2013, 3), drawing from the work of Judith Butler, explained:

Sometimes the very terms that confers ‘humanness’ on some individuals are those that deprive certain other individuals of the possibility of achieving that status, producing a differential between the human and the less-than-human. The human is understood differently depending on its race, the legibility of that race, its morphology, the recognisability of that morphology, its sex, the perceptual verifiability of that sex, its ethnicity, the categorical understanding of that ethnicity. Certain humans are recognized as less than human, and that form of qualified recognition does not lead to a viable life. Certain humans are not recognized as human at all, and that leads to yet another order of unlivable life.

International feminist scholars like Susan McKay have argued that girls and women experience human insecurity differently from the way males would do, and they are subjected to gender hierarchies and power inequalities that perpetuate their insecurities (McKay, 2004). According to the 1994 United Nations Development Program report, “in no society are women secure or treated equally to men. Personal insecurity shadows them from cradle to grave And from childhood through adulthood they are abused because of their gender.” As noted by Ulf Kristifferson, Humanitarian coordinator of the joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS, cited in McKay (2004, 153), whether it is economic security, food security, health security, personal security or political security women and young girls are affected in a very specific way due to their physical, emotional and material differences and due to the important social, economic and political inequalities existing between women and men. Drawing from feminist driven arguments by Christie (2010), the term ‘human security’ sheds light on to the ways woman and children suffer from all forms of violence during conflict situations. These scholars refine the concept to distinctively mean women and children. However, this approach on human security is criticized by Hoogensen and Stuvoy (2006, 216) who did not condone the naturalization of gendered identities.

The concept human security is applied to the case of women: an apparently objectively defined concept is used to identify insecurities experienced by women, and that appears to suffice. There is a difference between ‘women’ and ‘gender’; however, gender does not mean solely women.

In support of these views, feminists have argued that human security should be defined by those who are marginalized and the least secure (Hoogensen, 2003). This view concurs with Owens (2004) who articulated that security should be determined by level of severity. As cited in Hoogensen and Stuvoy (2006, 210), Blanchard (2003) argued that the minds that were behind traditional state-based security were influenced by masculine and patriarchal structures that only note that security can only be defined from a point of privilege. Gender analysis tries to deconstruct security to be more about the voices that experience insecurity in all its variations and manifestations (Hoogensen and Stuvoy, 2006).

2.9 The gendered nature of xenophobia

Women are caught in the midst of the protracted prevalence of xenophobia and human insecurity. Kwar (2004) articulated that the increasing feminization of migration means that the vulnerability of women migrants to exploitation, abuse and discrimination also increases. Women from all walks of life in Africa migrate to South Africa seeking better economic opportunities and better living standards (Gouws, 2010; Muzvidziwa, 2015). However, despite the possible chances of improving their lives and those of the families they left behind in their home countries, there are many disadvantages and perils that women face compared to men (Kwar, 2004; Sigsworth, 2010). While there are certainly no boundaries as to who is affected by the prevalent intolerances and dislike of foreigners in South Africa, scholars like Sigsworth, Pino and Ngwane (2008) are of the view that there is a gendered perspective to xenophobia which is easily overlooked. Therefore, Sigsworth (2010, 2) articulated that in the wake of the recurring episodes of violence, “female migrants were unduly affected, not only because the violence was played out on the site of their bodies (through beatings and rape), but also because the violence was directed towards their homes (through burning and looting), which in many cases is symbolic of a woman’s family and is perceived as a place of safety and security”. Akinola (2014) stated that besides violence, xenophobia manifests itself in a non-violent manner. As such, research conducted by the Centre for Study of Violence and Reconciliation before and after the May 2008 violent attacks revealed that foreign women endured

xenophobic attitudes from South African nationals in their day to day lives. Most women encounter this phenomenon in the public spaces that they make use of daily, for instance at work or in public transport (Sigsworth *et al.*, 2008).

Most scholarly research work asserts that there are several challenges that migrant women encounter as they fend for survival in South Africa. In most cases, they encounter problems when trying to access public services (Bloch, 2010; Crush and Tawodzerwa, 2014; Scheinin, 2016). For instance, often migrants have had to face medical xenophobia³⁰ when trying to access health care facilities (Sigsworth *et al.*, 2008; Moyo, 2010; Vearey, 2008; Vearey and Nunez, 2010; Crush and Tawodzerwa, 2014). Migrant women are often recipients of poor treatment from public health providers at clinics and hospitals (Lefko-Everett, 2007). Scholars like Crush and Tawodzerwa (2017) reiterated that medical xenophobia is in fact a reality that migrant women endure daily in public health facilities in South Africa. These kinds of incidences portray how the human security of most migrant women is violated. Aside from medical xenophobia, according to Nyamnjoh (2006), there is also a damaging tendency of nationalizing crime attributed to foreigners. Zimbabwean women are labeled as prostitutes; Nigerians are associated with controlling the drug trade; Congolese are identified with passport fraud and diamond smuggling. Nyamnjoh (2006) further stated that this criminalization is exacerbated using subtle terms like ‘illegal’ or ‘alien’. Reiterating the idea posed by Sigsworth *et al.*, (2008) of women being in double jeopardy, international scholars like Conry (2015) have described how migrant women are also victims of sexual and gender-based violence.³¹ Being a migrant is not the only condition for their vulnerability but the fact that they are women exacerbates this. Sigsworth (2010, 2) propounded that while there are significant reports of women being raped emanating from anti-foreign sentiments, in a country where sexual gender-based violence is pervasive, it proves challenging to know whether rapes were instigated by xenophobic attitudes or simply by violent lawlessness. This clearly illuminates the vulnerability of migrant women (Fuller, 2008).

³⁰ I use the term ‘medical xenophobia’ to refer to the poor and inhuman treatment that migrants usually receive when they try to access public health care facilities based on their foreignness, nationality or place of origin.

³¹ According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) report of 2014 Gender based violence refers to any harmful act incited on individuals or person based on their gender. It may include sexual violence, domestic violence, trafficking, forced/early marriage and harmful traditional practices.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at unpacking the concepts of migration, xenophobia and human security. It focuses on the concept of international migration shedding more light on some of the essential concepts of migration like mobility and transmigration. The chapter also focused on understanding the concept transnationalism and how it plays an important role when it comes to understanding through gender lenses.

A comprehensive definition of xenophobia was also important. There are number of definitions for xenophobia; one of the simplest by Moge kwu (2005) is “the fear and dislike of foreigners”. The chapter went on to look at the several theories that are used to explain the existence of xenophobia, namely isolation theory, scapegoating theory and bio-cultural theory. A combination of these theories highlights how the existence of apartheid has helped to construct negative perceptions about foreigners, the socio-economic gaps that indicate the shortage of resources and the different cultural backgrounds that easily influence hatred and dislike.

The third part of this chapter looked at the concept of human security. It noted that the concept of human security is embedded in the idea that the individual is the main role player. Any form of security that is constructed should at the end of the day cater for the security of an individual. Traditional International Relations theorists like Hans Morgenthau, E.H Carr and Karl Max focused more on the security of the state. It was only after the end of the Cold War that nation states constructed the concept of human security to understand the vulnerabilities of the individual (Buzan 1991, Dzimir and Runhare, 2012). According to the UNDP Human Development Report of 1994, the concept of human security is understood in seven dimensions, namely economic, personal, food, health, political community and environmental security. This chapter showed how human security is constructed as a people-centered approach, putting the needs and security of the people first.

This chapter also looked at how the concept of human security is linked with gender. The concept has undoubtedly attracted an evolving body of gender scholarship comprised of mostly feminist critical engagements (Hudson, 2005; Hoogenesen and Stuvoy, 2006; Christie, 2010; Marhia, 2013). Most of research claims that as much as human security is people centered, it does not address the needs of those who are marginalized (women, children, migrant people, and the elderly). The section that covers the link between the concept of human security and gender provided a platform for better understanding the challenges of migrant women. Therefore, this chapter also looked at

how the gendered concept of xenophobia leads to insecurity concerns. It established that migrant women face the double jeopardy of being foreign and the vulnerability of being a woman (Kawar, 2004; Sigsworth, 2010). This chapter considered the predicaments of migrant women as insecurities. The next chapter describes how data was collected for this study and also explains some of the theories the study used to explain different phenomena.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework and Description of Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

As humans, we have continued to look for different ways of understanding the world that we live in and the phenomena we experience. Thus, Bertram and Christiansen (2013) and Cohen *et al.* (2007) stated that there are three major ways of better understanding the world, which are the reliance on myth or ‘folklore’, reasoning and through research. In the simplest way, research can be defined as “the process of asking questions and finding answers” (Keyton, 2001, 2). This concurs with Kothari (2004, 1) who described research as a venture which seeks pertinent scientific and systematic information on a specific topic by drawing evidence from the lived reality of research participants. It is a way of thinking, examining issues critically, comprehending them and developing new principles that guide a specific procedure, as well as formulating and testing new theories (Kumar, 2011). To gain access to the information that will assist in developing a study and giving it relevance, there is a need to use a methodological approach. Therefore, to gain a deeper insight and understanding of the experiences of Zimbabwean migrant women working in the informal sector in Durban, there was a need for a methodological schema. This chapter focuses on the methodologies and theoretical framework used in this study.

Methodology can be defined as “the general research strategy that outlines the way in which research is to be undertaken, and among other things identifies the methods to be used” (Wiles *et al.*, 2013, 22 need page number for direct quote). This view concurs with Gilbert (2015, 510) who defined it simply as “the study of research methods”. Gilbert argued that the term ‘methodology’ is often misused to mean the research methods used in a project. Methods define the means or modes of data collection and how specific data is going to be analyzed. Hence, for this study different methods are used together with a few social science theories to conduct, analyze and to ascertain the outcome of the study. Theories are essential for this study because they help to understand concepts and statements and arguments in which people set out to defend their assumptions, especially in International Relations (see Baylis and Smith 2005; McGowan *et al.*, 2012).

3.2 Theoretical framework guiding the study

According to Baylis, Smith and Owens (2004), to clearly understand the field of International politics and transformation, there are principles that serve as conceptual and theoretical frameworks. McGowan *et al.* (2007, 5) posited that theories help us gain more insight on the discourse of events and phenomena in the world. Hence, they assist individuals and states in framing better policies and decision-making. McGowan further noted that “theories help us to understand concepts and statements and arguments in which people set out to defend their assumptions about international affairs”. This study used three theories, but an additional theory was included to complement the principal theories. Marczyk *et al.* (2005, 31) articulated that “a theory is a conceptualization, or description, of a phenomenon that attempts to integrate all that we know about the phenomenon into a concise statement or question”. Gray (2004, 11) agreed, positing that “a theory consists of inter-related, concepts, definitions and propositions between variables”. Thus, each of the theories was used with the goal to define and explain an aspect that constructs human security, xenophobia and gender-based violence. McGowan *et al.* (2005, 6) extended the view on theories by stating that “theory is a system of assumptions, principles and relationships put forward to explain a specific phenomenon”. In other words, theory helps the study to construct the way of viewing a specific phenomenon. As such, scholars like Cresswell (2009, 62) put forward the idea that the theoretical lens bolsters the study’s perspective which subsequently influences the type of questions asked, informs how data will be collected and analyzed. This study advances our understanding of the insecurities and xenophobia encountered by migrant women in South Africa by using the Structural Violence Theory, Social Ecological Theory, Social Constructivism Theory and the Triadic Conflict Theory. These social science theories are intertwined for they all articulate how social structures aptly shape the development of conflict situations at the disadvantage of individuals in society. The use of these theories made it easier to bring forth the uniqueness of human security challenges that Zimbabwean migrant women encounter. This study maintained the idea that migrant women in South Africa are in double jeopardy premised on the idea that they are women and that they are foreign. This assumption was explored using these theories. The theories provide a philosophical basis to the study.

3.2.1 Structural Violence Theory

The theory was coined by a Norwegian peace and conflict researcher Johan Galtung in 1969. Galtung first defined the term violence as “the cause of difference between the potential and the

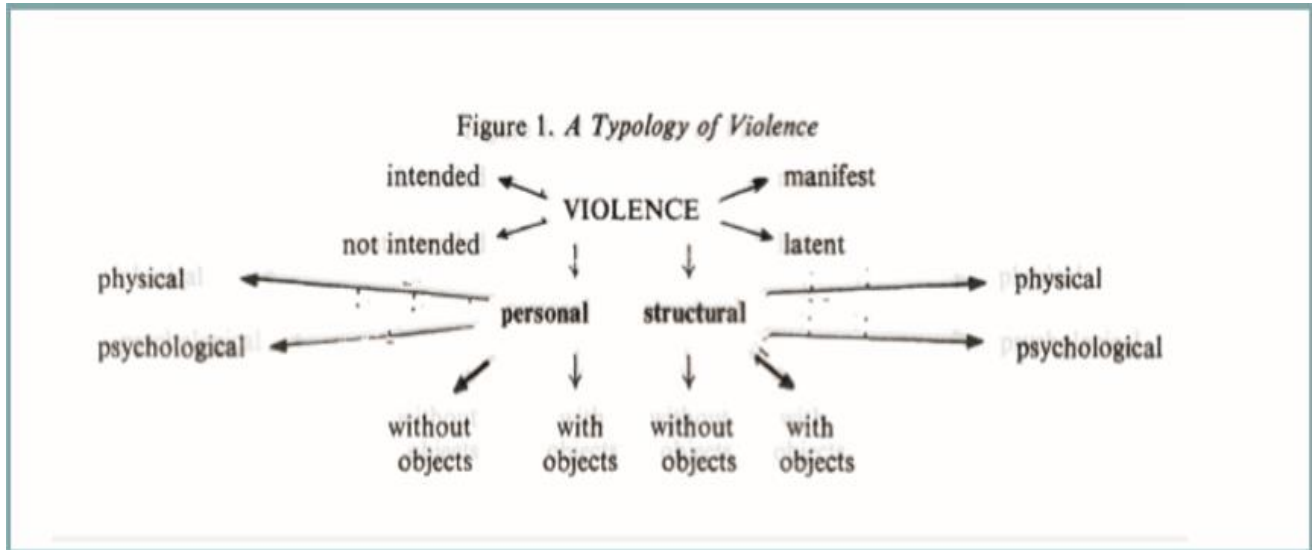
actual, between what could have been and what is” (Galtung, 1969, 168). To shed more light of the term, Galtung used the analogues of tuberculosis and the occurrence of an earthquake. He posits that if a person was to die of tuberculosis during the eighteenth century, it would have been difficult to label it as violence since it was inevitable that TB led to death. However, if a person was to die of tuberculosis today, considering all the medical resources available today, then according to Galtung’s initial definition, violence would be present. Similarly, if people were to die of an unexpected earthquake it would not be violence. But if people were to die in the future, when they may become avoidable, such deaths maybe said to be a result of violence. “In other words, when the potential is higher than the actual it is avoidable, then violence is present” (Galtung, 1969, 169). At the heart of the Structural Violence Theory is the discourse on how “social structures – economic, political, legal, religious, cultural, stop, hinder or limit individuals, groups, and societies from reaching their full potential” (Galtung, 1969, 168). Burtle (2013) explained that “structural violence refers to the systematic ways in which social structures harm or otherwise disadvantage individuals”. Like Galtung (1969), Farmer (2005) and Ho (2007) noted that structural violence is often subtle and invisible and frequently, the cause of the consequences cannot be directly pinned to specific human effort. As such, Farmer (2005, 40) posited some examples of social structures that can be responsible for limiting individual agency, which include “racism, sexism, political violence, poverty and diseased bodies”.

This theory is relevant to this study because it enabled me to understand that the manifestations of xenophobia and gender-based violence fit in the broad term of social structures that are responsible for lowering the level of actual fulfillment of the women’s fundamental needs such as human and personal security. As such, the structural violence theory aided in providing a better understanding of why the negative experiences that Zimbabwean women encounter as they strive to make ends meet in the ‘informal sector’ are labeled as a form of insecurity and impairment to their potential.

Galtung (1969, 168) further noted that “violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations”. He went on to explain the differences between physical violence and psychological violence: “violence that works on the body, and violence that works on the soul; where the latter includes brainwashing, indoctrination of various kinds, threats, etc. that serve to decrease mental potentialities” (Galtung,

1969, 168). After describing several forms of violence, whether physical or psychological in nature, Galtung discussed the effect of structural violence as shown in the diagram (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Galtung’s Typology of Violence



From: Violence, Peace and Peace Research (Galtung, 1969, 173)

While violence between two individuals clearly points out the victim and the perpetrator, structural violence is the opposite. It is subtle and invisible, and it usually shows up as unequal power or an unfortunate life chance (Galtung, 1969, 171). Galtung explained this using a scenario: “when one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep beating one million wives in ignorance there is structural violence”. Drawing from the latter, one can aptly argue that unlike personal violence, structural violence tends to be slowly ingrained in the social structures of society. Migrant women usually find themselves isolated and subjected to prejudices in the host country, as well as affected by the backward customs and traditionalism of their countries of origin (Palmary et al., 2010).

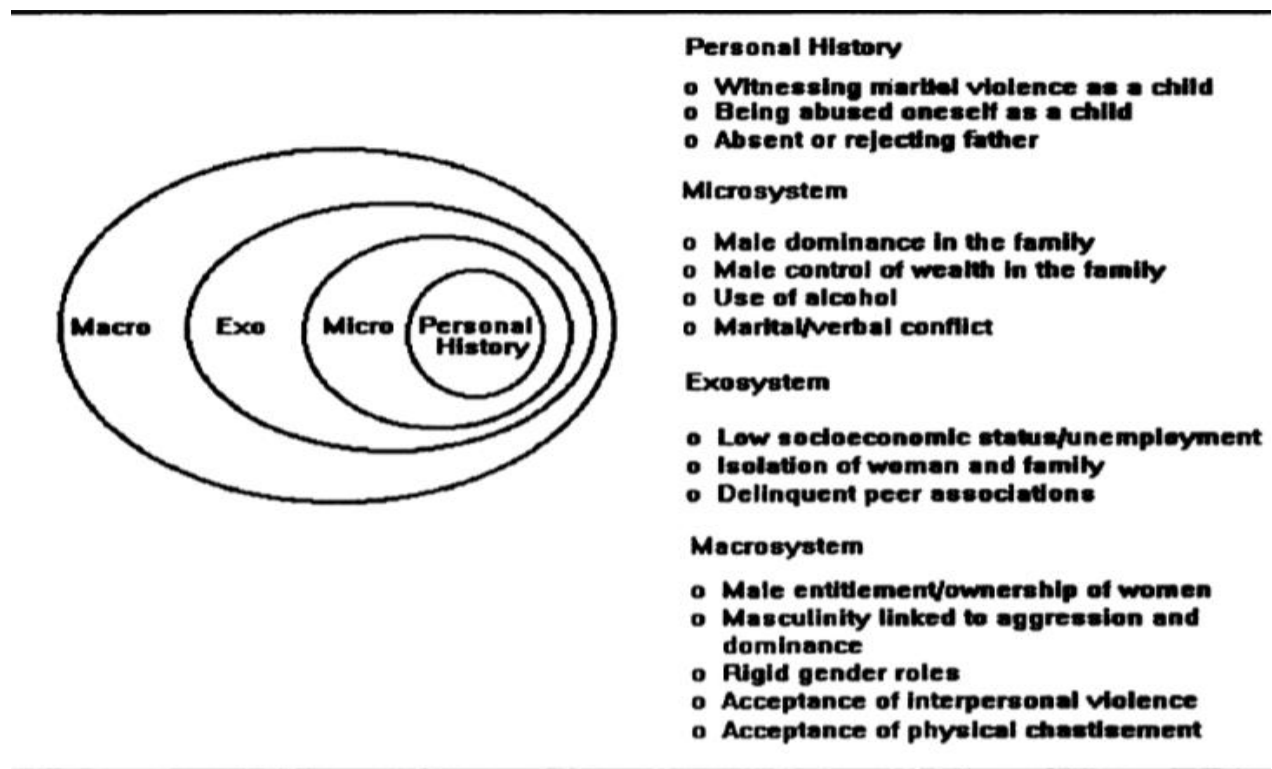
The structural violence theory helps to understand the prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa, ultimately the insecurity challenges faced by migrant women. This study advances the idea that the prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa is observed to be a product of structural gender inequalities. As much as individual women encounter incidents of interpersonal violence, the protracted existence of gender-based violence in the South African society reflects on

the present inequitable social norms and access to resources, which ultimately influence individual experiences (Scriver *et al.*, 2015).

3.2.2 Social Ecological Model

To complement the Structural Violence theory and to better understand the factors that perpetuate the risk of one being victimised, this study also used the Social Ecological Model (see Figure 3.2 below).

Figure 3.2: Social Ecological Model



Source: Violence against Women: An Integrated, Ecological Framework (Heise, 1998, 263-264)

For one to effectively conceptualize gender-based violence as, “a multifaceted phenomenon grounded in an interplay among personal, situational and socio-cultural factors”, Heise developed an ecological model of violence (Heise, 1998, 263-264). The model (see Figure 3.2) separates different personal and social levels in a bid to detect the ways in which susceptibility to violence may be increased at each level of the model. For the purposes of developing the ecological framework, Heise (1998) used a descriptive nomenclature developed by Belsky (1980) in an

investigation of child abuse and neglect. The framework adopted by Belsky consists of four levels of analysis or concentric circles (see Figure 3.2):

The innermost circle shows the personal history factors that each individual brings to his or her behavior and relationships. The next circle, the microsystem represents the immediate context in which abuse takes place, frequently the family or other intimate or acquaintance relationships. The third level encompasses the institutions and social structures, both formal and informal that embed the micro system- the world of work, neighbourhood, social networks and identity groups. And finally, the macro system represents the general views and attitudes that permeate the culture at large. (Heise, 1998, 264)

The social ecological model shows how different levels are intertwined and can be used to explain the prevalence of gender-based violence against women. The model offers a way of thinking about forms of violence that are linked across multiple levels of lived human experiences. However, scholars like Scriver *et al.* (2015) have noted that the relationship between forms of violence remains underexamined and the effects across all the ecological levels remain under conceptualized.

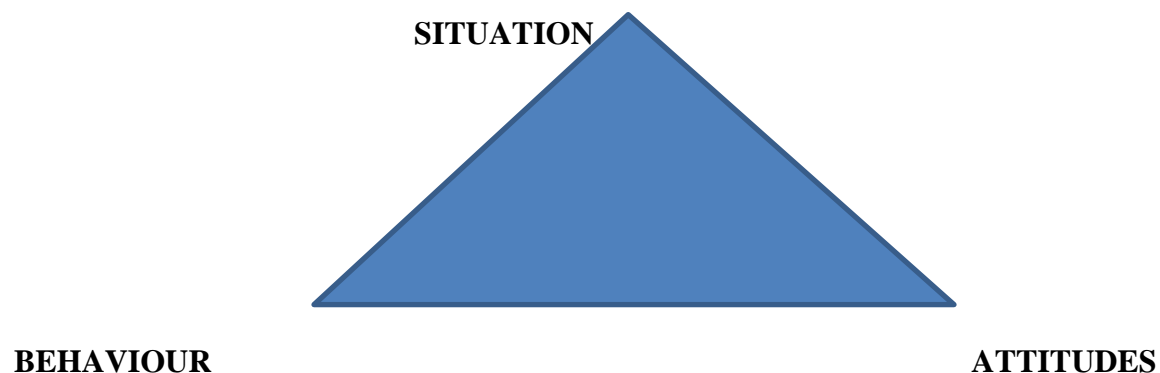
The use of the social ecological model in this study helped to shed light on the various factors that perpetuate the prevalence of violence against women. It provides a range of possible causes of violence against women. It is the contention of this study that there are a number of factors and reasons that influence the unfolding of gender-based violence in the South African society and the social ecological model helps in considering these.

3.2.3 Triadic Conflict Theory

The study also used Mitchell's triadic conflict theory (1981). As cited in Mitchell (1981, 15), Stagner (1967) asserted that "conflict is a situation in which two or more human beings desire goals which they perceive as being obtainable by one another but not both. This definition can be expanded to specify there must be at least two parties; each party must mobilize energy to obtain a goal, a desired object or situation; and each party perceives the other as a barrier or threat to that goal. According to Mitchell (1981, 15), the term 'conflict' refers to a clash of ideas which results to two or more parties making use of violence as a way of winning. Violence usually has connotations of physical damage, however, over time the existence of psychological damage has

come to be acknowledged. Mitchell (1981) further posited that one should be able to acknowledge that conflict may exist among parties, with none of the parties behaving in a manifestly violent manner. For example, one can argue that two people can be undeniably in conflict with each other if they are part of a legal case, however, both will be making use of non-violent methods to achieve certain goals. The most important element of conflict is the action of the different parties, which develops the assumption that conflict entails behaviour which involves coercion and violence. Therefore, Mitchell (1981, 16) posited that “there is little doubt that feelings of antagonism and other personal and emotional differences arising between humans singly and in groups, are important aspects of human conflict, and form part of the meaning attached to that concept”. The triadic conflict theory unpacks the development of conflict and denotes that the discourse of any conflict (‘social conflict’ or ‘international conflict’) or dispute is characterised by three interrelated components which are: conflict, situation, conflict behavior and conflict attitude and perceptions (see Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Triadic Conflict Structure



*Source: Mitchell, 1981, 16*³²

As shown in Figure 3.3, a conflict situation is a two-way process which perpetuates either conflict behaviour or conflict attitudes. Mitchell (1981, 17-18) defined a conflict situation as “any situation in which two or more social entities or parties³³ (however defined or structured) perceive that they possess mutually incompatible goals”. The major sources of incompatible goals are embedded in

³² The illustrative figure of the three-dimensional format was adapted from the work of Galtung (1969) which emphasizes that the three structural components can be analytically considered to be separate, but however in any real world with conflict, all three components are inextricably connected to each other (Mitchell, 1981, 17).

³³ The parties can either be individuals, social groups or organisations (see Mitchell, 1981, 18).

the gap between social values and social structure (Swart and Solomon, 2003, 1). As such, many conflict situations are characterized by scarcity and competition for resources.³⁴ This can be directly applied to the reasons why xenophobia against women manifests in most South African communities. It is generally believed that xenophobia emanates from the general feeling of South African citizens that migrants are responsible for their socio-economic plight (Richards, 2009; Reitzes, 2009; Greenburg, 2010; Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013; Akinola, 2014; Tshishonga, 2015; Sebola and Tsheola, 2015).

The other component of the triadic conflict structure is conflict attitude. Conflict attitudes are “the psychological states (common attitudes, emotions and evaluations as well as patterns of perception and misperception) that emanate from involvement in a situation of conflict” (Swart and Solomon, 2003, 10). These existing psychological emotions exacerbate both conflict situations and behaviour. For instance, structural, physical, psychological, verbal and institutional violence is also often experienced by Zimbabwe migrant women due to the general dislike and negative perceptions of South African citizens (Sigsworth *et al.*, 2008).

The third component of the triadic conflict structure entails the actual behaviour of individuals, parties or social groups due to incompatible goals as well as conflict attitudes. Therefore, conflict behaviour can be defined as “actions undertaken by one party in any situation of conflict aimed at the other party with the intention of making the other party abandon or modify its goals” (Mitchell, 1981, 29).

This theory is relevant to this study for it assisted in creating a deeper understanding of how some of the insecurities of the Zimbabwean migrant women are constructed. Using the different conflict components, this theory better explains the root causes of the phenomenon of xenophobia at the same time unraveling how it manifests in the women’s working spaces.

3.2.4 Social Constructivism Theory

Another theory useful in this study was Social Constructivism. Brown (2005) posited that constructivism is one of the fastest growing oppositional movements in international political affairs theory. Social constructivism, sometimes referred to as Social Constructionist Theory, claims that most of our daily experiences are shaped by society, in other words, they are socially

³⁴ *ibid* (1981, 18)

constructed rather than being an objective reality. The theory contends that human beings create mental models of the social world that justify their experiences and their own reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1991). An early constructivist, Nicholas Onuf argued that “the world in which we live is a ‘world of our making’, that things are a certain way because that is how we perceive them, we do not live in a world that has been predetermined in advance by non-human forces” (Onuf, 1989, 7). This theory argues that human knowledge is acquired through a process of active construction (Fox, 2001, 23). The theory aims to identify the different ways of shaping reality present in a culture to understand the implications of culture for human experience and social practice (Berger and Luckmann, 1991). Social reality is created from the interaction between an individual and societal group whereby the process of social interaction differentiates between what is normal and what is not normal. International Relations and political constructivist theorists like Buzan, Waever and Kelstrup (1993) developed an interest in the link between migration and security. As such, their work looks at how the social construction of interests changes individuals into foreigners who are alleged to be threats, as opposed to citizens (Waever, Buzan, Kelstrup and Lemaitre, 1993; Guild, 2009).

Social constructivism theory was relevant for this study as it enables one to better understand the social aspects of human security. The experience that most Zimbabwean migrant women have of xenophobia is socially constructed, it is acquired from the social encounters that they face through their day to day lives. Thus, social constructivism theory was essential for this study for enabling one to understand how societies construct or ‘securitise’ threats, and how society has influenced women to perceive their own experiences.

3.3 Research design

To carry out the current study, a systematic design and approach was required. A research design is essential for a research project as it holds the work plan of how data in a study will be systematically collected and analyzed to answer the critical research questions guiding the study. As Creswell *et al.* (2003) also stated “the function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence determined enables us to answer the initial questions as unambiguously as possible”. According to Creswell (2007), research design includes the selection of respondents, the gathering techniques to be used and the data analysis process. While there are many examples of research designs like experimental research, survey research, ethnography, action research, case studies and life histories,

this study used a qualitative research design. It is important to note that many studies from the discipline of international relations and conflict transformation and peace studies are not qualitatively based. Therefore, this study seeks to contribute to filling this gap – the study is empirically based and qualitative; the discussions and arguments that are drawn from politics, policy and the international relations discourse also have a qualitative angle.

Qualitative research attempts to broaden or deepen our understanding of how things come to be. The researcher studies behaviour in a natural setting, using people's accounts as data. The researcher normally focuses on reports of experience or on data which cannot be adequately expressed numerically (Creswell, 1994; Hannock, Cockleford and Windridge, 2009; Venkatesh 2013). It is through qualitative research design that a researcher can collect descriptive data, people's own words and record people's behaviour (Taylor *et al.*, 2015).

3.4 Research site

This study was conducted in the Durban Central area. As proposed by Chinomona and Maziriri (2015), the large cities in South Africa, such as Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, have become the main destination for most African migrants. Durban, being one of the largest cities in South Africa, has seen an influx of African migrants trying to find their feet in what seems to be an economic hub of the continent. Over the past ten years, reports have described the prevalence of xenophobic violence in the city of Durban (Commey, 2013; Crush & Ramachandran, 2014; Cabane, 2015). Thus, it seemed a suitable research site.

3.4.1 Sampling and sample selection techniques

For research, it is not possible to extract information from everyone. Therefore, researchers must select a sample for their study. According to Kumar (2011, 193), “sampling is the process of selecting a few (sample) from a bigger group (sampling population) to become the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger picture”.

The study sampled a total of 29 women, which included the core sample of 22 Zimbabwean women who earn a living from the ‘informal sector’ in Durban Central.³⁵ The women were all above the

³⁵ In this study the term Durban central refers to the inner city and central business district (CBD) area of the city of Durban.

age of eighteen; they were not minors, but adults with the capacity to fend for themselves. From the 22 participants, the researcher identified a few participants for deep qualitative interviews and observations.

The study also worked with a secondary sample of seven local South African women who were randomly selected. This was done to gain a brief understanding of some of the challenges and insecurities women in South Africa encounter regardless of being foreign. For an overview of the demography of the women who were part of the study, see the table below.

Table 3.1: Study Participants' Demographics

	Participant	Year Migrated	Age	Employment in South Africa	Marital Status
	Zimbabwean Migrant women				
1	Loveness	2008	39	Tailor	Married
2	Charity	2012	32	Street hairdresser	Married
3	Tendai	2012	30	Salon Hairdresser	Divorced
4	Eunice	2008	37	Salon Hairdresser	Married
5	Rufaro	2010	30	Street hairdresser	Married
6	Hildah	2007	36	Hairdresser	Married
7	Veronica	2009	49	Maid/hairdresser	Widow
10	Joyce	2008	29	Manicurist	Married
11	Mercy	2013	28	Hairdresser	Single
12	Enia	2011	26	Hairdresser	Married
13	Chipo	2013	30	Street Vendor	Divorced
14	Vivian	1999	37	Informal Creche	Divorced
15	Chirwa	2009	35	Tailor	Married
16	Claudette	2007	41	Informal Trader	Divorced
17	Dairo	2010	40	Informal creche	Divorced
18	Nyaradzo		30	Street vendor	Single
19	Revai	2008	27	Street Vendor	Married

20	Benhilda	2010	33	Vendor	Single
21	Danai	2009	35	Stall vendor	Married
22	Petronella		45	Internet cafe	Widow
South African Local Women					
	Participant	Age	Occupation		Marital Status
1	Nombuso	33	Cleaner		Single
2	Andile	26	Student		Single
3	Mam Sindi	Mid-forties	Primary School Teacher		Married
4	Thembi	29	Hairdresser		Divorced
5	Bongiwe	26	Teacher		Single
6	Noxolo	32	Informal Trader		Single
7	Constance	29	Housewife		Married

During the process of recruiting some of the research participants, the study made use of snowball and purposive sampling. According to Zikmund (2003, 384) snowball sampling “refers to a variety of procedures in which initial respondents are selected by probability methods and additional respondents are then obtained from information provided by initial respondents”. Kumar (2011, 208) noted that snowball sampling is the process of selecting a sample using networks. A researcher starts with a few in a group who are responsible for providing required information. They are then asked to identify other people who then become part of the sample. This sampling strategy enabled me to locate other possible participants for the study through referrals. This sampling process continued till saturation point. Data can be collected up to a stage where there is no new information, or it is now negligible – this is saturation point (Kumar, 2011). Being part of the Zimbabwean community residing in South Africa, I identified a key informant³⁶ who worked in the ‘informal sector’ and was directly relevant to the study. The nature of the study meant that the women were not from a specific organization,³⁷ therefore the key informant was helpful in the recruitment strategy. The key informant was a woman in her early thirties who made a living from hairdressing in the streets of Durban central. The knowledge that was provided by the key informant was used

³⁶ The key informant was part of the participants that were also interviewed. Assuming that she had more knowledge of where other women in her industry are working, she led me to the other women easily.

³⁷ If the women were recruited from an organisation it would mean that the participants would be easy to identify.

to locate other Zimbabwean women who worked in the informal sector. She was responsible for providing me with the names and the location of potential participants for the study.

The study used purposive sampling, a type of sampling also known as judgement sampling (Tongco 2007). This sampling technique is non-random: the researcher decides, based on a set aim of what he or she wants to know through the study, reaches out to people who are able and willing to assist in providing information based on their knowledge and experience. This choice relies on the belief that the researcher knows a group of people that are directly relevant to the research and would be of value to the study. During the study, I had the opportunity to volunteer my services at one of the refugee organizations in Durban for almost six months. While volunteering, I came across one participant and we have maintained a strong relationship ever since. Getting to know her personally outside the community engagement made it easier for her to trust and confide in me. Being a Zimbabwean also made it easier for me to identify other Zimbabwean women as potential participants. However, it is imperative to note that I was critically reflexive in my engagements with some of the participants. Gergen (2009) asserted that “critical reflexivity is the attempt to place one’s premises into question, to suspend the ‘obvious’, to listen to alternative framings of reality and to grapple with the comparative outcomes of multiple stand points. This entails that being a researcher, one must be prepared to doubt everything that one has accepted as real, true, right, necessary or essential”.

3.4.2 Data collection

Data has been referred to by Bertram and Christiansen (2013, 71) as “the evidence or information that researchers collect to find answers to the particular questions they are asking” and it can take many forms. Data can be a set of results, statistics, interview transcripts or video recordings.

i) Open-ended interviews

Thus, the data for this qualitative study was collected using open-ended interviews also referred to as informal, focused or unstructured interviews (Harrison, 2001, 92) and the use of participation observation. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007, 6) explained that qualitative data is mostly characterized by open-ended information that is extracted from participants through interviews. The open-ended questions allow the participants to give their answers in fully explained words, therefore aiding the collection of rich data. Burns (2000, 425) posited that an unstructured interview takes the form of a free-flowing conversation relying heavily on the quality of the social interaction

between the investigator and the informant. This allowed me some level of probing enabling flexibility and discovery of meaning. Since they were informal interviews and formalised questions were not used, an aide'memoir was used. Burns (2000) defined an aide'memoir as a brief list of topics to be covered, though not in order. This helped to keep the interview focused without undermining the flow of discussion with participants. I made it a point to visit and interview the participants multiple times during field work. Since the participants work in the 'informal sector,' regular visits were made to their workspaces premised on their availability and willingness. However, not all the visits were designed to be interview sessions, rather they aimed to build rapport and familiarity before any further questions concerning the study were asked. The visits also provided the chance for frequent observations.

There were at least two formally organized interview sessions with the participants. Each interview would last at least one hour, which could be extended or reduced, depending on the availability of the participants. The interviews were usually conducted at the participant's workspaces if they were comfortable with this, or they were carried out at any venue of their choice. Interviews were conducted in Shona since most Zimbabweans are Shona-speaking. This helped with the collection of rich raw data without data being lost while participants tried to translate. For the secondary sample which included local South African women, the interviews were conducted in English as I am not eloquent with isiZulu. All seven participants who were interviewed, were able to communicate in English, but when they used isiZulu terms or jargon, a translator was required.

ii) Participant observation

During the visits, I also used participant observation as a data collection method. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) noted that qualitative data can also be collected by observing participants or sites of research, jotting down all interesting and relevant information in a diary or journal. As stated by Zikmund (2003, 244), "participant observation refers to an observation situation in which the researcher gains first-hand knowledge by being in or around the social setting that is being investigated". In doing this, the researcher can, as stated by Hancock and Algozzine (2006, 31), "observe and learn the patterns of behavior, customs, and ways of life of a culture sharing group". This form of data collection helped me to observe how xenophobia and gender-based violence affected the lives of these women personally rather than depending on their narrations without any personal verification. This form of research also contributed to the authenticity of the study.

Interactions which were less formal such as ‘hanging out’ at hair salons and sometimes at the informal stalls set up in the streets, turned out to be a rewarding way of collecting relevant data. In these situations, I paid attention to people’s stories, conversations and debates on the issues that affected the women daily. I spent many hours at Eunice’s salon which was in the CBD, having my hair and nails done. This gave me the chance to listen as well as participate in some of the conversations. The salon turned out to be a central point where many Zimbabwean migrant women would meet as they preferred their hair done by their fellow country-people. During the two days in the month that I would visit the salon I usually learned a lot about the women’s experiences as migrants. And whenever there were interesting conversations which I felt touched on important themes for my study, I would make brief notes or pointers on my phone and immediately after leaving the salon, take more detailed field notes. Sometimes I would sit on the streets with some of the participants who were street vendors like Nyaradzo and Chipso. As with the nature of social interaction, strong ties and friendships were formed between me and some of the women. I became more involved in their personal lives and they would sometimes invite me to family and social events. It is therefore important to note that some of these interactions are documented in the study, however, where I attended private events as a friend rather than researcher, I have not used the information directly. It did, however, help to provide an essential contextual background.

3.4.3 Data processing and analysis

As Zikmund (2003) noted, the process of analyzing data begins after the data has been collected. As such, after data collection, all the interviews were transcribed from the electronic recordings. Afterwards, the interviews were coded to make the data easy to work with. Although the process of analysis is normally left to be done after the collection of data, Bernard (2002) and Zikmund (2003) noted that the process can be carried out during the process of the field work, so as to avoid data being biased. As such, whenever I had the opportunity to conduct fieldwork, interviews would be transcribed and coded as soon as the interviews were finished. This made it easier to sort and analyze the data.

De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, and Delport (2011, 397) described “qualitative data analysis as the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of data”. There are number of ways of analyzing qualitative data. Despite the numerous ways, the process characteristically involves, “reducing the volume of raw information, sifting significance from trivia, identifying significant

patterns and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveals” (De Vos *et al.*, 2011, 397). Content analysis was used for this study, which according to du Plooy-Cilliers *et al.*, (2014, 234) “is used to explore and identify overt and covert themes and patterns embedded in particular text”. This was reiterated by Zhang and Wildemuth (2009, 319) who noted that “qualitative content analysis pays attention to unique themes that illustrate the range of the meaning of the phenomenon rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts”.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The proposal for this study was submitted to the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office for ethical approval and it was accepted. This was done to uphold the ethics of researchers as well as ensure that participants’ rights were safeguarded. Permission was also sought from one of the organizations (Refugee Social Services) to capture photos from some of the events they hosted for migrant women residing in Durban.

3.5.1 Informed consent and approval

Informed consent letters were given to the participants to explain why this study was being conducted, as well as to decide whether they were willing to participate. The informed consent letters to the participants were in Shona and English. Most of the participants were familiar with the English language and the need for a translator was not anticipated. However, copies of the information form, informed consent form and the interview questions were made available in Shona, in case people preferred to be interviewed in Shona. While not all conversations with the research participants were electronically recorded, consent was sought to use an electronic recorder during the interviews. Using an electronic recorder enabled me to concentrate more on the discussions that were taking place while the interview was progressing (Bertram and Christiansen, 2013).

Participants were provided with adequate information about the study and they were informed that they were not obligated to participate. Participation was voluntary hence if they felt like they wanted to withdraw at some point during the study, they were free to do so. Participants were also notified that there were no incentives for participation. However, when follow-up interviews were carried out with some of the participants, food incentives were given in the form of prepared sandwiches

and fruits. This was done to motivate the participants and not to make them feel as though I was just using them for my own agenda, wasting their time and disturbing them from working.

3.5.2 Confidentiality

Participants were assured of confidentiality. They were informed that their identities would be protected. This was done to ensure that the participants felt safe to engage with me without the fear that their personal feelings would be published. It is also important to note that the participants were informed that the results of the study would be made available to them.

3.6 Limitation of the study

The major constraint that was experienced during the study was the personal and emotional sensitivity of some of the issues that were discussed. Most of the women would openly discuss and trivialize issues that bordered on gender-based violence and xenophobia in their own personal lives. However, in one-on-one interviews, they would not share much about their experiences. This was possibly influenced by the idea that they were aware that they were being audio recorded. Most the participants were fearful of their identities being revealed. Thus, when I started recording, some of the women refrained from sharing “too much” personal information. In some instances, they refused to be audio recorded as they did not trust the reasons provided.

While some of the women felt comfortable to engage with me because of my identity as Zimbabwean, others felt constrained. This was possibly due to the fear of being judged, so they would give general responses they felt did not reveal too much of their own personal experiences.

Another constraint was of age difference between me and the participants. At one time I approached a possible participant who was an informal street vendor in her late sixties. Having created a rapport with her, I requested her assistance with the study, and she turned down my offer stating “*Izvi ndezvenyu vana vechidiki. Gogo vakaita seni havangawanikwe vachiita zvakadai. (This is for you youngsters. An old lady like me cannot be associated with this).*”

The objectivity of some of the women who participated in the study was also questionable as their own personal experiences with gender-based violence was emotional. Therefore, I had to rely on triangulation of findings from both primary and secondary sources for validity.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter gave an overview of the research methodology and methods appropriate for this study. From the start, this study proposed that the level of human insecurity for migrant women is always exacerbated due to their gender and foreignness. It was therefore important to use a mixed sample of both foreign and local South African women. It is the contention of the study that South African perspectives of human insecurity affects the double jeopardy facing migrant women.

In the context of the above views, the research design and methods had to be appropriate. Hence, the study was more inclined towards a qualitative research design. This design enabled the researcher to probe the participants' perceptions and lived experiences in terms of human security and also as foreigners.

For the selection of participants, purposive and snowball sampling was used. The selected sampling techniques ensured that the researcher chose an information-rich sample. Unstandardised interviews and participation observation were then used to elicit data on the prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa and thereafter, the experiences of Zimbabwean migrant women. This data is presented and analyzed through thematic and content analysis in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this study.

The analysis of the data required the use of the selected theories and approaches. Structural Violence Theory was the main approach used and it was complemented by Heise's Social Ecological Models. These acted as lenses into how the concept of human security is constructed when it comes to women and more especially, 'migrant' women. Through these theories, it was proved that systematic practices like patriarchy render women victims of unfortunate circumstances built on their environment and relationships.

The study also used the theoretical lenses of the Triadic Conflict theory. This theory helps to analyse how different forms of conflict are developed. This was done with the hope of uncovering the potential different perceptions that trigger the manifestation of xenophobia towards migrant women. Finally, the study also used Social Constructivism theory to highlight how the environment shapes and molds the perceptions leading to the actions of society towards migrant women.

Chapter Four

The discourse of human security and gender-based violence in South Africa

4.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa presents a serious threat to those who are defined as ‘outsiders’. According to the UNHCR report (2015, 6), the term ‘outsiders’ comprises immigrants, domestic migrants together with ethnic religious and political minorities. Even though there have been a few different campaigns to combat xenophobia in the 1990s and intense campaigning after the 2008 outbursts, very few can attest to a durable and sustainable impact (Nelson and Salawu, 2017). This failure can be blamed on “limited policy and influence of civil society coupled with the absence of sustained interest of funding for work in the area” (Nelson and Salawu, 2017). Important to note is the tendency of responsible stakeholders to focus extensively on tackling anti-immigrant attitudes instead of tackling the necessary local and national structures, processes and politics in which practices of exclusion are embedded (Adam and Moodley, 2015, 200). Even though the causes of anti-outsiders and violence are complex, several single society interventions remain singularly focused on raising awareness about immigrant and refugee rights and fostering ‘inclusive’ sentiments among South African citizens. In this chapter, this study primarily seeks to address the concept of human security in South Africa which is intertwined with anti-immigrant sentiments. The chapter considers the gendered nature of xenophobia in South Africa, drawing on how the human security concept is constructed amongst local South African women. The main objective of this chapter is to interrogate the prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa with the aim that it will possibly highlight how Zimbabwean migrant women cope with gender-based violence and xenophobia in South Africa.

It is imperative to first understand how the concepts of human security and gender are addressed in the South African society before looking into how the concepts are constructed in terms of migrant women. The challenges that South African society faces cannot be divorced from the politics of gender. The reality is that most women in South Africa are victims of highly traumatic lives. John (2017) noted that the pervasiveness of gender-based violence in South Africa is alarming and a serious problem that is often heightened under the auspice of xenophobic violence when it comes

to those referred as the ‘other’/’ ‘outsiders’. The security of women is often threatened by their own activities such as mobility. Women’s agency is notably delimited by political, physical, psychological and cultural acts (Bahun and Rajan, 2016). To shed light on the victimization and security of migrant woman in South Africa, it is fundamental to have a deep understanding of how the societies they decide to settle into are constructed when it comes to issues concerning security (notably the human security of women). The discourse of gender-based violence in South Africa is not only at the level of bodily harm, but it is about human security in general and raises a concern for international relations. South Africa has indeed made notable steps in uplifting women in the country. However, these efforts and progresses are easily overlooked or covered by the alarming statistics on the cases of gender-based violence. “Cultural, religious, social and economic factors play a role in perpetuating gender-based violence” (CSVR, 2016, 3). In the same vein, one can argue that the structure of violence against woman forms an integral part of xenophobic violence and is shaped by social and historical contexts that mean migrant women bear the dual burden of gender-based violence and xenophobia. It appears that both local and foreign women have similar experiences when it comes to matters relating to gender-based violence and violence against women.

4.2 Deconstructing Gender-Based Violence (GBV) and Violence against Women (VAW) under international human rights law

For the purposes of this study, it is important to note that the terms ‘gender-based violence’ and ‘violence against women’ are often used interchangeably because gender-based violence is mostly perpetrated by men against women.³⁸ According to Bloom (2008, 14), “gender-based violence (GBV) is the general term used to capture violence that occurs as a result of the normative role expectations associated with each gender, along with the unequal power relationships between the two genders, within the context of a specific society.”

From a sociological point of view, Salo (2005) argued that gender-based violence is constructed from cultural norms and expectations about gender relations and cuts through class, race, and ethnicity (CSVR, 2016). It is mostly inflicted on women and children (including boys) by men

³⁸ Defining Gender-Based Violence: The response to Gender Based Violence in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. <http://www.health-genderviolence.org/training-programme-for-health-care-providers/facts-on-gbv/defining-gender-based-violence/21> (accessed 19 June 2018).

(Anderson and Umberson, 2001; Bloom, 2008; Jewkes *et al.*, 2010).³⁹ According to the UNFPA Strategy and Framework for Action to Addressing GBV (2008-2011, 7),

*the primary targets of GBV as victims are women and adolescent girls, but not only are they at high risk of GBV, they also suffer exacerbated consequences as compared with what men endure. Because of gender discrimination and their lower socio-economic status, women have fewer options and less resources at their disposal to avoid or escape abusive situations and to seek justice. They also suffer (...) consequences [on their sexual and reproductive health], including forced and unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and resulting deaths, traumatic fistula, and higher risks of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV.*⁴⁰

The most commonly used definition of gender-based violence is the one coined by the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW):

*any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life ... Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following: physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family [and in the community], including battery, sexual abuse of female children ..., dowry related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation ... sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution ... and violence ... perpetrated or condoned by the state.*⁴¹

While women, girls and boys can be victims of gender-based violence, the focus of this chapter is on violence against women and girls. It is important to note that this does not suggest that gender-

³⁹ For the purposes of this study I will mostly focus on women, notably those who are working menial and informal jobs

⁴⁰ 'Defining Gender-Based Violence' <http://www.health-genderviolence.org/training-programme-for-health-care-providers/facts-on-gbv/defining-gender-based-violence/21> (accessed 9 June 2017).

⁴¹ Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, UN Doc. A/RES/48/104 (20 December 1993)

based violence against men is non-existent. For instance, men can easily become targets of physical or verbal attacks when society assumes that they are breaking the rules of predominant concepts of masculinity, for instance when they are identified as gay (Bloom, 2008; Msibi, 2013).

As cited in Langa-Mlambo and Soma-Pillay (2014, 17), the UN General Assembly (1993) put forward the idea “that violence against women is any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women including threats, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life”. The International Human Rights Law has largely been silent regarding issues dealing with gender-based violence and violence against women. This is because until the late 1980s /early 1990s, the concept of violence against women, specifically domestic violence, was not seen as a matter that needed the Human Rights Law.⁴² For instance, initially when the UN Convention of the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted it did not include a provision that condemned violence against women. However, the gap was closed in 1992 when the CEDAW committee⁴³ adopted General Recommendation No.19 on violence against women (GR 19). This document claims that gender-based violence against women is a form of discrimination. CEDAW (1979) defines discrimination “as any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women of human rights and fundamental freedom in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field”.

According to GR 19, gender-based violence is defined as “violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately”. This definition of gender-based violence is questionable as it seems to sideline the fact that gender-based violence also affects boys and men. However, the definition implies that the phenomenon of violence against women is not something that happens to women haphazardly, instead it is something that happens premised on their gender. GR 19 states that gender-based violence constitutes a violation of the women’s human rights. These encompass the right to life, the right to equal protection under the law, the right to the highest standard attainable of physical and mental health. (CEDAW

⁴² Defining Gender-Based Violence: The response to Gender Based Violence in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. <http://www.health-genderviolence.org/training-programme-for-health-care-providers/facts-on-gbv/defining-gender-based-violence/21> (accessed 20 June 2018).

⁴³ The structure responsible for enacting CEDAW policies

General Recommendation No.19 on violence against women.) The DEVAW goes further to state that the rights encompass the right not to be subjected to torture or other inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women.

It is important to note that both CEDAW GR 19 and DEVAW include the violence that is perpetrated by either state officials or private persons such as family, acquaintance or employers. By doing so, they address an important issue in International Human Rights Law which has long been neglected: the private spheres in which women are violated. In 1995 the Beijing Platform for Action ⁴⁴ expanded on the definition of DEVAW to include “violations of the rights of women in situations of armed conflict, including systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy, forced sterilization, forced abortion, coerced or forced use of contraceptives, prenatal sex selection and female infanticide. It further recognized the vulnerabilities of women belonging to minorities, the elderly and the displaced, indigenous, refugee and migrant communities, women living in impoverished rural and remote areas or in detention (1995 Beijing Platform for Action).

The latter definitions of gender-based violence are of great significance. The Commissioner for Gender Equality (2010) noted that as a state, South Africa has endorsed and officially validated the BPFA, the SADC Declaration Gender and Development, the UN Convention on the elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and other international instruments. As an indication of its commitment, South Africa has developed various pieces of legislation pertaining to gender-based violence, namely the Domestic Violence Act (No. 116 of 1998), the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (No. 6 of 2012), the Maintenance Act (No.99 of 1998), the Protection from Harassment Act (No. 17 of 2011). However, despite these pieces of legislation, gender-based violence is very pervasive in most South African societies. Samantroy (2010) contended that despite all the efforts put forward by societies to curb violence against women, the reality is that the non-observance of women’s human rights is often perpetuated by cultural norms. Among other things, violence appears to be gendered and established in practice or as a custom. As a result, women are subject to structural violence which emanates from social

⁴⁴“The Fourth World Conference on Women Action for Equality, Development and Peace was the name given for a conference convened by the United Nations during 4-15 September in Beijing, 1995. The major outcome of this particular conference was the Beijing Declaration which put more emphasis on the importance of promoting women empowerment and promoting women from the prevalence of gender-based violence.” (accessed from Wikipedia, 22 June 2018).

structures such as sexism, rape, domestic violence, psychological violence and xenophobia. According to Pakeeza (2015,17-18), women have been considered as the property of men and this has automatically put them in a position where men feel that they have the right to incite violence against women. Recent statistics released by WHO (2016) highlight that one in every three women is vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse.

4.3 Different forms of violence against women

Drawing on the above discussion on different definitions of gender-based violence, it is of paramount importance to discuss both physical and non-physical forms of violence and the complexities within each. According to Packota (2000), the cause of any form of abuse is embedded in the imbalances of power. Azhar *et al.* (2012, 1618) concurred with this view and articulated that violence against women “is the most systematic abuse against basic rights of women that creates discrimination and is a result of power imbalances and irregularity in structural relationships between men and women.” These imbalances are reflected physically: physical violence may comprise spitting, scratching, biting, grabbing, shaking shoving, pushing, restraining, throwing twisting, slapping, punching, choking or use of weapons against women (Sigsworth, 2008; Tshwarang Legal Center, 2012). The prevalence of physical violence against women in South Africa has increased over the past few years. An unfortunate result of physical violence is femicide, which is the murder of women usually by an intimate partner. Drawing from the social ecological model, one can argue that there are several networks that intertwine to influence the subjugation and prejudice of most of the women who are victims of gender-based violence. These networks include the existence of social structures like hegemonic masculinity, patriarchy and power imbalances. One can be of the assumption that violence against women is constructed to start in a subtler manner where males tend to be the dominant partners in the relationship controlling everything, to the extent where they might feel they need to show through violence on the women’s body which may even end up in femicide. A recent story that made the South African headlines involved a young woman, Karabo Mokoena, who was killed by her boyfriend Sandile Mantsoe⁴⁵ who tried to conceal the evidence by burning his girlfriend’s corpse. Arguments drawn from the court proceedings revealed that Karabo suffered as a victim of physical violence long before she finally met her fate. This leaves one to question the point at which the act of physical violence

⁴⁵ Sandile Mantsoe was sentenced to 32 years of imprisonment in 2018.

against women escalates to femicide. Unfortunately, this example is not an isolated case of physical violence against women in South Africa. A report issued by Africa Check⁴⁶ revealed that “the global rate of femicide for 2015 was 2.4% per 100 000 women. South Africa’s rate for the same year was a chilling four times higher with a rate of 9.6% per 100 000 women.”

It would not be wrong to state that South Africa is generally an unsafe country for its citizens; it is regarded as a violent country. It is important to note that insecurities are exacerbated for females because of the multiple structural violence elements that exist in the construction of values and traditions that guide communities. Considering the latter, migrant women are not any safer; in fact, due to their foreign identity, they are possibly even more vulnerable. One of the local participants who was interviewed shared her experiences of physical abuse from her husband. I met Thembi, an extrovert, always smiling and ready for a chat, in one of the salons where I had scheduled an interview with one of the Zimbabwean women. Deciding to kill two birds with one stone, I arranged to speak to her following the other woman. The first question I asked was whether she felt safe as a woman in South Africa. Her reply was an instant no: “We are the weak ones, and men always take advantage of that” (Thembi).

This response gives the sense that most women are shaped to believe that because of their gender as females, they are denied certain privileges based on different cultural and social mores. The concept of gender can be seen as a component of social relations based on socially variable differences between men and women. Hawkesworth (2005, 141) concurred with this view and asserted that “constructed variances between females and males can also be a primary way of signifying and naturalizing relationships of power and hierarchy”. In Thembi’s case, she believed that safety is not guaranteed for South African women because structural elements like power imbalances and gender construction render women weak and voiceless jeopardising their security. She believed females are designed to be weaker than males, who usually take advantage of females, thereby further contributing to women’s personal insecurities like, rape, physical abuse and gender-based violence.

⁴⁶ Femicide in South Africa: 3 numbers about the murdering of women investigated/Africa Check. <https://africacheck.org/reports/femicide-sa-3-numbers-murdering-women-investigated/> (accessed 17 February 2018).

The study also probed how Thembi viewed and understood the concept of gender-based violence. Her reply immediately shifted one attention to the fact that most of the experiences that local women face is a product of some of the traditional views and concepts which have become normalized in their communities. Thembi said:

I used to be in a very abusive and unhealthy relationship, ngiyabonga unkulunkulu (I thank God) that I decided to get out of it before it could just have been a story after I am gone. I got married when I was very young. Problems only started when I had my last child who is now three years old. My husband was no longer coming back home and whenever I would try and ask where he was, he would beat me up. It continued for a while, but I guess I ignored it and took it as though that every relationship has its own problems. One time, I went back to my parents' home after he had beat me up. My mother gave words of strength and hope and she said ("unkosikazi kumele aqine for umndeni") a woman should always be strong for her household. I tried, but it kept getting worse. Then one day sisi, I just decided that I am done, and I packed my things and left with my kids and I never turned back. (Thembi)

The above narrative revealed that violence against women expresses itself and is further influenced by a number of channels in patriarchal societies. This corroborates with the ideas from the structural violence theory, as violence against women is subtly embedded in cultural or traditional societal attitudes, norms and behaviour which re-shape the knowledge pertaining to non-violent ways of relating to gender. It appears that violence is perpetuated against women emanating from traditional and cultural beliefs. The advice that Thembi got from her mother ("*unkosikazi kumele aqine for umndeni*": a woman should always be strong for her household) is a clear example of how society is constructed to normalize violence premised on the idea that a woman should endure when she is facing physical violence as it is her responsibility to strive for the survival of the marriage. One can argue that the way gender roles are shaped in most African cultures renders women submissive to their husbands, to the extent that they suffer from psychological and physiological harm under the guise of protecting their families.

Noxolo's narrative is a further example of how structural faults play a significant role in perpetuating violence. Noxolo, a vibrant woman in her early thirties, narrated her experience of gender-based violence when she spoke about an incident with her neighbour:

The parents got involved... apparently, we were called, and they asked us why we went to the police station without telling the parents first [this was both the boy's and girlfriend's parents]. Apparently, they came together, and they talked over it and they made it vanish. And then they called us to say why? And I had to accompany her again to drop the charges. When I asked the parents, you know what they told me? [I could tell that she was not so happy about the reply that the mother of the girl gave to her.] They said that these two, they have a baby together. How can you arrest your boyfriend, the father of your child? Who is going to feed your baby? ... They might get married and the child will know that my mother sent my father to prison... (Noxolo)

In this case, it appears that this kind of reshaping society occurs to such an extent that the existence of violence against women in its basic form (violent homophobia, gang rape, domestic abuse) or in its structural expression (polygamy, *lobola*/bride price) is viewed as normal. I argue, therefore, that society is shaped to believe that if a husband paid *lobola* or a bride price to the woman's family or has a child with a woman, it is the mandate of the family to ensure that the woman stays in the marriage or relationship despite extreme difficulties like physical violence. Women appear to be constant victims of gender-based violence; due to ignorance or lack of agency, both women and their close families perceive this as simply part of their marriages. Zondi (2007) has explored how the concept of traditional practices like *lobola* have played a significant role in constructing gender-based violence. Drawing from early work by Msimang (1986), Zondi (2007) asserted that traditional Zulu society viewed *lobola* as an integral part in any man's life, as it ensured the continuation of the man's lineage. Msimang (1986, 134) further noted that the role of the women as part of the *lobola* practice could be likened to her being borrowed to assist with the job of bearing children for the man's clan. "The idea of 'borrowing' soon traversed to become one of 'buying' the services of due to the greed of the lending family" (Msimang, 1986, 134). It appears that the traditional custom of *lobola* can be held partly responsible for the construction of gender roles in African cultures in South Africa. The custom appears to have become normalized, to the extent that both males and females are socialized into being compliant to these traditional customs. According to Zondi (2007, 21) in the past, the practice of *lobola* was viewed as the husband's way of appreciating the bride's family for having groomed and raised their daughter properly. In fact, it also was a positive sign to the bride's family that their daughter would be well taken care of. However, the *lobola* practice augments patriarchal dominance within most cultures in Africa (Salo,

2005; CSV, 2016). Drawing from the above narratives, it appears that some men misconstrue the payment of *lobola* as their right to control and violate women's rights through gender-based violence. The narratives also reveal that some families misunderstand the concept of *lobola* to the extent that they feel they owe the groom his bride price gifts and, in most cases, encourage women to endure and suffer gender-based violence to fight for the survival of the marriage.

Using the lenses of the social ecological model one can argue that the patriarchal mentality of some men influences their behaviour towards women. For instance, a man who has paid the bride price might view the woman as his property, thereby perpetuating violence against women. Zondi (2007, 22) concurred with this view: "the custom, however, sometimes cause anguish for women because men tend to consider them 'paid for' or bought commodities". According to Heise (1998, 265), the factors that are related to violence against women are existent at different levels of the social ecology. In this instance, the macro system level of this model helps to explain Thembi and Noxolo's situations. The macro system level notes that violence against women is often based on the male feeling a sense of entitlement or ownership of women.⁴⁷ Secondly, the perceived idea that masculinity is linked to aggression and dominance could affect the level of violence. From an early age, boys and young men are raised to believe that men must be aggressive, thus making it easier to be violent against women when they want to show their control. As cited in Damonti (2014, 41), the prevalence of violence against women is a result of how masculinity is constructed in patriarchal societies: "firstly, in fact, hegemonic masculinity includes violence as a very important element in the structuring of identity, and, secondly, it considers women as inferior subjects and turns them into legitimate targets of violence against women". Thirdly, the macro system suggests that violence against women is embedded in the rigid gender roles that exist in societies. Drawing from Thembi's narrative, it appears the place of a woman is restricted to taking care of the household chores and ensuring that the marriage is protected despite challenges like being beaten by a husband or boyfriend.

Although some migrant women do not necessarily experience these specific cultural practices that make local women vulnerable, they are often still affected by other forms of gender-based violence. Scholars like Von Kitzing (2017) asserted that some migrant women endure violence in intimate relationships with local men, which possibly influences their agency that ensures better living

⁴⁷ This usually emanates from the fact that one would have paid the bride price.

conditions for them. Therefore, as is explored more fully in Chapter Seven of this study, some migrant women succumb to gender-based violence from their local partners. However, they endure, and most of them remain in those relationships as their reality of living a better life is constructed around being with a local partner who will possibly earn them a ticket to becoming a legal citizen of South Africa. A study conducted by Kiwanuka (2010) revealed that some South African men who engaged in intimate relationships with foreign women often justified their actions of violence and oppression towards the women as being premised on hegemonic masculinity. However, Pickup *et al.* (2001), Jewkes (2002) and Von Kitzing (2017) asserted that social structures like patriarchy are not solely responsible for the existence of gender-based violence, but the need for male dominance and power contributes to gendered aggression towards migrant women. Thus, some migrant women encounter gender-based violence from their partners who are trying to demonstrate male dominance in the relationship.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the human security concept put forward the idea that security revolves around the individual (community, economic, food, health personal, political security). Drawing from the work of scholars writing on gender-based violence and human security in South Africa, Zupka (2013, 3) proposed the concept of human security in South Africa seems to define many things that include rape, incest, sex trafficking, female genital mutilation, domestic violence and abuse and gender-based killings. However, it is essential to note that the way the discourse of human security in South Africa is currently constructed focuses more on physical security and how women are victims of physical violence. However, when it comes to the everyday life of women in South Africa, the reality is that it is their psychological security that is often threatened. Psychological questions from the women range from ‘Will my husband hit me again today?’ ‘Will I have money to put a roof over my children’s livelihood?’, ‘Will I have enough money to feed my family?’ and “Will I be attacked on my way home today?’ For some of the women the psychological security stretches as far as questioning their selves if it would be safe for to wear a skirt and take public transport without any sexual innuendos. This is reflected by the narrative given by Noxolo.

As a woman, I would say safety is quite an issue in South Africa.... So, mina, I don't feel safe, we are the targeted ones (women) with crime, with rape, with almost everything. Normally ukhuti, (if it happens that) if you see a man on the streets you

would feel safe and you would feel no one would rob you or something like that. Now (she claps her hands as a sign of giving up). (Noxolo).

According to Ganley (1998), violence that is psychologically perpetrated can be understood in different types and categories. The first type of psychological violence is manifested as threats of violence and harm. Ganley (1998) noted that these threats of violence or harm are usually directed to the victim or those people important and close to the victim. In some instances, the threats result in victims being murdered and perpetrators committing suicide. The threats range: 'I am going to kill you', 'No one is going to have you,' Your mother is going to pay'. In a recent study, Zupka (2013, 4) noted that "for most people worldwide, feelings of insecurity will come from worries about daily life, rather than some possible large, disastrous world event." The above narrative reflects that the concept of safety and human security for women has traversed from the time most females perceived that it was the role of the males to ensure that females are protected, to now, where the males are the ones who seem to be at the forefront of perpetuating violence against women. It appears women are worried and more conscious about their insecurities daily. This was reflected in Nombuso's narrative.

Nombuso is a South African born young woman in her early thirties with Mozambican parents who migrated to South Africa in search of better living standards. Because she was born and raised in South Africa, she is legally a South African citizen and most of her beliefs are shaped around the Zulu culture in which she was acclimatized since birth. However, during an informal discussion, she revealed that her parent's identity as Mozambican was well known in the community and during the 2008 xenophobic outbursts, her mother together with her siblings were very cautious about their security and most of the time stayed indoors. They feared for their lives, and they were not sure who would use the knowledge of their identity against them.

Some of these stories and experiences help to provide us with an understanding that some of the security challenges that local women face also affect those women who are migrants. If people like Nombuso's family who have resided in South Africa for several years fear for their lives and security, it means that Zimbabwean migrant women who recently came to South Africa are probably even more vulnerable. Nombuso's immediate response when I asked if she felt safe or not was a firm no.

No, I don't feel safe at all, because I once was robbed in my home. They entered my home and they took almost everything that I had, from my wedding ring to everything that was around me. They were pointing at me with a knife and it was scary. It was early on a Sunday morning when my husband left for work. After like 10 minutes I heard some noise, but I assumed it was the dogs. I only woke up to see two guys staring at me and they told me not to shout or they would stab me. Even when they left I could not even scream or call for help because I was not sure if they would come back. You know in the lokshins, on Sunday it is usually quiet in the neighbourhood. This is not a safe country anymore. I know I am not the only one who has suffered these traumatizing situations. I always hear a lot of stories of this kind. (Nombuso)

Having her security compromised in her own house seems to have shaped Nombuso's perceptions about her security. Instead of feeling safe when she is alone, she now lives with a sense of fear of the unknown. While the home is generally perceived to be a safe zone, unfortunately for Nombuso, and many women in South Africa, it is not. The reality is that women frequently experience traumatic violence in their own personal spaces, either through abuse from their partners or outside perpetrators, merely because they are women. In most cases, being a woman means one is seen as a form of prey. Nombuso's perpetrators waited for her husband to leave for work because women are assumed to be the weaker sex that cannot retaliate. Most African societies are socially constructed to assume that women do not have the ability to stand up for themselves, they need of their male counterparts for security. One can also argue that most young girls are socialized to become the weaker sex through structural and cultural norms like patriarchy that render women voiceless. Patriarchy, it can be argued, is an overarching structure that contributes to the insecurity of women. The human insecurity of women is not about being a female individual; instead it is about being in a default position which is disempowering.

4.4 Police officers' attitudes towards gender-based violence

Interviews with some of the local South African women revealed that some police officers are reluctant to work with issues related to gender-based violence. When human security is compromised, either through gender-based violence or criminal activities, the obvious assumption would be that, when reported, the relevant institutions would regulate and uphold human security.

Women should feel a sense of safety from the police. However, some of the participants revealed otherwise:

I do not feel safe because the person that did that, I just reported them to the police station and then that was it, he was not arrested, and he knew that I had reported him. I do not feel safe because I do not know whether he is still after me or what. I know him because I can see him hanging around my home sometimes. It sometimes feels like he is preying on me. (Nombuso)

If you are being abused by a boyfriend, somehow, I believe, it is more like legal now. My neighbour, her boyfriend stabbed her in the head, and I had to take her to R. Kekana Hospital. After that, I take her to the nearest police station. We go there, and they tell us to come back when we have seen him. I felt like it was stupid, we called the 111 number, and they told us to go and wait up the road, we waited till 2 o'clock am from 8 pm..... She has reported it like three or four times before, but nothing happened. The police said it in my face that they don't engage themselves that much in relationship abuse, because girlfriends come and lay a charge now, and in the afternoon, they come back with the boyfriend, they are happy, and they drop the charges. (Noxolo)

Amapoyisa (police officers) will never do anything to protect us and provide safety, reporting crime or abuse never brings change to our communities because they just won't do anything, it is as simple as that. (Thandi)

The above narratives reveal that the protracted prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa establishes a form of structural violence in the everyday life of the women who are victims. Unfortunately, most of the police officers who handle cases related to this exacerbate this form of violence by their reluctance. Their attitudes are constructed into social arrangements that put the women's lives into jeopardy from invisible violence that manifests itself indirectly. The attitudes are built into the fabric of the society and they influence how some women perceive the role of the police in the society when it comes to combating gender-based violence. The narratives reveal that most police officers do not take women seriously when they report gender-based violence cases. This is not any different for migrant women, in fact the proponents of the structural violence theory assert

that structural violence constructs and maintains inequalities within different social and minority groups. It is possible for police officers' attitudes to be even more negative towards those identified as foreign.

According to the CSV (2016, 13), the South African government has, over the years, strived to put into place measures to combat gender-based violence and protect the rights of women and young girls. These efforts include passing the Domestic Violence Act in 1998 and the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act in 2012. The Domestic Violence Act states that it will make the following provisions for all those who fall as victims of domestic violence and gender-based violence:⁴⁸

- “right to apply and receive protection order;
- the police officer has a duty to assist the victim of domestic violence;
- the police officer has a duty to arrest the perpetrator of domestic violence;
- the victim has a right to receive psychological and medical help.”

The Act outlines essential aspects necessary to protect the rights of the victims of gender-based violence. However, the implementation of these Acts appears to be challenging. As cited in the CSV report (2016, 13), Ludsin and Vetten (2005) asserted that “premised on the Act, the police are expected to play a significant part of supporting the victim or arresting the offender of gender-based violence. It is also the mandate of the police to help the victim to seek legal assistance, which also includes getting a protection order and serving it to the offender.” The police are also expected to ensure that the victim has been referred for professional counselling, in some cases to a shelter for safety and accommodation. However, these expectations remain on paper as the study reveals that many police officers do not take the victims of gender-based violence seriously. They are unwilling to help as they tend to view the cases as normal private matters between two people who are in love. This suggests that some police officers are constructed to have traditional and misogynistic perceptions that women who report to be victims of violence are never serious. The police officers are reluctant to react to the reported cases of gender-based violence unless they regard the matter to be a cause for serious concern (perhaps if the case involves murder). They have a

⁴⁸ The Domestic Violence Act. <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/acts/1998-116.pdf> (accessed 19 October 2018).

different approach to gender-based violence cases possibly based on previous experiences or the assumption that women will always withdraw their charges against their perpetrator because they will usually sort out their 'normal' relationship problems. Taranto *et al.* (2013, 2) asserted that most police officers in South Africa do not respond to gender-based violence call-outs because they consider other issues far more pressing. Taranto *et al.* (2013, 2) further noted that, instead of assisting the victims, some police officers even contribute to discriminating against and demeaning the victims, thus causing secondary victimization. I argue, therefore, that, ironically, the human security concern for women shifts from being physical to psychological. Due to the reluctant handling of reported cases, women are compelled to be more conscious about the possible traumatic experiences they may encounter or re-encounter simply by being a woman. The prevalence of gender-based violence becomes institutionalized and police officers snub the cases that are reported to them. In other words, the behaviour of the police officers reveals how social structures (social perceptions and beliefs) limit or hinder women from emancipation from abuse and domestic violence.

4.5 Psychological human security

The contention that the concept of human security in South Africa is constructed to be psychological is reflected in Mam Sindi's narratives. Mam Sindi is a middle-aged woman, possibly in her mid-forties. During winter, I would usually meet her on the bus stop waiting for her son to pick her up; sometimes she would simply be waiting for a familiar face to walk with down the dead-end street. Since she would come back from work the same time as me, we would often walk together. Because she was older than me, I grew to call her respectfully Mama Sindi/ Mam Sindi. During winter, the sun sets early. With the prevalence of women and child killings circulated through social media and talk, Mam Sindi would wait for her son to pick her up when the taxi dropped her off so as not to walk alone. She explained:

The killings these days are too much especially if you are a woman. I always try to come early so that I am not the only one walking in that road. If I am late, my son will come pick me up. (Mam Sindi)

Once time when she picked me up, as I got into the car, she scolded me: "*Have you not heard of the killings for you to be coming home this late?*" This was her way of reminding me that I had to be careful and try to come home before it got dark. The prevalence of the abuse, violence and

killing of women in most South African societies shapes the reality of most women in South Africa. The rate at which the violence continues to happen makes it seem like there is no end to the problem. The concept of human security in South Africa is mostly understood as referring to bodily harm, yet it has psychological aspects: women are more conscious about their environment, safety and security than ever.

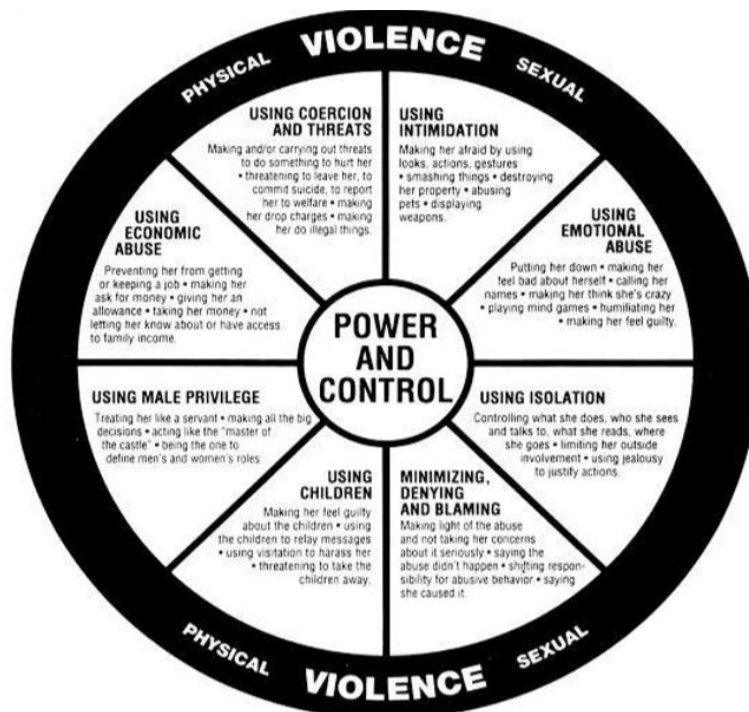
As mentioned earlier by Packota (2000), the existence of violence against women is embedded in power imbalances that are also created psychologically as threats of violence and harm or as emotional violence. According to the UNESCO report (2015), psychological abuse or violence is one of the areas that has not been receiving sufficient attention. Packato (2000) noted that psychological abuse can also be used interchangeably with emotional abuse. One of the noticeable features of emotional abuse is the use of verbal abuse as a tactic to overwhelm women at the same time as damaging women's sense of integrity. As cited in Vinayak and Safariolyaei (2017, 41), Straus (1997) noted that "while physical abuse is awful and not to be condoned, it is not necessarily the most damaging type of abuse. One can hurt a partner deeply, even drive the person to suicide without ever lifting a finger".

This is reflected in Bongiwe's narrative. Bongiwe was a colleague of mine in a previous organization I worked for and during lunch break we would sit in the kitchen together with other women and just chat. This was usually an opportunity for the women in the office to unwind and relax discussing day to day contemporary issues.

I honestly do not know what to call it. I think my boyfriend is abusive. I mean we are good, but so many times I feel like he is so manipulative, and he gets angry over small things. For example, if he calls and I don't pick up the phone, he would want to know who I was speaking to. Remember, that one time when you came, and you wanted us to discuss an important issue. I had to hang up and he was not pleased. I am telling you it was an issue for days. I sometimes think that he is very insecure, because he always tells me that I am beautiful and doesn't want other men to be looking at me. He is so controlling but you would be surprised we have been together for four years now, since the time we were in college. When he gets angry, he always tries to look down upon me, like I cannot do anything without him or his money. That is why even if I need any help, I would rather ask someone else. (Bongiwe)

Drawing from the narrative, it is evident that violence against women can be subtle which makes it difficult for the victims to realize that they are being abused emotionally. As with structural violence, the existence of psychological insecurities is usually invisible to the extent that it is difficult to point to the real cause of the violence as it would have become normalised as part of the social reality for most women. The abusive character of the perpetrator is often regarded as normal behaviour. One can argue that violence against women can be psychologically initiated. Abusers often keep a strict check on their partner's activities, embarrassing them in front of colleagues or in public places, giving threats using children and threatening women with possible poverty once they leave them. Using the social ecological model lenses, male dominance in the family or relationship influences the occurrence of violence against women. In most cases of violence, the man believes himself to be responsible for making all the financial decisions in the family or relationship. Hence, the man feels a certain degree of control over his partner which normally perpetuates the violence (Heise 1998, 270). Men tend to exercise their control by emotionally abusing their partners. As cited in Johnson (1995, 288), Pence and Paymar (1993) noted that "male control can be used to control the partner and indulge his inner needs of exercising control". This is presented graphically below in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Power and control wheel (Pence and Paymar, 1993)



Source: Johnson (1995, 288)

The control wheel, as constructed by Pence and Paymar (1993), shows how men try to acquire power and control over women in an abusive manner. They proposed that men use intimidation tactics that make women afraid of them. For instance, using looks, gestures, smashing things, destroying property and displaying weapons. Men can also use coercion and threats to hurt women. These threats can go as far as threatening to leave the women, committing suicide and in some instances, forcing the women to drop the charges that might have been made against them. The wheel also puts forward the idea that men can use economic abuse. This entails preventing or restricting the women from getting or keeping a job. Women then need to ask for money from the men. In most instances, the men will not let the women know or have access to family finances.

This is reflected in Constance's narrative. She had recently relocated from Pretoria to Durban when her husband found a new job. It was easy for us to develop a sense of camaraderie as we were both new tenants in the building, we were staying in. I had first met her at the supervisor's office when we were sorting out some paperwork.

Sometimes these men can be so cruel. I have learnt to live with it for the sake of my marriage ... before we got married, I used to be a personal assistant in Midrand, and he did not have a problem with it. The moment we got married, first day he told me straight, that I had to choose between me and being married. He said he wouldn't want to come back from work and ask for certain things (she laughs) and I would refuse saying I am tired. (Constance).

The narrative above illustrates what the wheel shows: that it is possible for men to use male privilege when exercising control over women. This comprises treating the woman as a servant, making all the final decisions and being the one to define men's and women's roles. In this instance, Constance's husband defined and constricted her roles to be a wife who was supposed to stay at home and always be ready to satisfy him sexually. As cited in Damonti (2014, 41), Delgado *et al.* (2007) proposed that "the need for control by most men in our societies portrays the highest manifestation of sexist domination" and exists due to the structural traces of patriarchy which give men more symbolic and material power. Traditionally, the family system was designed with women's roles limited to childbearing and carrying out household chores, while the men were responsible for providing for their families. However, the modern-day family system is built on the principles of equality, whereby both males and females help each other to provide for and take care

of the family. The traditional system constructs the social belief that condones men constricting women's roles and subsequently restricting women's agency.

The use of children is another way that men try to get control over women. This is reflected in Thembi's story:

The beatings carried on for quite some time, it is not like I didn't know that I was in a bad environment, but whenever I tried to leave, he would tell me that I was not going to go anywhere with his children. (Thembi)

This shows that men use children when women threaten their control. In some instances, men use children to relay their messages and, as was the case with Thembi, men can threaten to take away the children, thereby exerting power and control over women.

The control wheel also points out the idea that men exercise power and control over women by minimizing, denying and blaming. They make light of the abuse and do not take the concerns about it seriously. A final idea proposed by the control wheel is the use of isolation. This involves controlling what a woman does, who she sees and talks to, where she goes and limiting her outside involvement. This is reflected in both Bongiwe and Noxolo's narratives:

For example, if he calls and I don't pick up the phone, he would want to know who I was speaking to. (Bongiwe)

I didn't know it was happening. When we were looking for transport to go to the hospital, that's when she told me, sometimes the boyfriend would beat her up and kick her until her whole body was numb... The reason that her boyfriend stabbed her, apparently, she normally arrived home around 5.30 pm, so that day she had transport issues and she got home at 6.45 pm, let's just say 7.00 pm. (Noxolo)

Scholars like Damonti (2014, 42) refer to 'isolation' as 'social exclusion'. As cited in Damonti (2014, 43), Laparra (2007) asserted that "social exclusion is a social process characterised by a lot of integration that includes not only lack of incomes and distancing from labor market, but also a drop in social participation, and for this reason a loss of social rights". This definition shows that the concept of social exclusion has a structural origin. This means that for one to understand the reasons why men try to isolate women as a form of control, they do not need to focus on individual

behaviour but a social structure. In this case, it would be the existence of hegemonic masculinity. According to Namy *et al.* (2017, 40), the feminist point of view on violence against women asserts that male dominated power structures construct the bias that perpetuates violence against women. “This bias enables the formation and entrenchment of norms and attitudes that disadvantage women and children, as the balance of social power to the advantage of men, their perspectives and their rights” (Sibanda-Moyo *et al.* 2017, 13).

4.6 Unveiling structural violence through the gender-based violence rhetoric

Drawing from the work of John Galtung (1969) in *Violence, Peace and Peace Studies*, “when one husband beats his wife, there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives’ ignorance, there is structural violence”. From the latter, it is evident that violence against woman in South Africa is socially structured. Samntroy (2010, 26) further posited that direct violence is often horrific and draws attention. However, “structural violence is almost always invisible, embedded in ubiquitous social structures, normalized by stable institutions and regular experience”. These experiences construct violence as normally acceptable in societies. Structural violence is subtler, more common and difficult to repair. This can provide a possible explanation as to why migrant women encounter and suffer insidious forms of xenophobia and embrace it as normal. In an article in *Pambazuka News*, Mutua (2014) posited that women have always been generally disadvantaged and the root cause is based in how the societies they live in are shaped. If we take an up-close look at most of the historical civil conflicts, it is a recurring theme that women and girls in civil conflicts are the most vulnerable (CSVR, 2016, 26; Mutua, 2014; Mama and Okazawa-Rey 2008, 4). In conflict situations and civil wars, it is women and girls who are used as weapons of war. There are rarely direct participants in conflicts, yet they are violated, used as weapons of war, suffering rape, beatings at times death⁴⁹ (Fuller, 2008; Mama and Okazawa-Rey, 2008; Pambazuka News, 2014)

⁴⁹Armed conflict exacerbates many forms of gender-based violence, including sexual violence. In the DRC in 2004, WHO estimated there have been 25,000 cases of sexual violence recorded in South Kivu Province, 11,350 in Maniema Province, 1,625 cases in Goma, and 3,250 cases in the southeastern town of Kalemie since the beginning of the war in 1998. WHO reported the ages of victims to be between four and eighty. (www.womenwarpeace.org:drc:drc.htm) (accessed 30 May 2018).

Premised on the statistics of the prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa, the most pressing question would be: why is gender-based violence in South Africa so widespread despite all the efforts that are put in place to try and curb it? It seems as if there is no easy answer as gender incited violence appears to be attributed to a number of factors. A plethora of studies have put forward the argument that the occurrence of gender-based violence is embedded in the imbalances of power and discriminatory patriarchal practices against women (Abrahams *et al.*, 1999; Jewkes 2002; Sigsworth, 2009; Tamale, 2014). These arguments are based on the belief that a woman is the property of the man who heads her household (May, 2013). Tamale (2014, 155) used the old adage “Knowledge is power” to explain the dynamics of how power is socially constructed in societies. She noted that this can mean that knowledge equips one with potential power. Or it could possibly mean that knowledge itself is power. To strengthen her argument, she drew on the work of Antonio Gramsci,⁵⁰ an Italian theorist who posited that “power convinces people to subscribe to the social values and norms of an inherently exploitative system. Hence, I argue that the existence of social structures like patriarchy perpetuate and promote the subjugation of most women in most African societies.

The latter assumption can be substantiated by the views of one local woman who, over time, got the strength to break her own silence about her own personal experience about sexual violence. Prior to agreeing to meet me for an interview, Andile would use social media to share her personal story in public dialogues. Andile bravely narrated how she was a victim of sexual violence and rape at a young age from her own uncle. Both her parents succumbed to the early ‘90s AIDS pandemic and she was left in the care of her aunt and uncle. Unfortunately, her uncle manipulated the situation and, when her aunt was not around, her uncle would molest her. In one of her public posts on social media she wrote: “You stripped me of my innocence telling me to touch you in inappropriate ways claiming that it was our secret game, and no one was supposed to know”. But it took nearly two decades until Andile finally found the power to break her silence and share her story.

Her experiences reveal an interesting theme of how the security of women is sometimes jeopardized by close-by perpetrators. People who are supposed to be the protectors are sometimes the ones who are responsible for perpetuating violence. In the African context, the man is usually perceived to be

⁵⁰Gramsci, A. *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* trans Q Hoare & G N Smith (1971); Gramsci, A. *Prison notebooks Volume I* trans JA Buttigieg (1992); Gramsci, A. *Prison notebooks Volume II* trans JA Buttigieg (1996).

the head and protector of the house. It becomes particularly challenging when he is the one perpetuating the violation of women and children. Andile's initial silence was probably in part due to the risk of losing a place to stay by telling her aunt. When she was older, she might have feared being judged. This strengthens the earlier argument that the concept of human security for most of the women is more psychological. It could be that the pervasive patriarchal behaviour and the fear of losing a stable family or relationships influences most women to be more fearful of dealing with social predicaments and the systematic nature of violence that women encounter. A study conducted by Jewkes *et al.* (2002) put forward the idea that the problem of gender-based violence is severe and mostly involves family members and intimate relationships. The findings of the study established that almost two thirds of young adolescent girls living in the peri-urban areas of Cape Town had experienced abuse from their family members or partners; however, very few had reported it. Andile's narrative paints a picture of how young women in South Africa are consistently forced to indulge in sexual intercourse perpetuated by male family members. This cycle of human insecurity and abuse appears to be a vicious one that unfortunately occurs in the lives of many South Africa women. If not violated by a family member or intimate partner, women in South Africa are at risk of being violated by random strangers. "It takes many forms physical, sexual, economic, psychological, and emotional but they all represent a violation of human rights and dignity with lasting effects both on women themselves and for the communities that they live in."⁵¹

Mosselson (2010) argued that xenophobia can be seen as one of the symptoms of the politics of belonging and a contestation for citizenship. This suggests that for South African citizens, xenophobia can be seen as based on protecting rightful spaces and positions that migrants threaten to usurp. Migrant women are often faced with the predicament of fighting the already institutionalised structures against women in South Africa, at the same time fighting the battle of belonging in the foreign land they decide to settle in. According to May (2013),⁵² xenophobia and gender-based violence are often assumed to be two separate issues. GBV is regarded as a crime, a domestic issue that should be kept under the wraps and not made public. As evidenced by literature on xenophobia, in South Africa the phenomenon is seen as part of the issues concerning the politics

⁵¹<https://www.thursdaysinblack.co.za/violence-against-women-%E2%80%93-problem-south-africa-892016> (accessed 10 July 2018).

⁵² Charlene May, 2013, *The Silent Scream: Sexual Violence and Xenophobia* <https://realisingrights.wordpress.com/2013/12/10/the-silent-scream-sexual-violence-and-xenophobia/> (accessed 13 June 2017).

of belonging and access to resources (Dodson, 2010; Akinola, 2014; Crush and Ramachandran, 2014; Masenya 2017). However, these two are conjoined violently when they are experienced by foreign women. The connectedness between gender-based violence and xenophobia remains unexplored in South Africa because GBV cases against foreign women are unreported and undocumented. May 2013) further posited that with the prevalence of xenophobia in communities “the face of the crimes becomes those of the men who perpetuate them and the men who are subjected to the violence. The face and the voice of women who suffer are absent and deafeningly silent”.

4.7 Conclusion

Many aspects of life for most women in South Africa seems to stem from and are driven by the prevailing conditions of gender-based violence against women. This chapter conclusively established that the prevalence of gender-based violence against women in South Africa considerable. There are different forms of violence against women in South Africa, many of which are present in intimate partner relationships where women face all kinds of abuse. Women are frequently subject to physical violence which in some cases results in cases of femicide.

The chapter also established that as much as women in South Africa are subject to physical violence, their human security concerns have shifted to being more psychological as women constantly feel threatened. One can argue that insecurity can easily be traced from structures like patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity. These structures perpetuate and influence violence against women under the auspice of gaining control over women or controlling gender roles.

Given the rate of women’s insecurity generally in South Africa, migrant women also feel threatened. This chapter proposes that migrant women are even more vulnerable because of their nationality as well as the fact that they are women. In other words, nationality and gender construct the identities that oppress the bodies of migrant women in South Africa. The next chapter focuses on different factors that influence the migration of women from Zimbabwe to South Africa.

Chapter Five

Fleeing from Human Insecurity: The Movement of Women from Zimbabwe to South Africa

“Migration is an expression of the human aspiration for dignity, safety and a better future. It is part of the social fabric, part of our very make-up as human family.”⁵³

5.1 Introduction

The current dispensation of the migrant crisis in Europe⁵⁴ has been portrayed as one of the worst humanitarian crisis since the World War 2. It has enhanced visibility on some structurally embedded issues in the discourse on international migration (forced migration). Salient amongst these issues are “the rights of refugees and asylum seekers, the responsibilities of transit and destination countries, and even more pertinent the rights of migrant women” (Mabera, 2015). It is important to note that the term ‘migrant women’ is regarded as an umbrella term that encapsulates a range of circumstances that speak to the experiences of women on the move. These are different ages, legality (legally resident, undocumented migrants or refugees) or migrating for a number of reasons that can be categorized as either forced or voluntary (Bloch, 2010; Pophiwa, 2014; O’ Neil *et al.*, 2016; Muzenda, 2017; Van Heerden, 2017).

A huge number of people enter the South African borders, legally and illegally, from Zimbabwe. Drawing from the data that was collected, the primary goal of this chapter was to establish the idea that among other reasons, women flee from insecurity in Zimbabwe, only to be confronted with other human security issues in South Africa. The proponents of the human security concept assert that economic security entails an individual having access to good standards of living, as well as access to all the basic and essential services to maintain a sustainable livelihood. This chapter revealed that for most of the women, the decision to migrate to South Africa was influenced by economic security concerns as most of them suffered from poverty and hardships in their home

⁵³ www.azoutes.com (accessed 22 June 2018).

⁵⁴ “The European migrant crisis or the European refugee crisis, is a term given to a period beginning 2015 when rising numbers of people arrived in the European Union, travelling across the Mediterranean Sea or overland through South East Europe. These people included asylum seekers, but also others, such as economic migrants” Wikipedia (Accessed 19 August 2017).

country. This concurs with the views from Dodson (2002) which noted that for some women, migration is viewed as a strategic response to their challenging social, economic, environmental, political or personal circumstances. Most of the participants revealed that they left Zimbabwe in search of work or job opportunities to secure their economic security. As cited in Crush, Tawodzera, Chikanda and Tevera (2017, 6), Betts and Kaytaz (2009) noted that the movement of most Zimbabweans to other regions can be tagged as an example of ‘survival migration’ which can be defined as “people who are forced to cross an international border to flee state failure, severe environmental distress, or widespread livelihood collapse”. In some instances, some of the women made the decision to move to a foreign land as a way of responding to the household poverty or hardships linked to the absence of family breadwinners. Also, an imperative, yet less explicit motivation, can be the search for a safer and free environment/space (haven). “Gender related factors, such as surveillance of daughters, or lack of socially accepted options to get out of a bad marriage, or fleeing from domestic violence, are conditions that can push women out” (Caritas, 2012, 5). Under these circumstances’ migration ceases to be an assurance for economic security. Rather it poses a chance or opportunity for women to be in safer and more enabling spaces ensuring their own personal security. This chapter also revealed that the women’s expectations were constructed from the belief that South Africa would offer them better employment opportunities and a more sustainable livelihood than Zimbabwe would give them. Beyond the pursuit for economic security, this chapter also reveals that the political instability in Zimbabwe further contributed to the women’s insecurities. It is imperative to note that although most of the reasons for leaving are influenced by the need to escape human security concerns in Zimbabwe, this does not guarantee that the women will not face other human security concerns in South Africa.

5.2 Economic insecurity and poverty

I arrive at one of the salons, and the mood is busy as it is month end. Most of the women are coming in to get their hair done, and as advised by my informant, the end of the month would be a good time to meet a lot of the women. The salon provides a meeting place for most of the Zimbabwean women who often commiserate, sharing experiences and their day to day stories. For most of the women, the salon is an escape from their everyday lives. The air in the salon was stuffy from all the hair chemicals and the blow-drying machines. Although it was winter, the salon space was always warm. For a heavily pregnant woman like Loveness, the warm air was too hot. As the other

women continued with their work and conversations, we sat close to the entrance for fresh air and started the interview.

I came here because of three things, Mari, nzara, nhamo chaiyo chaiyo (money, hunger and poverty, I mean extreme poverty [she laughs] ... I am now 39 years, which means I came here to South Africa, when I was 31 years. That was in 2008. Nhamo yekutoshaya kana chekubika mupoto (that kind of poverty that leaves you with nothing to cook for meals) made me to leave. When I decided to leave ndakatosiya vana vasina kana chekudya (I left my kids without enough food to sustain them for a long period). (Loveness)

Loveness is not the only participant who highlighted that she left Zimbabwe because of the worsening economic situation. This was a salient theme as most of the participants revealed that they decided to migrate from Zimbabwe to emancipate themselves from economic insecurities.

I came from Zimbabwe in 2007. The economic crisis was too bad for us, mabasa kwainge kusina (there were no jobs) everything was so difficult, especially for me, I had children, the educational system became very low, teachers were no longer coming to class. The conditions were just deteriorating, and I decided to come to South Africa. (Hildah)

The situation in Zimbabwe was bad. With the husband being here, for him to send money back home for rent and groceries it was difficult and costly. The worst part is that the money he would send we would never get to use it because there was a shortage of food and basic commodities. (Rufaro)

I came here to South Africa in 2008, zvichango oma oma (when things got difficult). When I left things were not okay, there were no jobs, most of the companies had shut down and there was a cash crisis. Before I came here, I was involved in buying and selling of different products. However, it was difficult to sustain the business as many did not pay in time because of the cash crisis. I started to plait hair when I came here to South Africa; as it is right now with the little that I can manage to get from my job, I am able to take care of my family back home, as well as take care of my well-being. (Joyce)

The reason I came from Zimbabwe in 2008, was because of the political situation that the country was facing. Our government was not in an amicable state, everything was not okay. And when I decided to come here, my main intention was to come and work so that I could support my family. Back home I used to be a hairdresser, but because of the economic situation which affected the cash flow, we were no longer getting customers. (Eunice)

I am 26 years and I came to South Africa in 2011. When I came here, I was in search of better standards of living, because to be honest the situation at home was not favorable. (Enia)

I am 28 years and I came to South Africa in 2013 in search of a job because in Zimbabwe I cannot say there was anything tangible that I could do. Even though I was a hairdresser, it was not easy to find clients and people would not pay you after doing your job. You could go for a week, up to three weeks without receiving any money for the job that you would have done already. My sister Eunice was already here, and she encouraged me to move. I had also seen when I had previously visited her, how she would get her money instantly as soon as she finished working on with a client. It motivated me that is why I came here to South Africa. (Mercy)

The narratives above revealed that most of the women made the decision to migrate from Zimbabwe to South Africa as a response to the prevalence of the economic challenges and insecurities in the country. Almost all the participants revealed that life in their home country was becoming unbearable and they found it difficult to provide for their livelihoods and well-being. Most of the women left Zimbabwe fleeing from a shrinking economy, one that was riddled with inflation and widespread shortages of food and basic amenities. The human security perspective asserts the relevance of food security, whereby people are entitled to have access to basic food and commodities. However, participants like Loveness revealed that the decision to migrate from Zimbabwe was influenced by the food insecurities she encountered. Many of the women also revealed that their main goal was to secure employment as the economic insecurities in Zimbabwe influenced the existence of high job shortages. The women noted that they encountered poverty and economic hardships which influenced them to view South Africa as a haven, where all their

problems would be solved, with the abundance of jobs and better living and economic conditions. This was clearly reflected in what Tendai and Vivian had to say:

Kumba kwaiva kusina chekuita (back home, there was nothing that I could do to sustain myself), with no jobs. And you will be thinking that maybe if I go there, things will be better, and I can find a job. (Tendai)

I come from a big family, and my family was suffering. So, I made the decision to move to South Africa so that I would be able to assist my family. (Vivian)

The narratives above give the impression that most of the Zimbabwean women who migrated to South Africa can be labelled ‘economic refugees’, those who fled their country of origin in search of sustainable economic security. Drawing from the theoretical perspective of the structural violence theory, most of the women’s responses reflected how social structures harm or otherwise disadvantage citizens. The ongoing changes in the Zimbabwean political economy are an economic limitation that hinders most of the women from reaching their full potential as they find it difficult, if not impossible, to make a living. The interviews also revealed that the memories of the women about the economic crisis in Zimbabwe are constructed around their everyday experiences of the scarcity of basic commodities like flour, maize meal, sugar and cooking oil. As the women spoke of their experiences, one could sense the confusion and poverty in a country which used to be regarded as the bread basket of Africa. Some of the women have vivid memories of how it became difficult to be employed. These experiences reveal how the women’s lives shifted to not having any options to sustain their livelihood, leading them to migrate to South Africa. The move to South Africa seems to have been constructed around the idea that one will be able to secure a sustainable job as soon as one reaches one’s destination. Most of the women revealed that they left for South Africa from Zimbabwe with the perception that South Africa had many sustainable job opportunities.

5.2.1 The search for sufficient economic funds to sponsor education

For Veronica, a widow in her late forties, the economic crisis that the country was facing forced her to move from one place to another in search of better economic opportunities that would enable her to take care of her children. While the women aim to ensure economic security for their families

through the provisions of basic needs and food, the next step was to invest in their children's education.

Veronica's narrative revealed that the economic challenges aggravated some human security concerns which included the provision of sustainable quality education for the citizens. In fact, it influenced the inability to pay school fees by the guardians at the same time as contributing to poor educational systems. Women like Veronica migrated with high hopes of securing enough money to ensure a good education for their children. During some of my informal visits to her workplace, I learnt that her first born son had just graduated with an Honours degree in Accounting at one of the local Zimbabwean universities.

Aiwa saamai ndinofanira kufara (as a mother I must be happy and proud) because he made me proud, and even now, when I am working, I am not pressured to raise money for fees. Ndikadawo coca cola ndaku kwanisawo kutenga (When I crave for a fizzy drink, I am now able to buy one (she then laughs with one of her colleagues giving her a high five). (Veronica)

The day of the initial interview, Veronica told me proudly how her son had also managed to get a well-paying job, making it easier for her to raise education money for her other children.

I came here to South Africa in 2009, and my main intention was kuzotsvaga mari ye vana vechikoro (to raise school fees money for my kids.) Before I came to South Africa, I was working in Botswana as a maid and the money that I was getting was not enough to cover all my expenses. That is when I decided to try South Africa. (Deep sigh) iih, when I came here, I didn't even know where I was going, but I had packed my bags with the hope of getting a better opportunity. Ndakatanga kusevenza kuma India (I then got a job as a maid in an Indian neighbourhood), I did this so that I could get transport money for me to come to town and look for another job during my free time. I think I worked there, for about four months, saving my money, asi zvainge zvakaoma (but it was not easy) because at that time I was no longer able to send money back home, because the money that I was getting was very little, that 50 rand or 40 rand a day, could not amount to anything

that I could send home. I endured because I knew that I needed the money so that I would be able to have transport money to move from point A to point B. (Veronica)

The latter narrative reveals that for most foreign women, the informal sector presents the prime source of livelihood. The women's lived experiences in the midst of economic insecurities and challenges influences their present reality to such an extent that most women are driven by the need to provide better standards of living for their families back in Zimbabwe. Therefore, they take any possible opportunity to make money, even if they are menial jobs. Veronica started working in Botswana as a maid and moved to South Africa with the perception that the informal sector in South Africa would be more lucrative. "Therefore, sociologists associate the informal sector with the informal economy that is characterized by activities like domestic work, consumption work, non-market productive labor community service work" (Tshishonga, 2015, 169). The latter validates that the experiences of the women influences or shapes them to develop the belief that their only option to ensure their economic security rests in their decision to migrate to other neighbouring countries like Botswana and South Africa which they perceive to have a better economy than Zimbabwe. For Veronica and most of the women who were interviewed, socio-economic survival proved to be the priority. The poor economic structural conditions and experiences they were subjected to, drives them to look for other possible means of survival, mostly in the informal sector. They possibly view coming to South Africa as a necessity and opportunity to be fully utilized. Hence, their mindset is constructed to embrace any opportunity to make money that comes their way. The latter statement concurs with Kihato (2009, 103) who asserted that "migration makes sense as a livelihood strategy, even when it means the separation of mothers from their children, families and social networks. Yet, the distance from familiar spaces and communal ties is made worthwhile by what women, and other household members, imagine are the large sums of money that will be made in South Africa." This narrative moves away from the traditional notion that only the men can migrate in search for greener pastures, while women look after the home. It reflects a shift, whereby women now play an active role in providing for their family's expenses and ensuring they are secure, economically. Kiwanuka (2010, 165) asserted that, "although there are as many male migrants, in South Africa and elsewhere, women form a significant proportion of cross-border and internal migrants who continue to move independently in search of better life and /or protection from political repression".

5.3 The feminisation of poverty for migrants

I came to South Africa in 2012. Things were very difficult when I was back at home. For me it was too much because I did not have a job that I could confidently say I could do, and it would provide money for my well-being. Hairdressing was just a profession, but in my neighborhood, it did not pay. If you are lucky maybe you would only get one client per week. (Charity)

Charity hails from Gokwe Centre, a rural small town that is situated in the Midlands province of Zimbabwe. Most of the people in the area spend their time on farming. With her occupation as a hairdresser, the probability of getting regular clients was zero, hence moving to South Africa was a decision made in search of greener pastures. According to a Newsday report on 9 September 2016, “rural Zimbabweans have always borne the brunt of social, economic and political problems. They have always been at the receiving end when it comes to both development and under-development.” This statement suggests that whenever there are new government initiatives for development, they are mostly rolled out in the rural areas. Ironically the rural areas remain underdeveloped, possibly because the implemented initiatives are never sustainable and do not solve all the socio-economic challenges that rural Zimbabweans face.

According to Mawere (2013, 7) extreme poverty in Zimbabwe, specifically in the rural areas, has presented itself as a salient indicator of the social, political and economic challenges that have riddled the nation for years now. The political tensions between rival political parties were exacerbated with the dollarization of the system which instigated state fragility paving the way for an array of economic problems which compounded an already struggling economy (Orners and Holmes, 2010; Mawere, 2013). As cited by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD),⁵⁵ Matochekanwa and Kwaramba (2009, 4) defined fragile states as “those

⁵⁵ “The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an intergovernmental economic organisation with 35 member countries, founded in 1960 to stimulate economic progress and world trade. It is a forum of countries describing themselves as committed to democracy and the market economy, providing a platform to compare policy experiences, seeking answers to common problems, identify good practices and coordinate domestic and international policies of its members. Most OECD members are high-income economies with a very high Human Development Index (HDI) and are regarded as developed countries.” <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/OECD> (accessed 14 September 2017)

where the state's power is unable and /or unwilling to deliver core functions of most of its people: security protection of property rights, basic public services and essential infrastructure”.

According to the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, structural violence presents itself in multiple forms that encapsulate poverty, inequalities, diseases, colonial legacy together with structural adjustment programmes. It is important to note that with structural violence, poverty, being sick or lack of access to services (components that possibly construct the violent processes) are usually posed as the victim's fault when in fact, these are the responsibility of the government. In other words, the socio-economic challenges that are found in rural areas are normalized. This includes rural-based people being socially constructed to believe that it is normal for children to spend the whole day in the fields instead of going to school. It becomes learned behaviour that early marriages for young girls are viewed as an end to structural poverty, while drinking unclean water and having no proper sanitation are the features supposed to make up a typical rural setting. People begin to believe that they can only upgrade their standards of living if they can move away to urban areas, or even migrate to other countries. Reflecting on Charity's story, moving to South Africa was her ticket to emancipating herself and family from structural poverty. One can argue that the existence of structural poverty builds on some of the insecurities that influence migration. From my informal conversations with Charity, I learned that when she left Zimbabwe, she had to find a way to support her child who lived with her elderly mother. Charity's inability to access basic physiological needs for her family, at the same time as maintaining a minimum standard of living, constructed her insecurities which influenced her to migrate to South Africa.

5.3.1 The link between poverty and the violence against women

Below the broad umbrella of the feminization of poverty is the subjugation of women. Participants noted that poverty constructs various human security concerns which influences the movement of women from one country to another. “Violence is not only a human rights violation, but also a key factor in obstructing the realization of women and girl's rights to security, adequate housing, health, food, education and participation. Millions of women find themselves locked in cycles of poverty and violence, cycles which fuel and perpetuate one another” (True, 2012, 17).

Dairo's story revealed that insecurity is a state of being subject to a threat or danger. Some of the women who move to South Africa are fleeing from dysfunctional marriages which appear to be insecure. In an informal discussion, Dairo revealed that before she left, she had been married.

However, she was a victim of domestic violence. She endured this and stayed, because if she left her abusive husband there would be no-one to take care of her. When her husband finally chased her out of their matrimonial home, she had no other means of sustaining her livelihood except to migrate. For some women, therefore, poverty can be both a cause and consequence of insecurity. The things that some women value the most, can be the same things that hold them captive. Most women who are in abusive relationships find it difficult to leave their partners because they have grown to rely on them. As cited in Arenella (2014, 10), Peled *et al.* (2000) puts forward the idea that most women decide consciously to stay in unhealthy violent relationships: “While some women are indeed trapped in abusive relationships, many others have made a rational decision having looked at the costs of leaving an abusive partner.” Using the theoretical lenses of social construction, one can argue that most women who are victims of abuse and domestic violence have a misconception that they cannot bite the hand that feeds them. They are of the belief that it would be almost impossible to start a new life without their perpetrators providing for them. These beliefs build up their insecurities which makes them more vulnerable to gender-based violence.

When one reflects on the issues of human rights that are embedded in the gender rhetoric, it is likely that the first thing that comes to mind is violence against women rather than poverty (Programme on Women’s Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (PWSCR), 2010, 1). Women’s access to productive resources, such as land, property, income, employment, technology, credit and education is intricately linked to the likelihood of experiencing gender-based violence (True, 2012, 18). It appears poor women are more susceptible to violence and abuse than those in high income groups. However, women of all groups and from different economic statuses experience violence. It can be noted that structural and material gender inequalities that exist between women and men with respect to income, property, employment provide a possible explanation for the high prevalence of violence against women. Dairo’s story is not unusual as many women make the decision to migrate from their country of origin to escape patriarchy and the social stigma that they may be enduring in their marriages. Systemic patriarchal structures play a huge role in perpetuating the violence against women, with most women depending on the men to provide for their well-being. This constructs their personal and economic insecurities. According to Heise (1998, 263), the Social Ecological Model explains that patriarchal family structures construct male dominance in marriages which usually perpetuates violence against women. The study revealed that the

violence against women can either be physical or psychological. This was also revealed in Chipo's narrative.

The first time I walked into the small cottage, the first thing that caught my eyes, was how neatly arranged everything was. Chipo offered me a juice to drink, but I opted for water to quench my thirst. I first met Chipo when she came to ask for assistance at a non-governmental organization that deals with refugees⁵⁶ where I was volunteering. We quickly connected as soon as we realized that we both hailed from Zimbabwe. We grew to become close friends and when I told her about this study, she was more than willing to assist me.

[She laughs as she tries to get settled into the interview process] *I am 30 years, and I came to South Africa in 2013. Unfortunately, kuuya kwangu kuno (the reason why I came here) was filled with a lot of hurt and pain.* (Chipo)

She narrated how she fell ill in 2013 and had to be admitted in hospital. There, she got to know of her status was HIV positive. When she found out, the next step was to inform her husband about the sickness. However, that decision was met with hostility, rejection and blame. Instead of her husband being supportive, he accused her of being the one who had brought the sickness into their home. The husband then left her for another woman. She was left to take care of two children that needed food, clothes and school fees, but this was difficult as her buying and selling business was not producing enough profit. In search for a solution to her problems, Chipo then decided to move to South Africa where she continued with her buying and selling business [during the time of the study, she was involved with importing and selling second-hand clothes.]

Chipo's narrative illustrates how some women make the decision to migrate to South Africa as a way of escaping from dysfunctional marriages and economic insecurities. One gets the impression that some of the challenges in marriages for women possibly constructs and worsens their economic and personal insecurities. It appears that when the women encounter challenges in their marriages they are usually left in compromising positions where they are incapable of sustaining their livelihoods and maintaining a minimum standard of living. Overwhelmed by the burden of providing for her two children in a staggering economy, Chipo took the decision to look for better

⁵⁶ The organization's vision is to provide a safe haven for all refugee and migrant people, with their main priority being refugees. Their main goal is to make sure that these people are incorporated into the communities that they live in with ease.

economic opportunities in South Africa. Her story reveals how some young women are unexpectedly left to support their families alone when their partners leave them after finding out about their HIV status. This pressure can prompt their migration to South Africa to seek better standards of living and economic security for their families.

In some instances, women have their community security violated through the social stigma they receive from their communities and family circles. Women are sometimes violated because of their HIV status. Ever since the discovery of HIV, there have been a myriad of research articles that address the issue of stigma, discrimination and hostility towards the infected (Simbayi *et al.*, 2007; Wingood *et al.*, 2007; Mupambireyi *et al.*, 2014; Bekker and Gray, 2017; Hargreaves *et al.*, 2017). The general perception and assumption that most people have is that HIV is a deadly disease. Despite the various medical drugs available and increased awareness campaigns about the disease, most people are of the belief that staying with an infected person is risky and shameful. Social cohesion, community care and unity are important for community security; however, this can easily be violated by acts of discrimination and lack of cooperation. In Chipo's case, migration appeared to be a chance of escaping various forms of human insecurity (economic and cultural) to create a secure space for herself and her children.

One of the informal discussions a salon also strengthened the assumption that the existence of poverty influences and constructs the insecurities of most of the women. It started off as a discussion on the importance of securing a safe and bright future for one's children through investments, as well as writing a clear legal will. Being part of this interesting discussion, Joyce narrated her own personal story of how her father's relatives looted all the furniture and sold the house soon after he had passed on. In her words,

Takazosara tobva kunoviga munhu imba yatengeswa. (By the time the funeral proceedings ended, the title deeds for our house had already been sold away).

(Joyce)

Joyce noted that after that terrible ordeal, the new owner gave them less than a month to vacate the premises. Her mother was left with the burden of taking care of four children, with literally nowhere to start from. Her marital house and property had all been taken away from her by her deceased husband's relatives. Left in a disempowering space, life was difficult for Joyce's family

and she was forced to become the breadwinner for her family. Joyce's narrative reveals the existence of a serious social challenge that has affected many African families. The traditional norms linked to kinship, community structures and property in most African societies mean that women are not customarily allowed to own property or to directly inherit any property, leaving the inheritance in the custody of the relatives of the deceased husband. According to the Human Right Watch (HRW) report (2017, 2), more than 250 million widows around the world are victims of multiple abuses, neglect and social exclusion; they are usually pushed to extreme levels of poverty. The HRW (2017) report articulates that for some of the widows, the abuses they encounter are an extension of structurally embedded gender-based discrimination subsequently intensified by the deprivation of basic social needs. For instance, most of the women have been deprived of their youth, being married as children, being deprived of education opportunities, being in abusive marriages and violence. The effects of discrimination based on gender mount up across a life course. Confronted with another status with potential for more discrimination [the marital status of widowhood], widows become even more vulnerable. Using a case study of property inheritance in Mozambique, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) report (2009, 3) suggests that "norms and practices of succession and inheritance cannot be viewed separately from the kinship and social structures of the society in which they operate. Whether grouped around lines of paternal or maternal relatives, the extended family is traditionally the building block of a society". Zimbabwe, like most African societies, invests in the popular structural belief that the patrilineal extended family holds a major deciding voice when it comes to inheritance and succession issues. As in Joyce's narrative, widows are often rendered powerless, left without any control of their husband's inheritance often leading them to succumb to poverty.

The phenomenon of poverty is tied to many insecurities which render women vulnerable. For the purposes of this study, one can argue that the challenges that most widows encounter leave them powerless, with their agency constrained, affecting their children as well. Therefore, some of the women, at times with their children, migrate to other countries in anticipation of escaping the poverty and the insecurities. In the case of Joyce, she migrated to South Africa fleeing from poverty and economic insecurity, with the expectation that she would be able to make enough money to send home to assist her family. Proudly, she noted how she managed to find new land and build a new home for her family. This suggests that some migrant women feel empowered and feel a sense of accomplishment when they can look after their families, their main goal of moving

to South Africa having been for the betterment of their families. Many women are, through necessity, becoming the breadwinners of their families. Drawing from the work of Kihato (2009), migration can be viewed as a rite of passage for some of the Zimbabwean women. Some have been constructed to believe that the process of migration is centered on the discourse of ‘growing up’ or ‘becoming a woman’ in which they realise that they can emancipate their families back home from poverty and insecurities. As cited in Kihato (2009), Turner (1996) asserted that women migrate to other countries to shift the socio-economic status of their families. For Joyce, moving to South Africa resembled being a ‘grown up’, who is economically successful and can support her family back in Zimbabwe, enabling them to afford normal standards of living and gaining economic and food security for them. From an individual capacity, this resembles fleeing from insecurity and being able to maintain a sustainable livelihood.

5.4 Shifting from informal cross-border trading to being permanent migrants

During the progression of the study, it became obvious that for some of the women, associating with other Zimbabwean migrant women evoked a sense of belonging and possibly a sense of being secure in a foreign land. Some of the women like Claudette (affectionately known as Mai Sadza, a name that emanated from her selling a Zimbabwean delicacy called sadza) take advantage of the areas where most of the Zimbabwean women normally gather to expand their businesses: Claudette usually comes through to sell home cooked traditional Zimbabwean meals and other products that are not found in South Africa (for instance a locally made Zimbabwe juice called Mazoe and cereal called Cerevita). As cited in Naidu and Nzuzwa (2013, 194), the studies by Philip and Ho (2010) on migrant women in New Zealand reveal that “in satisfying their longing for home, migrants generally attempt to bring home artefacts that remind them of home and their culture”. Being part of a specific society shapes the way people comprehend the world around them. It constructs their understanding of their personal circumstances. For the Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, traditional food evokes a sense of home even when home is far away; for a moment they might be able to forget about all their challenges and insecurities.

It was difficult to catch Claudette (Mai Sadza) as she was always busy delivering her traditional lunch meals. Sitting on a makeshift stool on the side of the street where some of her customers, Charity and Rufaro were holding placards advertising hair plaiting, she told me her story. She came to South Africa in 2007, but this was not the first time as she had been coming since 2001 as

an informal cross-border trader. She used to make this journey with a group of four other women from her home town. They would knit sets of doilies and purchase wooden cooking sticks in bulk, that they would come and sell in Johannesburg. When they arrived in Johannesburg they would rent and share a room as a temporary home for a few months until they had sold their products.

Taitoti tapedza, taitenga zvinhu zvedu (After we were done, we would buy our groceries) such that I managed to buy my first Defy refrigerator. (Claudette)

Smiling, she explained that this was their lifestyle and how they were able to make an income to sustain their families. However, when the economic situation in Zimbabwe worsened and their business strategies were no longer working, and she decided to go further than Johannesburg. This challenges the assumption that the sole reason why most Zimbabwean women are involved in migration is to get away from current harsh economic conditions. For some of the women cross-border movement has always been a way of earning an income and providing for their families. As Muzvidziwa (2015) suggested, cross-border trading for some women is a livelihood strategy. The latter statement corroborates with Claudette's narrative: she mentioned being able to buy her first Defy refrigerator. Mentioning the brand and nature of the appliance reveals how sustainable cross border trading could be for some of the women. There is a socially constructed perception amongst Zimbabwean women that if one owns Defy appliances, specifically a refrigerator or stove, this is a sign that they are well-off with high standards of living as this is considered one of the superior brands. According to Mijere (2008) "cross border trading is a well-established entrepreneurial activity throughout the Southern African Development Community (SADC), accounting for 30%-40% of intra-regional trade".⁵⁷

⁵⁷<http://www.saiia.org.za/opinion-analysis/a-cry-for-recognition-and-protection-zimbabwes-forgotten-informal-cross-border-traders> (accessed 21 September 2017).

Figure 5.1: Bus loaders at the Beit bridge border post loading some of the goods brought for trading from South Africa after a procedural Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) routine inspection



Peberdy (2002, 36) posited that “informal cross border trading is an activity that includes the buying and selling of goods across national boundaries, which is normally conducted at small scale though not confined to small scale”. According to an article issued by the South African Institute of International Affairs on 21 July 2016,⁵⁸ this type of trade is usually characterized of people smuggling goods and evading formal border processes and inspections. It is usually practised by people who have no jobs, small and medium enterprises, and even those who have formal jobs trying to supplement their salaries. Particularly, women epitomize “approximately 70% of traders, trading a range of commodities alternating from basic to luxury goods produced in other countries”. Using the structural violence theory, one can argue that the decision made by most of the women to engage in informal cross-border trading emanates from the inequalities embedded in the societies. The social fabric of most societies has structural faults that include the visible gap between the rich and the poor. Within the category of those who would not have agency to take care of their livelihoods and needs, Claudette and other women have found a way of sustaining their livelihoods by engaging in informal cross-border trading.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

Premised on Claudette's narrative and the stories of other women, it can be noted that the difference between informal cross-border traders and others who decide to move can be seen in the timelines. Informal cross-border traders do not intend to stay for a longer period trying to find ways for a sustainable livelihood. Instead, women stay in South Africa on a temporary basis aiming to acquire goods that they can sell back in their home countries. However, for some of the women who were part of the study, moving to South Africa transitioned from being temporary to permanent. Claudette revealed that her decision to shift from being an informal cross-border trader was influenced by the deteriorating economic conditions in Zimbabwe. In other words, the country's economic structural problems stifled much of the women's economic security causing them to flee to South Africa where they seemed to have great expectations of economic security. It appears that some of the women make the decision to be permanent in South Africa because they would have been acclimatized to the standard of living in South Africa. The women's lived realities, experiences and the knowledge they have about South Africa shapes their views of South Africa as more economically secure and better than their home country Zimbabwe, such that they see no reason to go back. This was echoed in the narrative of Enia:

Ah ndinganyepe, kuti Kumba ndichadzokera (I would not want to lie and say that I will go back home), maybe to visit, yes, I can go. I am now so used to the life in South Africa. (Enia)

5.5 Deciding to migrate to join spouses

In fact, my husband, the father of my kids was the first one to move, (December, January, February, March) and as the situation back home continued to deteriorate, April I also decided to move to South Africa. I took this decision to move because Vainge vawanawo basa (he had found a job) and then we followed. I came with the youngest of my three children and I used that time to familiarize with the environment, and I got to understand that my kids would be able to go to school. Thereafter, I asked one of my relatives to travel with the other children who had stayed back in Zimbabwe. (Hildah)

Inini ndakabva kumba in 2007(I came from home in 2007) however, it was short-lived as I would only come to visit my husband who was already working here.

However later during the year I decided to move and stay with my whole family. Marent two ainga asisaite (paying rent twice was proving to be a strain on our finances). (Rufaro)

My husband left Zimbabwe, in May 2008 and after a year we decided that it was best for our family if I relocated with both our children. (Danai)

While most of the women who were interviewed claimed that coming to South Africa was a way of escaping the challenges and economic insecurities in Zimbabwe, some of the women revealed that they were influenced by the need to ensure the security of their families. The security of one's family falls under the category of community security which asserts the importance of protecting the cultural and religious values of any society. Scholars like Chisale (2015, 2) asserted that migration has always been a masculine concept, which sees most of the women migrating to join their husbands to keep a closely-knit family. Scholars like Muzenda (2012) have suggested that "women's movement in search of better lives is not the sole reason for migration. Other reasons include the reunification of families, education and the opportunity to immigrate." Family is viewed as an integral aspect that construct's ones being, and which possibly brings a sense of security for the women. It is seen as an important cultural value that can only be protected and maintained easily if all members of the family are staying in the same space. Therefore, some of the women left Zimbabwe aiming to protect the security of their families. Family is tied down to belonging and a sense of security, therefore some of the women consider the family as a network that provides some form of security. For the women, the concept of security is understood in different ways. For instance, Rufaros's narrative, revealed that some of the women make the decision to migrate to South Africa as way to down the costs of their families and ensuring their families' economic security. For some women, insecurities are constructed around the fear of possibly losing their husbands to local South African women. This was revealed by what Elizabeth said:

I am a tailor who specializes in traditional African attire and children's clothing. I came to South Africa in 2009, nyika yainga isina kumira zvakana (the country was in bad shape) and employment was difficult to come by. Because of the financial situation in the country it was difficult to have a good customer base in my line of work. My husband was the first one to come here and ndaityira kuti baba vanogona kungotorwa (I feared that my husband would be snatched away from me) and it could cause problems for our marriage. So, I decided to also move so that I could work closer to him and the whole family. (Elizabeth).

The narrative reveals that for most of the women, the popular beliefs and perspectives on the structure and functioning of marriage are shaped from the perception that the stability of a marriage is maintained if the couple stays together in the same area. Elizabeth was afraid her husband would be snatched away from her. The use of the term ‘snatched’ gives one the sense of a woman who is certain that if she had not moved to South Africa, her family’s security would have been jeopardized. Probing the matter further, as the study progressed, I observed and learnt that the general perceptions about local women by most Zimbabwean women were based on the misconceptions that suggest that local women have loose morals and they dress inappropriately to lure their husbands. Hence, for Elizabeth, insecurities regarding her marriage influenced her decision to migrate to South Africa. It is important to note that one cannot analyse the insecurities that trigger the migration of women to South Africa singularly or assume that they are the same. In fact, it would be more relevant to acknowledge that the women are affected by several human security challenges which are intertwined.

5.6 Conclusion

The patterns or the process of change in female migration have undergone major shifts in the economic social and cultural perspectives in South Africa and the region: “Not only from a Southern African perspective, but also globally there has been a wave of women’s movement for better lives, and this has defied the status quo on gender norms and social construction” (Muzenda, 2017). Although there are no exact numbers of women who have migrated from Zimbabwe to South Africa in the past few years, one cannot dispute that the numbers are relatively high. Premised on the above discussion, the salient drivers of female migration from Zimbabwe are catapulted by the protracted socio-economic challenges in the country. Most of the women who were interviewed for this study indicated that they migrated to South Africa during the time Zimbabwe was facing an economic and political meltdown. Their main aim was to earn a living breaking away from the grip of poverty, political repression and any form of structural violence that jeopardized their economic, food, community and personal security.

This chapter briefly mentioned that even though most of the women left Zimbabwe as a way of fleeing from a range of insecurities and with the anticipation of a better and sustainable livelihood, they were possibly not aware of the insecurities that lay ahead in a foreign land like South Africa. Hence, the focus of the next chapter will be to understand the possible forms of insecurity that Zimbabwean migrant women encounter premised on their identity as foreign women.

Chapter Six

The Gendered Face of Xenophobia: Probing the Possible Expressions of Xenophobia and the Victimization of Migrant Women

6.1 Introduction

While violence against women and the rights of women have been a pertinent issue throughout the millennium development goals (MDGs), the sad reality is that during xenophobic conflict, women are always caught in between. Most of the scholarship on xenophobia offers a broad perception of the how migrants both men and women are affected. As established by Fuller (2008, 8), migrant women are inevitably placed in a position of double jeopardy because of their identity as women *and* as migrants or outsiders. However, the anti-migrant hostility and the incidents of gender-based violence they might encounter, go unreported because of the women's fear to face hostility from police or possibly the general feeling of not wanting to cause unnecessary trouble premised on their social position as outsiders in another person territory (Fuller, 2008; Sigsworth *et al.*, 2008; Charman and Pieper, 2012). Scholars like Waiganjo (2017, 39) have proposed that the xenophobic sentiments in South Africa have affected a number of migrant women through violence that is incited on their bodies through sexual assault, emotional abuse and beatings. Waiganjo (2017) further noted that the violence that migrant women encounter, whether emotional or physical, is embedded in patriarchal structures that exist within cultures that strengthen gender inequality revealed in ideas, attitudes and practices that are expressed during war and conflict. Hence, African scholars like Mama and Okazawa-Rey (2012) have noted that during war and conflict, violence against women is often used as a weapon of violence.

Drawing from the work of Sanger (2013, 16) that focuses on the intersectionality among gender, xenophobic attitudes and male violence in Du Noon (Cape Town), the feminine and masculine undertones that can be seen between foreigners and locals is evident as is how the locals perceive the 'otherness' of migrant people. The study established that males were the ones usually responsible for perpetuating violence against migrant women. The male violence was expressed through sexual harassment and robberies and in most cases, left the affected women suffering from the trauma silently. As cited in Waiganjo (2017, 38), Shaffer (2012) noted that most migrant women

who encounter gender-based violence and xenophobic sentiments usually remain silent for the fear that their cases will not be taken seriously by the relevant institutions. Writing earlier, Mananzan *et al.* (1996, 71) puts forward the idea that the very state institutions that are meant to protect all people including violence against women are unequal and patriarchal and they inevitably strengthen gender inequality that perpetuates violence against women expressed through rape, domestic violence and emotional abuse.

This chapter will attempt to explore the findings that suggest the possible expressions of xenophobia and gender-based violence that women encounter during their stays in South Africa. It is important to view the lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrant women, not from a single lens perspective such as the social construction theory, structural violence theory and the conflict triadic theory. Instead their lived experiences should be analyzed using a multi-layered approach. One can aptly argue that analysis drawn from using one angle could be biased as it fails to clearly show the intersectional vulnerability and multifaceted oppression faced by women.

6.2 The thin line between gender-based violence and xenophobia

The women's expectations of better lives and human security appear to contradict with their social experiences. The migrant women face multiple forms of discrimination and violence that are constructed around structures like their identity as women, non-citizens, black Africans and poor. Cumulatively, most of the women revealed that they experienced gender-based violence and discrimination from the South African citizens foregrounded on xenophobic sentiments. Visiting the women at their workspaces frequently proved to be a good way of collecting relevant data for the study. It allowed me to be more familiar with the different experiences of the women. Each new day seemed to unravel a different side of what shapes their social experiences in South Africa. One of the negative experiences that the women revealed, was the prevalence of gender-based violence in the form of intimate partner violence. This was reflected in Joyce's narrative which revealed that she was a victim of intimate partner violence from a local South African male with whom she was in a relationship. As she narrated the story, one could easily get the sense that she felt that one of the reasons why she was a victim of gender-based violence was constructed around the idea that her partner felt entitled as the one who had a bigger role to play in ensuring a sustainable livelihood and security in South Africa. She said:

Taidanana but problem was that aigara achingondirova (we were so much in love, but the problem was that he would frequently beat me.) He was so possessive, and he would not even want to see me speaking with any males. He somehow had the belief that he had made me the person that I was at that time. We did all the formal introductions, what was only left for us was to travel to Zimbabwe so that he could pay the bride price. After careful consideration, I called off the negotiations because I really thought hard of how my future would be with someone who always degraded and abused me. The previous weekend before the breakup he had beat me up so badly because I had decided to go out with my friends and not him. After that night I told myself that (hwaisava hupenyu) I was not going to live like this for the rest of my life and I would not put myself in prison. (Joyce)

Although the experiences of migrant and non-migrant women with regard to intimate partner violence appear to be similar, what increases the vulnerability of migrant women is their immigrant status. The status is shaped by different factors. These factors include immigration policies that exclude migrants and limit their access to some basic services. The other factor is staying in South Africa illegally which intensifies the women's dependency on the perpetrator and in most cases restrains the woman's options to respond to the gender-based violence (Kiwauka, 2010). As Joyce continued to narrate her story, she mentioned that at that time she was not legally documented in South Africa and at some point, she envisioned herself with a South African identity book and citizenship which she perceived would bring more security for her livelihood. This reveals that some Zimbabwean migrant women have relationships with local South Africa men with the anticipation of marriage, which will eventually lead to attaining South African citizenship. This idea is constructed around the perception by the Zimbabwean migrant women that they can settle securely and permanently in South Africa if they manage to have an identity book and citizenship. Von Kitzing (2017, 8) put forward the idea that "the general misconceptions of migrants as the eternal other, criminal and undeserving of protection affects various migrants differently and vulnerable migrant women are mostly affected". The lack of agency, exacerbated by financial constraints and most of the times, structural factors like 'legality', position migrant women as victims of xenophobic gender-based attacks.

The narrative also revealed that gender-based violence was not only influenced by possible xenophobic sentiments from a partner, but also from structures like hegemonic masculinity which have been traditionally shaped to influence male domination. The Social Ecological Model opines that the macro system entails male entitlement and ownership of women perpetuated by hegemonic masculinity. Heise (1998, 277) noted that, “the macro system refers to the set of cultural values and beliefs that inform the other three layers of the social ecology (personal history, microsystem and exosystem).” The macro system influences the factors and structures lower down in the system. Most feminist scholarship that addresses violence against women pays considerable attention on macro system factors such as patriarchy. However, the ecological approach focuses on the importance of macro-level structures like male domination at the same time acknowledging their link with patriarchal beliefs and values. The work of Sanday (1981), Counts *et al.* (1992) and Heise (1998) puts forward the idea that “one of the most visible macro system factors that promotes violence against women is embedded in the cultural construction of manhood that is associated with dominance, entitlement and ownership of women.” (Heise 1998, 273) Some males perpetuate violence, needing to acquire control and dominance over the female.

Some of the women interviewed noted that the phenomena of gender-based violence /xenophobia are not specific to Zimbabwean migrant women. They affect women from different nationalities but being both foreign and female makes one especially susceptible.

Personally, I have never been beaten, but where we live a Malawian woman was beaten to death by her Zulu boyfriend. Personally, ndinofunga kuti inyaya yekusagarisana, kana kuti muforeigner, but muzulu akamu kanda nepawindow (I would like to think that it was an issue of domestic violence, or maybe because she was foreign, I am not sure, but what I know is that the Zulu guy pushed her out through the window. (Charity)

It was also revealed that some of the women do not co-habit or maintain stable relationships with local South African men. Instead their involvement with local men is temporary and they often engage in survival activities such as prostitution and having multiple partners. There appear not to be driven by the idea of marriage but are more concerned with making money and ensuring their families’ economic security. This was revealed in what Rufaro and Vivian said.

Life is so difficult most of the times in this foreign land because they are other people that I know of who have since resorted to prostitution (she then tells me of a hotel located in the dilapidated parts of the city centre which is known as a popular spot for prostitutes).

Ma zimba akawanda ndiko kwavaperera (that is where most of the Zimbabwean women end up, trying to make a living). (Rufaro)

Rufaro confirmed that this was a popular ‘hang out spot’ for prostitutes around the city centre. Both local and migrant women (not only Zimbabwean) operate as sex workers at this specific lodge. For some of the Zimbabwean migrant women, the anticipation of economic security and better livelihoods in South Africa turns out to be a façade as they find it difficult to maintain sustainable livelihoods. Job opportunities are scarce and most of the Zimbabwean migrant women struggle to find gainful employment which depends on legal documentation. Even though the informal sector does not require legal documentation, most of the women noted that it is not easy to earn enough income to meet their basic needs. To supplement the small income, they get from their informal businesses, some of the women resort to prostitution and engaging in multiple relationships with the prospects of getting extra income to maintain their living and economic security. The poverty and economic insecurities that some of the women encounter defines their circumstances which in many instances ensures some form of economic security at the expense of their own personal security. One can argue that prostitution is one of the social structures that invisibly limits their personal security. Being in such spaces increases their vulnerability and in most cases, they are subjected to physical and sexual violence.

Vivian is a single parent whose child suffers from cerebral palsy and is partially blind. She and her child are undocumented, which makes it difficult to get social assistance from any organization. She was once married to a Nigerian husband who left her when their child got very sick. For survival, she opened an informal crèche which was not registered and therefore at risk of being shut down. Through her daycare facility she earns about R1200 per month which is not enough to take care of hospital bills plus basic needs. For financial support and to be able to take care of her child’s needs, she revealed that she has several boyfriends who give her money.

The fact that some of the Zimbabwean migrant women are undocumented adds to their susceptibility. When vulnerable, the women indulge in sex work or they enter relationships with South African men with the intention of sustaining their livelihoods. Kiwanuka (2010) noted that, instead of being loved, they are stigmatized. However, the South African men who engage in these relationships are not considered immoral, in fact they are sometimes considered as victims. Carby (1992, 741) argued that “this discourse, however, establishes a direct relationship between the social supervision of black women migrants and the control of their moral and sexual behaviour, between the morally unacceptable economics of sex for sale and a morally policing of black female sexuality.” According to Von Kitzing (2017, 10), the moment migrant women engage in sex work, they give up their bodies, the embodiment of self-worth, to “become the space of control and domination of their perpetrators, on which to assert their power and oppression”. The violence on the bodies of the women can be comprehended, not only as punishment against the women, but it robs women of their self-worth rendering them even more vulnerable to male dominance and violence. Scholars like Pendleton *et al.* (2007, 41) asserted that most of the sentiments from local South Africans are shaped by the belief that migrant people are ‘poor and desperate’ and they will do anything for survival (crime or prostitution). Using the theoretical lenses of the triadic conflict theory, scholars like Nyamjoh (2006) articulated that in the wake of xenophobic conflict, the conflict attitudes and perceptions are shaped around the misconception that migrant people are the ones who are responsible for the moral decay of the South African societies through the prevalence of crime, drug abuse and prostitution. These perceptions negatively influence the way some of the local citizens treat those who they identify as foreign. The perceptions shape and develop the negative attitudes and actions that appear to be xenophobic and, in some instances, lead to gender-based violence.

6.2.1 Trivializing sexual violence towards migrant women

Gender-based violence can also be expressed in the form of sexual violence and harassment. Some of the participants felt that both local and migrant males sometimes behave like sexual predators, who feel entitled to giving sexual innuendos and, in most cases, belittle the existence of sexual harassment. It appears that some males do not see any harm in sexually violating women as they are socially constructed to believe that it is normal and acceptable of a man to touch women inappropriately without their consent. They see nothing wrong in their actions, operating from a sense of entitlement and believe that it is normal of males to extend and impose sexual innuendos to

women. The social ecological model opines that practised social conditions like patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity usually perpetuate the existence of women being raped or being touched inappropriately by males without their consent (Heise, 1998, 270). This is reinforced by what Eunice said:

The one thing I understand about males when it concerns women is that if they are attracted to you, they can even do the unthinkable, anokwanisa kungosvika, okubata kana maprivate parts, (they can even just touch your private parts). Hazvineyi nekuti uri foreigner because in ndakambosangana nazvo. (It does not matter whether you are foreign or what, because I once encountered it). (Eunice)

It is imperative to note that both migrant women and local South African women can fall victim to sexual violence and harassment. I argue therefore, that the sexual harassment of migrant women by local South African males can be considered xenophobic premised on the assumption and perception that migrant women would not be expecting these kinds of sexual advances from random unknown men in the streets. The fact that most migrant women have less protection than South African women who can easily seek recourse from the relevant authorities increases their vulnerability to xenophobia. According to Von Kitzing (2017, 12), most migrant women do not report cases of sexual harassment and abuse to the relevant authorities. This automatically positions migrant women as vulnerable and any sexual harassment towards migrant women can be labelled xenophobic.

6.3 Gender-based violence at the hands of their foreign husbands

A salient theme that the study revealed was that migrant women do not only suffer from gender-based abuse when they are in relationships with local men, instead migrant women experience gender-based violence at the hands of their own foreign husbands whom they would be staying with in South Africa. The power imbalances that exist in any female-male relationship are often exacerbated in circumstances where women seem to be vulnerable. The consequences are that the women will not only be vulnerable to abuse from local men, but also from their husbands. Tendai said:

I understand what gender-based violence is because it happened to me (she then pulled up the sleeve of her chiffon dress and she showed me a permanent scar on her right arm). I was beaten by my estranged husband. Things were not okay in our marriage. It happened to me kumunhu wandainge ndisinga tarisire kuti

angandidaro (I did not expect that kind of violence to come from him). I was here because of him, and he was the closest person to me that I knew of. I looked up to him in everything. He should have protected me and the child. (Tendai)

Tendai migrated to South Africa in 2012 to join her husband whom she had recently married. The move meant that she left all her family behind and the closest person to her became her husband in a foreign land. However, things did not go well with their marriage which was marred with domestic abuse and it resulted in a divorce. While most scholars (Dodson, 2010; Crush and Ramachandaran, 2014; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015; Tshaka, 2017) purport that xenophobia can be perpetuated by the general feeling that foreigners come to steal the local women, in this narrative the interview revealed that migrant women also lose their husbands and homes which further jeopardizes their sense of security.

I got married in 2012, then moved to South Africa with my then husband. From there, things did not work out well. After a year of being together, I then realized that my husband had someone else (a local lady). They had already engaged when I found out. And he was no longer taking care of the family. (Tendai)

Tendai did not expect her husband to be violent as she considered him the protector of their household. This narrative shows that gender-based violence can happen to anyone and can occur anywhere. The discussion on domestic violence is relevant to this section as it highlights that migrant women are not only vulnerable to xenophobia and gender-based violence perpetuated by local men. Instead, they can be victims of gender-based violence perpetuated by their husbands from home. Proponents of the Triadic Conflict theory have noted that the important aspects of human or social conflict are constructed on feelings of antagonism and other emotional differences. These emotional differences heighten the probability of the existence of domestic conflicts and violence in some of the women's households. For instance, one is inclined to argue that the existence of domestic violence between Tendai and her husband was possibly a buildup of emotional differences constructed around the possibility that she was losing her sense of security as she considered her husband the one responsible for protecting their family in a foreign land. Possibly to be in control of the situation, these emotional differences influenced the husband to resort to domestic violence. The Social Ecological model articulates that violence against women sometimes emanates from the structural beliefs like hegemonic masculinity that define gender

roles and the position that women have in society. Most males are shaped to believe that they can only be in control of a relationship if they are able to demonstrate through violence that they are able to ‘put a woman in her place’. It is possible that violence Tendai experienced was the husband’s way of showing her that he was in control and could do anything that he pleased. The interview also revealed that domestic violence has longstanding effects as the victim can be traumatised. Tendai said:

Even today, I still have visions of that day and I do not understand why he refused to take care of his child. (Tendai)

Of the women who interviewed, Tendai was not the only victim of domestic violence. Revai’s story confirmed that the prevalence of gender-based violence in the form of domestic violence can also be perpetuated by ‘foreign’ men. Revai is a young woman in her late twenties and she earns a living by selling vegetables in the streets. The decision to move to South Africa has brought more problems than good to her marriage as she is always fighting with her husband. She regrets the decision to migrate to South Africa. At one point she had a miscarriage after her husband had beat her up for asking him why he had come home late. During the time I had an interview with her, she had recently suffered another miscarriage after being beaten by her husband in front of their only child.⁵⁹ She dealt with the miscarriages on her own without informing her husband; she only told one of her close friends who later confronted the husband. The husband, having heard about the two miscarriages, replied “She should have told me before I started beating her up”.

This reaction from the husband reveals that perpetrators of gender-based violence often do not have any sense of remorse, possibly because they feel their actions are justified. The Social Ecological model asserts that the existence of male dominance lays a foundation for violence against women and it constructs how the roles and behaviour of men disempower and disadvantage women’s bodies. The above story reveals that some males are constructed to believe in male dominance and therefore that it is acceptable to be violent towards women if they have not been given a reason not to. The violence is intended to show their masculinity and declare their status as the head of the household, who is entitled to do everything without being questioned. The home is supposed to resemble a safe

⁵⁹ This revelation, made me to realise that the continuous existence of domestic violence strips women of their dignity especially when it happens in front of their children. They possibly feel like they would have let their children down by letting them witness such moments.

and secure space and be a source of power for migrant women, yet it is sometimes a space for violence and abuse. Safety at home becomes so fragile due to domestic violence which severely disrupts family life. One can also argue that because some of Zimbabwean women are undocumented, this leads to vulnerability as the women do not report their abusers because of their fear of the police and revealing their legal status.

One might have assumed that Revai would have reported her husband to the police, however, she did not. One might think that she probably did not want to expose her illegal status in South Africa. However, Revai is one of the many Zimbabweans in South Africa who has managed to secure the Zimbabwe special permit,⁶⁰ yet she still did not report the case. Instead, after a few days she called her uncle and his wife who also reside in Durban, to mediate and resolve the domestic conflict. This reveals that some women remain silent about domestic violence and prefer trying to resolve it on their own in a bid to protect the marriage. Local women often do not report domestic violence cases due to socio-cultural structures that make them feel it is unethical to report one's husband to the police; it is can be the same with Zimbabwean migrant women who believe that no marriage is without errors. Thus, they will often not risk reporting their husbands, despite physical violence and the safety of their homes being in jeopardy. These issues are perceived private to be discussed and resolved within the family. Kihato (2009, 167) articulated that "women often use their communities, churches and extended family members to mediate and resolve domestic or other forms of conflict". Kihato (2009) further asserted that migrant women negotiate complex social codes within their communities. As some Zimbabwean migrant women have relatives also residing in South Africa, they often turn to them for protection and help in times of crisis. Ironically, it is these social codes that also make women vulnerable to domestic violence and other forms of abuse. Women can be 'tied' to certain social codes which end up protecting the perpetrators, for the fear of losing their

⁶⁰ "In 2009 the Cabinet of the Republic of South Africa approved the Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project or 'DZP' as it is commonly known. The stated objectives at the time were:

- Regularize Zimbabweans residing in South Africa illegally;
- Curb the deportation of the Zimbabweans who were in South Africa illegally;
- Reduce pressure on the asylum seeker and refugee regime; and
- Provide amnesty to Zimbabweans fraudulently.

The DZP allowed applications from Zimbabweans with a valid passport, evidence of employment, accredited study and clear criminal record and if successful, granted them a permit to stay and work, study or run a business in South Africa." <https://www.intergate-immigration.com/blog/new-zimbabwe-special-dispensation-permit-announced/> (accessed 31 July 2018).

husbands or ‘exposing’ their family’s dirty laundry to the public. I therefore, argue that some traditional social beliefs construct the way in which some Zimbabwean migrant women react when they fall victim to gender-based violence. In the African Zimbabwean culture, when women are married, they are equipped with marriage advice (*Kurairwa*⁶¹), usually from their aunts and other older women. This is usually done before the woman leaves her parent’s household where the paternal aunt is expected to teach the woman how to take care of her in-laws and visitors, how to take care of her husband and please him sexually and how to protect her household. The marriage advice is also given to the woman when she is welcomed into her husbands’ family home during a popular ceremony called *Kuperekwa* where the paternal aunts of the woman accompany the bride. This ceremony is often combined with the *Kupururudzira muroora*⁶² ceremony, where people are expected to sing Shona cultural songs that serve as a method of teaching the woman the different situations that can arise in marriage and how best she can handle them. In other words, the songs are used as an instrument of constructing the identity of a married woman, as well as illustrating the behaviour that is expected from her. It is through these structured cultural practices that women are shaped to believe that even when their husbands are violent towards them, they should not expose their problems; instead they should learn to solve their ‘family issues’ in private.

In Shona, there is an adage, ‘*Chakafukidza Dzimba Matenga*’; there is no easy translation, but the literal meaning is ‘*That which covers the hut/ house is the roof*’. This means that the struggles that occur in family life are naturally protected, from the outside view; the home is supposed to portray an environment that is peaceful and filled with love. Whatever struggles happen in the home should be known only by those who are in it. And those who are outside, should know after they have been told and not by assumption. It is structural beliefs like these, that render some Zimbabwean migrant women more vulnerable to xenophobic / gender-based violence attacks. Their learnt beliefs and behaviour on marriage and intimate relationships contribute to their vulnerability and, in the case where the women are involved with local South African men, their illegality heightens their vulnerability and chances of security.

⁶¹ *Kurairwa* is a Shona word which means ‘to be given advice’.

⁶² The literal meaning of this practice is “celebrating the introduction of a new bride in the family”.

6.4 The concept of identity and security

Sigsworth *et al.* (2008) posited that traditionally, women are the bearers of culture; however, the concept of identity and belonging is one issue that has become a distinctly gendered problem for foreign women. Some of the women who were interviewed expressed the concern that clinging to the aspects of one's identity renders them more vulnerable to xenophobic violence. It is exacerbated by the other identity of being a woman. This is reflected in the narrative given by Charity:

... It becomes worse when you cannot speak isiZulu. At times when you become resilient shouting back using the local language the perpetrators become apologetic. However, once you speak English and they pick up that you are not a local, they will take away everything from you. Kunga isusu vanhu vechikadzi vanenga vakatoti taimira (especially us, women, it's like they will be preying on us more). (Charity)

Whilst Charity knows stories of men being mugged, she believes women are easy targets. The narrative also reveals how perpetrators also take advantage when they notice that one is not local. While most of the tragedies that happen appear to be general crime, it is important to note that foreignness makes many women more vulnerable. Zimbabwean migrant women are often noticeable, hence, more prone to being exploited and being affected by xenophobia, through several characteristics that distinguish them from the local South African population. Sigsworth *et al.* (2008, 17) referred to these different characteristics as 'markers of difference'. These visible aspects comprise the language that Zimbabwean migrant women speak, their accents when they speak English or when they attempt to speak the local language, as well as their clothing.

Most of the migrant women interviewed revealed that they migrated to South Africa in search of an 'economic haven' away from the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe. However, their experiences of South Africa portray the feeling of powerlessness, fear and insecurity. Most of the women noted that they live in constant fear of what they might come across daily. Using the theoretical lenses of the social constructivism theory, one can put forward the idea that most of the women's perceptions about South Africa are shaped by their experiences as well as stories they grew up hearing. Their dominant perceptions about South Africa are that it is generally an unsafe environment that is insecure and does not allow one to be free with one's identity. The interviews suggest that most of the women feel that being integrated into the local community proves difficult because of their identity as Zimbabwean. The

use of their language or their endeavors to try and use the local language renders them vulnerable as they are easily recognizable. Even with the universal English language, the locals are able to recognize a foreign accent risking the women being labelled with derogatory terms like *kwere kwere* and being exposed to xenophobic violence. According to Bosswick (2006, 2), “although integration (the inclusion of individuals in a society, the result of a conscious and motivated interaction and co-operation of individuals and groups) is considered the ideal for migrants in a host country, assimilation (a one-sided process, in which immigrants and their descendants give up their culture and adapt completely to the society they have migrated to) is often more likely to happen.” Most of the women who were part of the study revealed that they had tried to fit into society by adapting to South African society, going to the extent of learning the local language to communicate easily. They also revealed that although they would try their best to integrate by trying to dress and speak as the indigenous South Africans, somehow, they are always visible and easy targets of verbal or physical abuse. Eunice said:

Even if we buy from the same shops, the way we dress as Zimbabwean always makes us to be visible. Isusu kupfeka kwedu vakawanda kune kutsiga mukati (Most of us, we dress conservatively) and I do not understand how, but it's always easy to know that one is Zimbabwean before they even speak. (Eunice)

KuZim uno nyatso enda kulunch, motaura nyaya uchiseka wakasununguka. Haikona kuno unenga uchiita zeve zeve. (When you are back home in Zimbabwe you feel free and liberated to go out for lunch, speak freely enjoying each other's company. Unlike here where you are always conscious about your safety, and you are forced to speak softly. (Joyce)

Kuno haungo taurise, unogona kungonzi Kwere Kwere. Nyangwe ukataura Zulu sei inonzwika, kuzoti English accent. (You just cannot speak loudly in public because you can easily be labeled as a Kwere kwere. Even if you try to speak the local language, Zulu, they can still hear it, worse with the English accent). (Mercy)

I can speak the local language because I had to learn to make it easier when I am communicating with my clients. However, it will not be that fluent, because during a conversation, a local person can even ask questions like; where are you from?

Because they can easily pick it up that this is not fluent, so they can easily identify us. (Hildah)

If they do not recognize you, your fear can make it easy for them to identify you.” (Tendai)

This is South Africa, anything can happen to you. You just must be careful and avoid being in the wrong places. (Chipo)

Nyangwe patai uya kare, yaiva garo ziva kuti Joni kune matsotsi nengozi (Even back in the day, when we would come to buy and sell, we just knew that Jo’burg is dangerous and not safe). (Claudette)

To strengthen the idea that the perceptions of most of the Zimbabwean migrant women were informed by their experiences, common knowledge and myths in their surroundings, Eunice said:

Kutanga tanga ukaona munhu akutozo kurova, panenge paine ruvengo (Initially when you see someone beating you up because of your foreignness, it shows that there is the existence of a deep hatred. The way they beat us up clearly shows that havatotide (they want nothing to do with us.... vanhu vemuno vatori nemoyo wakaipa (I believe that locals do not even have a good heart. They are heartless, and it all comes down from their history. Takato Kura, tichi udzwa kuti Shaka ainga asingade vanhu vemamwe marudzi. (When we were growing up, we were told that, Shaka did not like people from other tribes. I think that it is something that is in their genes. Even if it’s one of their own, if they do not speak the local language, they will hate that person.) (Eunice)

Drawing from the theoretical analysis of the Triadic Conflict theory, the narrative clearly elucidates the fact that the existence of human or social conflict emanates from spaces of emotional strife which influences negative attitudes and negative behaviour. Eunice reveals that the existence of xenophobia that is sometimes expressed physically is foregrounded in feelings of antagonism and hatred. Some of the migrant women are of the belief that these feelings of hatred and anger develop because the locals do not want to see foreigners in their country. Some of the women believe that the phenomenon of xenophobia woven into their societies is drawn from traditional folklore which depicts Zulu people as a violent community. Their childhood historical narrations of the stories of Shaka the Zulu warrior

who was ruthless towards other tribes constructs the women's beliefs that explain why the locals tend to have a violent nature. Scholars like Olukoju (2008) opine that the history of violence and hatred towards other groups or tribes has fueled the existence of deep-seated anger and animosity. The existence of these historical facts has informed negative labels about specific African groups. In this case, the historical facts about Shaka the Zulu warrior inform the women that, in general, Zulu people are ignorant and violent by nature towards people who do not have the same identity as them. Eunice understood the concept of xenophobia as conflict behaviour that is incited through bodily harm stemming from conflict attitudes and emotions of anger and rage against foreign people.

6.4.1 Language as a marker of difference between local and migrant women in public transport

While the idea of xenophobia is generally associated with bodily harm and physical violence against migrant women, xenophobia can be exhibited in a subtle manner through verbal abuse. Most of the women who participated revealed that during their stay in South Africa they had at least encountered one incident of verbal abuse in the public transport they use daily.

Tinoziva kuti xenophobia kunorohwa vanhu, musi wainenga yanzi iriko hatikwanise kuuya kumabasa (We know that with xenophobia, people will be beaten, the day they say it is going to happen, we will not be able to come to work. We usually know before even coming to work, because it starts from the townships where we will be residing. Some of them are always angry and they shout at us. In the taxi it is worse, if you speak with English, at times they will pass your destination intentionally. I am even afraid, that is why most of the times when I get into a taxi, I do not speak at all till it is my time to jump off. (Charity)

Zvinoitika muma taxi, even dressing yemuno yakasiyana neyedu (What happens in the taxis is that even the way we dress is different from how local women dress. So, we are easily identified. (Loveness)

It is always a good idea to make sure that you have loose coins in your purse when you know that you are going to be using a taxi. It keeps you from causing unnecessary trouble for yourself. Akatonzwa wataura English unokwanisa kusazo toipihwa change. (Mercy)

Yah, especially in the taxi, it is always advisable to avoid speaking, because then they will easily know that you are foreign. I always put my phone on silent when getting into a taxi. In case it rings, I will not have the pressure to pick it up and start speaking on the phone. (Rufaro)

My first encounter with xenophobia was in 2015. I had heard about the 2008 outbreak, but I had not encountered it personally. My first time, ndaikwira bhazi (I boarded a bus). When we got to the market, there was mob that shook the bus asking the bus driver if there were foreigners. I was holding my baby in fear that they would enter the bus, but I was lucky that day because the driver quickly took off. For a while, I made the decision that I will no longer be taking the taxis. (Tendai)

Drawing from Charity's narrative, one can see that xenophobic sentiments often start in the township's women reside in. Before even getting to work in the city center they are likely to have experienced xenophobic sentiments from the locals who perceive them to be draining the resources and opportunities meant for them. Language proves to be a much more visible marker of difference: being able to know and understand or not being able to know the local language appears to be a crucial element in constructing the experiences of the migrant women. The women revealed that they use language to ensure their own security. However, the locals tend to use language to impose silence on foreigners as a symbol of power and containment. The locals use language to easily label the identity of the women as 'unbelonging'. They intentionally exclude them, speaking about them as if they do not exist. This is shown by what Chipo narrated about how one day when she was on her way to the Durban magistrate court to attend a friend's bail hearing, she decided to ask the taxi driver for directions. Because she had used English to communicate, this instantly marked her as a foreigner. One of the passengers asked her if she was going to court because she had killed one of their brothers in the locations for stealing sweets in her tuck-shop. She did not respond to that question, however that question sparked a taxi discussion where everyone started airing out their views. Chipo noted that in that moment she feared for her life because of some of the things people discussed though they also excluded her from their conversation. She noted that one of the women in the taxi said angrily "*Only in South Africa you get foreigners coming and owning shops and buildings, you go anywhere else, you will never see a foreign person owning a shop and buildings. They come here looking for*

jobs and take all of them) and they also come with drugs". Chipo revealed that the minute her stop came she was relieved, and she had never encountered so much hatred in a short space of time.

Chipo's narrative revealed that local citizens have the perception that foreign people in their communities have a negative impact which exacerbates the existence of moral ills in their communities like unemployment, drug abuse and crime. Various scholars have articulated that xenophobic sentiments are constructed from emotions of antagonism and strife for resources by local South Africans (Nyamjoh, 2007; Dodson, 2010; Crush and Ramachandran, 2014; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015; Tella, 2016; Waiganjo, 2017). Dodson (2010, 8) posits that the existence of xenophobia is entrenched in the economic or material explanation. The structural setup of South African politics during the apartheid era sidelined the economic emancipation of most of the black South African population with the use of the law. Therefore, the poor, mostly the black population in South Africa view migrants to be competing with them for the main resources like jobs, housing and any other possible opportunities that the government offers. These structural factors construct the gap between the poor and the rich in South Africa and they shape the perceptions of the poor to believe that as South African citizens, they would be entitled to every opportunity. As cited in Dodson (2010, 6), Sharp (2008) noted that these sentiments also spread to wealthier blacks and whites who are of the view that they are "paying taxes to provide shelter and services to people seen to be pouring into South Africa to escape political incompetence and economic mismanagement in their own countries". One is inclined to argue that these sentiments construct a political economy that is ethnicised with nationalism that is premised on disdain towards migrants. According to Fayomi *et al.* (2015, 3), "the violence that is incited shows that it has shifted from the general idea of indigenous versus foreign by being inclusive of other concepts like ethnicity, indigeneity, citizenship and legitimacy determined by one's legal status". These sentiments inform most South Africans that migrants are not good for their economy fueling the probability of violence. Mitchell's Triadic Conflict theory notes that the development of conflict is characterised of three things. The first characteristic is the *situation* which can be a two-way process, in the sense that it informs the existence of the other processes. In this case, the competitive nature for resources with the indigenous South African nationals can be marked as the *situation*. Due to the competition of resources, feelings develop which inform the *behaviour or the attitudes* of a group. The feelings can either develop into great hatred which makes it easier for indigenous South African nationals to have intolerant attitudes towards migrant people. These attitudes can escalate to physical xenophobic behaviour (conflict). As cited in Solomon and Kosaka

(2013, 6), Palmary (2004) noted that South Africa's refugee and migrant population is urban based, therefore suggesting that the provision of basic services and resources is done the same way as they are provided for South African citizens. Due to the problems experienced by local government with service delivery, there is always a strain on resources which fuels the pervasiveness of negative attitudes and xenophobic violence.

Still drawing from Chipso's narrative, the interview revealed that indigenous South Africans have a strong belief that foreigners are the ones who are responsible for the crime that occurs in their communities. A report by Hiropoulos (2017) posited that one of the causes of xenophobic violence is the assumption by locals that foreign nationals are responsible for the socio-economic moral ills of their communities like gun violence and drug and substance abuse. However, scholars like Nkomo⁶³ (2017) put forward the idea that the challenge of violence and crime in South African society is underpinned by structural faults during the era of apartheid which fueled violence. Therefore, Hadlands (2015, 40) noted that the idea that foreign nationals are criminals is possibly a rumour, as violence in the South African communities has always been visible.

They found crime here and maybe realised that this is probably how most people make a living here in South Africa, so they joined what was already there.

(Hadlands, 2008, 40)

6.5 Labelling the female body through derogatory name-calling

When one walks past Pine Street in the Durban CBD, one soon notices that the space is dominated by foreigners, mostly from Zimbabwe, who are hairdressing on the streets. The area is full of salons which are mostly owned by locals. The study revealed that when foreign Zimbabwean women look for clients they are seen as competition for the existing salons in that area which usually lead to xenophobic sentiments from local saloon owners. Drawing from my own personal fieldwork experiences, I remember one day, on my way to meet Charity the hairdresser, one of the local women, seeing I had a packet of braids, discouraged me from getting my hair done on the street:

⁶³ Mandisi Nkomo., a History of Cultural Violence. <https://www.joburgpost.co.za>. (accessed 12 July 2017).

Come and we will fix your hair, why would you want to sit on the road with these Kwere Kwere? Why not come inside the salon and you will sit comfortably.

(Unknown local)

I was struck by the way of luring clients into the saloon, but most especially by the use of the term *Kwere Kwere* which is discriminatory and unveils xenophobic sentiments. The way the local woman said this proved they were ignorant of my identity. She may have assumed that I was also a local and using the term *Kwere Kwere* would possibly convince me to get my hair done in her salon. It suggests that labelling the women in this way could have worked for her in winning over customers. According to Nyamjoh (2007, 81), the term *Kwere Kwere* can mean different things depending on the context in which the term is being used. As used in South Africa, it does not only mean a black person who is unable to speak the local South African languages, but also someone who originally comes from a country that is perceived to be culturally and economically backward compared to South Africa. Nyamjoh (2007, 81) further noted that, “with reference to civilization, the Makwerekwere would qualify as the “homo caudatus”, “tail-men”, “cavemen”, “primitives”, “savages”, “barbarians” or “hottentots” of modern times, those who inspired these nomenclatures in Southern Africa attempting to graduate from naked savagery into the realm of citizenship.” Lastly Nyamjoh (2007, 81) posited that the term *Kwere Kwere* can be used in the context of skin pigmentation where the locals perceive foreign people to be dark skinned and less enlightened. The Social Constructivism theory asserts that one’s surroundings and reality play an important role in shaping their beliefs. Therefore, one is inclined to argue that for most indigenous South Africans the term, *Kwere Kwere* is used to refer to anyone who can be identified as foreign and, in most cases one who is not able to speak the South African local languages. Most of the locals are of the assumption that South Africa belongs to only the citizens and they often do not understand why the *Kwere Kwere*’s decided to leave their home countries to come and seek a living in South Africa.

The relentless name-calling appears to be a source of hurt and humiliation for many Zimbabwean migrant women. It increases their feeling of being socially excluded in a country where they believed social integration and security would be easy. Some of the participants of this study revealed that it is not only their bodies which are labelled with pejorative terms, but also their children. The women are not only worried about their own security; they are also worried about the security of their children when they must go to school. This is highlighted by Rufaro:

As it is, we cannot enrol our children in the public schools that are in the townships where we are staying because they face serious discrimination. They are usually bullied and labelled Kwere Kwere by some of the kids. It now forces us to enrol them in public schools that are in town, which I feel are more expensive. (Rufaro)

The study revealed that the women who have children worry about the impact of xenophobia on their children. When they hear incidents of the children being bullied and labelled *Kwere Kwere*, they naturally feel as though they have failed to protect them from the trauma and experiences of xenophobia. Hence, scholars like Sigsworth *et al.* (2008, 19) posited that “mothers feel derelict in their duties as a mother and powerless to save their children from harm”. This establishes the point that Zimbabwean migrant women do not only care about providing for their families economically, they also care about providing for them psychologically and emotionally in a space where xenophobic violence is rife. It is important to note that some of the women in the study are of the belief that xenophobic attacks are more common in the public schools that are in the local townships than in the public schools located in the city center. This then puts a strain on their already tight budgets as they factor in several expenses like transport. Most of the women who were interviewed, revealed that the income that most of them earn in the informal sector is just enough to for the provision of food and shelter; however, it is challenging to take care of all the other expenses due to strained budgets.

Ironically, the derogatory term *Kwere Kwere* is sometimes trivialized in the women’s workspace. To support this view, I draw from one of the observations I made whilst I was waiting for change from a Zimbabwean woman, Nyaradzo, who had just sold mealies to me. Since she did not have loose change, she decided to ask for change from a local woman who was also selling mealies. As soon as she approached the woman, she replied top of her voice *ufunani Kwere Kwere (what do you want Kwere Kwere)*. She repeated it almost three times and Nyaradzo just laughed and went on to look for change in the shop that was nearby. This incident revealed that most of the Zimbabwean migrant women have become naturalized to some of the xenophobic encounters they face daily. They get acclimatized to being labelled with derogatory names like *Kwere Kwere*.

Especially after the 2008 attacks, it became so prevalent and normal to be called with other names like Kwere Kwere or Mazai zai. (Hildah)

Galtung (1991) purported that violence can be termed structural if it happens repeatedly to such an extent that it becomes normalized. Nyaradzo's reaction puts forward the idea that the conditions in the women's working spaces harshly inform them to choose not to take offense, but to embrace the realities that come with being foreign. They endure because their focus is on earning a sustainable living.

6.6 The thin line between physical and *material* security

The previous chapter has established that some women from Zimbabwe make the decision to migrate to South Africa to secure material security and the ability to support their families. However, the journey to South Africa means making compromises between physical and economic security. In the stories presented below, the women's experiences as informal traders reveal their frequent encounters with criminals and exploitative customers. Local women who are doing informal jobs often face the brunt of xenophobic sentiments first hand at their workplaces. This was revealed by Mercy and Charity's experiences. I observed on the several occasions that I visited Mercy that it was always difficult for her to get the full amount that she would have agreed with her clients. For instance, at some point a client refused to pay the full R150 and paid R100. Infuriated, she said:

Dai vanga varivavo havaimbodaro (if they were their own local hairstylists, they would not even do that). Vavo havaite zvakadai vanongoudzwa kuti ndizvo zvandinokwanisa vobhadhara. (With local hairstylist, they can even be plaited untidily and still pay after they are told that the hairstylist would have done their best.) However, here, that is where they decide to take advantage and refuse to pay the right amount. (Mercy)

Especially with the clients, when you charge for your services, they usually look at me with that look of saying, why would I need all that money? In some cases, the client might leave you, so, most of the times I end up lowering the price for my services. Pamwe unonyatsoona kuti zvinhu zvakandiomera (sometimes things will be very difficult). You can charge the normal price of 200 rand, because they take advantage, the client might say 100 rand. Because things will be difficult for me, I end up expecting less for my services rendered because I would be in desperate need of the money. (Charity)

One can regard the locals' behaviour to some of the Zimbabwean women as ignorance and simply taking advantage. However, the women feel that these actions are some of the elements of the xenophobic undertones that are extended to them by the South Africans. I therefore, argue that some of the Zimbabwean migrant women perceive that their work and channel to livelihood is disrespected by local people who perpetuate xenophobia. The informal businesses that these women engage in, prove to be the only way they make a living, and it is not always that their businesses thrive. In such situations they are forced to accept whatever their exploitative clients would want to offer.

While most of the women revealed that they perceived South Africa to be a place where they would gain economic security and emancipation, this is constantly undermined by physical insecurity. Kihato (2009, 168) asserted that "daily, women have to find a balance between making a living on the streets in the informal sector and negotiating their own safety and the safety of their goods." Some of the women who were interviewed for the study revealed that they did not feel safe on the streets and at their informal work spaces. This appears to be a challenge that is faced by all women despite nationality. However, one is inclined to argue that it is possibly more distinct in the case of Zimbabwean migrant women because most of them are unable to speak the local language, hence making them more visible targets for criminals.

This is reflected in Danai's story. Danai is in her mid-thirties and she earns a living from cooking and selling meals to mostly truck drivers. She has an informal container that is located on a very busy road near the Durban port where most of the truck drivers go to load or offload goods. Since starting her business, she has managed to transform her informal container into a small kitchen space where she has all her equipment stored. Amongst other four containers, hers is visible as it has bold letters printed 'Mama's corner kitchen' and a black board next to it which has all her special meals for the day written in white chalk. I had to schedule an interview with her early in the morning as she indicated that she would not be busy in the morning. From the outside, one would assume that it was an easy journey coming up with the idea of her small kitchen. However, she revealed that it came with several challenges, which she feels were motivated by the prevalence of xenophobia in Durban. She revealed that in 2012, a year after she had opened her small business, she came one day to her workplace to find out that someone had broken in to her container and stole her gas stove and some of the food stuff that she had stocked in her container. I asked whether she was the only victim of that theft, and she said;

Vamwe vakabirwa zvishomana, haikona ini ndakasiwa pazero (Yes, they stole from the others, but not as much as they stole from my container.) (Danai)

She then revealed that she felt that the people who were behind it were some of the South African owners of the other containers who were not happy that she was making more money as the truck drivers preferred her food. She notes that most of the truck drivers happen to be foreigners, mostly Zimbabweans, and to lure her customers she always has traditional Zimbabwean delicacies on her menu.

Premised on the latter narrative, it is difficult to prove that Zimbabwean migrant women have their businesses targeted because they are foreign. However, they unquestionably feel that they are vulnerable, and they are targeted because some of the South African locals are jealous of them succeeding. The Triadic Conflict theory opines that one of the major reasons that influences disdain and conflict is the strife between resources. One can argue that the mere fact that Danai was getting a lot of customers could possibly have fueled the competition for customers between her and the other South Africans. Given the xenophobic attacks and the destruction of Somali shops that heated up in 2008 and has since continued (Tshishonga, 2015, Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015), the Zimbabwean migrant women's feelings of vulnerability are justified as they are socially accustomed to the fact that when South African locals want to do away with foreign competition that destroy their workspaces.

6.7 Systematic xenophobia in public institutions

Several of the women who were interviewed during the study felt that some of the xenophobic tendencies occur when they are entitled to be assisted but unfortunately, they do not receive any help because of their identity as a foreigner. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the rights of migrant and refugee people in a country are supposed to be upheld. The receiving government must accommodate the global movement of people from one place to another. However, in most cases these rights are not met even when the marker of legitimacy is present. The interviews revealed that migrant women have got strong sentiments about their identity when they go to public institutions seeking for help. The presentation of their passport as identity documents is an instant marker that they are foreign nationals. This is revealed by what Eunice said;

Their hatred is easily shown, especially when you need help. Anywhere you go, the moment you take out your passport, panoto shower kusadiwa (I usually feel that I am prejudiced). For instance, in my case, I registered to write maths matric exams, and the way they treated my case, I felt it was influenced by the fact that I am a foreigner. They were supposed to call me so that I could fill in a very important form that would assist me to write the exam, however, I am very sure that the person who was handling my case akangoona kuti muforeginer akangoisa mapepa angu paside (he saw that I am foreign, and he just didn't attend to my case). I only realized it three weeks later because I had to go and enquire on the progress. That is when one of the public officials working in that office told me that his colleague was the one who was working with the paperwork, however, when he saw the passport documents, he put them aside. The same public official tried his ample best to ensure that I was registered for the exams, however it was too late to process the registration. Vanga vakutya kuti ndogona kuvaendesa kuma lawyers (they were now afraid that I would take them to the lawyers), so they assured me that they were solving the matter and they only told me the last minute that I was not going to be able to write. Pese paunongo buditsa passport watokanganisa (The moment you take out your passport, it is always a challenge.) (Eunice)

Some of the Zimbabwean migrant women feel that the presentation of their passports automatically positions them at a disadvantage. In some instances, their cases take a long time to settle because they are identified as foreign and the officials responsible might be ignorant. The women believe that their identity plays a significant role when it comes to accessing essential services in South Africa. The Zimbabwean migrant women believe the late responses or slow reactions they sometimes get in public institutions can be viewed as xenophobic.

As established earlier in this chapter, the Zimbabwean migrant women are not the only ones who bear the brunt of xenophobia. Those close to them also suffer from the trauma and systematic xenophobia that is prevalent in South Africa. For instance, their children encounter systematic xenophobia through several systems and processes that exist in South Africa. This is reflected in one of the interviews I had with Rufaro who said:

If a child is born here, they say haakwanise kuwana mapepa (he or she cannot be documented legally), you are supposed to go back home (angrily speaking). Vana vaka zvarwa kuno, tovarasa here? Tovacherera gomba here? (Those children who are born here, what should we do with them? Should we perhaps dig a pit and throw them away?). They say that because the child was born of a mother who is staying in South Africa illegally my child will not get any documentation. So where should I stay now, when I am here in South Africa? My child needs to get an education, but then again, is he not supposed to go to school because I, the mother I do not have legal documentation? Should he become a thief? As it is, my son is not going to school, as they are saying he is staying in South Africa illegally. He is supposed to be in grade seven, I took him from home when he was six years old. He started school this side, and his exciting journey was cut short just when he was in grade 6 when the school refused to accommodate him for the coming year until he produced legal documentation. Apparently, he is sitting at home. I do not even know what to do and zvinondi shungurudza (it brings so much pain to my heart). (Rufaro)

The above narrative illustrates how the legal status of the migrant women influences the legal status of their own children. The South African Home Affairs regulations note that if a child is born in South Africa they can be registered as South African citizens; however, that privilege is removed if the mother does not have legal documentation. This affects their enrollment in the South African educational system which requires proof of legal documentation. As I sat listening to her story, I could sense her anger, confusion and frustration of not being able to do anything to ensure that her child could enroll at school like other children of his age. Rufaro undoubtedly feels that the South African government's immigration structural policies and systems are xenophobic; they should accommodate and support children with opportunities for proper education. However, these policies construct insecurities in children when they are deprived of their basic rights to education. The children's illegal status restricts them from attaining any form of education. Rufaro believes her children are targeted because of her foreignness; this brings a sense of failure as she is unable to ensure that the rights of her children to basic education are met.

6.7.1 Systematic xenophobia in the police and justice department

Another significant aspect of systematic xenophobia is linked to police officers instigating xenophobia. Some of the women noted that they encountered xenophobia during interactions with police officers. Even though most of the Zimbabwean migrant women acknowledged that moving to South Africa earned them some aspects of human security through access to jobs, health services and other rights they would not have had in Zimbabwe, they nonetheless felt like victims of xenophobia with regard to interactions with police officials, in particular in terms of the solicitation of bribes. It is important to note that one of the challenges in South Africa is the mutual relationship between sexual violence and criminality. In a society that is characterised by a culture of criminality due to the ineffective criminal justice system, gender-based violence is one of the many problems not adequately addressed by law enforcement and the legal system (CSVR, 2008). Data from the women's interviews indicated that xenophobic violence is exacerbated by police officers who threaten victims without documents, soliciting bribes when cases are reported to them. This was revealed in Benhilda's story.

Benhilda is in her early thirties and earns a living by selling second-hand clothes on the streets of Durban. As she told her story, she was packing a bale of second-hand winter coats neatly at her working station. She was once involved with a local Zulu man and all went well until he started becoming violent. Once he beat her to the extent that she needed four stitches at the back of her head. The man apparently had felt disrespected by the way Benhilda had asked him for money in front of his friends from work.

He said, I was disrespectful, and someone had to teach me some manners. (Benhilda)

Using the theoretical lenses of the Triadic Conflict theory, one can argue that domestic conflict in households emanates from developing emotions and attitudes that perpetuate physical violence. The idea that women are supposed to be respectful towards their husbands and boyfriends, means that emotions and attitudes of anger brew when males feel that they have been disrespected and their masculinity has been undermined. Benhilda also revealed that after the incident, she reported him at the police station, and he was arrested. He did not go to prison, however; he paid the police officer R400 and was released.

Imagine R400, just R400 and he was out. (Benhilda).

Going to the police here in South Africa is a waste of time because they like too much money those people. (Mercy).

They never take us seriously, instead they will start checking other issues that is meant to be done by the home affairs. (Tendai).

Vulnerable Zimbabwean migrant women have been socially constructed to believe that going to report issues to the police station is not helpful premised on their own personal experiences. The women's experiences show the dilemma that they face in situations involving domestic violence. They sometimes fear going to the police station because of their lack of legal documentation for being in South Africa. Even though some of the women have legal status through the Zimbabwe special permits that allow them access to legal protection, they find police officers are always reluctant to help, especially when they know that they are foreign. They feel that when they report their cases, the police officers take the side of the South African involved. Instead of following legal procedure, they take bribes, or they refuse to offer legal assistance. These actions are a clear illustration of xenophobic sentiments and of how the personal security of the women is jeopardised. As cited in Von Kitzing (2017, 13), Lefko-Everett (2007) asserted that "police officers are very reluctant when dealing with cases involving migrant women. They are usually uninformed, and they act in breach of immigration laws by, they are supposed to protect." Lefko-Everett (2007) further noted that when vulnerable migrant women solicit help from the police station, their biggest risk is deportation, as the police use this as a way of identifying Zimbabweans who are staying in South Africa illegally.

6.8 Conclusion

During this study, it became apparent that South African women are not the only ones who suffer from the prevalence of gender-based violence. In fact, migrant women are even more vulnerable, resulting in the women suffering violent attacks and abuse at the hands of South African local men or their foreign husbands. The migrant women bear the brunt of both the effects of gender-based violence and xenophobic violence.

There are several causes, impacts and responses when addressing the issue of xenophobia against foreign women in South Africa. Most scholars advocate that one of the main reasons for the spread of xenophobic attacks is premised on the competition for resources (Landau, 2005; Dodson, 2010;

Crush and Ramachandaran, 2014; Dzingirirai *et al.*, 2015). This chapter revealed this assumption to be true in relation to the general causes of xenophobia towards Zimbabwean migrant women. Some of the xenophobic sentiments are instigated by local women who are jealous of the migrant women's entrepreneurial activities that seem to be thriving. The impact of xenophobia on the women seems to have far-reaching consequences. The women do not only lose their identity as they try to fit in to the local societies, they also suffer psychologically as they are the backbone of their families and they worry about protecting their children and loved ones from xenophobic attitudes and behaviour.

As much as the women endeavor to make themselves invisible by speaking the local language and adapting to the local dress, they frequently encounter xenophobic attitudes and behaviour from officials working in public institutions. The use of their identity document in public facilities is an instant marker of difference that makes them visible. This chapter established that the attitudes and behaviour that migrant women endure are not only degrading and frustrating experiences, the real challenge they face is the restricted access to essential services like legal protection, education and health care. The next chapter focuses on the challenges that some of the Zimbabwean migrant women encounter when they are trying to access health care in South Africa.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The reason why I decided to pay attention on the issue of systematic xenophobia specifically focusing on health care is that the theme appeared often during the interviews and discussions that were held with the women.

Chapter Seven

Medical Xenophobia: Accessing Sustainable Health Security in a Foreign Land

Human security comprises everything that is 'empowering' for individuals: human rights, including economic and social and cultural rights, access to education and health care, equal opportunities and good governance. (UNESCO, 2008, 3)

7.1 Introduction

The concept of human security is foregrounded on human rights, and one of those rights is the right of any individual to be entitled to proper health care or health security. Scholars like Isike and Owusu-Ampomah (2017, 3179) asserted that health security entails “access to healthcare systems and quality of care, access to safe and affordable family planning, prevention of HIV and AIDS, poor hygiene, teenage pregnancy, substance abuse and general well-being”. The United Nations article 25, 1948 on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights posits that “everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control”. The South African Constitution was constructed around this principle and asserts that South Africa belongs to all who live in it despite their place of birth or citizenship and everyone is entitled to be treated with respect and dignity (Mafuwa, 2016, 15). In other words, international human rights laws bind states to provide health care benefits for any individual who is residing in that state’s territory. This means that legal or illegal migrants in South Africa have the right to proper health care service on a non-discriminatory basis.

However, this study revealed that structures like xenophobia restrict most of the Zimbabwean migrant women from attaining health security in most of the South African public health care institutions. As cited in Crush and Tawodzerwa (2017, 1), these restrictions can be labelled ‘medical xenophobia’ referring to “the negative attitudes and practices of health sector professionals and employees towards migrants and refugees on the job”. The previous chapter showed that most South African officials (especially police officers) have xenophobic attitudes when they assist non-

citizens. They use their positions and power to restrict service and influence the way these services are delivered. Therefore, this chapter firstly focused on those forms of ill-treatment experienced by Zimbabwean migrant women that can be attributed to xenophobia when they want to access public health care. It ascertains that any form of discrimination and hostility influenced by the patient's identity as a migrant can be a form of xenophobic violence. The findings for this chapter indicate the troubling disregard of health rights of the women based on their origin and nationality by some of the health professionals. They do not, however, represent all the health care givers as some do take their ethical obligations seriously. Secondly, it puts forward the view that narratives of bad treatment of Zimbabwean migrant women in public health facilities cannot be automatically linked to xenophobia. In fact, the women are possibly caught up in the 'crisis of care' that affects every patient (local /migrant) in the public health system.

7.2 The importance of having documentation for one to get treatment

One of the many challenges that Zimbabwean women encounter in their attempts to access health care services in South Africa is the issue of proper documentation. Most of the women indicated that when they went to the hospital, they were supposed to have valid passports and temporary or permanent permits. They revealed that hospital administrators require their identification for the purposes of verifying their legal status and their eligibility for treatment. However, premised on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the constitution of South Africa, if any migrant or refugee is to seek help in a government hospital, they are entitled to be assisted like everyone else. Enia revealed that it is difficult to get treatment without producing documents such as passports. She told me the story of another Zimbabwean woman she met at a local ante-natal clinic. The woman was coming to the clinic for the first time to register for her ante-natal appointments, however, the clinic clerk refused to assist her because she did not have a valid or legal permit. Though the woman tried to give the clerk her husband's asylum permit, the clerk said loudly "We do not want your husbands permit, we want yours". The demand for some form of identification by health professionals affects the women's access to essential reproductive health care. It also heightens the women's susceptibility to other alternatives that may be detrimental to their economic security. Instead of public hospitals and clinics being places of healing, most of the women perceive and experience hospitals as places of fear. The perceptions of the women corroborate with the ideas from Social Constructivism theory which posit that the social reality of individuals is shaped by the

encounters and experiences that they are familiar with. It appears that the fear of attending public health care facilities that most migrant women have, influences them to seek health care from the private health care system which charges exorbitant prices that usually put a strain on their economic security. Most of the women revealed that they struggle to make an income from the informal sector, hence seeking medical attention from the private health sector is problematic. This provides a clear example of how structural social problems are linked to social suffering and poverty. The systematic need for documentation from migrant women in the hospitals immensely limits the lives of the women socially since in many instances it restricts them from accessing public health care. This was reflected in Danai's narrative:

Because of the stories I have heard of bad treatment in the hospitals, I normally try not to go there, I would rather go to the pharmacy and get some pills. If it is that serious, I am left with no option but to go to the private doctors who are very expensive. But they are better because they do not ask a lot of questions about your passport and permit. (Danai)

I have heard so many traumatic stories about hospitals in South Africa, such that I go to the pharmacy. I am lucky that I have never been seriously ill ever since I came to South Africa. (Nyaradzo)

While some of the women are denied access to free health care services because of the lack of a legal status and legitimate documents, some of the women indicated that their identity subjected them to poor treatment even if they had legal status. The study revealed that some of the women experienced xenophobic sentiments from healthcare professionals once they were aware of their foreign identity. They feel that they are not treated as people who are sick and in need of assistance. Instead, they are judged because they are foreign. The women regard these actions as xenophobic as they are rooted in the health care provider's dissatisfaction of migrant women using the same health care system as South Africans. As cited in Crush and Pendleton (2010), Benetar (2004, 81) asserted that most South Africans are not content with the quality of the healthcare system in public institutions. This is attributed to the staff shortages and increased workloads. However, some of the South Africans including the health care providers, are of the view that the poor service delivery is caused by an influx of foreigners, who they perceive bring diseases and socio-economic problems to the South African health care system. Walls *et al.* (2016, 14) articulated that although "there is clear evidence

of considerable migration within and into South Africa, its impact on the healthcare system is unclear and controversial, with assumptions and popular rhetoric often driving responses instead of data and evidence". The perceptions and views of the health care providers can be considered xenophobic as they construct their thoughts, responses and behaviour towards migrant women. Their behaviour substantiates the thoughts from Mitchell's Triadic Conflict Theory which posits that the existence of social conflict emanates from the tussle for power in society. "Social conflict occurs when two or more actors oppose each other in social interaction, reciprocally exerting social power in an effort to attain scarce or incompatible goals and prevent the opponent from attaining them" (Pruitt and Kim, 2004, 244). The popular local assumption that foreigners put a strain on the public resources that are meant to be for South Africans possibly also influences the health care providers in their poor treatment of migrant women. It is possible that the deep resentment for migrants of some health care providers enables them to deny that the advent of democracy has not improved the public health care system. Instead, they shift the blame to migrants.

Despite the existence of international and national policies that uphold the human security of migrant women, the women are still denied social membership in local and national communities (Nyamnjoh, 2007, 75). Therefore, it is important to note that the human security of the women cannot be provided for by the conception of rights and citizenship constructed by nation states and individuals. Instead, social relations and social membership appears to be crucial to any meaningful human security and rights claims. In other words, the relationship and experiences of the women with locals informs their capability to access their basic human security. Although some of the women have lived in South Africa for a lengthy period, some of the health care providers view them as not quite belonging to South Africa, to such an extent that they feel that migrant women should not give birth in their country as this means the number of migrants will be increasing. They feel that it would be better if the women returned to Zimbabwe. This was revealed in what some of the women said:

My husband was once hospitalized after he had a terrible accident at work. He is a construction worker and he fell from the third floor. Even the way the nurses treat you... [she shook her head and takes a deep breath]. They treat you as a foreigner. Ndaito zoita zvekuenda kuno demander service (For him to be attended to, I would

end up going there demanding for proper services). And one of the nurses asked me what we were looking for in government hospitals. (Eunice)

I gave birth in 2016, and there was an older midwife who told me that I should stop giving birth because the population in South Africa is increasing and they did not need more foreigners. She told me that I was supposed to find other means of not giving birth as this was not my country. (Enia)

Especially kuchipatara vakatoona kuti uri muKwere kwere, (especially at the hospital, if they see that you are a Kwere Kwere vanotokubata nekuseri kwe ruoko (they will not treat you well). I know of my neighbor who suffered terribly in hospital and the nurses would come and say, “is it you removed Mugabe, why is it you are still here in South Africa.” (Charity)

The above narratives revealed that amongst some of the South African health care providers, there is the embedded belief that the presence of foreigners in South Africa means that the country's population will grow rapidly. One can argue that the widespread negative beliefs and knowledge about foreigners amongst local South Africans constructs the health care providers' perceptions that if foreign women give birth in South Africa, they will be adding more strain to South Africa's structural, social and economic problems like poor service delivery. Therefore, the study revealed that when it comes to public health care, some of the health care providers perceive that migrant women should not come to public hospitals where most services are provided for free; they feel they should go to private hospitals where they will pay for the services.

7.3 Language as a barrier to accessing proper health security

Communication plays a vital role when it comes to accessing health services anywhere in the world. For the sake of delivering health care services effectively and efficiently, the patients and healthcare providers need to understand each other. Most of the women indicated that when they visited the clinic, most of the messages and instructions were communicated in the local language, isiZulu. This was possibly because the nurses have learnt, experienced and now believe that all black people in South Africa understand the local language. This supports the idea by constructivists that the knowledge of an individual is developed from their own social context and experiences.

The Zimbabwean women's inability to speak the local language constructs their insecurities and inevitably led to them being subjected to discrimination and poor access to health care services.

I still remember at the hospital, I saw the experience of another woman, she was not from Zimbabwe, but she was from Mozambique. It was not quite pleasing, the way they were talking to her and the way they were handling her. I felt like language was a huge barrier and she could not communicate well. (Hildah)

When I gave birth, the nurse said something that I did not understand, I responded in English and the nurse said she was irritated by people who speak English. She then left the room and I was later assisted by another nurse who was in the same ward. (Rufaro)

Language appears to be a visible marker that shapes the way the Zimbabwean women are constructed by the local health care providers. The lack of local language skills proves to be a social structure variable amongst others that influences the development of xenophobic attitudes. According to Mafuwa (2016, 19), there are some social structure variables that prove to be a barrier for migrant women to gain access to public health care. Besides language, culture plays a vital role in shaping the health insecurities for migrants. Scholars like Mohanty (2006, 2) asserted that “the differences that arise in terms of understanding a medical condition are shaped from different cultural belief systems”. However, drawing from the women's narratives, one can argue that, “culture as a structural variable does not influence the development of xenophobic attitudes as the language variable is always visible when patients meet health professionals for the first time (Mafuwa, 2016, 19).

The women revealed that not being able to communicate in the local language heightens their vulnerability as some of the health care providers use this to show the women that they do not belong. It seems as if the use of English as a medium of communication influences and accelerates the nurses' xenophobic attitudes towards the women. The language barrier results in poor health communication and in most cases, it creates fear and anxiety for the women when they visit public health care institutions. The conversations and discussions with the women revealed that most of the women perceive that neglect and poor treatment of migrant women in the public hospitals is rife and most seem deeply suspicious of the institutions in South Africa. These perceptions are

socially constructed from the experiences of the women in public hospitals and clinics. Some of the women's perceptions are shaped from the stories and rumors they have heard.

7.4 Ensuring female sexual and reproductive health security

This section of the study is consciously presented as a reminder that health security also includes women's sexual and reproductive health. Good sexual and reproductive health is fundamental to the ability of women to make choices and decisions about their own personal lives including the decision as to whether they want to have children or not. It does not only entail the physical well-being, it also includes the existence of healthy and respectful relationships with health care providers who should provide safe, appropriate and accurate information on affordable and effective contraceptives.

However, conversations with some of the Zimbabwean women revealed that they did not feel secure in the way they have access to contraceptives from public health institutions. The women revealed that some of the birth control methods like the injection and the implant were administered without their consent. This normally happened in the hospitals after giving birth and most of the women felt that this was xenophobic. Local South African women are also administered with injections without their own consent, but nurses usually give the reason that it would be unwise for the women to fall pregnant whilst they are breastfeeding. The reasons are however different when it comes to migrant women; nurses told them that they had to use stronger birth control methods as they should not continue to give birth in South Africa increasing the number of foreigners in the country.

The nurse came, and they did not even ask me, they just told me to roll up my nightdress sleeve and I assumed they wanted to put me on the drip, when I saw her take out the implant package, I immediately told her that I didn't want an implant. But she just continued, and she told me that the implant was for five years and it was going to keep me from giving birth in a country that was not mine. I later went to see a private doctor after a month for it to be removed as it had a lot of side effects.

(Enia)

Charity shared a similar story: She told the midwife that she was comfortable using birth control pills but, just after giving birth, she remembered she was injected twice and thought these were anesthetic injections. Two months after having given birth, she was still experiencing problems with

bleeding. When she went to the local clinic, she was informed that this was normal as she had been given the injection for birth control. She also experienced xenophobic undertones as this appeared to be a means of controlling the number of children born to migrants. This shows that some of the local health care professionals appear to have xenophobic sentiments and attitudes that inform their actions and behaviour premised on the popular belief that the increase in the number of migrants in South Africa stifles the opportunities that are meant to be for South African citizens only.

The women in this study felt both vulnerable and as if their identity as migrants denied them the right to choose their birth control of choice. In most cases, as Charity revealed, the women unknowingly start using two birth control methods at the same time, which usually has negative effects. In her case, she was unaware of the injection she had been given and she started using birth control pills. The ill-treatment that the women receive, constructs their identity as second-class citizens who do not quite belong or fit into South African society. The xenophobic attitudes and sentiments make the women feel unwanted in a foreign land where they had hoped to find security and better livelihoods. This identity as second-class citizens and the feeling of being unwanted makes the women more vulnerable to other forms of insecurity in South Africa.

Even though most of the women who were interviewed indicated that they received bad treatment in public hospitals and clinics, some of the women like Loveness were treated well:

When I gave birth to Sunshine at Addington hospital, handinga nyepe, ndaka batwa zvakakanaka ini (I do not want to lie, I received the best treatment). (Loveness)

7.5 A public health system in crisis or the existence of medical xenophobia

Going to the hospital for checkups with my child is not easy at all because we sometimes spend over three hours in the queue just waiting to be served. (Vivian)

Although most of the women interviewed felt they had encountered xenophobic attitudes from public health care professionals, we cannot dismiss the fact that there is a thin line between medical xenophobia and a deteriorating South African public health care system. Writing in the 90s, Jewkes et al. (1998) conducted a study that established that both local and migrant patients suffer due to the poor health care system which continues to deteriorate daily. Scholars like Crush and Tawodzerwa (2017, 9) articulated that the public health care system in South Africa is heavily overburdened and

most public facilities struggle to provide sustainable quality health care. Some of the facilities have derelict buildings that are hazardous for patients and most of the time, they are overcrowded. Crush and Tawodzerwa (2017, 9) further posited that this is because of “staff shortages as most of the people leave to find jobs in other industrial countries”. Reflecting on Vivian’s narrative, some of the women link any kind of ill-treatment in hospitals to xenophobia because of their constructed perceptions that they will receive bad treatment because of their identity. They have become accustomed to the learnt assumptions that any form of ill-treatment they receive from a local South African is because they are foreign and is the manifestation of xenophobic violence. However, one does not need to look too far for cases of poor and delayed treatments for local South African patients. Based on the narratives, it is fair to surmise that some of the poor treatment is specifically directed at foreigners.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter looked at how some of the Zimbabwean migrant women are victims of medical xenophobia. Although they are constitutionally entitled to health security in South Africa despite their legal status and documentation, most of the women indicated that it was a challenge to visit local hospitals and clinics for the first time without a valid passport, temporary or permanent permit. They revealed that the hospital system represented by the clerks and administrators somehow sidelined the women based on their origin and nationality with attitudes which can be termed xenophobic. It also appears that some of the health care nurses find it difficult to separate their xenophobic sentiments and their ethical and legal obligation to serve the patients without discrimination. The perceived assumptions of local communities that migrants compete for and exhaust the resources meant for South Africans, influence the attitudes and behaviour of some of the nurses. This chapter also revealed that social structures like language heighten the women’s vulnerability as they pose visible markers that one is foreign and are also barriers to communication between the patient and the health care providers which can exacerbate xenophobic sentiments. However, this chapter also established that although migrant women are susceptible to poor treatment due to their identity, the deteriorating health care system in South Africa influences how all people are treated in public hospitals.

Having established some of the insecurities that Zimbabwean migrant women encounter, it is important to note that these women are not always victims. In fact, some develop a sense of agency in all their endeavors to sustain their human security. Therefore, the next chapter focuses on ways that the women have access to agency in their personal spaces as well as their informal trading spaces.

Chapter Eight

Migrant Women, Informal Trading and Agency

8.1 Introduction

Most of the literature on migrant women in South Africa portrays the women as victims of gender-based violence, xenophobia and possibly any form of human insecurity. However, it is essential to acknowledge that the women's multiple experiences construct the different standpoints of their lived realities which do not always depict them as victims. Kihato (2009, 206) asserted that "women's daily lives are too complex to fit neatly into binary constructed categories of 'victims or 'victors'". Placing the women's lives into static categories limits our own understanding of gender and migration as well as the experiences of the women in a foreign land. Previous chapters (Chapter Five) in the study revealed that women do have agency in the migration process as they actively make decisions that appear to be strategic in emancipating them from structural and economic insecurities in Zimbabwe. However, the next chapter (Chapter Six) revealed that most of the women go on to face heightened insecurities in South Africa as they continue to live under oppressive patriarchal conditions of various kinds in their intimate relationships with both local and foreign men which leaves them vulnerable to gender-based violence. Also, the fact that the women identify themselves and are identified as *foreign* socially constructs them as the 'other' and in most cases, excludes them from being active in South Africa's formal economy which automatically positions them as targets of exploitative practices by police officials and others

Nevertheless, the women sometimes strategically use their positions as the 'other' and victims of insecurities to attain what they want. They sometimes use their predicaments as a means of survival and coping in South Africa. Therefore, the primary focus of this chapter is to show that as Zimbabwean migrant women go about with their daily lives, they embody many identities. They sometimes use these identities strategically to their own advantage and in some instances, the identities shape and influence some of the burdens they bear.

8.2 Love or survival: Women's Survival of intimate partner violence

Most of the research on female migration indicates that many of the women move as individual actors fleeing from various forms of insecurities in their countries in search of a better livelihood and other

means of protection. However, the excitement and anticipation for better jobs, opportunities, economic and social security is easily shadowed with their lived realities as they are constructed as the 'other' and are exposed to a range of insecurities in South Africa. Almost all the women who were interviewed for this study revealed that it was difficult to experience the security and the life changing opportunities they imagined they would encounter in South Africa (Kihato, 2009; Dodson, 2010; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015; Crush *et al.*, 2015; Dzingirai *et al.*, 2015). Living conditions are often hard and with the participants being involved in informal trading, they struggle to make ends meet. A visit to Charity's house revealed that some of the migrant women reside in dilapidated, overcrowded and poorly maintained blocks of flats where the rooms are usually divided with cardboard boxes. These conditions, coupled with a significant percentage of the women being undocumented, heighten their vulnerabilities as they are labelled as 'other'. It is important to note that women are not only susceptible outside, but also within their homes. Some of the women revealed that they remain in abusive relationships as a way of ensuring that they have access to basic goods, such as shelter, clothing and food. Their relationships, with both foreign and local men, are influenced by their need to depend on someone who they feel can provide for and take care of them. The fact that some of the women's needs are taken care of shapes their beliefs and perceptions around the idea that intimate partner violence is normal and tolerable. This is reflected in Vivian's narrative who revealed that she is accustomed to her partner abusing her, but she is dependent on the partner. It is important to note that they are both foreign (the partner is Nigerian) which illustrates that local men are not the only ones who perpetuate gender-based violence and abuse.

My Nigerian boyfriend is not always nice to me, especially when he is frustrated, he can even beat you up... I just tell myself that it is part of life, no relationship has got no issues.... He gives me good money. (Vivian)

The study revealed that those women who engage in intimate relationships with local South African men appear to have the mindset that their predicaments are constructed on the lack of a legal status that poses as a form of oppression which can only be dealt with if the women are in relationships with local South African men. They do so with the short-term goal of attaining stability and security in the form of basic needs like food and shelter; the long-term goal would be marriage which would ensure access to the South African identity book. Joyce's narrative revealed that she was involved in a relationship with a local South African man and as a long-term goal she anticipated that one day

she would be married and thus earn a South African identity book that would give her access to some of the basic services.

I knew that I would be sorted if he was going to marry me.... Look at Matilda⁶⁵, she got herself a South African man and her papers and life are sorted. (Joyce)

However, she suffered from gender-based violence: the man would always beat her and was very possessive. She endured the violence for some time as it proved to be a survival strategy and a means to earning the South African identity book. The women's agency is visible with their endeavors to acquire something positive from their spaces of victimhood. Listening to the women's stories reveals that the heightened pressure and need for a legal status and basic survival in South Africa shapes the emphasis on the material function of a marriage or a relationship for some of the women. Engaging with local South African men appears to be a coping and survival strategy for acquiring basic needs, and, more notably a way of attaining legal status to reside in South Africa. The legal status/documentation is important as it means fewer chances of deportation for the women and other exclusions that migrants encounter. The hope for a South African identity book does not mean that the women want a sense of identity as South Africans; as Joyce explained it, the women only want access to the benefits that come with being a citizen, and most importantly an escape from structural poverty. Scholars like Kiwanuka (2010, 173) stated that "migrant women exchange their present self with the hope of a better situation comprised of security, liberation and access to essential services". This reveals the different forms of subjugation that migrant women experience. It presents how, "they negotiate one part of their identity to improve their overall vulnerability" (Von Kitzing, 2017, 15). It seems some of the women enter relationships which are sometimes exploitative with an understanding of the consequences.

8.3 The existence of social institutions and networks that promote women's agency

In dealing with some of the complexities that Zimbabwean migrant women encounter, the study also revealed that the women have institutions they can turn to when they feel they need psycho-social support. One of these institutions, as revealed by some of the women, is the Refugee Social Services. Some of the participants like Chipo and Vivian indicated that they regularly attended some of the

⁶⁵ Matilda was one of the Zimbabwean women who was friends with Joyce, however, she was not one of the participants for the study.

programmes offered by the organization. The organization specifically deals with helping refugees and any migrant person in South Africa, helping them to integrate with communities and offering counselling. The programmes, as revealed by Chipo, help to take the minds of the women off their daily struggles and give them the space to recollect.

It takes your mind away from the stresses of being here in South Africa. (Chipo)

On 14 June 2018 I had the privilege of attending one of the programmes with Chipo. It was a citizen's forum on the prevalence of femicide in South Africa. It provided a platform for the migrant women who attended to understand more about violence against women. The dialogue touched on all forms of violence experienced by women and xenophobia and gender-based violence appeared to top the list for migrant women. The members of the Refugee Social Services actively engage themselves in offering coping strategies to the Zimbabwean and other migrant women who face covert and overt xenophobia and gender-based violence. They offer women the opportunity to discover entrepreneurial and economic ideas that can enable them to sustain an income. For instance, women are taught dressmaking and bead making which adds to their skills. Considering the income and profits that the women get from their informal trading businesses is not always sustainable, additional skills help with income from different avenues ensuring more sustainable economic security. The organization is linked with other larger organizations which are also vocal about the well-being and the security of women like the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Figure 8.1: Some of the products that the women make in dressmaking and beading lessons



(Photos taken by researcher)

Some of the women who were interviewed revealed that they found solace, support and solutions by being part of faith based organisations. Most Zimbabwean women rely on their faith and believe that despite the prevalence of gender-based violence and xenophobia in their spaces, they will always be protected. Eunice said:

Kuno hatichisina nguva, zvinhu zvacho zviru kungooma asi Mwari anoramba achitivhurira nzira (We no longer have time here in South Africa, because the situation keeps getting difficult daily, but we believe that God will continue to guide our path. (Eunice)

Despite some of the challenges and difficult experiences that the women encounter, very few women see themselves as victims. Instead, they use words that are based on faith and their religious beliefs help them to survive in a foreign land that seems not to provide much-needed human security. One of the interesting things about the faith based organisations that most of the women attend, was that they are originally from Zimbabwe and their congregation is approximately ninety-five percent Zimbabweans. This confirms the fact that Zimbabwean migrant women become part of different

social codes and networks with their fellow countrymen, which possibly makes it easier to cope with covert or overt forms of xenophobia and gender-based violence. These social networks provide a space of security for most of the women as they can form closely knit relationships where they are able to discuss their challenges with others. They provide a sense of ‘belonging’ in a space where ‘belonging’ and integrating proves to be a challenge. Most of the faith based organisations create networks of national and ethnic relationships which are very important in constructing the women’s agency. These networks appear to be a source of support for the women during times of crisis. In the event that one of the women is affected by xenophobia or struggling financially, these church / community networks often contribute money to their fellow countrymen. Since most of the women are involved in informal trading, the created networks come in handy when they have no money for food or when they need start-up capital for their informal trading businesses. Eunice explained that most of the women at her church pay some certain amount every two weeks in an allocated account, and the money is reserved for helping women who are in dire need. However, such networks can increase the responsibilities and burden some of the women have compromising their own financial and economic security. They may end up with responsibilities they are unable to fulfil. The existence of these social networks also at times compromises physical security as they appear to encourage silence about and endurance of domestic violence in the women’s homes. The leaders of these faith based organisations do however provide counselling sessions and some of the women who face gender-based violence in their homes turn to these organisations for help. In other words, the community ends up setting and constructing the conditions in which the women are supposed to react to domestic violence. This was reflected by Benhilda who revealed that after suffering from domestic violence, she sought help and solace from her pastor’s wife who encouraged her to be a forgiving wife and pray for her marriage. The conditions set by these networks are structural as they continuously develop behavioral codes that turn a blind eye to the existence of gender-based violence in some of the women’s homes.

For women like Claudette being part of a faith based organisation enabled her to boost her business as she knows that all the products she sells are in demand in the Zimbabwean community. In other words, one can argue that the existence of some of these social networks facilitate agency in the host country and in some instances, they also constrain their agency.

8.4 Bribing police officers and the use of fake documentation

Most of the women in the study showed that being involved in informal trading is not easy as they struggle with their status of being foreign and sometimes undocumented. Their struggles are coupled with the dynamics of competitive informal trading in the city center. It appears those women whose workspaces are located on the streets of Durban encounter other problems from the metro police officers who often raid their stalls or chase them away from their work spaces to implement municipal by-laws. The urban spaces that the women occupy are usually considered illegal by the municipalities, hence the raids. Despite the raids, both local and migrant people continue to occupy the spaces for informal trading. Even though these raids affect both local and migrant persons, the migrant women certainly feel more vulnerable and believe that police officers target them because they are foreign. This was reflected by Rufaro:

Not a day goes by without metro coming by. Before, they used to chase us away, but nowadays they just come, and we give them some money and they leave. If we do not have money, they can even start searching for bronco⁶⁶ from the other guys we work with... I have never seen them harassing or getting money from South African, they just come to us. (Rufaro)

In their competitive informal trading environments, the women are inclined to set aside money to pay off the metro police officers. Their fear of being chased away from their work spaces and potentially losing clients for the day constructs the women to be fully aware of the need to budget for the bribe money. Rufaro revealed that she and her other Zimbabwean colleagues had to collect a minimum of R50 each to give to the police officers. Despite the women feeling like the victims of exploitative xenophobic behaviour from the police officers, it appears the practice of bribing the police officers is a routine that the women are now used to, and it guarantees their survival on the streets of Durban.

This practice is not unique to the migrant women working on the streets, it is also common for some of the women working in informal shops or buildings; police officers soliciting for bribes is simply part of the business. This is revealed in Petronella's narrative. She is a forty-five-year-old woman who owns and runs her own internet café together with her son. However, she uses her internet café

⁶⁶ Bronco is a short cut term for Broncleer a cough syrup mixture that used to be sold over the counter in pharmacies in South Africa. It was mostly purchased by drug addicts who were now using the cough syrup mixture to get high.

as a cover for another operation where she forges and makes fake documentation for foreigners in South Africa. She makes fake legal documentation that can only be used when one simply wants to present some form of documentation in places like the hospital and when one is looking for a job in smaller companies that do not necessarily look at the authenticity of the documents. Petronella also experiences police officers soliciting for bribes:

There is really no need to panic when I see the police in here, even if they know what is going on, ndikavapa yedrink nyaya inenga yatopera (If I just give them bribe money for them to go buy drinks, it will be sorted). (Petronella)

The latter reveals another salient theme of how some migrant women manipulate the system by using fake documentation. Even though the women's illegal status heightens their vulnerability, mostly in public institutions like hospitals, some find the means to ensure access to some of the services they would normally have been excluded from. This clearly shows that some of the women manipulate their victimhood to their advantage. Their survival instincts help them to find ways in which they can benefit from a social and economic system that structurally excludes them.

8.5 Constructing street-wise bodies: Adapting to their workspace environment to promote agency

Although Zimbabwean migrant women are viewed as invisible bodies and are labelled as 'other', the study also revealed that the women sometimes use their bodies and the things they learn from their surroundings to their advantage. They develop their bodies to be street-smart to ensure their survival. They nurture several techniques that assist them to navigate their working spaces with ease. One of those techniques is adapting and learning the local isiZulu language. Although language has been presented to be a visible marker that disadvantages the women as 'other', it is important to note that some of the women use it to their own advantage and it somehow ensures their agency and survival. Participants like Chipo, a street vendor who sells second-hand clothes, said:

Because we work in the street, we must at least know and understand the language. You cannot canvass and attract the customers speaking English. (Chipo)

Spending time with some of the women, revealed that the women can lure their clients by using rudimentary isiZulu. Their ability to speak enough of the local language to communicate with

potential customers seemed helpful for the women and it proved to be a survival mechanism. I noticed that some of the women changed their accents when they started canvassing or when they were conversing with potential clients. Their surroundings shape them to learn and incorporate some basic parts of the local language. For instance, in their endeavor to attract customers they would use isiZulu catch phrases, for instance, saying ‘*unjani*’ (how are you) or trying to create a social connection with the clients by referring to them as ‘*sisi*’ (sister) or ‘*bhuti*’ (brother). It is, therefore, important to note that it is through adapting and switching of their accents that the women are constructed to become temporary insiders. Their identity as migrant women who are possibly victims is overshadowed as the locals perceive them, even briefly, as one of their own, and they look beyond the stereotype of a foreign street vendor or street hairdresser.

The other technique that the women use to ensure that they navigate their security in their working spaces is equipping themselves with relevant knowledge of their local. This ensures that they remain as invisible bodies but to their advantage. To ensure that they are not caught between the criminality and the gender-based violence on the street, most women are conscious about the time they knock off from their informal work spaces. Even though all men are not perpetrators of violence and sexual coercion, because of the rapid prevalence of sexual offenses and violence, the Zimbabwean women are constructed to perceive all South African men as predators. Because of this assumption, the women are always conscious of their security and they navigate the city with great caution. They feel that their identity as foreigners coupled with their inability to speak the local language fluently, heightens their vulnerabilities. Drawing from CSVIR study of 2008, this results in women being largely invisible in the urban center after certain hours. The Zimbabwean migrant women perceive their homes as relatively safe spaces where they are not as vulnerable to crime and xenophobia. This was revealed by Charity and Chipo who said:

During holidays like Christmas it is important that you knock off early to avoid being mugged at the market. Once you try fighting back speaking English, they will make it their point to take everything from you and possibly harm you. (Charity)

This is South Africa, anything can happen to you. You just must be careful and avoid being in the wrong places. (Chipo)

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter sought to provide another way of seeing and comprehending the lived experiences of the Zimbabwean migrant women. The previous chapters presented the women as invisible bodies and victims of their experiences. However, this chapter presents the idea that women do have agency. Despite the challenges they encounter, they somehow manage to take advantage of their situation to ensure survival. Most importantly, the chapter shows that to fully understand the lives of the migrant women we need to go beyond boxing them as either victims or heroines (Kihato, 2007, 107). Celebrating agency does not do away with some of the structural conditions that oppress women, even when they are trying to display agency. This chapter revealed that women do have agency when they engage in relationships with local South African men for strategic benefits, when they join social networks, when they bribe police officials and when they try to adapt to the environment. But it also shows that migrant women continue to live under oppressive structural conditions like patriarchy and political circumstances in which political discourses continue to exclude them from partaking in the social services in the society which hosts them (Kihato, 2007,107). This strengthens the fact that the voices of the migrant women cannot be put into categories; instead their voices show that their experiences are sometimes constructed to aid their survival and at other times, they construct their insecurities.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion: Disentangling Vulnerabilities

9.1 Introduction

Although there are several scholars (Chireka, 2015; Dodson, 2015, Crush and Tawodzerwa, 2017) who have published pertaining to the challenges that Zimbabwean migrant women encounter in South Africa, very few⁶⁷ address how the concept of human security can be included in the discourse of female migration, xenophobia and gender-based violence. It was therefore the aim of this study to use the human security framework to understand the challenges that Zimbabwean migrant women face that include both xenophobia and gender-based violence. All this study's research questions were intertwined to understand the human security concerns of the women both prior to migrating to South Africa and during their stay in South Africa. It was established that most of the women fled from insecurities in Zimbabwe only to be confronted by a range of dynamic insecurities in South Africa. Answering these questions entailed more than simply presenting the stories of the women, the victimization they face or the stories which portray them as resilient survivors. Going beyond these themes, it became clear that their daily experiences are premised on the construction of their multiple identities. Although the experiences of women are specifically tied to their identity as migrants, it cannot be denied that some of their experiences such as intimate partner violence are similar to those of the local South African women. The changing aspects of their particular class, gender and nationality certainly construct their experiences, but they share many experiences with other women. Therefore, the experiences of the Zimbabwean migrant women enlighten or help inform us of the broader experience of being a woman (a vulnerable and marginalized group) in South Africa. Kihato (2009, 187) noted that, "migrant women certainly share class, gendered and 'outsider' characteristics with others, including categories of women of South African origin". For instance, most of the challenges and questions about safety, domestic violence and the insensitive reaction of the police to gender-based violence, reverberate with many of the experiences of local South African women. However, these experiences are more likely to be intensified when it comes to migrant women who are even more susceptible due to their migrant status.

⁶⁷ They do not necessarily align their studies along the human security discourse, instead they simply focus on some of the possible xenophobic challenges they face as they try to settle in South Africa.

The literature that was reviewed revealed much has been written to explain why there is an influx of Zimbabwean migrants into South Africa (Matsinhe, 2011; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015; Crush *et al.*, 2015; Dzingirai, 2015; Mc Duff, 2015; Crush *et al.*, 2017). There are certainly several reasons that explain the drivers of migration in Southern Africa, but exploring the socio-political background information on Zimbabwe, identifies some of the unique patterns of migration. Traditionally, the movement of people in Southern Africa was influenced by men coming to work in the mines, while today it is influenced by the need for political emancipation, with people fleeing their countries of origin because of protracted conflict and economic challenges that endanger their livelihoods and human security. The use of the concept of human security in this study provides an understanding of the relationship between gender and human security: the security of the individual/citizen is very important and is intertwined with gender security. The study proposes that the Zimbabwean women's experiences are mostly based on their social locations, and the connection with their social-economic background, which in most instances renders them insecure. Their insecurities are shaped by patriarchy, structural poverty and economic insecurities in Zimbabwe which seem to be protracted and intensified in South Africa with the prevalence of both xenophobia and gender-based violence.

9.2 Ways of understanding the experiences of the Zimbabwean migrant women

To understand the migrant women's challenges with their identity and their endeavors to belong in a foreign land, this study used a methodological approach which linked multiple forms of analysis. Its starting point was the need to understand how the women's human insecurities are constructed before they make the decision to migrate to South Africa. The study further explores the reality of the compounded insecurities that most of the women encounter in South Africa. The study used their words as an entry point into comprehending the various subjective and objective factors that create and shape our own understanding of their insecurities. The data collection techniques included interviews and participant observation. The use of participant observation provided me with alternate view points of the women's experience which contributed to a contextual and deepening understanding.

The study used both snowball and purposive sampling to select the 29 participants that were interviewed using informal interviews or unstructured questions contained in an interview guide. Seven South African women were interviewed to give a better understanding of the prevalence of

gender-based violence in South Africa. Their lived experiences combined with content analysis clearly illustrated the rampant prevalence of violence against women in South Africa. The study also interviewed 22 Zimbabwean migrant women. The selection process was specifically focused on those women who were working in the informal sector. Thus, most of the Zimbabwean women interviewed were either working in the hair salons, selling on the streets or doing some other work like sewing.

To better understand their experiences, the study adopted the Structural Violence theory, the Social Ecological model, and Social Constructivism and Triadic conflict theory. Using Structural Violence theory, this study applied the views of Galtung (1969, 168) who defined violence “as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is”. This study established that structural violence is played out on the bodies of migrant women daily in South Africa through the prevalence of xenophobia and gender-based violence. In the case of gender-based violence, structural violence affects both migrant and local South African women. The literature shows that traditional norms like patriarchy contribute to structural faults that play a big part in instigating violence against migrant women. In order to further explore the prevalence of violence against women, the study also adopted the works of the Social Ecological Model which complements the Structural Violence theory. The model enables one to understand the different socio-economic factors that influence the existence of violence against migrant women from a gender-based violence point of view. The study also used Social Constructivism Theory to establish that the behaviour and beliefs of most of the women are shaped by the experiences they encounter daily in their living spaces. To explain the existence of xenophobic and social conflict that some of the migrant women encounter, the study made use of the theoretical lenses of Triadic Conflict Theory.

9.3 Study findings

The study established that most of the Zimbabwean women participants migrated to South Africa due to economic and political reasons. This finding strengthens the views of Bloch (2010, 235) who asserted that most of the people who migrated from Zimbabwe left their country with a collapsed economy characterized by unemployment, hyperinflation, the prevalence of human rights violation and the persecution of members of the political opposition. Most of the women indicated that they were not able to provide for themselves and their families. The economic challenges subjected them

to conditions of poverty which made it very difficult to earn a living. Scholars like Black *et al.* (2006, 116) noted that South Africa has always been the largest migrant receiving country and during this period most of the people who migrated from Zimbabwe viewed the move as a strategy for poverty reduction. Dzingirai *et al.* (2014) concurred with this view asserting that the triggers of migration in Zimbabwe appear to be strongly associated with the existence of economic challenges and poverty which jeopardize the citizens' basic human security principle of economic security. Most of the participants had struggled to maintain a sustainable and decent livelihood in their home country.

While some were fleeing from economic insecurities, others, like Dairo, revealed that they decided to migrate for reasons of personal security which was being violated by the existence of gender-based violence. Kihato (2009) proposed that some of the migrant women were fleeing patriarchal circumstances and migration was seen as an escape route and a ticket to freedom. Thus, other scholars like Fuller (2008) and Sigsworth *et al.* (2008) proposed that migrant women are victims of compounded trauma in the sense that in their home countries they were victims of gender-based violence and conflict and migrating into a new space brings further insecurities and challenges. Morokvasic (1991), writing over two decades ago, argued that "in some ways migration is a ticket out of abuse and gender discrimination, which drives women more than men to be on the move." The existence of these social controls over women influences migration and most of the women viewed migration as a move to being able to take their own decisions without restriction.

Migration was also seen as a means to finding a solution to support their livelihoods and families. Some of the women transitioned informal cross border trading to permanent migration. Chikanda and Tawodzera (2017) conducted a study which focused on the increase of entrepreneurial informal cross-border traders from Zimbabwe to South Africa and revealed that over 3,5 million people were involved in cross-border trading. Some of the migrant women in this study shifted from being informal cross-border traders to living permanently in South Africa, conducting other informal businesses.

For some of the women, migration to South Africa can be attributed to the need to conserve cultural security and strengthening family ties. Some migrated to South Africa to join their husbands. Upon arrival, the women often searched for other Zimbabweans to help with finding accommodation and integrating into the community. It appears most of the women viewed moving to South Africa as a

survival strategy to emancipate them from their own human insecurities. However, it is important question the contention that all the Zimbabwean women in South Africa are survival migrants. The argument is premised on the idea that the socio-economic and political conditions in Zimbabwe promote insecurities that influence the women to flee for survival. However, this does not really explain why many Zimbabweans have not left the country. Only viewing the women as survival migrant's risks making the migration patterns all too similar downplaying the differences of migration movement out of the country.

Having established the key drivers of cross-border migration, it is important to note that the study also established that the challenges in South African society cannot be separated from the politics of gender. To explain the prevalence of xenophobia and gender-based violence towards migrant women, it is important to understand how the South African society is constructed in terms of gender-based violence. Through the lived experiences of some of the local women, the study revealed that the prevalence of gender-based violence poses a serious challenge. Most of the women revealed that violence against women was common in intimate partner relationships. Patriarchy influences male violence, male domination and male control and some of the participants revealed that patriarchy silences the voices of most women even if they face terrible circumstances. Considering these experiences, the study revealed that migrant women have their security compromised as they must navigate handling both their identities as women and as foreigners.

It appears that Zimbabwean migrant women are victims of gender-based violence that also has xenophobic undertones. This was specifically shown by the women who had intimate partners who were South Africans. Any woman in South Africa can be a victim of gender-based violence, however, migrant women are more vulnerable because of their lack of agency and the existence of structural factors like legality. For some of the women, engaging in intimate relationships with local men proved to be a way of attaining a South African identity book in the event that they married the men. However, using the Social Ecological Model, the study contends that in some instances, this arrangement fuels the existence of gender-based violence as it gives the local men the belief that they own the women, resulting in them being controlling and violent. This can simply be called gender-based violence, but this study established that it is also xenophobic in nature as the women are rendered more vulnerable because of their foreign identity. While the women suffer at the hands of local men, the study also revealed that some of the women suffered gender-based violence from

their foreign husbands too. The fact that the women are migrants places them in a space where they are more vulnerable. In a foreign land, Zimbabwean women are likely to feel safer with close family ties. For most of the women, the concept of home is a place where there is a sense of inclusion and belonging. The findings of the study showed that some of the women made the decision to move to South Africa to join their husbands and naturally this meant that their sense of inclusion and belonging was fulfilled by having someone they were connected to. However, when violence starts in their own personal homes, where they are supposed to be feeling safe, they become particularly vulnerable (see Kihato, 2009, 159).

It also appears that migrant women are more vulnerable to sexual harassment than local women. This study has shown that it is easier for local women to report to relevant authorities. The Zimbabwean women participants would not report anything for the fear of being harassed by the police, as well as of exposing their illegality. The lived experiences of the migrant women can be explored and understood using the concepts of power, space and belonging.⁶⁸ In a study titled *Migration, Gender, and Urbanization in Johannesburg*, Kihato (2009) claimed that African cities are confusing and very difficult to understand. In some instances, the urban experiences go against easy characterization and are simultaneously contradictory: “cities appear to be spaces of opportunities and abject poverty; connectivity to global circuits of people, goods and ideas, yet simultaneously contain spaces of marginalization; cities are places of hope and creativity and at the same time despair and despondency; they are the heralds of democracy yet where some of the most violent abuse of human rights have taken place” (Kihato 2009, 18). The lives of the Zimbabwean migrant women are an example of some of these complexities. They are not only caught between global and local circuits, but the women seem to need to continuously renegotiate their livelihoods, structural patriarchy, moral and socio-cultural norms and ways of belonging.

The identity of the women proved to be intertwined with their sense of security. This was reflected in the way they dress, their hairstyles and the language they speak. These characteristics become instant markers that render them vulnerable to xenophobia. In most cases their identity silences their

⁶⁸ These themes could possibly be recommended for future studies. I did not engage with these themes comprehensively as this would have steered the direction of the thesis away from its initial research questions. Nevertheless, one cannot deny the role that the lives of migrant women play in shaping the social and spatial structures of the city.

voices; they were silenced by insecurity and fear that they might be subjected to verbal violence or even worse. Their identity often subjects them to being labelled with derogatory terms like *Kwere Kwere*. They are faced with these degrading xenophobic sentiments and challenges in their work spaces as well as in public institutions. The women felt that the challenges they face in public institutions are xenophobic and they start as soon as they reveal their identity documents. Despite legislative efforts to ensure that there is the provision of proper health care for everyone (including the minority), most of the participants had been victims of systematic xenophobia. Treatment they received in public hospitals was at times harsh as soon as their foreign identities were revealed. Public officials appear to believe that only South African nationals are entitled to benefit from the government services.

The findings of the study do not portray the women as only victims of their circumstances; instead the women retain some sense of power within to negotiate and navigate the disadvantaging positions they find themselves in, being foreign and female. Some of the women's survival tactics are 'two-sided', showing the thin line between agency and oppression. This was specifically noted in how migrant women engage in abusive relationships with the intention of marriage which will give them legal South African documentation. Being in abusive relationships means that the women present their bodies as platforms for oppression; however, as a form of agency, staying in these relationships gives the potential for a change of identity that could increase their access to resources.

9.4 Intersectionality of identities: Understanding the experiences of migrant women

Although I did not specifically and separately engage with this concept of intersectionality in the other chapters, the concept can be used here, in trying to understand the experiences of these black African migrant women. Coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), the concept has been applauded as one of the most significant contributors to the development of feminist scholarship. Intersectionality contends that different social identities like race, gender, class and sexuality conjoin and inform each other in what Patricia Hill Collins (1993) labelled 'interlocking systems of oppression'. In the words of Carastathis (2014, 304), "in feminist theory, intersectionality has become the predominant way of conceptualizing the relation between the system of oppression which constructs our multiple identities and social locations in hierarchies of power and privileges". Carastathis further posited that it has become common knowledge within feminist theory to argue that the lives of women are

socially shaped by a number of interconnecting systems of oppression. The view that “oppression is not a singular process or a binary political relation, but is better understood as constituted by multiple converging, or interwoven systems – originates in anti-racist feminist critiques of the claim that women’s subjugation could be captured through an analysis of gender alone” (Carastathis, 2014, 305). The concept of intersectionality contends that the inequality and subjugation of women cannot be credited to a specific single factor; instead it is a result of interconnected social locations, power relations and experiences (Hanklvsy, 2014, 2). In the same vein, as cited in Waiganjo (2017, 48), Squires (2008) argued that “the concept of intersectionality emerged in response to the inability of various singular analysis of structural inequality to recognize the complex interrelation between forms of oppression”. Pheko (2011) noted that almost all women are somehow subject to gender discrimination, however factors that include race and skin colour, age, ethnicity, language, ancestry, sexual orientation, religion, culture and status as a migrant person (refugee, internally displaced person, child) combine to construct one’s vulnerability.

Crenshaw (1989) in her work entitled *Demarginalizing the Intertsection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics* first introduced the term to shed light on how black women were marginalized within anti-discrimination law. Two years later, Crenshaw (1991) extended the meaning and intensity of intersectionality in her work *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence against Women of Color*. Carbado *et al.* (2014) noted that Crenshaw made use of intersectionality to shed light on “social movement organizations and advocacy around violence against women of color, particularly those from immigrant and socially disadvantaged communities.” The study acknowledged the “complexities of shared and lived experiences, as well as the power structures that construct the attitudes of locals towards foreigners” (Carastathis, 2014, 304).

The narratives and analysis in this study posit that local citizens represent a group which is privileged with unlimited access to basic services. Foreigners or non-citizens represent a group which is vulnerable and oppressed. The fact that the migrant women were all black Africans strengthens the idea that “xenophobic attitudes and violence cut across gender, race and class” (Ndinda and Ndhlovu, 2016, 133). The focus on the women’s informal trading spaces should not be misunderstood to imply that such spaces are the epicenter of the prevalence of xenophobia and gender-based violence in South Africa. Xenophobic and gender-based violence has largely been

inflicted on the bodies of African women, but there have been reports of such violence directed at other groups. I argue that the use of the concept of intersectionality is important to ensure that we do not combine group differences thereby preventing us from noticing that violence is shaped by many factors that include, race, gender and class (see Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Collins, 1998). The concept of intersectionality includes gender, class, race, ethnicity and other issues. It unpacks how power structures shape the experiences of a group of people positively or negatively. In this case, the group of people are the migrant women. The changing aspects of inclusion and exclusion are linked to gender and citizenship, while ‘pigeon-holing’ “essentializes and exaggerates perceived cultural differences and thus gives rise to prejudice and antagonism” (Dodson, 2010, 6). Therefore, the concept of intersectionality does not only provide an understanding of how relations between local citizens and the migrant women are articulated or described, negotiated and contested, but it also sheds light on how migrant women’s identities and security are constructed in South Africa.

9.5 Social Ecological Model violence

The use of the Social Ecological model might help with finding a solution to understanding and preventing gender-based violence/ xenophobia against women in South Africa. According to Heise (1998), the way one behaves is a direct result of the interaction between the individual and their contexts. This theory opines that gender-based violence affected by factors such as patriarchal attitudes, sexism, poverty, drug abuse, unemployment, easy access to guns and exposure to high levels of community violence (Heise 1998; Heise *et al.*, 2002). Premised on the above assumptions, we may only be able to change the way individuals behave if there is change to the social context.

Considering the prevalence of gender-based violence and xenophobia towards the Zimbabwean women, the study recommends the construction of initiatives that facilitate education among local South Africans. Informing the local community about the importance of integration and *ubuntu* could reduce the negative sentiments that local people have towards migrant people and promote a spirit of African unity. This study focused on Zimbabwean women; however, it does not ignore that there is a larger group of migrants from different countries in South Africa thus promoting general knowledge about integration could go a long way. As for the prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa, the study made it clear that this issue is pervasive amongst locals as well as migrant women. This study recommends that it is important to raise awareness with everyone on gender-based violence. While women can be empowered with knowledge on how it is important to equip

themselves economically, to reduce their dependency on males, this may not be effective. It is important to also equip males with the knowledge on why it is important to stop gender-based violence. It is important that young boys and men are engaged to construct positive expressions of masculinity that do not result in patriarchy. According to CSV (2016, 9), gender-based violence has become increasingly prevalent in contemporary South Africa, where there are unequal power relations between women and men. Males are alleged to be the dominant figures of authority, while women are automatically disadvantaged and oppressed. I therefore argue that most young boys and men are socially constructed to use violence as a way of showing that they are in control. Scholars like Sathiparsad (2008) and Sonke Gender Justice (2012) have suggested that sporting events like soccer matches provide a perfect platform and space to communicate to boys and men about stopping violent behaviour that leads to gender-based violence.

According to the CSV (2016, 17) it is also important to increase participation of individuals, families and communities in gender-based violence and xenophobia dialogue as this could help to create a zero-tolerance culture to violence. One can argue that it is essential to incorporate change from the grassroots level. To do so, the study recommends that government and various stakeholders influence social mobilization and the establishment of community networks. The Social Construction theory opines that the behaviour of an individual or society is influenced by the activities they are surrounded with. The existence of community networks facilitates the collaborative efforts of people in the community towards preventing gender-based violence and xenophobia against women. With regard to the prevalence of gender-based violence in South Africa, a number of scholars have proposed that the phenomenon is rooted within structural traditional and religious belief systems which include customs like the payment of lobola (Zondi, 2007; Von Kitzing, 2017). The CSV (2016) also articulated that the cultural practices that are embraced by most of the modern-day communities contradict with the constitutional right of gender equality. This study therefore feels it is important to engage with traditional and religious leaders about how culture, customs, power and gender relations are intertwined. This could help in constructing and developing societies that see and value the existence of women.

This is also true when it comes to xenophobia. Some of the women who were interviewed felt that xenophobic sentiments emanated from the belief by locals that migrant people have come to South Africa to compete and take away all the resources that are meant to be theirs. This study therefore

purports that frequent social dialogue and public discussions should be held to educate communities about international human rights and embracing other people.

According to the Social Ecological Model, gender-based violence interventions should be focused on detecting and strengthening the factors that influence the resilience of young girls and women against violence. These factors include education, acquiring vocational skills, increased economic resources, and the reinforcement of social customs that endorse gender equality. This could empower women to initiate advocacy programmes and enable women to put in place non-violent means of dealing with the spread of violence against women. It is important to note that empowering women also entails providing services for those affected. Gender-based violence is tied to a myriad of devastating psychological and emotional effects. According to the CSVr (2016, 10), women who go through the trauma of abuse usually lose their sense of self-esteem resulting in them being socially detached and depressed. In some cases, they resort to committing suicide. Therefore, this study recommends that communities provide networks and platforms that provide treatment and counselling services.

9.6 Study contributions

In summary, this study offers specifically the following three contributions:

9.6.1 An insight into xenophobia using the experiences of Zimbabwean migrant women

This study shows how the lives of migrant women are transnational; when settling in another country, there are elements that always connect them to their country of origin. The way Zimbabwean women experience xenophobia is constructed by their interactions with their social locations that go beyond borders. For instance, while the interviews revealed that the women's voices were silenced in public due to the fear of being recognized as foreign, they found it liberating to be surrounded by other Zimbabwean women, especially in the salons and faith based organisations they attended (originating from Zimbabwe). It is also important to note that the conditions of poverty that some of the Zimbabwean women encounter are not different from the poverty they experienced before migrating. They sometimes feel forced to engage in sex work for a living which is literally sacrificing their bodies to gender-based violence and xenophobia.

9.6.2 The incorporation of a gender perspective on the xenophobia phenomenon

Most of the existing literature that has been published on xenophobia does not focus on the gender perspective of the phenomenon (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013; Akinola, 2014; Crush and Ramachandaran, 2014; Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015; Tshishonga, 2015; Crush *et al.*, 2017). Most of the work focuses on the causes and usually provides a general analysis based on a mixed sample of both males and females. This study specifically explores the gender perspectives of xenophobia by highlighting the possible expressions of xenophobia that affect the lives of the women. It reveals how the identity of women as female and migrant plays a big role in subjecting them to the phenomena of gender-based violence and xenophobia (see Sigsworth et al., 2008; Fuller, 2010; Mutopo, 2010; Nkeelah, 2011). According to Piper (2006), the concept of citizenship is abstracted differently, and migrant women are more inclined to advocate for their rights, rights that they deserve not as citizens, but premised on the legal provisions and human rights by the state. This study therefore highlights that migrant women do not only negotiate for their day to day domestic affairs. They play an important role of contributing to increased attention to gender-based violence and to xenophobic and misogynistic practices that must be addressed in communities more systematically.

9.6.3 The link between xenophobia, gender-based violence and human security

Much of the literature that has been published on the concept of human security dwells focuses on the individual (Stone, 2009; Dzimiri, 2012; Christie, 2010). Every individual is entitled to security when it comes to food, health, personal safety, psychological safety, political and economic aspects. Gender-based violence and xenophobia tend to imply that human security is centered on security from physical violence. However, this study explored the angle of how human security is often more psychological. Migrant women remain constantly conscious, even vigilant, about their safety, and attempt to assimilate into They also appear to be constantly worried about the security of their loved ones. They fear that their children are victims to xenophobia in their schools. This suggests that the women are not secure psychologically.

9.7 Conclusion

Throughout the study, the context pertaining to human security was examined illustrating how the concepts of xenophobia and human security construct the vulnerability of the Zimbabwean migrant women in South Africa. The study explores how xenophobic sentiments, gender-based violence

and institutional violence affects migrant women more than local women due to how their oppression and violence is intertwined. “Migrant women do not singlehandedly suffer from one, but multiple identity signifiers, pertaining to their gender, race, class and migration background. Thus, being low-income black migrant women makes them more susceptible to structural and societal barriers and violence” (Von Kitzing, 2017, 19). Having shown how the migrant women’s vulnerability is constructed, the study looked at how the women navigate and negotiate oppression and barriers using their productive agency. Although the lived reality and experiences of migrant women show that they suffer from compounded layers of oppression such as “gender, legal status, harsh urban lived experiences and abusive relationships”, the study showed that the women also ‘use their victimhood’ to ensure their survival. In some instances, migrant women submit to domestic violence perpetuated by their local intimate partners with an end goal of attaining legal status. “Others enter relationships as a form of survival. Some of their intimate partners being aware of their vulnerable position manipulate, exploit and abuse these women” (Kiwanuka, 2010, 164). Many women avoid going to police officers who are also xenophobic and often mistreat them.

Scholars like Hanisch (1970), Kihato (2013), Von Kitzing (2017) articulate that the view that the ‘personal is political’. The personal spaces of migrant women have certain political meanings and characteristics. The existence of violence, specifically gender-based violence, in the lives of the vulnerable migrant women is common in their own homes and it is foregrounded within the social and learnt behaviours and cultural practices in the African culture like patriarchy. It appears that the women’s mobility is confronted with numerous, structural, physical, bureaucratic and interpersonal obstacles (Lefko-Everett, 2007; Palmary, 2009; Kiwanuka, 2010). The study showed that the increasing restrictive immigration measures in South Africa subsequently construct the insecurity of most of the migrant women, especially when it comes to accessing public resources like health (Walls *et al.*, 2016; Crush and Tawodzerwa, 2017). The women’s vulnerability connected to their identity as non-South African citizens unquestionably renders them more vulnerable thereby compromising their human security.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Study description letter



UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Dear Respondent

Fieldworker: Marcia Victoria Mutambara (0790818030/vmutambara@gmail.com)

Supervisor: Prof Maheshvari Naidu (031-2607657/naiduu@ukzn.ac.za)

Research Office: Ms P Ximba 031-2603587

I, Marcia Victoria Mutambara, a Conflict Transformation and Peace Studies student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal wishes to invite you to participate in a research project titled: **Xenophobia and Human Security: Experiences of Zimbabwean women working in the informal sector in Durban KwaZulu-Natal.** You have been chosen because of your nationality as Zimbabwean and you also being female. Hence, your contribution will be vital to this study.

This study intends to explore the specific challenges that Zimbabwean women working in the informal sector face. Your participation in this study will enable me to understand the specific prejudices instigated by the phenomenon of xenophobia on migrant women who earn a living from the informal economy of South Africa. The study will possibly and potentially be able to influence policy makers in dealing and eradicating xenophobia in South African Societies.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. You may choose to withdraw from participating at any point or choose not to answer some of the questions if you feel uncomfortable. There will be no penalty of any sort if you are to withdraw or choose not to answer any question. The information that will be gathered from this study may be published in academic journals and presented orally. Anonymity will be upheld at all times

by using pseudonyms in the writing up of the thesis. Unfortunately, due to my condition as a student, I will not be able to afford you any financial benefit for participating in this study. The study will involve two one to one interviews or more if you wish. These interviews will last for approximately 45 minutes and will be recorded at your consent. These meetings will take place at your work space or any other venue of your choice. I hope you will take the time to participate.

If you have any queries about participating in this study, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor using the details provided. Feedback of the study will also be given out to you after the final write up.

Yours Sincerely

Marcia Victoria Mutambara

Investigators Signature: 

Date:

Appendix B: Study description letter in Shona



UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Fieldworker: Marcia Victoria Mutambara ([079818030](tel:079818030))

Supervisor: Prof Maheshvari Naidu (031-2607657/naiduu@ukzn.ac.za)

Research Office: Ms P Ximba ([031-2603587](tel:031-2603587))

Zita rangu ndinoitwa Marcia Victoria Mutambara, ndiri mufundi akuita zvidzidzo zve Conflict Transformation and Peace Studies Pa University of KwaZulu-Natal. Ndino kukokai kuti mundibatsirewo zvidzidzo zvakapihwa zita rokuti: **Xenophobia and Human Security: Experiences of Zimbabwean women working in the informal sector in Durban KwaZulu-Natal**. Masarudzwa seumwe weavo vanokwanisa kubatsira nokuda kwekuti muri mukadzi, uyezve nyika yenyu yechizvarwa iZimbabwe.

Zvidzidzo izvi zvinotarisa kuongorora nyaya nematambudziko anosangana nevanhu vechikadzi vekune dzimwe nyika vari munyika ye South Africa. Rubatsiro rwenyu ruchandibatsira kuti ndigone kunzwisisa matambudziko anosangana nevakadzi mumamabasa, kunyanyisa mabasa emaoko. Zvidzidzo zvichabatsira kuti hurumende nemabato akasiyana siyana akwanise kuwana nzira yekupedza xenophobia.

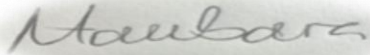
Kana mafunga kubatsira, Rubatsiro rwenyu runobva pasi pemwoyo wenyu zvisina kumananikidzwa neni kana neumwe. Munokwanisa kuregera kupa rubatsiro kana kusadaira mibvunzo yamunenga musina kugadzikana nayo, inenga isiri mhosva mukadaro. Kuitira kuchengetedzeka kwenyu, zita renyu harishandiswe muzvidzidzo izvi, ndichashandisa rimwezita.

Nekuda kwekuti ndiri mufundi ndine urombo kuti handikwanise kukubhadharai nemari pakubatsira kwamunenga maita. Zvidzidzo izvi zvinotarisa kuva nemainterview maviri kana akatiwande, hunge muchida. Ma interview aya anotarisirwa kupedza maminiti anoita gumi neina, anenga achitapwa hunge imi mabvumirana nazvo. Ndinovimba muchatora nguva yenyu kubatsira muzvidzidzo izvi. Kana muine zvamuno shuva kuda kunzwisisa maererano nenyaya yekubatsira, makasununguka kundibata kana mudzidzisi wangu pamanhamba andaisa kumusoro.

Ndini Wenyu

Marcia Victoria Mutambara

Signature:



Zuva:

Appendix C: Informed consent form



**UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Fieldworker: Marcia Victoria Mutambara (078 237 2511)

Supervisor: Prof. Maheshvari Naidu (031-2607657/naiduu@ukzn.ac.za)

Research Office: Ms P Ximba (031-2603587)

I _____ (optional and may be replaced by initials) hereby declare that I am fully informed about the nature of the research titled: **Xenophobia and Human Security: Experiences of Zimbabwean women working in the informal sector in Durban KwaZulu- Natal** by the researcher.

Yes..... No.....

I have also been well informed about the role that I stand to play if I am to participate in this project, which is participating in a one to one interviews. I am also aware that participation is voluntary and I can choose to withdraw from the process at any stage without any consequences to my withdrawal.

Yes..... No.....

I am aware that all information obtained from me in the course of this project will remain confidential and that my identity will be well guided in the case of any publication of the obtained information.

Yes..... No.....

I agree that the interview process will be electronically recorded and all collected information will be kept with confidentiality and high security.

Yes..... No.....

I Marcia Victoria Mutambara do solemnly declare that I have fully informed the above participant of the nature and purpose of my research and the demands involved in her participation. I also declare to do all in my power to maintain confidentiality and anonymity of the participant as I fully keep to the ethical conduct requested of me as a fieldworker.

Signature.....

Date.....

Appendix D: Informed consent form



**UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Fieldworker: Marcia Victoria Mutambara

Supervisor: Prof. Maheshvari Naidu (031-2607657/naiduu@ukzn.ac.za)

Research Office: Ms P Ximba 031-2603587

Ini _____ ndinobvuma kuti ndaziviswa nezve zvidzidzo izvi: **Xenophobia and Human Security: Experiences of Zimbabwean women working in the informal sector in Durban KwaZulu Natal.**

Hongu..... Kwete.....

Ndaziviswa zvakadzama zvose zvandino tarisirwa kuita, zvinosanganisira kuva umwe weavo vachaita interview kaviri kana kandinenga ndichikwanisa.

Ndaziviswazvakarekutikubatsirakwandichaitakuchabvapasipemoyowanguzvisinakumaniki dzwa.

Hongu..... Kwete.....

Ndine ruzivo kuti zvese zvandichataura zvicharamba zviripakati pangu nemufundi ari kuita zvidzidzo izvi. Zvakare pachabuditswa zvidzidzo izvi mupepanhau, zita rangu rinenga risipo.

HonguKwete.....

Ndinobvuma kuti zvose zvichataurwa zvichange zvichitapwa.

Hongu..... Kwete.....

Ini Marcia Victoria Mutambara

ndinotenderakutimubatsiriane zitariripamusoroatsanangurirwazvosezvikudivakuitwakutizvidzidzozviendereremberi.

Ndinotenderazvakarekutizvosezvichataurwazvichangezviripakatipangunemubatsiri.

Signature.....

Zuva.....

Appendix E: Interview Schedule (Individual Interviews)

1. When did you migrate from Zimbabwe to South Africa?
2. How long do you intend to stay in South Africa? (are they cross borders or staying indefinitely)
3. What do you understand by the term xenophobia?
4. What do you understand by the term gender-based violence
5. Do you think that xenophobia affects you in any way in your day to day lives at work?
6. Has it ever affected you in a sexual manner?
7. If so, what do you think was the reason behind it?
8. If so, what have you done to make sure it does not affect you?
9. Why do you think xenophobia exists in your workspace?
10. Do you think that it can be attributed to your gender?
11. Can you name or try to explain at least three common xenophobic experiences by Zimbabwean women in the same line of work as you?
12. In what way were you affected?
13. If affected, how do you respond or deal with such incidences?
14. Do you also think that these actions were acted upon you because you are specifically Zimbabwean?
15. How do you see your relationship with locals?

Appendix F: Ethical clearance



26 January 2017

Ms Marcia V Mutambara 215078349
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Mutambara

Protocol reference number: HSS/2112/016D

Project title: Xenophobia and Human Security: Gender based violence experiences of Zimbabwean women working in the informal sector in Durban KwaZulu-Natal.

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

In response to your application received 7 December 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 Srenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Prof M Naidu
cc Academic Leader Research:
cc School Administrators: Ms N Radebe, Mr N Memela & Mr S Ehiane