Language and the politics of identity in South Africa: The case of Zimbabwean (Shona and Ndebele speaking) migrants in Johannesburg

by
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Dissertation presented for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy (Sociology) in the*
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Stellenbosch University

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December 2013

DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: ....

Acknowledgements

All praise due to God, the Almighty. *I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers.*

Words of thanks and appreciation are due to a number of people who directly and indirectly invested towards the fruition of this work. But, as is the case with the *economy of social debts*, my list of creditors is too long to meaningfully detail within the confines of these few pages. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude goes to Dr. Lloyd Hill, my supervisor and mentor. Thank you Lloyd for the mentorship, and the critical theoretical eye that expanded my vision and 'sharpened my tools of the trade.'

To the University of Stellenbosch's department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, thank you for the thought provoking weekly seminars and all the support. Dr. Bernard Dubbeld, thank you for the friendship, support and impetus to broaden my horizons at Stellenbosch. To my other co-conspirator, Dr. Obvious Katsaura, the materiality of the capitals invested during the *Nights of the long knives* is discernible. Thank you for the intense and often heated theoretical debates. To Ochard Sibanda thank you for your part in this study and all the encouragement and constancy as a friend. To Dr. Dion Nkomo, Godfrey Maringira, Godfrey Hove and Pedzisayi Mangezvo thank you for the productive exchanges and discussions. Medadi Ssentanda and Gibson Ncube, thank you *my technicians* and *IT specialists*.

I would also like to extend my deepest thanks and appreciation to the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), for the generous fellowship the Council awarded me for my fieldwork. Thank you Thomas Asher – the Program Director, and everyone at the SSRC. The workshops were wonderful and went a long way in shaping this work. To Professor Andrew Apter, thank you for the interest in my work and all your time and input. I would also like to acknowledge the funding that was awarded to me by the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences to pursue my doctoral studies full-time at Stellenbosch University.

My appreciation also goes to the different individuals whose life stories and narratives give life to these pages. Thank you for sharing your time and lives with me. To *Dumisani*, who turned out to be my friend and navigator in the interstices of

Johannesburg – thank you for your time and life story. My thanks also go to my family- my mother, my father, my three sisters, Danie, Phathie and Buhle and their families, my nephews and nieces- for all the support and love. And to my best friend, companion and the woman in my life – thank you my *Fitsho* for always being there and *sharing me with Bourdieu.*

Dedications

In memory of my brother, Sikhangele 'Skhe' Siziba.

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Acronyms and key words

Amakwerekwere: A derogatory and putatively onomatopoeic term, frequently used by South Africans to describe African foreigners

BEE: Black Economic Empowerment

CCMA: Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration

CPF: Community Policing Forum

DoHA: Department of Home Affairs

FTLRP: Fast Track Land Reform Programme

Ginyanomics: A term denoting the use of force and coercion to give a semblance of proper functioning of the economy ("ginya" is a Shona slang word for "force")

Kukiya-kiya: A term denoting unorthodox social and economic practices that emerged to deal with an economic crisis that rendered all 'normal' socio-economic transactions redundant

MDC / MDC-T: Movement for Democratic Change (current opposition party in Zimbabwe)

NLSC: Native Labour Supply Commission

oMalayitsha: A term denoting cross-border transporters, who are popular among Zimbabwean migrants

PASSOP: People against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty (a community-based organization devoted to protecting and lobbying for the rights of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants in South Africa)

RNLB: Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau

SAPS: South African Police Services

uKusheya: A term denoting a sharing practice, whereby a flat is divided and sub-divided among different people

WNLA: Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

ZANU PF: Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (the ruling party)

PF ZAPU: Zimbabwe African People's Union- (Opposition party in Zimbabwe).

ZDP: Zimbabwean Documentation Process

Abstract

Discourses about identity framed in terms of questions about autochthons and *the Other* are on the ascendance in the contemporary socio-political and cultural milieu. Migration, by virtue of its transgression of national boundaries and bounded communities, stands as a contentious site with respect to the *politics of identity*. South Africa is one case in point, where migrants – particularly those of African origin – have been at the centre of a storm of Otherization, which climaxed in the May 2008 attacks (now widely termed 'xenophobic attacks'). "*Amakwerekwere"*, as African migrants in South Africa are derogatively referred to, face exclusionary tendencies from various fronts in South Africa. Using language as an entry point, this thesis investigates how Zimbabwean migrants – who by virtue of a multifaceted crisis in their country have a marked presence in South Africa – experience and navigate the politics of identity in Johannesburg. Through a multi-sited ethnography, relying on the triangulation of participant observation and interviews, the thesis focuses on Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants in five neighbourhoods. Framing the analysis within an eclectic theoretical apparatus that hinges on Bourdieu's economy of social practice, it is argued that each neighbourhood is a *social universe of struggle* that is inscribed with its own internal logic and relational matrix of recognition, and each ascertains what constitutes a *legitimate language* and by extension *legitimate identity*. This relational matrix is undergirded by a specific distributional and evaluative structure with corresponding symbolic, economic and socio-cultural capitals (embodied practices) that constitute the requisite entry fees and currency for belonging, as well as the negative capitals that attract designations of the strange and *the Other.* Zimbabwean migrants' experiences as *the Other* in South Africa take on diverse and differentiated forms. It was observed how experiences of Otherness and being the Other are neither homogenous nor static across the different social universes that make up Johannesburg; rather they are fluid and shifting and occur along an elastic continuum. Consequently the responses of migrants are also based on a reading of – and response to – the various scripts of existence in these different social universes.

Opsomming

Diskoerse oor identiteit, uitgedruk in terme van vrae oor autochthons en *die Ander*, is aan die toeneem in die huidige sosio-politieke en kulturele milieu. Migrasie, wat met die oortreding van nasionale grense en begrensde gemeenskappe geassosieer word, is 'n omstrede terrein met betrekking tot die *politiek van identiteit.* Suid-Afrika is 'n goeie voorbeeld hiervan, waar migrante – veral dié van Afrika-oorsprong – in die middel van 'n storm van Anderisering beland het. Hierdie situasie het 'n hoogtepunt bereik in die Mei 2008-aanvalle – nou algemeen bekend as "xenofobiese geweld." "*Amakwerekwere*", soos Afrika-migrante in Suid-Afrika neerhalend beskryf word, word vanuit verskeie oorde in Suid-Afrika gekonfronteer met uitsluitingstendense. Die tesis gebruik taal as beginpunt vir 'n ondersoek oor hoe Zimbabwiese migrante – wat as 'n gevolg van 'n veelsydige krisis in hul land 'n merkbare teenwoordigheid in Suid-Afrika het – die politiek van identiteit in Johannesburg ervaar en navigeer. Deur middel van 'n multi-terrein etnografie, wat staatmaak op die triangulering van etnografiese waarneming en onderhoude, word Ndebele- en Sjonasprekende migrante in vyf woonbuurte ondersoek. Gebaseer op 'n eklektiese teoretiese apparaat, hoofsaaklik gewortel in Bourdieu se ekonomie van sosiale praktyk, word voorgestel dat elke woonbuurt 'n *sosiale universum van stryd* is waarop 'n eie interne logika en verhoudingsmatriks van herkenning ingeskryf is, en dat elkeen sy eie *legitieme taal* en by implikasie, eie *legitieme identiteit* het. Hierdie verhoudingsmatriks word ondervang deur 'n spesifieke verspreidings- en evalueringstruktuur met ooreenstemmende simboliese-, ekonomiese-, en kulturele-kapitaal (beliggaamde praktyke), wat dien as 'n soort inskrywingsfooi of geldeenheid vir insluiting, sowel as die negatiewe kapitaal wat toeskrywings van andersheid en *die Ander* aantrek. Zimbabwiese migrante se ervarings as *die Ander* in Suid-Afrika neem verskillende vorme aan. Daar is waargeneem hoedat ervarings van Andersheid in die verskillende sosiale kontekste van Johannesburg nie homogeen of staties is nie, maar eerder vloeibaar en skuiwend op 'n elastiese kontinuum. As 'n gevolg is die gedrag van migrante ook gebaseer op 'n lesing van – en reaksie op – die verskeie spelreëls van hierdie verskillende sosiale omgewings.

Chapter 1

Casting the research problem

The shop next to Salma's is a coffee shop owned by Turkish speakers. The waitresses are both from Zimbabwe and speak Sindebele. The butchery next door is owned by Hamid Khan who grew up with Urdu, Marathi and English. His family's story is that of threads of language and memory woven into the narrative of so many immigrant lives (Wende, 2010).

1.1 Introduction

Zimbabwean migrants are so pronounced in contemporary South Africa that some scholars speak of Johannesburg, the place where Zimbabweans are mostly concentrated as "Harare South" (Ndlovu, 2010:124). A lot of research has been done to try and understand Zimbabwean migrants' experiences of, and in South Africa leading Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2012:4) to speak of a "flurry of research" stimulated by the mass movement of Zimbabweans into South Africa. Much of this research frames Zimbabwean migrants' experiences within the discourse of a generalized xenophobia which is seen as the overriding logic informing how foreign migrants, particularly black Africans, experience South Africa. Zimbabwean migrants are, like their other African counterparts, reconstituted in South Africa as *amakwerekwere*[1] (Morris, 1998; Landau, 2006, Nyamnjoh, 2006; Hassim, Kupe, & Worby, 2008; Misago, Landau & Monson, 2009; Landau & Freemantle, 2010; Matsinhe, 2011). However, Zimbabwean migrants appear to be a unique category of *amakwerekwere* because, beyond a long history of migration which other groups of Africans share with South Africa, they also share cultural and historic ties (Polzer, 2008; Muzondidya, 2010; Worby, 2010). Language stands out as one of the most salient cultural artefacts that have come to the fore in how Zimbabwean migrants navigate and negotiate the politics of identity confronting *amakwerekwere* in South Africa. Language stands as particularly salient for a number of reasons. It has been identified by researchers as one of the markers used both by the general South African population and state agents (police and home affairs) to identity

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[1] "Amakwerekwere" is a derogatory label, which many South Africans use to refer African foreigners. The term is putatively onomatopoeic (like "babbler") and therefore signifies that the languages spoken by foreign Africans are indecipherable babbling. However, this naming can also be seen as a denial of voice to amakwerekwere, what Morreira (2007: 434) terms "displacement of voice."

amakwerekwere (Morris, 1998; Nyamnjoh, 2006). This boundary marking capacity of language was graphically displayed in how the sniffing out of amakwerekwere was conducted in the May 2008 xenophobic attacks by way of a shibboleth which was in most cases of a Zulu language (Hassim et al., 2008). Although most studies on Zimbabwean migrants and how they negotiate the politics of identity in South Africa do not take language to be the central object of analysis, their arguments centre on language as a primary vehicle and resource through which Zimbabwean migrants negotiate exclusion of a symbolic and even violent nature.

While these studies have immensely contributed to our understanding of the lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, the taken for granted notion of language that is simplistically theorized, yet pushed to the fore as the major resource of negotiating the politics of identity, hides a host of pertinent cleavages in how Zimbabwean migrants situate themselves in South Africa. A leading thesis in understanding how Zimbabweans are located in South Africa, which I term the assimilationist approach[2] by virtue of its major assumptions, is one that sees Ndebele speaking migrants as transcending the politics of identity by blending in or assimilating and integrating into Zulu communities because of linguistic and cultural proximity. The Ndebele language is part of the Nguni cluster of languages and is mutually intelligible with the Zulu and Xhosa languages of South Africa. On the flipside, this thesis argues that Shona speaking migrants fail to assimilate and integrate because their language is typically Zimbabwean and shares no linguistic and cultural proximity with any local languages, except the Venda language. Shona speaking migrants unlike their Ndebele speaking counterparts then stand as the archetype amakwerekwere existing on the margins of South African society except in Northern Limpopo where they share linguistic and cultural proximity with the Venda speaking communities (Muzondidya, 2010). This literature raises a lot of salient arguments about the role and centrality of language and culture in the everyday experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. However, as I have already alluded to earlier, it deploys a common-sensical notion of language which critical

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[2] I focus on the arguments put forward by the assimilationist approach to Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa in Chapter 2 when I review what has been said about Zimbabwean migrants' experiences of South Africa and how they exercise their agency in negotiating exclusion.

theorists in the fields of situated discourse across the fields of sociology, sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have shown to be 'fictitious and non-existent' when it comes to language as part and parcel of people's social practices (Bourdieu 1991; Blommaert, 2005; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007)

This theoretical oversight, i.e. taking language in the abstract sense conceptualization divorced from its practical situational currency, has had other far reaching ramifications which filter into the methodological approaches of these studies. Notably, the practical reality of language as something whose meaning and value is not inherent but also informed by the context and situation of use has not been appreciated (cf. Blommaert, 2001, 2007; Blommaert & Varis, 2011). To this end, in much of these research studies, language is taken as something inherently imbued with meaning and the context of use has been neglected and not theorized.

This study contributes to this literature on Zimbabwean migrants and the politics of identity in South Africa. In light of the notable centrality of language in this politics of identity, I take language as an entry point and central facet in this analysis. To this end, my focus is on how Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants from Zimbabwe situate themselves in Johannesburg, that is, how 'their language' shapes their lives and interactions in different contexts. I will pursue the linguistic practices of these two different ethno-linguistic groups by primarily focusing on the 'home' and 'work' domains. I will however pay attention to how language practices in these domains intersect with practices in other domains that migrants reveal to be part of their life worlds in Johannesburg, such as that of recreation, which falls outside both the home and work domains. Intricately tied to struggles in the different fields that constitute Johannesburg are pertinent sociological questions and concerns about what it means to be a Shona or Ndebele speaker in South Africa. This study is prompted by the realization of the centrality of language in 'identity politics', a dynamic which is manifest in the contemporary relations between African migrants and 'locals' in South Africa.

1.2 Focus of the study
1.2.1 The Statement of the Problem

Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants have been noted to be the most dominant Zimbabwean ethnolinguistic groups in South Africa with most of them being located in Johannesburg (Makina, 2010). The prevailing literature in the field explains their situatedness in South Africa through a thesis which neatly bifurcates them along ethnolinguistic lines, i.e., Ndebele speaking migrants assimilating into local Nguni speaking communities, while Shona speaking migrants largely fail to assimilate, except among the Venda speaking communities[3] of Northern Limpopo where they are said to have an edge over their Ndebele speaking counterparts (Muzondidya, 2010; Ndlovu, 2010; Sibanda, 2010; Worby, 2010). Needless to say, a number of questions are triggered by such a conceptualization of Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants' situatedness in South Africa. First of all this work presents a 'generic' Ndebele speaking migrant who is able to fit into, and become, a 'generic' Zulu/ Xhosa speaking person. The same can be said about the Shona speaking migrants presented in these studies, they constitute 'generic' Shona speakers who are able to fit into, and become 'generic' Venda speakers. In the latter case, however, failure to fit in is defined as characteristically revealing of the incongruence of the Shona language with the South African socio-cultural context. These negotiations of identity are also presented as playing out in a 'generic' context which is not theorized besides the revelation that research was conducted in Johannesburg, Pretoria or any other city, i.e., simply a revelation of the names of the cities where research occurs.

What these studies ignore is that people are not equal in language (Gumperz, 1966; Bourdieu, 1991; Blommaert 2005), even within the same language variety. Rather people have different linguistic repertoires and are not able to do the same things, through and in language (Gumperz, 1966; Hymes, 1996). As such generic Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants who can fit into generic local groups are an abstract fiction which does not speak to the nature of language in practice. Furthermore, these studies take 'space' as a simple and silent back drop on which people are

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[3] Among the assimilationist thinkers, most view Shona speaking migrants as failing to assimilate because of the cultural distance between them and Nguni speaking communities. Muzondidya (2010) on the other hand argues that they can also assimilate among the Venda speaking communities.

located much in this mould: "The Zimbabwean migrants who informed this research are scattered in the city of Johannesburg" (Sibanda, 2010:148). In reality space has been shown to be quite complex and agentic. Werlen (1993) to this end notes that "place is not merely a setting or backdrop, [for research] but an agentic player- a force with detectable and independent effects on social life" Werlen cited in Gieryn, (2000:466). Soja (1996) notes, "[p]laces are doubly constructed: mostly are built or in some way physically carved out. They are also interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined" Soja 1966 cited in Gieryn, (2000:465).

The significance of place has also been widely discussed with regards to situated discourse, with research revealing that place for example, influences the choice of language usage in multilingual settings. Scholars like Fishman, (1965), for instance discuss how domains are central issues that impact on the texturing of situated discourse. In South Africa, studies by Deumert, Brett and Maitra, (2005) reveal how English and Afrikaans stand as the languages of power and economic places of employment and business, while Xhosa is largely relegated to social activities outside the realm of employment and business. However, beyond these connections with situated discourse, place has to be theorized more deeply in relation to how it shapes social practices through the meanings it engenders on the various facets of social life, such as the types of communities, social organizations, social relations and power hierarchies. Gieryn, (2000) aptly argues that we have to understand the powers of place.

This study primarily takes language as the entry point and central object of analysis in understanding how Zimbabwean migrants negotiate the politics of identity in South Africa. However in focusing on language, to borrow from Bourdieu (1987), I go beyond "folk" categorization of language, as well as other critical variables such the categories of Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants as well as space[4]. Theoretically, I frame this study within a Bourdeusian schema of the economy of

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[4] In much of this thesis, I use space as a synonym place. Space deployed this way is more attuned to the inequalities among people and how they feed into the materiality of their social life and spatial practices. In this regard space captures the tensions imbued in society and how these inequalities play out in access to different hierarchized places. Bourdieu (1996:12) notes that social space (class differences) "tends to retranslate itself in a more or less direct manner into physical space in the form of a definite distributional arrangement of agents and properties (e.g. opposition between downtown [areas] and suburbs)"

social practice. This allows me to evaluate how Zimbabwean migrants deploy their linguistic and other capitals produced in Zimbabwe in South Africa's field of struggle. I complement Bourdieu's work with other critical theoretical work on language and identity that derives from work done across the disciplines of linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics and sociology. I discuss these disparate literatures in the chapter that follows (chapter 3), and I attempt to create an integrated theoretical apparatus that provides a lens through which Zimbabwean migrants' linguistic practices as the Other in South Africa can be captured.

The central argument I make in this thesis is that Johannesburg is characterized by diverse and shifting contours of 'orders of indexicality' and 'pricing regimes' (entry fees) that determine the 'enoughness' of any particular 'identity repertoire.' Zimbabwean migrants, beyond, and across the two ethnolinguistic boundaries have diversified and differentiated *habitus* (historically produced bundles of resources) at their disposal in engaging in discursive processes of space making in Johannesburg. In light of the varying normative structures and power relationships across different neighbourhoods migrants experience the processes and politics of Othering differently. Their strategies for negotiating the politics of identity are different as well. Language and identity are not inherently meaningful in and of themselves; rather they gain particular values and meaning in relation to particular normative structures, interlocutors and relationships.

1.3 Research question

The broad research question I aim to answer is: how do Zimbabwean migrants situate themselves in South Africa's diverse social, cultural and economic spaces through language?

1.3.1 Sub-questions

In more detail I seek to answer the following sub-questions:

i)   What are the most salient features of Johannesburg's language landscape? What languages are most spoken in Johannesburg? What spaces in Johannesburg define the migrants' lives? How are these spaces structured in terms of language?

ii)   How do Zimbabwean migrants respond to any linguistic capital discrepancies that confront them? How and in what ways do they transcend language and identity barriers in the different spaces they occupy?

iii)   How do Zimbabwean migrants perceive the relative value of English, Shona and Ndebele in Johannesburg?

In light of the fractured and dispersed nature of the Zimbabwean presence in Johannesburg I conducted multisited ethnography in five neighbourhoods I theoretically sampled these neighbourhoods along the contouring of the socio-economic gradations of Johannesburg. I conducted my fieldwork in Yeoville, Hillbrow, Newtown, Diepsloot and Fourways. I primarily relied on the triangulation of ethnographic observation, ethnographic as well as semi-structured interviews.

1.4 Context of the study

This study occurs in a global context that has been diversely conceptualized to capture social change seen as occurring *beyond the modern*. Some speak, for example, of 'late modernity' (Giddens, 1990, 1991), 'post-modernity' (Baudrillard, 1988; Bauman, 1995; Giddens, 1990, 1991; Rattansi & Pheonix, 2005) 'reflexive modernity', 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000, 2002, 2005) and 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007). These conceptual classifications, which point to contemporary society as situated *beyond the modern*, speak to the social, cultural, political and economic convolutions of our times. Although these theoretical classifications represent diverse perspectives about the substance of that which is 'beyond the modern', there are continuities and overlaps in these representations. Globalization, whose forces have engendered particular logics of social, political and cultural organization, serves as a fulcrum of theorizing social change in contemporary society. For some (Giddens, 1990; Anderson, Liam, & Wilson, 2003; Held, 1995), globalization signals the 'transnationalization' and rapid "flow of goods, services, ideas, technologies, cultural forms, organizational forms, and people" across national borders (Shamir, 2005:198). Negri (2005:27) describes this shift as "of such intensity as to dissolve not only the 'modern' but also its memory."

For others the 'global community' like all communities is 'imagined', but when it comes to "a globally binding legal system and globally upheld ethical principles [such

a community] is largely absent" (Bauman, 2002:297). Instead what is 'present' is a world that is "busy with equating nations and states, states with sovereignty, and sovereignty with a territory with tightly sealed and controlled borders" which has eroded Kant's vision of a unified world (Bauman, 2002:284). These seemingly contradictory and contrasting readings of globalization, in fact capture two sides of the same coin, and reflect the ambiguities and divergences that are at the very heart of globalization (cf. Shamir, 2005). Globalization has indeed broken down certain boundaries, and reconfigured economic, cultural and political life on a global scale. It has also made distant places accessible through improved technologies, of travel and communication, footloose investments and labour regimes (Castles & Miller, 1998; Castles & Davidson, 2000; Papastergiadis, 2000).To this end it has enhanced what some have characterized as *general* hypermobility- openness, fluidity and de-territorializing experiences of social life. However, these social changes and globalization 'realities' have not been experienced by everyone in the same manner (Bauman, 1995, 1998). They are one side of a coin, whose other side is characterized by "growing restrictions on movement" (Shamir, 2005:197). Globalization is also engendering closure, localization of social experience and magnifying difference.

This study occurs in a context characterized by these contradictions that permit mobility yet simultaneously generating tensions around difference and belonging. Bauman argues that the conflation of nation, state and sovereignty in the current context, produces an "(un)holy trinity of territory, nation and state" which gives rise to a matrix of exclusion; in which the non-national is reconstituted as the "modern articulation of the ancient category of *homo sacer*" (Bauman, 2002:284). Thus for Bauman, "the advent of the modern state coincided with the emergence of 'stateless persons,'" 'refugees' and 'migrants' (Bauman, 2002:284) who by virtue of falling outside the trinity of the nation, state and sovereignty were deprived of rights accorded the 'native.' Instead they are reconstituted as the 'unthinkables' and the 'untouchables' (Bauman, 2002:294). Buur, Jensen and Stepputat (2007) argue within a similar vein noting that, sovereignty produces both the included and excluded categories, the latter being clearly marked as outcasts. They posit that, "[i]n order to be effective, sovereignty must be performed and inscribed on bodies that are being excluded" (Buur et al., 2007:15).

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Crush and Ramachandran (2009; 2010) document struggles between 'autochthons' and 'aliens' occurring at a global level. Societies are bifurcated, along lines of 'insiders' and 'outsiders,' the former who are the 'real citizens' defend the heartland from 'invading strangers.' The latter are Bauman's (2002:294) "unthinkables" and "untouchables" seen as symbolizing all that is subversive of the nation and its rightful heirs. According to the (ILO, IOM, & OHCHR, 2001:1) "[t]he extent and severity of these phenomena are becoming increasingly evident in the reports of mistreatment and discrimination against migrants, refugees and other non-nationals, which are emerging from every region in the world." There is a notable rise in xenophobia embroiling both the global north and the global south (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009; 2010).

In such a context, migration- by virtue of transgression of the notions of bounded nations and the associated issues of belonging- stands in contemporary times as a serious *problem*. Migration is described by some as an ever-present reality that cannot be wished away (cf. Lycklama à Nijeholt, 1994; Balbo & Marconi, 2006; Brady, 2008). Balbo and Marconi (2006:708) note that international migration is a self-sustaining process destined to grow in the future and questions about migration should focus on how it can be managed because it "cannot be controlled let alone halted". Speaking of Europe which he notes is "currently absorbing 2 million migrants each year," Brady, (2008:2) states that:

> In some places, robust growth and falling unemployment have helped assuage concerns about the impact of immigration on local labour markets. But despite this- and economists warning that Europe will need ever more migrants in the years ahead- most polls show that migrants are seen as a problem, rather than as an opportunity.

Bauman (1995:1) notes that "[a]ll societies produce strangers" who are seen as presenting chaos in a previously ordered society and who bring fear to otherwise previously tranquil places. Migrants stand as the archetypical stranger in the contemporary socio-political milieu as diverse studies show (ILO, IOM, & OHCHR, 2001; Brady, 2008; Misago etal., 2009; Crush & Ramachandran, 2010).

According to Bauman strangers have always been confronted by exclusionary tendencies which were however mitigated by the fact that their "presence was defined a priori as temporary…." (Bauman, 1995:3). However, de-territorializing

effects of globalization have brought the spectacle of the strange within uncomfortable proximity by "discrediting, disavowing and uprooting [of] the intermediary powers of communities and traditions…" (Bauman, 1995:3). Touraine (2002:391) also speaks of society being in the "ebb and flow of change and…absence of any reference to a stable order…" Such social transformations that result in accentuated mobility and entrenchment of the *stranger* and the *strange* have unsettled the previous milieu where "living with the strangers did not need to be faced point blank as a serious prospect" (Bauman, 1995:3). Puttergill & Leildé (2006:11) note that the consequence of these social transformations "seems to be the increasing insecurity to 'fitting in' and belonging." Issues associated with *otherization,* with its twin cogs of similarity and difference*,* are now ingrained in vocabularies to capture the contemporary state of affairs in many contemporary societies and they are taking centre stage in social policy and government circles.

Brubaker and Cooper (2000:2) note that [i]dentity is a key term in the vernacular idiom of contemporary politics." They further note that "'identity talk"-inside and outside academia continues to proliferate" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000:3). Jenkins also speaks of the growing interest on identity across different academic disciplines. He states that "[i]dentity became one of the unifying themes of social science during the 1990s, and shows no signs of going away (Jenkins, 1996:8) Jenkins goes on to note that, "[e]verybody has *something* to say: anthropologists, geographers, historians, philosophers, political scientists, psychologists, sociologists" (Jenkins,1996:8). Shotter aptly captures this scenario when he notes that "identity has become 'the watchword of the times" (Shotter, 1993:188). Intensified migration is one of the most apparent processes feeding into the politics of identity. Indeed, this dimension of migration has been investigated and discussed, with the debate largely following the global structure of economic power relations and focusing on the South- North migration story. Since the attacks of September 11th 2001, there has been some focus on a 'clash of cultures', relationship between religion and politics in contemporary formations of nationalism and sovereignty (Burris, Branscombe, & Jackson, 2000; Saroglou & Galand, 2004).

In the global South, on the African continent in particular, South Africa has attracted a lot of scholarly attention amidst the mass movement of refugees and migrants

across its borders. Some scholars describe South Africa as a migration magnet in light of its relative socio-economic prosperity on the continent. Wa Kabwe-Segatti and Landau (2006), to this end note that South Africa is in a remarkable position of being a major migrant recipient destination in Africa. This is a scenario which has critical development implications for the post-apartheid state which is grappling with internal issues of race, poverty and socio-economic imbalances, some of which are a direct legacy of its apartheid history (Moodley & Adam, 2000; Alexander, 2010).

Amidst such movement into its borders, South Africa has caught global attention because of pervasive anti-foreigner sentiments, targeting particularly migrants of African origin, whose climax were the violent attacks of May 2008. In this study, I focus on how Shona and Ndebele speaking migrants navigate the politics of identity in Johannesburg, South Africa.

1.5 Constructing South Africa as a 'field'

In order to construct the local context in which this study occurs, it is imperative that we grasp the meaning of what South Africa constitutes as a 'social space' and by extension the bigger 'microcosm' in which Johannesburg is located. As Lefebvre (1991:31) argues, "[e]very society produces a space, its own space- that corresponds with its socio-political mode of production." The questions I seek to answer in constructing South Africa as my object of study are: what is South Africa, beyond the name, in terms of economic, social, political and cultural configurations? What are the defining characteristics that shape social, political and cultural relations? How is South Africa structured in terms of power and distribution of social, economic, political and cultural resources (capitals)? Such a construction of South Africa will allow us to be able to see the socio-economic and cultural realities that Zimbabwean migrants encounter when they come to South Africa. We can then answer the following questions: How do Zimbabweans insert themselves in this structured space of hierarchized positions? What are the spaces for opportunities for Ndebele and Shona migrants on the basis of their capital endowments and habitus? Conversely what are the challenges they face?

1.5.1 South Africa: One, two or too many nations in one?

I contend that South Africa evokes multiple, often competing temporalities, images and narratives. On one hand the country's level of development—relatively 'good infrastructure', technological advancement, 'sound economy' and 'dynamic' political system built on a constitution that is admired as one of the best in the world, conjure up the magic of South Africa as an *exceptional* case in a continent which is largely marred by endemic poverty, political strife and stuttering development (Peberdy, 2001; Neocosmos, 2008, 2010). From such a narrative, South Africa crystalizes into an impressive 'rainbow-nation state' which is an 'exemplar' for the African continent in many respects. Among these virtues are- South Africa as the ideal standard of (socio-economic) development and liberal democracy to be aspired for, and South Africa as the epitome of post-colonial political reconciliation and reconstruction predicated on a liberal democracy dispensation that celebrates multi-racialism, multi-culturalism, diversity and tolerance among other such virtues (Moodley & Adam, 2000).

Paradoxically, on the flipside (shadows) of this 'virtuous' South Africa exists yet another South African narrative of widespread poverty, inequality and under-development (Adebajo, Adedeji, & Landsburg, 2007; Buur et al., 2007). Inequality and redistribution remain critical questions in post-apartheid South Africa. Not everyone has access to the 'rainbow nation' paradise. Many South Africans fall outside the embrace of the 'new' South Africa. For these 'Other' social categories South Africa remains the embodiment of gross inequality, secondary citizenship as well as unfulfilled promises of independence and the betrayal of the popular movement for majoritarian rule (cf. Mngxitama, 2008). Such exclusions have inspired some critics to argue that the "rainbow nation" metaphor is nothing "more than a useful fiction for South African elites" (Hassim et al., 2008:16; Habib, 1997). South Africa constitutes a paradox of a developed and underdeveloped country in one, which is simultaneously liberal and prejudicial to diverse social categories both local and foreign. As Sharp and Vally note, "the millions being marginalized today know that one doesn't need to be physically removed from South Africa to lose all effective hold on one's citizenship" (Sharp and Vally cited in Coplan, 2009:376-377). These socio-economic disparities challenge the homogenizing notions of nationhood,

belonging and citizenship as articulated in the "rainbow-nation state vision" (Hassim et al., 2008; Alexander, 2010).

While there is a general consensus that South Africa is a divided and unequal nation, there are various readings of these divisions and inequalities. Thabo Mbeki, for example in 1998, argued that there are "two nations'' in South Africa; one being "white and relatively prosperous" while the other is black and poor" (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001:145). Mbeki is not alone in this construction of South Africa. Christine Qunta (Business Day, 5 February 1999 quoted in Moodley & Adam, 2000:55) also notes that South Africa is "in effect two communities at odds with each other culturally and racially." Some like Evaratt (2005:77) rally behind Mbeki's observations and argue that "factually Mbeki was (and remains) quite right" because poverty in South Africa "has clear racial dimensions" and as such his two nations thesis is "something self-evident." Others, like Nattrass & Seekings (2001:147-148) argue that reducing post-apartheid inequalities and divisions to race oversimplifies contemporary socio-economic configurations in the country that seem to be pointing to "three nations in one". From this perspective, "black and white" are no longer synonyms for rich and poor" (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001:47) but rather "inequality" in the country "is driven by two income gaps." One "between an increasingly multiracial upper-class, and everyone else" and another "between a middle class of mostly urban, industrial, or white collar workers and a marginalized class of black unemployed and rural poor" (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001:48). Coplan (2009:376) echoes Nattrass and Seekings' sentiments and argues that in the new South Africa race aside, "cash money is the vector of social exclusion", the consequence being that the "genuinely poor and marginalized are not ensured of their birth right of citizenship". Moodley and Adam (2000:64) note that the "emphasis on race camouflages the deepening class distinctions which still overlap to a large but diminishing degree with race". They argue that Thabo Mbeki's two nation thesis turns a blind eye to the "black bourgeoisie" and in fact he "implicitly denies the success of black empowerment by racializing class". Sarah Nuttall within a similar line of thought suggests that apartheid has been immortalized into an unshakeable centrepiece in most readings of South Africa. Nuttall calls for alternative readings of South Africa whose inspirations do not stem from the legacy of apartheid or the

belief that apartheid has already cemented a future trajectory for South Africa. She argues that:

> South African studies, has for a long time, been over-determined by the reality of apartheid- as if, in the historical trajectory of that country, apartheid was inevitable, in terms of both its origins and its consequences, as if everything led to it and that everything flows as a consequence of it (Nuttall, 2004:732).

Both schools of thought make very compelling cases and build their arguments around diverse statistical indicators, definitions and standards of poverty (Evaratt, 2005; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001). However, it is pertinent to note that the significance of this debate does not lie in the validity or the credibility of either argument. Rather, it lies in what the debate signifies- which is the topicality and sensitivity of "race" in post-apartheid South Africa, and consequently the need for a dynamic way of addressing the 'race question' (Moodley & Adam, 2000; Alexander, 2010). Furthermore, it underlines the fact that South Africa implies different 'things' to different people.

Alexander (2010) aptly captures the salience of race when he speaks of a "racial habitus" that structures relations in South Africa. As Woolard notes, for instance, "[l]iving standards are closely correlated with **race** in South Africa, it is concentrated among blacks (Woolard, 2002:2**: emphasis in original**). Evaratt (2005:80) goes on to posit that statements about the racialized (racial) nature of poverty should not be "controversial statements" because beyond statistical evidence this [racial scenario] is quite "visible in all the cities, towns, villages and rural areas of South Africa."

Walker (2005) questions whether what we are witnessing is a "rainbow nation" or "new racism." Heated racial tensions take on various contours besides its associations with poverty and the class structure. Malema's *Kill the Boer* song debacle and the tensions around it, typifies how race is an emotive issue in the country. Jansen also speaks of the resilience of black-white tensions and argues that strained race relations have cut so deep they are discernibly being imprinted among "Mandela's children" who did not even experience apartheid tensions but who are replaying the divisive "racial beliefs, attitudes and choices" (Jansen 2012:74). He documents how:

> Four such youths kicked a homeless black man to death and seriously injured another. Another white youth took a machine gun to a black squatter camp, killing and maiming scores of innocent residents. A very young white man joined a group that placed four bombs in a black shopping mall blasting a number into eternity and severely injuring others (Jansen 2012:74).

Jansen also recounts how " on a university campus, four white students appear to urinate into a plate of food that is given to five black workers to eat in what these university staff thought was an afternoon of games with the boys" (Jansen, 2012:75). This 'otherization' occurring across South Africa, no doubt exposes "the illusion of inclusion" and the "pretentions of a united nation are increasingly stripped bare" (Hassim et al., 2008:7; Moodley & Adam, 2000). Alexander (2010:91), discussing the tensions which resulted in the May 2008 violence argues that, "the rainbow is shown, after all, to be an optical illusion."

It suffices to note that these are post-colonial contradictions of nation building that are not unique to South Africa but characterize much of the formerly colonized world. As Moodley and Adam (2000:52) note, the very notion of "nation building" often results in the exclusion of certain sections of a nation who are slighted by a declared nationalist vision and rhetoric. Diverse ethnic and racial groups become subsumed under a single homogenous claim that often reflects and represents the ideals of a dominant social class (cf. Moodley & Adam, 2000). South Africa's inclusivity is not neutral as denoted by the apprehension of minority groups regarding the African National Congress's policies such as African renaissance and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) which lend themselves easily to misinterpretations that push them to racial and exclusivist idioms (cf. Degenaar, 1994; Moodley & Adam, 2000).

However, the race issue is just but one dimension of broader questions that pertain to relations among South Africans. There is evidence that tension can also be found in questions around belonging and authentic South Africanness. Work by scholars like Hassim et al (2008) shows how the continuum of 'Otherness' extends to certain South African ethnic groups whose status as 'autochthons' is questioned. (Hassim et al., 2008:16) assert that:

> Now in the view of many South Africans, it seems that the rainbow has been displaced by the onion: a way of imagining degrees of national belonging, layered around an authentic core. In this view, the fragile outer skin is made up of black African immigrants: Somalians, Congolese, Zimbabweans.

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> Beneath that fragile exterior- so easily exfoliated and discarded- lie the Tsonga, Shangaan, Venda and Pedi, people with a firmer claim to inclusion, but on the periphery of the political heartland and therefore of dubious loyalty to the national project.

As Hassim et al. (2008) show, claims to South Africa are also configured around notions of certain citizens being more South African than others. Buur et al. (2007) argue that the question of who constitutes a citizen in South Africa and by what criteria is one of the contentious issues confronting the post-apartheid state.

The outcome of these divisions among other things is that there are racial, social and cultural divisions among South Africans. For instance the country's spatial practices follow socio-economic and racial cleavages. Some note how housing in South Africa occurs along a continuum from state of the art accommodation to shacks (Hoogeveen, Johannes & Ozler, 2006; Ozler, 2007). From such a scenario it is hardly surprising that there are social movements mobilizing struggles around socio-economic issues and access to dignified housing such as the Abahlali BaseMjondolo movement (Pithouse, 2008). Neither is it amazing that the country is often rocked by "mass protests, marches, demonstrations, petitions and violent confrontations" (Atkinson, 2007). Homelessness and shacks are part and parcel of South Africa's current context with a large proportion of the poor failing to access proper social amenities like housing (Gibson, 2008; Pithouse, 2008).

Contrarily, the wealthy sections of the country are barricaded behind plush suburbs while the poor are languishing in shacks and overcrowded townships (Benit, 2002). Access to education also remains quite uneven with the black majority bearing much of the brunt in terms of either lack of access or access to poor educational facilities (Servaas Van der, 2008).

South Africa's cultural landscape, in many ways, mirrors these socio-economic grooves. Although, the official policy is one of multi-culturalism as notable in the officialization of eleven languages, there are other dynamics at play. Moodley & Adam (2000) note the symbolic domination of English and Afrikaans in the critical spaces of South Africa. They argue that despite the "symbolic recognition of indigenous languages as official, the dominant discourse in politics, business and

academia is almost exclusively conducted in English or Afrikaans." This of course has implications for the life chances of the black majority, whose English is below par. Deumert et al. (2005) reveal such a plight among Xhosa speaking migrants from Eastern Cape to the City of Cape Town, who fail to penetrate the job market because they are not linguistically endowed with English and Afrikaans which are the most marketable languages in the labour market.

1.6   Johannesburg: A miniature South Africa and epicentre of the country's contradictions?

The city of Johannesburg has and continues to hold the imagination of many observers. What emerges from this work is that Johannesburg is not only 'the embodiment' of South Africa's contradictions, but it is also the city that stands as the epicentre of the inequalities, divisions and fragmentations characterizing South Africa. This character of the city has generated numerous descriptions from observers that resoundingly echo an enigmatic character. "One City, Colliding worlds", "Unequal City", "Disorderly City", "elusive metropolis", the "Edgy" city, "Divided City", "Fearful City" and "City of fragmentations" are among some of these revealing designations that have been deployed to describe Johannesburg (Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002; Beall, 2002; Dirsuweit, 2002; Bremner 2004; Kruger 2006; Murray, 2008; 2011). Kruger's (2006) description perhaps provides the most apt summation of these diverse observations of the city of gold. She posits that:

> Calling Johannesburg an edgy city captures in the first instance its uneasy collocation of unevenly linked and possibly incompatible urban, sub-urban, and ex-urban forms as well as the urbanity or its lack that may derive from these forms (Kruger 2006:142).

In form, structure, architecture and technology as well as growth rates, Johannesburg defies simplistic classification as either a city akin to cities of the global North or those of the global South (Murray, 2008, 2011). Comparatively Johannesburg parallels diverse realities, features and experiences in both northern and southern cities (Kruger, 2006). In this regard, Johannesburg is comparable to Chicago and Los Angeles in terms of "wealth on the surface of the built environment" and "exponential growth from almost nothing" (Kruger, 2006:144). It also simultaneously compares to "other industrial centres of the south such as Sao

Paolo", in terms of "rapid growth and exacerbated geography of exclusion" (Kruger, 2006:143).

Murray notes that the "production of space" in the city of Johannesburg (Murray, 2011:4) derives from the multifaceted "unstable mixture of opposing fields of force", characterized by latent tensions between the "anxious rich and the desperately poor" which "occasionally erupt into outright conflict in the most unexpected places." This contradictory state tears Johannesburg between the "extremes of utopian dream world and dystopian nightmare", where at one moment the city appears as the "epitome of urban chic and cosmopolitan sophistication" which "can just easily metamorphose into its opposite" (Murray, 2008:2).

This bifurcation of Johannesburg into spatial contradictions and inequalities is a legacy of racialized apartheid rationalization of the urban areas (cf. Herwitz, 1999). Although the racially "codified rules, regulations and restrictions no longer apply" the legacy of apartheid spatial planning is discernible in how Johannesburg is fractured into an array of public spaces which has drawn many commentators to argue that the city is essentially a city of "fragments" (Murray, 2011:4). Johannesburg's fragmentations make the city a miniature reflection of South Africa's 'many nations in one' bifurcations. However, Johannesburg – the New York of Africa – more than any other part of South Africa contains the most diversity in terms of different nationalities and consequently different identities and language groups.

1.6.1 Johannesburg's cultural and linguistic landscape: "The Tower of Babel"

The history of Johannesburg is also a history of migration into South Africa stretching back to the discovery of gold and the subsequent labour regime that emerged from this (Kruger, 2006). Although, there have been major changes in South Africa's economy and industrial structure, migration into the country is still heavily tilted towards Johannesburg (Center for Development and Enterprise, 2008a). Johannesburg remains a city of migrants, from within and outside the country (Center for Development and Enterprise, 2008a; Landau, 2010). While some have chosen to ascribe the melting-pot designation to the city, I argue that there has been no "melting" of cultures and languages taking place. Rather, the more apt description

of the city is one that has equated its maze-like language cultural and landscape to the "Tower of Babel" (Wende, 2010). There are diverse languages that are spoken in the city of Johannesburg. While most academic descriptions of the city have focused on the pervasiveness of the country's eleven languages, there is also the pronounced presence of other African and non-African languages, which come with the different nationalities in the city (Hacksely, Jeffery, Mesthrie, Reddy, & Wildsmith-Cromarty, 2007:6-7). Of interest to this study, is how Zimbabweans and their languages have also become a pronounced feature of the city (Sisulu, Moyo, & Tshuma, 2007; Wende, 2010).

Mongwe breaks down the hierarchy of South African languages in Johannesburg noting, that "African languages predominate, isiZulu (26%), Sesotho (11%), Setswana, (9%), and Sepedi and IsiXhosa, (both 8%) (Mongwe, 2006:149). According to Mongwe, "the vehicular language of Johannesburg is increasingly becoming English" (Mongwe, 2006:149). What is notable is that these statistical breakdowns of language are silent about the increasingly evident presence and growth of foreign languages such as "Shona (chiShona, Swahili (Kiswahili), (African) French and (African) Portuguese in South Africa (Hacksely et al., 2007:9). Wende (2010) also speaks of Zimbabwean Ndebele in Johannesburg. Khumalo (2010) argues that his Zulu counterparts are so Anglicized they prefer to speak English over Zulu. Statistical studies also tend to present "languages" as relatively uniform and "flat" phenomena, i.e. paying no attention to functional variation and contexts of use. And migration is a key factor with respect to regional and functional variation in language use.

Johannesburg has been classified as a migrant magnet (Center for Development and Enterprise, 2008b) and as such a world city with diverse cultures and lifestyles (Bremner, 2004). The coherent representations of Johannesburg's language landscape and indeed South Africa's, overlook other nuances, such as considerations that "'[w]hen asked by a form wielding official, "guess what?," people usually answer with the name of a prestige language, such as Zulu or English" (Donnelly: 2003 in Hacksely et al., 2007:2). However, the linguistic behaviour is more complex and dynamic in practice "when people are left to their own linguistic devices"' (Hacksely et al., 2007:3). Others have noted urban vernaculars (such as

'Isicamtho) that are popular among the youth, which further accentuate this language complexity (Childs, 1996; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Mesthrie & Hurst, 2013). It is on the back of such multi-lingual complexity in the city of Johannesburg that I engage in a study of the politics of identity focusing on Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants.

1.7   Terminology and definition key concepts

1.7.1.Multi-lingualism will in this study be used to denote those individuals who are able to speak two or more languages (Swann 2000). Although this can be nuanced, and differentiated between bi-lingualism as the ability to speak two languages while multi-lingualism would then refer to more languages being spoken; for the purposes of this study, I will utilize multi-lingualism as the encompassing term for two or more languages.

1.7.2 Code switching refers to a situation where individuals "switch back and forth between languages…" (Swann, 2000:148). For example a Ndebele speaking person can speak English with one person and then switch to English when s/he talks to another; or workers may speak English when addressed by their supervisor then revert to Ndebele when speaking by themselves. Although, Swann goes on to note that code switching, includes the movement between languages "even during the same utterance", (Swann, 2000:148)I choose to distinguish and classify the latter as code mixing.

1.7.3 Code mixing as already hinted at above will refer to the mixing of languages within the same utterance. For example, a Shona speaking person may mix Shona and English within the same utterance.

1.7.4 Diglossia "denote[s] a situation where two varieties of a language exists" (Mesthrie, 2000:39). For example, where two varieties of English are spoken by Zimbabwean migrants with marked differences. However, I will also deploy Fishman, (1967) extended usage, referring to functional hierarchy involving two or more language varieties. This is of course different from diglossia as envisioned by Ferguson (1959). However, as Scotton (1986) has argued, "few truly diglossic communities really exist" Scotton cited in Derhemi (2003:1027), in light of the fact that the prerequisites for Ferguson's diglossia are that, "everyone speaks the low

variation as a mother tongue, and secondly that the high variety is not used in informal conversations" (Scotton 1986 cited in Derhemi, 2003:1027).

1.8 Outline of chapters

Chapter 2 *A nation in 'motion': Zimbabwe as a synonym for migration, diaspora and the 'foreign.'* In this chapter I review literature on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. The chapter can broadly be divided into four sections. The first section evaluates how Zimbabwe has in contemporary times become synonymous with migration and assumed the status of *a nation in motion* whose population is globally dispersed. The second section focuses on the triggers of Zimbabwe's exodus. In the third section I discuss how Zimbabweans constitute strange and estranged neighbours in South Africa. In the final section I focus on what has been said about Zimbabweans' experiences of the politics of identity and the strategies suggested as ways of transcending this politics. In this section, I attempt to think with and against the assimilationist approach to Zimbabwean migrants' situatedness in South Africa and this sets the background for the trajectory that I take in this study.

Chapter 3 *Navigating the maze of language in action: An eclectic tool box for understanding the workings of situated discourse and identity*: In this chapter I develop and motivate for an eclectic theoretical apparatus for understanding the workings of language in practice and its implications on the terrain of identity. I draw concepts and analytical frames from the works of influential thinkers across the disciplines of sociology, linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics who have delved into situated discourse and identity and I reveal the merits of the different vantage points in addressing the slippery nature of language. I however push to the fore Bourdieu's theory of the economy of social practice, showing how its prioritization of a *relational frame of analysis* which gives precedence to the associated issues of power, inequality and domination lies at the core of understanding language and its place in identity with effect of being a possible bedrock for all these various theoretical points and concepts. I take this Bourdieusian turn by way of a conversation with other thinkers in the area such as Erving Goffman and Jan Blommaert, whose work also delves into the microscopic and how particular social inscriptions of evaluative mechanisms index different identities in a hierarchized

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manner, respectively. These two layers of theoretical work add a zooming effect and robust vantage point for a micro-analysis of the social interface between different identity groups and individuals.

Chapter 4 Methodology *Towards multisided fieldwork: Continuity, discontinuity, junctures and disjunctures as hallmarks of social practice?* This chapter discusses my research design and data collection methods. I also discuss the politics of representation within the era of a crisis of representation. I argue for a reflexive position that goes beyond confessional tales but that also articulates the agency and activity of the research without mystifying it. To this end I elaborate my motivations for 'constructing' a 'multi-sited field,' which I argue is necessitated by the fuzzy boundaries of my object of analysis. I delve into the rationale behind conducting multisided fieldwork and the selection of the different sites as well as the recruitment of research participants.

Chapter 5 *From one context of struggle to another: Zimbabwe migrants' multifaceted habitus for struggles in Johannesburg* This chapter discusses continuities and overlaps between the Zimbabwe-South Africa migratory spaces. Emerging from a context of structural violence in Zimbabwe, which resulted in a historical shift from normal life to a life of kukiya-kiya[5], Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg are confronted by a similar context of exclusion and violence. The chapter maps out the various habitus that characterize and inform the social practices of migrants. These different habitus allow us to get insight into the practices of migrants and their perceptions and appreciation.

Chapter 6 *Language and the identity strategies of Zimbabwean migrants in different neighbourhoods of Johannesburg: A shifting and fluid continuum of Otherness?* In this chapter I draw from the discourses and experiences of Ndebele and Shona migrants across the four research sites of Yeoville, Hillbrow, Newtown and Diepsloot.

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[5] Kukiya-kiya refers to a situation where unorthodox social and economic practices emerged to deal with an economic crisis that rendered all 'normal' socio-economic transactions redundant. For example people went to work although the salary was less than a day's taxi fare to get to work. At work they would sell different products to survive and the workspace in a way became a market for their products.

I reveal what these neighbourhoods mean to migrants with regards to their Otherness as well as the strategies they deploy to manage their position as the other-Other. What emerges out of these four research sites are different relational matrices which engender different identity presentation and identity management strategies by Zimbabwean migrants. Furthermore this chapter reveals how language is not a simple and unified thing endowed with the same meaning and functional utility across different spaces. Rather its recognition and meaning is predicated and inscribed in the context in which it is used.

Chapter 7 *The 'world of money': identity games and strategies within the work space:* This chapter focuses on the work space (labour market) as a social microcosm (social world) in its own right. Without reducing the work space to a 'generic space' I reveal how different workspaces are characterized by their own normative structures and identity demands on migrants which are not necessarily extensions of the experiences of migrants in their neighbourhoods. The world of work has its own unique demands which may result in a discontinuity and disjuncture from the identity and language regimen employed by migrants within the neighbourhoods.

Chapter 8 *Conclusion* offers a summation of the various issues that have been discussed and the lessons that have been garnered from the experiences of Zimbabwean migrants situated in different places across the city of Johannesburg. I focus on four central things that emerge from this, i.e., the currency of habitus and capital in understanding the situatedness of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, the economy of linguistic exchange, cross-identification and the sense of identity among Zimbabweans in Johannesburg.

Chapter 2

A nation in 'motion': Zimbabwe as a synonym for migration, diaspora and the 'foreign'

After 1990, however, the accelerating social, political and economic unravelling of the country led to a rush for the exits. An economy in free-fall, soaring inflation and unemployment, the collapse of public services, political oppression and deepening poverty proved to be powerful, virtually irresistible, push factors for many Zimbabweans (Crush & Tevera, 2010:1).

2.1 Introduction

The notion of Zimbabwe exporting its people and Zimbabweans becoming the 'talk' and part of the 'main actors' of contemporary global migration discourses now appears to be self-evident. Crush, Chikanda and Mwaswikwa, (2012:4), for instance, state that "Zimbabwe has become a major global migrant sending country over the past two decades." Commenting on the unrelenting crises confronting the country, other scholars argue that without change Zimbabwe's "biggest export will remain its people" (Solidarity Peace Trust 2010 in Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010:6). Crush and Tevera (2010:1) argue that "Zimbabwe has now joined the list of 'crisis-driven' migrations which includes such recent African crises as Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Somalia and Sierra Leone." These observations succinctly capture how in the current context, narratives about Zimbabwe are entangled in issues of migration and population displacement. This effectively conjures an image of Zimbabwe as a nation in motion. Thabo Mbeki speaking to the '"Commonwealth Secretary General Don McKinnon in October 2003 stated that "he has three million Zimbabweans in South Africa, Chissano (Mozambique) has 400,000 while Botswana hosts up to 200,000 of them"[6] (Mbeki cited in Crush & Tevera 2010:3).

The nature of Zimbabwe's exodus, its triggers and the diversified profile of migrants from Zimbabwe have led some to argue that the case of Zimbabwean migration

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[6] Although Mbeki's off the top of his head comment has been critiqued for lacking empirical validity, the manner in which it was spoken reveals how Zimbabweans are perceived as a 'problem' by virtue of being all over the globe.

personifies all the classical push factors of migration (Sisulu et al., 2007; Mosala 2008; Crush et al.,2012). The latter has been captured by the concept 'mixed migration' which among other things speaks to the fact that "[m]igrants from [Zimbabwe] now include the skilled and unskilled, men and women, young and old. Migration has become a way of life for many Zimbabweans who play a major role in the survival of the families in Zimbabwe" (Crush, Chikanda, & Mwaswikwa, 2012:4).The precise number of people who have left Zimbabwe is contested (Centre for Development & Enterprise 2008a; Makina 2010; Crush et al., 2012). Although the United Kingdom and South Africa, due to cultural as well as geographic proximity on the part of South Africa, have hogged much of the attention with reference to Zimbabwean migration, Zimbabwean migrants are now globally spread. It would seem that Zimbabwe, and Zimbabweans currently strike the global imagination as synonymous with migration, diaspora and the 'foreign.' Crush et al. (2012:4) state that, "[i]n 2001, 192 of the 222 countries reported in the UN Migration Stock database had at least one Zimbabwean migrant." Crush et al. (2012:4) go on to note that:

> The precise number of people who have left Zimbabwe is not known. Some "guesstimates" put the figure at between 1.5 and 3 million"'. What is certain is that the Zimbabwean diaspora has grown rapidly and become global in its distribution. They further note that "[t]he most common destinations within Africa are South Africa, Botswana and Namibia, while major overseas destinations include Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada.

Work on Zimbabweans in the UK has revealed a number of things. Movement to the United Kingdom was greatly shaped by how the political and economic crises played out in Zimbabwe. Movement to the United Kingdom intensified around the late nineties and continued thereafter (Mbiba, 2005; Pasura, 2010, 2011). Although there are no exact numbers of Zimbabweans in the UK, the dubbing of the UK as "Harare North" (Mbiba, 2005) speaks to the large numbers of Zimbabweans. Zimbabweans are said to be generally dispersed throughout the UK with certain areas, such as Slough earning Zimbabwean names such as "kwaChirau"[7] (Mbiba, 2005:31). This

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[7] Mbiba explains that kwaChirau is "an area in Mashonaland West province of Zimbabwe, whose name rhymes with the pronunciation of "Slough" (Mbiba 2005:31).

literature has also suggested that Zimbabwean migrants in the United Kingdom appear to be better educated compared to other migration streams to other parts of the globe (Bloch, 2008). This assertion is made on the basis of how social class facilitated those managing to migrate to the UK as well as the general profiles of Zimbabweans who have participated in these studies (Bloch, 2008; Mcgregor, 2007). This work has also revealed different fortunes on the part of migrants in the UK. While some have managed to get good jobs on the basis of their education and qualifications; other segments have been caught in menial and demeaning jobs such as care work which is derogatorily classified as British Bottom Cleaners (BBC) (Mbiba, 2005; Mcgregor, 2007). In addition, this work has revealed how Zimbabweans have had to deal with changes in UK's immigration regime, -which closed off some opportunities -as well as racism and institutional prejudice (Mcgregor, 2007).

Crush, Chikanda and Maswikwa discuss similar patterns among migrants in Canada using data from a 2010 survey. Their findings also reveal how the crisis triggered some movements to Canada. Crush et al., (2012:7) reveal that "although emigration from Zimbabwe increased in the 1990s as economic prospects deteriorated, only a small number moved to Canada. This changed dramatically after 2000." Most of the Zimbabweans in Canada are in the Province of Ontario (60%), although there are other significant populations of Zimbabweans in the other Provinces of Alberta (13%), British Columbia (12%), as well as Quebec (10%). Notably, these Zimbabweans choose to settle in major urban centres, with Toronto being the most popular (Crush et al.,2012:1).

Across these different spaces, Zimbabwean migrants have been shown to be contributing to development back home through remittances (Mbiba, 2005; McGregor, 2006; Bloch, 2008;). Remittances have been noted to be helping to assuage the economic challenges that confront those remaining in Zimbabwe, as well as the migration levels from the country (Crush & Tevera, 2010).The development potential has been noted by the Zimbabwean government which has in turn attempted to tap into migrants remittances (McGregor, 2006; Bloch, 2008).

Below is a table that attempts to capture the diversified movement of Zimbabwean migrants and the location of Zimbabwe's diaspora. These numbers are estimates from different sources as indicated in the footnotes,

Table 2. 1 The Spatial distribution of the Zimbabwean Diaspora by Source

Source	UK	Botswana	USA	South Africa	Canada	Australia	New Zealand	Namibia
SIRDC Study[4]	196,000	183,785	36,750	24,500	18,109			
Statistics South Africa				131,886				
D. .Makina[5]				800,000-1,000,000				
Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, 2007				1,200,000				
Refugees International				2,000,000				
Magunha et al[6]	300,000							
Zimbabwe Mapping Exercise, 2006	395,800[7]							
Canada Census					6,525[8]			
Sokwanele.com				3,000,000[9]				
Embassy of Namibia Harare, Zimbabwe								400[10] 1,500[11]
Australia Bureau of Statistics						20,158		
UK Census	49,524							
Mclean S[12]	395,800 - 600,000							
Rand Cooperation[13]			100,000					
Livingzimbabweblogspot[14]							7,000	
AZBA[15]			45,000					
S. Hanson.[16]		200,000-300,000						
IOL 2008[17]		250,000						

[4] Chetsanga, C.J. An analysis of the Cause and Effect of the Brain Drain in Zimbabwe, Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre, Harare,2005

[5] Makina, D. A Survey of the profile of Migrant Zimbabweans in South Africa, Johannesburg, 2007.

[6]Magunha, F, Bailey A, and Cliffe, L. Remittance Strategies of Zimbabweans in Northern England, School of Geography, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT,January 2009

[7] An estimate based on official statistics compiled by the Home Office between 1990 and 2005

[8] Zimbabwean born people enumerated in the 2006 census in Canada. This is likely to be an underestimation of the total number of Zimbabweans in Canada. http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/article/468355

[9]http//www.sokwanele.com/articles/sokwanele/zimrefugeessufferinginsouthafricaandzimbabwe_20july2007

[10] Official numbers of Zimbabweans in Namibia, July 2009.

[11] Estimated number of Zimbabweans officially and unofficially in Namibia, July 2009.

[12]Mclean, S. The   Zimbabwe Diaspora in the UK. A Cause for Hope for Improved Governance. http//www.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_research_citation/2/5/2/0/7/3/pages250732-3.php

[13] Rand Cooperation Think Tank. Cited in the New York Daily News.2009/04/18: The Heartbeat of Africa by Firger, J. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/zimbabwe_diaspora#cite_-2

[14] http://livingzimbabwe.blogspot.com/2008/03/zimbabwe-in-newzealand-poll-results.html

[15] AZBA- Association of Zimbabweans Based Abroad. IRIN. Washington 3 April 2008. http://irinnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=77599

[16]HANSON Stephanie: Botswana an African success story shows strain .January 2008. http://www.cfr.org/publication/15108/

[17] Influx of Zimbabweans drains Botswana
http.www.iol.co.za/index.php?click_id=68&art_id=now20080727121120107c363306&set_id=1

Source: Mudungwe (2009: 6)

Although there is no general consensus pertaining to the numbers of Zimbabweans in the different countries indications reveal a global dispersion[8] of Zimbabweans.

The section that follows discusses the shifts in Zimbabwe's migration profile, from a historically intercalary position, of being both a receiver and sender of migrants to exclusively becoming the latter. I focus on the conditions that have given rise to the mass emigration of Zimbabweans from their country in a context that has produced a globally dispersed 'diaspora' and reconstituted Zimbabwe to a nation synonymous with migration and being the foreign 'Other.' Thereafter, I focus on Zimbabweans in South Africa: their experiences of generally diffused exclusionary tendencies and what has been said about how they negotiate this politics of identity.

2.2 Early years: an intercalary position as sender and receiver of migration

Migration is nothing new to Zimbabweans. Indeed it is part and parcel of Zimbabwe's history and as some note, by 1980- which was Zimbabwe's independence ''migration had become thoroughly institutionalized'' (Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010; Mazur in Pasura, 2011:148). Evidence reveals that there is a long history and tradition of migration and free movement between Zimbabwe and South Africa that dates back to pre-colonial times (Sisulu et al., 2007; Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010). Mlambo suggests that, in actual fact, different ethnic communities freely moved across contemporary Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, South Africa, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Mlambo points to the overlaps and continuities of ethnic groups which straddle contemporary colonial borders as testament to this pre-colonial free movement. He points to, among a number of such groups, the "Kalanga of southwestern Zimbabwe and northeastern Botswana; the Shangaan, Venda and Tsonga peoples of southern Zimbabwe, southern Mozambique and northern South Africa; the Manyika and Ndau people of eastern Zimbabwe and central Mozambique…" (Mlambo, 2010: 52).

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[8] Anecdotal evidence suggests that there are Zimbabweans in other countries that are not included here. One individual who is a buyer for a certain company in Zimbabwe noted during a discussion about my study that there is a big community of Zimbabweans in Egypt.

A central development that contoured migration in the mid-nineteenth as well as twentieth century in the region was the colonial labour market. Mlambo states that "[l]abour migrancy linked the various countries and colonies in the sub-region into one large labour market, with various countries sending and receiving migrants" (Mlambo, 2010: 63). During this period, Zimbabwe was positioned together with South Africa, as Southern Africa's labour centres and competed with the latter for labourers from an interconnected trans-border labour market in the region (Crush, Williams, & Peberdy, 2005; Mlambo, 2010). Both South Africa and Zimbabwe enjoyed this position as the 'core' due to the unequal development of capitalism in Southern Africa. They emerged as the "southernmost centres, where capital was best developed and entrenched, [and] each in turn fed off the less developed northern periphery for part of its labour supplies" (Mlambo, 2010: 163). Workers seeking employment in the mine and agricultural sectors of the two countries came from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia (Mlambo, 2010). The trans-border labour recruitment regime was institutionalized primarily through the alliance and symbiotic relationship between the colonial states and capital (Yudelman, 1984). In this matrix "Zimbabwe played a dual role as both a receiver of migrant labourers from its neighbours and a supplier of migrant labour to South Africa" (Mlambo, 2010: 63).

During this period Zimbabwe occupied an intercalary position of both receiver and sender of migrants. However, in terms of volumes going out and coming in, Zimbabwe stood more as a migrant receiving than a migrant sending country. To this end, Mlambo discusses how the country's agriculture and mining industries were heavily dependent on the importation of foreign labour. The local population was "reluctant to work on the mines and farms, partly because they were still able to produce agricultural surpluses and meet their increasing tax obligations to the colonial state" (Mlambo, 2010: 63). In light of its dependence on foreign labour, the state had to proactively institutionalize the recruitment of migrant labour. For instance, in the years between 1903 and 1933 this institutionalization culminated in the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) (Mlambo, 2010). The RNLB "supplied [Rhodesia with] an average of 13, 000 workers to employers each year" (Mlambo, 2010: 64). In addition to this, the government reached agreements with governments of several countries in the region which facilitated the importation of labour such as the Tete agreement of 1913 with Mozambique as well as the Tripartite Labour

Agreement of 1937 with Malawi and Zambia (Mlambo, 2010: 65). In 1946 the foreign labour recruitment drive of the Rhodesian state saw it establish the Native Labour Supply Commission (NLSC) of 1946 to specifically recruit foreign workers for the agriculture sector. The state incentivized labour related immigration by allowing Malawians to bring their families while others were allowed to settle after a period of working in Zimbabwe (Mlambo, 2010). The tables below give a sense of the presence, as well as the employment of African foreigners in Zimbabwe between the years 1911-1969.

Table 2. 2 **African Population in by Nationality, Salisbury, 1911-1969**

Origin	1911	1921	1931	1936	1941	1946	1951	1962	1969
Local	2,052 (49%)	3,346 (41%)	6,406 (49%)	9,550 (55%)	12,93 5	15,81 0	30,95 8	154,80 (72%)	231,98 0
Malawi	-	3,219 (40%)	4,637 (36%)	5,406 (31%)	7,665 (29%)	9,509 (26%)	16,39 9	41,530 (19%)	28,830 (10%)
Zambia	1,155 (28%)	366 (4%)	791 (6%)	774 (4%)	935 (4%)	1,355 (4%)	2,339 (3%)	4,800 (2%)	2,770 (1%)
Mozambiq ue	879 (21%)	1,149 (14%)	1,008 (8%)	1,612 (9%)	4,665 (18%)	9,486 (26%)	25,36 7	13,350 (6%)	13,460 (5%)
South Africa &	70 (2%)	59 (1%)	161 (1%)	119 (1%)	161	198	425	1,260 (1%)	1,870 (1%)
Unspecifie	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,180
Total	4,222	8,139	13,00	17,46	26,36	36,35	75,48	215,81	280,09

Source: T. Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe: A Social History of Harare Before 1925* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2007: 160) cited in Mlambo, (2010).

Table 2.2 1 Origin of African Male Employees in Zimbabwe, 1911-1951

Year	Zimbabw	Zambia	Malawi	Mozambi	Other Territorie	Total
1911	35,933	17,012	12,281	13,588	5,341	84,155
1921	52,691	31,201	44,702	17,198	1,524	147,316
1926	73,233	35,431	43,020	13,068	2,218	171,970
1931	76,184	35,542	49,487	14,896	2,983	179,092
1936	107,581	46,884	70,362	25,215	2,440	252,482
1941	131,404	48,163	71,505	45,970	2,468	299,510
1946	160,932	45,413	80,480	72,120	4,399	363,344
1951	241,683	48,514	86,287	101,618	10,353	488,455

Source: P. Scott, "Migrant Labor in Southern Rhodesia," *Geographical Review* 44 (1), 1954, p. 31 in Mlambo, (2010).

Table 2.2 2 **Foreign Workers in Zimbabwe, 1956**

Sector	Zambia		Malawi		Mozambique	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Mining	9,718	63	15,976	91	11,579	44
Commercial	12,218	1,027	57,226	4,315	54,896	8,441
Manufacturing	5,762	154	14,694	326	13,050	201
Construction	4,478	2	10,435	12	14,870	7
Services	704	0	1,694	0	1,411	2
Commerce	1,380	17	4,567	17	3,599	7
Transport	1,801	0	3,316	13	2,517	2
Domestic Work	4,847	127	19,534	284	16,281	28
Total	40,908	1,390	127,442	5,058	118,203	8,732

Source: J. Crush, V. Williams and S. Peberdy, "Migration in Southern Africa," *Report for SAMP* (2005:4).

2.3 'Traditional' and institutionalized movements from Zimbabwe: transitory economic strategies and 'rites of passage'

Even after the gold mines of South Africa took centre stage as "the regional employer of migrant labour" around 1911 (Mlambo, 2010: 68), Zimbabwean labour migration to South Africa is noted to have remained relatively low compared to that of other countries such as Namibia, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique in which the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) was operational (Mlambo, 2010:

68). This was accompanied by Zimbabweans working in South African mines. Those engaged in this labour migration were popularly referred to as going to *Wenela.* This scenario was to change gradually, and as Mlambo argues "over time, labour migration became entrenched in parts of Zimbabwe particularly [in] Matabeleland and the eastern part of the country" (Mlambo, 2010: 68). Mlambo argues that migration became a "rite of passage" that articulated one's masculinity and reinforced one's status as a man. It became closely tied to the economies of coming of age and marriage where young men migrated to earn money to pay 'lobola' (bride wealth). Crush et al. (2012: 7) argue in line with Mlambo noting that during this period migration was mainly from "rural households, [where members] went to work and earn for short periods, and generally returned home to establish their own households when they had accumulated sufficient resources."

Migration to South Africa in this period remained relatively low and restricted to certain segments of the country's population. As the table below reveals even by 1990 Zimbabwean workers were still relatively few.

Table 2. 3 Contract Labour Migration to South African Mines, 1920-90

Year	Ango	Bots.	Les.	Mala	Moz.	Swa	Tanz	Zam	Zimbab	Othe	Total
1920	0	2,11	10,43	354	77,92	3,44	0	12	179	5,84	99,95
1925	0	2,54	14,25	136	73,21	3,99	0	4	8	14	94,23
1930	0	3,15	22,30	0	77,82	4,34	183	0	44	5	99,35
1935	0	7,50	34,78	49	62,57	6,86	109	570	27	9	112,4
1940	698	14,4	52,04	8,03	74,69	7,15	0	2,72	8,112	0	168,0
1945	8,71	10,1	36,41	4,97	78,58	5,68	1,46	27	8,301	4,73	158,9
1950	9,76	12,3	34,46	7,83	86,24	6,61	5,49	3,10	2,073	4,82	172,8
1955	8,80	14,1	36,33	12,4	99,44	6,68	8,75	3,84	162	2,29	192,9
1960	12,3	21,4	48,84	21,9	101,7	6,62	14,0	5,29	747	844	233,8
1965	11,1	23,6	54,81	38,5	89,19	5,58	404	5,89	653	2,68	232,6
1970	4,12	20,4	63,98	78,4	93,20	6,26	0	0	3	972	265,1
1975	3,43	20,2	78,11	27,9	97,21	8,39	0	0	2,485	12	220,2
1980	5	17,7	96,30	13,5	39,53	8,09	0	0	5,770	1,40	182,4
1985	1	18,0	97,63	16,8	50,12	12,3	0	0	0	4	196,0
1990	0	15,7	108,7	72	50,10	17,8	0	0	2	0	192,0

Source: J. Crush, A. Jeeves and D. Yudelman. *South Africa's Labor Empire* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 234-235 in Mlambo 2010:69).

2.4 From 'breadbasket' to 'basket case': the shifting sands of Zimbabwe's fortunes

The two concepts, 'breadbasket' and 'basket case' are of great utility, and stand as two pulleys reflecting the shifting sands of Zimbabwe's fortunes (Sisulu et al., 2007), and consequently the country's migration history (Crush & Tevera, 2010; Mlambo, 2010). The first concept 'breadbasket' takes us back to a period of optimism about the birth of a new country. The optimism is captured in Julius Nyerere's congratulatory message to Mugabe in 1980. "You have inherited a jewel. Keep it that way" (Meredith, 2009:15; Laufs, 2010). Three decades later Nyerere's words sound like an ominous warning, if not a fateful prediction about Mugabe's *failure to keep it that way*. The 'jewel' also known as Africa's breadbasket has become Africa's basket case and Zimbabweans orphans without a home (cf. Sisulu et al.,2007; Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010) and the only thing from the 1980s that remains constant is Mugabe's iron grip on power.

The roots of the 'Zimbabwean crisis' that precipitated "a rush for the exits" (Crush & Tevera, 2010:1) has received wide scholarly attention. But while many scholars prefer to talk about the post-2000 crisis, Hammar and Raftopoulos, (2003) argue that the Zimbabwean crisis is not a single crisis with a particular time of reference. Instead, they emphasise that what has been called the Zimbabwean crisis in fact refers to 'multiple crises' which date back to a few years after independence. Left nationalist scholars view the crisis as a contradiction of the neo-colonial state in which rationality is defined through western centred ideals that seek to maintain the neo-liberal status-quo at the expense of equity and justice. Moyo and Yeros (2007:104), for instance, argue that "if independence bequeathed a neo-colonial state in Zimbabwe, the late nineties saw a rebellion against neo-colonialism." They argue that the 1990s in Zimbabwe saw a "revolutionary situation" that was galvanized by "two political questions"-"the agrarian and the national [which] were returned to the forefront of political life" (Moyo & Yeros, 2007:103). This "revolutionary situation in Zimbabwe has given rise not to a revolutionary state but a radicalised state; this is a peripheral state which has rebelled against neo colonialism" (Moyo & Yeros, 2007:105). According to Moyo and Yeros this progressive revolution has been pathologized through "eurocentric and populist" informed analyses as "crisis, chaos, tyranny" symptomatic of the African condition

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(Moyo & Yeros, 2007:103). Chaumba, Scoones, & Wolmer, (2003:534) in their analysis of the Fast Track Land Reform (FTLRP) also argue that the land reform has been analyzed through "accounts [which] play into a well-rehearsed narrative on 'African crises' of economic collapse, political instability, socioeconomic inequalities, corruption, crime and war, and depictions of 'failed', 'vampire' or 'collapsed' African states." Chaumba et al., (2003:535) argue that "the broad-brush representation of the farm occupation and fast-track resettlement process as chaotic and unplanned is misleading."

While acknowledging that Zimbabwe's crisis was "rooted in the long-term structural political–economic legacies of colonial rule…" (Moore & Raftopoulos in Mlambo, 2010:2), scholars on the other side of the divide see the triggers of the crisis as located in a context of a "major threat to the political future of the ruling party ZANU-PF" (Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010:2). They emphasize 'political survivalism' as underlying the disastrous policies that Mugabe and ZANU PF embarked on. Scholars like Ranger see a blurring of the lines between ZANU PF and the state which fed into a bigger abrogation of normal national politics to a Zanunization of politics and violation of everything falling outside ZANU's definition of patriotism and nationalism (cf. Ranger, 2004). For Raftopoulos and Savage (2004) the Zimbabwe crisis is revealing of the limits of the politics of reconciliation. Various commentaries in the Ranger & Savage edited book entitled, *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation* note how Mugabe reneged on the promises of a nation building project based on reconciliation. The outcome was a disintegration of rule of law, militarization of politics, politicization of the media and judiciary, protection and justice and spiral into political violence and economic meltdown which became pronounced in the 1990s (Eppel, 2004; Nyathi, 2004; Raftopoulos & Savage, 2004; Sachikonye, 2004). The year 2000 is seen as the turning point in which under immense pressure from a nascent opposition and general questions of ZANU PF's legitimacy, Mugabe went into survivalist gear and war mode (cf. Raftopoulos & Savage, 2004).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012), views the Zimbabwe crisis as "largely a case of failed nation-building involving [the] uniting [of] different races, ethnicities, genders and generations to build a Zimbabwean national identity" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012:525).

To this end, he argues that "ZANU-PF might have succeeded in building the state but it failed to build the nation" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012:525). In another publication, Ndlovu-Gatsheni discusses the ascendancy of Mugabeism in the mid-1990s, and argues that Mugabeism forged a particular history of Zimbabwe, which Ranger (2004) refers to as 'Patriotic history'. Mugabeism a rendition of Zimbabwean history and political life in which Mugabe is depicted as the saviour and God-chosen leader who should not be challenged. In the blurry lines delineating the state and ZANU PF all state apparatus function in line with Mugabe's ideology. This is notable in the Army Generals' stance- that of denigrating the opposition party- the MDC- as a Western sponsored project whose leader must not be saluted. For Tendi (2008) Zanu PF and Mugabe are depicted as the Alpha and Omega of the nation's history and future. Patriotic history divides the nation into them and us, war veterans and civilians, indigenous and Western sponsored projects, whites and blacks. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, like Ranger, argues that Mugabeism is a framing of patriotism and nationalism in the image of Mugabe and ZANU PF- a Zanunization of Zimbabwe and Zimbabwean politics. Anything falling outside of this imagination is cast as anti-Zimbabwean and anti-patriotic. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2009:1140) classifies Mugabeism as a "national paranoia" characterized by a "politics of exclusion." Ndlovu-Gatsheni goes on to reveal how:

> After 2000 and 2002, elections in which many people voted for the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in the Parliamentary and presidential elections, Mugabe began to divide Zimbabweans into traitors, puppets, sellouts, enemies of the nation versus patriots and authentic national subjects (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009:1140)

Although the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) has been discussed as a contributory factor in the massive poverty and unemployment of the 1990s, it has also been discussed how the years just after independence were characterized by ZANU PF cronyism, corruption and a climate of political intolerance. Zhou (2000) evaluates Public sector reforms in Zimbabwe and reveals how by the late 1980s corruption was already an ingrained feature of ZANU PF governance. To this end, Zhou notes that "[t]he cabinet was also viewed as obese, especially in the wake of dwindling resources and increasing reports of corruption among the top officials (as revealed by the Willowvale scandal of 1988). This corruption and cronyism was decried by the general Zimbabwean public. Nyamufudza's article

entitled *Zimbabwe's political culture today* captures the prevailing mood among Zimbabwean citizens in relation to the government at the time. Nyamufukudza writes:

> There is public fulmination about the nation's chosen ideology by the selfsame leadership which is accumulating property with the fervour of a newly self-discovered bourgeoisie. What has happened to the leadership code? As a result, we live in a culture, both politically and economically, where it is more profitable to leave your job and become a wheeler-dealer, smuggling goods in short supply to resell them at outrageously inflated prices (Moto, 1988 in Zhou, 2000:197).

In addition to these forms of critiques people engaged in the "anti-corruption demonstrations which erupted in the late 1980s" (Zhou, 2000:196). The Zimbabwean state's attitude to critiques is discernible in its rift and friction with civil society. The University which appeared to be the citadel of political commentary and critique was closed on the 4th of October, 1989 and this was followed by the "'enactment of the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act of 1990[9], which, according to Moto (1991), was "one of the most controversial pieces of legislation in the history of Zimbabwe"' (Zhou, 2000:196). Walter Kamba resigned from his post of Vice Chancellor noting that there was "interference from unprofessional hands" (Moto, 1997: 7 cited in Zhou, 2000:196). This intolerance to difference and critique was also playing out on the political front notable in Mugabe's increasing attempts to push for a one party state system in Zimbabwe (Shaw, 1986; Zhou, 2000; Mamdani, 2008), which was however opposed both by people within and outside of ZANU PF (Shaw, 1986). Zhou goes on to note that "[w]hile initially cabinet ministers were generally criticized as inefficient and corrupt, by the 1990s such accusations had widened to include the president" (Zhou, 2000:196). Other issues of concern were the Gukurahundi killings in Matabeleland and the Midlands (Catholic Commission Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe, 1997; Zhou, 2000) as well as political violence exemplified by the "shooting of business tycoon, Patrick Kombayi, in the run up to the 1990 Presidential election (Zhou, 2000:196).

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[9] The Act provides for government interference in the Affairs of the University. The Zimbabwe President who is the Chancellor of the University reserves many rights to regulate the various bodies and organizations by both staff and students.

These violent displays and machinations for a one party state that were discernible in the 1990s appear to be playing out in Zimbabwe's current crisis. Through Mugabeism and a 'rewriting of history' (Ranger, 2004) in language which casts Mugabe as the father and ultimate guardian of Zimbabwe's *eternal revolution,* Mugabe and ZANU PF have effectively disqualified any political alternative outside of Mugabe and ZANU PF. Elections are fast degenerating into a ritual as notable in the open declarations by the army that they will not salute someone who did not liberate Zimbabwe (and has no liberation war credentials) (Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2011). This threat has recently been reiterated by Retired Brigadier-General Livingstone Chineka, who on the 29th of July 2013, "threatened post-election war if ZANU PF loses in the harmonized polls" (Chitagu, 2013).

The late 1990s and the years after 2000 have been widely described as a context in which the law was suspended and replaced by a ZANU PF logic. For most commentators Mugabe has used the land question and the restive war veterans to ingrain ZANU PF hegemony and to build extra-legal institutions existing outside the law (cf. Raftopoulos, 2010). The whole land reform was a *jambanja* (Chaumba et al., 2003) meaning a confused and chaotic exercise characterized by confiscation of white farms, killing, destroying and stealing all in the name of *repossession* of our forefathers' land. The war veterans' arm twisting of Mugabe to get compensation (Mamdani, 2008:5), played into Mugabe's hand and he was able to harness the war veterans as part of his ideologues who were a law unto themselves and justify their acts as patriotic and nationalist. The War Vets were rewarded with an unbudgeted for, hefty ZW $ 50 000 each which at the time was an equivalent of US$ 5 000 (Kriger, 2003). In addition to this unplanned spending, the Zimbabwean government also participated in the war in the DRC which was quite expensive to maintain (Chung, 2006). Some estimates place the cost of the DRC war at US$ 1 million per day). On Friday the 14th of November 1997 (now known as 'Black Friday') the value of the Zimbabwean dollar crashed losing 71, 5% of its value against the US dollar (Mhanda, 2011).

The mood in the country in the late 1990s was restive as reflected by the food riots of 1998 that occurred across the country. The state, as if on cue responded once again with heavy handed violence (Sachikonye, 2002). It is against such a

background of a breakdown of the rule of law, a general economic and social meltdown, unemployment, high inflation that Zimbabwean migration occurred. There was also the violence that was becoming totemic, which would become marked during elections as ZANU PF canvassed for support. In the year 2005 the ZANU PF government carried out Operation Murambatsvina (Operation Restore Order). Sisulu et al,.(2007:552-553) note that:

> According to the government, this 'clean-up campaign' was aimed at enforcing city by-laws to stop illegal trading, remove illegal settlements and 'clean up' the cities and towns of Zimbabwe. From mid-May to July 2005, army and police units demolished thousands of shacks, informal vending and manufacturing operations and even brick and mortar houses in every major urban centre of Zimbabwe. The demolitions then extended to farming settlements and peri-urban and rural areas.

Most commentators argue that behind this posturing about cleaning up the urban areas Operation *Murambatsvina* literally meaning *cleaning the filth,* (in this case the filthy were seen as the MDC supporters many living in the city) was in fact a smokescreen for a deliberate and calculated attack on the urban areas which the government viewed as the constituency of the MDC (Morreira, 2007). The Operation was done just after the 2005 parliamentary elections which were very hotly contested and in which ZANU PF managed to get a two thirds majority (Sisulu et al., 2007). The United Nations Special Envoy to Harare, Anna Tibaijuka classified the situation in the country as a humanitarian crisis (Ndlovu, 2008). The exodus of Zimbabwean migrants is set against such a background of a general breakdown in law and order, economic meltdown, infrastructural decay, violence and victimization and regime of belonging defined by being a Zanuist/ Zanunized nationalism.

During this period the Zimbabwean economy was operating through a Kukiya-kiya logic (Jones, 2010) where Zimbabweans resorted to unruly and extra-normal strategies to make a living in an abnormal situation. Tendai Biti (from the MDC-T), the Minister of Finance under the 2009-2013 Unity government, also described the economy under Mugabe governance as *ginyanomics*[10] *a reference to the use of*

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[10] Ginya is a slang word for force in Shona. By appending *nomics* the finance minister was ridiculing the government's *economics* as having being reduced to forcing the impossible. The state would for example

force and coercion to give a semblance of proper functioning of the economy, e.g., the president forcing industries/manufacturers to lower their prices with threats of arrest. As I have highlighted those Zimbabweans who were able to move out of the country left, particularly those whose skills were sought in countries such as Britain, and South Africa. Notably, many of them opted for South Africa because of proximity, porous borders and affordability compared to more distant countries.

In the section below, I focus on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, noting how they constitute strange and estranged neighbours. I discuss what has been said with reference to their experiences of exclusionary politics of identity and their navigation of this politics.

2.5 Strange and estranged neighbours: the South African (dis)connection

Makina (2010) notes that in the last decade most Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa have headed for Johannesburg. Makina discusses the profile of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg based on a Survey he conducted in 2007 in three inner city neighbourhoods of Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville. Makina argues that the inner city area has the highest number of Zimbabweans. Notably, his Survey excludes populations in the informal settlements, farming areas and other spaces of Johannesburg. The two tables below give us a sense of the numbers of Zimbabweans in the inner city area that participated in Makina's study and his estimates of the numbers of Zimbabweans in South Africa.

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gazette prices for basic commodities and threaten retailers with arrest if they sold at different prices yet the retailers had to make profit or at least break even.

Table **2.5 1** Location of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, 2001

Suburb	Male	Female	Total
Berea	22,434	18,236	40,670
Hillbrow	27,025	22,587	49,611
Yeoville	7,728	6,979	14,707
Total	57,187	47,802	104,988

Source Makina (2010:228)

Table **2.5 2** Zimbabwean Population in South Africa, 2001-2007

Year	Cumulative Sample	Annual Growth	Estimated Migrant Population in
2001	662		131,886
2002	882	33	175,715
2003	1,283	45	255,604
2004	1,887	47	375,935
2005	2,622	39	522,364
2006	3,832	46	763,425
2007	5,453	34*	1,022,965

Source: StatsSA in Makina (2010: 228).

Figure2.5 1 Annual arrivals in Johannesburg
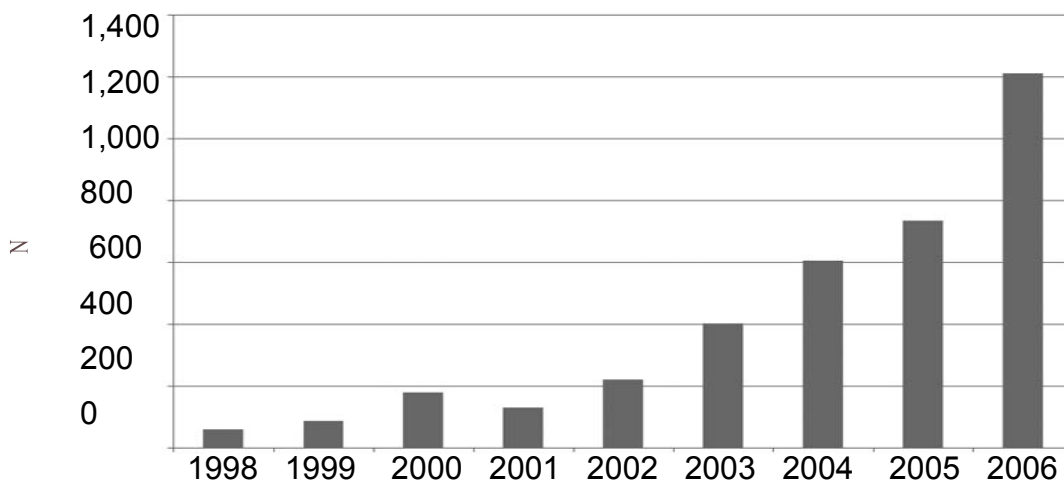
Source Makina (2010:226)

Figure 2.5. 2. Cumulative Zimbabwean population in Johannesburg
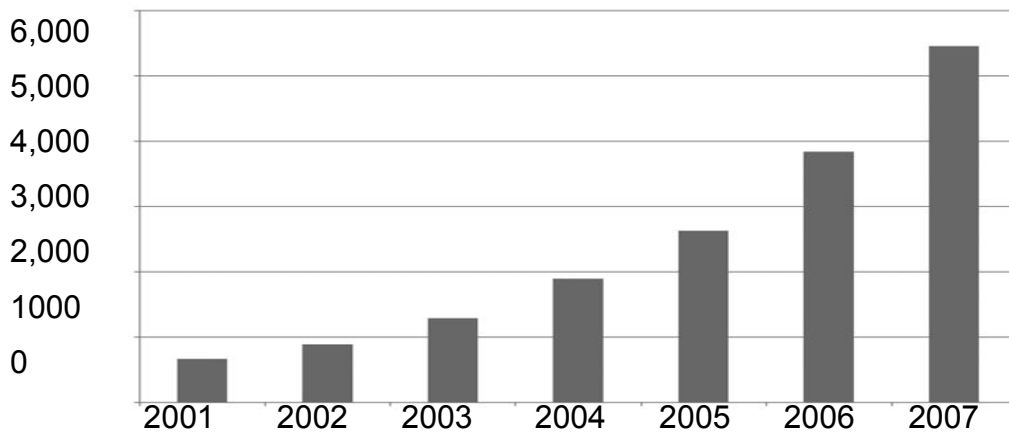
Source Makina (2010:227)

Based on his Survey Makina puts the number of Zimbabweans in South Africa in 2007 at "just over one million" Makina, (2010:228). Makina notes how the nature of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa has changed from the traditional male dominated movement to what he terms a "feminization of migration" (Makina, 2010: 230). Furthermore this migration is now ethnically mixed, and also of interest is that Zimbabwean migrants are generally highly educated compared to migration streams from other countries (Mosala, 2008; Makina, 2010). From his survey, Makina attempts to map out Zimbabwean migrants' educational levels as well as their major occupations.

Table **2.5 3** Educational Profile of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg

Education/Qualification Level	%
University degree	4
Professional qualification (including	15
Artisan qualification	3
Post-secondary diploma/certificate	10
Secondary education	62
Primary education/other	6

N= 4,624

Source Makina (2010:234)

Table **2.5 4** Migrant Employment in Johannesburg

Profession/Activity	No.	%
Security	617	13
Hospitality/Service Worker	585	12
Domestic Worker/Gardener	513	11
Hawking	442	10
Artisan	413	9
Teacher	324	7
Shop Assistant	279	6
Hairdressing	212	5
Driver	115	3
Health Professional	160	3
Multiple Professions	139	3
Other	855	18

N = 4,654

Source Makina (2010:235)

2.6 Makwerekwere: experiencing immigration policy and the (extra) legal system

The Department of Home Affairs (DoHA) and the South African Police Services (SAPS) are two state institutions that have gained notoriety in dealing with migrants. To both, migrants have been noted to be among other things 'mobile ATMs' and 'illegal aliens' who exist outside the protection of the law (Landau, 2004). Research reveals that in their daily functions, the SAPS and DoHA are nothing more than conduits to the dreaded Lindela detention centre (Neocosmos, 2008; Amit, 2011). There are widespread reports of extra-legal activities and people arrested and detained with legal documentation, while refuges have also been detained and deported (Amit, 2011). There are also allegations of migrants being beaten, and having their documents destroyed by the Police among other gross violations (Klaaren & Ramji, 2001; Neocosmos, 2008).

Quite recently, a Mozambican taxi driver was handcuffed to a police van and dragged in the street, which was a prelude to his mysterious death in police cells (Mail & Guardian 2013). Violence and abuse against migrants is common place in South Africa. As already alluded to, the hostility against migrants can best be understood when situated within broader policies and their contours at both

conceptual and practical levels. In this regard a brief discussion of South Africa's Immigration Policy suffices in making sense of the behavior of the DoHA and SAPS.

The years after 1994 marked a continuation with the apartheid infrastructure of managing immigration. The perspective informing the policies of the day, which was based on the Aliens Control Act of 1999, can be gleaned from the then Minister of Home Affairs Mongosutho Buthelezi's 1998 lamentation that "'if we as South Africans are going to compete for scarce resources with millions of aliens who are pouring into South Africa, then we can bid goodbye to our Reconstruction and Development Programme" (Landau, 2004; Neocosmos, 2010). Harrington, (2002:4) reveals that "in 1995 [Buthelezi] the Minister of Home Affairs persuaded Parliament that the [Aliens Control] Act was too soft" to deal with illegal aliens. Parliament's response was to give "the Department increased police powers, a move supposedly justified by the threat of floods of immigrants from the impoverished nations of Africa" (Harrington, 2002:5).

For many analysts, South Africa's reliance on apartheid immigration legislation marked continuity with the apartheid state's treatment of those seen as 'outsiders' and not belonging to South Africa. During apartheid the state had to contend with Africans who were a necessary component of South Africa's industrialization as labourers, yet simultaneously a 'problem' in that their urbanization threatened the (white) nation. This resulted in the institutionalization of 'two nations'- the (white) urban nation and the Bantustans- with blacks belonging in the latter (see, (Mamdani, 1996; Neocosmos, 2010). At the centre of South Africa's current immigration policy initiatives lies the concern with "the problem of illegal aliens" today's outsiders (Peberdy, 2001:21).

The Immigration policy of the South African state has generally been described as hostile and exclusionary towards both towards unskilled (and unskilled migrants) and skilled migrants (Peberdy, 2001; Buur et al., 2007; Neocosmos, 2008). In 1998, with regards to the former, the DoHA declared that "no one in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories would normally be accepted as an immigrant worker" (Peberdy, 2001:17). With regards to skilled migrants "'The former Deputy Minister suggested that skilled foreigners were only welcome temporarily, saying that government policy

should only allow "South Africa to import skills in the short term"' (Sisulu 1997:2 in Peberdy, 2001:17; Crush, 2011). This position has been accompanied by restrictive application processes that involve, among a number of barriers, stringent visa application processes and fees. In the case of skilled migrants there is the requirement of justifying an employer's importation of a foreign skill over South Africans (Peberdy, 2001; Polzer, 2008).

Incessant warnings by the private sector as well as researchers about waning skills owing in part to emigration from the country motivated a shift in South Africa's immigration stance. This shift came in the form of the Immigration Act No 13 of 2002 which sought to tap into skilled migrants while shutting out unskilled migrants (Peberdy, 2001; Polzer, 2008; Crush, 2011). This Act introduced new categories of temporary residence permits for skilled migrants.

Although the shift in policy has been lauded by some for being enabling to skilled migrants (Crush, 2011), some argue that the Act "retains many of the features of its predecessor although it is less exclusionary for some" (Peberdy, n.d.:7). Migrants falling within the semi-skilled and un-skilled categories are excluded from permanent residence and temporary residence except for mine workers and contract agricultural workers who are not excluded from the latter (Peberdy, n.d.). It is in this respect that the Immigration Act has been seen as retaining "the preferential access of the mining and commercial agricultural sectors to contract labour from the region" (Peberdy, n.d: 7). The working conditions and presence in South Africa of contract workers in these sectors are still shaped by bi-lateral agreements South Africa has with neighbouring countries which "have barely changed since the mid-1900s (or even earlier for some)" (Peberdy, n.d:7).

Amidst all these policy shifts and processes, one thing appears to remain a constant, that is, the central concern for South Africa's immigration policy thrust seems to be with dealing with the 'problem of illegal aliens' (Peberdy, 2001; Polzer, 2008). While according to the DoHA and the state 'illegal aliens' means 'undocumented' migrants in practice there is a conceptual conflation of terms and African migrants (amakwerekwere) are presented as synonymous with illegal aliens (Peberdy, 2001). Peberdy, (2001:24) speaks to this, and notes that "The state's negative attitudes to

both immigrants and migrants is most evident in its stereotyping of African migrants" (Neocosmos, 2008). Peberdy (2001: 24) goes on to note that:

> These [African] foreigners supposedly threaten "the nation" by endangering its physical and moral health, and its ability to provide services, employment, and to control crime. The discourse is replete with images of Africans as carriers of disease. When listing the potential threats that immigrants pose to South Africans, Departmental documents consistently refer to the impact of African immigrants on the rapid spread of infectious diseases such as malaria, yellow fever, and AIDS. The rest of Africa is an impoverished and unhealthy wasteland where health measures have ceased to be operative and whose diseased population should therefore be kept out of South Africa.

In light of perceived contrasts between 'South Africans' and 'Africans' there is an infrastructure *of* bio-social profiling which is deployed to identify traits associated with 'outsiders.' To this end, as Mathers and Landau (2007:530) argue "Being black and foreign in South Africa, whether legal or illegal, worker or leisure tourist marks one out for harassment, inconvenience and even violence, both psychological and physical." Peberdy gives a very apt description of how this bio-social profiling infrastructure works. She states:

> Foreign black Africans are identified by a range of superficial physical features: by skin color (as Africans from further north are held to be darker or "blacker" than South Africans); by vaccination marks; by "traditional" scarification marks; and by accent, language ability, and dress (Peberdy, 2001:21).

The DoHA has thus in conjunction with the police and at times the SANDF relied on a strategy of 'tracking down suspected illegal aliens, arresting and deporting them' (Peberdy, 2001; Polzer, 2007; Crush, 2011). These activities of dealing with illegal aliens involve the police, the army as well as civil society who are called upon to guard the gains of freedom threatened by illegal aliens (Peberdy, 2001; Nyamnjoh, 2006). Diversely named anticrime operations target migrants, for instance, Operation Crackdown (Peberdy, 2001:21). There are also operations explicitly designed to crackdown on foreigners, such as Operation Passport (Peberdy, 2001:21). A number of critiques have argued that South Africa's immigration policy remains very "exclusionary retaining a national, protectionist and territorial vision" (Peberdy, n.d:6). Migrants are routinely decried and blamed for crime and other vices afflicting South Africa (Landau, 2008; IRIN, 2010).

2.7 Zimbabwe Tsunami and abantu bakaMgabe[11]: the ascendancy of specifically anti-Zimbabweans sentiments

Zimbabwean migration has proved to be one of the gravest tests to South Africa's immigration infrastructure. Polzer (2010:2) notes that Zimbabwean movement into South Africa is "democratic South Africa's first large-scale in-migration from a neighbouring country…" The complexity of the movement characterized by migrants moving for diverse reasons, what Mosala describes as the classical example of all the push factors of migration, has rendered South Africa's immigration policy ineffective (Polzer, 2010). Despite this, the South African government continued with its 'business as usual approach' in dealing with Zimbabwean migrants (Polzer, 2010; Crush, 2011). This reluctance to tap into various suggestions such as easing of entry conditions for Zimbabweans was further compounded by the DoHA's position that 'Zimbabwe is not a refugee generating country' (Polzer, 2010; Crush, 2011). The outcome has been the restriction of legal channels for Zimbabwean migration with the effect of pushing migrants to illegal channels (Polzer 2010; Crush, 2011). For Polzer, (2010) the South Africa's response to Zimbabwean migration is fragmented i.e. characterized by competing and different civil society and church organisation responses. In situations where there is a response from the government it is often delayed (Polzer, 2010). This has left many Zimbabweans depending on their social networks for survival and manoeuvring the interstices of South Africa.

Quite encouragingly, and possibly driven by the realization of the complexities of Zimbabwean migration as well as the futility of deportation, which merely acts like a revolving door, where migrants are deported and return, the DoHA tailor-made a response for Zimbabwean migration (Crush, 2011:19). In 2010 'the DoHA carried out the Zimbabwean Documentation Process (ZDP) between September 2010 and to the end of December 2010' (Amit, 2011; Crush, 2011). This documentation exercise was preceded by the special dispensation that was extended to Zimbabweans from

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[11] I deliberately spell Mugabe as Mgabe in line with how black South Africans pronounce Mugabe's name. I also draw from Ndlovu 2010 who makes a similar rendition, when he speaks of South Africans calling Zimbabweans Abantu bakaMgabe.

April 2009 to April 2010 (Amit, 2011; Crush, 2011).In principle these two processes were quite productive in that they relaxed conditions for Zimbabwean migrants to apply for the regularization of their status. In practice however as Crush (2011:19) notes:

> While one of the aims of the ZDP was to relieve the pressure on the refugee determination it is clear that many migrants decided to hedge their bets pending decisions on their applications. A total of only 49,255 Zimbabweans surrendered their asylum status in favour of obtaining valid work and business permits. Around 4,000 migrants voluntarily surrendered fraudulent documents.

Amit of the Centre for African Migration Studies and Society (ACMS) provides a succinct analysis of the ZDP (Amit, 2011). Amit reveals a number of profound factors that militated against the positive impact of the ZDP process. Among several factors he identifies critical issues such as the short time frame and "short lead time" for the exercise in light of the high estimates of Zimbabweans in the country (Amit, 2011:6). The knock on effect was that many Zimbabweans who wanted to apply had an onerous task trying to get passports from an ill-prepared and overwhelmed consulate; passports being one of the conditions for applying for the better part of the exercise.

Against a background of intensified migration from Zimbabwe and faltering policy responses Zimbabweans appear to be taking centre stage as the *archetype amakwerekwere* in South Africa (Muzondidya, 2010). While for the most part, socio-historical ties, linguistic and cultural proximity were seen by scholars as inclining South Africans to view Zimbabweans in a favourable light as compared to other migrants from further afield on the continent (Duponchel, 2009), with the worsening situation and continuous entry of Zimbabweans into South Africa there has been a noticeable shift. Crush and Tevera (2010:21) note that "[i]n South Africa, Zimbabweans elicit the most consistently negative responses of migrants from any country in Africa (with the exception of Nigeria)." Thus while "[i]n the 1990s, xenophobia was directed indiscriminately at all foreign migrants (deemed "illegal aliens" in the language of the day); after 2000, as the number of Zimbabweans in South Africa began to increase, they were increasingly singled out by xenophobic state agents and citizens" (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011:3). While Zimbabweans are part of the amakwerekwere there has emerged certain designations that are directly targeted at them and single them out as an exclusive group. There are specific

references to them, such as "abantu bakaMgabe" (Ndlovu, 2010:123). Mawadza and Crush (2010:364) state that "unlike Nigerians and Somalis, Zimbabweans are not associated with any one "national characteristic." Rather, all of the negative stereotypes that used to be applied to "aliens" and "foreigners" in general are now routinely applied to Zimbabweans." Metaphors abound that draw from natural disasters as well as the military world. Zimbabweans are labelled "waves of illegal Zim aliens", "flood", "flock" as well as "invasion," a population "overrunning" South Africa (Mawadza & Crush, 2010:366-367). In actual fact 'Zimbabwean' is no longer simply a reference to nationality but connotes certain things. The Solidarity Peace Trust and PASSOP (2012:14), reveal for example that in Musina the word "Zimbabwean" is deployed by South Africans to connote negative things; '"someone who does something socially unacceptable—stealing, smelling or begging is referred to negatively as being "Zimbabwean."'

This particularization of the "Zimbabwean alien" is not limited to labelling and idioms only; there have also been practical implications. Zimbabwean migrants have also been targeted in "overt violence" (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011:3). Crush and Tawodzera are among a number of scholars who discuss overt violence against Zimbabwean migrants. In 2001, it is noted that Zimbabweans in the Zandspruit settlement near Johannesburg were attacked and forced out of the area. Their homes and property were destroyed over accusations of a Zimbabwean killing a local woman (Hill & Lefto-Everrett, 2008). Crush and Tawodzera (2011) note that Zimbabwean migrants were attacked and some killed in March 2008 in the Choba, Atteridgeville and Diepsloot areas. A month later Zimbabweans were attacked in different areas during the May 2008 xenophobic attacks. In 2008, Zimbabweans were attacked and driven out of the De Doorns farming community in the Western Cape (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011:3). Greenburg, (2010) also notes how "most recently in December 2009" Zimbabweans were attacked in Polokwane. These attacks in which Zimbabwean migrants were also injured, killed and driven out of certain communities dovetailed with popular anti-Zimbabwean resentment and hostility- typified by "88% of South Africans" captured in a 2006 nationally

representative survey having "negative impressions of Zimbabweans"[12] (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011:3).

2.8 Dealing with Exclusion: What has been said?

I have noted briefly in the preceding chapters that some work has been dedicated to understanding the situation of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. In this section I focus on what has been said with regards to how Zimbabweans negotiate exclusion and violence. Of particular salience in this section is the work falling within what I term the assimilationist approach to identity negotiation.

Embracing the constructivist tradition and arguing against the "notion of an integral, originary and unified identity" (Hall, 1996:1), scholars who predicate their analysis of Zimbabwean migrants' situatedness in South Africa on an assimilation[13] approach reveal that Ndebele and Shona migrants (as well as other African and Zimbabwean migrants) position themselves in various ways that seek to transcend their stigmatizations and they draw on their 'linguistic and cultural resources as political resources. The identity representations that emerge are said to be diverse, fluid, fragmented and contradictory (Muzondidya, 2010; Sibanda, 2010). The strategic and discursive productions of identity that are discussed with specific reference to Ndebele and Shona migrants can be grouped into four sets of discursive strategies, that is, counter-hegemonic discourses and narratives, tactical cosmopolitanism, reinvention of historical and family ties and assimilation into local ethno-linguistic groups on the basis of linguistic and cultural proximity.

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[12] Only Somalians at 91% and Nigerians at 89% were more disliked (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011:3)

[13] Assimilation as used in this work is used in a restricted sense to refer specifically to fitting into specific South African ethno-linguistic groups and becoming 'one of them' in the sense that hides one's Zimbabwean identity. It is used more in the sense of camouflaging one's identity and by virtue of ethnolinguistic and cultural proximity to a certain South African group invisibly fitting in.

2.8.1. Counterhegemonic discourses: inverting the discursive frames of Otherization

This is a process in which Zimbabwean migrants invert the orders of Otherization and reconstitute themselves as 'unmarked' social categories and South Africans as the 'marked' social category. South Africans thus become the 'lazy' 'blood thirsty' and amoral community, among other vices. Muzondidya (2010) notes this 'self valorization' among Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa which is also discussed by Landau and Freemantle, (2010) as a general discursive strategy among 'amakwerekwere.' For Muzondidya, migrants re-position themselves as educated compared to South Africans. Other research focusing on non-Zimbabwean nationalities such as Madsen's (2004) Mozambican respondents reveal similar strategies of self-redefinition where migrants 'disentangle' their value systems from those of South Africans. Madsen (2004) reveals how Mozambican migrants in Johannesburg identify with Mozambique as their central normative structure of reference; and in the process 'live for home,' in their economic, social and cultural practices (consequently distinguishing themselves).

2.8.2 Tactical cosmopolitanism: shifting sands of self-inclusion and exclusion

Muzondidya (2010) builds on Landau and Freemantle's (2010) notion of 'tactical cosmopolitanism' among African migrants in South Africa to explain other strategic discursive practices of Zimbabwean migrants. Landau and Freemantle (2010) present tactical cosmopolitanism as a dialectical continuum of processes of simultaneous 'self-insertion' and 'self-exclusion' characterized by a range of tactics and rhetorics. For example, through rhetorics of exclusion, migrants present South Africa as a highly tainted society no normal person can ever aspire to be a part of (cf. Landau & Freemantle, 2010). This self-exclusion which is imbued with transcendental superiority is deployed alongside other rhetorics, such as the rhetoric of rights. In the latter, migrants frame their discourse around diverse strands of a pan-Africanist philosophy. They argue for a common Africanness and brother-hood, even forming pan-Africanist organizations that encourage a shared vision among all African brothers in South Africa. In addition to this, they draw from a common history of struggle and Africanist norms of reciprocity and brotherhood. They argue that they

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are tied to their South Africa compatriots through a history of struggle. They argue that they stood by their fellow South African brothers and sisters during the struggle and contributed in many ways- to the freedom of South Africa- and now it is time for South Africans to reciprocate (Landau & Freemantle, 2010). Other notable avenues (resources) for tactical cosmopolitanism are the religious spaces where appeals are made for oneness in spirituality and belief. Pentecostal churches and other religions become arenas for reframing the boundaries of belonging in light of the fact that their gospel is about unity towards one destiny beyond bounded nationalism (cf. Landau & Freemantle, 2010). Muzondidya (2010) and indeed Landau and Freemantle (2010) point to these discursive frames as part of broader processes of identity performances and negotiations. Migrants' claims to historical ties, Pan-Africanism and nativism are 'tactical' considerations which can be understood as strategies to carve spaces of belonging in an exclusionary context.

2.8.3. Reinvention of cultural and family histories

Zimbabwean migrants are also noted to be endowed with socio-historical capital that allows them to reconfigure their cultural and family histories in ways that bring convergence between their identities and those of South Africans (Dumba & Chirisa, 2010:16; Muzondidya, 2010). Muzondidya (2010: 45) gives the example of Douglas, a Shangaan speaking Zimbabwean from the South eastern district of Chipinge. He argues that Douglas "makes claims to South Africanness on the basis of his surname- Sithole- which he traces back to South African origins." Muzondidya goes on to give a further illustration noting that, "[s]imilarly, the Matabeleland born Mduduzi, claims South African roots from his *isibongo* [totem/clan name] Mlambo, which is also found among the Nguni groups of South Africa" Muzondidya (2010: 45). Whether such names, which are used by Zulu speakers, have a particular attachment to South African roots and routes is yet to be established. Worby (2010) also suggests a scenario involving migrants taking on new surnames, and this is said to occur along a continuum from simply changing one's surname to totally re-scripting one's entire biography (even dislocating one's self from everything Zimbabwean). In the next section I delve into the practical mechanics of assimilation for Ndebele and Shona migrants in South Africa.

2.8.4 Assimilation: Ndebele Zulus/ Xhosas and Shona Vendas in Johannesburg?

According to Muzondidya (2010) what was initially perceived as a temporary residence in South Africa, is slowly becoming 'home'. As already stated there is a certain body of literature that discusses how Zimbabwean migrants deploy their cultural resources in dealing with exclusion in South Africa. The various ideas raised in this body of work congeals into what I have termed the assimilationist approach with the central theme being how 'proximity' between Zimbabwean and South Africa cultural products shapes the identity negotiations of migrants.

Polzer (2008:20) notes that "there are several issues specific to Zimbabweans in South Africa" that impact on how they situate themselves. Among a number of these issues Polzer points to "linguistic and cultural affinity of Ndebele speakers, allowing many Zimbabweans to pass as South African". Worby (2010: 425) in his study of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg argues along a similar line. He states that "[w]ith the advantage of being Nguni language speakers and often sharing South African surnames, Zimbabweans from Matabeleland such as Dingani[14] and his sister have open to them an avenue of incorporation that is generally not available to speakers of Chishona." Drawing from his empirical study he illustrates this through "Dingani's sister" who becomes Xhosa after getting herself Xhosa parents who help her get South African documentation. Worby states that "[i]n one swift, bureaucratic manoeuvre, Dingani's sister had transformed herself into a South African Xhosa" (Worby, 2010: 425).

This type of identity formation, that is, a linear movement from a Zimbabwean ethnolinguistic identity to a South African one, by virtue of cultural proximity is a resonant theme in the assimilationist approach to Zimbabwean migration. Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants are seen as negotiating their deviation from the 'standard norm' or 'unmarked' identity by either assimilating or failing to assimilate on the basis of ethnolinguistic and cultural proximity. Muzondidya (2010: 46) reveals that most of his respondents spoke at least one of South Africa's eleven languages,

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[14] Dingani and his sister are Ndebele migrants and epitomize Worby's argument of how Ndebele migrant s can become South African.

the most common spoken ones being Zulu, Sotho, Venda and Tsonga/Shangaan."
He goes on to state that:

> Zimbabweans from the Southern district who spoke Nguni languages at home find it relatively easier to assimilate than their Shona-speaking counterparts, who have an advantage only in the Venda-speaking communities of Northern Limpopo province. Some Zimbabweans have adopted South Africa sounding names and try to cut contact with Zimbabwean friends and relatives (Muzondidya, 2010: 46)

Muzondidya however notes that in spite of these possibilities of speaking local languages "Zimbabweans are easily distinguishable by their accents and gestures" (Muzondidya, 2010: 46). Sibanda (2010) takes a similar analytical trajectory as Muzondidya and also sees a two gated but linear movement into new identities for Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants in Johannesburg. However, for Sibanda the second gate seems to be shut (by default) for Shona speaking migrants. To this end Sibanda gives an illustration of the experiences of Shona migrants as embodied by Charlie. Sibanda (2010:53) states:

> Charlie said that because of his lack of local language skills he was being isolated from the community as they could not understand why he always communicated in English. He was also easily identified as a foreigner and deregatory terms such as 'amakwerekwere' were used against him. He also became an easy target to the xenophobic attacks of 2008. He therefore lived in fear as he still does now and is not able to be his natural self and feels like a social misfit.

Sibanda gives the Ndebele side of the coin of experiencing South Africa as radically different from that of Shona speaking migrants stating that:

> The situation is, however, different from the migrants who speak the Ndebele language which is one of the Nguni dialects and therefore carries similarities with Zulu, Xhosa, Swati and the local Ndebele. One of the informants who speak Ndebele had a different story to tell. When she first arrived in Johannesburg, she had no language barriers since she could communicate in isiZulu. By being able to speak a local language, she had a smooth integration and limited chances of being vulnerable. She therefore assimilated into the local Zulu groups and was easily absorbed socially. Most of her friends are locals who easily relate to her, leading them to regard her as one of them. Hence she no longer carries her natural identity but is using 'borrowed' identity' which puts her at an advantage (Sibanda, 2010:53)

This position is somewhat reiterated by Ndlovu (2010: 122) who notes that "the shibboleth the attackers demanded was the Zulu equivalent for 'elbow' which the

majority of Shona speakers and other linguistic groups would not know. Even if they did the pronunciation would give them away." According to Ndlovu the, "[t]he Ndebeles could pass the shibboleth test easily. This explains why some Ndebeles kept away from Shona people they know because 'bayamakisa'- they will expose us" (Ndlovu, 2010: 122).

2.9 Concluding note

Although this work is revealing of the tensions of being in South Africa for Zimbabweans, and the centrality of language in the matrix of exclusion, it is nevertheless is based on a weak understanding of language as 'situated discourse.' They rely on what Makoni and Pennycook (2007) refer to as 'abstract' languages which are 'fiction' when it comes to language as a resource that real empirical actors use in real life situations. In reality there are more complex attributes of language that we have to account for when we concern ourselves with people's identities.

In the chapter that follows I engage in a review of theoretical work on identity, language and situated discourse. I conduct this review with a view of developing a theoretical apparatus that is attuned to the central questions of language and the politics of identity. I draw from a pool of critical work across the various disciplines of sociolinguistics, sociology and linguistic anthropology that have delved into issues of language and identity. I argue that Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical work, on the economy of practice whose major concepts are the triad of field, habitus and capital, provides a spinal framework for integrating a range of ideas spanning these disciplines.

Chapter 3

Navigating the maze of language and the politics of identity: An eclectic tool-kit for understanding the workings of situated discourse

As competent speakers we are aware of the many ways in which linguistic exchanges can express relations of power. We are sensitive to the variations in accent, intonation and vocabulary which reflect different positions in the social hierarchy(Thompson, 1991:1)

"Identity," we argue, tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity) (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000:1)

3.1 Introduction

In engaging in this research project in which language and the 'politics of identity' constitute my primary concerns it becomes apparent that one of the key things at stake is understanding the meanings of identity as well as language which are the central anchors of this study. Furthermore, I have to evaluate their nexus and how they play out in empirical situations that characterize people's everyday lives. These concepts are quite topical and have spawned voluminous literature across various disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. In this chapter I engage in a 'purposive review' of critical theoretical works on language and identity across the overlapping fields of linguistics, sociolinguistics, psychoanalysis, linguistic anthropology and sociology, and draw from these to construct my theoretical 'toolkit' for understanding 'language and the politics of identity' among Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg.

The guiding questions in such an endeavour are: what is identity? What is language? Since identity and language gain meaning within society and through social processes, what model of society do I prioritize in order to gain their sociality?

3.2 Discoursing identity- a fuzzy and ever shifting concept?

Etymologically, identity can be traced to "a Latin root-*identias*, from *idem*, the 'same'…" (Jenkins, 1996:4), meaning, firstly the "sameness of objects, as in A1 is identical to A2 but not to B1", and secondly, "the consistency or continuity over time that is the basis for establishing and grasping the definiteness and distinctiveness of something" (Jenkins, 1996:4). Similarity and difference are the twin cogs defining identity (Jenkins, 1996; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Calhoun (1994: 9) notes that "concerns with individual and collective identity…are ubiquitous"; and "we know of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distinction between self and others, we and they, are not made." Jenkins also speaks to this seemingly self-evident and ever-present character of identity when he states that; "we seem to know who we are, (and) we have a good enough working sense of who the others in our lives are…" (Jenkins, 1996: 1). In understanding ourselves as "'lay" individuals in "some everyday settings" we deploy and understand identity as a category of practice- that is, as a category of everyday experience (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 4). Identity becomes a category of practice denoting what people "share with, and how they differ from, others" (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 4). In this sense identity becomes what Bourdieu refers to as "folk" categories (Bourdieu 1987; Brubaker & Cooper 2000). In other words we understand our identity in terms of it being a given category such as gender, sex and race, and not as social scientists' experience distant concepts/ analytical categories (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Geertz, 1974).   We come to know ourselves through being 'us' in the given categories, that is, what Geertz refers to as experience-near (Geertz, 1974) rather than from scholars' experience distant concepts. This conceptualization of identity is also highlighted by others who note that "[p]eople tell others who they are, but even more importantly they tell themselves and try to act as though they are who they say they are" (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998: 3; Sfard & Prusak, 2005: 16). This narrativization or communicative process is part of identity and gives particular identities (Hall, 1996).

In this manner then identity stands as an organizing principle of various facets of our lives, giving them some degree of form and comprehensibility- *being an* individual, *part of a* nation, church and *sharing* in a belief system reflect our espousal of identity (or identities) (Jenkins, 1992; Woolard, 2002; Castells, 2010). We become something, which makes us simultaneously similar and different from others (Jenkins, 1996). By the very same token we may at once be included and excluded from other frames of being something.

Identity is at the core of, and mediates how we think of, as well as practically experience, 'ourselves,' 'others' 'belonging' and by extension the associated varieties of social collectivities and groups. Jenkins (1996: 6) posits that "[t]he human world is unimaginable without some means of knowing who others are and some sense of who we are." He goes on to note that "[without repertoires of identity we would not be able to relate to each other meaningfully or consistently. [.....]. Without identity there would be no human world" (Jenkins, 1996: 7).

In the section that follows I delve into the theoretical antecedents on identity, and then focus on the psychoanalytic and sociological traditions that have emerged as central theoretical orientations in the discourses of language.

3.3 Major theoretical anchors on identity: psychoanalytic and sociological strands

At the core of 'identity' lie issues of consciousness (subjectivity) and the 'self' (or the internal and the 'external' (cf. Hall, 1992; Jenkins, 1996; Simon, 2004). This is notable in both the early and contemporary formulations and theorizing of identity which pursue this in diverse ways. Simon, (2004: 6) notes that Kant (1781/1997), for instance, focuses on the "distinction between the self as object or the empirical self and self as subject or pure ego"; while Schopenhauer (1819/1995) focuses on the "the distinction between 'the known' or the content of self-consciousness and 'the knower' who as such cannot be known" and James (1890) focuses on "the distinction between the empirical self or "Me" and the pure ego 'I'" (James 1890/195). Other thinkers like Marx have further elaborated on this distinction. Marx argued that "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but on the contrary,

their social being determines their consciousness" (Marx & Engels, 1978: 4). In recent times, discussions of identity fall between two major theoretical anchors, that is, the psychoanalytic and sociological traditions (cf. Jenkins, 1996).

3.3.1 Psychoanalytic tradition: the 'self' as constituted by the mind and internal core

Freud paved the way for psychoanalytic theorizing on identity. He argued that identification is a by-product of "consuming 'the other'" (Hall, 1996: 3). Identification occurs in the context of the "Oedipus complex"; it takes the parental figures as both love-objects and objects of rivalry, thereby inserting ambivalence into the very centre of the process" (Hall, 1996: 3). This contradictory process is always in "formation, driven by and striving towards a fantasized image of unity" (Simon, 2004: 14). Erikson (1968), located identity at the core of the individual, but he further extended identity formation to the context of the individual. Others operating within the psycho-analytic frame have elaborated initial formulations by Freud and Erikson, further giving prominence to social groups. Tajfel (1981) argues the individual also internalises, and thus becomes constituted by group membership. Freud's ambivalence, here is transformed to be that between individual and, in Freud's language the 'consumed social context' (Brewer, 1991, 1993; Hall, 1996; Simon, 2004).

3.3.2 Symbolic interactionism: the social basis to, and in the self

Seminal work by symbolic interactionist scholars such as Mead and Cooley has been influential within sociology. The symbolic interactionist scholars' point of departure was understanding the interrelationship between the "mind, self and society" (Simon, 2004: 21). Mead discussed the distinction between what he termed the "'I' (the ongoing moment of unique individuality) from the 'me' (the internalised attitudes of significant others)" (Jenkins, 1996; Simon, 2004). Simon (2004: 21) succinctly sums up Meads ideas when he notes that for Mead:

> The mind emerges as symbolic representations are practised and communicated during social interaction. The mind is thus a product of symbolic social actions mediated by language and so is the self, which

develops via the same process. More specifically, the self is an outcome of the reflexive cognitive activity of role taking during cooperative social activity.

Mead's ideas encapsulate the standpoint that "selfhood [is] an ongoing and, in practice, simultaneous synthesis of (internal) self-definition and the (external) definitions of oneself offered by others" (Jenkins, 1996: 40). Mead's ideas have of course over time been elaborated and taken other turns, however, the core arguments that "people act with reference to others who are also actors" (Simon 2004: 21) and that shared meanings are salient in the definition of self and others, reverberate in contemporary theorizing of identity (Calhoun, 1994; Jenkins, 1996).

3.4 The constructivist turn: identity as an on-going process

In contemporary times identity has been diversely theorized and has generated many meanings (Simon, 2004; Castells, 2010). The proliferation of interest in identity in contemporary times has been resounding. Hall (1996:1) states that, "[t]here has been a veritable discursive explosion in recent years around the concept of 'identity'"; while MacClancy (1993: 84) observes that "identity is a catch-all term of our times," and Shotter posits that 'identity is the "watchword of the times" (Shotter, 1993: 188). Jenkins (1996: 8), similarly notes that "'[i]dentity' became one of the unifying themes of social science during the 1990s, and shows no signs of going away. Everybody has something to say: anthropologists, geographers, historians, philosophers, political scientists, psychologists, sociologists."

Some see this explosion of interest in identity as productive. Gilroy (1997: 304) states that "[t]he sheer variety of ideas condensed into the concept of identity, and the wide range of issues to which it can be made to refer, foster creative links between themes and perspectives that are not conventionally associated. Others are sceptical and see an inflationary effect on the use of the concept, resulting in the erosion of its analytic and explanatory purchase. Billig (1995: 60) thus notes that the "watchword should be watched because it frequently explains less than it appears to." Brubaker and Cooper (2000:2) argue that "[identity] . . . is too ambiguous, too torn between 'hard' and 'soft' meanings, essentialist connotations and constructivist qualifiers, to be of any further use to sociology".

Despite the slippery nature of 'identity' and the diversity of the theoretical lenses deployed to make sense of it, one common denominator is apparent in contemporary discourses of identity. That is, there are shifts that have occurred 'over time' in the conceptualization of identity. These shifts are directly related to shifts in the social milieu that constitutes the background of theorizing. Jenkins (1996: 30–31) notes that "[i]t's true that *how* we talk about who's who and what's what is historically and culturally specific, so the present epoch will have its own terms and themes."

A notable shift in thinking about identity has been the critiques leveled against essentialist conceptualizations that present identity as something that is fixed, stable, coherent, static, rigid and immutable (Giddens, 1990, 1991; Bauman, 1995; Calhoun, 1994; Jenkins, 1996; Rattansi & Pheonix, 2005). The essentialist models of identity as 'something we are born into', 'something we are' which is stable, predictable and enduring have been challenged. Hall (1992) locates the essentialist 'fixed' identity claims in the social milieu of the enlightenment period and thus argues that this period spawned the 'enlightenment subject.' Hall (1992:597) states that:

> the enlightenment subject was based on a conception of the human person as a fully centred, unified individual, endowed with the capacities of reason, consciousness, and action, whose "centre" consisted of an inner core which first emerged when the subject was born, and unfolded with it, while remaining essentially the same-continuous or "identical" with itself- throughout the individual's existence. The essential centre of the self was a person's identity

Hall argues that the 'enlightenment subject' falls short in explaining current complexities associated with identity. Simon (2004: 3) also questions essentialist notions of identity noting that, "[at] best, the search for the essence of identity as a 'thing', say, in the form of a physiological or hard-wired mental structure [is] a futile effort." Simon argues for a "process-oriented course" of accounting for identity (Simon, 2004: 3). Other scholars like Simon note that identity is not a 'thing' instead: it is flexible, fluid, contingent, never complete, chaotic and dependent on the social context or particular social processes informing personal or group self-definitions (see, Calhoun, 1994; Bauman, 1995; Jenkins, 1996; Rattansi & Pheonix, 2005). These reformulations of identity are seen by Hall as emerging from the "growing complexity of the modern world" and reflect the transcendence of the "enlightenment

subject" by the "sociological subject" (Hall, 1992: 597). The sociological subject, according to Hall, reflects the "awareness that this inner core of the subject was not autonomous and self-sufficient, but was formed in relation to "significant others," who mediated the subject, the values, meanings and symbols- the culture- of the worlds he/she inhabited" (Hall, 1992: 597).

The shifts in the constitution of identity and the associated meaning, according to Hall, does not end with the 'sociological subject'; rather the nexus between 'our subjective feelings and being and objective structures (social contexts) entails a shift in identity that is commensurate with the shift in context. If "identity […] stitches (or to use a medical metaphor "sutures") the subject into the structure", then identity is likely to shift when the structure shifts (Hall, 1992: 597–8). Hall (1992: 598) states that:

> The subject previously experienced as having a unified and stable identity, is becoming fragmented; composed, not of a single, but of several, sometimes contradictory or unresolved, identities. Correspondingly, the identities which composed the social landscapes "out there," and which ensured our subjective conformity with the objective "needs" of the culture, are breaking up as a result of structural and institutional change. The very process of identification, through which we project ourselves into our cultural identities, has become more open-ended, variable, and problematic.

The subject emerging within this milieu is the 'post-modern' subject who is conceptualized as without a "fixed, essential or permanent identity" (Hall, 1992: 598). The subject's identity is a contingent (provisional) one; rather, the subject "assumes different identities at different times, identities which are not unified around a coherent "self"" (Hall, 1992: 598; see also Howard, 2000).

While arguing against an essentialist theorization of identity, Jenkins (1996) argues that the 'multiple framings of identity' that post-modernists present as breaking new ground are an already beaten path. He argues that established work in sociology and psychology by James, Cooley, Mead and Simmel which post-modernist thinkers appear to gloss over has done a lot to uncover how identity is multiply framed. Furthermore, Jenkins notes that, Locke takes a similar thrust in his Essay

Concerning Human understanding. Jenkins calls for a historicization of reflections on identity that takes account of diversified intellectual traditions.

3.4.1 Power and politics as defining forces of the processes of 'making' identity

Without delving into the intricate linkages between classical works on identity and post-modernist theorizing, that pits the likes of Jenkins (1996), against Hall (1992, 1996) and others falling within the post-modern camp, it suffices to note that across this divide, there is a general consensus that power and politics lie at the core of the processes of identity formation and understanding 'identity.' People do not simply become something or the 'other,' but as works by scholars like Becker (1963) have noted becoming a particular identity also has to do with 'labelling' and the power and lack of power (powerlessness) to 'label' and to be labelled.' A number of scholars echo Becker's ideas when they note how certain people are susceptible to being labelled criminals through the stereotyping machinery of different socio-cultural milieus (Box, 1983; Shamir, 2005; Wacquant, 1999). Works by Foucault on the entanglements of power in the production of knowledge and the subject are some of the influential theoretical trajectories in this regard (Foucault, 1970, 1977, 1982). For Foucault (1982) when power is 'internalised' the subject self regulates and in doing so the self as subject is recreated, reproduced and reconstituted consciously and unconsciously. For now, I move on to what language constitutes, before I delve into the nexus between language and identity.

3.5 Language: the thing everyone knows but cannot fully define?

Hornby (2010: 834) defines language as a "system of communication in speech and writing that is used by people of a particular country or area." While language has often been conceptualized as something unified and integrated critical research reveals that such a position abstracts language and fails to capture its complexity as situated discourse. In this regard, for example, "sociolinguistics has demonstrated that 'languages' as commonly understood (i.e. things that have names such as 'English', 'French' 'Hindi' 'Zulu' are sociolinguistically not the most relevant objects" (Blommaert, 2005: 11). Instead, when we speak of language we mean "complex and

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layered collections of *language varieties*, and the study of language in society should not be, for instance, a study of *English* in society, but a study of all the different varieties that, when packed together, go under the label of 'English" (Blommaert, 2005: 11).

In light of the fact that the complexities of language are intertwined with issues of power and politics, which implicate identity; I proceed in the following section by discussing language as an instrument of power, as well as something implicated in identity.

3.5.1 The nexus between language and identity

Work pioneered by Fischer (1958) and taken up by Labov (1966) demonstrates how there are variations in language usage within the same 'languages' which are predicated on social dimensions that are associated with language speakers (such as gender, social class as well as personality) (Fischer, 1958; Labov, 1966; Mesthrie, 2000 et al.; Blommaert, 2005). Fischer's study focusing on children in a village in New England reveals variations between boys' and girls' usage of language. In his final conclusion he notes that sex, social class and personality influence how language is mobilized by his respondents (Fischer, 1958; Mesthrie et al., 2000). William Labov took Fischer's concerns further and undertook a study that revealed that "not everyone in New York City spoke the same 'English'" (Blommaert, 2005: 12). In addition, Labov's work also revealed how the linguistic variations "provided all sort of clues about the social background of [speakers and] pointed towards their identity and towards the organization of [New York's] social structure in general (Blommaert, 2005: 12; Mesthrie et al., 2000).

Work by Bernstein (1971) also reveals language variation along the grooves of social class which consequently impacts on what social actors are able to do in language. Bernstein argues that language usage is moulded by "class relations" which are for him, "inequalities in the distribution of power and in principles of control between social groups which are realized in the creation, distribution, reproduction and legitimation of physical and symbolic values that have their source in the social division of labour" (Bernstein, 1981: 327). Centring his thesis on "linguistic codes" –

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which he takes "to refer to culturally determined positioning devices" he focuses on the educational system and discusses the variation of linguistic endowments of students into two distinct codes, that is, the 'elaborate' and 'restricted' codes (Bernstein, 1981: 327–328). Bernstein reveals how the distribution of these codes in education impact on the outcome of educational performance. He argues that children from privileged social backgrounds are in control of the 'elaborate' codes, which, as implied in the name are flexible enough to navigate the complexities of the educational curriculum, while those from working class backgrounds are in control of 'restricted' codes which are limited in terms of their efficacy in navigating the educational curriculum (Bernstein, 1964; Mesthrie et al., 2000; Blommaert, 2005). In other words, elaborate codes emerge from, and are in tandem with privileged lifestyles whose cultural orientations are reproduced in and thus in sync with that of the educational system. Consequently, students from privileged backgrounds are likely to excel at school compared to their compatriots from under-privileged backgrounds who are confronted by a disjuncture between their values and those of the educational system (Bernstein, 1964).

Bernstein's argument that students are not linguistically equal vis-à-vis the school curriculum language came on the heels of work by scholars like Hymes and Gumperz. Both are notable in their work on 'repertoires' –a concept they use to describe the differentiated access and capacity of different people in language (Gumperz, 1966; Hymes, 1996; Bernstein, 1971; Blommaert, 2005). Gumperz, for example speaks of 'verbal repertoires' stating that a verbal repertoire is:

> the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction . . . The verbal repertoire then contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages. It provides the weapons of everyday communication. Speakers choose among this arsenal in accordance with the meanings they wish to convey (Gumperz, 1966: 182).

Hymes sensitizes us to the fact that "it is a fallacy to equate the resources of a language with the resources of (all) users" (Hymes 1996:213 in Blommaert, 2005). At an individual level a repertoire denotes "a set of ways of speaking. Ways of speaking in turn comprise speech styles, on the one hand, and contexts of discourse, on the other, together with relations of appropriateness obtaining between styles and contexts" (Blommaert, 2005: 13). Repertoires, in other words, are the collection of

unequal linguistic resources that different individuals have at their disposal in any given society; which consequently render people unequal in communication (see,Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert & Backus, 2011). Gumperz speaks of how individuals are "armed" in communication by virtue of the different linguistic resources they possess (Gumperz, 1964). The metaphor of being *armed* which implicitly projects communication as a battle or a war is certainly not coincidental but speaks to the processes that eventually subjugate certain repertoires while privileging others that define the production of discourse. Communication then is also an act of domination, power and politics.

Bucholtz and Hall, who are linguistic anthropologists, argue that languages are not equal in society but are hierarchized. These hierarchies are organized around what in linguistic anthropology is referred to as "unmarkedness" (or markedness) (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004: 372). The unmarked language is the elevated language that serves as the norm. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) give the example of Zambia where there are 73 languages which are hierarchically organized with English being the official and hence 'unmarked' language. They further argue that "when one category is elevated as an unmarked norm, its power is more pervasive because it is masked. By being contrasted as both powerful and normative its special status is naturalized and the effort required to achieve this status is rendered invisible…" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004: 372). Bucholtz and Hall (2004) argue that, by extension, possessors of different languages are hierarchized.

These studies pioneered and set the precedence for our contemporary understandings of language in practice. Within sociology and sociolinguistics as well as other studies in the broad area of language, there now exists a general understanding that languages are fragmented into "complex and layered collections of language varieties…" (Blommaert, 2005:11; Blommaert & Varis, 2011; see also Mesthrie et al., 2000). In this study, salient questions are: how are Ndebele and Shona migrants differentiated in language? What linguistic repertoires do different Ndebele and Shona migrants possess? What informs (shapes) these repertoires? How does language inform the ways in which they navigate the interstices of migrants' spaces?

Such conceptualizations of language rapture with the Saussurean and Chomskyian (formal linguistics) traditions which give primacy to the 'deep structure' of language, and instead accentuate the sociality of language and allow us to grasp how language is implicated in acts of power and relations of inequality that pervade society (Blommaert, 2005: 12; Bourdieu, 1991). The knock-on effect of this entrenchment of language in power relations is that language's functions are not limited to a denotational capacity but language also serves as *indexical* of speakers (Mesthrie et al., 2000; Blommaert, 2005). As Blommaert (2005) puts it "[a]part from referential meaning, acts of communication produce indexical meaning [that is] interpretive leads between what is said and the social occasion in which it is produced."   In addition to this, the *indexical* capacity of language gives us access into the identities of the speakers, that is, their social class (e.g., gender, age, level of education and ethnicity among other things) (Mesthrie, 2000; Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). What forms of identification and identity representation stem from the linguistic endowments of the different Zimbabwean migrants under study?

Building on these perspectives, other commentators add a dimension of constant refurbishment of repertoires that is dependent on one's social trajectory and the contexts one navigates. That is to say that since language is both 'acquired' and 'learnt' there are some linguistic resources that become more ingrained than others and endure; while others which still contribute to the broader bundle of resources are less ingrained and may be fleeting (cf. Blommaert & Varis, 2011). To this end, "[r]epertoires are biographically organized complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythms of human lives" (Blommaert & Backus, 2011: 9). This is quite useful particularly in understanding the contemporary context of globalization and mobility where people's trajectories expose them to diverse language landscapes and signs that pervade many societies, if only by virtue of images on television, the internet among other things that deteritorialize the idea of identity lodged within the nation-state (Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert & Backus, 2011).

Drawing from these conceptual positions that reveal the centrality of inequality and power in communication, other commentators note how communication is also centrally about *voice* which is "the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so". Notably "[i]n doing so, [people][…] have to draw upon

and deploy discursive means which they have at their disposal, and they have to use them in contexts specified as to conditions of use" (Blommaert, 2005:4-5, Blommaert, 2001). Some people are understood; some are not? What are the mechanisms underlying these processes of *voice* making?

Goffman (1974:10) on the other hand, in some of his work that focuses on language and related acts of social interface, discusses a number of processes that characterise and emerge out linguistic and social exchanges with other participants. In his work on *Frames* he focuses on "some of the basic frameworks of understanding available in society for making sense out of events…" How do we ascertain that someone's actions are just a manner of joking? Better still, how do we discern threatening situations? Goffman (1974: 146) argues that "events tend to present themselves through multiple channels, the focus of the participant shifting from moment to moment from one channel to another." Through recursive experience of the social world we develop frames of interpretation which we deploy to frame what we perceive or experience and thus respond and behave accordingly. How do we isolate behaviour according to what is appropriate? Even within one encounter for example, how do we isolate what is a serious matter, humour among other different forms of social performance?

Goffman's interests on the interpretation of social interaction and subsequent responses to them are also notable in his work on *Footing*. On *Footing,* Goffman focuses on how individuals in interaction "change gears" in terms of "alignment, or set, or stance, or posture" (Goffman, 1981:127). Goffman argues that such changing of gears usually occurs depending on who we are interacting with. The importance of these insights on our language practices and issues of relating with different types of inquisitors or audiences are quite notable. We do not equate all social encounters as the same but we have frames of classifications that determine how we respond to them. Neither do we behave the same way to different types of people. We evaluate people and respond accordingly.

Individuals are well-read in the text of what constitutes the proper and the normal in engaging in different types of social practices including linguistic practices. There is nothing haphazard about linguistic production. Fishman (1965: 67) argues that for

us to understand language in action we have to concern ourselves with [w]ho speaks [w]hat [l]anguage to [w]hom and [w]hen? Fishman argues that the patterning of language use may be influenced by group membership, situations of communication as well as the topics being discussed (Fishman, 1965: 73). However, a more critical determinant of language patterning can be found in domains (which of course feed into the issues of group membership, situations as well as topics under discussions (see, Fishman, 1965: 73). How are the life-worlds of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg organized? How does this impact on their linguistic production? Alternatively: how does linguistic production shape their life world; and vice versa how do life worlds shapes linguistic production?

Something becomes apparent from this eclectic pool of concepts and insights, that is, all language practices are social (cf. Fairclough, 1989) and people's language practices are implicated in power and social inequality, and correspondingly they tell us about the nature of society. This is why language is fragmented into varieties that stem from, as well as reveal hierarchized social identities. This is why individuals have differentiated repertoires whose functional utilities are consequently differentiated (or uneven) (Gumperz, 1964; Hymes, 1971). When these differentiated unequal speakers produce linguistic resources they are inevitably engaged in competition or in Gumperz's metaphor *war* (Gumperz, 1964). The outcome being that some manage to project (enforce) their *voice* while others are rendered *voiceless* (cf. Blommaert, 2005; Gumperz, 1966; Blommaert & Backus, 2011). Furthermore language practices entail relationships which implicitly produce 'Other' social categories that are designated such positions by the rules associated with 'verbal repertoires' (cf. Gumperz, 1964). Domination and subordination appear to be inbuilt into the processes of communication. In a nutshell, in order to fully understand language in society we have to take stock of what constitutes society since society is the canvass on which relations of inequality and hierarchization, as well as the associated processes of Othering (the politics of identity) play out. Mesthrie (2000:28) speaks to this and notes that "a coherent theory of language in society can only unfold within a particular theory of society." The questions then are; how do we conceptualize society? What are the most defining characteristics of society? And how does situated discourse play out in such society?

It is quite notable that despite this rich vein of innovative concepts and approaches that nuance our understanding of language in society most researches continue to turn to "entirely obsolete and conclusively discredited models of language knowledge" (Blommaert & Backus, 2011: 4). To this end, many works continue to project situated discourse through lenses that take speakers as 'generic constructs' (equal and the same in language) in homogenous speech communities. Part of these reasons lie in language's defiance of appropriation into specified confines which inevitably blurs the analytical lenses of work that does not read into other fields specializing in shedding light on situated discourse. However, another very likely reason is that there has been little production in terms of a comprehensive and coherent social theory that straddles all these fields and nuances both the understanding of society and language as a social practice with unique characteristics that also require attention to minute detail (see Mesthrie et al.,2000: 342).

Fishman notes that there is a need "to bring specialized sociological knowledge, based on specialized sociological theories, theories and methodologies into the sociolinguists heartland from which these have all been excessively absent for so long" (see, Fishman in Williams (1992:viii). Rickford (1986:219) on the other hand notes that there is a need for studies on language in action to "recognize the theoretical richness which the social sciences offer". Rickford (1986:219) notes that "the conflict models that are dominant in sociology" have scantily been mobilized in analysing language in action, with preferences being on the functionalist models.

Mesthrie et al. (2000) speak to the concerns about the lack on over-arching sociological theory that can be the spine to hold together these diverse and fruitful concepts about language in society. Hymes echoes these sentiments noting that "Linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, folklorists converge more and more in studies of situated discourse. [However] [t]he link between the dynamics of situations and the dynamics of society as a whole goes largely neglected. For that articulation one needs the resources of a social theory" (Hymes, cited in Bourdieu (1991). What could be the most defining characteristics of such a social theory?

3.6 From bits and pieces to an integrated schema: setting up an eclectic theoretical apparatus

In setting up my theoretical apparatus, I contend that any such theory has to be attentive to the centrality of relations of power, politics and inequality as the prime moulders of the diverse spectrum of social practices that pervade our daily lives. It should also be cognizant of the fact that people are not equal but are products of a stratified society and social reproduction follows these cleavages of inequality and stratification.

In this study, I push Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the economy of social practices to the fore as a suitable backbone to integrate and nuance all these disparate concepts and insights. As various commentators argue, it is primarily a theory of power, domination and social reproduction (Sulkunen, 1989; Swartz, 1997; Thompson, 1991; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Guzzini, 2006). I contend, as others (Jenkins, 1996; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Blommaert & Varis, 2011) have also done, that this makes it a theory of social identity and processes of 'Otherization' in light of the fact that Bourdieu takes the struggle for social distinction, whatever its symbolic form, [….] [to be] a fundamental dimension of all social life" (Swartz, 1997: 6). Mesthrie et al. (2000: 342) also notes that, Bourdieu's work "offers a base that a sociolinguistic theory could build on." I complement Bourdieu's work with other works that feed into understanding the multi-layered contours of linguistic and social practices within the ambit of identity formation and negotiation. Notable in this regard are Goffman's various works on language, spoiled identity and identity negotiation, as well as Blommaert's work, particularly on orders of indexicality.

3.6.1 The economics of social exchange: Towards a Bourdeusian perspective of language as a form of capital

Bourdieu's approach to language derives from a broader theoretical project that seeks to uncover how social practices are enmeshed in social inequality, power, domination and social reproduction (see, Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Swartz, 1997). Below I elaborate the key features of Bourdieu's theory and its assumptions after which I situate how he applies his theorizing to language.

In order to capture the fact that social actors are not "interchangeable particles," Bourdieu introduces "the notion of capital" (Bourdieu, 1986: 46) and applies the language of 'interest' and 'strategy' to all areas of cultural and social life" (Swartz, 1997: 67). Drawing from Weber's work on the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Bourdieu takes all practices as "oriented towards the maximization of material and symbolic profit" (Swartz, 1997: 66). Bourdieu's economy of practices brings together "what has traditionally been thought of as economic (i.e., interested and material) and non-economic (i.e., disinterested and symbolic) forms of action and objects (Swartz, 1997: 66; see also Thompson, 1991; Bourdieu, 1991). All forms of practice are strategic in light of the fact that individuals are interested in the "maximizing of material and symbolic profit" (Bourdieu 1980:16 in Swartz, 1997: 67).

A critical point of departure in Bourdieu's economy of practices is how the full meaning of any form of social practice (or action) can only be grasped when it is located within the (particularity) of its socio-cultural and political milieu (conditions); that is, its social context (Bourdieu, 1991). This necessarily means that we have to start by grasping what *society* means and subsequently trying to map out (follow on) social practice within such *society*.

In constructing society, Bourdieu argues that "the universe's structures lead as it were a "double life" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 9). To this end, while "society has an objective structure" Bourdieu states that it is no less true that it is also crucially composed of representation and will" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 9). Bourdieu refers to the former as "objectivity of the first order" and the latter as "objectivity of the second order", and argues that both are indispensable in our analysis of society (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:9).

Although both orders of objectivity are necessary, Bourdieu notes that in our analysis, our starting point should be (giving precedence to) the "construct [ion] [of] the objective structures (spaces of positions), the distribution of socially efficient resources that define[s] constraints bearing on interarctions and representations (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:11). Having done this, we can then "reintroduce the immediate, lived experience of agents in order to explicate the categories of perception and appreciation (dispositions that structure their action

from inside" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 11). What does such a construction of society mean? How does it uncover variances in social practice among individuals? And, what is the utility of the notions of capital and economic language? In the following section, I highlight Bourdieu's central concepts and discuss how they reveal how individuals are unequal products of society, endowed with varying amounts of capital. This shapes their strategic investments in certain actions and behaviours and consequently distinguishes them from others.

3.6.2 Bourdieu's 'triad' that underpins struggles for distinction and processes of 'Otherization

The key conceptual anchors of Bourdieu's political economy of practice are the 'triad' of habitus, field and capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Thompson, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Swartz, 1997) These are supported by the related concepts of symbolic violence, domination, doxa as well as hexis that he employs to explicate the workings of power and its internalization (as well as reproduction). The chief concepts, that is, the 'triad' are what Bourdieu uses to reveal the linkages between the two orders of objectivity that characterize society. For him, social practices emerge out of the interface of these orders of objectivity.

To break down these concepts and give them meaning, I will start by focusing on the field. Bourdieu defines the field as:

> A network, or configurations, of objective *relations* between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective *relation* to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Swartz, 1997:117 *my emphasis except for [situs]).*)

This conglomeration of fields typify contemporary differentiated societies which are "marked not by the ascendancy of any one singular logic like that of the social relations of production"; but rather by the "existence of a number of more or less independent social universes" which are semi-autonomous and are governed by internal laws (Emirbayer & Williams, 2005: 690; see also Guzzini, 2006). The most

defining characteristic of these fields is that they are "arenas of struggle for control over valued resources" (Swartz, 1997: 122). It is worth noting that fields are simultaneously constituted by capital, as well as being the sites for the production, circulation and appropriation of the various species of capital. Bourdieu argues that there exists in these fields an infinite possibility of types of capital. He identifies, for example, cultural capital (educational credentials, verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, etc), and social capital (networks), economic capital (money and property) and symbolic capital (honour, prestige and legitimation) (Swartz, 1997:74). Individuals are endowed with (possess) differing quantities of the different species of capital which simultaneously act as value cards in the different fields or a good to be cashed in for advantage (cf. Bourdieu, 1991; Swartz, 1997). These forms of capital are interconvertible, that is, "the fields allow one form of capital to be converted to another- in the way, for example that certain educational qualifications can be cashed in for lucrative jobs (Thompson, 1991: 14).

Those with limited forms of capital occupy nodes of subordination in the field while those with more in terms of a particular form, or combination of capital occupy the dominant nodes. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 98) note "a species of capital is what is efficacious in a given field, both as a weapon and as a stake of struggle, that which allows its possessors to wield a power, on influence, and thus to *exist*, in the field under consideration instead of being considered a negligible quantity."

However, the field is characterized by constant struggles over the determination of the price of capitals and therefore the hierarchies within the field are never fully established (or settled) (Bourdieu, 1991; Swartz, 1997). Bourdieu argues that there is a general homology between fields, that is, those who occupy the dominant positions in the field of power, who can be conceptualized as the power elites, are also likely to be on the dominant nodes in the economic field, or cultural field (Bourdieu 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Swartz, 1997). These fields can be conceptualized as normative structures, in the sense that each field has its own rules for the production, circulation and appropriation of capital within it (Swartz, 1997). There are rules that govern participation in the field. The fact that the conglomeration of fields (or broadly society) is constituted by capital and is the site of the struggles to earn this capital, while different individuals possess varying amounts of capital points

to a very salient angle in Bourdieu's theorizing. In other words, this means that the individual is in the (social) world, but the world is also in the individual. The individuals' social experiences are constituted by these two realities, the social and the self, which makes identity a difficult concept to grasp. Taking Johannesburg as a field: how is the city structured in terms of the various forms of social, cultural, political capitals? What is the nature of the forms of capitals Ndebele and Shona migrants bring (educational, linguistic, etc) and how are they rated in this field of competition?

Swartz (1997: 96) observes that Bourdieu "draws on the basic insight of the classical sociological tradition that maintains that social reality exists both inside and outside of individuals, both in our minds and in things." This brings us to the second concept that Bourdieu deploys to explicate social practice- that of the habitus. According to Bourdieu the habitus is "a set of dispositions which incline actors to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'" (Thompson, 1991:12). Bourdieu defines the habitus as "a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes" (Swartz, 1997: 100). The habitus emerges from "internalization or 'incorporation' of fundamental social conditions of existence into dispositions" (Swartz, 1997: 104). The habitus is "incorporated history" that emerges from socialization that engenders routinized ways of doing things such as sitting, walking and talking. The habitus reflects the 'social conditions' from which it emerges and this is what differentiates individuals. For example, working class children and children from privileged families emerge from different material and non-material histories that mould their *habitus* differently.

A defining characteristic of the habitus is its *transposibility* that allows it to function in a social context that is different from the one that produced it (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Thus, the habitus can function in a different *field* and it is adaptive to the demands of the new context (Bourdieu, 1991; Swartz, 1997). The habitus becomes second nature and as Bourdieu notes "the body is a repository of

ingrained dispositions […] [which] makes certain actions, certain ways of behaving and responding, seem altogether natural" (Thompson, 1991: 13). Closely linked to the habitus is the bodily hexis, which Bourdieu terms "political mythology realized, embodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking thereby of feeling and thinking" (Thompson, 1991: 13).In light of the fact that the *habitus* emerges from experiential conditioning in a certain location in society, and serves much as future point of reference when individuals walk along the same corridors of life; Bourdieu argues that it is a "structured structure" which is also a "structuring structure" (Swartz, 1997: 103).

Ndebele and Shona migrants are products of a particular socio-cultural and political history and context and in coming to South Africa they bring certain habituated practices and products to another context. Briefly these habituated practices are a generally recognized high standard of education marked by relative competence in the English language and job marketability (Mosala, 2008; Makina, 2010; Ndlovu, 2010). They also come from a context characterized by Shona hegemony that has resulted in the Shonalization of Zimbabwe's socio-economic, cultural, political and economic spaces (Ndhlovu, 2005). Ndebele speakers are a minority group that is marginalized and experienced Gukurahundi during the early 1980s (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). Matabeleland continues to occupy the status of a pariah part of Zimbabwe and some see a socio-economic and political Gukurahundi as still underway in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu, 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). What is the habitus of Ndebele and Shona migrants and how does it impact on their 'struggles' to situate themselves in South Africa? How is the linguistic habitus conditioned by the broader habitus of an individual migrant (or migrants) and what does this imply? Is the linguistic habitus the same across ethnic groups, class, gender and age?

Bourdieu argues that it is neither the field nor the habitus as substantial entities that produce social practice. Rather it is the interface between the habitus and a particular field that produce social practice. Detaching either of the concepts, for instance the removal of the conceptual function of the habitus from the field renders their explanatory functions redundant and they are pushed into incoherence (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In other words, one has to focus on the resultant relationship between the two instead of giving primacy to either, or both of them as

substantial objects that govern action and social practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Guzzini, 2006). Swartz speaks to this noting that the "[f]ield defines the structure of the social setting in which the habitus operates" (Swartz, 1997: 117). For example, those with the requisite cultural capital in the form of academic credentials from reputable institutions are likely to be well endowed in verbal facility should the occasion demand the display of a linguistic habitus. Their linguistic facility and deportment are likely to also be indicative of the social conditions from which they emerge (Bourdieu, 1991).

In this regard, I focus on how Zimbabwean migrants experience South Africa and the exclusionary politics of identity. How do migrants' social, cultural and economic capitals fare in the South African context? Language as already articulated in chapter 2 becomes a salient form of capital in light of its intersections with identity and how it is deployed in South Africa as a boundary marker.

3.7 The economy of linguistic exchange

Drawing from Bourdieu's economy of social practices, I formulate an economy of linguistic exchange that takes every speech act, to be, just like any other social practice, "a conjuncture, an encounter between causal series..." (Bourdieu, 1991: 38). That is, "on the one hand, there are socially constructed dispositions of the lingusitic habitus" (Bourdieu, 1991: 38) which imply the production of a particular linguistic product, and on the other hand, "there are structures of the lingusitc market, which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorships" (Bourdieu, 1991: 37). In this regard, proceeding by way of questions, I seek to find out how Ndebele and Shona migrants in Johannesburg are constituted in terms of their linguitic habitus. What lingustic resources or forms of lingusitic capital do they posses?

In other words what languages (varieties) do they have that they can trade in, in the Johannesburg lingusitic market? What are the expressive styles (which can be used synonymously with repertoires) that characterize these varieties? How do these linguistic resources fare in Johannesburg, now that they are outside the linguistic market in which they were produced? How transposable are they? How convertible

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are they into other forms of capital? In other words, what linguistic resources or repertoires do they have at their disposal? Of course, as Bourdieu argues, social actors are not "interchangeable particles" but their endowments are derivatives of processes of inculcation of certain species of capital or embodiments through "education" as well as their "social trajectory" (Bourdieu, 1991: 61)

As such, I trace the biographies of the formation of the migrants' repertoires and try to ascertain the functional utility of such repertoires in various spaces (such as home, neighbourhood, workplace, spaces of recreation and either intermediary spaces) of Johannesburg, which cumulatively make up the city's linguistic market? How do particular linguistic products/use of particular linguistic products change from one domain to the next, i.e. work and at home, in the city centres (public areas) and and home?[15]

In light of the fact that utterances only receive their value in specific fields in relation to certain laws and norms of use per given market, I also have to pay particular attention to the state of Johannesburg's lingusitic market, which constitutes the social structure in which the linguistic habitus of Ndebele and Shona migrants are deployed. Bourdieu notes that the linguistic market is a central component of state formation and emerges from the general unification of the economy and other cultural products, which consequently see the ascendance of a state sanctioned or "legitimate language" which becomes the "theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objecvtively measured" (Bourdieu, 1991: 45). South Africa, is a multilingual context which boasts eleven official languages (Mesthrie, 2000; Deumert et al., 2005; Balfour, 2006). However, research reveals that these languages are not equal (accorded equal status) but are hierarchized, with English for example, being a prestigious language that is associated with most formal, economic and labour related functions. Afrikaans, in the City of Cape Town, is also a prestige language that is part of the norm in the city's economic, labour relations and other formal domains alongside English (Deumert et al., 2005; Walker, 2005). On the

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[15] To extend Goffman's concept, how does the footing of the migrants change in relation to different domains which obviously are characterized by different inquisitors and power relationships.

other hand, Mongwe (2006) reveals how Johannesburg is one city of South Africa where all the eleven official languages are spoken. What this shows is that there can be no standard 'norm' across different domains; rather the configurations of what constitutes a legitimate language shifts in line with shift across space and domains. So language is situational and contextual.

The hierarchization of these languages as 'profitable forms of cultural capital' has to be noted to be predicated on functional utility across different spaces. That is to say that the English facility of a Professor and that of a till operator are likely to be differentiated by the conditions out of which they emerge. As such their value, relative to the domains of their use will be different. The laws of use (price formation will thus likely vary across different domains of use. Lingustic styles or linguistic repertoires are in essence characterized by, and according by their deviation from the normalized language (Bourdieu, 1991). Taking Bourdieu's (1991:39) position that:

> what circulates on the linguistic market is not a language as such, but rather discourses that are stylistically marked both in their production, in so far as each speaker fashions an idolect from the common language, and in their reception, in so far as aech recepient helps to produce the message which he percieves and appreciates by bringing to it everything that makes up his singular and collective experience.

I also focus on the contriubtion of the orders of indexicality in how migrants mobilize their resources. How is the Johannesburg linguistic market structured? How are the various languages therein hierarchized according to functional relativity across different spaces of use?

Of course, the linguistic market's exertion on individuals in it, does not stems from the lingusitic endowments of the speakers only. Instead, the "whole social structure" that hierarchizes linguistic products and the various classes of speakers is present in each linguistic exchange (cf. Bourdieu, 1991:67). Bourdieu further notes that because linguistic products accrue value (profit) according to the going price in the linguistic market, speech goes beyond simply the act of producing a linguistic product. Instead, it also becomes a performative action of anticipating the price likely to accrue to one's linguitic product and as such also becomes a process of self-censorship in relation to moulding one's partucular linguistic product so that it is

markeatable (Bourdieu, 1991). In multilingual contexts such as Johannesburg, "anticipation of profit" means that individuals have to be also strategic about "the manner" of saying things, that is, "the choice of language" or "code swicthing" (Bourdieu, 1991:77). The linguistic encounter is largely controlled by those endowed with the legitimating symbolic power, that is, "the linguistic norm (law of price formation) is imposed by the holder of competence which is closest to the legitimate competence..." The outcome of the exertions of the linguistic market is that "[d]iscourses are always to some extent euphemisms inspired by the concern to 'speak well', to 'speak properly', to reproduce products that respond to the demands of a certain market..." (Bourdieu, 1991:78).

3.7.1 Of the lingustic norm, 'orders of indexicality' and the stigmatized 'Other others' Bourdieu meets Goffman and Blommaert

Although, in the earlier sections of this chapter I touched on the contributions of Goffman and Blommaert to our understandings of situated discource (language in action), there is a part of these two scholars' theorizing that brings them even closer to Bourdieu's vision of social practices as embroiled in relations of power and processes of otherization. In this regard both scholars add insights that are productive in unpacking the situatedness of Zimbabweans as *amakwerekwere* in South Africa.

Bourdieu argues that societies are characterized by power imbued processes of legitimating (normalizing) social practices and conversely delegitimating other social practices. Out of these processes emerge 'standard normative practices', which then serve as the yardsticks against which other social practices are evaluated. This process of distinction simultaneously constitutes an act of otherization. Out of the struggles for distinction emerge a relational matrix in which certain acts are vaunted as the standard norms to strive for while others are devalued (cf. Bourdieu, 1991). For example, set against the standard norm, certain language varieties are "[r]educed to the status of Quaint or vulgar jargons," and they are viewed as "'corrupt expressions and mispronunciations'" (Bourdieu, 1991:54). By extension the possessers of these linguistic products respectively constitute 'the distinguished' and the 'deviant' (cf. Bourdieu, 1991; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

In the case of Zimbabwean migrants in this study, for instance, they become 'abnormal' –*amakwerekwere*- (those who babble) only in relation to a standard 'norm' that is, the expected linguistic (identity) facility[16] of local speakers (South Africans). There is nothing innately diminishing and diminished about being Zimbabwean or speaking Zimbabwean languages outside of such matrices of defining the 'real' and the 'other'. Instead the institutionalization of the 'norm' in South Africa is what reduces Zimbabweans to *amakwerekwere* - the lowest in the country's social hierarchy. *Amakwerekwere* are the products of specific structuring of power and associated laws and norms. Even among South Africans there are certain segments of people who are 'othered' such as those described by Sharp and Vally (2008) as "being brutally marginalised" to the extent their citizenship is "meaningless." These othered South Africans are also described by Rasmussen (2007) as the "people" different from, and the flipside of the "People" enjoying the fruits of independence. However compared to Zimbabweans (and other black African migrants) these categories constitute "real others" because they have 'legitimate' claims of belonging in South Africa. Amakwerekwere become the Other other[17] because they are -by legal definition and practical labelling- as 'aliens' and 'babblers' at the extreme end of the continuum of othering in South Africa.

Bourdieu can in this sense also be taken to be talking about stigmatized identities (social groups) and the power infused struggles (processes) surrounding the definition of the standard 'norm' and that which falls outside of, or deviates from the 'norm' (Bourdieu, 1991;Jenkins, 1996; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Erving Goffman - a man Bourdieu notes as one of his considerable influences (Swartz, 1997: 26), and one that he lauds for a remarkable sociological approach that makes him the "discoverer of the infinitely small" (Bourdieu, 1983: 112–113) - theorizes identity in a similar manner. Like Bourdieu, Goffman is also quite sensitive to social class (social difference). To this end, he argues that when individuals meet someone they try to

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[16] Of course the term amakwerekwere is pregnant with other derogatory meanings beyond indexing a lack of competence in South African languages. It also generally speaks to a category that is stigmatized and has a 'spoiled' identity in Goffmanian terms.

[17] I draw this term from Sarah Willen's (2010) work on the maltreatment of foreign migrants in Israel whom she terms the "Other Other", which is related to the institutionalized denial of 'citizenship to Palestinians who are the real Others of Israel. In South Africa however the language indexes foreigners as the Other other who are on the last rung of the hierarchization of different social categories in South Africa. I capitalize the first *Other* and use a small letter for the second *other* to articulate these delineations.

make some meaning into what constitutes the other individual on the basis of his "socio-economic status, his conception of self, attitudes towards them..."(Goffman, 1959: 13). By attaching meaning to him/her they as the audience (inquisitors) "know in advance what to expect of this individual" (Goffman, 1959: 13).

The value judgements or knowledge about the individual being encountered informs the subsequent regime of interaction. Individuals have "sign vehicles" which signify their identities as well as how they are treated by others even outside of previous knowledge about them. Where do these "sign vehicles"[18] stem from and how can they be linked to predicting or anticipating a particular type of behaviour? Goffman argues that this anticipation is based on experiential knowlegde concerning how a character of such a type (class?) is likely to behave based on previous encounters with like (such) types. In this manner, Goffman, like Bourdieu, postulates regularities in the behaviour of certain types of people that allows individuals in their capacity as an audience to anticipate, if not predict the likely behaviour of a person they have come upon. This is also implicitly notable in that when actors seek to perform a credited identity they know how to do so. How does one gain knowledge of a credited identity-or better still-transcend a discredited one? How does the knowlegde of what a credited identity-or better still- transcend a discreditedone?

Goffman goes on to note that in engaging in their performance, individuals partition their world, into the front and back stage. The former stage is where the individual puts on a show which "will tend to to incorporate and exemplify the officially acredited values of society..." (Goffman, 1959: 45). Drawing from structural functionalist thought, Goffman (1959: 45) goes on to note that:

> The performance highlights the values of society in which it occurs [and] one may look upon it, in the manner of Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown, as a ceremony- as an expression rejuvenating and reaffirming the moral values of the community.

This points to the salience of contextuality and situation in how people bahave as well as project themselves. The questions then are: how do Ndebele and Shona

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[18] This is quite comparable to habitus- a particular way of being and acting that regulates and regularizes one's behaviour.

speaking migrants behave at home (back stage) and at work and other domains (front stage)? These ideas of strategic performativity, adaptation and how society institutionalizes the mechanisms of percieving what is celebrated and discredited are carried over to his work on *Stigma and the management of Spoiled identity*. In discussing what constitutes a stigmatized identity, Goffman argues that "[s]ociety establishes the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of these categories" (Goffman, 1963: 11–12). Furthermore, "[s]ocial settings establish the categories of persons, likely to be encountered there" (Goffman, 1963: 11–12). The fundamental point Goffman makes is that social identity is relational, that is, one is normal in relation to that which is set as the standard. Society establishes the laws and mechanisms of crediting or discrediting identities.

Identifying different types of stigma, Goffman, describes strategic performances that the stigmatized can engage in to pass as normal. In light of the fact that stigmas or spoiled identities vary, the devices for managing them vary as well. For the very obvious discreditable stigmas that can not be hidden an individual may choose to accentuate his stigma by "self symboling" and wearing the stigma bagde (Goffman, 1963: 122). However, for other less visible forms of stigma, control of information undergirds management of one's spoilt identity. The stigmatized individual may resort to controling access into his personal (identity) biography through a process of selective association. In this manner he limits intimate contact with those people who have the resource to point out his stigma. In other words, the stigmatized controls his circle of possible biographers, a process which can be done by a "partitioning of the individual's world into forbidden, civil and back places [which] establishes the going price of being known about whatever his choice of information strategies" (Goffman, 1963: 104). Much in the same manner "that the individual's world is divided up spatially by his social identity, so also it is divided up by his personal identity. There are places where...he is known personally...Secondly, there are places where he can expect with some confidence not to bump into anyone who knows him personally" (Goffman, 1963: 104). The stigmatized has to [c]ontrol [...] identity information" because this has a bearing the diverse spaces that he traverses which are characterized by particular norms defining the normal and abnormal (Goffman, 1963: 107).

A reading of Blommaert reveals that he crafts his work around Bourdieu and Goffman's ideas, as well as those of Foucault. From Goffman he draws the idea of interactional orders while from Bourdieu he draws the notions of the field and capital and its associated issues of power and interest. The outcome of this innovation is a concept of 'orders of indexicality' which is also inspired by Foucault's 'orders of discourse' (Blommaert, 2005, 2007b). Orders of indexicality can be taken to be normative stratified evaluative mechanisms that are inscribed in any given social context that determine the value of any particular linguistic and 'identity repertoire' within any given spatio-temporal frame (Blommaert, 2005, 2007b). Blommaert (2005:69) argues that "when people move through physical and social space (both are usually intertwined), they move through orders of indexicality affecting their ability to deploy communicative resources, and what functions well in one such unit may suddenly cease to function or lose parts of its functions in another such unit." Blommaert (2007:120) further argues that "Orders of indexicality are stratified and impose differences in value onto the different modes of semiosis, systematically give preference to some over others and exclude or disqualify particular modes." The notions of power, value and an economy of social exchange lie at the core of understanding "ordered indexicalities" which Blommaert (2007: 119) notes

> operate within large stratified complexes in which some forms of semiosis are systemically perceived as valuable, others as less valuable, and some are not taken into account at all, while all are subject to rules of access and regulations as to circulation. That means that such systemic patterns of indexicality are also systemic patterns of authority, of control and evaluation, and hence of inclusion and exclusion by real or perceived others

Blommaert builds on Bourdieu's ideas but brings the notion of value and varying degrees of enoughness to different individuals' linguistic and identity repertoires to a micro level. In this regard as he argues, movement across space is also a movement across "orders of indexicality," which in this study I equate to evaluative mechanisms inscribed in any particular context, defining the use currency of any linguistic and identity repertoire, resulting in the gradations of people's identities to legitimate or illegitimate and included and excluded. This complements Bourdieu's notion of how each field has its own normative perculiarities, but it also sharpens analysis in terms of how even with the same social space orders of indexicality continuously reconfigure the laws of price formation used to evaluate linguistic products.

The connections between Bourdieu, Goffman and Blommaert are notable, yet as complex as is making easy linkages among these thinkers. However in this study I argue that while Bourdieu gives us a succinct portrayal of society as characterized by tensions and power inequalities; and by innovative individuals with differing degrees of capital, Blommaert further breaks this portrayal down to a micro-level in terms of specified orders of indexicality and contexts. Goffman, while also speaking to the concerns of power and stigmatization, most resoundingly offers a lense to capture the dramaturgy of agentic performativity in differing contexts. It suffices to note that this is in no way a neat connection of these ideas because they overlap in so many ways.

The language of interest and inequality in 'capital' is discernible across these works, i.e., how the deployment of language and identity is both interested and accrues a certain value, either high or low, etc. In this study, I argue that that the structure of the market, in this case the linguistic market, can be conceived of as the broader macro arena of contention. However, this structuring of power in the market filters down to the micro-levels of interface and informs the diverse contours of the orders of indexicality and what linguistic and identity repertoires are accepted as legitimate or illegitimate, which are enough and included and which are inadequate and excluded. It is through this eclectic toolkit that I aim to make sense of the identity politics confronting Zimbabwean migrants and their innovative negotiations.

3.7.2 Some critique of Pierre Bourdieu's work

In part, bringing Goffman and Blommaert into dialogue with Bourdieu mitigates some of the criticism that has been levelled against Bourdieu. In spite of this, in light of the fact that Bourdieu offers the spinal theoretical foundation to this work, it suffices to briefly discuss and attempt to address some of the criticisms that have been levelled against Bourdieu.

Some readings of Bourdieu have been very critical of his concepts, with particular gaze being on the habitus. Some scholars dismiss the habitus as an ambiguous and protean concept whose meaning is always shifting. It is argued that this quality of the habitus makes it hard to evaluate in terms of its conceptual utility. For example, Throop & Murphy (2002) point a finger at Bourdieu's description of the habitus as a *structured structure* which is simultaneously a *structuring structure* (Bourdieu, 1977; Swartz, 1997). For them this reduces the habitus to a rigid and over deterministic thing which imprisons social actors and reduces them to programmed robots (Throop & Murphy, 2002). In response to these concerns two things are worth noting. The first is that the notion that the social actor is in society and society in the individual represents the dialectical linkages and feedback between society and individuals (Jenkins, 1996; Swartz, 1997). Secondly, social practices are not the outcome of the habitus but of the interface between the habitus and the field (social structures) (Bourdieu, 1991; Thompson, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The habitus then should be conceptualized not as the steering wheel producing social practices but more as an inbuilt navigation map or GPS that constantly adapts and offers possibilities of shaping practices whenever it comes into contact with a particular field and meets new demands. As Thompson (1991: 12) notes the habitus does not produce people's actions but it "gives [...][people a 'feel for the game.' In this regard the habitus is always *forward looking* and adaptive; allowing for improvisation, more like lessons learnt potentially allowing for reflective adaptive strategies for behaviors and ways of being. Furthermore focus should neither be on the field nor the habitus as substances but on the relations between them that produces practices (Emirbayer & Williams, 2005; Guzzini, 2006).

Jenkins raises interesting comments on habituated practices which may speak to some of the problems some scholars have had in grasping the habitus (or habituated practices). Jenkins (1996:52) states:

> Although conscious rationality isn't the sum total of the human 'mind' – we dream, we forget and remember stuff, our decisionmaking can be intuitive and elusive, we improvise as we go along, our emotions are powerful, control of what we are doing isn't always possible, and so on – the existence of a mental territory called '*the* unconscious' is epistemologically and ontologically problematic.

Bourdieu's concept of the habitus attempts to address the very internal-external binary that we are aware of as impacting on our practices. (Swartz, 2002: 63s) describes the habitus as allowing for regularity in people's social practices yet, allowing for innovation and continuity. Drawing on language to illustrate that structuring is not diametrically opposed to innovation he states that:

> The dispositions of the habitus function like an underlying grammar that both structures language use and permits virtually unlimited forms of innovative expressions. Games likewise, order play through rules but permit players to strategize with varying competence and outcome.

It is worth noting, therefore that the habitus is- as (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 133) note- "durable but not eternal". *And,* as Bourdieu specifies, it can only be understood within the relational matrix involving the field (the specific social conditions and situatedness of individuals).

3.8 Conclusion

By way of conclusion it is worth noting that language and identity are intricately intertwined- language is *indexical of individuals' identities*. Also quite central- as I have argued in this chapter -is that understanding language and the politics of identity entails excavating relations of power and processes of otherization which may present themselves as 'natural' hierarchies. As such, identity is a process which emerges out of social interaction and other relations which are never neutral but are embedded in matrices of boundary formation where a standard norm and the deviant other are simultaneously produced.

In situating Ndebele and Shona speakers as two distinct identity groups, I am drawing from their narrativization and communication of their identities of being Zimbabwean, thus deploying identity as a practical and experiential category (Hall, 1996; Sfard & Prusak, 2005). As Brubaker & Cooper (2000:4) asserts that identity "is a practical category" in so as people use it "to make sense of themselves, of their activities, of what they share with, and how they differ from, others." However, I also attempt locate them within specific contexts and relations of power, in the midst of specific interlocutors and thus attempt to capture their agentive and innovative negotiations of the politics of identity confronting them.

Chapter 4

Towards a reflexive sociology: making sense of the "native's" point of view

> The problem is not that we tailor but that so few qualitative researchers reveal *that* we do this work, much less *how* we do this work. (Fine 1994 in Pillow, 2003: 175).

> In social sciences phenomena are not discovered. Instead processes are debated, analysed, interpreted and reinterpreted (Schmidt, 2007: 96–97).

4.1 Introduction

Geertz argues that we are conducting research at a time in which our disciplines' "epistemological foundations have been shaken by a general loss of faith in received stories about the nature of representation" (Geertz, 1988:135). Aspects which are fundamental cogs of doing research and generating knowledge that were taken for granted and shrouded in mystery, like the 'field,' 'data' and the subsequent 'ethnographic accounts' have been called into question as reflected in works by people like Okely (1983), Gupta & Ferguson (1997) and Gray, (2003) . Some have even raised the question of whether ethnography is "an art or science," and in what way it is either of the two (Carrithers et al., 1990: 263). Broadly speaking 'the crisis of representation' can be summarized in what Pillow (2003: 175) calls the "politics of the gaze" in qualitative research. In doing this research, it was critical to be aware of this politics of knowledge production. I reflected on a number of questions: what is my 'field' (social world of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg)? How does this field look like? Where and how do I locate (find) it? How and why? How do I gain access to the social world of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg and understand their 'secrets'? How possible is it to enter and explore the 'private' lives and spaces of migrants? How do I do a rigorous research without putting my participants at risk in light of what they do and how they do it? How do I gather my data? How do I represent Zimbabwean migrants' 'secrets' in a manner that speaks to the experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg?

This chapter discusses my research project's *roadmap* and the actual processes involved in the research project that spanned three years, that is, from January 2011 to December 2013, with the field research component spanning a year, from January

2012 to December 2012. I argue that my research was predicated on the interface of my *sociological habitus* (theoretical work and input as a sociologist seeking sociological access into a social phenomenon on the one hand) and the *field* (the objective locus of my empirical research participants who are social agents with their own lives and "secrets" (James 1899:115 in Hammersely, 1989:78) and who live in an objective city, and specific neighbourhoods. Furthermore it relied on my "symbolic mastery"- that is, strategic and inventive response to contingencies in the field (cf. Bourdieu, 1996). In this chapter, I delve into the key facets involved in my field work, and discuss how I navigated the 'politics' involved in studying the 'Other,' who is imbued with his own subjectivity and frame of knowing and meaning making. I organize this methodological chapter around one broad aspect I see as galvanizing all my questions and concerns about the most suitable research design, the locus of my 'field', data gathering and 'writing up' the sociological story. This is my turn *towards a 'reflexive sociology'* which I discuss within the ambit of the 'crisis of representation' in the academy. In discussing the practice of reflexive sociology which I took to be a guiding principle right from the process of my initial reading and *a* priori theorizing, up to the thesis as the outcome of my research I draw substantially from the works on reflexivity by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2003), Clifford Geertz (1974) and Pillow (2003) among a number of other scholars. I reveal how these works feed into my choice of a 'multi-sited field' as a practical conceptual construct for my study, my relationship with the researched and my data analysis trajectory. In constructing this 'field' I note how the concern about the crisis of representation notable in Bourdieu's concern about the "scholastic point of view" and its corollary of a "scholastic fallacy" (Kenway & McLeod, 2004: 529) which at the level of methodology has preoccupied other scholars (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Marcus, 1995, 1998; Hannerz, 2003; Nadai & Maeder, 2005) who have grappled with 'the politics of power' associated with some of the cannons of ethnography.

4.2 Reflexivity a widely used but slippery concept: reflexivity about what, who, how and why?

There has been a proliferation of works on reflexivity, its meaning and how it is practiced (Lynch, 2000; Bourdieu, 2003; Kenway & McLeod, 2004; Pillow, 2003). Quite notably, there is no standard definition of reflexivity; instead definitions stem

from what various thinkers perceive as reflexivity. Finlay (2002) simply defines it as thoughtful and conscious-self-awareness. For Denzin (1997:27) we have to concern ourselves with how "our subjectivity becomes entangled in the life of others." Other scholars like Cunlife (2003) question whether reflexivity is a philosophy, method or technique. Cunliffe posits that "[r]eflexivity is entwined with the 'crisis of representation', and brings to the spotlight our relationship with the social world of the researched, and the ways in which we account for our experience" (Cunlife, 2003:985). Amidst a whirlwind like chorusing of being reflexive in research, Pillow, (2003: 177) also questions what constitutes reflexivity and asks the following questions:

> Is reflexivity a skill, a set of methods that can be taught? If so, what are the methods of reflexivity – is it keeping a research journal or the inclusion of a questioning researcher voice in the text? What should we be reflexive about? The other? Ourselves? The place? Who gets to be reflexive?

In this research I do not aim at producing a broad definition of what reflexivity entails. Instead, I add to the debate by focusing on what reflexivity means to me as a social practice and how it informed my research project. A rendition of reflexivity which I find to be an illuminating starting point into the complexities of reflexivity is articulated by Chiseri-Strater (1996) who distinguishes between being reflexive and being reflective. For Chiseri-Strater, "to be reflective does not demand an 'other,' while to be reflexive demands both an 'other' and some self-conscious awareness of the process of self-scrutiny" (Chiseri-Strater, 1996:130) In this study I use this notion of reflexivity as my point of departure in my critique of reflexivity, noting its productivity in bringing to bear the part that the two 'Others' involved in the research process, (the researched and the researcher) play. However, as I indicated earlier, I augment this understanding with other vantage points that offer other notions of reflexivity that go beyond prioritizing the relationship between the researcher and researched and delve into structural issues in the academy.

4.2.1 The 'multi-dimensional nature of reflexivity': critiquing both the self and the field of sociology

Building on Chiseri-Strater's distinction, Pillow (2003) identifies four strands (strategies) of reflexivity that have gained wide acceptance among ethnographers. She identifies these as 'reflexivity as recognition of self/researcher know thyself, reflexivity as recognition of the other, reflexivity as truth and reflexivity as transcendence' (Pillow, 2003: 181). According to Pillow these strands reflect the belief among ethnographers that knowing your bundle of subjectivities as a researcher will enable you to know and recognize the 'other.' Knowing the other involves a process in which we come to "capture the essence" of the other(s) and let them speak for themselves" (Trinh, 1991:57). Reflexivity as truth "supports the idea that the researcher can "get it right" (Pillow, 2003: 185). Reflexivity as transcendence is based on the position that armed with 'knowledge of self, and of the other, as well as of the truth' the researcher "can transcend her own subjectivity and own cultural context in a way that releases him/her from the weight of (mis) representations (Pillow, 2003: 186).

Schmidt (2007:83) focuses on endogenous and referential reflexivity. Referential reflexivity is about "the relationship between the researcher and the researched, thus research and outcomes." Endogenous reflexivity is about whether we know what the researched are doing. This means that we have to expect "flexible responses", such as instances where the researched "alter their stories" in line with how they perceive the research dynamics and power relations (Schmidt, 2007: 83). It is in light of the fact that the researched have "structurally conditioned ideas about what 'we' do" (Schmidt, 2007: 83), that others like Riach (2009) speak of 'reflexivity-in-practice' which is "situated and enacted by both parties involved in the research interaction, and how such sticky moments help us work towards a more participant-focused mode of reflexivity" (Riach, 2009: 356). Giddens (1991) talks about the 'temporariness' of reflexivity, that is, during (in the field) and after doing the study. Pillow problematizes these reflexive strategies, noting how at the centre of them lies the preoccupation with knowing oneself which is seen as the starting point to the other strands of which the ultimate is "transcendence." A big question arises: "Does all this self-reflexivity produce better results?" (Patai, 1994: 70). Lying at the centre of

this question is also the assumption that *ethnographers know where (knowing) oneself begins and ends*. The attempts of being reflexive have spawned several 'confessions' and attempts to give a 'voice' to the Other through co-authorship among a number of other writing practices (genres) (Gray, 2003; Pillow, 2003).

Bourdieu (2003) argues that there are some complexities associated with personal biographical stances as devices of reflexivity as well as attempting to give the 'Other' a voice. The former ignores the 'social conditions' that produce the ethnographer and his trade; while the latter homogenizes knowledge and voice. To further explain the latter- it ignores how knowledge and 'voice' are by-products of a point of view which is greatly dependent on social position (see also Richardson, 2002; Denzin & Lincoln, 2002). In another work Bourdieu argues that the researcher is endowed with "practical mastery" and "symbolic mastery" (Bourdieu, 1996b). Practical mastery refers to "an implicit and pre-reflective feel for the game", while "symbolic mastery" suggests "a level of creative endeavour by the agent to negotiate their way in the field through considering differing perspectives concerned with knowing the world" (Riach, 2009: 359). As researchers we move through these two dimensions depending on how the research *habitus* relates with the field of research, we can adjust and creatively engage our social world. As much as we have our habitus, Bourdieu argues that the researched have their own habitus, what Geertz (1974) refers as their point of view (or symbolic world). Bourdieu (2003: 288) thus argues that while research subjects are people like us, "at least in as much as they stand before their action"- in doing different practices in their world:

> They do not have in their heads the scientific truth of their practice which I am trying to extract from observation of their practice. What is more, they normally never ask themselves the questions that I would ask myself if I acted towards them as an anthropologist: Why such a ceremony? Why the candles? Why the cake? Why the presents? Why these invitations and these guests, and not others? And so on.

Bourdieu points to the fact that besides the power dynamics those are infused into the relationship between the researcher and researched, the 'social conditions' from which these two actors emerge mean that there are two voices and species of knowledge at play. As notable in the foregoing, research is a process driven by both the researcher and the researched. It has to be understood from both perspectives. While claiming to give the researched a 'voice,' if we are not critical of the social

conditions governing the parameters of framing the various voices at work we are confronted by the risk of:

> …inject[ing] scholarly thought (incarnated by the myth of *homo economicus* and 'rational action theory') into the behaviours of ordinary agents, because they do not know how to break with the unthought presuppositions of thinking thought, in other words to rid themselves of their inbred scholastic bias (Bourdieu 1990; 2000).

Van Binsbergen (1991:334) who crosses the boundary between 'researcher' and 'researched' and becomes a 'sangoma' gives the following testimony in relation to the complexities of 'voice' across the divide (of the researcher and researched):

> The [sangoma] religious complex [….] can be compared to a language, 'becoming a *sangoma'* means becoming significantly proficient in that language to conduct a meaningful if still imperfect conversation with native speakers; alternatively writing an ethnographic treatise on the *sangoma* complex would amount to producing a phonology or syntax of the same language, in meta-discourse that abstracts from complete speech situations and that would be virtually meaningless to the native. Both forms of outsider appropriation are presumably legitimate and presuppose rather extensive knowledge; but the types of knowledge, and their relevance to both outsider producers and native speakers are different...

Geertz (1974: 27–28) argues that seeing 'through the native's point of view does not mean that as a researcher you have to attempt to gain "some inner correspondence of spirit with your informants..." For Geertz (1974: 27–28) "we can no longer claim some unique form of psychological close-ness, a sort of transcultural identification, with our subjects…" Plummer (2001: 179–83) Bourdieu and Geertz notes the division between the vantage point of the researcher and researched. Plummer thus speaks about a 'continuum of constructions' in which there are 'two major interpreters in the sociological life story'- these being "the subject and the social scientist" (Plummer 2001: 179–83). Our research participants draw from common sense to narrate and interpret their lives the purpose of our social scientific work (cf. Plummer, 2001).

Bourdieu argues as such that there is a need to also shift the gaze from the researcher's subjectivities to also focus on the social conditions producing knowledge. For Bourdieu, reflexivity entails also back into the academy and how its structures defining sociological practice inform 'knowlegde' and 'how we get to know' (Bourdieu, 2003: 283). This shift is necessitated by the fact that "[t]o each of the

fields there corresponds a fundamental point of view on the world (Bourdieu, 2000 :99). Taking the discipline of sociology as a field Bourdieu argues that this field "produces its own intellectual dispositions and it is these and the epistemic history and [the] unconscious of the field [….] that must be interrogated rather than the apparently idiosyncratic viewpoints of the researcher" (Bourdieu, 2000 :99). Bourdieu asserts that reflexivity involves questioning the "presuppositions inscribed in the fact of thinking the world…" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 39). Bourdieu states that:

> Given that these presuppositions are built into concepts, instruments of analysis (genealogy, questionnaires, statistical techniques, etc) and practical operations of research (such as coding "data cleaning" procedures or rules of thumb in fieldwork), reflexivity calls less for intellectual introspection than for the permanent sociological analysis and control of sociological practice (Champagne et al., 1989 in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 40).

In summation Bourdieu's reflexivity focuses on "interrogation of the scholastic view" (Kenway & McLeod, 2004: 528), which produces the "unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought […] as well as guide the practical carrying out of social inquiry" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 40). Taking for granted the accumulated "practices and habits of thought" in the field, which produce the scholastic point of view "has the potential to produce the 'scholastic fallacy…'" (Kenway & McLeod, 2004: 529). Although Bourdieu prioritizes the scholastic view, he does not repudiate the efforts of reflexively attempting to know one's subjectivities. He in fact asserts that "[t]he anthropologist who does not know himself does not have adequate knowledge of his primary experience of the world, puts the primitive at a distance because he does not recognize the primitive, pre-logical thought within himself" (Bourdieu, 2003: 286). However Bourdieu recognizes that there is the danger of proceeding through practices that are unaccounted for, and habits of thought that are products of hegemonic struggles and history of the sociological field. Bourdieu's call for turning the *reflexive gaze* inward onto the 'field' of sociology and ethnographic practices has also been made by others such as Gupta & Ferguson (1997) and Geertz (1974).

Geertz (1974) like Bourdieu focuses on the practice of anthropology to make sense of the crisis of representation. Geertz's critique of the Malinowskian type of fieldwork forms a critical route for my reflexive stance. Focusing on the disclosures emerging from Malinowski's diary Geertz reveals the contradictions associated with fieldwork

and he proffers possible mitigation strategies. First of all, he asserts that the disclosure of the diary by Malinowski's widow and the subsequent discomfiture in the academy that followed exposes certain pretensions in the academy. By revealing the 'human' side of Malinowski and how it fed into his anthropological self, Malinowski's widow "[h]ad betrayed clan secrets, profaned an idol, and let down the team" (Geertz, 1974: 26). Geertz asserts that the diary had more salient epistemological bearing that may have escaped many. It was salient in that it revealed that, "[t]he myth of the chameleon field-worker, perfectly self-tuned to his exotic surroundings-a walking miracle of empathy, tact, patience, and cosmopolitanism- was demolished" (Geertz, 1974: 27). This demolition of the fieldworker who could become one with the native and see as the native does resulted in questions about how we claim to see and experience social worlds of research participants. As Geertz (1974: 27) puts it, the situation generated the big question:

> If anthropological understanding does not stem as we have been taught to believe, from some sort if extra-ordinary sensibility, an almost prenatural capacity to think, feel and perceive like a native [….] then how is anthropological knowledge of the way natives think, feel and perceive possible?

As Geertz (1974) notes, Malinowski's case reveals that trying to get in the skin of the research participants does not guarantee objective knowledge (also see Goffman, 1989). Geertz attempts to transcend the binary between the forms of knowlegde that reflect the 'insider' and 'outsider' complex by drawing from Heinz Kohut's distinction between experience near and experience distant concepts. Geertz (1974: 28) states that:

> An experience-near concept is, roughly, one which an individual - a patient, a subject, in our case an informant - might himself naturally and effortlessly use to define what he or his fellows, see, feel, think, imagine, and so on, and which he would readily understand when similarly applied by others. An experience-distant concept is one which various types of specialists - an analyst, an experimenter, an ethnographer, even a priest or an ideologist employ to forward their scientific, philosophical, or practical aims.

 These concepts reflect the two worlds at play in the research process and have to be skilfully deployed. Geertz asserts that we should not be trapped in either of the two concepts (or worlds). He states that "[c]onfinement to the experience-near concepts leaves an ethnographer awash with immediacies as well as entangled in vernacular. Confinement to the experience-distant ones leaves him stranded in

abstractions and smothered in jargon" Geertz (1974: 29). In the following section I disclose my *sociological habitus* at play in constructing a multisited 'field' for my research.

4.3 No 'exotic' field to discover out there! Constructing my 'field'

In creating a visual of the steps I embarked on in 'constructing' my 'field', that is, opting for a multi-sited case study, it is productive to proceed initially by way of a number of questions. Out of a gamut of research designs, approaches and data collection methods pervasive in sociology, we settled for some which are 'the most suited' for our studies. This of course begs further questions: how and why do I opt for certain approaches and techniques over others? What informs the choices?

A meaningful way of responding to this can be located in Radin's statement that, it all "depends upon the researcher, the researched, the problems posed and the data gathered" (Radin in Burgess 1982: 15; see Goffman, 1989; Gray, 2003). According to Gupta and Ferguson (1997), the 'field' is a "conceptual space whose boundaries are constantly negotiated and constructed by the ethnographer and members." A lot of 'scientific' work such as *a priori* theory and engagement with literature goes into the construction of the 'field' (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997).

My field emerged out of my engagement with initial data in the form of literature that I reviewed. This data revealed that Zimbabweans are dispersed across different neighbourhoods of the city (Sisulu et al., 2007; Mosala, 2008; Makina, 2010; Muzondidya, 2010) . Polzer (2008: 4) aptly captures this dispersion of Zimbabweans when she states that:

> Zimbabweans are dispersed throughout the country rather than only being concentrated along the border in a particular part of the country. The large numbers living in the economic heartland of Gauteng Province and increasingly other major urban centres have received the most media attention, but Zimbabweans are also settling in townships and informal settlements.

I 'decided to construct' a multi-sited (case study) field that straddled five neighbourhoods of Yeoville, Hillbrow, Newton, Diepsloot[19] and Fourways, in the city of Johannesburg. I decided on a case study research design because my object of study was inextricably enmeshed in a particular context. A number of scholars have discussed the virtues of the case study for researchers whose study object is enmeshed in the context they wish to study (Yin, 2009). Gilham (2000: 1) echoes Yin's sentiments by describing and defining the case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its particular context particularly "when the phenomenon merges in its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw."

My social laboratory had to be conscious of these various pieces, and I sought to "follow the circulation of [Zimbabwean] signs, symbols and metaphors" in the different neighbourhoods of Johannesburg (Marcus 1995:108). This spatial scattering of Zimbabwean migrants across different neighbourhoods of Johannesburg entailed that I be "there….there…and there!" (Hannerz, 2003: 201). Zimbabweans constitute an example of Marcus's research population "that cannot be accounted for ethnographically by remaining focused on a single site of intensive investigation" (Marcus, 1995: 98). Makina (2010) has noted that the greatest number of Zimbabwean migrants can be located in the inner city areas of Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville. This is in line with these areas being the haunts for African migrants (Bremner, 2000, 2004; Duponchel, 2009; Landau, 2010). However Zimbabwean migrants' spatialization fall within a multi-sited field that "keeps [on] changing boundaries, connecting several locations" (Amit, 2000: 13). Such a 'surmised pattern' "renders the ethnographer an even more central agent in the construction of the field" (Amit, 2000: 14). Indeed, I became such an agent, as I followed the contours of Zimbabwe's spatial patters to Diepsloot, which is a township; Newtown, an upgraded inner city area, and Fourways, an affluent suburb. I decided to construct a field that paid attention to social class differences in order to get a mixed population of Zimbabweans. Bourdieu posits that class differences are notable in where people live, that is, the 'oppositions' between affluent (upmarket)

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[19] Diepsloot is north of the city of Johannesburg, but its connections with the neighbourhood of Fourways made it a relevant research site for this study. Furthermore it falls within the Greater City of Johannesburg Municipality.

neighbourhoods versus ghettos (Bourdieu, 1996a). Wacquant speaks of the intersections of social differences with where and how people are physically located when he discusses the existence of the ghetto as a global zone of and for marginalization of outcasts and problem classes (Wacquant, 2008). Naidoo's analysis of 'the commodification of life in South Africa' also reveals these intersections of social difference and place. Having discussed struggles against evictions and calls for upgrades in Chatsworth by the 'poor' in the year 1999, Naidoo notes that "after Chatsworth," other struggles for inclusion were visible in "poor communities" of "Soweto, Khayelitsha, Tafelsig, Diepsloot, Harringsmith, Orange Farm, Kennedy Road"…etc (Naidoo, 2007: 58). All these works and conceptualizations speak to something that seems self-evident – *that spaces are not equal but are reflections of social differences in a material form*.

Multi-sited research is characterized by a movement out of a "single site and local situations" to focus on "the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time space" (Marcus 1998:79). Furthermore it is a movement from the *holistic scale* of the system such as the global, regional and national system to localized scales of experience (Marcus, 1995). To this end Marcus (1995: 96) posits that, "[j]ust as [multi-sited research] investigates and ethnographically constructs the life-worlds of variously situated subjects, it also ethnographically constructs aspects of the system itself through the associations and connections it suggests among sites." In my study, this movement between system and life-world entails the movement from a construction of how Zimbabwean migrants are situated in Johannesburg (system), to also understanding localized practices in different neighbourhoods (life worlds). This contrast between the 'system' and 'life-world' is particularly salient in light of how Johannesburg is noted to be a city that is characterized by 'colliding worlds." As Marcus notes, "[e]mpirically following the thread of cultural process itself impels the move towards multi-sited ethnography" (Marcus, 1995: 97).

As Nadai and Maeder (2005: 4) assert, multi-sited research is well suited for the sociological field which is "fuzzy" and whose "contours emerge only during the research process as the ethnographer traces informants across multiple sites that turn out to become relevant in light of the research question." As discussed in Chapter 2, Zimbabwean migrants' social world in Johannesburg is characterized by a 'general dispersion' across the city.

Multi-sited ethnography offered me the opportunity of evaluating the differences and similarities in how the linguistic and identity products are received in different evaluated fields and relationships. Marcus (1995:102) reveals that a comparative element is inbuilt in multisited research when he states that:

> The object of study is ultimately mobile and multiply situated, so any ethnography of such an object will have a comparative dimension that is integral to it, in the form of juxtapositions of phenomena that conventionally have appeared to be (or conceptually have been kept) "worlds apart".

In engaging in multi-sited research I had to have "a keen awareness of being within the landscape" and be responsive to the changes that came with my movement "across [the different] sites" (Marcus 1995:112). My research experiences were not the same across the four research sites and I had to continuously renegotiate my entry and access into the different fields and strategically position and reposition myself.

4.3.1 Co-presence: following the 'plot', 'metaphor' and 'research' in the world of the research participants

My research problem and research questions are primarily poised to understand the *secrets* of a well-defined study population, that is, Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants in Johannesburg. To this end, I "select[ed] cases with a specific purpose in mind" (Nueman, 2004: 142). In light of these considerations, purposive sampling was the most practical route. In spite of Zimbabweans constituting a predefined social group, compiling a comprehensive register of all Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants in Johannesburg is a virtually unattainable effort. These considerations made purposive sampling in the five neighborhoods a productive approach

Burgess (1982: 1) asserts that the ethnographer "copes with fieldwork using his whole *body* and personality in the same way that he copes with life when he is not in the field…" Amit (2000) also reveals how embodied practices are a fundamental component of fieldwork. Amit states that as researchers "personal relationships serve as primary vehicles for eliciting findings and insight" (Amit, 2000: 4). Goffman (1989: 125) notes that fieldwork, particularly the observation part involves:

> …subjecting yourself, your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, or their work

situation, or ethnic situation, or whatever. So that you are close to them while they are responding to what life does to them…

Robert Park also notes the salience of plunging into the context of the research participants' framing of their own experiences. To this end he encourages first-hand experience, and has this to say to his students:

> Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the doorsteps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slums shake downs; sit in the Orchestra Hall and in the Star and Garter Burlesk. In short Gentlemen (sic), go get the seats of your pants dirty in real research (Hammersley, 1989: 76).

In conducting this research study I deployed my body into the field as an instrument for gaining access to the experiential, perfomative and discursive practices of Zimbabwean migrants located in various neighborhoods of Johannesburg. Of course, the starting point of this self-exertion was a literature review which I did in order to situate my study within existent knowledge. Although my study is sociological I read into other disciplines that speak to my study, primarily, social anthropology and sociolinguistics. This reading helped me develop the apparatus for constructing my field and developing my research design. This reading was an iterative and on-going process that occurred throughout the duration of the research project.

In order to gain access to Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants as well as to be able to observe their practices, I decided to set up my social laboratory and office in the inner city area. My reconnaissance trip in the research cites led me to settle in the inner city neighbourhood of Yeoville. Yeoville also has a good transport network and as such I could use the area as a launching pad to the other research sites, with Hillbrow and Newtown being quite close to Yeoville.

Unlike Malinowski who cut a conspicuous sight as a camper tented at the edge of the village of Omarkana in the Trobriand Islands" (Wax, 1972: 3), I rented accommodation like any other Zimbabwean in the neighbourhood of Yeoville would. Although I stayed among Zimbabweans and could observe their practices, I avoided Laud Humphreys' approach of covert research without getting the participants' consent (Humphreys 1970).

4.4 Points of contact: multiple sites, multiple points of entry and negotiation

4.4.1 Yeoville and Hillbrow: navigating the two Zimbabwean microcosms

On the second day of my being in Yeoville I walked to the shops to buy some food. My walking to the shops was part of my strategy of attempting to imbibe Yeoville, and to map out Zimbabwean presence in the area akin to De Certeau's (1984) walking the city. I was still in the process of figuring out how I could become a part of the everydayness of being a Zimbabwean migrant in Yeoville. I was walking past Poor Man-Richman bar along Rockey and Raleigh, when someone shouted my name, *Gugu!!*[20] I turned in a guarded way and continued walking because I did not expect anyone to call out my name in Yeoville except for a colleague who was Shona, and the way I had been called was definitely by a Ndebele speaker. The person called me again and I turned to see a tall young man that I was not familiar with smiling at me. He continued, "*Er Gugu how are you, what are you doing here?*" Although I did not know this young man before me, I played along and responded with feigned enthusiasm, "*Ah, I am good, how are you? What are you doing here yourself?*" While we shook hands the young man went on, "Mxolisi *and other guys are around here (Poor Man-Richman bar) somewhere. Did you not meet them? Mxolisi will be happy to see you!*" Mxolisi is an individual of my age that I knew from Zimbabwe. He is also a former soccer player having played for a number of teams including one of Zimbabwe's popular teams towards the end of his soccer career, Dynamos. I had played soccer alongside Mxolisi at a junior level, and had graduated into the premier league, which is Zimbabwe's highest level, ahead of him briefly playing for Zimbabwe Saints before I moved to the University of Zimbabwe to commence undergraduate studies. From the mention of Mxolisi I was able to locate the young before me man in my history as someone who had been interested in soccer or also played during my soccer days. I relaxed then and became less guarded.

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[20] Gugu is short for Gugulethu and usually when people use this version of my name it reflects some degree of familiarity with me.

A search for Mxolisi in the bar was not successful and I left, having told Dumisani where I stayed and exchanged numbers with him. Later Dumisani called and I arranged a meeting with him and Mxolisi at Poorman- Richman bar. I met Mxolisi and a number of other Zimbabwean migrants from Bulawayo. Most of them were former soccer players, like Nhlanhla, who started off giving me a cold shoulder because he knew me and expected me to know him because he also played for Mthala when I played for the under 15's[21] Highlanders Juniors team. This turned out to be a very productive meeting which opened up a window for me into a group of Zimbabwean migrants in Yeoville and practically demonstrated the density of Zimbabwean networks in Yeoville. These migrants were enthusiastic about soccer and complained about how Zimbabwe had been a disappointment because even those who had graduated into the Premier League had been unable to fend for themselves during the period of crisis. Mxolisi described it as, *"useless playing for the gallery (fans) when you are hungry. And your wife would assume that you're working when you're not getting paid."* We shared banter about soccer and the life associated with that. Mxolisi asked, in fact laughing, "Do you still play soccer or you are no longer able to. I'm sure the long-time focused on books have killed your skill." When I told them that I still played some social soccer they told me about social soccer games that they played at Bez Valley every Sunday and invited me to come.

At the Bez Valley sports club, I noticed that there were clear group associations. There were a number of Zimbabwean soccer teams which were divided according to ethnicity. For instance, we played against a team called eyamaShona or eyamaShort sleeve (the Shona team), while the Shona team referred to our team as MaNdex (the Ndebele team). There would usually be jokes before and after matches. Some would call out, "(Ya wena Shona namuhla sizalidla bafana bakaMgabe) Hello, you Shona. We are going to defeat you today, Mugabe's boys." The others would retort, vapfana vaLobengula nhasi murikuwona moto (Lobengula's boys today you will see fire). "There was also one team made up of South Africans that came with and was coached and managed by a South African Premier league player.

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[21] The Highlanders Junior teams were known by the by the age sets, and Under 15's refers to Under 15 years of age.

In light of the fact that I wanted a heterogeneous sample of people in Yeoville I also walked around the neighbourhood speaking to different people I identified. It was not a very difficult thing to identify migrants in Yeoville. My other point of accessing migrants in Yeoville was by simply approaching a migrant and speaking to them. Yeoville as migrants *narrativize* it is a 'Zimbabwean colony'. It was relatively easy for me to identify Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants. There after I would approach them and ask for interviews.

Entry into the different sites was not the same and entailed different strategies. The way, I managed to gain access into Yeoville did not replay or reproduce itself in Hillbrow. I was able to gain access to the people in Hillbrow by making contact on the street and asking people for interviews. However, I also made use of some of the contacts that I had developed in Yeoville to locate some people in Hillbrow who could assist in my research activities. Two such people who were useful are Themba, a teacher and Xolani a security guard. Their company and information was productive particularly because of the reputation of Hillbrow as a dangerous space which needs to be navigated carefully. Although Themba was a teacher, he had earlier been a security guard on arrival in Johannesburg; and like Xolani his job had given him an intimate knowledge of the city and I was able to learn the intimate interstices of the neighbourhood through the eyes of its practitioners.

In navigating Yeoville and Hillbrow it became apparent that the two neighbourhoods are inscribed with diverse Zimbabwean socio-cultural and symbolic artefacts. One does not need to do any extensive search or excavation to locate Zimbabwean migrants in Hillbrow and Yeoville. Migrants were visibly and discernibly engaged in conversations using the Zimbabwean languages of Ndebele and Shona. A number of spots and activities are associated with Zimbabweans, for example, migrants would speak of some "Shona women who cook isitshwala[22] esisharp," or "some Zimbabwean guys who do dreadlocks." At the Yeoville market, in addition to a number of products, Ndebele and Shona migrants sell Zimbabwean vegetable such as Rape, Tsunga, Chaumolia and umfushwa (dried vegetables). I would buy vegetables, sweets and music as well as video CDs from Zimbabwean migrants who

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[22] Isitshwala is the Ndebele equivalent of pap in South Africa.

formed a belt along the streets of Yeoville. In the shops, and bottle stores one can buy real amanqina and amasese (opaque beer). 'Real' was used by migrants as a label for those products that are just like, or almost like those found in Zimbabwe.

In Hillbrow the scenario is the same at the market and in the streets, although there is a greater population density. In Hillbrow, there is also a pick-up point for oMalayitsha between Claim and Twist Streets, just after Highpoint. These oMalayitsha transport Zimbabwean people, from Johannesburg to Zimbabwe, and conversely from Zimbabwe to Johannesburg. They also transport different goods and materials headed to Zimbabwe. This place is usually animated as Zimbabweans arrange to have different things ferried to Zimbabwe. In this scenario one can discern the Zimbabwean linguistic products and make out Zimbabweans who are not hiding their identities.

This Zimbabwean presence occurs in a context that is generally characterized by a bustling population of other Others who are both non-African as well as African, a scenario which has been widely documented about the inner city areas of Johannesburg (Bremner, 2000, 2004; Silverman & Zack, 2008; Makina, 2010). Although, I do not speak any of the following African groups' languages, I was able to recognize Nigerians from their languages, dress and associative networks and eating places; I was able to recognize migrants from Democratic Republic of Congo who spoke French, as well as Cameroonians, and Mozambicans among other African migrants in the two neighbourhoods. There are areas where different groups are known to conduct their business, particularly Nigerians who are very visible in both neighbourhoods. Pakistanis and Chinese and Indians are also visible in these neighbourhoods.

The parallels drawn between Hillbrow and Yeoville as 'home' and 'being at home' are numerous, almost to the point of conflation. This claim of these places by Zimbabwean migrants is also notable in the internet and virtual world where there are number of social groups on Facebook by Zimbabwean migrants in these places. For example there is Ezase Hilbrow, Ezase Mahillas [Hillbrow] and pages as Ezase Hillbrow, Ezase Rocky and Hillbrow Berea and Yeoville. I joined two of these groups and I interacted with members who are also Zimbabweans who are staying in the Hillbrow and Yeoville. There are both Ndebele and Shona members; however, the

language of communication is mostly isiZulu semaflethini and English. What I found interesting about these groups is that they reveal attachment of migrants to these places to the point of investing in setting up these virtual communities. The languages used in these forums are reflective of the languages spoken in Hillbrow and Yeoville. Furthermore the subject matter of these forums resonates with the situatedness of migrants that I observed in these areas. For example one female member of one of these groups asks, "Wenzani nxa usheya ekhethenini[23] eHillbrow ubone something uyihalele. Uyacela kumbe uyathatha?" (What do you do when you stay in shared accommodation in Hillbrow and you see something that you want? Do you request for it or just take it? Another one posts around December that, "Kwabahambayo litshiye libhadele irent hayi ukufika selithengisa amafoni seliqede yonke imali lizama ukubonakala ukuthi lina liphila kamnandi egoli" (For those going home (for Christmas) make sure you pay your rentals before travelling. You don't want to end up selling your phones having finished all your money trying to make impressions about living a good life in Johannesburg."

4.4.2 Newtown: slightly higher up but still in the Inner city

The neighbourhood of Newtown proved to be exclusionary compared to Yeoville and Hillbrow. It does not have the same symbolic and physical markers of Zimbabweanness. There are fewer residential spaces compared to Yeoville and Hillbrow. The flats are manned by security guards and are not penetrable without prior contact with residents who should receive you and facilitate your pass at the security check point. In light of this, I formulated my entry strategies around a contact person who works and stays in the area. Unlike Hillbrow where my movement was under the shadow of warnings not to venture in certain directions, particularly at night found Newtown's profile and the infrastructure reassuring in terms of the threat of violent crime.

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[23] Ekhethenini is Ndebele for curtain. Most of the flats in Hillbrow and Yeoville occupied by Zimbabwean migrants are shared by many people. Curtains are used to split and demarcate spaces within rooms. Ekhethenini literally means at the place of curtains; this is a way in which curtains are used to describe these areas.

Newtown as already noted above confronted me with the challenge of general access to different spaces and the lack of density of people in the residential areas. Research in Newtown was not as spontaneous and fluid as it was in Hillbrow and Yeoville. However, I took this as part of the changes in landscape and positionality that come with shifting sites in multi-sited research (Marcus, 1995). In order to get the requisite number of respondents in Newtown I snowballed. While snowballing has been criticized in some studies because it produces 'a homogenous research population sample' and because it is based on 'networks' of people within similar categories, in this instance this characteristic became a strength as it allowed me access to a specific group of Zimbabweans in the area (Nueman, 2008).

4.4.3 Diepsloot: navigating the township

In my interviews with migrants in Yeoville, Hillbrow and Newtown, the issue of the township, being a different type of identity and linguistic market, came up numerous times, "Here there are many people from home, there are Nigerians, there's everything, man there's no South Africa here. In the township you feel unsettled as a foreigner because they speak their South African languages; and what we speak here is easily seen to be foreign and they would start saying, here is a kwerekwere." Even when research participants in the Yeoville and Hillbrow tried to explain the difference between the Zulu they spoke "isiZulu semaflethini" and ''real Zulu'' they made reference to the township as endowed with a different Zulu from the isiZulu semaflethini they spoke. One research participant, Ndumiso had this to say, "You see I have a young brother who stays in Diepsloot. He loves speaking in deep Zulu and tries to make himself a Zulu person but you can see he's struggling with the language and he's messing it up. He irritates me. Why do you change your identity when your language reveals that you're Zimbabwean? It's about loving isiNjiva." All these issues spoke to the productivity of the township as part of my field to understand Zimbabwean's language practices in Johannesburg.

While considering Diepsloot as part of my research sites, I spoke to a fellow PhD candidate who had been to the place and intended to do a study there. He answered animatedly, "Eish my friend, I have decided to remove Diepsloot from my research sites because the area is not very easy to navigate as a foreigner. They recently killed a Zimbabwean just when I was supposed to go to the field." According to my

fellow colleague the Zimbabwean migrant was killed over a very small thing and people in Diepsloot did not value the life of foreigners. After the death story that I had heard about, a trip to Diepsloot was imposing. I decided to gain access into the place through finding contacts of people who stay there and using them to snowball. This way I felt insulated from the threat of violence that I had heard about. Fieldwork in Diepsloot revealed a different type of social organization compared to Yeoville, Hillbrow and Newtown. Although there were tuck-shops owned by people who were foreign, it was not easy to locate other foreigners in the manner that I had done in Yeoville and Hillbrow by simply walking in the streets. When I contemplated my friend's warning and the seemingly camouflaged presence of Zimbabweans in Diepsloot I contemplated removing the township from my research sites. However, as Apter (2005: 100), discovered in his efforts to examine the "politics of orisha worship as a space for contesting political authority" the very impenetrability of the realm of the deep knowledge he sought was not just a barrier. Instead, as he puts it, "[t]he very barriers that so effectively blocked my access to deep knowledge should not be seen as a problem to overcome, but were themselves part of the ethnographic solution, to be documented as socially significant data" (Apter, 2005: 101). Innovating much, like Apter, I noted that the comparatively restricted visibility of Zimbabweans in Diepsloot constituted one of the structural differences and behaviours which spoke to the situatedness of Zimbabweans in Diepsloot. I proceeded to uncover networks of Zimbabweans through contacts and snowballed to get a reasonable population of migrants. Quite interestingly my entry into Fourways also uncovered more research participants from Diepsloot something that I explain fully below.

4.4.4 Fourways: the elusive affluent population

I had included Fourways somewhat naively with the hope of uncovering a wealthy segment of Zimbabwean migrants. Promises from friends about Zimbabweans they knew in Fourways fed into my belief that I could find a meaningful sample of affluent Zimbabweans there. However, trips to Fourways revealed that access to the specific type of Zimbabweans was not going to be easy. Fourways presented itself to be a largely impenetrable community. The neighbourhood was very quiet and unlike the bustle of the other sites there were only private cars on the road; while the houses

were fenced off and stood behind electric fences and securely locked gates. Some residences had CCTV cameras. Moving close to the fences would elicit loud barks from dogs.

While in the other areas, such as Hillbrow, Yeoville and Diepsloot, the road, even in the heart of the neighbourhood, functions as a site for various social and economic activities, in Fourways there were few people on the road. The road played a different function in a way linked to the upmarket profile of the area. Those on the road were mostly whites and engaged in physical exercise and jogged along the road. The black people visible on the road were dressed in what I took to be work clothes. The men were in work-suits while the women wore domestic uniforms, some with aprons. These people turned out to be running errands and did not have the time to be part of my research. One man pointed this out stating, "*Ziyabuya, ngithunywe ngumlungu mfethu*" (it's tight my brother, my boss has sent me on an errand). From the structure and organization of the area it became apparent that the particular research participants I wanted in Fourways would elude me[24]. In light of the seemingly immovable barriers in my way, I opted to go back to Johannesburg city centre and re-group. As I was walking to the shopping mall, at a traffic light intersection I saw some men who were standing on the side of the road carrying placards that displayed their skills. It is from these job seekers that I found my first interviewees who later advised me to go to the shopping mall and look for car cleaners. At the shopping mall I encountered the car cleaners and most of them were females. One respondent was from Tembisa, the other one from Four Ways (staying at a cottage), with the rest staying in Diepsloot. Gray (2003: 17–18) asserts that we should leave room to let our research dazzle and surprise us. My research in Fourways did surprise me when it took an unexpected turn, and I uncovered Zimbabwean migrants that I did not anticipate- those from Diepsloot. This discovery allowed me to analyze how migrants deal with crossing two orders of indexicality in terms of their identity and language practices.

I managed to interview the group of women at the ZCW located in Fourways. I was able to observe them and other workers in action. The cleaners spoke to potential

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[24] I was confronted by the barriers of studying *high up* the socio-economic ladder because the area was not easy to access.

clients in English who were in the majority white. Upon further dialogue with the respondents I discovered that their knowledge of the English language was limited and rigidly oriented towards their work. They could greet clients and ask for business, as well as tell the client how much the different services cost. They would, for example state, "How are you Sir/Madam, may I clean your car, its forty rand." They would do this while showing the client the fees catalogue that all of them had. They would end their conversations with "thank you Sir" and "thank Madam" depending on the sex of the client.

At times the communication between the car washers and clients would be affected seemingly by the cleaners' failure to understand the accent of their clients; or by their failure to fully express themselves. In some cases, their targeted clients would simply ignore the car wash workers at getting attention and not respond to their greetings. Notably the car wash workers code switched depending on who they were speaking to. For example, during an interview one car washer spoke to her Pedi and Ndebele supervisors in Pedi and Ndebele respectively.

When the cleaners had time to themselves, such as when they had no clients or during lunch time they communicated amongst themselves in Zimbabwean Ndebele. During this time, they shared jokes which were formulated around their experiences and interactions with clients. They would mimic the behaviours of their clients- laugh at the various attitudes, accents and conduct of their clients; and how they were turned them down by some.

4.5 Dealing with agentic and interested human subjects: some sticky situations in the field

Riach (2009) speaks of sticky situations in research and how they engender participant focused reflexivity. In this study, I encountered some sticky situations of my own that I had to navigate. These are problems that have been noted to be associated with studying human and knowing subjects (Bourdieu, 1987).

Firstly, the Zimbabwean migrants found it odd that as a Zimbabwean migrant in South Africa; I was asking them about the lives of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. They were of the view that I was part of this world and shared in the experiences and as such I should already know what I was looking for. As one

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migrant remarked, "You know how it is in South Africa. You are a Zimbabwean are you not?" For them being a Zimbabwean meant that I was in possession of the knowledge that I was looking for. As such, some would be very general in their responses assuming that I would tap into my own knowlegde and experiences to connect the dots. Such responses reveal this perspective, "The police, ah you know them. You know how they are." There was constant reference to my knowlegde as a 'Zimbabwean.'

While this attribution of insiderness reduced the distance between me and the respondents, I was aware that it also threatened to blur my lenses and line of vision because although I was Zimbabwean, I did not have the deep knowledge that the respondents had (cf. Narayan, 1993). As such, I had to explain to the research participants how experiences differ and are not necessarily communal; thus I emphasized that what I was interested in was their own specific knowlegde experiences, and worldview. I also drew from migrants' experiences by asking for narratives that are also biographical.

I also noticed that migrants expected the research to be a way of worming my way into asking political questions. They thought that my interest in language was a trick question type of negotiating my way into a political discourse. Zimbabwe appears to have become so politicized to the extent that approaching a Zimbabwean about research strikes the potential respondent as something that will eventually delve into Zimbabwe's national politics. Needless to say most Zimbabweans are pensive about participating in political studies because they are never certain about the motivations of the researcher and the repercussions of saying the unsaid about Zimbabwean politics.

In some cases my research collided with expectations from some potential respondents. On one occasion in Yeoville while doing some grocery shopping with a Shona speaking colleague, I met a Zimbabwean woman who was drawn to our English-Shona code-switching who then joined in on our conversation. When we bought bananas she weighed them for us and took the opportunity to ask us to "help our sister with anything even two rand." I gave two rand, and took the opportunity to introduce myself and my study. Having secured an appointment for later that evening, I met Tsitsi, who was carrying two paper bags. She asked me to help her

carry them while we walked and spoke about my research. When we went by a corner where there were people selling meat, chicken giblets and some mealies, Tsitsi, said to me, "I love mealies. Can you get me some mealies and some meat?" I responded that I had no money, I would have loved to. Thereafter, my communication, with Tsitsi changed its tone. Although, I had already articulated my research to Tsitsi and got the promise for an interview, Tsitsi suddenly asked, "What questions did you say you want to ask me by the way? I think I should get home now if my brothers see me walking with a man they will not like it." And so my promised interview was gone.

Tsitsi was not the only one to, like any agentic human being, to develop, her own perspective and expectations from my interest in talking to her. One respondent, Ndumiso gave me an interview in Yeoville. Later on he saw me in a bar with other migrants where I was engaged in interviews. He must have watched me for a while in the presence of other migrants, before he approached me and said, "Hello Gugulethu, do you remember me?" When I said, I did and warmly acknowledged his presence he stated, "I thought you were ignoring me because you have got what you wanted from me. I was very cross with you and really wanted to see if you use people then not even greet them when you meet them again" I reassured Ndumiso I had not noticed his presence in the bar but I was happy to see him.

Such attachment and demand occurred with Dumisani a migrant who became my unofficial research assistant akin to Radin's (1970) untrained research assistants (Radin 1970 in Gupta & Ferguson, 1997). Although Dumisani is not sociologically and professionally trained he has worked as a security guard but by the time I started fieldwork he was not working. After a number of interviews and dialogues with Dumisani, I realized that his job had given him a very good grasp of the city, including unofficial routes because when he worked he would at times walk to work if he had no money for transport. Dumisani had knowlegde of the street which would have escaped any professionally trained research assistant; as such he became my navigator and was available to walk with me around Yeoville, to Hillbrow, Newtown and any place, I needed to get to. When I had meals in the evening, I would share with Dumisani and he became a regular visitor where I was staying in Yeoville. I would discuss my study with him in non-scientific terms and plan where I would go next. He would come in the morning eager to accompany me to any research site.

When I left after completing the research, Dumisani was very distraught and nearly in tears. Dumisani's life and my encounters with him exposed me to the precarious lives of some of the migrants in the inner city area who at times have no clue where their next meal will come from.

In Diepsloot Mafana was very pensive about engaging in the research project even though Thulisile had linked me to him. The thought of being linked to someone he did not know on the basis of being a Zimbabwean was unnerving for him. Although I eventually had an interview with Mafana, I noticed how respondents were uncomfortable in the interviews in Diepsloot. The situation compared differently to the other Diepsloot respondents that I interacted with in Fourways. While in Diepsloot migrants appeared tense, in Fourways we had more relaxed conversations.

With regards to on site data gathering techniques, I primarily relied on the triangulation of qualitative interviews and observation. Patton (2002), notes that unstructured interviews and participant observation are complementary data gathering techniques that are both fundamental in exploring intricate phenomena such as human behavior and social reality.

4.6 Specific data gathering techniques

In conducting this research I did a wide ranging literature review in order to situate my study within existent knowledge in the academic fields of sociology, social anthropology and sociolinguistics. I engaged in a selective reading across migration, sociology, social anthropology, socio-linguistics and linguistic anthropology focusing on texts that spoke to the primary questions of this study. This was an iterative and on-going process throughout the research project. This reading focused on socio-linguistic literature and work specifically linking language, identity and migration, as well as work focusing on Zimbabwean migration.

In terms of interacting with research participants and getting access to their life worlds and the meanings they attach to their social existence I employed interviews and observation. I aimed to get at least eleven in-depth interviews which were balanced in terms of the gender and ethnicity of the respondents. I had a total of seventy interviews, and I managed, in the neighborhoods of Yeoville, Hillbrow,

Newtown and Diepsloot, to create a 'core' group of migrants I intensively interacted with, and followed on throughout the research process to get integrated portraits into their lives. Such portraits were very important in checking and balancing the general themes emerging from the data.

Interviews have been widely recognized as critical data gathering techniques with regards to information that pertains to "people's experiences, inner perceptions, attitudes, and feelings of reality" (Fontana & Frey, 2005). The productivity of interviews is aptly described by Benny and Hughes (1956) who refer to modern sociology as the 'science of the interview' (Burgess, 1984: 83). Stake (2006: 29) notes that interviews allow us to gain access into "the details of life that researcher is unable to see for him or herself […] by interviewing people who did see it…" The non-standardized, in-depth and conversational nature of unstructured interviews complements the objectives of this research to approach the social reality of Zimbabwean migrants from below. The intricate and multifaceted nature of social reality and human behavior can be critically engaged through the use of unstructured interviews. Furthermore a composite portrait can be produced without the restrictions of any 'a priori categorization' which might constrict the scope of analysis (Punch, 2001).

Eastmond (2007: 1), for instance, notes that:

> For researchers, (stories) … provide a site to examine the meanings people, individually or collectively, ascribe to lived experience. Narratives are not transparent renditions of 'truth' but reflect a dynamic interplay between life, experience and story. Placed in their wider socio-political and cultural contexts, stories can provide insights into how forced migrants seek to make sense of displacement and violence, re-establish identity in ruptured life courses and communities, or bear witness to violence and repression

In light of this, I incorporated narratives into the interview components. While conversational in nature, I steered the interviews around specific themes, such as structuring of language in different spaces that migrants found themselves in. I focused on understanding the different groups of people or interlocutors Zimbabweans met in different spaces, and the nature of interactions and languages used in these encounters. In order to also gain access to issues of power and politics of linguistic interaction, I would, for example request respondents to narrate or tell me of a story where they encountered a scenario that compelled them to censor their

linguistic practices, hide their identity, or scenarios where they witnessed any such related scenario. This prompted a lot of productive stories which revealed shifts in posture, self-representation and presentations of identity across different 'orders of indexicality'. They spoke of having to alter their posture but always feeling out of place.

In light of the need to get an intimate grasp of the lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants I also engaged in observation. Participant observation is regarded as a fundamental part of research because it allows "first hand observation" (Hammersley, 1989: 76). In summation these two offer us a window into the 'worlds' of our respondents. However, this observation was restricted to those spaces that I got access into such as public spaces in the different research sites. Goffman (1989) notes that observation involves a keen utilization of our senses in looking and listening very carefully. This approach was particularly useful in such a study where focus is also on the less tangible aspects of culture, but is rather on the elements of culture themselves (Geertz, 1974). Observation allowed me to gain entry into the social and cultural setting of the research participants as well as into their actions, processes and experiences. Salient and intangible aspects of human action or the ethos of culture (Geertz, 1974) can be usefully captured by an interaction with the world of the individuals at the centre of the research problem. The merits of observation are that the researcher becomes part of the community and is the chief apparatus for capturing events as they transpire. Through participant observation I was part of the lives, experiences and activities of those being studied (Becker, 1958). This allowed me to experience with the social reality of Zimbabwean migrants in five research sites as it obtained. Participant observation offered me a window into the interpretation of intricate unique behavior patterns, symbolism, social processes and reality that constitutes the world of Shona and Ndebele migrants in Johannesburg.

I used two methods of data recording, i.e., a digital recorder and note taking. While I recorded most of the interviews, I would also take notes of what I observed and things that stood out in different interview contexts. In other situations where interviews developed from spontaneous chats and where I felt recording or taking notes would interrupt the flow of things I would resort to Goffman's (1989) technique of mentally taking notes, and then jotting down the interview as quickly as I could

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after talking to the research participants. Thereafter, I transcribed the interviews for analysis as detailed in the data analysis section.

4.7 On the limits and possibilities of situated capital: the insider and outsider complex

Gray (2003: 17) notes that "the kinds of contemporary cultures we are interested in are those which, to a greater or lesser extent, we inhabit ourselves." I, a Zimbabwean migrant, currently a PhD student in South Africa, was interested in the lived experiences of other Zimbabweans in South Africa. I am proficient in English, Ndebele and Shona which are the three most widely diffused and hegemonic languages in Zimbabwe. In addition to this as a Ndebele speaker, I benefited from Ndebele's mutual intelligibility with the South African language varieties of Zulu and Xhosa. In this regard I was an "insider" (Narayan, 1993:671) with a cultural and linguistic *habitus* which had some affinity with that of my research participants.

In addition to this, I was able to draw on my situated capitals to minimize the gap between myself and the research participants where possible. For example, approaching an elderly Shona lady in Yeoville, who had drawn my attention by her heavily accented and incorrect 'Zulu' as she attempted to draw a customer's attention to her wares on a street pavement, I was able to courteously address her; "Maswera sei mama? Ndanzwa muchitaura… iZulu here kana kuti iXhosa?" (Hello mother, I heard you speaking…was that Zulu or Xhosa?"). Mai Chisi laughed, "Ha kungo yedza mwanangu" (Ah I am just improvising my child). Later on in the interview which I conducted in Shona I tried to observe the cultural mores of respect suited with the woman's disposition. My reading into her reference to me, as "mwana wangu" (my child) allowed me to gauge the relevant cultural mores of respect to deploy during the interview.

In deploying my situated capitals during the research process, it was not lost to me that the frame for similarity and difference is very complex. In the same vein that 'insiderness' has been celebrated as offering us a line of vision that may not be accessible to 'outsiders', there is a warning that insiderness may also impede research. Stephenson and Greer raise the following questions point to five sets of issues. They ask:

> First, the extent to which familiarity with the culture is of assistance when translating observations into data as they ask: will researchers recognise patterns in a society in which they are thoroughly acculturated? Are there problems in selecting what to study? Will researchers give full coverage to situations with which they are already familiar? Is the researcher who is a 'native' in a better position to elucidate meanings in events? (Stephenson & Greer in Burgess, 1984: 18).

Narayan (1993: 670) observes that "the loci along which we are aligned with or set apart from those whom we study are multiple and in flux." Merton argues that research practices based on a privileging of race and ethnicity as benchmarks of insiderness, what he terms "insiderism" (Merton, 1972: 11) is akin to "balkanization of social sciences with separate baronies kept exclusively in the hands of insiders bearing credentials in the shape of one or another ascribed status." Such a position implies that groups can only be understood by one of their own (Merton, 1972: 13). Merton argues that in reality there are a number of divisions within these social groups that complicate the axis of insiderness and outsiderness. Hammersely and Atkinson thus note that "the ethnographer needs to be intellectually poised between familiarity and strangeness; and, in overt participant observation, socially he or she will usually be poised between stranger and friend" (Hammersely & Atkinson 1993: 112 in Burgess 1984). As I noted in the section dealing with 'sticky situations' I was wary of the blurring of lenses that comes with being bestowed an 'insiders' status ' by migrants which would result in gaps in their responses which would be tailor made for 'one of us who knows what's happening.'

In deploying my 'situated capital' I was aware that my social class, age, experiences and other subjectivities meant shifting identifications with the research participants. As Geertz (1974) asserts in his critique of the Malinowskian 'chameleon' approach of replicating the *being* of research participants, the trick is to understand how research participants make meaning and with what- in short focusing 'on the construction of their symbolic world.' Willis' (1980), injunction "to leave room" for us becomes possible if "we acknowledge(s) the dynamic nature of cultural and social processes…" (Willis in Gray, 2003: 18). Although, at the frame of language at a general level I shared some affinity with the Zimbabwean migrants under study, because I left space to be surprised; I was 'surprised' by the shifting meanings and fluidity of language across spaces. Migrants noted for example that they speak 'IsiZulu semaflethini' in (Yeoville and Hillbrow) meaning *the Zulu spoken by those*

who resides in flats? They asserted that 'isiZulu semaflethini' which they spoke was different from the 'isiZulu sekasi' spoken in townships; and also from the Zulu spoken in the rural areas of KwaZulu Natal.

4.8 Data analysis and 'transforming the field into text'

Hatch (2002) states that "[d]ata analysis is a systematic search for meaning. It is a way to process qualitative data so that what has been learned can be communicated to others" (Hatch 2002:148 in Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007: 564). Hatch goes on to note that:

> Analysis means organizing and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories. It often involves synthesis, evaluation, interpretation, categorization, hypothesizing, comparison, and pattern finding. It always involves what Wolcott calls "mindwork". . .Researchers always engage their own intellectual capacities to make sense of qualitative data (2002: 148 cited in Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007: 564).

In conducting this study, I took data analysis not as a discrete and distinct phase of my research, but rather as an iterative and ongoing process. As Wiseman (1974:217) argues, "the constant interplay of data gathering and analysis is at the heart of qualitative research" (cited in Bryman & Burgess, 1994: 274). Bryman and Burgess (1994: 217) also emphasize the continuity of analysis throughout the tenure of a qualitative study, noting that the "research design, data collection and analysis are simultaneous and continuous processes". Through a continuous mode of analysis I was able, where need arose, to reformulate my questions in relation to insights emerging from the field and to search for data to answer emerging questions.

During the write up phase of this research project I continued with the process of data analysis with an explicit view of 'transforming the field into text.' A number of scholars note that our analysis is informed by the type of data we are dealing with and the aims of our research (Bryman & Burgess, 1994; Okely, 1983). In this study I was interested in qualitative data on Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants' experiences of being the 'Other' in Johannesburg. These experiences could only be garnered through a flexible and in-depth interrogation of migrants' social practices or

discourses. In light of my interest, the data I gathered necessitated thematic content analysis. Ruiz-Ruiz (2009: 2) states that:

> From a sociological standpoint, *discourse* is defined as any practice by which individuals imbue reality with meaning. When defined in these terms, discourse is found in a wide range of forms. Indeed, any social practice from a dance, ritual or a piece of music to a job contract, myth or culinary custom can be analyzed discursively.

In light of this I opted for thematic content analysis. Boyatzis (1998) defines thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently if goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic" (Boyatzis cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79; see also Smith, 1992). Holloway and Todres (2003:347) note that "thematizing meanings" is "one of the a few generic shared skills across qualitative analysis" (Holloway & Todres in Braun & Clarke, 2006: 78). Anderson (2007: 1) concurs and argues that thematic content analysis "is the most foundational of qualitative analytic procedures and in some way informs all qualitative methods." Anderson further posits that thematic content analysis can be classified as "low hovering over data" in which the researcher "groups and distills from the texts a list of common themes in order to give expression to the communality of voices across participants" (Anderson, 2007: 1). For Braun and Clarke (2006: 79) thematic analysis enjoys theoretical freedom that allows it to be deployed across the essentialist and constructivist divide and as such it "provides a flexible research tool, which potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data." Thematic analysis involves making sense of a wide range of social forms that define the discourse/ social practice of the research participants, the symbolic, ritualistic as well as verbal forms.

I employed thematic analysis in interpreting my data, in doing so I drew from Ruiz-Ruiz's (2009) position that sociological analysis dealing with discourse conceptualizes discourses as a range of forms defining the research participants' social practices. As such in my thematic analysis I followed Ruiz-Ruiz's (2009:4) suggestion that cognizant of this nature of discourse we have to proceed by way of three interrelated levels of analysis, that is, the textual, contextual and interpretation levels. This movement between texts and contexts as well as one's interpretation is particularly salient in sociological research in light of the fact that research is

organized through the interface of two social worlds, that is, that the researcher's world and that of the researched (Ruiz-Ruiz, 2009). In this manner, in conducting thematic analysis I was able to take context and issues of subjectivity positions attached to discourse into consideration.

On the basis of the aims of my research and questions I proceeded to unearth and uncover themes salient in the text (Attride-Stirling, 2001). In doing this I engaged in a range of "scrutiny techniques" which are aptly described by Ryan & Bernard (2003: 89–91) when they speak of developing themes through uncovering, 'metaphors and analogies, indigenous typologies or categories, repetitions and similarities' as well as 'theory related material' in the research participants discourse.

In engaging in this interpretation, I followed Anderson's (2007: 1) suggestion that in thematic content analysis:

> [e]very attempt reasonable is made to employ names for themes from the actual words of participants and to group themes in manner that directly reflects the texts as a whole. While sorting and naming themes requires some level of interpretation, "interpretation" is kept to a minimum.

I built upon this throughout the analysis as well as the framing of my eventual text. I was conscious of the two perspectives operational in developing this text, the scientific and the common sense universe of research participants (Geertz, 1974; Bourdieu, 2003). I therefore attempt a balancing of these acts in the manner Geertz suggests in his distinction of experience near and experience distant concepts.

In developing the data into this text, I made every effort to build my writing around the actual words, categories and metaphors of the research participants (Ryan & Bernard 2003). In this respect the chapters, titles and subtitles, are crafted around emergent themes as well as the actual words of the research participants. In my writing the generalizations I make stem from the themes and I attempt to foreground the stories of the participants in my work by way of direct quotations.

4.9 'Ethics' and 'protection' of research participants

In conducting this research I ensured that the research process adheres to the "epistemic imperative" (Mouton, 2001: 239). This entails a commitment to integrity and truth in scientific work as stipulated by the global epistemic community. To this

end, I followed my institution's regulations for conducting research, and applied and was cleared for research by Stellenbosch University's Research Ethic Council.

In light of the fact that this study involves people's lives and also delves into their intimate worlds I began my interface with the participants by getting their informed consent to participate (Ulin, Robinson, & Tolley, 2005). I took the position that the rights of research participants extend to their being given a fair option to either participate in the research or not. This choice can only be made when the researcher fully and clearly articulates what the study is about to the research participants. As Ericson notes:

> (1) it is unethical for a sociologist to deliberately misrepresent his identity for the purpose of entering a private domain to which he is not eligible; and (2) it is unethical for a sociologist to deliberately misrepresent the character of the research upon which he is engaged. (Erikson 1967: 373 in Burgess, 1984: 160).

I notified the research participants that the information I gather will contribute to a research thesis and other academic work such as articles and will also be disseminated and discussed in different academic forums. However, I pledged to ensure that these processes do not compromise or jeopardize the lives of the participants in any way. As De Laine (2000: 178) notes that being "ethically conscious" entails ensuring that the study does not put participants in any type of harm. In order to give a voice to my research participants without exposing them to any risk, I requested to use pseudonyms, and the research participants acceded to my request. I attempt to mark migrants' ethno-linguistic belonging by designating the pseudonyms that reflect their ethnolinguistic identities. In addition to this, I also designate pseudonyms to certain workspaces so that I do not expose migrants' lives although I retain the specific locations and everything else related to these workspaces. In my write-up I strived to respect the research participants, as I did during the research process. I draw from De Laine (2000: 2) that, "[t]he author must accord the subject the same respect in print as would be conveyed in the face to face situation; one must not say in print what would not be said to someone's face."

4.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have grappled with the politics of representation and interface with research participants. Drawing from critical works on reflexivity, I revealed how I deployed my own scholastic initiative in constructing the field which I found to be appropriate to my study on Zimbabwean migrants, who are widely dispersed in Johannesburg. This position departs from claims, by scholars like (Simpson, 2006: 125) that "you don't do fieldwork, fieldwork does you" which push to invisibility the mechanisms at play when we make theoretical and methodological choices about our fields.

I have also revealed the politics associated with interfacing with knowing and agentic subjects as well as being an *Other other* researcher among Other others. I had, as I revealed, to be wary of how my situated capitals which from certain vantage points made me an insider, and had the potential to of blur my research lenses. To this end, I had to remain aware of the relativity of experience and position among Zimbabweans. Furthermore, I had to be agentic and strategic in my continuous negotiation and positioning across multiple research sites.

Having articulated the practical mechanics of conducting fieldwork and interfacing with human subjects, I now proceed to the data analysis and discussion of findings. I evaluate how migrants experience Johannesburg across the five neighbourhoods of Yeoville, Hillbrow, Newtown, Diepsloot and Fourways. However, in the chapter that follows I specifically focus on data that demonstrates migrants' different habitus and how the habitus inform how migrants situate themselves in the different spaces of Johannesburg (what I call the politics of emplacement). In this chapter, I also theorize how the different neighbourhoods are not homogenous or equal but are fractured according to their own *spatial habitus*. In this sense habitus can be understood as an extension of the Bourdeusian field, and an analysis of how places are also agentic.

Chapter 5

From one context of struggle to another: Zimbabwean migrants' multi-faceted habitus for struggles in Johannesburg

> One's hood does not determine how one acts, nor does one's action determine the hood. Together, however, a symbiotic relationship arises and customs and practices become difficult to separate from the communities in which they occur (Richardson & Skott-Myhre, 2012: 10).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sketches and discusses the individual and communal *habitus* among Zimbabwean migrants noting how these habitus are contoured according to *class* differences which reflect the *social conditions* that migrants face in different regions Johannesburg. I focus on the critical aspects that are integral in Zimbabwean migrants' situatedness and negotiation of the politics of identity in Johannesburg, that is, the constitution of their *habitus* (social, cultural and economic capitals, as discussed by Bourdieu, (1991) and Swartz (1997) which they deploy in negotiating their place in Johannesburg. I argue that Zimbabwean migrants in this study exhibit a *Johannesburg-wide survivalist habitus* which can be disaggregated into *evasive, strategic, resilient and extra-legal tendencies.* Zimbabwean migrants in this study are also endowed with complex and flexible multilingual linguistic habitus which are characterized by a number of language varieties, which constitute varying expressive styles (repertoires). These habitus are strategically deployed as forms of capital to ensure survival in an exclusionary and hostile context. These fragments of *habitus* constitute *sub-habitus* which overlay the *foundational (Zimbabwean) habitus*. In constructing these diverse habitus, I am deploying my own scholastic mode, and breaking with migrants' "*sens pratique*" and imposing my own analytical frames (Bourdieu 1980 in Mesny, 2002: 60). I argue that the habitus is "a generative machine engendering many seemingly unrelated responses to many situations, but which a sociologist can demonstrate to be interrelated" (Bourdieu 2002:16-17 cited in Hillier & Rooksby, 2005: 8). I construct these sub habitus as a way of teasing out the diverse strategic shifts and movements between dispositions to suit particular social situations that happens in the various aspects of Zimbabwean migrants' lives

In this analysis, I also focus on what I term the *spatial habitus*, attributed to neighbourhoods which I argue is significant in Zimbabwean migrants' politics of emplacement (spatial choices, tastes perceptions and preferences). It can also be disaggregated to location/township (ghetto) habitus, suburban (emayadini[25]), and shack (umkhukhu[26]) habitus. The various *spatial habitus* are also regionally specific sub-habitus and part of the Johannesburg-wide *survivalist habitus*. However, I also separate it to nuance the analysis and illustrate the practical deployment of the spatial habitus and its outcomes in Zimbabwean migrants' locus in Johannesburg. A notable thing in this discussion is that the habitus is, on one hand, "*the unconscious"* (Bourdieu, 1990: 55) and on the other hand it is "the present past" (Bourdieu, 1990:54; Lee, 1997; Reay, Crozier, & Clayton, 2009). The former means that although the habitus is a structuring structure and what I term a Global Positioning System (GPS[27]) giving migrants a feel for the game or being "in one's place" (Goffman, 1959: 17), it is taken for granted and *misrecognized* by migrants as the common sense and natural outcome of their lives and social practices (cf. Bourdieu 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Reay et al., 2009); while the latter means that there is historicity to the habitus. As Bourdieu puts it, "the habitus, a product of history produces individual and collective practices- more history-in accordance with the schemes generated by history" (Bourdieu, 1990:53). The former entails that we sociologists have to locate the *habitus*- which we do through tracing and mapping out the regularity of practice by searching in the "mundane world of routine behaviour" (Robben, 1989: 571).

Although the habitus is the *present past*, Bourdieu notes that "the *habitus*, like every 'art of inventing', is what makes it possible to produce an infinite number of practices that are relatively unpredictable (like the corresponding situations)" (Bourdieu, 1990: 55). Furthermore, Bourdieu notes that "the good player, who is so to speak "the

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[25] Emayadini refers to a suburb which is usually a low density and high income and is different from ghettos or low income spaces.

[26] Umkhukhu refers to a shack which is a place of habitation which is made of different improvizational material.

[27] I compare the habitus to a GPS device in the sense that it does not dictate behaviour but maps out various possible routes of behaviour on the basis of interaction with a particular field.

game incarnate", does at every moment what the game requires. That presupposes a permanent capacity for invention, indispensable if one is to be able to indefinitely varied and never completely identical situations" (Bourdieu, 1990b: 63). In engaging in this analysis I take the Bourdieusian position that the habitus is the *present past* transposed to Johannesburg. As such I historicize migrants' formation of Zimbabwean migrants' habitus and the conditions that produced them. This historical turn is not exhaustive, and serves more as a glimpse into Zimbabwe's socio-political, cultural and economic state at a particular moment. However, by drawing on certain particular turning points in the socialization processes of Zimbabweans I am able to illustrate certain practices and representations that have come to be associated with Zimbabweans, which have been exported by Zimbabwean migrants to the South African context- what *Zimbabweans are reputed for*. When scholars speak of the educational levels of Zimbabwean migrants, their proficiency in English, and work ethic (Ranger, 2005; Mosala, 2008), these products are not natural but are by-products of socialization within a specific context- they are habituated practices (Bourdieu, 1991). To this end, I draw from migrants' biographical narratives to historicize their practices and also delve into certain conditions in South Africa that mirror conditions in Zimbabwe, which give a fertile ground for the reproduction of particular representations and practices in Johannesburg.

The key points I give attention to in historicizing Zimbabwean migrants' habitus, are the universal access to a British style education that followed Zimbabwe's independence which impacted positively on the education and literacy levels in the country (Ranger, 2005; Mosala, 2008; Makina, 2010) the hierarchized socio-economic and class differences, and the skewed political and cultural terrain that has *shonalized* Zimbabwe's linguistic and cultural market (Ndhlovu, 2005). In addition to these issues, I also focus on the "kukiya-kiya"[28] crisis context of the 2000-2008 (Jones, 2010) which is in fact the context that generated the bulk of the migrants in

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[28] By Kukiya-kiya crisis context, I refer to a period of unparalleled economic crisis in Zimbabwe between 2000-2008, where the Zimbabwean dollar was worth nothing. Zimbabweans in the country deployed inventiveness that was outside normal parameters of social practices. This was described as kukiya-kiya which means a process of repeatedly unlocking something. Jeremy Jones writes a very informative article about this period and how Zimbabweans inside the country experienced the context.

South Africa and elsewhere. Drawing from migrants' biographical narratives, I demonstrate how Zimbabwean migrants' history and the social conditions they emerge from allow us to understand how they experience South Africa and negotiate the politics of identity. In the section that follows I develop these ideas; that is, the migrants' spatial habitus and the politics of emplacement. I deploy the concept of the 'politics of emplacement' to make sense of the diverse meanings that migrants attach to the different places, and subsequently their spatial choices.

5.2 A bundle of survival resources: Zimbabwean migrants' habitus

5.2.1 A hard-work ethic, work space habitus: Zimbabwean migrants' narratives of English and workspace habitus

In terms of cultural capital, as discussed in the literature review chapter and the preceding section in this chapter, Zimbabwean migrants benefitted from, and are by-products of an education system that was tailored according to the British educational system (Ranger, 2005). Martin Prew, the director of the Centre for Education Policy Development argues that despite Zimbabwe's crisis, it would appear that South Africa can take some "neighbourly lessons from Zimbabwe" in terms of education. He discusses how Zimbabwe's teacher training system which evolved in the 1980s is a key contributor to Zimbabwe's successful education system. Prew points to the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality's 2007 report, which reveals that "Zimbabwe's grade sixes scored higher than South Africa's in both maths and literacy: 507.7 in literacy and 519.8 in maths, against 494.9 and 494.8, respectively" (Prew, 2012). Ranger discusses Zimbabwean's cultural capital with regards to migrants in the United Kingdom. Ranger (2005:407) states that:

> Zimbabwean asylum-seekers are very different from any others. Zimbabwe is the most literate country in Africa and the most familiar with English. The overwhelming majority of Zimbabwean refugees speak and write excellent English. They are Christian. They support Manchester United or Arsenal. Some of them enjoy cricket. Most are well educated.

Ranger goes on to note that "Zimbabweans don't need instruction in British language, belief and culture" (Ranger, 2005:407) In fact, "[a]sylum-seekers from other countries joke that Zimbabweans are astonished to find people who cannot

speak English- and also that they do not think much of the way the English speak it themselves" (Ranger, 2005:407-408).

Migrants' narratives echo Ranger's sentiments about Zimbabweans' proficiency in English. All the migrants that I spoke to argued that English was an important type of capital in South Africa. The migrants projected *good English* as a communal habitus (Bourdieu, 1990a) that Zimbabweans are generally endowed with, and it was discussed as one particular resource that gives Zimbabweans an edge over South Africans with regards to job performance and employment opportunities. The workspace and much of Johannesburg is presented as English dominated, with the townships and places with concentrations of low class South Africans as areas where English is largely tolerated. Zimbabwean migrants situate their capacity to speak English within a broader *cultural habitus* which is based on 'Zimbabwe's educational system which migrants perceive as superior compared to the South African one, and a general socialization to an ethic of hard and principled work, which migrants felt gave Zimbabweans a superior work-language competency, superior work ethic, and discipline towards work and life. In other words, there are Zimbabwean values "written into the body" (Bourdieu, 1990b: 63) of Zimbabwean migrants. These narratives echo Landau and Freemantle's (2010) findings that migrants invert the stereotypes levied against them through counter-discourses that paint South Africans as lazy, uneducated and backward (see also Muzondidya, 2010). South Africans are depicted as communally sharing these negative traits. This was resoundingly echoed by migrants across social class divisions, both the well-educated and the lowly educated. The way the migrants describe their English abilities is in most cases compared to social groups in South Africa, and in most cases South Africans. Migrants argue that they have a good grasp of English which South Africans do not. This position is more prevalent among the less educated migrants who argue that South Africans in the neighbourhoods they are in, as well as at work do not like to speak English. One migrant, Takunda states to this end that he has had to learn local languages because South Africans have a "problem" speaking English. He states that when he speaks South African languages South Africans are happy because "[t]hey also feel good you know because for some of them, speaking English every time is difficult for them but for me it's simple we used to speak it at home." This position is also reiterated by Nomalanga who states that South Africans

in Diepsloot "hate to be made to speak English" and they want to speak only their languages.

Another migrant Mxolisi also sees English as a resource that is generally possessed by most Zimbabweans. He states:

> As Zimbabweans our advantage is English. We are able to communicate in English well and as such we are able to get jobs. South Africans are not good in English. You see in my case the boss likes the way I do my job. I am able to fully communicate with him and we do our work professionally. Now the boss has made me his right hand man. Even when I am not at work he will call to ask about work issues because I know everything going on.

There are constant shifts in how migrants express their experiences. They alternate between "I work professionally" to express their individual experiences and "we are professional" to express what they see as communally experienced by Zimbabwean migrants. These shifts reflect the belief that these embodied practices are resources that are communally owned by Zimbabweans. Migrants not only reveal that they are comfortable speaking English, but, that there is, in Bourdeusian terms a "distinction" of cultural superiority that marks their spoken and written English (Bourdieu, 1984). In other words, they see themselves as possessing superior competencies in the work environment. From their assertions, it would appear that Zimbabwean migrants' cultural habitus (workwise) appears to encounter "a social world of which it is the product, it is like "fish in water": it does not feel the weight of the water, and it takes the world about it for granted" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 127). South Africans on the other hand are described and depicted by Zimbabweans as fish out of water. Munyaradzi states that:

> You see these South African boys are more concerned about having fun, clothes and beer. When I started working in this hotel I was just a bar man, but the lady who owns this place realized that I was organized and promoted me. Now I manage these boys. Previously, these guys could not even account for the money being made. But when I came in I suggested a lot of revenue saving things. I worked anytime the lady would call me even overtime but with South Africans they won't accept that. They forget that money comes from work.

Dumisani another migrant argues that he has lost count of the number of South Africans who have joined his company and whom he has been asked to train, but all for nothing because after a while they quit. He attributes their quitting to a "lack of seriousness when it comes to work and life." Pholani states that when he got a job

he had used fake papers but one day his boss confronted him noting, "Where are you from? This is not how a Zulu person speaks English. Tell me the truth. Where are you from? This narrative is somewhat extended by Makanza who states that:

> You get employed by the whites because of your fluent English language. There are just too many things that signal to them that you are Zimbabwean. Our appearance, behaviour and just the way we do things. We are very different from South Africans. You see what; we are running Johannesburg in terms of labour and expertise. In many companies in Johannesburg you can go and you will realize that there is a Shona director or top manager. Zimbabweans rule. Ask yourself why that is the case.

Nkululeko's statement is a good summation of how English and professionalism are discussed as by-products of socialization in Zimbabwe, hence becoming a "present past" (Bourdieu, 1990a). Nkululeko discussing how he uses English when communicating with his bosses and clients at work states that:

> It's work politics. The medium of communication at my work place is English. So I speak English but then there are the issues of whom I am speaking to. Most of my superiors are white. With my peers we are on the same level so I can speak Ndebele but even if the director is black you can't just start speaking to him in Ndebele. For me, I think it's also a matter of background but I believe that English which is the official language that should be used with superiors and clients.

Nkululeko argues that his background influences his choice of language at work. This theme is repeated by migrants who see themselves as emerging from a context that instilled in them a work ethic and competency that is beyond that of their South African counterparts. Mxolisi states in this regard that:

> You see I was arrested by a policeman and he asked me, "why is it that wherever I go there are Zimbabweans? If I go to a restaurant there are Zimbabweans, a shop everywhere. I told, "We [Zimbabweans] were not born lazy. We were born where we were taught to work. Even as a boy I grew up and was taught how to mop the house and apply floor polish the same way that girls were taught. I can clean a house. Here [South Africa] there's too much freedom. This work that I do with my hands, tiling, waterproofing, electrical wiring, I learnt it here. It's because we [Zimbabweans] don't put money first. We love to work. Locals [South Africans] will tell you that this job is too hard I can't do it. It's only now that they are getting into such jobs as security. They never wanted to do such jobs.

English is presented and discussed a sub-part of a particular Zimbabwean embodied practice, "incorporated history" (Thompson, 1991: 13) that predisposes Zimbabweans to behave in certain ways that are normatively different compared to

behavior by South Africans. Zimbabwean migrants frame their work ethic and behaviour in ways similar to Weber's "protestant ethic" (Weber, 1930), where migrants argue that there is a sense of duty that defines their outlook to work compared to South Africans who cannot defer gratification and are more focused on immediate pleasures.

5.2.2 Diglossic multi-lingual habitus? Different expressive styles of English, Zulu and other linguistic capitals

The Zimbabweans who participated in this study are all multi-lingual but their linguistic repertoires are different and constitute different expressive styles. Their multilingualism, to an extent, reflects Zimbabwe's socio-cultural and political system and the socio-cultural and political hierarchies. I articulate this in the following section. In spite of the communalization of English by Zimbabwean migrants as part of their habitus stemming from a common context, it is notable that there are grooves and differentiation in the types of English spoken by migrants. As Bourdieu has argued, individuals who are neighbours on the invisible space of positions are likely to have a more or less similar "volume of capital", "composition of capital" and "trajectory" habitus in social space (Bourdieu, 1987: 4). Notably, Zimbabwean migrants possessed unequal repertoires in the English language. There are basically two expressive styles of English (Englishes) that I came across in the field. These two expressive styles or repertoires mirrored the educational levels of the migrants, although there were other finer differences among the different speakers. On one hand, there was English spoken by the educated migrants who went past O' level, with some proceeding to University level. The proficiency and complexity of the English spoken followed these educational differences and hierarchies. On the other hand, there was English spoken by those migrants who have not attained secondary education. At least two thirds of respondents spoke this restricted English variety, i.e. more than forty out of a total of seventy. There were variations in this repertoire. As Mai Chisi states, "I can speak English but not the very deep English." In spite of these variations in English and the differentiated capacity to communicate, all migrants held the view that their English is superior to that of South Africans. This position was more resonant among the less educated Zimbabweans. MaiChisi reflects this aspect when she states that "I have done my business in places such as Alexandra where they can hardly speak English. You would try to communicate in

English but the person would not understand you because they are not educated." Despite this confidence MaiChisi reveals how her language is just a mixture of what can catch someone's attention and make sense regarding her business. I got a glimpse of a bit of her English which was mixed with Shona, Zulu and Xhosa. She was flagging down a client hollering, "Hallo…hallo makoti…"(Hallo Hallo bride).

While Takunda professed an unproblematic proficiency in English, our dialogue in English revealed that his English falls within a range typifying his educational status. His English appears to have functional currency related to his position as a security guard. In Bernstein's language Takunda exhibits a "restricted" English code" (Bernstein 1981). Other migrants like Dumisani, Mxolisi and Mkhululi revealed a similar restricted proficiency in English, with differences in terms of their competence. Nkululeko, Tambudzai, Gumbuka, Na Ncenga among other educated migrants reveal elaborate English codes (Bernstein, 1981). These elaborate codes (Bernstein, 1981) are not only reflective of the social conditions, that is, unequal class positions, that produced these habitus (i.e. education, universities) but are also an indication that the different migrants are not equal in what they can do in English (Blommaert, 2005). They have different English ammunition to use in their struggles.

With regards to proficiency in Ndebele and Shona, at a broad level Ndebele and Shona migrants reveal the ramifications of a Shonalized socio-cultural and political system (Ndhlovu, 2005; Ndlovu, 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009, 2012) whereby Ndebele speaking migrants are able to speak Shona, while Shona speaking migrants are not proficient in Ndebele. Most ethnic groups in Zimbabwe have been oriented by the state's ideological apparatuses, institutions and culture to speak Shona. As Ndlovu states, "Nation building in Zimbabwe has revolved around the promotion of mainly Shona and partly the Ndebele language and cultural norms" (Ndhlovu, 2008:7). This has "seen the Shona language approximating the role of the medium of expression for the entire Zimbabwean society" (Ndhlovu, 2005: 306). Even in Matabeleland Ndebele occupies a subordinate position and as Ndhlovu notes "Ndebele is presented as the only officially recognised national language of the Matabeleland region, but in real terms it always plays second fiddle to Shona, which has been groomed and developed to become the de facto national language of Zimbabwe" (Ndhlovu, 2005: 314). It is hardly, surprising that most Shona migrants in Johannesburg are not proficient in Ndebele because their habitus reflects the

symbolic domination (or symbolic violence) that the Shona language enjoys in Zimbabwe (Ndhlovu, 2005; Ndlovu, 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009, 2012). Ndebele speaking migrants on the other hand reflect a *subject and dominated cultural habitus*, where they have been socialized into Shona culture. These disparities are explained diversely by migrants. Shona speaking migrants like MaiChisi argue that "I never had any opportunity to learn Ndebele because there was no Ndebele where I stayed." Shona Vendor states "A lot of people as you know cannot speak Ndebele." When I inquire why this could be the case he states that it could be that some do not want to learn the language but in most cases, the reason is attributed to Shona speaking Zimbabweans "[n]ot meeting Ndebele people until they get here so it takes them time to learn…some do not have the enthusiasm to learn the language"

Ndebele speaking migrants on the other hand argue like Ntando that "Shona people are arrogant and they don't want to learn Ndebele yet they expect everyone to speak their language." Dlomo states that:

> In Zimbabwe Shonas do not want to learn Ndebele and some Ndebeles do not want to learn Shona. They find themselves strange neighbours who cannot communicate. When Shonas get here they struggle to learn Ndebele or Zulu, which they ignored at home as if their lives will end there. It is always good to learn different people's culture.

I noticed during the interviews and in interactions among migrants that Ndebele speaking migrants have a generally more flexible multi-lingual ability compared to their counterparts with regards to the Zimbabwean languages. They are able to speak Shona yet Shona speakers mostly cannot speak Ndebele except those like Marshall and Lillian who grew up in Bulawayo[29]. Others like Takunda not only claim to speak Ndebele but they say it is equivalent to Zulu and as such they speak Zulu too. However, when I switch interviews from Shona or English to Ndebele they struggle and can only speak very rudimentary Ndebele, in some cases, a few phrases with a heavy Shona accent were uttered. However, as I will reveal in the chapter that follows these languages do not make sense in and of themselves but they have to be understood In relation to where they are deployed, among particular

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[29] Bulawayo Zimbabwe's second biggest city is in Matabeleland-a Ndebele speaking Province.

inquisitors and particular contexts. These linguistic displays are part of the survivalist habitus, and attempts to make things work.

It becomes apparent that migrants' linguistic habitus do not only emerge from particular social conditions but also become meaningful in particular fields. In this regard, I noted a sociolect which is spoken by Zimbabwean migrants in Yeoville which they call isiZulu semaflethini which emanates from Zimbabwean Ndebele and indexes Zimbabweans who speak 'Zulu'. But, as one migrant describes it, "it is neither Zulu nor Ndebele." This sociolect, isiZulu semaflethini which I also term the 'Other Zulu', reflects in part the fracturing of Johannesburg's spaces into domains for South Africans and domains for Other others; yet it also reflects agentic deployments of language by Zimbabweans. This Other Zulu is also diglossic[30] but the underlying commonality is that it is spoken by Zimbabweans in the flats and it indexes them as Zimbabweans. Some like Mai Chisi can barely come up with a Zulu or Ndebele sentence but mix bits and pieces in her "kujanukajanuka" repertoire (making do repertoire) so she can sell her products to Shona, Ndebele and other South African language speakers. This "Other Zulu" appears ranked lower than English in the linguistic hierarchy of Yeoville particularly when it comes to interface not limited to Zimbabweans. It has functional use in shops and taxis[31] where the business of the day may be done in South African languages. Within the home domain, it is ranked higher than English by Zimbabwean migrants. Its productivity lies in that it is mutually intelligible with Zulu which migrants say most Zimbabweans can speak or at least understand.

I have articulated here the diverse linguistic habitus that are products of Zimbabwe's socio-cultural and political field, and reflect the power hierarchies and politics of Zimbabwe, which are however adapted to the South African context. I did not dwell on their particular contexts and situations of use in this chapter because my intention

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[30] It is diglossic in the sense that even Shona speaking people speak it in their functions in Yeoville, for example, when they speak to Ndebeles. It is part of the linguistic landscape in Hillbrow and Yeoville which is characterized by code-switching.

[31] In these encounters its functional utility lies in bridging communication with others who may be reluctant to speak English or in spots seen as not associated with English such as in taxis.

here was primarily to tease out, sketch and demonstrate the diverse habitus among Zimbabwean migrants. In the next two chapters I focus on these habitus as operating in specific fields and functional contexts. . However, before proceeding to the next chapter, I discuss below, the politics of emplacement and the various sub-habitus wider Johannesburg survivalist habitus. Although the politics of emplacement reflects and is part of the survivalist habitus, I, separate these two issues in order to clearly analysis and articulate their practical workings. This allows me to delve into various dynamics that contribute to Zimbabwean migrants' multi-layered survivalist habitus.

5.3 The politics of emplacement: spatial habitus in Johannesburg

There is a 'politics of emplacement' that is apparent in Zimbabwean migrants' narratives. By 'politics of emplacement,' I refer to, on one hand how migrants rank different places and corollarily make 'place make' in the different neighbourhoods. On the other hand, I refer to the diverse perceptions, tastes, and appreciation of different places by Zimbabwean migrants. In other words, there are diverse *spatial habitus* at a communal and individual level, that is, "system[s] of schemes of perception and […] system[s] of perception and appreciation" (Bourdieu, 1987: 19) of different places, which inform the place making endeavours by migrants. There is historicity to migrants' spatial habitus, and the texture of the politics of emplacement reflects the "social positions" (conditions) in which the different migrants' habitus were "elaborated" (Bourdieu, 1987: 19). As Bourdieu argues, class divisions (the divisions (differentiated positions) of social space) also reveal divisions in terms of visions or perceptions and schemes of appreciation (Bourdieu, 1987). In explaining these differentiated visions (or points of view), Bourdieu notes that, "'[f]or example, we say a piece of clothing, furniture, or a book: "that's pretty bourgeois" or "that's intellectual"' (Bourdieu, 1987: 19). With regards to residential places, we say poor or low income, middle income and affluent places. The questions I seek to answer here are: What are their different points of views/ visions about the different places in Johannesburg? Where do such perceptions and schemes of appreciation stem from? How do Zimbabweans rationalize their place making activities? What do they tell us about Zimbabwean migrants' habitus?

Richardson and Skott-Myhre (2012) speak of a habitus of the hood. Deploying the concept of hood they show how "[r]esidents [in the hood] associate certain life possibilities with their surroundings, which they internalize and act upon. This conception has both real and symbolic consequences for individuals inside as well as outside the hood." They go on to note that being in the hood "pushes people in certain directions and creates values, practices, and judgements that are often shared within similar communities" (Richardson & Skott-Myhre, 2012: 9). To underline how the hood produces a certain habitus they deploy a common refrain, "you can take me out of the hood but you can't take the hood out of me" (Richardson & Skott-Myhre, 2012: 9). In other words, one's history and living conditions in a particular place continue to shape one's practices and world view even after one has ceased one's residence in the hood, or any other place. Cooper (2005:304) speaks of the internalization of one's "dwelling place" as producing "a kind of knowing one's way about [that] implies a freedom to move in some domain or other, which is more akin to sure-footedness" (cited in Richardson & Skott-Myhre, 2012: 9)..

Lee (1997: 127) argues that places, that is, towns, cities, regions, etc, "have a habitus," which constitutes "certain relatively enduring (pre)dispositions to respond to current social, economic, political or even physical circumstances in very particular ways, ways in which other cities, with different habitus, formations may respond to very differently."   This "habitus of location" is about the "practice of the city" or the "way the city behaves" (Lee, 1997: 133). Lee elaborates this habitus of location as a particular history that defines and shapes the "practice of the city." He states that:

> In making this assertion I want to move away from a conception of local history which is effectively nothing more than the accumulation of particular historical events, facts or incidents, and likewise a notion of 'heritage' as merely a particular, institutionally sanctioned public display of artefacts of the past. Instead, it is vital to see a location as a set of sometimes contradictory, social processes from which complex, but often contradictory, but often relatively coherent, place-specific cultural orientations are forged.

I extend this notion of a "habitus of location" (Lee, 1997: 133) to the city of Johannesburg and also to the different neighbourhoods noting that there are certain specificities to the "practices" and "behaviors" of these five neighbourhoods. I argue that the habitus of place and the habitus of the individuals have to be compatible much as Bourdieu argues that the world is in the individual and the individual is in

the world (cf. Swartz, 1997). As I have already noted, the spatial habitus can be disaggregated to location/township (ghetto) habitus, suburban (emayadini), and shack (umkhukhu) habitus. From migrants' narratives, it appears that the township and suburbs are "written into [their] bodies, into the biological individual" (Bourdieu, 1990b: 63). Being a "product of individual history" (Bourdieu, 1990a: 57) and "social conditionings" (Bourdieu, 1990a: 58), Zimbabwean migrants' habitus reflect their spatial practices in Zimbabwe and associated lifestyles. But what is specific about these neighbourhoods that gives them these *habitus*?

Robben (1989) focuses on habits of the home among Brazilian fishermen in a fishing town in Brazil. Among other things, Robben's article discusses how "[m]aterial demarcations, transitional spaces, and social trajectories reinforce the boundaries of the sociospatial organizations of house and society" (Robben, 1989: 582). Robben argues that these three domains which he isolates as salient in the lives of the fishermen are characterized by certain relationships which are reproduced in a slightly modified version in the house (Robben, 1989).

In articulating the habitus of location, I argue much like Robben that the Zimbabwean migrants' lives are characterized by an oscillation between the house (or domestic space), the street and other public spaces (the rest of the neighbourhoods). I find these three spatial levels salient because they are the most productive points of contact between the neighbourhoods' residents. Bachelard states that, "[f]or our house is the corner of the world. As has often been said, it is our first universe, a real cosmos in every sense of the world" (Bachelard in Robben, 1989: 570). Issues of control over the streets are behind the various struggles between the City Councils and street vendors and other undesirables in the street. The streets are also symbolically linked to most of South Africa's protest politics, notable in street marches, what Bundy (1987: 303) calls "pavement politics."

Diepsloot is a low income place, what Wacquant describes as places in the lowest level of the hierarchy of places of the metropolis. Such places are characterized by poverty and limited access to social and health amenities. In addition to this, from migrants' accounts, residents in Diepsloot hate speaking English. Migrants reveal that there are a number of languages spoken in Diepsloot such as Pedi, Shangaan, Venda, Zulu, Xhosa and Tswana. From the description of migrants in appears that

there is no single hegemonic language in Diepsloot, although migrants note that Pedi is more diffused in the area, and even spoken in the taxis.

Migrants note that people speak all these different languages but English appears to be "hated." Notably, this hatred for English is described by some migrants as deriving from an inability to speak English. This aversion or inability to speak in English can be linked to the fact that there is usually a correlation between poverty and access to education. The domestic spaces in Diepsloot are characterized by intimacy because the architectural structures which are formal houses, shacks and backrooms are by their very designs predisposed to intimate distance and limited boundaries. Furthermore, from migrants' accounts, because South Africans are in the majority, Zimbabweans in Diepsloot have to get accommodation from South African landlords. The majority of migrants in Diepsloot revealed that they rent backrooms from South African landlords. These relationships with the landlords no doubt inform a particular power relationship and intimacy. As Robben (1989: 575) argues "the spatial structure is itself hegemonic- in the sense that it reflects a dominant and pervasive ideological conception of family relations." In this case, it is hegemonic because it defines the socio-economic relationships and the spatial distances (proxemics) between Zimbabwean migrants and their inquisitors (Hall, 2003).

From the house (domestic space), we can move to the street, where violence and vigilantism is a defining character of dealing with problems in Diepsloot. Gossman, College, & Premo (2012: 15) note that "[m]any Diepsloot residents also felt that mob justice was an unfortunate necessity." This "behaviour' and "practice" by Diepsloot is related to the general "dire conditions," and the belief that the police are part of the problem when it comes to infringements of people's rights (Bearak, 2009; Gossman et al., 2012). Benit argues that the tensions and violence in Diepsloot are a result of the status of Diepsloot's *history* as "a resettlement area for all the squatters in the north of the Greater Johannesburg area" which can be traced back to the 1990s (Benit, 2002: 50). These different people bring to the place different political organization including their leaders in previous settlements. Furthermore, there are the divide and rule tactics of provincial politicians (Benit, 2002). It is also common practice in Diepsloot that violence and tensions often deteriorate into xenophobic threats and attacks on foreigners (Gossman et al., 2012). Furthermore Diepsloot is

characterized by the CPF which are ambiguous in their functions as they can be corrupted through money. Bearak (2009) gives an account of one respondent's experiences with the CPF comrades. He states that:

> Those who fight crime and those who commit it are too often the same. The Comrades required a $20 fee before accepting Mr. Kaise's "case," and then returned with only the phone, which was broken. The day laborer regretted his decision. "The guy who robbed me must have paid them more," he said.

These are part of the markers that constitute Diepsloot's habitus- history and what informs how the neighbourhood "behaves", that is, "practice"(Lee, 1997). Misago (2011) discusses micro-politics across different neighbourhoods of Johannesburg which is characterized by politicians' struggles for power where they manipulate sentiments and whip up xenophobic sentiments against migrants as a critical dimension to understanding xenophobia. The variations in micro-politics are presented by Misago (2011) as what explains the anatomy of xenophobia whose outbreak and occurrence was not the same. It occurred in some, but not all places of South Africa. From migrants' accounts, there is a general discomfiture and wariness about Diepsloot. The streets and other public spaces in Diepsloot are spaces that some migrants like Takunda, Matambanashe and Thulisile avoid. Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot reveal that they choose to associate outside of Diepsloot in places where they have friends because Diepsloot is a place where they cannot have leisure time since it is difficult to associate with South Africans. Takunda, for example, states that in Diepsloot "we associate as Shonas." Mafana on the other hand states that you have to be wary about people in Diepsloot because you cannot fully know and trust their intentions. There is resilience (resilient habitus), strategy (strategic habitus) and evasion (*evasive habitus*) in dealing with social relations within Diepsloot. In the first case, migrants note that they have to bear with being in Diepsloot and stomach the discomforts that come with being there. In the second case, they have to be wary and aware of people and their intentions in Diepsloot. Thirdly, migrants reveal an outward orientation and evasion of intimate and close connections with people in Diepsloot. This evasive habitus is notable among both Shona and Ndebele speaking migrants who say that they keep to themselves and do not associate with locals. Among Ndebele speaking migrants they are deliberate strategies of cross-identifications which migrants reveal are however not fool proof.

Yeoville and in Hillbrow are low income areas as well, however, they are slightly higher up the hierarchy of social places compared to Diepsloot. For example, they are not characterized by shacks and access to social amenities is better (Bremner, 2000; Benit, 2002). One can classify them as 'lessor ghettos compared to Diepsloot. In Yeoville and Hillbrow migrants argue that there is a multitude of languages spoken which typify the population. From different African languages such as different Nigerian dialects such as Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa, there is Lingala, French, Ndebele, Shona and Chichewa among other languages. Unlike in Diepsloot, migrants reveal that English is a very significant part of the language landscape of the two neighbourhoods. Migrants reveal that English is the vehicular language among different races and ethnolinguistic groups. This English is characterized by diverse expressive styles.

With regards to housing (domestic spaces) the two neighbourhoods are characterized mostly by flats, and migrants note that Hillbrow has more high-rise flats compared to Yeoville. Flats have ramifications for social distance and relationships in these two neighbourhoods. In terms of proxemics, there is no intimate domestic contact as is the case in Diepsloot, instead, as I discuss in chapter 6, the flats allow Zimbabweans to containerize themselves through the ukusheya (sharing) practice where the flat is divided and sub-divided among different people in order to distribute the rental responsibilities (Rasmussen, 2007; Silverman & Zack, 2008; Gossman et al., 2012). Space is therefore intimately related to practice (Lee, 1997; Robben, 1989). The streets of Yeoville and Hillbrow are more cosmopolitan in outlook and dominated by foreign presence (Bremner, 2000; Duponchel, 2009; Landau & Monson, 2008; Makina, 2010). The streets are animated by the presence of an informal market which is dominated by foreigners. Zimbabwean migrants are very visible in bars and different associational spaces in Yeoville. As Mxolisi notes, "most bars are full of Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants" at any given time in Yeoville. The streets are still sites of struggle as notable in the presence of city council officials, and amavoluntiya (volunteers) who are part of the CPF. The vigilantism discussed in Diepsloot is not a remarkable feature of either of the neighbourhoods although crime and fear are notable, particularly in Hillbrow. As Gossman, College and Premo note, the CPFs are part of organizations that cater for South Africans but have no significance for foreigners, essentially fracturing forms of

social organization into two, for foreigners (their forms of social organization) and CPFs and other South African residents' initiatives. Zimbabwean migrants in Yeoville as will be demonstrated in chapter 6, because of such a spatial structure- *habitus of location* have been able to develop their own networks and argue that Yeoville is a Zimbabwean colony. They have even developed a sociolect which signifies some solidarity and spatial distance from their hosts.

Newtown is also different from Diepsloot, Yeoville and Hillbrow and has its own *habitus*- that is its own *practice* and *behaviour* (Lee, 1997). Migrants reveal that there are many languages spoken in Newtown, such as different Nigerian dialects, Kiswahili, Ndebele, Shona, Zulu, and Xhosa among others. However English is presented as the vehicular language of the cosmopolitan population in the area. This can be attributed to the location of the migrants' residential complexes in the cultural precinct which is constituted by a heterogeneous low middle income class of people. Newtown is also characterized by flats like Yeoville and Hillbrow. However, the flats in Newtown are not High rise flats like those in Yeoville and Hillbrow. Furthermore, the social organization and normative structure in Newtown does not permit the same usage of flats one witnesses in Yeoville and Hillbrow in terms of sharing. There is close regulation and monitoring of the flats. In any case, *ukusheya as practiced in Yeoville and Hillbrow seems to be out of place*' in Newtown. People can share space, but this has to take note of the stipulations of the leases with regards to the number of people per apartment. This is unlike in Yeoville and Hillbrow where the spaces are stretched to their last degree of capacity.

Migrants in Newtown reveal that there are no neighbourhood watch committees and Community policing forums typifying those in Diepsloot, Yeoville and Hillbrow. Nkululeko reveals that security is provided within the complex and there are no other external political organizations that bring people together. This is reiterated by Mbadza. Newtown flats are more securely closed off from the public. There are security guards who man the gates and there are also access cards that are exclusively for residents. Entry is centralized in the hands of security who keep a record of who enters and who goes out. Newtown is also located in an area which is taken by the Johannesburg City Council to be important for tourism and as such there is policing that is focused on maintaining this image (Gossman et al., 2012).

The various demarcations, boundaries and the hierarchized relations of power infused into these spaces are important and shape the socio-spatial organization of the migrants, from their places of residence to the streets and other public places. Thus the habitus of location, how the neighbourhood "behaves", that is, its various social practices such as structuring in terms of languages spoken and openness to different identity repertoires impact on migrants' understandings and relationship to space. As will be shown in chapter 6, the habitus of place feeds into the stipulation and interpretation of the "powers of space" (Munn, 2003: 92), and how migrants within different locales come to understand open spaces, negative spaces and the various interdictions that are inscribed in space (Munn, 2003: 92). It is in this regard that Gieryn (2000) argues that places besides their material structures are "narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined"; and they have detectable and independent effects on social life" (Gieryn, 2000:466).

Having discussed the different neighbourhoods and their habitus it is important that we pay attention to migrants' *spatial habitus*, also noting how these are also by-products of history. A central notion that becomes of great utility in evaluating migrants' differentiated habitus and the politics emplacement and migrants' is the notion of *home* as articulated by the research participants. The notion of home as deployed by migrants is imbued with a number of meanings. It signifies a historical turn on the part of migrants, in that a past in Zimbabwe becomes a starting point of rationalizing the meaning of their spatial practices in Johannesburg. *Home*, which is a synonym for Zimbabwe is the standard measure and yardstick that migrants use to make sense of how they feel 'in-place' or 'out-of place' where they are located. In other words, there is a sense in which home serves as the- *if I was in Zimbabwe, I would not be living here; or this is more or less like where and how I lived in Zimbabwe or I am at home in this place* measure. The past becomes the present and a window into the future in rationalizing one's spatial and preference and locus (cf. Bourdieu, 1990a). The questions that emerge from this discovery are: how and why does Zimbabwe become the yardstick for framing what home is? An analysis of migrants' narratives reveals that at broad level, the notion of home is meant to

capture *emplacement* that resembles being at home in Zimbabwe[32]. However, it is also notable that *home* also denotes specific locations in Zimbabwe. Thus migrants make constant reference to the neighbourhoods they come from in making sense of Johannesburg. Phathisa, for example, describes Hillbrow as synonymous with Bulawayo's townships, such as "Njube, Nkulumane, Mpopoma, Emakhandeni, Mzilikazi, Makokoba and Entumbane." Zimbabwe as a standard measure for home speaks about places with a degree of predictability in terms of security from violence, prejudice, and also with familiarity in terms of culture, social practice, social networks, family, friends; feeling in-place and belonging. Samukile says that "Hillbrow is Bulawayo". Home then turns out to be a place that is familiar and also provides the familiar. *Home* provides access to culinary, social and cultural amenities that resemble those accessed at home. To use White's (1990) metaphor (again), home is a place that gives migrants "the comforts of home". In other words, home as used by the migrants to denote the reproduction of home away from home, where migrants' *spatial habitus* are well aligned with the place, and they are like "fish in water" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 127).

Below, I discuss migrants' perceptions about 'being in place' and 'out of place in Johannesburg,' noting how these perceptions feed into, and are in fact, a sub-part of the migrants' foundational habitus. As already alluded to, the spatialization patterns of migrants to a large extent appear to follow a class shaped socio-historical trajectory that impact on migrants' ''sense of one's place'' (Goffman, 1959: 17; Bourdieu 1990a). This 'sense of one's place' is a disposition, an inclination, that is, it is a sub-habitus of a broader *habitus* -issues of tastes, distinction and practices (which are articulated to, and reflect issues of power). The 'sense of one's place' defining migrants' spatial preferences and appreciations reflect the broader habitus of the migrant (habituated practices). In developing this analysis, I am not suggesting that there is a simplistic, neat and uni-linear movement, that is, a transfer of one status in Zimbabwe to another in South Africa. Instead, I am speaking about probable trajectories, and how foundational socialization and experiences inculcate

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[32] This is quite complex and we have to attempt tease out what Zimbabwe or any other place means for people in terms of belonging, social relations, network and security

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enduring dispositions and regularities in social situations and practice (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

This scenario of the habitus as "embodied history" (Bourdieu, 1990a: 56) is quite manifest among the Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants' appreciation of place in Johannesburg. There is a reproduction of Zimbabwe in Johannesburg with contours along class lines not only informing the materiality of migrants' lives but also dialectically feeding into migrants' mental schemata and appreciation of Johannesburg.

Mxolisi describes his spatial experiences and notion of home in the following narrative:

> When I came to Johannesburg in 2007, I stayed with my brother in Hillbrow. It was hot back then and even you would not have been able to stay there. I hated that place from the word go. Even now, I hate the place. Experienced people who had come before me and were more experienced in Hillbrow would reprimand you and emphasize that Hillbrow is a place where one moves with his eyes wide open because it is not safe. I wanted to return home after just being in Hillbrow for two weeks. I would complain to my brother about the fact that when he was not around I could not even go to the shops. You could not even answer the phone in the street. My brother decided that we move to Yeoville, and that is where I felt at home as if I was in Zimbabwe.

For Mxolisi being in Hillbrow was an experience that was radically removed from being at home. There was no security and his life was punctuated by fear. His feeling *out-of place* and *not belonging* pushed him to contemplating going back *home* to the security he knew. Although these experiences were related to his status as a novice migrant and the temporal issues of Hillbrow as over-policed with police specifically focused on 'illegal migrants,' Mxolisi reveals that he still does not feel in place in Hillbrow "even now." Contrarily, Yeoville struck Mxolisi as home- "as if I was in Zimbabwe." For Mxolisi, while there are similarities between Hillbrow and Yeoville, in reality there are major differences. Interestingly, in teasing out the similarities and differences between Hillbrow and Yeoville, Mxolisi deploys two townships in Bulawayo as spatial frames to assess his conception and vision of home. He states:

> You see what, I come from Emakhandeni. That is a very quiet place. It's a township, but it's different from Njube. Now imagine coming from Emakhandeni straight to Hillbrow. Man, even in Zimbabwe I couldn't feel comfortable in Mzilikazi. Now imagine how the experience was for me in Hillbrow. You see people being mugged in broad daylight almost daily.

Mxolisi's spatial tastes and appreciations are notably derivative from his experiences of home in Zimbabwe, specifically in Emakhandeni. Even in Zimbabwe, places like Mzilikazi made him feel 'out of place' and this is reproduced in Johannesburg. Although Hillbrow and Yeoville share a lot as low income zones, for Mxolisi there are finer nuances that impact on how he conceptualizes and experiences home. Yeoville, for him somewhat reproduces the tranquil atmosphere of Emakhandeni. Nhlanhla on the other hand states that Hillbrow is a place for crazy knuckle heads, and this suits him well. He disparages Yeoville as a place for "cheese boys" who cannot survive in Hillbrow. Nhlanhla, however also reveals that Hillbrow is also cheaper than Yeoville, and that is good for him. Quite interestingly, although Nhlanhla boasts of having knuckle head and hot-headed friends, some of whom are thugs, he reveals that Hillbrow is a volatile place and he avoids travelling at night most of the time.

Another respondent, Nkululeko who stays in Newtown has previously stayed in Hillbrow a scenario he attributes to the people who received him. Nkululeko has this to say:

> I came to South Africa in 2007 so I have been here for five years. This is actually my sixth year. I first stayed in Hillbrow because my sister who was my contact point in South Africa stayed there. If I had any other place to stay it would not have been Hillbrow but I had no choice. So I was there for an entire year trying to get my papers and staff sorted. When things started working for me I decided to move to Newtown. Newtown is totally different from Hillbrow I feel safe and secure here.

I push Nkululeko further and ask him to explain what he means when he classifies his stay in Hillbrow as one in which he had "no choice." In order to get a comparative frame of his tastes and lifestyle preferences which speak to the different neighbourhoods under review, I make reference to Diepsloot, Fourways and Yeoville. In his response he states that "I dislike crowded places like Hillbrow. And Diepsloot, ah man…that is a township I can't stay there. The way the people behave and the general outlook of the place does not suit me)." I ask where he would stay if he was not in Newtown and he states, "If I was not in Newtown I would stay in Melville or emayadini (suburban areas). A historical excavation of Nkululeko's spatial situation in Zimbabwe reveals a more or less similar trajectory. While in Harare which was his last port of call before coming to South Africa, Nkululeko reveals that

he stayed in two places, that is, initially at Mount Pleasant then at Wilmington. He explains that these places are the equivalent of "emayadini lapha eJozi and they are more or less like Newtown." Quite interestingly, Nkululeko was born in Bulawayo and grew up in Njube which is a high density suburb. Njube is in terms of Zimbabwe's socio-economic profile on the lower rungs of the spatial hierarchies to the point that one can draw parallels with the townships or Yeoville and Hillbrow. In fact, Njube is one of the neighbourhoods that Mxolisi who finds Yeoville to be his ideal home noted to be comparable to Hillbrow. What then does this say about Nkululeko's habitus, and its leaps from Njube to Newtown?

There are some clear class differences between Mxolisi and Nkululeko. Mxolisi does not have a full O' level certificate, while Nkululeko has an honours degree in theatre arts and works at NewTown Photo Shop. Their social trajectories and the living conditions they have gone through to the point where they are at the moment are different. Nkululeko's habitus reflects the adaptations and change that has come with his traversing spaces conditions that straddle his University context, to his current professional occupation[33]. As Bourdieu notes, "not only can habitus be transformed (always within definite boundaries) by the effect of social trajectory leading to conditions of living different from initial ones, it can also be controlled through awakening of consciousness and socioanalysis" (Bourdieu, 1990b: 116). Nkululeko has managed to convert his cultural capital to economic and symbolic capital.

Nkululeko is well aware of his social mobility and when I ask about how he reconciles Njube and NewTown. He argues that he was born in Njube, but although Njube is his home, this scenario stems from his parents' and not his ownership of the house in Njube. He states that "The issue is that I was born and grew up in Njube but indlu eseNjube ndoda ayisiyo yami leyana ngeyabazali bami" (but the house in Njube is not mine, it's my parents' house).

Vuliwe has a 'vision' and 'point of view' different from Nkululeko's in terms of what home means. Her perceptions and tastes actually radically invert Nkululeko's

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[33] In this the habitus is forward looking, flexible and adaptive. It becomes the cumulative product of socializations and diverse living conditions it encounters.

narrative. Vuliwe has experienced emayadini due to the exigencies of life. She reveals that at some point in time before she found her feet in Johannesburg she went through a rough patch and could not afford to find a place of her own. Someone she knew offered assistance by accommodating her in Kempton Park. This is what Vuliwe had to say after her experiences in Kempton Park, a place she sees as comparing unfavourably with Yeoville:

> Here (Yeoville) there are a lot of people from home, people from your area, the people you group up with. Even when you are stranded you are able to say, "My friend give me five rand," and someone assists you. But in Kempton Park who are you going to see who will assist you. When each person regards him/herself highly. Its esisaladini…there are a lot of Nigerians).

Vuliwe further describes Kempton Park as a place where "most of the people (in Kempton Park) pretend to be white. They speak English. Even when you are black you act like a white person". In Vuliwe's perspective, Kempton Park compares unfavourably to Yeoville. The major reasons that Vuliwe cites are the fact that Kempton Park is characterized by an individualist logic that inhibits solidarity and opportunities for being bailed out in times of need, for example in times of financial need. Furthermore for her, the black people who mimic a white lifestyle are pretentious and arrogant. In a nutshell, for Vuliwe, Kempton Park is a place of snobbery and blacks aspiring to be white. Dumisani describes Yeoville as a place that is a "home" to him, to the extent that he says that "it's as if I was born here." He exemplifies this notion of belonging and being at home by pointing out that there is a dense network of his friends in the area. Pholani echoes Dumisani's sentiments noting that he has many friends from home and they speak and behave just as they did at home.

Although most of the migrants in Yeoville that I spoke to were generally very low class migrants, Ntando constituted one of the outliers. Ntando is a businessman engaging in Electricals and has twenty employees who are all Zimbabweans. Although, I did not discuss finer details with Ntando about his earnings he revealed and showed me some of his assets which are eleven vehicles which are mostly pick-up trucks for business. In addition to these, Ntando reveals that he has more than two personal cars. By the standards of most Zimbabwean people in Yeoville where he stays, Ntando is 'out of place' in Yeoville. In my dialogue with Ntando, I ask why he is still in Yeoville while he seems to be doing well and is a businessman who

could afford another place if he wanted. Ntando answers in this manner,) "I'm simple and original. Yeoville is where I have got my friends and family." I ask Ntando what "simple and original" means and he states that: "You see my friend. Making money and being successful does not mean that I have to forsake where I am from. I started off here and I feel I belong here. I am a humble man and nothing really changes because I am a business man now." Throughout my interaction with Ntando, he would maintain that I am still the same Ntando from Zimbabwe and I have hardly changed.

For Mafana, "Diepsloot is okay because there is an easy life there. Everything is affordable. How can I put it? There's a quiet life and a sense of community. It's easier to adapt as a foreigner. People accept you as you are whether you are a foreigner." When I probe Mafana to explain the meaning of the "sense of community" and that people accept you as you are he states that:

> The people know that you're not Zulu but they don't say it. They accept you as you are. They won't say it. Maybe if you chat they will say it. They are those who know and those who do not know. If you chat, they will, at times say, so and so is your country man and also come from where you come from.

Dlomo somewhat echoes Mafana's statement of being accepted in Diepsloot when he says:

> Where I stay in Diepsloot people know I am Zimbabwean. People will always find excuses [for conflict] but if you are straight they can't win. There have been conflicts but even landlords will step in and say these people do not stay here for free they pay rentals and they haven't done anything wrong. There are Zimbabweans here, for example some Shona guys from Mberengwa if you stay well with people in Diepsloot then you will have no problems.

Although Mafana and Dlomo, and indeed other migrants speak of acceptance in Diepsloot they project an image of armed neutrality and they reveal that their identity disclosures are limited to close people. I discuss the practical mechanics of navigating identity issues in Diepsloot in the next chapter. However, it suffices to note at this stage that, at a broad level Diepsloot is noted by migrants to be characterized by a cultural market in which foreign products largely attract negative reception. Migrants generally have an outward orientation and appear to be more in place and comfortable with social relationships outside Diepsloot with other Zimbabweans than internal with South Africans.

Migrants who are both in and outside Diepsloot note that the township is a place that is dominated by South Africans. Migrants in Newtown, Yeoville and Hillbrow classify townships like Diepsloot as South African abodes because South Africans do not like paying rent. Pholani asserts:

> South Africans want to live for free particularly Zulus. They do not want to pay rent. Zulus don't care. Even when a person earns one thousand rands he will buy a sneaker for two thousand because he does not pay rent. He does not care, understand? Because he does not pay rent. The houses they have in township are the bond houses. The person (South Africans) has a bond house. Then s/he puts someone in the house and stays outside in a shack.

Mxolisi like Migrants in Diepsloot argue that Zimbabwean tenants are different from South Africans because they pay rentals on time and this makes them marketable to South African landlords. These sentiments reflect the general perceptions that Zimbabwean migrants have of South Africans and issue of meeting rental expenses.

In the next section, I discuss what I term the survivalist habitus notable among Zimbabwean migrants. I argue that there is some continuity between struggles that Zimbabweans experienced in Zimbabwe during the crisis period, and the struggles confronting them as '*amakwerekwere*' in Johannesburg. I draw on the crisis period to reveal overlaps between Zimbabwe and South Africa; and also the strategies of negotiating the daily struggles in the Johannesburg context.

5.4 Historicizing struggle in migrants' experiences of Zimbabwe and South Africa, Johannesburg

5.4.1 A past and present of struggle: survivalist habitus in Johannesburg?

Jones (2010) speaks of a structural change in Zimbabwe's economy between the years 2000-2008. He argues that during this period Zimbabwe's "real economy" had "turned into a kukiya-kiya economy" (Jones, 2010: 285). This economy was run by a "new logic of economic action," which was inspired by the chaos pervading Zimbabwe at this time (Jones, 2010: 285). In a situation where "nothing is straight in Zimbabwe", everything deployed for survival also became "zigzag" and defied the normal parameters that define a nation's economy (Jones, 2010). The best way to capture what transpired during this time, which Jones aptly does, is to deploy Henrik Vigh's suggestion that "in chronic crisis…crisis becomes a frame of action" (Jones,

2010: 295). There was during this period what we can term the process of normalization of the abnormal in the Zimbabwean economy. Kukiya-kiya as Jones notes "suggests cleverness, dodging, and the exploitation of whatever resources are at hand, all with an eye to self-sustenance" (Jones, 2010: 286). There was a "historical shift" in people's survival strategies, which saw the inversion of morality where what previously occurred on the margins of socio-economic life became normalized.

Although Jones locates the *kukiya-kiya* mode of operation within the economic realm, what is notable is that this abnormal mode became the frame of operation that pervaded all aspects of people's social life. Kadenge & Mavunga (2009: 169), for example, demonstrate how the Zimbabwe's linguistic terrain was also radically affected by the crisis. To this end they speak of "[l]inguistic innovation during [Zimbabwe's] national crisis." The broad thesis by Kadenge and Mavunga explores how the crisis spawned new terms, whose meanings and functional utility was related to the events occurring in the country at the time. They argue that "the Shona language changed in response to societal change" and "new linguistic terms have emerged in Shona in response to the Zimbabwean crisis (Kadenge & Mavunga, 2009: 171). They list a number of metaphors that pervaded people's linguistic practices and expressions. Among these are the following that described the situation in Zimbabwe at the time.

Table **5.4 1 Terms and expressions referring to challenges**

Shona terms	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
Shona terms	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
zvakadhakwa/zvidhekwe	Drunkenness	confusing situation
Zvakapenga	Madness	confusing situation
Zvakadzvanya	being hard-pressed	painful situation
Marwadzo	Pain	difficult situation
kuwona moto	to see fire	painful situation
kuwona hutsi	to see smoke	confusing situation
Pakona	being in a corner	a very difficult situation
kurova pasi petsoka	to beat under the feet	painfully exorbitant prices
kukanga waya	roasting a piece of wire	hopeless situation
Zvakupuresa	things are pressing	difficult situation

Source Kadenge and Mavunga (2009:175)

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Jones aptly describes Zimbabwe during the period under review as being in a "zig-zag," state, which captures how things had gone haywire. Kadenge and Mavunga, (2009) also note that language changed in Zimbabwe during the crisis period. What becomes clear is that while the economy was the most central object of analysis that revealed the shifting moralities and "historical shift" in reality kukiya-kiya pervaded all aspects of Zimbabwean social life. Jones' paper is particularly salient because it alerts us to a particular orientation of life between 2000-2008- what he terms "making do" (Jones, 2010: 285).

Of interest to this study, is how the 2000-2008 *kukiya-kiya* time frame is the same time frame that became synonymous with intensified streams of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa (Polzer, 2007; Crush and Tevera, 2010; Makina, 2010; Crush et al., 2012). In other words, the 2000-2008 migrants entering South Africa emerged out of these living conditions- the reconfiguration of Zimbabwe's socio-cultural, political, economic, moral and linguistic life. They come from a history of the kukiya-kiya logic and associated social conditions. To rephrase Jones' thesis, the context under review was *an anything-goes* context, where survival was by *any means possible (necessary)* and the suspension of the ordinary normative structures- it was a struggle for survival. The intensified migration streams from Zimbabwe as from 2000 were an escape from the structural violence occurring in the country (Morreira, 2007). On arrival, Zimbabweans find that "South Africa also held the threat of structural and physical violence" (Morreira, 2007:437). This is succinctly captured in this statement: "Between a Rock and a hard place: 'Life in Zimbabwe is Murder these Days' but '*Makwerekwere* Must Go Home'" (Morreira, 2007:435). Morreira notes that upon arrival in South Africa Zimbabwean migrants encounter similar structural violence akin to the description of Zimbabwe by Hill, who noted that "Since 1999 Zimbabwe has been in an undeclared state of war" (cited in Morreira, 2007:435).

The parallels that are drawn between Zimbabwe during the period 2000-2008 aptly described by Jones (2010) and Kadenge and Mavunga (2009), and Zimbabwean migrants' experiences in/ of South Africa (Morreira, 2007) are glaring. These parallels tell us about the reproduction of struggle in Zimbabwean migrants' lives in South Africa. Struggle and insecurity transcend the Zimbabwe- South Africa migratory space. The struggles for survival that the migrants were engaged in, in

Zimbabwe, are replayed in South Africa. As a respondent notes in Morreira's (2007: 447), "This is not freedom. I am hungry here just like Zimbabwe. I am suffering here like I was suffering in Zimbabwe. I am afraid of the police here just like Zimbabwe." Morreira (2007: 447) goes on to note that "Experiences with police and figures of authority at Home Affairs within South Africa do little to alleviate fear." I argue in this chapter, and demonstrate through data from migrants in Johannesburg, that the socialization into a 'kukiya-kiya' logic created certain habituated practices (habitus), which we can classify as *survivalist habitus* among Zimbabwean migrants and whose relevance did not expire upon crossing into South Africa. Instead, entry into South Africa, in many ways mirrored and reproduced the living conditions that Zimbabwean migrants emerged from. It was a movement from one battle ground to another and as such some of the weapons and strategies of engagement became useful in dealing with being an enemy in another battle ground.

5.5 Deploying inventive and strategic habituated practices: *survivalist habitus?*

In explaining and discussing the concept of a *survivalist aspect*, we have to keep in mind that the concept, *survivalist*, describes a predisposition towards survival by any means. This is what happened in Zimbabwe when the parameters that defined social life- morality, culture and people's social practices and their limits were radically altered. It has been argued that migrants in Johannesburg in practice exist outside the normal bounds of South Africa's legal and moral obligations systems (Landau, 2005). They exist in '"zones of exception"' in South Africa's "forbidden cities" where they constitute the unwanted others (Landau, 2005:1116). The suspension of the law and morality migrants encountered in Zimbabwe is retranslated onto the South African context (cf. Morreira, 2007). As discussed in the methodology chapter, my research population is constituted mostly by people who came from the year 2000 and the years thereafter. In this case, the overlaps and the retranslation of chaos in Zimbabwe to chaos in South Africa in the lives of these migrants somewhat become self-evident. However, there are some outliers in the study, who came in the mid and late 1990s. What is of interest is however, is that there is some similarity in how South Africa is experienced by these groups of people- as a Zone where one had to

do what they had to do to survive. The narratives and metaphors deployed by migrants to describe their experiences and strategies make the concept of a survivalist habitus very illuminating. Common refrains that punctuate migrants' narratives paint portraits of struggle. There are a number of descriptions of life in Johannesburg which capture these struggles. Migrants state, for example that, "Eish when we came here things were tight it was not easy", "You know how Johannesburg is like," "Things are difficult", "This is Johannesburg even excited characters are slowed down by hardships", "It's a life and death scenario here, there's no relative to care about you, you're on your own", "Ah you know how Jozi life is like". It's just about making do" and "You have to have a thick skin in Johannesburg, you can't beg anyone here."

The descriptions by migrants reveal that life in Johannesburg is turbulent and underlined by insecurity, violence, hardship and struggle. There is a resonant echoing of life in Johannesburg as being of a survivalist type. Migrants note that they continually struggle to overcome the rugged terrain that Johannesburg is. It is quite common to speak to migrants who like Dumisani note that:

> Right now I am not doing anything. I am still looking for a job but I was previously a security guard but I had a problem at work thereafter I was stopped from working.

Even for most of those who are employed and working, life in Johannesburg is experienced as a continuous struggle. Some are confronted by unfair labour practices while some feel that they are taken advantage of because employers know that they are Zimbabwean and have no one to complain to. Shamiso states:

> You really can't take what we do as jobs. It's just wiling up time. You are taken advantage of and say nothing about it because there is nothing you can do. They (employers) know that you have nowhere you can go to complain. So you just work until you find something much better to do.

Numerous times I came across migrants like Lindiwe who when I asked about their jobs would respond, "I am not doing anything. I am not working." Others like Bongani have not worked in a very long time and recall how they worked a short time but due to some ill-luck it all came to a grinding halt. Nhlanhla states:

> I don't even remember when I last had a job. But I once worked when I got here I was a waiter. It was a good job but the white person with whom I had a good relationship left. So when there were changes and I lost my job. At first I

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would be called in for certain functions, at times I wouldn't get a call. Eventually they stopped calling and that was that.

In spite of this subjectivation and exposure to diverse challenges the migrants are endowed with a strategic (calculative) habitus through which they navigate the various exclusions and struggles. These activities are akin to Simone's thesis of people as infrastructure where migrants summon all within their power as capital to earn a life (Simone, 2004).

Notably, these issues of struggle have class dimensions to them. Issues to do with police contact and extortion, xenophobia and prejudice, limited employment opportunities, money and basic survival are more resonant among the poor migrants in Yeoville, Hillbrow and Diepsloot while the migrants in Newtown also complain about exclusion in different spaces such as at hospitals, at the Department of Home Affairs and different service operators. There are overlaps in terms of these struggles. However, for poor migrants there are both material and non-material struggles. Notably, there are some migrants who appear to be in a permanent state of un-employability and whom I discuss as exhibiting a "hysteris of the habitus" (Bourdieu, 1990a: 56). In the section that follows I discuss the issues of the home affairs, police, and other struggles confronting migrants noting how the latter two have spatial dimension to them.

5.6 Experiencing different institutions of power in Johannesburg

5.6. 1 Bending the rules with crooked police: strategic and extra-legal habitus?

At a global level the configurations of police power and policing appear to follow the socio-economic gradations and spatio-normativities of different neighbourhoods. Wacquant, for example, reveals how certain forms of *panoptic normativities* are developed around "stigmatized neighbourhoods" which are constructed as places where social problems "gather and fester" (Wacquant, 2008: 1). There is in the usual case, the "deployment of zealous police, judicial and correctional policies aimed at the marginal categories caught in the cracks and ditches of the new economic landscape" (Wacquant, 2009: xiv).

The inner city neighbourhoods of Yeoville and Hillbrow from the accounts of migrants fit the above descriptions and are over-policed compared to the other neighbourhoods of Newtown, Fourways and Diepsloot. In Diepsloot, the lack of police presence is associated more with neglect by the state and the police than proper policing. This probably explains the prevalence of vigilantism and mob violence. Without a doubt such a scenario is dangerous if any violence that needs the police attention should break out.

In light of the recursive experiences (interactions) with the police the Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants in Yeoville have developed a very good understanding of the (ill) workings of the police. They have overtime; through experiencing such police exertions developed what I term a *strategic habitus* which can be sub-divided into evasive and extra-legal habitus. Migrants' narratives about their experiences confirm findings that "some police officers have come to see foreigners as 'Mobile ATMs'" (Templeton and Maphumulo in Landau & Haupt, 2007:7). When I enquire about migrants' encounters with the police the most common refrain by the migrants in Yeoville and Hillbrow is that 'money speaks and the police are not a problem they understand the language of money.' Through recursive encounters migrants have developed a sense of the game when dealing with the police. One Yeoville migrant states that "When it comes to the police it's your money that talks. If you walk around with money in your pockets then you are safe. The police love bribes." An extra-legal habitus is deployed to solve whatever problem has with the police, legitimate problem or conjured up by the police for money.

Dumisani discusses how he strategically capitalizes on policemen's greed to deal with his documentation issues. Dumisani states that he constructed a 'South African identity' by way of photocopying an original Identity document with his picture superimposed on the real owner's photo. Having done that, he went to the police to get it certified. This is the ID document that Dumisani used to construct a South African identity at work. Dumisani states:

> When it comes to the police recognizing faces and ascertaining this person is not the same person on the identity document being certified the police are useless. I go there and they will just look at me and then just stamp and sign. You see how I look? I look for someone who looks like me and replace his photo with mine and go and get the copy certified. I think the police know that the ID is not mine because they do not even ask where the original is. As long

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as I have money I can certify it right there at the police station. Even my asylum expired some time last year (2010) but I went there and certified it when I wanted to go to CCMA.

This aspect of the police as greedy is reiterated by Nomalanga who notes that "every time you hear police asking questions about your passport you automatically know that they want money." In addition to this extra-legal habitus there is an evasive habitus where the police are avoided. At times during our research migrants judging from the number of police, and the type of police would suggest, "let's use that route those police will bother us if we walk in their path." I would ask why and the response would be, "If you see them in a group like that", or "with their cars parked like that, then know they are looking for something."

The extra-legal practices of the police are so common in the inner city; I unwittingly became a participant in one such encounter. Below I give a short account of what I witnessed between Gumbuka and a policeman manning a road block in Yeoville.

We were headed to the University of Witwatersrand and when a policeman on the road motioned to the driver to stop this drama unfolded. The driver muttered to me in Shona "Eish, I am just about to lose money now because of my windscreen." After the driver, stopped the policeman greeted him in Zulu. "Hello brother." Gumbuka responded in Zulu "Hello brother." However that was all the Zulu in his linguistic repertoire. He handed over his passport and began to search for his traffic register. He informed the policeman in English laced with the Zulu Bhuti (brother) that he was trying to locate his Traffic register. The policeman switched to English and stated, "On that one you are safe. I know you have it don't worry but on the windscreen you are not safe." He moved to the left side of the car where he was inspecting the windscreen and stepped back as if to inspect the front part of the car. He then said, "I am not going to look for anything else so you are safe but for the windscreen you are getting a ticket. Gumbuka retorted laughing "my brother forgive me" while searching his pockets. When he realized that he did not have a smaller denomination he asked if I had twenty rand. I obliged him and gave him the twenty rand in the sly manner that I saw the other actors playing this drama. Gumbuka took the twenty rand and placed it on the inner edge of the window which was rolled down. This made the twenty rand visible to us in the car as well as the policeman who was by now hovering over the driver's window. He picked up and then asked in

a quite friendly manner where we were headed. When Gumbuka said we were going to Wits the policeman quipped, "Ah your friends are making pressure there you will see them," while waving us off. We decided the last comment may actually have been about the stampede that had degenerated from students haggling for University places at the University of Johannesburg.

The differences in language and identity between the policeman and the driver did not appear to act as a stumbling block during their interface. Instead there was a free flowing form of communication that drew from degrees of bilingualism and code-switching which drew from Zulu and English. However, the entire interface hinged on *another currency* which supplanted language as a form of capital in this encounter and that is money. After this encounter I had a dialogue with the driver and I was primarily interested in finding out how he knew the policeman wanted money and that he was not risking being arrested by giving the policeman twenty rand.

Gumbuka had this to say about the encounter:

> The policeman never bothered about the traffic register which is needed to write a ticket. He actually said he knew I had it. He did not produce any book or paper on which to write a ticket plus the smile and friendly demeanour signalled that all he wanted was money. Most of the metro police members that I have met have one way or another asked for a bribe so I am well aware of how they ask for bribes. When I said my brother forgive me I was signalling for him not to write anything since I was willing to pay him. You learn these skills as you interact with these police over time. If you do not know how to respond you get a one thousand rand ticket and then what do you do? I read his facial expressions and knew what he wanted. When someone wants to write a ticket they do not joke and play around the way that policeman was doing. To be honest, I am not scared of the traffic police. I am actually more scared of the camera because with the camera there's no negotiation.

The above exchange drama and game in the Goffmanian and Bourdeusian sense derived from a routine and socially embedded relationship between two players in each other's co-presence. The policeman's capital lay in his socially sanctioned and institutionalized position allowing him to perfomatively engage with the driver in a particular way, although this was clearly an abuse of office. On the other hand, the driver's capital lay in his knowledge that the part of the policeman could be re-scripted through the incentive of money (economic capital). This encounter as the driver reveals is based on repeated encounters which crystalize and makes it more or less part of pre-inscribed normativities of the area. The driver's extra-legal or

street habitus stemmed from his repository of knowledge about the different power centres in Yeoville confronting him and was attuned in terms of how to behave in the co-presence of the police as a specific audience.

The issue of bribery as a form of negotiating capital of transcending Otherness is resoundingly reiterated by migrants in Yeoville and Hillbrow. In both neighbourhoods police presence means trouble, which can however be negotiated through *money*. This extra-legality of the police force has earned the police a negative reputation, to the extent that when Gumbuka's car is broken into and a laptop and two passports stolen (his and his girlfriend's) he does not go to the police. Instead he finds a middleman who knows the passport theft syndicate to attempt to trace his passport and negotiate for him to buy their passports back. At the time of this write-up he had managed to buy back his girlfriend's passport but his was still outstanding. When I asked why he did not go to the police he had this to say:

> Going to the police is useless because the police are well aware of these syndicates-they eat together and they will not arrest them. If I go to the police I risk exposing myself to danger and I may end up dying for nothing. If I fail to get my passport back I will just have to apply for a new one. Maybe they have already sold it although I hear that Zimbabwean passports are not very marketable; but since it had a valid permit maybe it's been sold.

The general experiences of migrants regarding police in Yeoville and Hillbrow have produced a relationship between the police and migrants based on extortion. However, for migrants this has its benefits as well, as it feeds into some of their strategies and place making endeavours in Johannesburg. Nkululeko argues that "in Newtown you do not just see the police harassing people. I can even extend that statement to places such as Braamfontein. There is no heavy presence of police. They do not harass people. Here it's different." Takunda a Shona speaking migrant staying in Diepsloot but offering his services as a plumber in Fourways, reveals an encounter where the Fourways police acted on his behalf to help him earn his money from a client who had decided to terminate his services after discovering he was a foreigner. He gives the following account of his experiences of interface with police in Fourways:

> I went to do some work for some Zulus. While we were doing our job they heard us speaking Shona and they suddenly decided we couldn't do the job anymore because we were not South Africans. They asked us to immediately stop but we had already done some work. We stopped and I went off and

reported the matter to the police. I told the police I had been doing a job somewhere where I had been given a job and they want to dismiss us when we are about to finish. I told them that we are foreigners, we have everything permits and my company is registered-we have everything. Another person who was there said, "Ahh, what is this person?" I told him Zulu and he said let's go and see him. The police drove after my car and followed me to the place. They inspected the work that we had done and told the people that they could not just dismiss us on the basis of not being South Africans. The police asked us how long it would take us to complete the job and we told them, about three hours. They went away and came back after we had finished. They checked with the Zulus if the job was well done. The Zulus confirmed that everything was well done and we were paid for our services.

These experiences, conceptualizations and consequently constructions of how the police in this particular place behave as compared to police in one particular space constitute part of the survival kit of migrants in Johannesburg. Even foreign students at a University in Johannesburg can tell you in which police station in the city one can get their finger prints processed in a relatively tranquil environment, where you will not be treated harshly as if you are under arrest for being a foreigner. All this knowledge about how to navigate the police derives from repeated experiences and contact with the police. When Mongameli is given papers by the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) to serve his company he is told to go to any police station to get any policeman to accompany him to the company's offices he reveals. In light of the fact that the security company he works for is in Sandton, he goes to the Sandton police. He recounts his experiences in an ironic manner:

> I went to the police station in Sandton and I was treated quite well. I am not very sure I would have received the same assistance if I had been forced by circumstances to go to police in Yeoville. They may have ended up asking for the money the CCMA is asking the company to give me.

It would appear from these narratives that migrant's experiences of various structural and systemic normativities of the different centres of power in Johannesburg are to a large extent connected with place. In Diepsloot the absence of the police takes on another form. The community can easily take the law into its own hands and dispense its own version of justice. There is the absence of the law in the sense of an abrogation of responsibility by the state as well as the state institutions including the police. Dlomo reveals that:

> If you stay peacefully with people here you will have no problem with anybody. However, if you like antagonizing people then you are likely to run into a lot of problems. People here can be very retributive. By the time the police get here. This if they do come in the first place people, will have killed you.

This inclination towards citizen's justice systems is a theme that is recounted by others such as Mafana, who states:

> In Diepsloot you are safe and you are also not safe. People here are very unpredictable and anything can start and in most cases when something bad happens the police are nowhere to be seen. They come to collect someone who is unconscious or dead. Be it a thief, who has stolen or what, the first court is the people.

In the next section I briefly focus on the Department of Home Affairs which is another centre of power that comes up a lot in migrants' narratives. I discuss how migrants experience as well as negotiate the frustrations associated with the DHA. Resilience and strategy in the form of extra-legal means come up as some of the strategies.

5.6.2 The Department of Home Affairs: inefficiency and xenophobia rolled into one?

The Department of Home Affairs is generally presented by migrants across the class and ethnic divides as a zone of frustration. They note that the processing and renewal of any kind of permit, and the stamping of Asylum documents is a nightmare. The Department of Home Affairs is described as inept, to the point of being dubbed by the Daily Sun Tabloid as the Horror Affairs. However Zimbabwean migrants argue that being a foreigner draws particularly prejudicial treatment from officials of the Department of Home Affairs. Sethekele from Newtown describes her encounter at Home Affairs:

> I went to Home Affairs and the person serving me spoke to me in Sotho and I could not respond there and then because I could not understand him. He kept on speaking to me in Sotho although he knew I was a foreigner. I mean even though Sotho are there in my country I never got to stay with them and I can't speak the language. I ended up speaking to him in English and still he was frustrated again. I had to resort to Zulu.

Similarly Shona speaking migrants reveal how they have had to also like their Ndebele speaking counterparts attempt strategies of convergence to try and melt the hard-line treatment they get at the DHA. Tafadzwa a Shona speaking migrant states:

> When you go to Home Affairs you have to be prepared to spend the entire day there. If you spend it there and manage to submit your document without being returned to fetch other requirements then that's a good day. So you have to smile at the ill-treatment and politely take the abuse to get what you want.

Phathisa stated that he has a protracted work permit issue that during my fieldwork was in its second year. He stated that he has felt like giving up but then again he has no other option. He described being at the Department of Home Affairs as the moment where "when you get in you are well aware that I am in their territory and will play by their rules through-out." Nkululeko a Ndebele speaking migrant is more direct in his description of Home Affairs stating that:

> Home Affairs is very xenophobic and unprofessional. And, it's an attitude thing. They have the resources, but have the wrong attitude. They must serve not mock and threaten. But they know that you have no choice and that's not negotiable. There isn't a choice. You bear and you endure.

These strategies by migrants reveal a reading of the Home Affairs as an immovable obstacle that has to be suffered in silence. Resilience becomes the greatest capital when dealing with Home Affairs. When I ask Nkululeko if speaking in a language familiar to the officials at Home Affairs he states "Your passport. You can speak to them in Zulu; in Sotho. The attitude doesn't change man. Your passport identifies you as one they should frown upon."

Migrants are generally sceptical of Home Affairs. One female migrant in Hillbrow states during the interview:

> Actually I have a problem because I would like to improve myself and go back to school. This security job is not paying and I can't imagine that's all I will be for my life-time. Can you help me? Which Identity document should I use now? The South African ID I used to get a job or the Zimbabwean passport I have?

From their past experiences with the DHA many migrants are unsure of the motives of the department pertaining to theme being in the country. The Zimbabwe Documentation Process (ZDP) came and passed but still a number of migrants were hesitant to approach the Home Affairs. As Crush (2011: 19) observes:

> While one of the aims of the ZDP was to relieve the pressure on the refugee determination it is clear that many migrants decided to hedge their bets pending decisions on their applications. A total of only 49,255 Zimbabweans

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surrendered their asylum status in favour of obtaining valid work and business permits. Around 4,000 migrants voluntarily surrendered fraudulent documents.

For some, the length in the processing of documents stems from a number of factors ranging from incompetence and capacity. However, the major explanation given by migrants is that officials believe that foreigners are not deserving of the service they are being given at the DHA. In addition to this, migrants argue that there is a syndicate agreement between the DHA and some agents who do not observe the regulations of being at the DHA like queuing. Migrants argue that these agents get preferential treatment from the officials at DHA and are on a first name basis with the officials. Nkululeko notes that "the idea is to get you to give the DoHA officials money through these agents or to bribe them to get your application expeditiously processed." Migrants have as notable from their accounts developed a habitus of resilience. They submit to the will of the DHA in order to get what they want.

Other migrants however reveal that they innovate and speak the language of money. They resort to an extra-legal habitus to oil the slow turning wheels of the DoHA. The extra-legal affairs at the DHA are of course an area that is well-documented (Worby, 2010). Migrants bribe officials at the DoHA to get their papers processed quickly. Bongani equates the Police and DHA to one thing and asserts that "You have to budget for Home Affairs and the Police particularly when you are travelling. You have to know the means through which you came into the country and what that means about your life here."

Mxolisi, who is an undocumented migrant, states that being in South Africa without papers means that you avoid the police or use someone's papers. He notes that "When you want to go home you can use oMalayitsha[34]. Going out is relatively easier than coming back. But still you can bribe your way back in. You just need to know how it's done." Edward and Malvern give similar testimonies of avoiding the police. Xolani echoes Mxolisi's sentiments and asserts that "as long as you have money then you travel in and out without a problem. This is how a lot of us travel."

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[34] OMalayitsha are cross border transporters who are popular among Zimbabwean migrants. They transport both people and property. They are known to be well connected when it comes to border controls and the police.

5.7 Conclusion

I have in this chapter concentrated on mapping out the different habitus at play in Zimbabwean migrants' lives and how they are different and differentiate migrants. I have demonstrated how migrants' habitus is constituted by sub-habitus which contribute to how migrants situate themselves. The habitus inform even predispositions towards place, which we often recognize as purely taste and choice with no link to regularity in our practices. I have, also, in the process of articulating the politics of emplacement revealed how places are imbued with spatial habitus. This in addition to be fields of power and contestation places are also agentic and this contributes to the general outlook of a place. In the chapter that follows, I build on the issues raised in this chapter, and, I specifically focus on migrants in the different neighbourhoods and how they deploy their habitus and situate themselves.

Chapter 6

Language and identity of Zimbabwean migrants in different neighbourhoods of Johannesburg: A shifting and fluid continuum of Otherness?

> Movement of people across space is therefore never a move across empty spaces. The spaces are always someone's space, and they are filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language use and what does not counts as such. Mobility, sociolinguistically speaking, is therefore a trajectory through different stratified, controlled and monitored spaces in which language 'gives you away'. Big and small differences in language use locate the speaker in particular indexical – that is, identity and role – ascriptive categories, and as we learned from John Gumperz' work (e.g. 1982), this is rarely inconsequential (Blommaert & Dong, 2007: 6).

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses data emerging from the four[35] Johannesburg neighbourhoods of Yeoville, Hillbrow, Newtown and Diepsloot. I focus in this chapter on how Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants deploy their economic, social, cultural and political capitals and how these are priced either negatively or positively depending on the pricing regimes of the different markets. How is the interplay between migrants' habitus and these different fields? Simultaneously interwoven into this discussion is how migrants strategically navigate the negative pricing of their capitals, reposition and convert their products and positions as the Other other.

A number of themes emerge out of these four universes of practice. Chiefly, the linguistic fields, and consequently the evaluative mechanisms, or pricing regimes of [interest] *returns* on the *capital investments* of the migrants are not uniform across the four neighbourhoods. Rather, they take on diverse cleavages and produce differentiated linguistic and identity markets whose texturing is influenced by the relative value of the migrants' symbolic power on one hand and that of their competitors on the other hand. This power can be gleaned from the reception of the

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[35]I exclude Fourways in discussing the neighbourhoods because, as I revealed in the methodology chapter Fourways turned out to be an unexpected workspace for Diepsloot residents. I focus on Fourways in Chapter 7 when I discuss workspaces.

combinations of the economic, social, cultural and political capital (investments) in conflictual relations in the different markets which are sites of struggle. Quite notably, in the neighbourhoods of Yeoville, Hillbrow and Newtown, there is a diglossic relationship of the languages in the neighbourhoods' linguistic markets. English emerges as the High variety associated with work and spaces outside the home, while other languages such as 'IsiZulu semaflethini, Ndebele and Shona, etc, are *associated with the home domain.* Such diglossia is absent in Diepsloot where there is an indexical order dominated by local languages, particularly Pedi, both in the home and outside the home domain. In all these neighbourhoods there are diverse variations of code-switching and code-mixing.

In the following section I focus on the neighbourhood of Yeoville and how it turns out to be more of a Zimbabwean microcosm a situation that also plays out in Hillbrow, but is radically different from that in Diepsloot and Newtown. I discuss what makes this scenario possible and how it impacts on migrants experiences of politics of identity and how they represent themselves.

6.2 "Yeoville is a home ground for us": Numbers as symbolic, cultural as well as political capital?

While Mawadza and Crush (2010) note that the South African media uses war metaphors, among other metaphors, to describe how Zimbabweans are invading South Africa, Zimbabwean migrants in Yeoville appropriate war descriptions such as 'colonizing' and 'colonies' to describe their situatedness in the neighbourhood. The colony metaphor is deployed in reference to how migrants are able to reproduce and maintain their Zimbabweanness in Yeoville. They speak their languages and represent themselves as Zimbabweans. Although research points to transience in migrants' lives in the inner city area (Landau & Monson, 2008; Gossman et al., 2012), migrants' narratives reveal some social intimacy and investment in Yeoville, which they describe as their 'home ground'[36]. This is testified to, by migrants' capacity and interest in defending this territory. Pholani reveals that during the

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[36] As I noted in Chapter 5, this attachment and emotional investments in this places in notable even in migrants' virtual communities on Facebook where Zimbabwean migrants staying in these areas have started a number of Facebook groups.

xenophobic attacks of 2008 migrants mobilized around Rockey Street in anticipation of a warning that attackers were coming for foreigners in Yeoville. He goes on to describe this mobilization of Other others stating that "the entire day, Rockey was full of people- Nigerians, Congolese, Zimbabweans, Malawians. People said the attackers should come [we are ready]. They did not come. That is when I realized that when it comes to distinguishing between foreigners and locals [in Yeoville], I think foreigners have got power."

The density of Other others in the neighbourhood gives migrants symbolic power and the capacity to construct, within this bustle of Other others, in Habermasian language their own Zimbabwean life-world in the neighbourhood of Yeoville (Habermas, 1984).

There is a general consensus among both Ndebele and Shona migrants that *locals* are in the *minority* and that the neighbourhood of Yeoville is *dominated* by foreigners. This population distribution is seen as impacting on the uses of space within the neighbourhood and maintenance of distance between foreigners and South Africans. Hall (2003) in his work on proxemics reveals how people use space in cognizance of other people; they order their physical contact and distance to others in ways that are informed by their social norms. Joos (1962) argues that distance is important to linguistic analysis (Joos in Hall 2003). In other words as Bourdieu argues knowing one's sense of place involves also knowing other people's sense of place (Bourdieu, 1990a). Pholani states that:

> Let me tell you. In my day to day life, I think I meet locals only at work. But if I am not at work I think one out of forty people I meet is a local. In Yeoville locals are very few. Even now, if I say let's go to the shops we can go and come back without meeting a single local.

This point is reiterated by numerous migrants both Ndebele and Shona speaking. Vuliwe reinforces this position. She states that:

> There are too many of us [Zimbabweans] here. It's almost as if it's us only [who are here]. When I look around, it's almost as if there are just ten Zulus compared to us [here].

Lillian underlines this scenario when she states that "Yeoville is full of people from home and here you cannot be forced to end up speaking this way or that way. Here

in Yeoville it's like I am in Zimbabwe because we are free. It's not the same [as other places]"

It suffices to note that this *Zimbabwean republic* in Yeoville is one among many republics. According to migrants' accounts there is no over-arching South African logic but the neighbourhood is fraught and there are various claims by foreigners and South Africans. Gukwe describes Yeoville in this manner:

> There are Zulus, Pedis and Tswanas. And the Nigerians. Yes you know, some speak Afrikaans; others Portuguese. The dominant number is of people who are not from here [foreigners].

As a number of theorists have demonstrated that issues of identity and identification are by-products of relationships (Bauman, 1995; Hall, 1996; Jenkins, 1996) and processes of Othering stem from a particular relational matrix which defines that which is *legitimate* as well as that which is to the contrary (Goffman, 1963; Bauman, 1995; Bourdieu, 1991). In Yeoville respondents reveal that the superiority of foreigners in numbers affects the dispersion of power in the neighbourhood. Migrants assert that there is no *compulsion* for them to mould their identities and languages towards a particular identity and consequently particular language. In describing the Yeoville's population Sikhumbuzo alludes to the cosmopolitan character of Yeoville when he states that:

> I can describe Yeoville as a cosmopolitan place because there are people from all over the world. I can't just say all over Africa because we have Pakistani and Jews doing business here.

Consequently, there is also no particular local South African group that is seen as dominant. Mxolisi a Ndebele speaking migrant states that:

> There is no language dominating [in Yeoville][37]. Nigerians are there but they are concentrated in Rockey Street. In Hillbrow they [Nigerians] are everywhere but here they are in Rockey [Street]. You see, I drink. We can say [the dominant language] its Zulu, then Shona. I drink and I go to different bars and you find them full of Shonas; full of Ndebeles; Zulus are there but they are few.

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[37] I noticed that when migrants speak of 'no dominant language', they are referring to African languages. This is explainable as the research revealed, by the fact that migrants feel as the out-group when they stand in comparison to South Africans (particularly Zulu speakers). However, on further probing migrants reveal that English is the language that bridges the communication among the different racial and ethnolinguistic groups.

Migrants' descriptions of Yeoville are laced with the words 'mixed' 'many' and 'different' groups of people. This is recounted time and again in the interviews with different respondents from both ethnic groups. Another respondent echoes these sentiments in his description of the neighbourhood stating that "kuhlangene kulamaZimbabweans, Nigerians, Cameroonians, Malawians, Congolese" (It's mixed there are Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Cameroonians, Malawians, Congolese). However, equally given prominence in these descriptions is that there are *very few locals in Yeoville as compared to foreigners*. In other words, there is a sense in Yeoville that it is *not foreigners living among South Africans*; rather it is *South Africans living among foreigners*. Migrants occupy the dominant nodes in the Yeoville market.

The outcome of such a relational matrix which is skewed in favour of Other others according to the migrants is the entrenchment and *affirmation* of foreign socio-cultural artefacts and by extension foreigners as a legitimate part of Yeoville. As noted from the narratives, Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants, and indeed other migrants appear to have managed to successfully engage in symbolic struggles and managed to produce a discursive space which is not only favourable to them; but in which they have reconstituted themselves from the Other to "real citizens" of Yeoville.

In the following section I proceed to focus more intently on the language practices of Zimbabwean migrants in Yeoville noting how the migrants are endowed with a *number of language varieties and repertoires* which occur along a convoluted continuum but whose use value appears to be tied to, and anchored in Yeoville. Indeed, in discussing some of the language varieties migrants consciously draw on their experiences and knowledge of other places, such as Townships, Hillbrow and the city centre noting that some of their repertoires would attract different values and appreciation when taken out of Yeoville.

6.3 'IsiZulu semaflethini': making sense of the language practices of Zimbabwean migrants in Yeoville

Zimbabwean migrants, both Ndebele and Shona speaking, reveal that they speak different South African languages, in addition to their Zimbabwean languages. Most migrants reveal, however, that they are not a hundred percent proficient in the South African languages that they speak. A resonant theme is that English is the language that they use to communicate with different social groups who do not speak their migrants' languages or with whom their languages are not mutual intelligible. In most cases, they speak of Nigerians, Indians, Pakistanis and other such language groups as the people they communicate with in English.

What is interesting is how within the flats which make up much of residential space in Yeoville, there has developed a sociolect which migrants term 'isiZulu semaflethini.' Lillian describes 'isiZulu semaflethini' as Zulu that is spoken by Zimbabweans in the flats of Yeoville. She states that "Zulu is not the same. What we call Zulu here is the Zulu of the flats. How can I put this? It's Zulu spoken by people from home which is widely spread in Yeoville." Pholani also speaks of 'isiZulu semaflethini' noting that it is slippery to classify. He states that, "What I am speaking [right now] is isiZulu but it is not isiZulu just as you can hear for yourself." Lillian and Pholani's statements resonate with the general perspectives of migrants about 'isiZulu semaflethini.' Lillian gives an interesting illustration of what she means when she sets the sociolect against an imagined 'standard Zulu variant.' She asserts that:

> Zulu is different because there are those that speak that very deep, deep Zulu. How can I put it? It's different from the Zulu we speak here because…it's different from other places like the township where there are a lot of South Africans especially. It's different because when we [Zimbabweans] speak it it's different from the way they [South Africans] speak it. If I take a South African and a Zimbabwean here you can see [grasp] the difference from the tone.

Migrants classify 'their Zulu' as isiZulu semaflethini because they say that issues of accent, tone and limited vocabulary marks it as Zimbabwean. Migrants attribute the existence and persistence of isiZulu semaflethini to relationships which are largely restricted to Zimbabweans interacting amongst themselves and Other others.

Mai Chisi, an elderly Shona lady that I witnessed selling some wares in the street through a very innovative blending of diverse linguistic resources has her own description of her particular linguistic resources. When I ask her what language it is that I had heard her speaking (she was advertising her wares trying to get the attention of a young woman passing by). "I just make do…I can only [use this language to] sell and greet. I do it by way of improvisation, mixing words, be they Xhosa, Zulu or Shona words."

Migrants argue that there is no hegemonic identity group in Yeoville. As such, even the Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants' language practices and identity repertoires are legitimate in Yeoville's market. Hacksely et al's (2007) argument that census information on language use continues to present outcomes from the perspective of the more or less unified market constituted by eleven official languages is quite revealing in Yeoville's case. Such a statist approach ignores how South Africa's linguistic market is also characterized by languages from beyond South Africa.

Ndebele and Shona speaking migrants in Yeoville reveal that they speak various combinations of language varieties that endow them with varying degrees of multilingual competence. However this multi-lingualism is neither simple nor straightforward. It occurs along a continuum that ranges from a basic competence in certain languages other than those brought from Zimbabwe to a firm grasp of some of the languages; and also in some cases it appears to be some form of *patch-work* where migrants scrap around whatever can be useful to them to mobilize it as some form of linguistic product with which they can *just make do*. In other words they possess truncated repertoires discernible in the *overlaps, synonymization* and *intersection,* between the linguistic products that migrants brought from home and the South African languages to produce *Other languages* (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005; Blommaert & Dong, 2007).

What is apparent from migrants' accounts is that the various languages *are not deployed to camouflage their identities* in Yeoville because it is a terrain dominated by Other others. Furthermore migrants reveal an awareness of the differences in their linguistic resources compared to those of South Africans. Also of interest is that there is both code-switching and code mixing as I will discuss. Migrants' state that

the prevalence of diverse languages and identities of the real Others and Other others has a disorganizing and disruptive effect on the development of a stable and hegemonic standard language.

In the section that follows I delve into the Zimbabwean migrants' strategies of entrenching themselves in the neighbourhood thus gaining a firm footing of calling the shots in the interactional matrix of Yeoville. I focus primarily on the arena of housing which is greatly influenced by life's exigencies that have engendered sharing.

6.4 "It just happened but I prefer Zimbabweans": Housing and containerization

6.4.1 "I stay with people I can easily relate with": housing and strategies of containerization

Having taken Yeoville broadly as a *field* we can move further down into the inner workings and processes of the neighbourhood by delving deeper into socio-cultural interface of the residents in the arena of housing. In this regard we can organize our assessment around the following questions: who controls housing? Who occupies the dominant position that shapes how, where and with whom Ndebele and Shona migrants stay? What kind of social relationships emerge out of the neighbourhood's residence arrangement's structuring along issues of control, power and domination? In other words: what types of social relationships emerge out of the neighbourhood's housing arrangement and how do they impact on processes of Othering? What is the merit of taking housing as a field?

Rasmussen (2007), Judin (2008), Silverman & Zack (2008), are among a number of scholars who reveal that the area of housing is at the centre of 'struggles' for the soul of the urban cities in post-apartheid South Africa. Social movements mobilizing around housing such Abahlali BaseMjondolo also attest to the intense politics and politicking around housing (Gibson, 2008; Pithouse, 2008). In this section I reveal how Zimbabwean migrants compete in these struggles which are part of their own struggles of reconstituting themselves as legitimate residents of the neighbourhood.

The spatialization strategies of Ndebele and Shona migrants in Yeoville point to deliberate attempts of *social closure and containerization.* This of course has

ramifications on social interface and the evaluation of Zimbabwean migrants' linguistic and identity repertoires. By social closure and containerization I refer to the strategies by Zimbabwean migrants to create a space that is favourable to their identities and practices as foreigners; which essentially extends the process of *colonizing* Yeoville and reproducing a Zimbabwean life-world.

The fulcrum of these strategies is the popular practice of *sharing* which is widely spread, and in actual fact typifies the pattern of accommodation in the area. Sharing of space occurs along a broad continuum which covers sharing a flat as in different rooms in a flat, sharing a room in a flat right up to sharing a bed/space. The rooms are divided in many different ways, and through different implements, notably curtains which cut across the room and the deliberate placing of furniture in ways that mark out different occupants' spaces.

Sikhumbuzo one respondent reveals the workings of the processes undergirding the organization of housing which is ingrained in concept *of sharing.* He states:

> These flats are run by agents. The owners no longer actively manage them. I have a contract with the agents and the place is mine for a period of time. When I first got the flat I paid over R9, 600. If I want to leave I put a notice to end the contract. I stay with five Zimbabweans and one South African. It just happened but generally I would prefer Zimbabweans and South Africans so that it's easy to relate and communicate. Whether Shona, Ndebele, Kalanga but not Nigerians and Congolese.

Identity appears to play an important role in how Zimbabweans (Shona and Ndebele) engage in their place making endeavours and sharing accommodation. In most of the cases, Zimbabweans stayed as Zimbabweans and shared accommodation. While Zimbabweans are creating their own Zimbabwean microcosm in Yeoville, this interface and proximity on the basis of Zimbabweanness is not cast in stone. In certain cases, some migrants like Mkhululi are sharing flats with people from Mali and Nigeria. These interactions feed into the African unity and foreign identity which migrants exhibited when they drew a line of defence in Rockey Street against xenophobic Zulus.

The area of housing also allows us to glimpse a politics of othering among the Other others including among Zimbabweans themselves. A number of migrants such as Malvern, Vuliwe and Nqobizitha argue that they tolerate but do not like Shona

people. Ntando embodies this perspective when he argues that, "Shona people cannot be trusted and I do not like Shonas. They destroyed Zimbabwe and now they are so many here." On the other hand some Shonas like Samson distrust Ndebeles arguing that they are mugging them in Johannesburg. It suffices to note that the area of housing highlights this dimension where in some cases some migrants like Ntando and Vuliwe rigidly argue that they choose to stay with Ndebele speakers only[38]. Matambanashe in Diepsloot gleefully notes how his whole network is built around Zimbabweans which is a term he appears to use as a synonym for Shona speakers[39]. Housing thus feeds into a particular formation of ethnicized networks and associations in some cases as will be demonstrated in the foregoing discussion.

Research participants like Sikhumbuzo and Gogo MaNgwenya, who have the *economic capital* to acquire flats under their names and be contracted for a period of time assume the positions of landlords and go about recruiting tenants. This penetration of the housing field is predicated on the permeability of the housing market through economic capital, and the power of money which cannot be discriminated against, and which seems take precedence in how people access housing (cf. Bremner, 2000; Rasmussen, 2007; Silverman & Zack, 2008). Landlords and tenants argue that getting the *right person is imperative in avoiding a lot of problems and misunderstandings.* In Sikhumbuzo's case the right person can be *any type of Zimbabwean* as well as *South Africans* in order for them to understand each other. For Gogo MaNgwenya the right people would be *any type of Zimbabwean* but *right* ends just there- *Zimbabweans*. Gogo MaNgwenya reveals that:

> I stay with Zimbabweans. They are all Ndebele. One young man shares one room with a woman. She has two children. Then there is another young man in the other room. I have stayed with other people before. People come and go that is the life here.

Gogo MaNgwenga goes on to note that she has stayed with other people from home including a Shona young man who later relocated due to work demands. Gumbuka reveals that:

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[38] There are some cases where Shona research participants stay by themselves as Shona. Even where the issues of ethnicity are not raised by the participants, the arrangement reveals a subtle ethnicized situatedness of Zimbabweans in different areas.

[39] During the interview Matambanashe says "we dominating here" and "we speak Zimbabwean." When I ask what Zimbabwean means he says, "I meant Shona."

My landlady is Nigerian as is her husband. This house is a guest house and has many rooms. I stay in one of the rooms in the main house with Sotho speaking people from Lesotho, a woman with her kids but at times there are other young women. I think it's her sisters. I'm not sure whether they are from here or Lesotho but I think they are from Lesotho. In the other room there is an Ethiopian guy. That is the guy who smokes a lot and is causing the smell in the passage. He smokes even inside the house but has improved after I spoke to him. Outside there is a Shona elderly man who has a wife, also Shona. These days she is around but at times she does not spend much time here. Then there are some Nigerian guys in the other outer rooms.

Vuliwe on the other hand states that:

Where I stay its Zimbabweans only. Our land lady is Venda. She has a younger sister who is Venda and stays in one of the bedrooms. Then the rest we are from Zimbabwe so we speak Ndebele amongst ourselves. When she speaks to us she tries to speak in Zulu.

When I ask if the landlady takes them for Zulu this what Vuliwe has this to say:

No she knows we are Zimbabwean. In Yeoville people know I am Zimbabwean. I have my papers and my passport and permit. I tell them I am from there…from Mugabe's place. I don't hide it I am proudly Zimbabwean.

In a joint interview with Pholani and Mxolisi they touch on something that seems to be a general belief as to the housing strategies of locals which also simultaneously makes them few in Yeoville:

Locals don't want to pay rent. Where they stay here (Yeoville) they hijack the buildings and stay for free. They stay on the basis of threats and guns and you know whites don't like noise and they just abandon the buildings. Here in Yeoville that is why they are few. Those who pay rent I can tell you are those who went to school and are educated. That's why they are few. In the township there it's free. There is no rent. You erect your shack out there and that's it

It is worth noting that Mxolisi and Pholani both stay in flats where there are sharing with other Zimbabwean migrants. Mxolisi stays other Zimbabweans and also a Congolese woman with small children. A key issue that emerges here is that migrants' housing strategies feed into the bigger picture of *colonizing* the area. The right associative networks are characteristically those built around relations with other Zimbabweans and Other others.

6.5 Berea and Hillbrow: "That's where the crazy people are"

6.5.1 Hillbrow: Fear of crime and violence as determinants of the Zimbabwe life world in Hillbrow?

Drawing structural and cultural comparisons between the inner city areas of Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville migrants construct these neighbourhoods as dominated by foreigners and characterized by a largely receding 'local' population. Pholani's statement that "In fact, I can say Yeoville all the way to Berea and Hillbrow, it's a Zimbabwean colony", is reflected in migrants narratives even in Hillbrow. Xolani jokingly describes the scenario by stating that, "if Zimbabweans are all deported from Johannesburg then all the neighbourhoods of Yeoville, Hillbrow and Berea would be a desert." Laughing he adds that, "I am not sure where they would find tenants who are willing to pay the rentals because South Africans don't like paying rent."[40] There is a general consensus among the research participants that Hillbrow is characterized by a large number of foreigners. With regards to Zimbabweans in Hillbrow, migrants are of the view that the Zimbabwean life world in Hillbrow is largely a Ndebele one. Zephaniah describes Hillbrow in the following manner:

> [In Hillbrow] There are a lot of foreigners and a few locals. There are mostly Zimbabweans and Nigerians here. But I think Zimbabweans are the largest group. There are a lot of Ndebeles and Kalangas[41].

When I ask Zephaniah to give me a general sketch of Zimbabweans focusing on the presence of Ndebeles and Shona speakers he states:

> Shonas are there but they are few. People think there is a lot of violence in Hillbrow and Shonas are naturally cowards so they don't want to stay in Hillbrow. Most of them are where vaginas are sold…like at Hillbrow Inn.

Parts of Zephaniah's statements that pertain to the fewer numbers of Shona speakers in Hillbrow are reiterated by Samukile who states that:

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[40] Throughout the research sites migrants share in discourses of South Africans as lazy and loving being spoon fed. South Africans who work hard for a living and are not prejudicial are seen as the exception rather than the norm.

[41] Kalangas are an ethnolinguistic group from the Matabeleland areas of Zimbabwe. In most cases, Kalangas are able to speak Ndebele having gone through the same socialization in Matabeleland. However in recent times, Kalanga speakers have begun mobilizing for their language to be included in school curriculum.

> Hillbrow is Bulawayo[42]. It is full of people from home. Shonas are there but they are not that many here. A lot of them are in Yeoville and Rossetenville. I'm not really sure why they don't like Hillbrow…maybe they are scared of Hillbrow.

The migrants that I spoke to in Hillbrow, both Ndebele and Shona speaking present the powers of space in the neighbourhood as mostly resulting in "negative spaces" and generally "no room" for Shona speaking migrants" (Munn 2003: 92-93). Phathisa asserts that Hillbrow is "Bulawayo's townships of Njube, Nkulumane, Mpopoma, etc" He goes on to note that:

> Hillbrow is more of a Ndebele stronghold although Shonas are there and they continue to come in bit by bit. It's not very easy for someone from Harare or Gweru to just suddenly come and stay in Hillbrow. There is a big difference in those two worlds. A person who does not understand what people are saying around him to stay in a neighbourhood like Hillbrow is a big mission. Even if you speak and understand the language, you still fear the place and know that you are not guaranteed of safety. There is a marked difference from a Shona person because we are quick to learn and notice these boys' funny tricks.

A number of Ndebele speaking migrants reveal, as Phathisa does, the same fear of Hillbrow and do give stories of muggings and escaping muggings. Sikhumbuzo reveals that when he first came to South Africa he stayed in Hillbrow and never felt safe. He only felt at home when he moved to Yeoville.

Others argue that Shonas are there but their spatialization patterns are informed by their status as late comers to migration to South Africa. Sikhumbuzo and Nomalanga argue that Shona presence started being very noticeable around 2007-2008. Sikhumbuzo states that:

> They stayed at the Methodist church and we would read in the papers that there are now Shonas staying at the church. Here in the flats there were only those Shonas who grew up among the Ndebele communities and could speak isiNdebele. Now you hear that there is a Malayitsha going to Gutu- to do what there? Now they are many. They come and stay together as group and look for work using English. Now you do not have to ask where Shona people are, just go even to MaMgobhozi- that's where they drink and where they do their deviant things.

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[42] Bulawayo is Zimbabwe's second largest city in Matabeleland which is largely Ndebele speaking.

The excerpts above reveal how the normative structures sift Zimbabwean migrants according to their socio-cultural resources. The high density areas in Bulawayo which Phathisa alludes to are in socio-economic terms, more or less the equivalent of South African townships. Phathisa goes on to use Gukurahundi[43] as a metaphor of a reversal of what happened in Zimbabwe to capture the Ndebele and Shona disparities in Hillbrow. For him, Shonas are fewer because in a context full of violence and crime, language which reveals one's *not being in place makes one an easy target.* Phathisa's comment resonates with Gossman et al's (2012) argument that "[n]ot being connected to a specific community, not knowing fellow residents, and not speaking local languages adds to the vulnerability of foreigners. In fact, communication is a key factor in resilience to violence." Marshall states that:

> There are a lot of Ndebeles, Kalangas and Nigerians. There are also Xhosas, Zulus, and a few Sothos; Congolese. There are also Ivoirians most of whom fix cars.

When I ask Marshall to bring to focus the population distribution of Zimbabwean people in the area he states that "there is everything Ndebeles and other ethnic groups from Zimbabwe but there are a lot of Ndebeles and Kalangas." With regards to Shona speaking people he states:

> There are there but not as many as Ndebeles or Kalangas. There are there. It's no longer the same [as when Hillbrow had scarcely any Shonas] Shonas are there. You find everyone [all ethnic groups] from home here.

For Samson "Shonas are there but the issue is that it's difficult to stay in Hillbrow. Hillbrow is not a very good place and it's easy to get mugged and its people from home who are doing the mugging." When I ask him to clarify this point Samson states that:

> It's some of us engaged in mugging other people in Hillbrow. Someone mugs you speaking Zulu but you can tell in certain situations that this is a person from home. If you speak another language you stand out and may become an easy target

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[43] Gukurahundi refers to a period of violence against Ndebele speaking people that occurred just after Zimbabwe's independence. Although, Mugabe used the pretext of dissidents in the area to terrorize and kill Ndebele speaking people, there is clear documentation of how this whole process was directed at civilians in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces because of their being a PF ZAPU constituency

It is also worth drawing from the insights of another Shona speaking migrant who once stayed in Hillbrow but later relocated to Yeoville. Nhamo who sells various trinkets on a street corner in Yeoville had this to say about Hillbrow:

> Hillbrow is different [from Yeoville] but not too much. In Hillbrow most people speak Ndebele and Zulu mostly and then there are a lot of other languages. A lot of Shona speakers as you know cannot speak Ndebele. You know here some people may not want to speak to you in English and want to use their language. So it is difficult for Shona speakers to stay there.

The major reason for Nhamo to leave Hillbrow was due to the fact that there are a lot of muggings of which he experienced one. He describes the encounter:

> I was mugged during the very first days I stayed in Hillbrow. It was around Banket [Street]. I was approached by some guys and they took my money and phone. They did not hit or injure me but they were very violent and intimidating in manner.

When I ask what language his assailants spoke Nhamo reveals that "they were speaking Zulu." Marshall states that Shona speaking migrants are there but there are not so widely diffused throughout Hillbrow and it depends where you are in Hillbrow but you can find them in bigger numbers in other places. This statement by Makanza turned out to be quite true. However, in understanding the situatedness of Shona speaking people, Marshall can be deployed as a useful metaphor. He typifies the type of Shona speaking migrants who are *in place* in Hillbrow as does Stembeni. Both grew up in Bulawayo and speak Ndebele fluently, as such they can easily code switch. Although from a general and cursory glance the population of Zimbabweans in Hillbrow is skewed in favour of Ndebele speaking migrants, a more in-depth spatial excavation for Shona speakers, revealed what I term 'private' or 'sheltered' places in which there is a visible population of Shona speaking migrants.

Among these private or sheltered domains is Maxima Hotel- a place that doubles as a bar and strip club. On the day that I visited the place there was a heavy presence of Zimbabweans both Ndebele and Shona speakers. I managed to speak to one particular woman at this hotel. What emerged from this interview is that the huge numbers of women working in this space mostly stay in the hotel and they are charged rentals per day. Chipo revealed that:

> I came here [Johannesburg] because of the deterioration of the situation in Zimbabwe. Initially I worked as a maid but the money was not sufficient to

meet my family obligations. I have a mother who needs to be looked after as well as a small daughter who is at primary school. I do not even want to think of my daughter.

Chipo reveals that as a working girl she exists in a larger social network and social world of other working girls. She has a number of friends across the two ethnolinguistic groups. She reveals how within the bar language is not a big issue since people can understand Shona and Ndebele in various capacities. The bar can be understood physically, symbolically and materially. Symbolically it is a metaphor for 'freedom' of choice of language and expression. Materially it forges a particular space-language-relationship which is different from the broader Hillbrow and Yeoville spaces. While Hillbrow appears to be characterized by "negative spaces" (Munn 2003:93) for Shona speaking migrants; the language in the bars is determined by interaction between the Shona women and specific people. If Shona does not suffice then there is code switching and English comes in handy.

The situation of the Shona speaking women in such places as Maxima reveals some of the tensions and contradictions that Hillbrow is a Ndebele colony. While other migrants have 'colonised' Yeoville and Hillbrow, for women like Chipo, they have 'colonised' the bar. They know what kind of language to use, and with whom and when and for what purposes. While at the broad level the linguistic market is dominated by Ndebele, at the micro-level there are complex variations notable in the shifting orders of indexicality across different spaces of Hillbrow. The bar stands as an indexical order which Shona speaking women's 'terrain' which legitimates certain kinds of behaviour and practice. In the bar, I noticed how Shona music by popular artists such as Macheso was playing on one side of the bar, while on the other side of the bar there was a strip show led by a Disc Jockey (DJ) playing R&B songs such as Brandy's Piano man. The bar metaphorically and practically speaks to issues of identity resources within specific relationships. It reveals the anatomy of space- a certain type of fashioning of spaces and spatialization practices among Ndebele and Shona migrants which is a by-product of feedback between people's social practices and the laws that are ingrained in space thus producing orders of indexicality.

The concerns about language and identity and how they intersect with certain appropriated spaces are a window into this character of space and how in an agentive manner it intersects with people's social practices. In the next section I

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move onto further discourses about Hillbrow as a field that is generally hospitable to the capitals of Zimbabwean migrants, although Ndebele migrants appear to be more entrenched compared to their Shona counterparts.

6.6 IsiZulu semaflethini': making sense of the language practices of Zimbabwean migrants in Hillbrow

With regards to language Marshall states that "in Hillbrow the dominant language is Ndebele but it's that Ndebele type of slang that we used to speak in the high density suburbs[44] because most people who are here are from there."

For Themba, the language that is spoken most in Hillbrow is IsiNdebele which is a scenario he links to the demographics of the neighbourhood. When I probe further asking about the status of local languages such as Zulu, Xhosa and Suthu among others. He retorts:

> Local languages are in the minority. Zulu is there but the most widely spoken language is Ndebele. If you want to call that Zulu…Zulu from home but it's not the same as South African Zulu. It's very different. The tone and everything is different.

When I ask about interface with Zulus using this language he states that it is easy for someone speaking local Zulu to discern that you are a foreigner. This point is reiterated by Ntokozo when he states that "Ndebele is the widely spoken language in Hillbrow" a fact he sees as stemming from the large numbers of Kalangas and Ndebeles who are from Ndebele speaking areas and speak Ndebele. When I quiz him about whether the language spoken by the Ndebele is Zulu he states:

> Well, may be Ndebele slash Zulu but not Zulu. Zulu is there but there a few Zulus. Even the Zulu we learnt at school was Ndebele/Zulu; it was not Zulu. May be if you speak to a local person for a short period of time then he may assume that you are a Zulu person from somewhere but over a long period of time he will know that you are not Zulu.

The descriptions of the Zulu spoken by Zimbabweans in Hillbrow have striking similarities, with descriptions by migrants in Yeoville. Migrants see their Zulu as

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[44] As I discussed in the previous chapter there is a constant movement between the past and the present in migrants' discourses about the spaces they inhabit and their practices.

different from spoken by South Africans in terms of tone, accent and limited Zulu vocabulary. In this case, isiZulu semaflethini is also a marked Zimbabwean product. I discuss the relative and shifting value of isiZulu semaflethini under different conditions of use in the following chapter. For now, I proceed to focus on the place making strategies of migrants in Hillbrow.

6.7 Housing and space making in Hillbrow

As is the case with the language practices, there is very little difference between Yeoville and Hillbrow in terms of the respondents' spatialization 'tactics.' Yeoville's spatialization strategy of sharing flats and where preference is given to sharing with people from home is reproduced in Hillbrow. For example, when I ask Samukile about how Hillbrow is and to describe how she navigates being Zimbabwean in Hillbrow she states that it is "no sweat being in Hillbrow because Hillbrow is Bulawayo and so I am at home in Hillbrow." She goes on to note that:

> I stay in a two bedroom flat. I stay alone in my bed and then four other people share other rooms. All of them are just like me- people from home. Except for one Xhosa who stays in the room close to the balcony.

Themba on the other hand states that he shares a flat with thirteen people who are all Ndebele speakers from home. He states that, "We are thirteen in this flat. All the people here are Ndebele and from home. There are four bedrooms but it's different kinds of sharing. There are bedrooms and spaces which are shared among us."

Marshall on the other hand reveals that, "I stay in a two bedroom flat which I share with a Zulu guy and his wife." When I ask if the guy knows that he is a foreigner he states that "Yeah he knows that I am a foreigner."

These responses and scenarios are emblematic of the housing strategies of migrants in Hillbrow. There are no migrants in my research population who told me that they did not share accommodation in their flats. When I inquired about the networking around Zimbabweanness, with an ethnic dimension, with regards, to accommodation migrants in different ways echoed Xolani's observation:

> You can't just stay with any and every one. If you stay with a Congolese you will have to learn to love kwasakwasa. You will end up dancing ndombolo. These rooms are small and people do their things across the curtain which

you will be exposed to. It's better for me to stay with someone, I share a number of things with so I have little problems relating with the person.

The outlook of Hillbrow shapes the relationships that migrants build around some common cultural capitals. Language and culture become critical safeguards for social relations that will not be problematic. In light of the fact that their housing strategies are innovations which are regulated by them and issues of goodwill, and not by any law, migrants have to be strategies in the social contracts and relationships they form. This is akin to Madsen (2004) Mozambican migrants in Johannesburg who develop their own moral codes and relationships because they also exist partially outside the law. In the following section I move on to discuss the situatedness of Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot.

6.8 Diepsloot: welcome to South Africa?

6.8.1 A radically different social universe: circumscribed interactional spaces for the Other other in Diepsloot

Diepsloot fits Wacquant's description of "stigmatized neighbourhoods situated at the very bottom of the hierarchical system of places that compose the metropolis" (Wacquant, 2008: 1). Like Yeoville and Hillbrow Diepsloot is inhabited by South Africa's real others. However as research reveals Diepsloot is confronted by more acute problems, for example, unreliable water supply and informal housing structures (Benit, 2002). As discussed in chapter 5 Diepsloot is characterized by a *spatial habitus*, which is constituted by, among other things, vigilantism, mob violence, a linguistic market dominated by South African languages with Pedi (northern Sotho) being widely diffused. In addition to this there is an aversion to the English language. In the following section I delve deeper into what constitutes Diepsloot and how migrants experience neighbourhoods.

6.8.2 Diminished numbers: underdogs in an identity market dominated by South Africans

A major structural difference that migrants point to which they see as informing their locus in Diepsloot is the fact that foreigners are a minority in Diepsloot. There is a general consensus that the majority of people in Diepsloot are South Africans- a situation that marks a disjuncture from the 'Zimbabwean life worlds' in Yeoville and Hillbrow. What are the implications of such a scenario and how do migrants situate themselves? What type of an identity field could emerge out of such a sociocultural context? How is power distributed in the area? What forms of identification and identity representation do the two Zimbabwean ethnic groups adopt? What are these predicated upon? Data reveals that Diepsloot's market and indexical order are largely in favour of the symbolic, social, cultural, political and economic capitals of South Africans unlike Hillbrow and Yeoville. I proceed now by way of presentation and interpretation of findings regarding the situatedness of Zimbabwean migrants in the area.

6.9 "They hate English here": speaking on the terms of South Africans

Migrants reveal, as Kholwani does that, "People in Diepsloot don't like speaking English. Once you speak to them in English or a foreign language they start looking at you funny." In migrants' narratives, 'hatred" and "inability to speak English" are used interchangeably. Takunda argues that unlike Zimbabweans South Africans are not proficient in English. Regarding where he stays Takunda states:

> I speak Zulu since where I stay there are Zulu speakers. That is the language that I use to communicate with them. I can also speak Venda and Tswana.

He goes on to state that:

> When I speak to locals in the local languages it's something which makes me feel good. It's like if you cannot speak a local language it's very difficult to stay with these people. As such you have to sacrifice to speak these languages so that you are well placed in society. It helps when you can speak a local language and the first thing is safety. When I say safety I mean regarding things such as xenophobia because if they discover that you are a foreigner it will be a problem for you. They are going to say, at such and such a place there is a kwerekwere (foreigner).

Takunda reveals that during the xenophobic attacks he had travelled to Zimbabwe. Although Takunda is very confident about his Zulu speaking ability which he claims allows him to transcend his foreignness, when I switch the interview from the mixture of Shona and English to my basic Zulu he stutters and is barely able to say two well-constructed basic Zulu sentences. He stammers with a heavy Shona accent and reverts back to English and Shona.

Matambanashe another Shona speaking migrant in a way reveals similar identity and linguistic cleavages in the neighbourhood of Diepsloot. He states:

> The widely spoken language where I stay is Zulu. Zulu is like Ndebele so you can say I use Ndebele. However, I am not that good in Zulu because if I am in my house with my wife and children we speak Shona. When I am outside the house that is when I speak Zulu.

When I ask him how he deals with his inability to speak proper Zulu in his interactions Matambanashe reveals that "[y]ou see where I stay there are a lot of Zimbabweans so we normally speak Zimbabwean." When I ask what this Zimbabwean [language] is, he retorts:

I mean Shona. We speak a lot of Shona where we stay. It's a lot of us, almost about five families and only two South African families. So we are dominating when it comes to speaking Shona where I stay.

Although Matambanashe views where he stays as a place dominated by Shonas which allows for the Shona language to flourish, this dominance is extinguished as one moves from the home to the street and other spaces in Diepsloot. Matambanashe's perspective of Diepsloot reveals spatial interdictions (Munn, 2003) when he describes his sense of place in Diepsloot. He states that:

> If I am in Diepsloot I don't visit very much. I instead visit outside Diepsloot, for example Kempton Park. My young brothers stay in Kempton Park. I can also visit Mpumalanga. I have friends there and my young brothers have friends there too.

I probe further and ask Matambanashe to describe his relationships and associative networks in Diepsloot. I ask how his interactions and associations with South Africans are, in Diepsloot. He reveals that:

> It's difficult for me to associate [with South Africans] particularly if we haven't worked together before. We find it easier to speak and relate to each other as Shonas. In fact where I work there are no South Africans there. Our relationships start from work and we maintain them even in the townships. So we can call each other and find out each other's programmes; and suggest places to visit, whether it's leisure or what.

In light of the fact that his world appears to be outward looking I become curious to find out what motivated him to stay in Diepsloot. Matambanashe's staying in Diepsloot is tied to his survival strategies. He notes that:

> When I came to South Africa I first stayed in Pretoria. I decided to move to Diepsloot because I heard that Diepsloot was closer to the place [Fourways] where I could get a job. I have been working in Fourways for five years. You can get jobs which give you money that's much better than what someone working in an office gets.

Matambanashe's stay in Diepsloot appears to be *partial* in the sense that for solace and social intercourse he looks towards the 'familiar' Other others who lie outside the borders of this indexical order and field. He is *in* Diepsloot but does not feel like he is *of* Diepsloot- he is out of place. While in Diepsloot, Matambanashe says he speaks Zulu although during the interview he can hardly speak a few basic sentences.

Migrants' responses reveal that Diepsloot moves closer to a *unified market*[45] in which South African languages are not only on the *ascendancy* but are hegemonic. By extension, the indexical order, indexes non-South African languages and identities negatively. In spite of this dominated situatedness that forces him to an outside world for solace, Matambanashe's living space in Diepsloot appears to be simultaneously a *Shona island and Shona bastion* where five Shona families outweigh the two South African families. I argue that this is a miniature reflection of attempts of *social closure* epitomized in the Zimbabwean colonies of Hillbrow and Yeoville. These are ways for the Other other to ameliorate their subaltern position.

Rumbidzai states that she initially stayed in Beirchleigh with relatives but decided to move out because her husband was coming to join her. She moved to Diepsloot because she had friends there and there was cheap accommodation available. Just like Matambanashe, Rumbidzai reveals that outside of her backroom her interactions are moulded around four neighbours who are also Shona speaking and therefore she has no language problems. Outside of that she reveals that, in terms of social life, there is only work to speak of. Work is in town where she works as a manageress in a restaurant in the Johannesburg city centre. Rumbidzai reveals that she is not conversant in any local language and she depends on Shona and English.

Having discussed the situatedness of Shona speaking migrants in Diepsloot I now turn to Ndebele speaking migrants. When it comes to the situatedness of Ndebele speaking migrants there are a number of discernible differences. First of all, Ndebele speaking migrants like their Shona counterparts see Diepsloot as dominated by South Africans, and none of them refer to the neighbourhood as their 'playground' or 'colony'.

Nomalanga describes Diepsloot as characterized by a number of South African languages. She reveals that everyone speaks whatever language they please but "most black South Africans in Diepsloot hate speaking English."

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[45] I use unified here to express how the linguistic market is characterized by South African languages as the standard languages determining social interaction in the neighbourhood. Migrants reveal that while there are a number of languages, Pedi appears dominant. On the other hand, English is frowned on and not a productive resource in the neighbourhood.

Pertaining to her identity in Diepsloot, Nomalanga states that "I have told them that I am Zimbabwean but they do not believe me. They think I am South African when they look at my [light] complexion." However, with more probing, Nomalanga reveals that she has disclosed her Zimbabwean identity to only a selected few. She in the Goffmanian sense has managed her disclosure through a backstage and front stage binary (Goffman, 1959). She chose to let those close to her passage into the back stage as a way of managing her stigmatized identity (Goffman, 1963). She states that:

> I told my landlord when I moved in that I am Zimbabwean. Some landlords do not like Zimbabweans[46] and say that they are thieves and that usually leads some people to lie and say that they are South African. Some landlords also ask where you are from because they actually prefer Zimbabweans. South Africans don't like paying rent that is why there are a lot of Zimbabweans staying in the backrooms.

Nomalanga reveals that she stays in a backroom and that in some of the backrooms there are some Pedis and Zulus. She states:

> I stay with Pedi and Zulu speaking people in the backrooms. Each has a room outside and I have mine. They know that I am Zimbabwean. There is a difference in the Zulu that we speak. Their accent is much deeper than mine. They know I am just adopting their language but I am not Khabazela.

When I ask what *Khabazela* means she states "[y]ou do not know that Zulus refer to themselves as *Khabazelas*[47]." Interestingly when I ask whether her disclosure means that she treats herself like a Zimbabwean, Nomalanga is non-committal and not forthright in her response. She states that "people believe that I am South African because of the way I am in terms of how my complexion is and the way that I speak". I ask whether they cannot tell from her 'not being a *Khabazela* that she is not Zulu.' Nomalanga reveals that her Zulu is not a *Khabazela's* but it is good enough to pass for a *Khabazela's* depending on the inquisitor; furthermore she states that when she walks in the streets no-one knows whether she is Zimbabwean or not. This is something I found plausible because the way she spoke was different from the Zulu I had encountered in Yeoville and Hillbrow. Unlike the seemingly basic 'isiZulu

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[46] Telling her landlord was a calculated risk in light of the potential negative backlash she speaks of.
[47] I took Nomalanga's use of Khabazela to be based on her knowlegde or imagination of the term (surname/totem) to have some currency in defining one's Zuluness, much like Khumalo is imagined to define one's Ndebeleness in Zimbabwe.

semaflethini' which I encountered in Yeoville and Hillbrow whose defining characteristic was the intermittent substitution of certain words with Zulu words hers was smoother and I had to continuously ask her to clarify certain words for me. In order to try and get a *qualitative difference* between the 'Zulu' Nomalanga spoke and 'isiZulu semaflethini' Yeoville and Hillbrow, I ask her if she had ever been to the two places. I then asked her to classify and compare the Zulu spoken in Diepsloot to the one spoken in Yeoville and Hillbrow. She states:

> Hillbrow and Yeoville are the places where people first started migrating to. And because people from home would stay with one another they continued to speak the languages they spoke back home because it was just like being at home. They only changed very little but it was also not real Zulu but slang. There were few Shonas back then. Shonas came when things got worse back home. You see most people who came to South Africa around 2006-2007 do not know how to speak Zulu. Some of them forget and still use words such as "sibili" (Ndebele for really), "khathesi" (Ndebele for now). Then there is "mara" it's an Afrikaans word that's often used to replace certain words for emphasis and "Neh" is like saying "right?" But then some people exaggerated the way they use these words.

Nomalanga goes on to give other broad examples noting that passing off as South African goes beyond language and is something that is embodied. She states that even the way certain people dress sells out their identity. She states that:

> There are some bornmakhaya (people born in rural areas) -even if s/he is dresses in a jean or slacks you can tell that they are not properly worn [coordinated] and this person is from home.

Nomalanga highlights a very critical issue of *habituated practices* and how the *habitus* stems from a particular context but adapts in the fields that we encounter. Bourdieu argues in this regard that all sociology is historical and history sociological (Steinmetz, 2011).

Mafana's identity representations typify those of most Ndebele speaking migrants in Diepsloot. Mafana states that he speaks and behaves like a Zulu person and people 'think' that he is Zulu. In addition to Zulu, Mafana states that he speaks a bit of Pedi which he has learned because of the large numbers of Pedi speaking people in Diepsloot. He says he previously stayed in Hillbrow but decided to move to Diepsloot because life is slower and easier there. Ease of life being something that he locates in the affordable rentals and other commodities. Interestingly, he goes on to note that

"the people here [in Diepsloot] accept you as you are." I probe him and ask him why he has to pretend he is South African if he feels accepted. Mafana states:

> I use Zulu to hide my identity. You always hope that they will not recognize you as foreign. And when you speak Zulu you relate much better on the basis of a common language. They know that you share a similar background even if you are from Zimbabwe. If you speak Zulu they will know that culturally you should be closer and they may treat you better.

Mafana posits that he does not become a fully flegded Zulu person staying among Zulu people but he displays what he believes to be the Zulu characteristics of dress and speaking the Zulu language. Mafana states that, "a Zulu speaking person can tell that I am not Zulu but if I speak to a Pedi or Venda speaking person he is likely not to know the difference." He goes on to note that:

> You know what? These people know [that you are foreign] but they do not ask you or tell you. At times if you chat with them they will mention it. They may say so and so [other Zimbabweans he knows] is also from your country, he is from there. But they will not come to you and tell you that you are a foreigner. Another thing is that foreigners living among South Africans such as here in Diepsloot are united to the point that you know people from Zimbabwe. We stay together, so one foreigner pollutes everyone else, and whether you speak Zulu or Xhosa they will know. There are those who know and some who do not. But once one is known the whole group is compromised.

According to Mafana, what militates against Zimbabwean migrants' attempts to conceal themselves is that once Zimbabweans get to a place "they taint each other." Mafana notes that tainting each other occurs by virtue of a group mentality. He states:

> We group ethnically, that is, Ndebeles as Ndebeles and Shonas as Shonas among themselves. However, we do link up because I can speak Shona and I do not mind that another person is Shona speaking. Tribalism is there but you do not feel it. We belong together and we share similar problems. Most of the time, depending on their audience Shonas speak English.

Mafana notes that there is something ingrained in the social practices of Zimbabweans- *their habitus*-that creates certain *potentialities for them to be* 'accepted' in Diepsloot. He asserts that Zimbabweans prioritize paying their rents and have an ethic of hard work and productivity which betrays their identities. To this end he states that:

> Zimbabweans pay on time and they generally like to work for a living. A landlord would rather have someone gainfully employed than someone who is

not. When they give you accommodation they may not know that you are Zimbabwean but in time they will know. Like I said people pollute each other. You cannot get a place and fail to get along with a Zimbabwean staying there.

Jabulani is among four other Ndebele speaking migrants who also state that they pass for South Africans. Jabulani asserts that:

> You can speak Zulu and people may believe that you are Zulu. Don't you know that you can be a foreigner and learn to speak the language even better than locals because you have something at stake? Even if someone discovers that you are foreign it's outside the law for that person to come and say it to me. He will come and say it to me in what capacity?

Although Jabulani suggests that he can be more Zulu than Zulus in speech and passes for a Zulu, he reveals that he does not stay among Zulu speaking South Africans. Instead he stays with other Ndebele speaking migrants. Contrary to his claim of being more Zulu than Zulu speakers, Jabulani reveals as the interview goes on, that he is wary of proximity to South Africans as proximity is the potential threat to his identity representations. He reveals, for instance, that when he meets South African police he uses a Swaziland licence and identity card but at work he uses South African papers. He explains that when the police make out that his accent is foreign the foreign papers can cover that aspect.

Nomhle reveals that she stays with Pedi and Shangaan speaking neighbours. Although she communicates with them in Zulu, she notes that they are aware that she is not Zulu. However, when they speak to her there is some convergence because they attempt to speak Zulu too and she also attempts to speak Pedi although she can speak just a bit of the language. An interesting thing is that she points out that her friends mention that, "I should try to change my tone and accent because it is what shows I am not South African." However, Nomhle states that she does not hide her Zimbabwean identity. Ntombi also speaks of a similar situation noting that she stays in a shack with other Ndebele speakers and speaks Ndebele with them because they are also from home. She unlike Nomhle can hardly speak Pedi and relies solely on Ndebele. In the section that follows I focus on Newtown noting how it is structurally different from Diepsloot and has its own impacts on the locus of Zimbabwean migrants in the area.

6.10 Newtown: A radical shift from the Zimbabwean colonies of Yeoville and Hillbrow and the circumscribed spaces of Diepsloot?

Newtown cultural precinct marks a radical departure from the socio-cultural and economic milieu in Hillbrow, Yeoville and Diepsloot. These differences are discernible in the general socio-economic profile of the place. Newtown's built environment reflects the city's efforts at urban renewal and regeneration and in many accounts, it is well maintained. The area is not as congested as either Hillbrow or Yeoville. The residential spaces in Newtown are anchored in a cultural precinct which is widely known for its heritage, cultural and art facilities which include sites such as "Museum Africa, the Market Theatre, Kippies jazz, and several performing arts and music organizations" (Delmont, 2004: 34).

The situatedness of respondents in Newtown in so many ways mirrors that of people living in a closed community. The flats (residences) are walled off and lie secure behind walls and security fences. For one to enter these premises as in my case during this ethnography, I had to produce an identity document. I also had to motivate to the security with regards to the person I had come to see; the person's flat number and whether the person was expecting me. This effectively means that residents of Newtown like their places of residence are to an extent cordoned off into a 'selective' and exclusive social world. For one to enter this social world one has to bear the requisite marks, 'entry fees' or signifiers of authenticity that qualify him/her to enter such a social world. These security services are organised by flat management. In this regard the political system of Newtown is inward looking and exclusionary.

The above constitute some of the tangible markings of the class and socio-economic differences of Newtown from the more rundown neighbourhoods of Hillbrow and Yeoville and the township of Diepsloot.

Internally the structuring and organization of the social world is quite interlinked to how one gains residential status. To this end respondents reveal that they pay rentals that fall within the R3 500 to R4 000 range per month. The initial rental instalments including deposit range between 14 500 rands to R15 000 rands. This is

steep compared to the Yeoville and Hillbrow rentals which range from R150-R1500[48] per month. This without a doubt has a bearing on the access to Newtown residency and includes as well as excludes certain 'social classes.' All of the respondents that I spoke to were professional or semi-professional with some having attained university degrees, some of them up to MA level; while some were in the processes of attaining degrees. Consequently, they were gainfully employed and had the economic capital to meet the conditions of residence here.

6.11 Identity groups, internal politics and language issues in Newtown

Respondents in Newtown reveal that the populations in the flats they inhabit are a diversified lot which includes Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Congolese and Cameroonians. It is a mixture of foreigners and South Africans who are generally of a higher social class compared to, for instance, those in much of Hillbrow, Yeoville and the townships. Unlike Yeoville, the political system that Newtown residents come into contact with is the flat which is in form of a caretaker and the security services that are organised by the flat management. In this regard the political system of Newtown is inward looking. Although most migrants in their responses state that they do not get a sense of a dominant language because there is a mixture of various languages, some of them local, some foreign; they all speak of language as the most widely diffused language.

In the following section I discuss and interpret respondents' outlook and experiences of Newtown. I will proceed by way of comparisons with Hillbrow and Yeoville.

6.12 Which nationalities are visible in Newtown; and what of the types of Zimbabweans?

NaNcenga, a female Ndebele migrant describes the population in her complex as follows: "There are mostly black African people who speak different languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, as well as Ndebele and Shona." In addition to these people, she notes that there are also lots of Nigerians who are running small businesses here. "

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[48] In Yeoville and Hillbrow space can be stretched to unimaginable limits through the use of curtains where every inch of space is utilized. In Newtown these space use techniques are not possible.

NaNcenga reveals that she communicates mostly in Ndebele, Zulu and English, depending on who she is interfacing with. She notes that Ndebele is largely restricted to her home where she stays with her husband and little daughter. However, she uses Ndebele to communicate with people who understand Ndebele such as Zulu and Xhosa speakers.

Nkululeko a male Ndebele speaking migrant echoes the sentiments of a diversified population in Newtown. He notes that "there are Sotho, Zulu, Venda and Nigerian guys, as well as Shonas and Ndebeles. It's a mixture of different African people." Despite this mixture, Nkululeko reveals that there is no communication problem because the institutionalized language of use is English. He points out that flat meetings headed by a Venda caretaker, involving Ndebele, Shona, Sotho and Nigerian people are conducted in English. Both NaNcenga and Nkululeko reveal that the linguistic market is quite liberal with no ascendancy of any particular language except English which is 'owned by everyone.' NaNcenga locates this particular scenario in the fact that people in Newtown, and particularly in her apartment complex, are relatively well educated and emerge from diverse backgrounds. They do not constitute a homogenous category. To this end NaNcenga states:

> Even South Africans here do not have much in common. They come from different places and are in Johannesburg pursuing different things. As such I think it's difficult for them to even conceive of themselves as one common group. Everyone is defined by what they do [such as work].

Madumbe reveals that Newtown for her is like much of the area covering Braamfontein and the central business district (CBD). She states that this area has a mixed population and English is the dominant language of use. Madumbe reveals that she relies on English to communicate with different people who like her stem from different socio-cultural backgrounds. Madumbe notes that she has made Tanzanian friends who speak Swahili and with whom she speaks English. Besides these friends, Madumbe reveals that she had developed close friendship with some Venda speaking colleagues who have however left the city for Cape Town. For all her purposes, Madumbe relies on English and has found that some of the bits of language she knows are now redundant. These include a bit of French which she learnt at High School.

Tarisai another Shona speaking migrant reveals that he and his wife moved to Newtown due to the place's relative peace and quiet, as well as its affordability. Like his other fellow Zimbabweans in the area Tarisai takes the area's linguistic market to be modern and permissive to English which is 'the language that everyone can speak'. In addition to English, Tarisai's multilingualism is limited to Shona and an understanding of Ndebele with no ability to communicate back in Ndebele.

The above position by Tarisai is echoed by Mbadza who states that Newtown is affordable and quite close to the CBD and that makes it attractive. Furthermore Mbadza states that:

> The fact that what qualifies one to be here is one's ability to service rentals regardless of one's identity produces a certain type of community. Although people will be people there is at least a certain level of predictability with regards to people's behaviour.

Newtown gives life to Fred Khumalo's description of South African Johannesburgers' predilection for English (Khumalo, 2010). While for him this scenario is worth lamenting over, particularly considering that his fellow Zulus are professionalizing and gravitating towards English; in Newtown this state of affairs affords both Ndebele and Shona migrants a space where their identities are not undermined. Newtown's code-switching typifies the multilingualism in which English has a diglossic relationship with Kiswahili in Nairobi Kenya.

6. 13 Cross identification[49]: linguistic distance, silences and omissions and the creation of linguistic identities

According to migrants 'isiZulu semaflethini' and other expressive variants of Zulu, Xhosa and local languages, which migrants possess but consider as 'inauthentic South African linguistic resources' are not just limited to the flats or to interface between migrants by themselves. Migrants reveal that these variants take on other qualities in contexts and situations of fleeting social contact such as in taxis and shops. By virtue of migrants being in fleeting encounters in taxis, for example,

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[49] This is a term I coined to describe these identity negotiation strategies that seemed to be quite general in the narratives of respondents. Cross identification is based on migrants' rationalizations of who the most qualified inquisitors to expose their passing are. From this rationalization, migrants deliberately posture identities that are contrary to the believed competence of their inquisitors.

indicating where they drop off, and asking for their change in taxis when the need arises, migrants suggest that these resources that are ordinarily marked as foreign such as 'isiZulu semaflethini' are not easily locatable under such fleeting moments. This functional utility is said to be part of a broader script of the knowlegde needed for proper behaviour in such places or situations as in a taxi. Phathisa states for example that:

> When you are traveling in Jozi you have to know a lot of things. You have to know the appropriate hand gesture to a taxi for instance. You have to know the fare. Once you sit on the front seat besides the driver then you are the conductor. You need to know all that.

Migrants reveal that there actually exists a 'taxi language' which is important in negotiating one's way around Johannesburg's taxi system, and which substitutes much of the spoken language. Migrants reveal that one has to know how to stop a taxi using the 'taxi language' which is not verbal but embodied. There are hand and finger signals, such as the 'V' sign made with the index finger and middle finger, then the index finger pointing upwards. All these indicate different destinations. The V sign has currency for Yeoville, while the index finger pointing upwards usually represents the direction toward the CBD depending on where one is. Most migrants view knowlegde of this as a way of having an uninterrupted trip without having to interact with too many people. Tambudzai recounts her strategies in taxi situations stating that "I would signal the taxi to stop using a hand sign and get in. When I reached my destination I would shout the name of street and simply get out." The 'after irobot', 'short left' or 'short right'[50] phrases are necessary implements of a journey to any place.

Tafadzwa states that, "I sit and do not talk to anyone in the taxi and I ask to be dropped off when the taxi has arrived where I am going. Normally I carry the correct amount and as such there is hardly a need to talk to anyone." For the more adept like Pholani and Mxolisi "The eita, eita, brah'; 'Ola, whoozit' (Hi/ Hello) and the 'after irobot' (drop me after the traffic light) serve as greeting that are not locatable within a specific language variety but are part of the common salutations in Johannesburg.

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[50] These terms indicate to the driver that someone would like to get off at designated drop off and pick up points described by these terms.

Quite interestingly some migrants like Lindiwe and Gumbuka state that "when you are just walking in the street no-one can tell that you are Zimbabwean or South African because people are minding their own business and there is neither direct contact nor sustained interaction with you." To this end some like Xolani, Mxolisi, Ntando, Zephaniah, Mafana and Nomalanga state that it is possible to pass for a Zulu if you have very limited contact with someone.

This passing for a Zulu or Xhosa occurs through a strategic performance, I term 'cross identification' A number of migrants argue that speaking a language that goes against that of one's inquisitors masks one's language. Mafana's testament captures these performances. He states that while in Diepsloot, he projects a Zulu identity. Mafana is convinced that he is assured of getting away with passing for a Zulu-speaking person when he speaks Zulu to non-Zulu speaking South Africans. However, he notes that he cannot achieve the same feat when he speaks to a Zulu speaking person because his accent, tone and deportment is different and "these people can tell" that you are not South African. Whether real or imagined, migrants, who are 'competent' in different South African languages, reveal this strategy of 'crossing-identifying' to offset the ability of their inquisitors to locate them with a specific and particular ethno-linguistic group.

What is notable is that migrants do not pass for South Africans by becoming intimate or close to South Africans with whom they share cultural proximity. In fact, "cross identification entails a well rationalized regime of boundary maintenance whose key facets involve well timed silences, omissions and keeping of linguistic distance in order to bluff the inquisitor in the process creating linguistic identities. Being within the evaluative range of the inquisitor with the requisite cultural and linguistic competence through extended contact and intimate proximity is seen as what blows one's cover.

To this end, those migrants who are able to speak "IsiZulu semaflethini", 'Xhosa' and Pedi exhibit confidence around South Africans who do not speak those languages. Quite notably, Zulus are seen by both Ndebele and Shona speakers as the problem group in South Africa. Phathisa a Ndebele speaking migrant echoes a common refrain when he states that, "Ah Zulus can tell that you are not one of them if you speak Zulu to them. And they don't like us. I work with some of them and they told

me that you guys are cowards you ran away from Shaka now you are running away from Mugabe. Go back and sort out your mess." Phathisa goes on to states that, "Although they say it as if its light hearted you can tell from the way they look at you and say things that deep down they resent you." Phathisa states laughing that, "If you want to be a Zulu you can't do it with Zulus. People who can't distinguish Zulus and Ndebeles are Sothos or Tswanas, and Pedis." Ntando underscores the performativity involved in cross-identification and the art's underlying rationale He states that:

> You see South Africa is good because it has many languages- eleven official languages. But you see South Africans are ignorant when it comes to a language that is not theirs. Zulus in particular do not want to learn another person language. So South Africans are good in their own langauges. For a Zulu it's Zulu, for a Pedi its Pedi, and so forth. But, you find that Pedis can learn Zulu. They have no problem with that but Zulus hate learning other people's languages. They believe that South Africa belongs to them and they are the true South Africans.

Ntando reckons that it is South Africans' pride and ignorance of each other's languages that provides Zimbabweans a window of opportunity to 'cross-identify.' Ntando's description historicizes 'cross-identification' as a strategy that migrants have been using to negotiate identity for some time. He posits that:

> When I came to South Africa the situation was very difficult because the police would always hunt for foreigners. Every corner you turned you would see a police van and they were arresting and not playing. So you had to learn different languages to survive. If you are confronted by a policeman and he spoke to you in Zulu then you would respond in Pedi. If he spoke in Pedi you would respond in Zulu. So this would force you to learn many languages. Even if you were not very good you would learn enough to speak your way out.

I ask Ntando why as someone conversant in Zulu he did not just stick to Zulu. Ntando echoes the claim that is still made by other migrants in contemporary when he states, "You stood a better chance that way. If you spoke to a Zulu police officer in Zulu he was likely to quiz you and chances of you slipping and being caught were high. There are other variations of cross identification which still build around the notion of going against the grain by playing out different identities that offset the power of the inquisitor. For instance, Dumisani who uses a South African identity document at work states that, "when I meet the police I use my asylum paper. I tell

them I am a Zimbabwean and here is my paper." When I ask why he has to shift between these identities he states that:

> With the police it's a problem if they catch you with a green book and they detect from the way that you speak that you are a foreigner. They can detect I tell you. Then you are in shit. They can tell from how you talk. The police here (Johannesburg) are clever. Even from just the dressing they can tell you, 'This one is a South African and this one is Zimbabwean.

Dumisani's narrative is also reiterated by Nomalanga and Samukile who both say that when "you meet the police just show them you papers and tell them you are Zimbabwean". Dumisani goes on to argue that he can also tell who is Zimbabwean or not by just looking at the way people are dressed and the way they talk. His narrative is in line with what Mxolisi and Pholani say when they state that negotiation of identity goes beyond language but how one dresses and how one walks among other bodily markers

The concept of cross identification captures migrants' dramas of survival in Johannesburg that are scripted according to how power is structured in particular situations. We see a negotiation of different orders of indexicality through strategic deployment of various capitals at migrants' disposal. A specific self, seen as less susceptible to detection as the Other other is deployed strategically. In this concept, we see the linkages of Bourdieu, Goffman and Blommaert's ideas playing out in migrants' negotiations of the politics of identity. Cross identification reveals that there exist many expressive styles of different languages such as 'Zulu' which are operational in Johannesburg's linguistic market. The value and currency of these expressive styles shift depending on the particular situation and context, and by extension speakers are indexed as having a particular identity. I discuss cross identification in another section focusing on the work space. Before moving to another section I will briefly discuss other spaces migrants perceive as *un-negotiable* when it comes to identity representation.

6.13.2 Other spaces and other contours of being the Other other: Zimbabwean passports and identity documents as resilient markers of Zimbabwean amakwerekwere

NaNcenga's story that when she took her child to Hillbrow Hospital her Zimbabwean papers immediately classified her as a kwerekwere speaks to spaces migrants see as compromising when it comes to their identity representation. NaNcenga recounts her experiences at Hillbrow Hospital. She states that:

> The nightmare actually started when I went to give birth to Ncenga. I was insulted and told a lot of things. Imagine you are in pain and you are being told that you are here to give birth; that is all you know you Mugabe girl. I was lucky because I was attended to but another woman gave birth and had to catch her own baby while nurses watched TV. So it was not a pleasant encounter. My fellow women were suffering and being insulted and I was going through my own nightmare.

This constitutes one of the spaces that NaNcenga views as openly prejudicial and where even when you can speak a mutually intelligible language such as Ndebele, your Zimbabwean 'ID' takes precedence and becomes the mark that precipitates your suffering. For Nkululeko, the DoHA is the place where your passport supersedes all your other frames of identity and thus impacts on your identity negotiation strategies. For others, any situation involving going to the police stations to certify documents or report a crime entails unpleasant experience. In addition to these spaces that migrants feel are defined by the Zimbabwean mark, others like Pholani note that moving out of one's familiar territory, such as from the inner city area to a township also shifts one's ability to negotiate issues of identity and "compromise" one's safety" which is something that he will never do again.

It suffices to note that spaces that migrants experience as hospitable and negative are diversified. However, the common denominators shaping the particular experience in different spaces are the particular inquisitors and relationships which are the factors that influence the capacity of migrants to negotiate their identity. NaNcenga's testimony suggests that these spaces are gendered, in the sense that women have to navigate certain spaces that their male counterparts do not have to navigate.

6. 14 Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to demonstrate how the four neighbourhoods of Yeoville, Hillbrow, Newtown and Diepsloot constitute, at macro level, differentiated fields, which filter down to the micro arenas of interaction and identity evaluation, i.e., orders of indexicality**.** I have also attempted to reveal how migrants negotiate the shifting frames of identification and identity formation in different contexts and situations. These fields are structured and constituted by different relational matrices whose evaluation and pricing indices bring forth different constructions of Ndebele and Shona migrants as the *Other other.*

I have demonstrated in this chapter how movement from one field to another is akin to entering a new 'bank' where identity and linguistic investments may appreciate and depreciate in 'interest' or value, depending on the nature and combination of these capitals and the pricing indices of the particular field one has walked into. Movement across Johannesburg for Zimbabwean migrants is an incessant process of field encounters and evaluative mechanisms. These encounters produce shifting sands of otherization and migrants as the Other other.

Migrants are well versed and conscious of these fields and their pricing mechanisms and reveal that being in one indexical order may produce certain censures on the basis of their *habituated practices.* They are aware that they may be intensely otherized or constructed negatively in different fields (and orders orders of indexicality), and this knowledge allows them to engage in the strategic construction and deployment of their capitals. There are of course certain continuities and confluences in the experiences of migrants across different fields; as well as discontinuities and disjunctures in these fields.

Another central theme that emerges in this chapter is that there is a great deal of code switching happening in Johannesburg. This code switching is dependent on the relative weights of the hierarchized linguistic products of migrants which intersect with their own *capital worth* in various fields as the dominant or the dominated class fragments. Furthermore, it becomes apparent amidst this code switching that language varieties are not unified things. This merges out of the continuum of

competence of the Zimbabwean migrants which consequently feeds into the constructions of their identities.

In the next chapter, I cross fields and by extension orders of indexicality and focus on migrants' locus in different work spaces that fall within both the formal and informal sector domain. I evaluate how migrants situate themselves in these different spaces in terms of their linguistic and identity repertoires. I give primacy to "two moments" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992), that is the structural, in terms of the power relations, institutional policies and norms (spatial habitus) on one hand, and the bundles of capital that migrants bring and deploy in the different work spaces.

Chapter 7

The 'world of money': Ndebele and Shona migrants' identity games and strategies within the work space

7.1 Introduction

> English is the most important language here at work because we use English for everything. All our business is conducted in English, for example asking a white man for business. You cannot speak Zulu [to the white man] but you have to use English. Even when you cannot speak another language you can speak English (Ntombi Fourways).

This chapter discusses the situatedness of Zimbabwean migrants within the work domain. In this regard, I focus on work spaces within the formal and informal sectors of Johannesburg's labour market. Questions that will guide this discussion are: how is the patterning of language in the different workspaces? How does this patterning impact on migrants' identity representations and strategies to navigate other Otherness? In deploying game to make sense of migrants' strategies, I draw from the Bourdeusian and Goffmanian notions of interested performative actions where individuals develop their strategies in relation to anticipated positive outcomes. Games are played against competitors on the basis of laws and rules that migrants are fully cognizant of, which are notable in the structures of their work places. Thus we have to understand relational matrices and power structures in these workspaces.

What emerges from migrants' accounts is that the recognition of language and identity repertoires as 'authentic' or 'adequate' does not intrinsically lie in the language but rather recognition is inscribed in the space and interaction' (cf. Bourdieu, 1991; Blommaert & Varis, 2011). The work space emerges from the data as constituting yet another social world in its own rights and Zimbabwean migrants going to work are confronted by specific structural exertions and demands that they have to be conscious of in the various processes and strategies of self-representation and identity negotiations. It is imperative that we attempt to decode these transcriptions in the different work spaces that migrants traverse. In this regard, I extend the programmatic approach of economy of symbolic practices to the

different work spaces and foreground my analysis in power in order to understand "the symbolic relations between […] speakers" (Bourdieu, 1991: 648).

Within the formal domain the English language occupies a dominant position in the hierarchy of languages used at work; while in the informal sector, language use is less structured and more fluid. I proceed in the section below to focus on different work spaces located in the city's informal sector.

7.2 Diverse fields and domains of communication: different social worlds?

7.2.1 We speak what we speak and no-one can say anything about it: the structure of the informal labour market in the Zimbabwean colony

> Here we speak our language. People know that when they come here they are coming to get their hair done by the Rastas from Zimbabwe. People know that we are Zimbabwean and we are open about it. There is no need as you can see there are Zimbabweans everywhere in the streets.

In this section, I use 'informal' here in a double sense. In the first sense it signifies that these activities fall within the informal labour market. However, there is also the added sense of informality in the way the linguistic markets of Yeoville and Hillbrow present themselves. There is a heavy presence of Other others' languages, which of course, are not part of South Africa's eleven official languages. This destabilizes and subverts conceptualization of linguistic practices that are built around the eleven official languages of South Africa.

Formal and informal situations are constituted by varying investments of state machinery to control behaviour. (Bourdieu, 1991: 70) argues that:

> The more formal a situation is, the more likely it is that the dominant linguistic competence will function in a particular market as linguistic capital capable of imposing the law of price formation which is most favourable to its products and of procuring the corresponding symbolic profit

Informal contexts where state power and the standard norms are contested have been noted to spawn other cultural products that deviate from the 'standard norm' such as linguistic innovations often referred to as isicamtho and tsotsital.

This narrative by Allan, a hairstylist of The House of Locks (THL) street hair salon operating on the pavement of Big Yeoville Shop speaks quite broadly to the

situatedness of Ndebele and Shona migrants operating their informal businesses in the different parts of Yeoville and Hillbrow. Two more members, Dread and Tanaka, complete the active core of THL street salon. THL street salon shares its space of business with Tabitha, a Ndebele speaking female, who sells shoes, clothes and other products within the same Big Yeoville Shop pavement. On the fringes of the salon is Rice who sells second hand sneakers and Tindo who is not engaged in any obvious business but is a constant feature at the salon. On the different occasions that I sit and chat with members of the THL salon I observe the linguistic capitals and identity representations of these members in action. Many Shona and Ndebele speaking migrants who pass by the pavement housing the THL salon usually shout *'MaRasta Ndeipi?'* or *'Ras Zikhuphani?'* [Rastas what's up/how are you?] with the frequent performative 'fist to fist' greeting and the occasional tapping of one's chest twice with a clenched fist. At times the greeting is extended to a few minutes where there is the usual banter in Ndebele or Shona about last weekend's meeting somewhere usually centering on drinking spots and women. This bodily greeting, which is enmeshed in Zimbabwean cultural products is indicative of a particular type of Zimbabwean *bodily hexis,* but can also be understood as symbolizing brotherliness-it is an indication of oneness.

Besides business the THL salon appears to serve other functions as a site for succour and interaction among these Zimbabwean migrants. Tindo though not actively involved in the business of the salon is usually the one talking about the latest Reggae beats and passing '*Ma-tune nema number arikublezza*' (Reggae tunes that are blazing hot) as well as providing '*mogo ne dobie'* (cigarettes that are either mixed with marijuana or rolled up marijuana). It suffices to note that the THL salon is located in a belt with an assortment of other Zimbabwean and other foreign migrants' street enterprises on both sides of the Rockey-Raleigh Street.

The THL salon members possess varying multilingual competences and code switch in interfacing with different people who come for their services. According to them they code switch in order to accommodate their diversified pool of clients. Thus the choice and use of language is intentional. Nonetheless the *fist* to *fist* greeting is selective, mostly to those whom they share *mogo* or *dobie* with, or who are seen as friends. Their clients range from Zimbabweans with whom they communicate in Ndebele and Shona and in some cases they get business from South Africans, as

well as Nigerians, Cameroonians and Congolese. With South Africans, Allan notes that he is able to communicate in Zulu, Venda and Pedi, but it all depends on the client. When talking to other foreigners he resorts to English. This code switching across different languages is seen by the THL migrants as merely a way to produce a common discursive space with different speakers and not a way of posturing a South African identity. In actual fact, besides Allan and Tanaka, the rest of the group possesses very limited competencies of the Ndebele variety ranging from very rudimentary to just simple comprehension without the speaking ability. Allan speaks to the issues of language and identity on the pavement that they have reconfigured to serve as their business space. He states:

> I can speak Ndebele, Shona, Venda, Zulu and Pedi. These different languages help me communicate with different people who come here speaking different Zimbabwean languages and South African languages.

In light of Allan's revelation that he is multilingual and can speak some South African languages I ask him whether the different languages that he speaks can allow him to claim to belong to the Zulu or any other South African cultural group. Allan responds by saying that:

> I can speak local languages but when I address a Zulu person in Zulu it's clear to him [or her] that I am not South African but s/he can still understand me. I do not pretend to be Zulu. I am openly Zimbabwean. Maybe if I speak to a Zulu in Pedi then he may not get to realize that I am not South African but if I speak to a Zulu speaker in Zulu then he can tell I am not Zulu.

Allan's response reveals the contradictions associated with language as an indexical form of capital. It becomes apparent that speaking a language is not synonymous with an unproblematic identity indexed by the language. As Bourdieu (1991: 67) argues:

> For in addition to the information expressly declared, linguistic practice inevitably communicates information about the (differential) manner of communicating, i.e. about expressive style, which, being perceived and appreciated with reference to the universe of theoretically or practically competing styles, takes on a social value and a symbolic efficacy."

Allan's position about being openly Zimbabwean is reiterated by his fellow THL mates. Tindo states that *"Hapana yekuhwanda apa Rasta maZimbo ega ega apa"* [*There's nothing to hide from here Rasta. This place is full of Zimbabweans*]. True to this the entire Rockey and Raleigh Street is a hive of Shona and Ndebele presence

and chit chatter. The THL arrangement is replicated throughout the street, although in most cases it's just Zimbabweans sitting next to each other with their goods for sale displayed on 'sack' materials that have been cut to take the shape of a picnic spreading towel. Such a contraption can be easily folded from end to end should the need to flee arise such as when the Metro Police appear. There is usually an alarm that goes out signalling the Metro threat way before the Metro Police get there. In the case of the THL salon the appropriation of the pavement is symbolized by chairs and empty tins that act as seats and satchels that store towels, hair sprays and crotchets.

It is worth noting that a defining characteristic of the THL Street salon and its affiliates, that is, the core stylists as well as Rice, Tindo and Tabitha, is its corporate outlook. Internally, group relations are organized on a bi-lingual deployment of Shona and Ndebele. Various power roles and relationships emerge out of their interactions as a corporate Zimbabwean group. Rice the youngest, usually bearing the brunt of their jokes, is the errand boy who is sent to go and buy food, drinks and beer just across the street. Tindo is the designated weed or *mogo* guy. Allan and Tanaka in that order occupy the spoke person positions of the group because of their diversified linguistic abilities compared to other members of the group. Tabitha is the amicable neighbour and fellow country woman and whenever she goes somewhere she asks her fellow space mates to deal with anyone who wants to buy her stuff. There is the usual protest in Ndebele by Allan and Tanaka with the eventual laughing and acceptance of the responsibility. On one occasion Tanaka and Tabitha had this exchange:

> Tabitha: I am coming back just now please look after my stuff and tell the customers how much the products are going for
>
> Tanaka: You're crazy you are going to your men, who do you think is going to look after your things? You want to accuse me when Metro [police] comes and takes all your staff?
>
> Tabitha: [Walking away] Yes, it's my thing and I'm going to my men. Is it my problem that you have no one who loves you? I'm coming back now look after my stuff.

This conversation is a snippet into the interaction patterns of this group. Throughout the business of the day there is bi-lingual banter and jokes often lingering around profanity. The 'jokes' enrich the migrants' conversations, but they also seem to serve a function of making the street a habitable space. This is notable in how when I find

Allan by himself and I greet him and ask how he is, his response usually would be "Eish akula lutho ndoda ukubhayiza kodwa. Awuboni ngitshayana lezihlahla" (Eish nothing is happening man, can't you see, I'm lost. The day has not shaped up for me yet." When the whole group is around, they liven up the street pavement with conversations in Ndebele and Shona. The conversation either starts in Ndebele or Shona depending on who initiates it, then as different people in the group respond, it switches between the two languages. Allan and Tanaka would stand as the most adept at the code switching while Tabitha and the others maintained their respective languages. At times Tanaka or Allan would translate something for Tindo whose Ndebele is very weak. With the outside world the THL code switches in a broader manner that goes beyond Shona and Ndebele.

On one occasion for instance, a Nigerian guy brings his girlfriend to get her hair locked. He addresses Allan in heavily Nigerian accented English:

> Hey bra. I came the other time bout locks for ma woman and you say eighty rands neh? I'm here now I wanna get her locks done. Eighty rands neh?

Allan responds:

> Yah man. Eighty you know it's when you just fixing not starting [from scratch to do the locks]. You see with her its starting. Starting its one twenty rands. It's different prices you see!

Notably, while the Nigerian speaks in English it is punctuated by "neh" which is a communication device most associated with the South African vernaculars besides English. To a certain extent this appears to be code-mixing. Code-mixing appears to be as prevalent as code switching with the manner of code switching seemingly dependent on the interactants. Negotiations continue between these two in their different expressive styles of English. The accents between the two are different but they still reach a concessionary price of one hundred rands. When Allan starts working on the hair of the woman the THL inner circle would switch to Shona when their subject turned to how these *"Nayijimbi's money is being eaten by women"* *['(Nayijimbi) Nigerians' are prone to falling for Gold-diggers'].* They would laugh and joke about 'mafesi aya akableya anofunga kuti mari ndo inoita kuti ukwire mukadzi. Avagoni kunyenga vasina mari. Isu tinongokwira feya feya tisinabhanzi racho' [*They are fast asleep (fools) they think money is what gets you sex. They cannot propose love without using money. We sleep with women without paying for it*]. They would

change to English when the Nigerian fellow and his partner had something to say about the style being done on her hair. And so throughout the time I interacted with the THL members the code switching and code mixing would go on at the THL, from Ndebele, Shona, English and Zulu etc. At times people would just be interested in knowing the prices and promise to come back. A certain woman addresses Allan in Zulu which is mixed with English. Allan also code mixes in his response:

> Women: Yebo Bhuti. Yimalin' ukwenz' i lock um' u*styla*? [Hello brother how much is it to get locks done plus the styling]

> Allan: Eita sisteri. Kuya*depender* nge*size* yenwele nguw'ofun'uk' u*locker*? [Hello sister. It depends on the size of your hair. Are you the one who wants to get your hair done?]

> Allan: Ah, ezakho yi one twenty rands. Ufun'ukwenza nini? [I can do your hair for one hundred and twenty rands. When do you want to get your hair done?]

What emerges in the THL salon is that although the migrants are not equal in the languages they speak, with some being able to hold conversations with South Africans; they are not posturing any South African identity. What also comes from the excerpt is that if it is about business, South Africans do not seem too concerned about proper South African languages. The same applies to other ethnolinguistic groups. It is all about business and not language. The business makes the language and the language makes the business. They point to 'the character of Yeoville' as not demanding this type of self-representation.

What transpires at the THL can be taken as a broader metaphor for the identity representations of Zimbabwean migrants plying their informal livelihood strategies in the 'Zimbabwean colonies.'

Similar arrangements of code switching and code mixing characterized by varying degrees of competence in different languages can be noted in much of the area where Zimbabwean migrants have set up informal work spaces in Yeoville and Hillbrow such as in the market. In the market Gukwe reveals that "Apana kana *problem* tinotaura Shona. Hapana anoti *what what*" (there is no problem. We speak Shona all the time here and there is no-one who can say *what what (object).*" Moses reveals that he works in the market with a number of other Shona speakers from home and they openly speak Shona. I in fact get to witness loud Shona exchanges

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between Gukwe and some of his mates who would occasionally shout something from stalls some distance away from where I was having an interview with Gukwe. While Gukwe spoke Shona, he would in serving his customers code switch between Shona and Ndebele as well as English depending on the particular person he was serving. Much as in the street hair salon Gukwe reveals that he is openly Zimbabwean but code-switches in order to understand and be understood by his clients. His rudimentary Ndebele serves a dual purpose of interfacing with Ndebeles and any South Africans who may come to his stall. English for him is the most important language because everyone who comes to him understands it and he can use it should there be any linguistic barriers.

It becomes apparent that Yeoville's informal sector is dominated by foreigners. In the street and in the market I could pin-point a Zimbabwean by the 'Zimbabwean vegetables' being sold there. These predictions proved to be correct all the time I tried out this principle, by starting general conversations and asking the person's nationality. Most were Shona speaking Zimbabwean migrants although there were also a few Ndebele speaking migrants. However another thing is that there is a general knowledge of people from 'home' providing a particular service somewhere. If you ask where Ndebeles and Shonas can be found doing a particular activity people can tell you. This speaks to the issue of visible self-representations as well as networks that are built in the area across ethnic groups.

I found a similar pocket of Zimbabweanness in Boys and Girls Hair salon (B&GHS) in Rockey Street which is divided into two sections. One side of the room is the male section with mirrors and hair clippers while on the other side, which is the female section, there are mirrors hair dryers among other such gadgets. Working in the male section are two barbers, who are Ndebele and Shona speaking respectively. On the female side are about five Shona speaking females. Thabani and Mtumbuka state that communication within this group is by way of bilingual code switching between Ndebele and Shona, in which Shona dominates. Thabani underlines this domination by noting that although he could only speak rudimentary Shona when he came to South Africa, his tenure at the barbershop has exposed him to more Shona than he had encountered in Bulawayo. The end result is that he was now quite fluent in Shona. Code switching occurs when Thabani is speaking to his fellow barber Mtumbuka who speaks very basic Ndebele. However, the conversations are always

laced with bits and pieces of English. On one of the occasions I passed through with a friend who got a haircut at the saloon, Thabani inquired after greeting us, "Ufuna which style brah?" (Which style do you want brother?) Having chosen from a catalogue of hairstyles displayed on the wall, Roy gets his hairstyle. Thereafter, after Thabani has finished giving Roy a haircut he inquires, "Ngikutshaye *iface-cut* or u*sharp so*?" (Should I give you a face cut or you are okay as it is?) Roy responded, "Faka *iface-cut*, i-*sharp*." (You may, its ok). Outside of the salon circle there is more multi-lingual code switching and code-mixing, between Ndebele, Shona and English. The former occurs in cases where clients are from Zimbabwe and the latter in cases where there are non-Zimbabwean nationalities whose languages have no mutual intelligibility with Ndebele.

What emerges from the ethnographic interviews and observations in the informal sector in 'Zimbabwe's colonies' is that migrants working here are operating in a normatively unregulated terrain and they are therefore open to presenting themselves openly as Zimbabweans. They can speak their Zimbabwean languages openly; code-mixing and code switching is underlied by nothing more than an economic logic. Migrants operating in these spaces are known to be Zimbabwean. Their concerns in appropriating different language varieties, and in certain cases, as in Mai Chisi 'just bits and pieces of English, Zulu and Ndebele "which are just enough to make do in [her] selling and greeting clients" stem more from an economic logic than any attempt at camouflaging themselves. What emerges out of these language practices is a continuum of multilingual competency that is deployed as capital in the execution of their business which ranges in terms of competency in the various languages deployed.

7.2.2 Crossing the boundary fence into the 'whiteman's space': English as a form of situated capital for Diepsloot migrants working in Fourways

The case of the Zimbabwe Car Wash (ZCW) a company staffed mostly by Zimbabwean workers and a few South Africans at the Fourways Mall provides a graphic illustration of the varying functional utility and the profits accruing to different languages deployed across two different fields, that is, Diepsloot and Fourways. The language varieties fetch different prices across the two spaces, either depreciating or appreciating. What is of great linguistic functional utility loses much of its value upon

crossing the boundary of Diepsloot into Fourways. The same occurs on the reversal of this journey to Diepsloot. While in Diepsloot these migrants struggle with attempts to appropriate local languages and posture local identities in a linguistic market dominated by South African languages, their duties as Car wash workers rely squarely on their facility in the English language. While English is frowned upon by locals in the places where migrants are anchored and attracts stigma it is the central organizing capital in their economic activities in Fourways.

Dialogues with four Ndebele speaking women working at the car wash revealed that there were also around three Shona speaking women as well as five South African women among the workers at the ZCW. According to these ZCW workers there is no official or standard language of interaction internally, that is, with management and with colleagues. Nomhle states that "we speak Ndebele here because a lot of people are Ndebele. There are only five South Africans working here if I am correct." When I ask if there are Shona workers, she states that there are some Shona women and they communicate in "Ndebele but they also use English and Shona because some of the Shona women and managers understand Ndebele while some are not very articulate."

Outside of the internal relations where there is relaxed code switching between Ndebele, English and Shona, English emerges as the primary language of interaction with clients. The strategic location of ZCW at the Fourways Mall means as Nomhle states that "most of our clients speak English and we communicate with them in English." Ntombi states that "during the first days it [dealing with clients] was difficult [because] I was not used to it. You could approach someone and they might not understand you. I could speak English but approaching clients was difficult." However, with time she has become quite an expert in her occupation and can easily address a white client. She demonstrates how she approaches a client:

> Sometimes if it's in the morning I can say, 'Morning sir' if it's a sir, or 'welcome to Fourways Mall. May I offer you a car wash?' If he agrees then my information will continue. At times if the white person looks kind we can chat.

Zodwa another one of the workers states "we do not choose our clientele. Our services are open to everyone; both blacks and whites but we receive our business mostly from whites." Zodwa goes on to state that:

> English is the most important language here at work because we use English for everything. Everything at work is conducted in English, for example asking a white client for business. You cannot speak Zulu but you have to use English. Even when you cannot speak another language you can speak English.

While the ZCW workers relied on English to communicate with their clients, as I observed, I noticed that at times the communication between the car cleaners would be affected by the cleaners' failure to understand the accent of their clients; or by their failure to express themselves. However, although these incidents occurred, the women perceive their communication as sufficient. As noted in Ntombi's case, initially she had problems approaching and talking to clients but now she's is well versed in the rituals related to the business. Although the women's English is akin to Bernstein's restricted codes, and an expressive style denoting their limited expressive style of English it still functions as a viable capital in the ZCW (Bernstein 1974). This scenario also represents the diverse repertoires and expressive styles of English operational in Johannesburg's linguistic market.

When the car wash workers speak to their supervisors they code-switch. For instance while interviewing one of them she spoke to her Pedi and Ndebele supervisors in Pedi and Ndebele respectively. When the cleaners had time to themselves, such as when they had no clients or during lunch time they communicated amongst themselves in Zimbabwean Ndebele. During this time, they shared jokes which were formulated around their experiences and interactions with clients. They would mimic the behaviours of their clients- laugh at the various attitudes, accents and conduct of their clients; and how they were turned them down by some. For example, while interviewing Ntombi, I overhead this exchange among the workers. "Eish ngicatshulwe ngokulixhegu lokhu okulizanga okungidlalisela isikhathi" (I have been upset by this old fool who has just wasted my time). They break out laughing and another retorts, "Kuyisihlama komuntu" (He is a piece of shit [person]).

As notable in the conversations with the car wash workers the narratives are laced with a constant reference to getting business from 'white people' and the interaction and communication is also presented by the car wash workers as occurring between 'them' and 'white clients.' One reason is that, as the migrants reveal "most of the

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people who give us business are white." Another reason could be, as they reveal, that even the black people who offer them business also communicate with them in English and are seen as another dimension the English and white microcosm.

Although I witnessed these women speaking Ndebele among themselves they revealed to me that they would code switch to Zulu to accommodate their fellow South African colleagues and to talk to any South Africans in the area. There are some discernible issues in how these women pattern their languages and self-presentations in different spaces of Diepsloot and Fourways, with these patterns still being convoluted in relation to who is being addressed. In Diepsloot these women point to Pedi as a hegemonic language to an extent that they are compelled to speak and understand it even in taxis Pedi. However, in Fourways their world of work revolves around English which is seen as the language of commerce. In spite of the hegemonic position of the English language in Diepsloot there is still code-switching with languages following the grooves of the diversified relationships that the women are part of as 'Zimbabweans, Ndebele speaking women as well as service providers.

The carwash workers' perspective of Fourways as a space whose social organizations and social transactions are conducted in English are echoed by Takunda a security guard at Vigilant Security Company operating in Fourways. Takunda reveals that he is openly Zimbabwean in his work place and communicates in English with his superiors as well as clients "because we deal with people who come from everywhere even outside Africa." The official language at Vigilant Security is English and Takunda's superiors expect everyone to speak English. However, Takunda notes that while this is not a problem for him and some of his Shona speaking colleagues "because [they] are used to speaking English even from back home it is difficult for the guys from the DRC as you know they are speaking French." In light of this disjuncture between the DRC migrants' language and the official language, they, according to Takunda, "resort to speaking broken English." However this broken English suffices in their security related duties. Outside the official duties at Vigilant Security, the Zimbabwean migrants and DRC migrants, communicate in Shona and Lingala, and French respectively. Takunda emerges from a highly circumscribed living in Diepsloot where he resorts to rudimentary 'Zulu to smooth relations and become part of the families with those people who are

difficult to stay with if you do not speak a local language' to celebrating his Zimbabwean English and Shona in Fourways.

The meanings of English, Ndebele and Shona as well as the other languages that the migrants have differing competencies in, take on relatively different forms of agency and functional utility. As Blommaert's (Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert & Dong, 2007) work also reveals, movement from one particular space, or in his language, movement from one indexical order into another may suddenly render one's linguistic capitals redundant (Blommaert 2005). The problem does not lie in the general uselessness of one's linguistic product but rather in its functional relevance in the space that it is being used. Speaking Shona in Diepsloot may be totally different from speaking it in Yeoville or Hillbrow. The same goes for Ndebele or other languages such as English seen as destabilizing the structure of the market there.

As I have posited earlier, the principal explanation of these variations in functional utility can be located 'not in the intrinsic character of language' but in the value of that language in particular spaces'. Matambanashe is another Shona speaking migrant whose ethno-linguistic capitals are at variance with Diepsloot to the extent that he says he 'does not socialize' in Diepsloot but goes to places where he has Shona friends for recreation. However he finds life more liberated in the streets of Fourways where he plies his plumbing trade. He reveals that he conducts his business mostly in English with both his black and white clientele. On the other hand, he communicates with his workers in Shona because "it's natural. No-one tells the other to speak Shona. We just find ourselves speaking Shona." Matambanashe is among a number of Zimbabweans who advertise their different crafts on sign boards to get attention and business from people passing by and those in the vicinity. While Matambanashe's stay in Diepsloot is circumscribed and outward looking he exhibits more comfort and confidence in his workspace in Fourways. Part of the reason, as Matambanashe points out is that "although there are some people here who speak Venda and Zulu, they are from Zimbabwe. Some may pretend to be Zulu but we know that they are from home because no South African comes to do work here." The fact that the dominant language in this space is English and that this space is a 'work space' for Zimbabweans allows Matambanashe and his friends the liberty to be Zimbabwean and still interact with other actors in this space without the restrictions Matambanashe experienced in Diepsloot.

All of the migrants engaged in various forms of work across the two ethno-linguistic groups reveal the 'centrality' of English as the lingua franca of Fourways. Thabo the 'handyman' who also works in Fourways attests to the dominance of the English language. However, he reveals that when he communicates with his workers they revert to Zulu because they are all competent in the Zulu language variety. Thabo describes Fourways as a good space for business that has allowed him to utilize some of his self-taught skills that help him to feed his family. Just like Matambanashe and the ZCW workers Thabo reveals that English is the major language that he deploys in doing his business here in Fourways. However, among themselves, he and his workers communicate in Zulu.

7.3 Zimbabweans, 'closet Zimbabweans' or 'South Africans': identity negotiations in Johannesburg's formal labour market

The formal sector of the Johannesburg labour market presents a radically different form of economic, social, political and cultural organization. Different matrices of power relations emerge from the formal sector and this consequently affects the texturing of the economy of migrants' social practices in this domain. The Ndebele and Shona linguistic and identity repertoires of the colony have very little value in some of the workspaces.

There is in most of the workplaces the officialization of English. However in practice migrants still have to negotiate other relationships that fall outside of the official dictates of the companies' official positions. For example, where they work with particular South African ethno-linguistic groups they are confronted by diglossic situations where English is deployed alongside other local languages. There is in most cases some code-switching and code-mixing which occurs among workers and does not neatly follow workspaces' policies of English as the official language. A very salient issue that emerges in the formal labour market is that the organizational culture and the kind of social group that migrants encounter in work are important factors in how social practices are structured.

In this section I discuss the situatedness of different migrants in the formal sector. On the one hand some of the migrants are relatively well-educated and occupy positions where the issue of identity is more or less subordinated to the professional

and bureaucratic outlook and cultures of their companies, which are constituted by cosmopolitan labour-force which dilutes any potential for a concerted and homogenous class positioning of 'us' versus 'them.' Although issues of linguistic differences emerge within these work spaces migrants view these work spaces as generally 'open to difference' and migrants do not have to posture any alternative identities but they are openly Zimbabwean. On the other end of the continuum are other migrants who are compelled to pass for South Africans because of the complex issues that revolve largely around their documentation status and obstacles to accessing employment as Zimbabweans.

These are the diverse contradictions driving the identity strategies of migrants in the formal sector. In certain cases the adopted symbolisms of being 'South African' prove to be transient and transitory and migrants evolve into changes of identities which in some cases reconfigure them to new Zimbabwean identities some of which are linked to the Zimbabwean Documentation Process.

7.3.1 'Passing' as an identity negotiation strategy in the work space

The ways in which the formal work place shapes particular linguistic and identity repertoires and is different from the street space is central in this section. Zephaniah was not employed at the time of the interview but he had been previously employed by Best Mobile, a company in the Johannesburg's city centre. Throughout his tenure at Best Mobile, Zephaniah was a 'closet Ndebele' passing for a South African national. However, he states that "the company did not mind recruiting foreigners. There were actually a number of Zimbabweans, both Shona and Ndebele speaking employed there." His story of having to pass for a South African because he did not have 'proper papers' as a Zimbabwean to be recruited is emblematic of, and resonates with other disclosures by a number of migrants. In order to get a job Zephaniah resorted to using a 'South African ID' belonging to his cousin, because he did not have a work permit at the time he became aware of a job opportunity. Zephaniah reveals that this 'use of someone's identity' is a very common practice in areas such as the hospitality and security industry.

Power and authority in the company that hired Zephaniah was distributed largely along race cleavages. This is actually a recurring theme in the accounts of most

migrants that the official labour market appears to be in the hands of whites. Zephaniah reveals that at the apex of the power hierarchy and company structure:

> were whites who were the directors and in top management. However within management there were also some black South Africans. The next rung was that of black and coloured call centre managers. After these there were black and Indian quality assessors; and then the rest were blacks who were employed call centre agents.

Among the lower staff levels were both black South Africans and Zimbabweans. The former being "South Africans from 'ekasi'[51] [township] and mostly "Sotho, Zulu, Pedi as well as a few Shangaan and Venda speakers, while the latter were Ndebele and Shona." All of the Zimbabweans working at Best Mobile were using asylum papers and employed as call centre agents save for one who was a Data Capturer. Zephaniah's narrative points to the fact that the unification of the company's linguistic market through the officialization of English as the legitimate language of conducting the company's business eased the interactions within the company and foreigners were a legitimate part and parcel of the company. Relations among workmates were quite 'cordial' within the official confines of the work space. To this end Zephaniah reveals that there were no incidents of xenophobia, xenophobic statements or any acts of hostility and aggression between 'locals' and 'foreigners.' According to Zephaniah "we mingled with amakwerekwere. Remember I was a South African in that company."

Zephaniah argues that language played a role in relations between foreigners and locals:

> Although relationships were generally okay they were great between locals and Ndebeles and some Shonas who could speak Ndebele because of language. With Shonas [Shona speaking workers] relations were okay but locals do not like being made to speak English. Then there was this young woman from Gwanda who spoke Sotho fluently who always hanged out with locals because of her language. She was openly Zimbabwean using an asylum paper but locals liked her a lot. She was their favourite and she even had a local boyfriend.

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[51] Ekasi means the "township" and is used interchangeably with loxion (location). For example Diepsloot is a *Kasi* or *loxion*

Outside of this official *relational matrix of the work space* Zephaniah reveals that there were notable demarcations around being a 'local' and being 'foreign' worker. These fractures revealed that despite the generally congenial work environment there were some underlying currents of resentment manifesting themselves around the 'local versus amakwerekwere' binary. Zephaniah managed to decode certain 'hidden transcripts' in the 'unofficial work realm' which he was privy to, firstly at a general level as an employee and secondly as a part insider group of the South Africans. First of all Zephaniah reveals that, while the company was at a general level open to anyone who could do the job, in reality being foreign mattered. Zephaniah states that "although there was no public display of xenophobia it was there in some people. We used to talk 'as locals' and you could tell from the way some people spoke that they hated foreigners. Some would say these foreigners are too educated, they should go back to their country." Zephaniah reveals that when the locals spoke about the educated foreigners it encompassed everyone regardless of them being Ndebele, Shona or even any other African nationality. He emphasizes:

> They resented the foreigners and would constantly talk about the educated foreigners. In this matter they lumped everyone together whether Ndebele or Shona. Like this Congolese engineer applied for a job. I was then instructed by my Zulu manager not to call him for any interview. They hated all the foreigners; all of Africa.

Two central logics are notable to be informing operations and relations within Best Mobile. At the official level there was openness to foreignness and commitment to an impartial bureaucratization process where merit was the criteria for inclusion. This appears to be the dominant logic and foreigners were employed on the basis of their abilities and skills and being foreign was not an outright negative capital. However, there are notable struggles occurring to restructure the field through subtle strategies revolving around autochthony and nativism. Certain black managers attempt to exclude foreigners while the junior South African employees were outside of the official arena engaged in their own constructions of foreigners. Furthermore even on the shop floor the South Africans amongst themselves decried and resented the foreigners. In addition to the negative sentiments about 'these foreigners who are too educated' words doing the rounds in the 'local inner circle' was that the Shona speaking data capturer had exchanged sexual favours with a white man for a promotion. In spite of these 'constructions' and 'sentiments' about foreigners,

Zephaniah used his experiential situatedness in the work space to reveal that if he had a work permit, or asylum paper he would have worked there as a Zimbabwean. The gossips and undercurrents of resentment were 'just a part and parcel of the work politics there' which never crystalized into any outward acts of aggression.

Although Zephaniah was a 'closet Zimbabwean' he argues that Zimbabweans, including himself, were recruited because of their ability. In his case he points to his computer literacy and fluent English which allowed him to be promoted from a call centre agent to a Quality Assessor. The generally good Zimbabwean English and the officialization of English in Best Mobile made a good alliance which allowed Zimbabweans, such as Shona call centre agents to function without any hindrance to their job. In his case Zephaniah, while initially a call centre agent eventually secured a contract as a Quality Assessor, when he got the highest grade in a test based on language and computer literacy.

Zephaniah argues that his promotion to a Quality Assessor played into his identity strategies and relationship with other South Africans in Best Mobile. In light of the fact that he was now a superior among his 'fellow' South Africans he could manage to code switch and code mix between English and Zulu and his fellow 'locals' saw this as a legitimate reflection of his position. It is interesting to note that while in the township English is frowned upon, in the workspace it is seen as part and parcel of work. In part Zephaniah gets away with communicating to his 'fellow South Africans' because he speaks it within the work domain. In fact he states that in most cases "when they spoke to me they would try to speak in English to try and impress their superior." This position of power not only reorganized Zephaniah's interface with his local 'comrades' struggling against foreigners but shows how certain practices that are frowned upon when performed by a certain class of people take on other forms of meaning when performed by another class of people. The freedom to switch between English and Zulu created a certain distance and shield for Zephaniah which allowed him to be another 'class' of South African.

Marshall, like Zephaniah, reveals that he was initially employed by Mobile Solutions using South African papers. He, on the other hand, is still with Mobile Solutions, occupying the same position. However, Marshall reveals that when he got his papers sorted, he came out of the closet and traded in his South African ID for a

Zimbabwean work permit. Marshall states that he was compelled to use South African papers "because he wanted to work, but [he] did not have any Zimbabwean documents." Marshall describes a typically white dominated power hierarchy in his work place. However at his level of work he states that he interacts directly with South Africans. When I ask him to describe his work relations and interactions at work he states:

> There are mostly whites at the top level of management but I mostly interact with people in my office who are Xhosa [speakers], Zulu [speakers] as well as Indians. I am one among two Zimbabweans. They [South African workmates] do not mind that we are Zimbabweans. In fact these guys enjoy our language.

I ask Marshall about his tenure as a 'South African' and his relations with Black South Africans and how he maintained his 'South African' identity. Marshall states:

> You see us Zimbabweans having to pretend to be South African is bull-shit. Even if you acquire things you risk losing them. I changed my papers two years back [2010] the South African government was processing and giving permits. Now that I have my papers I feel more secure and I don't have to always look over my shoulder. You see when you want something you do what you have to do and the rest will sort itself out. When I was recruited I submitted my ID to management because it is management that deal with those papers. What these other people think I did not care that much as long as I had a job. In any case I was not forced by anyone to speak Zulu at work. We spoke English because we were a mixed group and the company language is English.

I probe further and ask Marshall how his company responded to his change of identity. His response in this regard is quite ironic and possibly speaks to some broader contradictions that emerge in other migrants' accounts. While, Marshall accedes to the fact that 'officially the company did not know' that he was Zimbabwean he has this to say:

> They see [can tell] you know. You get employed by the whites because of your fluent English language. There are just too many things that signal to them that you are Zimbabwean. Our appearance, behaviour and just the way we do things. We are very different from South Africans. You see what; we are running Johannesburg in terms of labour and expertise. In many companies in Johannesburg you can go and you will realize that there is a Shona director or top manager. Zimbabweans rule. Ask yourself why that is the case.

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For Marshall, while there was the official position that 'he was South African', outside of this official position he suspects strongly that 'whites' knew from the 'fluent English' and 'the way we do things' (embodied practices) that this worker is not South African. For him his typically Zimbabwean traits are what actually got him recruited. In light of this Marshall believes that this knowledge and appreciation for the virtues of Zimbabweans by whites is what made his transition to his open Zimbabwean identity relatively easy; because for him as a Zimbabwean you can pass for a South African but 'they know' because of your embodied practices. Pholani echoes Marshall's position that being Zimbabwean is self-evident. He gives his own account as an example:

> You see I worked in a white man's company. There were other blacks South Africans there. Eventually, the white man approached me and said' "This is neither the behavior nor the English of a Zulu speaker. Tell me the truth where are you from?" I then told him that I am Zimbabwean and he said he knew it [knew it was true].

Sikhumbuzo works for a Hotel and like Marshall initially used a South African ID because he did not have a permit. However he states that eventually after some time in the company 'people got to know that "we are Zimbabweans." He states;

> Most workers in the company are locals. When they employ there is a lot of politics we see in recruitment practices because we get in as locals but now they know they hired shit. I am currently using South African papers but I am waiting for my work permit. When the issue of sorting out papers started people applied and some people have received their permits and have changed their statues with the Wages and salaries office, the banks and Human Resources.

Although Sikhumbuzo is multi-lingual and speaks Zulu, and says he can understand Xhosa, and has basic comprehension of Sotho he states that:

> Now [at my workplace] they are familiar with us as the guys from Zimbabwe. They know from the way we speak. The way that we speak Zulu is different from original Zulu just like the way we speak Shona is different from original Shona. Even if you learn English you can't speak it like the British. Everything is perfect, correct, but it's different because of pronunciation and tone.

Sikhumbuzo reveals that the Hotel is located in ParkTown North and is owned by Indians but it is under the Legacy Hotel Franchise. The director is white, the financial director is Indian and his assistant is a black South African, the Food and beverages

manger is white and assistant food and beverages manager is Shona. Sikhumbuzo works in the bar and states that he deals mostly with guests at the hotel than with management except for his supervisor. In communicating with his supervisor and workmates Sikhumbuzo uses English and Zulu respectively. He notes that their guests are diversified groups, both black and white. However, he notes that at times where there are big occasions, such as during the South African hosted World Cup they receive people from all over the world. English stands out for Sikhumbuzo as the most important language in his work place.

7.3.2 Cross identification and identity negotiation within the formal workspace

Even within the working space some Zimbabwean migrants deploy similar strategies of cross-identification, i.e., the maintenance of linguistic distance, silences and omissions in discursively producing space for themselves. At the time of the interview, Mkhululi was working at Linen Limited a company that specializes in children and adult clothing, including school uniforms. In our discussion on his experiences at work Mkhululi drew from his experiences at Linen Limited, but also spoke of two other jobs he once had. Mkhululi reveals that his first job was in Doorfontein as a security guard. According to Mkhululi, although Doorfontein was a mostly a Zulu speaking place, people who recruited workers recruited workers mostly from the township and they spoke Sotho. Among his supervisors was a Sotho speaker who was multi-lingual, and also spoke Zulu. There were also Indian superiors with whom Mkhululi communicated in English. Mkhululi states that he spoke Zulu with his Sotho workmates who spoke Zulu when they communicated with him. He states, "The Sothos spoke Zulu. But not very good Zulu, you know, like when a Shona tries to speak Ndebele. That's how they spoke." Mkhululi reiterates what other migrants have said about South Africans, "It's difficult for South Africans who do not speak Zulu to detect the difference between Zulu and Ndebele. For most of them it's just one thing. So I also spoke Zulu, in fact, I just moulded my Ndebele to come across as Zulu." When I ask if he divulged his identity, he states, "they didn't know I was not Zulu because they did not ask me. If someone does not ask you where you come from (nationality), then you leave it like that. If you ask me I will tell you where I am from."

Thereafter, Mkhululi reveals that he worked at the OR Tambo airport as a loader. His workmates were Shangaanis, Pedis, Sothos and Zulus. Mkhululi states that he mostly spoke with Zulus, and the Pedis also spoke Zulu when they spoke to him. However, "They always complained saying, if you are Zulu you expect us to speak your language. Why don't you speak our language as well? That is how I learnt Sotho." I ask Mkhululi if the Zulu speakers assumed he was Zulu because he was speaking Zulu and he responds, "We understood each other when we spoke but they did not take me to be a Zulu. In fact, there is one (among them) whom I think knew I was not Zulu. I brought him here (Yeoville) and he asked me, 'Why is the Zulu that you (Mkhululi and his friends in Yeoville) speak not smooth (normal)? It is course." Mkhululi states that he responded by disclosing his Zimbabwean nationality.

Regarding his third job (the one he was in at the time of interview); Mkhululi stated that, "Now it's okay, only the manager is a problem. He's an Indian and he is a problem." Mkhululi reveals that he is the only guy out of a workforce of 27, in which there are Coloureds, Indians, Indians, Zulus, Ndebeles and one Sotho. He states he communicates in English with the coloureds and Indians although the former also try to speak Zulu. With the Ndebeles from home he communicates in Ndebele. Mkhululi reveals that there is an Indian woman who is a supervisor whom he describes this way, "She can speak Zulu, Shangaan and Portuguese. She is okay. She speaks Zulu when she speaks to us." This behaviour by the 'okay Indian supervisor' has raised the ire of the 'problem Indian manager' who has castigated the former stating, "Why do you speak to black people. That's why they no longer respect you. Because you let them jump all over your head. You can't supervise them properly." Mkhululi goes on:

> That Indian is a problem. I think he still has a bit of apartheid in him. Even when he is unhappy with something I have done he start going, eish, eish, Zimbabwe! Zimbabwe!" Recently he said, to a South African who came to collect his carpet. You know most South Africans live in shacks. He said, 'Take your carpet and go and put it in your squatter camp. Now what is that? Is it apartheid or xenophobia?

When I ask how the manager knows he is Zimbabwean, Mkhululi states that he disclosed his status and even submitted his asylum papers when he was hired. This is notably different from the other two jobs where he kept his identity hidden although he was exposed in one of them. Mkhululi's interview revealed, what I was to later

classify as cross-identification, where I capture Ndebele migrants deliberate posturing of an identity which is strategically calculated in relation to the inquisitors not being Zulu. Samukile, is one among many other Ndebele speaking migrants who cross-identifies at her work place. Sandra states that, "When I am at work I become a proper (pure) Zulu. I make sure I do not slip up and reveal my identity." This strikes a radically different identity frame from her brazen Zimbabweanness in Hillbrow. I ask Samukile how she manages to put this performance off and she states, "I take chances and take advantage of the fact that most of my workmates are Pedis so they think that I am Zulu." Although Samukile states that she ensures that she follows the Zulu script at work to produce a credible performance; she underscores that being in the co-presence of a non-Zulu audience is a major component of drama. This assists her in passing and hiding what Goffman would call a 'stigmatized identity' (Goffman, 1963).

Mongameli is another 'cross identifier' who previously worked in a security company in Sandton where most workers were Sothos, Pedis and Xhosas. Bedfordview was just like Sandton because it was the same company. They were not very good in Zulu and took him to be Zulu. With management and clients Mongameli, just like Samukile communicated in English. In Marlboro where he worked at the time of the interview Mongameli notes that the company is mostly stuffed with Zimbabweans and they communicate in 'Zulu.' When I ask why they communicate in 'Zulu' he says they communicate in Ndebele although it is mixed with some Zulu words. Among others who cross identify are Xolani, Mxolisi and Bafana, who formulate their strategies by way of keeping their linguistic distance from Zulus and being Zulu among those who are not Zulu speaking.

The strategic deployment of 'cross identification' is not limited to the work space. It is as I discussed in Chapter 6 deployed in different contexts where migrants have to posture a South African identity but by paradoxically keeping distance from that which they are similar to. Cross identification as emerging in the accounts of migrants is built on the general maintenance and accentuation of difference by migrants when it comes to those South Africans seen as endowed with the symbolic and cultural capital to decrypt or decode Zimbabwean migrants' dramaturgy. As Goffman (1963) argues when people pass for another identity, they partition their world into various segments in which various people are selectively presented with

an appropriate identity. Ndebele speakers' passing is predicated on the belief and claim which Mongameli aptly captures this when he says that, "Most South Africans who cannot speak Zulu, I can say Pedis, Sothos, Xhosas and Vendas- they take Ndebele as Zulu." Although some like Muzondidya (2010) have suggested that Shona speaking migrants assimilate among Venda speakers, I did not come across Shona speakers who viewed the language as mutually intelligible. Instead, I found a number who noted that there are some words that are similar across the two languages. However they argued that in fact there is no mutual intelligibility between the languages except although there are some similar words. Allan gave me an example of mwedzi (moon) as typifying this.

7.4 The fractured experiences of migrants who are openly Zimbabwean in different work

Nkululeko is a project co-ordinator in an arts school in the city. For Nkululeko the issue of identity and language is not a major one at his work place. He states that he declared his nationality which is also clearly spelt out in his academic documents as well as in his passport. For him identity and language are limited to his ability to relate with people at work, from his superiors, subordinates to students. Nkululeko reveals that his workplace is characterized by a very cosmopolitan labour force which boasts of many of South African languages. In addition to this, their students are from all over Africa. The end result of this cosmopolitan social setting is a convoluted linguistic market which is however hierarchically organized around English which is the official language. Nkululeko states that his position of power (or lack thereof) in his company relative to others is what determines the choice of language he uses to communicate at different points in time and with different people. To this end he states that:

> I speak English with my superiors and I speak Ndebele with my peers because they understand me even when they speak their own South African languages. With the clients I speak English. Then with my subordinates I speak either Ndebele or English. If it is a Venda person I will speak in English. Since I do not understand Venda, I assume that someone speaking Venda will not understand me.

The linguistic choices and patterning of Nkululeko's code switching and code mixing are predicated on power relations and the status positions that come with those people he interacts with. Nkululeko states that:

> It's work politics. The medium of communication at my work place is English. So I speak English but then there are the issues of whom I am speaking to. Most of my superiors are white. With my peers we are on the same level so I can speak Ndebele but even if the director is black you can't just start speaking to him in Ndebele. For me, I think it's also a matter of background but I believe that English which is the official language should be used with superiors and clients.

Nkululeko also notes that there are some other dynamics besides power relations and the company's standard norm in his deployment of language. To this end he states that:

> We also have students here from different countries, including Zimbabwe. Some are Shona and I speak to them the easiest way possible, which at times is Shona. At times language use may be linked to the mood. Like when I am angry I usually express my anger in the language that I am comfortable in, which is Ndebele.

Although Nkululeko reveals that he exclusively speaks English when it comes to relating with his superiors, he also reveals that much of the languages he speaks with other people are not pure but are mixed with English phrases and sentences. For example he states that he can tell a student that, "Shamwari (my friend), I expected this assignment kuti iswike on time (to be submitted on time), so I am deducting marks, as you very well are aware[52]." Speaking with a Zulu colleague Nkululeko demonstrates that he may say, "Sisuka sikhathi bani (what time are we going) for lunch? Asithi 1 Oclock phela"[53] (Let's make it 1 O'clock). Nkululeko's code switching and code switching is conscious of the structure of the workspace in terms of power.

When I probe Nkululeko further to find out how he feels about his identity as a Zimbabwean at his workplace he states that "I am doing well with Ndebele and

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[52] This is code mixing in which Nkululeko mixed Shona and English in his utterances.

[53] In this case, speaking to a Zulu friend, Nkululeko notes that he can code mix Ndebele and English because his friend can makes sense of the Ndebele he is mixing with English. This code mixing Nkululeko practices is not constant as notable in the examples he gives of mixing English either with Ndebele or Shona depending on the person he is communicating with.

English. I can understand Sotho and Tswana but I can't write them. At work the medium of communication is English while Ndebele is social." He takes his work place to be quite different from other spaces in Johannesburg, noting that each particular space has its own particular demand. While he clearly exhibits his Zimbabwean identity in his workplace and uses Ndebele and English, he reveals that when outside of work and his home he at times has to realign his posture to suit his immediate context. To this end he states that:

> At some bars you may incline or align yourself more to Zulu if the guards are Zulu. You cannot rigidly be Ndebele or speak English everywhere. I communicate in a manner that will make that encounter smooth. Even in a taxi, when I want change I can't suddenly jump and start a conversation in Shona. South Africa is complex and xenophobia is there. People can tell from your language that you are not South African but speaking in their language gets things done. Some people may insist to speak to you in their language.

Nkululeko reveals that because he has a Ndebele name that can be found among other South Africans ethnolinguistic groups such as the Zulu and Xhosa speaking groups he is often at times mistaken to be a South African when people hear his name. He states that "At work some clients take my name to mean that I am South African and they start to speak in Zulu. In that case it is an advantage to speak Ndebele"

The structures of workspaces mutate even for migrants who are documented and openly Zimbabwean. Tambudzai is a female migrant doing a Master's Degree in Medicine at a local university in the city. While doing her Master's degree Tambudzai is also engaged in work at some local hospitals. She has put in hours of work in three hospitals in the city, that is, at Helen Joseph in Soweto, in Borough and at Johannesburg General Hospital. Like Nkululeko, Tambudzai is openly Zimbabwean. She states that she has not felt any pressure to alter her identity in doing her work at the hospitals.

At the time of the interview Tambudzai was working at Helen Joseph in Soweto, but in our conversation she gave me access to her experiences across the three hospitals. Tambudzai notes that there are some linguistic differences in the three hospitals. She states that:

> In Soweto they speak a lot of languages but I cannot tell which is the dominant language because when they use local languages I won't be part of the conversation. But I think that in Johannesburg General its Pedi. At Helen Joseph there are a lot of coloured people there, so it should be Afrikaans and English. At Borough, I think it's Pedi and Zulu. Something like that.

The differences in the linguistic markets of these areas impact on the linguistic demands of different members of staff serving communities in these areas. With members of staff Tambudzai notes that English is the official language which they use for communication. She states:

> There are just rules that are there. I think the medium of communication in South Africa is predominantly English. It's not like when one is at his house and they then decide that I will use this language and that language because that is the language that I like or understand. We communicate in English.

When Tambudzai shifts from communicating with her colleagues to speaking with patients she reveals that it becomes radically different because most of the patients struggle to speak in English. Although she has access to an interpreter, she reveals that she has been learning bits of local languages that she can mix with English in her interactions with patients. She states that "I have sort of learnt a local language. I can't speak fluently. I have to speak, say half English and half Zulu. Because I work in Soweto and people are not conversant in English. I have been learning since I got here but it's very difficult."

In Tambudzai's discussion it becomes apparent that other dynamics of race and linguistic differences are salient in the linguistic market. She reveals that "the doctors at Helen Joseph are mostly white, while the nurses and the patients are black." Outside of the strict parameters of formal interaction other nurses and doctors can break into casual talk among themselves which may be in a language common to them such as Afrikaans or any Black African local language and Tambudzai feels excluded. She points to this among other things as part of those scenarios where she finds it disconcerting to be unable to converse in a language common to that used by those around her. She reveals that:

> I have some discomforts when, for example, people share an Afrikaans joke and you cannot get it. When you don't know the patient's language you struggle to get history from a patient because you cannot understand each other.

However, for Tambudzai the language problem does not solely affect her but it is a bigger issue and she is just a link in a bigger chain of language problems deriving from different language resources employed by people interacting within the hospital setting. To this end she states that "you see a white doctor speaking to a black person in English but you can see that the black person can't understand what the doctor is saying. But then, nobody bothers about that". Tambudzai reveals that the hospital has recourse to the services of an 'interpreter' but she is cynical about the use of these bridging resources particularly noting that in some instances "no one really bothers" to ascertain whether the patient gets the doctor's instructions which are given in English.

Although Tambudzai feels some exclusions when other doctors and nurses code switch to Afrikaans, or other South African languages she is not proficient in, when sharing jokes outside of the strict regimen of official work the linguistic market permits her to function much like other doctors. She admits that she faces linguistic handicaps, but reiterates that these can possibly be transcended by way of an interpreter.

Other less privileged migrants like Shamiso are also not always forced by their limited cultural capital to hide their nationality. Shamiso works at Merlin and also reveals that she is openly Zimbabwean at work. She reveals that the managers at Merlin are Angolan so communication is in English. At the shop floor level the majority of workers are Zimbabweans. There are very few locals. As such "We speak Shona among ourselves but we communicate with management in English". The huge numbers of Zimbabweans in the company stem from the fact that "they say Zimbabweans are hard-working but the problem is that they still prefer locals for the good positions. And they take advantage of you knowing that you are foreign and you cannot really do anything much about it." It is apparent that being Zimbabwean in this sense is not strictly a negative capital that gets you excluded but neither is does it strictly generate positive returns. Shamiso reckons that they want Zimbabweans because they are easy prey for abuse and ill-treatment because they perceive them as desperate due to the socio-economic situation in Zimbabwe.

Dlomo is a security guard who is openly Zimbabwean and works as a security guard in Newtown. Unlike Dumisani whose security company deals with providing security

for residences in the city, Dlomo is a security guard for an art '*school*' which caters for an international clientele. He reveals that at this school he meets South African students of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, but also students from different countries including those from Zimbabwe. Furthermore, there are tourists who are hosted by the school who are from overseas. At the work place, Dlomo has not hidden it from his superiors that he is foreign. They are aware that he is Zimbabwean. He however has the ability to speak several languages, that is, Venda, Zulu, Pedi, Sotho and Tswana as part of his cultural capital, having stayed in Diepsloot for twelve years. However, as I discuss in another chapter, this language acquisition from his own admission, derives from his social trajectory, where he had contact in Zimbabwe with certain languages spoken in South Africa such as Venda and Sotho, the latter being mutually intelligible with Pedi.

In describing his work space, identity relations and linguistic exchanges, Dlomo states that the linguistic interactional frame is quite wide. He describes the languages spoken by his superiors in the following manner:

> The languages spoken here are mixed; some of my superiors speak Venda some speak Zulu; and there is also a white man. The language I choose to use depends on the person that I am dealing with at any given point in time. It depends on the language that someone has addressed me in.

Dlomo goes on to state that there is some fluidity in terms of the spaces of linguistic exchange and the language that can take precedence in use. He states that;

> There are certain occasions where they just need English to accommodate whites, depending on the nature of the workshop…and they just use English to accommodate whites.

The language demands on Dlomo stem from his position as situated in a low level position in the hierarchy of his work space. In most cases the language he uses is initiated by the person who engages him in conversation. In other words, Dlomo is open to diverse languages by virtue of the fact that he does not have the symbolic power to set the parameters defining the particular language of use in different situations. Dlomo notes that in instances where there are white people at the school he has to be able to communicate with them in English and extend the welcoming and accommodative stance that is taken by his institution. However, on other days communication is defined by his superiors. What is also clear from Dlomo's narrative

is that there is hardly any extended interaction between him and his superiors. Rather he works through simple delegation of tasks which focuses on his duty as a security guard.

English as articulated by Dlomo has the status of a white language. Dlomo's conceptualization of English is akin to that of the ZCW workers who also associate English with their mostly white clientele in Fourways. However, beyond its status as a white language, English appears to be also a language of power, which is notable in how the superior social groups in the workspace are addressed in English, for example supervisors and managers; and in the very fact that the formal work space are officially English speaking spaces. The entrenchment of English in Johannesburg is also notable in the code-mixing in which differing quantities of English are deployed. Quite interestingly, although communication in the informal work domain is more relaxed English still plays a pertinent role as a vehicular language. In the case of Fourways, English appears to be associated with particular spaces and classes of people- it is a language of affluent places, for 'whites' and the 'affluent.'

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how understanding migrants' situatedness in Johannesburg's labour-market demands that we understand work spaces empirically as multiple structurally diversified densities of social spaces organized around specific norms and hierarchized relations of power among socially differentiated agents with different aspirations and subjectivities. Empirical material in this chapter reveals that work places are like social actors in that they are heterogeneous entities which are not organized in the same manner. Instead they are organized in different ways that facilitate either the *legitimation* or the *illegitimation* of Zimbabwean migrants' linguistic and identity repertoires. Locating migrants in their particular work spaces (with their socio-cultural and political embellishments) allows us to uncover how migrants' linguistic and identity repertoires are not intrinsically imbued with meaning in themselves, but rather, reveals that their value can only be ascertained when we situate them in specific relational matrices. At a broad level there are structures of the linguistic field which legitimate provide for the official and legitimate

languages. At a micro-level, there are orders of indexicality that are operational and define which identities are valued in the exchanges that occur between various actors. Zimbabwean migrants' innovate and their strategies play out in cognizance of the generally acceptable identias.

The 'work space' in this manner emerges as another province of the diversified conglomeration of semi-autonomous social universes with specific structural exertions, entry fees, pricing regimes and orders of indexicality which determine how migrants play their identity games.

There are broad divisions between the formal and informal divide of the labour market, with the latter appearing to be amenable to Zimbabwean migrants' repertoires because of the informal and flexible quality of its market. The 'street language,' for instance is shaped by the street itself. The flexibility of the street is guided by the broader microcosm in which migrants like members of the THL are located. The migrants understand the norms of the street and the neighbourhood, and deploy their agency in line with this knowlegde of the legitimate and illegitimate linguistic and identity repertoires On the other hand; the formal workspace is heavily shaped by the bureaucratic institutional structures influence the language practices, that is, when and how to communicate and to whom. In the formal work place language use tends to be governed by hierarchization of power and in which English appears to occupy a special place as the language of power. There are different expressive styles of English with specialization occurring as one moves up the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Quite notable from the migrants' narratives is the fact that within the formal sector there are diverse politics at play and consequently constructions of Zimbabwean migrants by different competitors and inquisitors of different races, aspirations and subjectivities. In certain work spaces the 'Zimbabwean' identity is disqualified among as part of the nuisance of foreigners in South Africa; yet there is a simultaneous celebration of the 'Zimbabwean work ethic.' Zimbabweanness in certain work spaces is constructed as both positive and negative leading to extra-official policies and collusions where Zimbabwean migrants are hired under the cover of being 'South African.'

In the final analysis, Ndebele and Shona migrants reveal a profound knowledge of the contradictions of Johannesburg's labour market and its organizing principles. In playing their identity games they are aware of the anatomy of conversational space which allows for strategies such as 'cross identification'. They are aware of the racialized constructions of Zimbabweans that feed into their being viewed as threats or resources. Saliently, it becomes apparent that language and identity repertoires are not inherently meaningful in and of themselves; rather they become meaning when located in specific domains and relational situations.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

What is emergent from this thesis is that 'identity' is intractably intertwined with the particular *contexts* in which the matrices of difference and similarity play out. It therefore follows that Zimbabwean migrants' experiences of identity cannot be meaningfully understood without locating Zimbabweans in the *specific contexts* and particular normative regimes of practice that define the 'worth' of particular identities and the frames of identification. As Blommaert and Varis (2011) argue, understanding identity also entails focusing on what bestows 'enoughness' and 'authenticity,'- what produces a standard identity- in any given context. Focusing on language reveals that every context, for example the five research sites, has its own particulars structuring of language according to value, i.e., a particular linguistic market (Bourdieu 1991). At the micro-level of interaction language indexes people into diverse identities whose legitimacy is ascertained by *orders of indexicality* which differ from one context to the other in classifying what is enough to be considered authentic (cf. Blommaert, 2005: 4), and this is what defines which identity is legitimate and which identity is stigmatized. Migrants' narratives as reflected in chapter 6 attest to the fact that the enoughness of migrants' identities shifts across different spaces of Johannesburg. What is enough in one context becomes redundant in another. This is also reflected in chapter 7 when the ZCW workers cross contexts they are confronted by different structures of language patterning and orders of indexicality and there are shifts in the value of their linguistic and identity repertoires particularly English, upon entry and exit of either context. There is an economy of linguistic practices, where the value of Zimbabwean migrants' languages and by extension identities shift according to the pricing regimes in different neighbourhoods. To use Bourdieu's words, the linguistic products of Zimbabwean migrants and by extension identity products, "receive their value (and their sense) only in relation to a market, characterized by a particular law of price formation" (Bourdieu, 1991: 67).

It therefore follows that taking Zimbabwean migrants' negotiation of the politics of identity to be based on cultural proximity beyond everything else, as suggested by the assimilationist approach overlooks very integral issues to do with *specific*

interlocutors and *situational contexts* which inform how Zimbabwean migrants' identity strategies play out. Furthermore, there are questions about the value and costs involved in performing a particular identity. The starting point in understanding the Zimbabwean migrants' experiences is prioritizing questions of 'where' migrants are located and the nature of relationships in those locales. 'How' are these spaces structured in terms of regimes of identity and identification? This is what informed my theoretical and methodological approach in this study, where I took Johannesburg as fragmented into diverse fields and characterized by diverse orders of indexicality. This can only be located by following people across different places and interactional spaces. In chapter 6 I demonstrate how 'space' impacts on identity and identification. Space as chapter 5 reveals intersects with issues of class differences among Zimbabwean migrants. Migrants' narratives about identity are localized and their vision of Johannesburg is informed by 'space.' Space is what produces 'Zimbabwean colonies' within Johannesburg, yet again it is space that produces other frames of identification in which these colonies are not reproduced and migrants' linguistic and cultural products occupy a subordinate position. The identity landscape changes and produces differing frames and normative structures which impact on identity and identification.

The connection between language and identity reveals a greater complexity of 'language' than often anticipated in South Africa's migration discourses. Language is, in most works on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, conceptualized in an abstract and flat sense as something unitary, and it is assumed that everyone who is able to speak a language variety is able to do so and chameleon like adopt the identity aspects indexed by that language variety. This pushes to invisibility the inequality of identity and power that is infused in language. In Chapter 6 and chapter 7, it becomes apparent that language is neither flat nor unitary. It cannot be taken as a single organism with a common sense of function. It is only through localization that a sense of function and meaning can be ascertained. For example, 'Zulu' is not the same everywhere, much as English is not the same everywhere but both these languages are characterized by diverse expressive styles which are notable across different spaces and classes of people. I explain this fully in Chapters 6 and 7, noting the differences between expressive styles or repertoires which intersect with issues of indexicality and people's identities. The thesis reveals, how although in practice

there is a 'notional standard' of the Zulu language whose objective form can be located in educational institutions as it is taught and written; as well as a putative Zulu variant associated with KwaNongoma in KwaZulu Natal; this is not what we see operational in Johannesburg. There is no single expressive style (repertoire) of Zulu in Johannesburg, as much as there is no single English repertoire. The meanings and indexical qualities of the language have to be excavated by focusing on the specific locale, the practitioners of the language, the situations and relationships around the language. We see a displacement of the 'authentic' language across different spaces resulting is different expressive styles or *sociolects* such as 'isiZulu semaflethini' and 'isiZulu sekasi (Zulu of the township).' This economy of linguistic expression in Johannesburg becomes a marker of the 'enoughness' and 'authenticity' of a particular linguistic product possessed by a particular speaker.

In this conclusion I will focus on four central issues that emerged from the data. Firstly, I focus on the issue of the *habitus* and its explanatory purchase in the endurance of Zimbabweanness and Zimbabwean cultural markers in Johannesburg. Identities are not suddenly obliterated because people have moved to new contexts. Instead, there are innovations and adaptations which have varying degrees of success. Secondly, I focus on the economy of linguistic exchange in the lives of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. This is something that I discussed in chapter 6 and chapter 7, with regards to the hierarchization of language varieties across different domains and the impact this has on Zimbabwean migrants' representations.

Thirdly, I discuss the issue of 'cross-identification' articulated through rationalization of social and cultural proximity. As it emerges from this study social and cultural proximity is not always a form of 'interest or value in the economy identity negotiation. Instead, boundary maintenance, linguistic distance, silences and omissions are critical in the creation of identity vis-à-vis interlocutors with whom Zimbabweans share some cultural proximity. Fourth, I discuss Zimbabwean migrants' sense of identity noting, the resilience of their Zimbabwean identity which means diverse things for different migrants, as well as how among the Other others there are subtle there are subtle process of Othering.

8.1 Habitus and identity

Zimbabwean migrants narrativize their identities in many ways, noting that there are specific traits that distinguish them from South Africans. They note that these traits owe their existence to their growing up in Zimbabwe and being cultured in a particular way, by extension a Zimbabwean way. Notably, they speak of a hard work ethic, good English, life skills and morality, which they see as superior compared to South Africans' 'way of life.' These are habituated practices-what Bourdieu terms the *habitus*- which emerge from living conditions in Zimbabwe, are part of the *capital* Zimbabwean migrants deploy for their survival in South Africa. It is this *habitus* that Zimbabweans see as differentiating them from South Africans and in which their counter discourses are anchored. Furthermore it is not a given fact that migrants want to identify with South Africanness because they are in South Africa and are the subaltern. 'Assimilation' in the narrow sense used in the assimilationist approach is also not as readily possible as it is made out to be because there seem to be unspoken rules of engagement in Johannesburg where migrants and locals are "living together separately" (Menon, 2013:258).

At the level of language, migrants believe that their language varieties reflect who they are. Most migrants assert that they speak better English compared to their South African counterparts. This claim is particularly resonant in the narratives of the lower class migrants who believe that their facility in English opens up opportunities for them and makes them a preferred group to employers. Migrants further claim that their being preferred by employers also intersects with their identification as Zimbabweans because of the way that they speak their English. Taken in this light migrants see their *expressive style* of English as indexing their Zimbabwean identity. As a high population of migrants assert, employers often deduce their Zimbabweanness through their expressive styles and linguistic practices. Migrants argue that where they appropriate other languages such as Zulu, Xhosa and Pedi among others their *linguistic habitus* is notable in that the appropriated languages still have an underlying Zimbabwean current through which Zimbabweans are indexed. This contributes to the displacement of the standard norm across different places and taking on different qualities. The appropriation of Zulu, for example, results in a sociolect described as 'isiZulu semaflethini.' This sociolect-'isiZulu

semaflethini'- is not equivalent to the Zulu standard and indexes Zimbabweans as non-South Africans. Migrants reveal that while 'isiZulu semaflethini' shares mutually intelligibility with 'standard Zulu' it does not index its speakers as 'South African Zulus.

In Diepsloot, Zimbabwean migrants note that there is 'isiZulu sekasi or Zulu of the township.' This is different from 'isiZulu semaflethini' as well as the 'standard Zulu' language. Being a Ndebele speaker, therefore does not automatically translate to being a Zulu speaker as assumed by writers on the subject who have taken language as something unitary and integrated. Zimbabwean migrants argue that issues of accent, tone and pronunciation of Zulu words sell out one's identity. Furthermore, the language is also intricately tied to migrants' embodied practices, what Bourdieu calls *bodily hexis* (Bourdieu, 1991)*.* Migrants choose to accentuate social distance rather than becoming very close to South Africans. In Yeoville and Hillbrow this social distance reproduces Zimbabwe in Johannesburg; hence migrants term the two neighbourhoods Zimbabwean colonies. I will now focus on the economy of linguistic exchange and what this means for negotiation of identity in Johannesburg.

8.2 Economy of linguistic exchange

While language has been extensively discussed as one of the pertinent issues in how African migrants experience South Africa very little has been done by way of focusing on language as the primary object of analysis. Language appears in discourses on South African migrants more as a secondary concern to other issues. However, as Fishman (1965: 67) posits, language usage in multilingual setting is complex and understanding its patterning involves examining "who speaks what language to whom and when…" In other words we have to focus on the *economy of linguistic exchange, that is,* how languages are hierarchized or priced in different domains. As chapter 6 and chapter 7 reveal, languages are not equal but they are hierarchized. According to (Bourdieu, 1991: 45) legitimate language is the "state language" that is set up as the standard norm; that is officialized and against which other expressive styles are weighed. English emerges for example within this research as the language of power and money which is associated with work spaces, and whiteness. As chapter 7 reveals, there are various expressive styles (repertoires) of English and the value of these can be understood by focusing on their contexts of use. For example, Zimbabwean migrants from Diepsloot working as security guards and car wash workers in Fourways speak more or less a similar expressive style which would have no currency in other types of occupations such as in teaching, nursing and lectureship. These expressive styles reflect as Bourdieu notes, the living conditions in which they were produced. They index for example the educational levels and class positions of the speakers.

At the level of the different neighbourhoods, the hierarchization of languages takes on localized meanings and regimes of stratification. There is diglossia which in Bourdeusian terms we can conceptualize as 'a stratified field of economic exchanges.' There is a diglossic relationship between English as the *high* variety and other languages as *low* varieties. As notable from migrants' narratives in areas such as Yeoville, Newtown, Fourways, much of the CBD and in the workspace English constitutes the most popularly used and widely diffused language. In the neighbourhoods it serves the function of a vehicular language while within the workspaces it is the official medium of communication. Quite interestingly, while Zulu is projected in some work on Zimbabwean migrants as the dominant language of

Johannesburg, what is ignored is that its hegemony is contested. For example in Yeoville, English is the *high* variety and there are numerous low variety languages, such as 'IsiZulu semaflethini', Shona, Nigerian dialects, etc, with the situation being the same in Hillbrow. In Newtown there is a similar diglossic relationship between English and other different languages. In Diepsloot, Pedi stands as the H-variety while other languages like Zulu, Xhosa, Venda and Shangaan occupy a low variety status. Presumably 'isiZulu sekasi' serves a similar function in much of Soweto. These shifts in the hierarchies between these different neighbourhoods reveal the convolutions of the language landscape of Johannesburg. It also points to the urgent need to focus on the contexts in which migrants find themselves in when we seek to understand their negotiations of identity.

Migrants reveal that English is frowned upon in Diepsloot. This contouring of the hierarchies is directly related to the linguistic market and the orders of indexicality. English largely acquires a negative value in the linguistic market and consequently indexes an English speaker among residents as illegitimate. Migrants' narratives clearly reveal power laden patterning of language across different neighbourhoods and particular domains, and this feeds into the hierarchization of identities as well. Having discussed these issues of the diversified values of language I proceed now to discuss the issue of social contact and social distance between Zimbabwean migrants and South Africans.

8.3 Cross identification and management of identity as the 'Other other'

One of the major findings of this thesis which I capture by way of coining the term "cross-identification" for migrants, linguistic proximity with South Africans is not always positive. In Chapter 6 and 7, this is clearly demonstrated in how migrants maintain linguistic distance as a way of manipulating the framing of their identity. Linguistic and proximity is envisioned something that undermines the 'authenticity' of a particular presentation of self and identity posturing. The most fundamental aspect informing the deployment of a particular identity is opposing the identity of one's interlocutor, which in essence is 'assumed' to blur' the interlocutor's lenses. Although Ndebele speakers share linguistic proximity and mutual intelligibility, they argue that amongst Zulu speakers pretending to be Zulu would be a dead give-away. Instead,

they appropriate Zuluness in the presence of those who are not Zulu. This rationalization of different powers of interlocutors in detecting their appropriation of South African identities results in various strategies of posturing based on the maintenance of linguistic distance and calculated omissions and silences which depend on the particular interlocutors. What is also notable is that throughout these neighbourhoods of Johannesburg migrants largely develop relationships among and by themselves. While in Yeoville and Hillbrow numbers are seen as transforming the area to their 'colonies' in Diepsloot where their situation is precarious as the subordinate group they use numbers as a means of solidarity. Their associative networks are built around their being Zimbabweans. This scenario complicates the standpoint that migrants manage their identities by 'becoming South African' with cultural proximity foregrounded as the basis for such transformation. Evidence from this study reveals very limited levels of social interface between Zimbabwean migrants and South Africans in the home domain. In other words, generally, outside of unavoidable contact zones such as at work there is no effort by Zimbabwean migrants to mingle and develop very strong relationships with South Africans. In fact the opposite is true and migrants keep their distance. This social distance differs according to the nature of the neighbourhood as notable in Chapter 6.

Furthermore the deploying a local language for purposes of passing does not entail 'becoming part of the ethnolinguistic group' whose language one is appropriating. As notable in the migrants' narratives in chapter 6 and 7, appropriating a local language for purposes of passing in fact demands accentuation of distance from the group whose language one is appropriating. Notions of becoming 'Zulu' or becoming 'Xhosa' overshadow the finer processes of how language can be appropriated without necessarily obliterating one's Zimbabwean identity and relations. There are strategic shifts and movements through which migrants aim at placing themselves in 'blind spots' where the cultural practices they display cannot be clearly exposed as fraudulent. This is achieved through 'cross-identification' that blurs the vision of the observers who are not symbolically endowed with the forensic tools for authenticating migrants' identities.

8.4 Zimbabwean migrants' sense of identity

Although Zimbabwean migrants are constructed as outsiders and confronted by exclusionary tendencies in Johannesburg, they still evince a strong sense of Zimbabweanness. This is notable in how narratives are punctuated by boundary marking terms that clearly situate Zimbabweans as 'us' and South Africans as 'them.' Zimbabwean migrants, both Ndebele and Shona speaking view themselves as very different from South Africans which is in most cases presented in a moralizing and moralistic discourse, which is part of a counter-narrative against being constructed as *amakwerekwere*. Even in the vulnerable situations such as Diepsloot some migrants note that they do not hide their Zimbabweanness. Of course this also speaks to the nature of exclusion that they face which feeds into the resultant stance and frames of identification exhibited by Zimbabweans.

This strong sense of Zimbabweanness has to be understood against a background of limited and constrained interface with South Africans. In some situations, Zimbabweans exhibit a pan-African identity which entails solidarity with other African foreigners in South Africa. This is predicated on the need for solidarity and the particular demands of a situation as notable in Yeoville where numbers and solidarity among migrants is reported to have been of great significance during the May 2008 attacks. What is salient is that the subaltern position of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg does not suddenly dissolve their Zimbabweanness. Their Zimbabweanness endures in Johannesburg through diverse strategies of adaptation.

8.4.1 Subtle processes of Othering among the Other other

It is notable that despite the strong sense of Zimbabweanness evinced by Zimbabwean migrants there are subtle processes of othering among Zimbabwean migrants. This becomes notable in the area of housing strategies and social relations (Chapter 6 & 7). These ethnic tensions influence the particular networks and social relations among Zimbabwean migrants across the different neighbourhoods. The issue of shared accommodation perhaps does the most to illustrate this. A number of migrants reveal how they prefer sharing accommodation with their own ethnic group. Others like Ntando and Vuliwe associate Shona with Zimbabwe's politics of Shona hegemony and domination and distaste. As such, while they associate with Shona

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people they note that they do not like Shona people. This otherization is also graphically exposed in how both Ndebele and Shona people appropriate and make use of space in Hillbrow. The political tensions inherited from Zimbabwe where Ndebele speaking people are peripheral to power (Chapter 5) play out in these neighbourhoods and a miniature politics of Zimbabwe is reproduced in the city of Johannesburg in different versions. This state of affairs is however neither general to all migrants nor permanent. There are notable alliances and shared interests across these two ethnic groups living in a context where they are the subaltern.

These four issues underlie the discussions raised in this dissertation pertaining to Zimbabwean migrants and their negotiation of identity in Johannesburg. Zimbabwean migrants' Zimbabwean-produced attributes linger in South Africa, offering them both opportunities and risks, and migrants constantly have to strategically adapt in their deployment of these resources; at times minimizing them and at other times emphasizing them.

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Appendix 1
List and description of respondents

Respondent 1 ('Mxolisi'[54])*: Ndebele speaking male; 32 years of age; works as a security guard; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English[55]

Respondent 2 ('Dumisani')*[56]: Ndebele speaking male; 33 years of age; unemployed former security guard; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 3 ('Lillian')*: Ndebele speaking female; 24 years of age; unemployed; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 4 ('Ndumiso'): Ndebele speaking male; 44 years of age; works at construction company; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 5 ('Allan')*: Ndebele speaking male; 32 years of age; works at street hair salon; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele, Shona and English

Respondent 6 ('Tanaka')* Shona/ Ndebele speaking male, 29 years of age, ; works at street hair salon; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 7 ('Tindo')*: Shona speaking male; 31 years of age; works at street hair salon; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Shona, English and Ndebele

Respondent 8 ('Dread')*: Shona speaking male; 32 years of age; unemployed/ street hair salon; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Shona

Respondent 9 ('Rice')* Shona speaking male; 27 years of age; unemployed/ street hair salon; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Shona and English

Respondent 10 ('Tabitha')*: Ndebele speaking female; 37 years of age; works as street vendor; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 11 ('Mai Chisi')*: Shona speaking female; 50 years of age; works as a street vendor; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Shona

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[54] I put these names in brackets and quotation marks to indicate that they are pseudonyms and not the respondents' real names

[55] In interacting with the respondents in most cases the interviews were conducted through code-switching and code-mixing, which was in all cases predicated on the speaking style of respondents. However some spoke more English than others, while some would drop in a few English words once in a while. In order to try and capture this pattern in the interviews, the language that I list first for the respondents is the language that structured the interview.

[56] An asterisk * besides a research participant's name reveals that I attempted to draw an extended relationship with the respondent and had recurring interviews with the respondent. This was my attempt to gain a portrait of the lives of some of the migrants. The type of job and accessibility of the research participants also played a role in my ability to this although the location of the interview and the initial interview was key in making this decision.

Respondent 12 ('Tafadzwa'): Shona speaking female; 36 years of age; works as a shop assistant; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Shona

Respondent 13 ('Spaza lady'): Ndebele speaking female; 26 years of age; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 14 ('Moses')*: Shona speaking male; 36 years of age; resident in Yeoville; works as a barber; interview conducted in Shona and English

Respondent 15 ('Gukwe')*: Shona speaking male; 32 years of age; works as a vegetable vendor at market; interview conducted in Shona and Ndebele

Respondent 16 ('Pholani')*: Ndebele speaking male; 34 years of age; works at auto Mechanics Company/[57] garage; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 17 ('Mkhululi')*: Ndebele speaking male; 29 years of age; works as a clothing shop assistant; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 18 ('NaBambino'): Shona speaking female; 31 years of age; works as a waitress; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 19 ('Shamiso') Shona speaking female 30 years of age, works at Merlin as a shop floor worker, interview conducted in Shona and English

Respondent 20 ('Vuliwe')*: Ndebele speaking female; 29 years of age; works as a maid/ commercial sex worker, resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 21 ('Gumbuka')*: Shona speaking male; 28 years of age; student at University; resident in Yeoville; resident in Yeoville, interview conducted in English and Shona

Respondent 22 ('Sikhumbuzo')*: Ndebele speaking male; 41 years of age; Beverages section at Hotel; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 23 ('Ntando')*: Ndebele speaking male; 38 years of age; self-employed businessman; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in English and Ndebele

Respondent 24 ('Rondodzai): Shona speaking male; 28 years of age; street vendor/ street hair salon; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Shona and English

Respondent 25 ('Thabani)*: Ndebele speaking male; 29 years of age; works at Boys & Girls hair salon; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

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[57] In situations where I put a slash in describing a respondent's employment, I am trying to package the job as was recounted to me by the respondents. In some cases the designations are not very clear although migrants can describe their jobs

Respondent 25 ('Mtumbuka'): Shona speaking male; 31 years of age; works at Boys & Girls hair salon; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Shona and English

Respondent 26 ('Gogo MaNgwenya'): Ndebele speaking female; 48 years of age; works as 'Accommodation/Estate agent'; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 27 ('Khulu Nyathi'): Ndebele speaking male; 52 years of age; works as self-employed painter; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 28 ('Nhamo'): Shona speaking male; 23 years of age; works as a street vendor; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Shona

Respondent 29 ('Mongameli'): Ndebele speaking male; 41 years of age; works as a security guard; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 30 ('Bongani'): Ndebele speaking male; 31 years of age; unemployed; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 30 ('Thandazani'): Ndebele speaking male; 12 years of age; student; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 30 ('Nqobizitha'): Ndebele speaking male; 26 years of age; college student; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 31 ('Samukile')*: Ndebele speaking male; 36 years of age; works as a security guard; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 32 ('Xolani')*: Ndebele speaking male; 41 years of age; works as a security guard; resident in Hilbrow; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 33 ('Zephaniah')*: Ndebele speaking male; 31 years of age; unemployed/ previously worked as Quality assessor at Mobile company; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in English and Ndebele

Respondent 34 ('Marshall')*: Shona speaking male; 35 years of age; works as Sales Representative at a Mobile company; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 35 ('Themba')*: Ndebele speaking male; 42 years of age; works as a teacher at a College; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in English and Ndebele

Respondent 36 ('Phathisa'): Ndebele speaking male; 34 years of age; works as a waiter; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in English and Ndebele

Respondent 37 ('Nhlanhla')*: Ndebele speaking male; 32 years of age; unemployed/ previously worked as a waiter; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 38 ('Samson'): Shona speaking male; 27 years of age; college student; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in English and Shona

Respondent 39 ('Stembeni'): Ndebele/Shona speaking female; 29 years of age; works as maid/ money clubs; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 4o ('Ntokozo'): Ndebele speaking male; 33 years of age; works as a driver for a private company; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 41 ('Malvern'): Ndebele speaking male; 31 years of age; fixes and sells cell phones in Yeoville; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 42 ('Edward'): Ndebele speaking male; 33 years of age; unemployed; resident in Yeoville; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 43 ('Nomusa'): Ndebele speaking female; 30 years of age; street vendor; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 44 ('Martha'): Ndebele speaking female; 28 years of age; unemployed; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 45 ('Chipo): Shona speaking female; 38 years of age; works as a commercial sex worker at 'Hotel' in Hillbrow; resident in Hillbrow; interview conducted in Shona

Respondent 46 ('NaNcenga')*: Ndebele speaking female 32 years of age; housewife/ does transcriptions at home; resident in Newtown; interview conducted in English and Ndebele

Respondent 47 ('Mbadza')*: Shona speaking male 35 years of age; works as a pharmacist; resident in Newtown; interview conducted in English and Shona

Respondent 48 ('Nkululeko')*: Ndebele speaking male; 32 years of age; works as Project Coordinator at arts school; resident in Newtown; interview conducted in English and Ndebele

Respondent 49 ('Madumbe'): Shona speaking female; 37 years of age; works as researcher in private organization; resident in Newtown; interview conducted in English and Shona

Respondent 50 ('Tambudzai')*: Shona speaking female; (28-35) years of age; Medicine University student/ works at hospital as part of the degree programme; resident in Newtown; interview conducted in English and Shona

Respondent 51 ('Tarisai'): Shona speaking male; 33 years of age; instructor/ teacher at arts school; resident in Newtown; interview conducted in English and Shona

Respondent 52 ('Mojane'): Ndebele speaking male; 40 years of age; works as supervisor public transport company; resident in Newtown; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 53 ('Dlomo')* Ndebele speaking male, 46 years of age, works as a security guard at a Newtown arts school, resident in Diepsloot, Interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 54 ('Munyaradzi') Shona/ Ndebele speaking migrant, 30 years of age, works as a Hotel Manager at a Hotel in the CBD, resident in Hillbrow, Interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 55 ('Mafana')*: Ndebele speaking male; 28 years of age; works at courier company; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in English and Ndebele

Respondent 56 ('Takunda')*: Shona speaking male; 34 years of age; works as a security guard at Fourways; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Shona and English

Respondent 57 ('Matambanashe')*: Shona speaking male; 41 years of age; self-employed plumber/ 'plumbing company'; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Shona and English

Respondent 58 ('Thabo'): Ndebele speaking migrant; 28 years of age; self-employed Handyman; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 59 ('Rumbidzai'): Shona speaking female; 46 years of age; works as a Manageress at a restaurant; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Shona and English

Respondent 60 ('Nomalanga')*: Shona speaking female; 32 years of age; works as a waitress; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 61 ('Jabulani')*: Ndebele speaking male; 32 years of age; 'call centre agent' at private company; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 62 ('Thulisile'): Ndebele speaking female; 30 years of age; 'Merchandizer' at Pick & Pay; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 63 ('Ntombi') Ndebele speaking female; 23 years of age; works as a car washer in Fourways; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 64 ('Nomhle')* Ndebele speaking female; 24 years of age; works as a car washer in Fourways; resident in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 65 ('Zodwa') Ndebele speaking female; 27 years of age; works as a car washer in Diepsloot; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 66 ('Khumbulani') Ndebele speaking male; 22 years of age; works as a parking marshal; resident in Rossetenville; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 67 ('Thandeka') Ndebele speaking female; 30 years of age; works as a cashier; resident in Tembisa; interview conducted in Ndebele and English

Respondent 68 ('Moreen') Ndebele speaking female; 25 years of age; works as a domestic worker in Midrand; resident in Tembisa; interview conducted in Ndebele

Respondent 69 ('Thabiso') Ndebele speaking male; 31years of age; student at local university; resident in ParkTown; interview conducted in English and Ndebele

Respondent 70 ('Mangwiro'): Shona speaking male; 44 years of age; student at local university; resident in student accommodation within campus; interview conducted in English and Shona

Respondent 71 ('Chikwakwarara'): Shona speaking male; 51 years of age; student at local university; resident in Bruma; interview conducted in English