Xenophobic exclusion and masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants: the case of Cape Town and Stellenbosch

by

Pedzisayi Leslie Mangezvo

Dissertation presented for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy in Social Anthropology in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University*
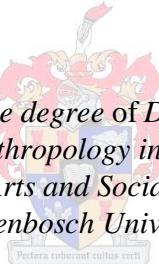
Supervisor: Prof. Steven L. Robins

March 2015

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 sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

March 2015

Signature:

Abstract

The anthropological investigation of masculinities remains an understudied dimension of transnational migration and xenophobia studies in post-apartheid South Africa. This thesis sets out to examine the interface between xenophobia, migrant experiences and masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Drawing from the conceptual ideas of Critical Studies of Men (CSM) and on the basis of conversations with Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, the thesis explores the relationship between the perceived threat of xenophobia and the production of enclaved, subaltern, troubled and aspirational masculinities. The thesis assesses how "xenophobia talk" among the Zimbabwean male migrants appears to produce socio-spatial separations with South African nationals. We see in the football-playing migrants in Stellenbosch an attempt to circumvent perceived exclusion by establishing enclaved male domains that assert their 'authority' as Zimbabwean men. The thesis therefore demonstrates the productivity of talk in the construction of xenophobia, male identities and identifications. There is literature suggesting that sections of South African nationals refer to African migrants derogatively as *amakwerekwere*. Conversely, evidence from Cape Town and Stellenbosch show how Zimbabwean male migrants openly talk about South Africans in equally adverse terms. This raises questions about the role migrants play in the production of reverse xenophobia and their contribution towards the perpetuation of processes of othering that transnational migration often engenders. The thesis draws the conclusion that the threat of xenophobia does not deter Zimbabwean male subjects from migrating to South Africa. However, it compels them to map South African urban spaces in very specific ways.

Opsomming

Die antropologiese ondersoek na vorms van manlikheid is 'n dimensie van studies oor transnasionale migrasie en xenofobie in postapartheid Suid-Afrika waaroor daar steeds min navorsing gedoen word. Hierdie tesis ondersoek die skeidingsvlak tussen xenofobie, migrante se ervarings en vorms van manlikheid onder manlike Zimbabwiese migrante in Kaapstad en Stellenbosch. Gebaseer op die konsepsuele idees van *Critical Studies of Men (CSM)* en gesprekke met manlike Zimbabwiese migrante in Kaapstad en Stellenbosch, ondersoek die tesis die verhouding tussen die waargeneemde bedreiging van xenofobie en die totstandkoming van ingeslote, ondergeskikte, ongeruste en ambisieuse manlikhede. Die tesis evalueer hoe "xenofobie-taal" onder manlike Zimbabwiese migrante sosio-ruimtelike afstande tussen hulle en Suid-Afrikaanse burgers skep. Ons sien onder die sokkerspelende migrante in Stellenbosch dat daar 'n poging is om waargeneemde uitsluiting te omseil deur die daarstelling van ingeslote manlike domeine wat hulle 'outoriteit' as Zimbabwiese mans handhaaf. Die tesis demonstreer dus die manier waarop taal bydra tot die konstruksie van xenofobie, manlike identiteite en identifikasies. Daar bestaan literatuur wat suggereer dat sekere segmente van Suid-Afrikaanse burgers op 'n neerhalende wyse na migrante uit Afrika verwys as *amakwerekwere*. Daarteenoor is daar bewyse uit Kaapstad en Stellenbosch wat toon dat manlike Zimbabwiese migrante openlik na Suid-Afrikaners in ooreenstemmende verkleinerende terme verwys. Dit laat vrae ontstaan oor die rol wat migrante speel in die daarstelling van omgekeerde xenofobie en hulle bydrae tot die voortbestaan van prosesse van vervreemding wat dikwels spruit uit transnasionale migrasie. Hierdie tesis kom tot die slotsom dat manlike Zimbabwiese persone nie deur die bedreiging van xenofobie afgeskrik word om na Suid-Afrika te migreer nie. Dit dwing hulle egter om Suid-Afrikaanse stedelike gebiede op baie spesifieke maniere te karteer sodat hulle in hierdie gebiede kan bly sonder om daardeur gebind te word.

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge Prof. Steven L. Robins in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, who deserves special mention for the mentorship, encouragement and supervision he provided throughout my doctoral studies. His conceptual ideas, feedback on the many written drafts, and the suggestions on ethnographic writing were critical in the evolution and completion of the thesis. The supervisory style he provided will stay with me forever. It was intellectually empowering, and challenged me to critically engage with theory and research in the formulation of independent conclusions. I would also particularly like to thank Prof. Robins for sourcing additional funding, which I used for my fieldwork in both Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

I gratefully 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. I would like to specifically mention Dr. Cindy-Lee Steenekamp of the Graduate School for keeping her door open at all times, facilitating the timeous payment of bursaries, not to mention the encouragement, hugs and warnings! I am also indebted to South Africa-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) for the financial support towards my fieldwork in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Throughout the study period, the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch University funded my participation at Anthropology Southern Africa (ASNA) annual conferences at which I presented some of the findings offered in the thesis.

To all the Zimbabwean male migrants who participated in the study in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, I am eternally thankful for welcoming me into your lives, homes, workplaces, places of recreation and for sharing your unique stories with me. Spending time with you was worth all the education in this world and I hope each and every one of you continues to hold on to the hope you expressed through your fascinating narratives. Thank you to People Against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty (PASSOP) for opening their doors and archives to me.

List of abbreviations

ACMS	African Centre for Migration Studies
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
BCSA	Broadcasting Commission of South Africa
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CSM	Critical Studies of Men
CoRMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
DA	Democratic Alliance
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EBA	Employment Bureau of Africa
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
FMSP	Forced Migration Studies Program
FNB	First National Bank
FRELIMO	Front for Liberation of Mozambique
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IDASA	Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IJR	Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ILO	International Labour Office
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
OSSREA	Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern & Southern Africa

PASSOP	People Against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RENAMO	Mozambique Resistant Movement
RNLB	Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SAMP	Southern Africa Migration Project
SGJ	Sonke Gender Justice
SUSPI	Stellenbosch University Sport Performance Institute
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational and Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UN	United Nations
WLM	Women's Liberation Movement
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
ZDP	Zimbabwe Documentation Project
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)

Table of contents

1   Introduction

1.1   Context of the study

Male transmigration is an established theme in social anthropology and the scholarship on the subject spans the dynamics that either push or pull male subjects into relocation, to investigations of the coping strategies that they deploy once they find themselves in new socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political settings. What is pertinent in male transmigration studies today is not an empirical assessment of its extent as there already exist plenty of these studies. What is needed is an expansion of our circle of understanding of the variable manner in which new identities are emerging as a result of male transnational migration. It is also important to interrogate the social settings that are fashioning these identities and the contestations over material, social and cultural resources that transnational migration may trigger.

Notwithstanding the seemingly unavoidable ambiguities over its definition, the subject of identities is an important category of theorisation and debate in social theory (Rattansi & Phoenix, 1997; Vincent, 2002; Anderson, 2002; Ong, 2002). According to Anderson (2002), identity or identification assumes greater salience in the context of transnational migration. This is because transnational migrants carry with them embedded memories, cultural and religious beliefs, and practices nurtured in their places of origin (Anderson, ibid). How these memories, beliefs and practices evolve, intersect or transform into new ones in a foreign setting is a significant feature of ethnographic writing in social anthropology and cognate disciplines.

Scholars such as Lyotard (1986), Bauman (1987, 1991) and Harvey (1989) grapple with questions of displacement (rupture), fragmentation, difference, or impermanence and how they are tied to the postmodern condition, that is, neo-liberal globalisation and capitalism. One of the primary enquiries these writers undertake is the manner in which notions of identity transform as a result of transnational migration (Ong, 2002). Identities are at the heart

of this anthropological exploration of the conjunction of xenophobia, migrant experiences and the production of specific masculinities by Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

There was a time when the terms "man" and "woman" were taken as "natural" and conceptually unproblematic. The growing scholarship in anthropology and related disciplines has however called into question these hitherto "unproblematic terms". By focusing on Zimbabwean "male" migrants, I am fully cognisant of the conceptual debates surrounding the tensions between the biological and the social when it comes to such categories as "man", "woman", "masculine", "feminine" etc. By studying Zimbabwean "male" migrants (men), it should not be taken to mean that I am confining masculinities to a particular biological category – men, as that would limit the understanding of being and becoming masculine as a possibility open even to another biological category- women. In that regard, not all men are masculine and not everything that men do is masculinity. The decision to focus on male migrants is taken on the understanding that gender categories are plural and open to contestation and performativity (Butler, 1990). Whilst it is generally accepted that any explanation of masculinities must begin with its location in the general discussion of gender (Brittan, 1989), masculinities are not in any way a coherent object of knowledge as there is no unity in men's lives. I therefore embrace the view that there are multiple, situational ways of expressing, negotiating and enacting masculinities. They are marked by hierarchies of hegemony and subordination.

Drawing from Connell's (1995)[1] theorisation of masculinities as grounded in history and culture, the study assesses the social milieu Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch construct as "xenophobic". In chapter 2, I unpack the term xenophobia by analysing the various conceptual ideas that social anthropologists have used to understand the

---

[1] Raewyn Connell was born Robert William Connell. She is a transsexual woman who completed her transition late in her life. As a result, most of the work cited in the thesis is published under the name Robert Connell or R.W. Connell.

irrational fear of difference or the strange. Interrogating the world the Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch inhabit is aimed at understanding the potential link between hyper masculinities, violence and exclusion. The chapters that constitute the thesis tell a story of how the threat- real and imagined- of xenophobia and migrant experiences leads to the formation of spatial enclaves by Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The enclaving of spaces is explained as a direct consequence of the anger/resentment/hatred/fear that South African nationals have of foreign nationals.

The findings of the thesis reflect an observation Arjun Appadurai (2006) makes about the rage directed at minorities or marginals in this globalising world. Appadurai writes about "predatory identities whose social construction and mobilization require the extinction of other, proximate social categories" (Appadurai, 2006:51). The study participants variously refer to xenophobia in South Africa as *jambanja* (violence) or *mhepo* (bad spirits), which speak to the fear, hatred and, or resentment South African nationals have towards them. They give various accounts of being *othered* as well as being openly told that they are not welcome in South Africa. This inhospitality is widespread and is channelled through different mechanisms ranging from state institutions like the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and the Police to ordinary South African nationals at work, in the city and townships. There is a consciousness on the part of the study participants of the existence of latent and manifest anger large sections of the South African population have towards non-nationals. They speak of the resentment Zimbabwean nationals in Cape Town and Stellenbosch have to grapple with on a day-to-day basis because they have become "too many" in the South African urban space. How does this influence the production of particular masculine identities? The thesis explores how migrant masculinities are constructed and produced under these specific circumstances of real violence, structural violence, and perceived threats of violence.

The thesis explores the processes of re-masculinisation that accompany Zimbabwean male migrants' efforts to integrate themselves- as migrants and as male subjects- in a socio-economic environment that they describe as marked by inequitable masculinities. The notion of re-masculinisation is consistent with findings elsewhere that support a causal link between migrancy and the production or enactment of masculinities. This is evident in the work of

Comaroff and Comaroff (2002), which shows the manner in which migrant men grapple with aspirations toward a new hegemonic masculinity in a new country. Transnational migration invariably entails male migrants having to continuously negotiate their 'traditional' identifications as men. The Zimbabwean male migrants who participated in this study are employed in different sectors of the economy in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Most of them work as waitrons, fuel attendants, and gardeners. A few of them are in middle to high-income jobs as engineers and media practitioners. Some came from Zimbabwe as qualified school teachers but have had to accept low-level jobs in restaurants and hotels. How the decisions by the Zimbabwean male migrants to take up any form of employment interface with xenophobia and migrant experiences is at the heart of this study.

The causes of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa are multifaceted. The thesis shows how male migrants from Zimbabwe, in their everyday life in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, define xenophobia in multiple, situational ways that challenge and reinforce conventional anthropological definitions of xenophobia in equal measure. One of the questions the thesis raises is the manner in which most systematic examinations of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa seek to "prove" the existence of "xenophobia" and its possible causes. It is common to find in most literature, detailed descriptions of "xenophobic violence" or "xenophobic exclusion" in South African urban spaces. Nonetheless, these descriptions are offered without adequate explanation of how xenophobia itself is conceptualised or problematized. Yet empirical evidence from this study suggests that Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch have a situated understanding of xenophobia. This implies that the phenomenon operates at many levels and its definition must never be assumed to be fixed, static or absolute. An out-of-work South African male national's understanding of xenophobia is thus very different from that of a migrant man from Zimbabwe looking to making a living in South Africa. Not to mention how state narratives on citizenship, autochthony and indigeneity often feed into the discrimination or othering of foreign nationals (Neocosmos, 2006).

Notwithstanding the foregoing, most anthropological scholarship on "xenophobia" in post-apartheid South Africa explores, with varying degrees of success, the patently complex

4

genesis, expression and perpetuation of widespread negative sentiments that large sections of the South African population have towards non-nationals. Bekker (2010) uses the May and June 2008 xenophobic attacks against non-nationals to demonstrate the deep antipathy most South Africans have towards immigrant communities and how this hostility goes back in time. The title of Mattes' (1999) paper, *Still Waiting for the barbarians* graphically captures the adversarial attitude most South Africans have towards non-nationals. The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines barbarian as "a member of a group of people from a very different country or culture that is considered to be less socially advanced and more violent than one's own". To imagine non-nationals as "barbarians" can only index the level of aversion some South Africans feel towards groups of people they construct as the other.

One of the central themes my study examines is what the consequences are for the performances or display of particular masculinities in specific social settings by Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. In confronting this question, I am mindful of the fact that to be a migrant generally, is to lay a claim to a new identity in a different national or cultural context (Grillo, 2007). To be a male migrant entails laying a claim to new or altered forms of enacting manhood (Howson, 2013, 2014). I should mention at this point how fascinating it is that both South African nationals and non-nationals deploy pretty much the same vocabulary in marking out one group as the other. Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch claim to experience South African masculinities as largely hostile, threatening or violent. Conversely, from literature we learn that South African men frequently construct foreign men in particular as equally threatening (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Crush, 2008; Landau, 2011). In this thesis, Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch provide numerous accounts that speak to how they construct and experience their "new" identities as threatened. The threats find expression in the general perception by some South Africans that migrants are responsible for high crime statistics, take away scarce jobs, women and foster prostitution (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Gqola, 2008). This alerts us to the manner in which the process of othering is not unidirectional, but involves both nationals and non-nationals constructing each other as strange and therefore a threat to the fulfilment of sectional interests. For Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town

and Stellenbosch, the xenophobic "nature" of South Africans has fractured and compartmentalised their notions of self-identity and identifications.

There is a fairly large body of literature that asserts that popular and official discourses of immigration in South Africa broadly construct black African migrants adversely as primitive, bearers of sickness and morally bankrupt (Mattes, 1999; Neocosmos, 2006; Jearey-Graham & Böhmke, 2013). Black African immigrant men are particularly stereotyped as criminals and gangsters as well as being promoters of prostitution and AIDS sufferers (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002). So bad has the labelling become that, in the popular imagination, Zimbabwean male migrants in Johannesburg are frequently constructed as armed robbers, whilst Mozambican male migrants are cast as car thieves (Landau, 2004). Black African immigrants are typically referred to as *amakwerekwere*[2] (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Matsinhe, 2011). Many xenophobia scholars have pointed to the use of the term *amakwerekwere* to argue that xenophobia in South Africa is racialised because white, European immigrants have not attracted such derogatory labels (Gqola, 2008; Mngxitama, 2008). The absence or invisibility of white *amakwerekwere* in the South African discourse has drawn legitimate questions around race, immigration and xenophobia, even though no conclusive evidence exists to lead us to a determination as to the nature of the relationship between the three.

The word *amakwerekwere* is inherently derogatory and marks out black African migrants as outsiders who, devoid of a discernible language, babble (Nyamnjoh, 2006). If we take masculinities to be men's current image of themselves in relation to women and other men (Brittan, 1989), it is unsurprising that Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch associate the term *amakwerekwere* with symbolic violence. They argue that the label is used by South African nationals to serve a dual purpose; to police their masculinities and to draw boundaries on what non-nationals can and cannot do. For the migrants, the Xhosa language is deployed by black South Africans as a marker of difference/outsiderness.

---

[2] A Sesotho word implying limited competence in the vernacular (see Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002).

6

Any form of discrimination can always be justified on the basis of the perceived difference. Being labelled as *amakwerekwere* is therefore at the heart of their (xenophobic) construction as an unwanted other. It is perhaps worth mentioning in passing that Asian nationals like the Chinese are also derogatively referred to as *Fong Kong*, which denotes fake, plastic or un-believable, so the labelling of non-nationals in South Africa extends beyond just black, African migrants. However, given their numerical superiority over non-African migrants (Schachter, 2009) and their visibility in urban spaces they shared with South African nationals (Misago, 2011), most of the scholarly focus on xenophobia has been on black African migrants.

The study employs the conceptual ideas of Neocosmos (2006), Geschiere (2009) and Hopstock and de Jager (2011), who all examine the role the state plays in fashioning exclusionary and xenophobic socialities. These writers show how state definitions of nationality, nationalities and ethnicity have been historically deployed to avail or close off opportunities to particular groups of people. Neocosmos (2006) posits that the notion of foreign status in contemporary South Africa follows crude racist stereotypes that have been systematically developed and strengthened by the state over time. Neocosmos (ibid) engages with legislative devices like the Aliens Act (1930), Aliens Control Act (1991), and the Immigration Act (2002) and shows how they were patently anti-Semitic and racist. Geschiere (ibid) writes about the "perils of belonging" in postcolonial Africa and how competition over resources considered to be finite has triggered autochthonous claims, arbitrary identities of citizenship and ethnic chauvinisms. These fluid and subjective identity categories often mean that particular groups of people, such as ethnic minorities and transnational migrants, invariably bear the brunt exclusion.

Meanwhile, Moolman (2013:98) opines that black African migrants bear the brunt of "xenophobic" exclusion in South Africa because of the country's "discomfort with its own Africanness". Understood this way, xenophobia in contemporary South Africa is therefore associated with a particular brand of identity politics- what it means to be "African". What this exposition fails to adequately explain is why this brand of identity politics has become particularly important in a country with a rich history of labour migration. The alternative

view could be that "xenophobia" is simply an expression of a contest over resources. Beyond that, it also tells us how elastic the definition of xenophobia is. As Moolman (ibid) proposes, xenophobic exclusion in contemporary South Africa can be viewed as an expression of masculinist competition for limited resources. The fact that violence normally associated with xenophobia is mostly directed towards black African migrants who compete with black South African men for jobs, housing and services (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Landau, 2011) would seem to give credence to this view. From this perspective, xenophobia is indicative of the "persistent tension of scarce resources and ultimately the competition between different categories of black men based on geographic, cultural, and linguistic differences" (Moolman, 2013:98-99). The findings of researchers such as Crush (2008), Landau (2008) and Misago (2011) reflect on how xenophobic sentiments are marginally more pronounced among young males and in informal settlements.

It would be overly simplistic however, to conclude that there is an objective correlation between xenophobic violence and people's socio-economic profiles. It would be very easy to conclude that xenophobia is more pronounced amongst poor and working class people struggling to access scarce material and social resources. Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti (2011) posit that broad structural factors like class, education, unemployment, poverty etc. explain the conditions in which violence occurs, but the actual causal factors are a combination of structural and contextually specific elements. That is why some of the young, poor and out of work South African men mobilise against non-nationals in certain areas and not in others even when all socio-economic indicators are comparable (Aymar & Segatti, ibid). What appears to emerge from literature though is that there is an objective association between xenophobia and masculinities.

In May 2008, xenophobic violence in South Africa claimed 62 lives, displaced thousands and led to the attacks on the bodies and properties of many non-nationals (Crush, 2008; Hassim, Kupe, & Worby, 2008; Bekker, 2010; Landau, 2011). The world watched disturbing television images of wanton looting of foreign-owned shops and property. Television cameras captured distressing scenes of wanton beatings of "foreigners" by mobs of predominantly young black South African men wielding iron bars, sticks or *pangas* (axes). A

third of the "foreigners" killed were South African nationals who, because of their physical appearance or linguistic competence, were constructed as "foreign". To close observers of post-apartheid South Africa, the outbursts were foreseeable as numerous studies and reports had previously shown that xenophobic sentiments had been festering for years in the country's urban areas (Monson & Arian, 2011). Preceding the 2008 attacks, opinion surveys and sporadic attacks indicated that "public sentiment towards foreigners of African origin has a decidedly negative streak in South Africa" (McDonald, Zinyama, Gay, de Vletter, & Mattes, 2000:815). The scope and scale of destruction, as well as the humanitarian crisis the attacks triggered, produced numerous debates on the possible causes and solutions to the violence. Not for the first time though, violence targeting non-nationals revealed to the world how and why immigration remains a contested terrain in contemporary South Africa.

As good as the empirical studies in South Africa have been in engaging with the question of xenophobia, they have seldom moved beyond the analysis of what its probable causes are. Unsurprisingly, in the preoccupation to unpack its supposed causes, there have been few attempts to provide a gendered analysis of xenophobia. In particular, there have been few studies that assess the situated realities of male migrants, or how the threat of xenophobia provides a platform for the construction of particular masculine identities. Such gaps in the literature reveal the degree to which the link between xenophobia, migrant experiences and masculinities has been overlooked in scholarly discourse on xenophobia in South Africa.

1.2   Description of study

The study is an anthropological investigation of an understudied dimension of migration and xenophobia scholarship: masculinities. The study investigates how xenophobic exclusion and its threat contribute towards the construction of enclaved, aspirational, rugged and troubled masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants living in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The Critical Studies of Men (CSM) approach is deployed to explore the interplay between xenophobia, migrant experiences and the enactment of manhood. The ethos of empathetic immersion (Altheside & Johnson, 1994) is deployed to interrogate the discourses of xenophobia and masculinities. This is done on the basis of conversations with Zimbabwean

male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The primary data for the study was obtained through participant observation, in-depth semi-structured interviews and non-verbal observation of the world Zimbabwean male migrants inhabit in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The data are analysed drawing out the xenophobia-masculinities connection to give depth and direction to intellectual and political concerns with issues of inclusion and exclusion. The study has as its analytical framework the wider context of transnational migration.

In assessing the xenophobia-migrant masculinities nexus, the study also makes a contribution to the empirical work that has demonstrated how talk is profoundly productive in the generation of social identities and categories. Whilst sections of South African nationals identify migrants as *amakwerekwere,* my study participants openly admit to talking about South Africans in equally adverse ways. The chapters in the thesis variously show how young, out of work black South African men are routinely categorised by Zimbabwean male migrants as *vapfanha vengunzi* (muggers) and drunkards. Black South African women are not spared either as they are projected as morally loose and "not fit for the kitchen". This raises questions about the material realities of xenophobic exclusion and identity talk. What labels do male migrants from Zimbabwe arrogate to themselves? How do they construct South African nationals and how does their (identity) talk impact on their everyday practices?

The answers to these questions reveal how inventions in the popular imagination, once embraced, become real and influence social behaviour. Teresa Caldeira analyses how crime talk in Brazil shapes socio-spatial segregation in São Paulo in Brazil. According to Caldeira (2000), violence and fear produce distinct forms of spatial segregation and discrimination. In São Paulo, upper classes exploit the pervasive fear of violence and crime to disengage from the traditional quarters and public spaces of the city and relocate to privatised gated communities (Caldeira, ibid). The São Paulo example shows that talk is productive and has the capacity to shape how space is constructed and inhabited in the city.

Caldeira's (ibid) examination of the relationship between violence and the city, in particular how talk about crime generates forms of exclusion, is pertinent to my study of violence, fear and socio-spatial separations among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and

10

Stellenbosch. Some of the fear is imagined but, as in São Paulo, it structures the manner in which Zimbabwean male migrants self-identify and map the urban spaces of Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The perceived threat of xenophobia influences not only the leisure practices of the male migrants, but the recreational spaces they patronise. We see in the football-playing migrants in Stellenbosch an attempt to carve out an enclaved space far removed from the prying eyes of the South African nationals in Kayamandi. This they do by playing against other Zimbabwean male migrants and at grounds over which black South Africans have no control. In developing set playing circuits, new socio-spatial separations emerge. They arise out of the productivity of talk.

1.3   Problem statement and focus

Studies on xenophobia in South Africa are numerous and varied. However, very few attempts have been made to provide a gendered analysis of xenophobic exclusion that explores how xenophobia feeds into the production of specific migrant masculinities. Focusing on Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, the study assesses the manner in which migrants' masculine identities are constructed, expressed, experienced and negotiated in relation to the perceived threat of xenophobia.

1.4   Study objectives

Informed by the aim of generating empirical insights into xenophobic exclusion and Zimbabwean male migrants' daily lives, the study had the following objectives:

1.4.1. To investigate the daily lives of Zimbabwean male migrants living in Cape Town and Stellenbosch and how their lives are shaped by xenophobic exclusion and its threat.

1.4.2. To examine how Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch experience, express and negotiate masculinities in the face of xenophobia and its threat.

1.4.3. To study what the consequences are for particular displays of masculinities by Zimbabwean male migrants in specific sites such as home, work and recreation.

11

1.4.4. To analyse how Zimbabwean male migrants' experience of xenophobic exclusion can be deployed to give depth and direction to intellectual and political concerns of inclusion and exclusion in contemporary South Africa.

1.5   Research questions

The world that Zimbabwean male migrants inhabit in Cape Town and Stellenbosch was investigated on the basis of the following research questions:

1.5.1. What are the understandings of xenophobia of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch?

1.5.2. What has the experience of migration in general and xenophobia in particular, been like for Zimbabwean male migrants?

1.5.3. Has the fear or threat of xenophobia influenced their enactment of manhood in terms of navigating space, rights and entitlements? If so, how?

1.5.4. Has the experience of xenophobia affected their relations with South African nationals? If so, how?

1.5.5. How have male migrants from Zimbabwe coped with xenophobia-related challenges?

1.6   Xenophobia, migration and masculinities: research design and methods

Following Clifford Geertz, the study employs ethnographic methods with the aim of producing ethnographically 'thick' descriptions of the ways in which Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch understand xenophobia and how their masculine identities are constructed, expressed and reworked in the face of its perceived threat. A key facet of Geertz's anthropological theory is the notion of thick description, which holds that it is the duty of anthropology to explain cultures through thick description, or through the merging of descriptive details, conceptual structures and meanings (Geertz, 1973, 1974). As a conceptual idea, Geertz understood thick description in opposition to "thin description", which refers to a factual account devoid of any interpretation (Geertz, 1974).

My decision to engage in a qualitative study was motivated by the desire to, as much as was practically possible, to interrogate and attach meaning to the social settings Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch populate. Throughout the thesis, particular attention is paid to the power dynamics that shape and inform the work, residential and recreational spaces the Zimbabwean male migrants traverse, when, why and how they navigate these particular spaces, and my own position in the production of these interpretations. Ethnographic methods are relevant to the analyses used in this study because of their "emphasis on understanding the perceptions, organisations and cultures of the people under investigation" (Troman & Walford, 2005:vii). Because of the study's qualitative nature, I am able to incorporate in the analysis the Shona and Ndebele terms that Zimbabwean male migrants use to describe xenophobia, their construction of local and Zimbabwean women, and their mapping of the spaces in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

Chapter 4 of the thesis outlines the epistemological assumptions that shape the study, including a detailed discussion of the research design and methods used in the study. In the chapter, I motivate for the use of the ethnographic methods and the significance of Geertz's (1974) argument that anthropologists should describe the world from "the native's point of view." Following Geertz, the entire anthropological enterprise of this study is predicated upon "sorting out the structures of signification" in a process of "explication" (Geertz, 1973:9). I explain and interpret the narratives and discourses of xenophobia and masculinities by Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch on the basis of their situated experiences.

Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate that Zimbabwe male migrants define xenophobia in numerous ways. Some claim to have had direct experience of xenophobic attacks or, at the very least, interactions that they construct as having been motivated by xenophobia. Others have no direct experience of it but claim to know of family and friends who have survived xenophobic attacks. Most of the study participants conflate xenophobia with violence and refer to it as *jambanja* in Shona or *ingxabangxoza* and Ndebele. Both terms denote violence. Others have a more nuanced, broader understanding of it and refer to it as *mhepo* (bad spirits) whose reach is broader than just physical violence. The experiences of migrancy are also different for

13

documented and undocumented male migrants. Undocumented migrants fear detection, arrest and deportation by the authorities. For this reason, they try as much as possible to remain unnoticeable; they operate on the fringes in terms of employment, residence and recreation. Documented migrants have a lesser anxiety about officialdom, but retain a heightened sense of insecurity deriving from the fear of being attacked for their quality as non-nationals. There are thus different experiences along occupational and class lines as well as visa status.

Waitressing comes with significant job insecurity given that the work and rewards are seasonal. Summer months are the busiest and most rewarding in terms of gratuities because of foreign tourists. During the winter months, business can be very slow to the point where some restaurants temporarily close. Some of the study participants have a history of romantic relationships with South African women and others are actually co-habiting with them. What it shows is that Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch are far from homogeneous. They are highly differentiated in terms of their migration experiences and personal circumstances. This explains the adoption of Geertz's (ibid) approach of description and interpretation. Geertz asserts that ethnographers should aim to interpret the social worlds they study in much the same way as the "natives" would. In doing so, ethnographers deal with "a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular and inexplicit and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then render" (Geertz, 1973:10).

The adoption of an interpretivist approach means that my analysis of xenophobic exclusion, migrant experiences and masculinities among male Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch takes cognisance of broader contextual issues relating to questions of masculinities in both Zimbabwe and South Africa. This finds expression in the recreational spaces Zimbabwean male migrants inhabit. Football in Stellenbosch and the get-togethers in Cape Town reflect enclaved social spaces in which Zimbabwean male migrants seek to reconfigure power relations in an environment they construct as conflictual. It is interesting that they seek to express aspirational masculinities through a favourite Zimbabwean pastime: money games (winner-takes-all challenge matches). At every given opportunity, we see Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch relating their manhood to black

South African ones. In painting black South African men as "violent" and "lazy", they not only self-identify on the basis of what they understand black South African masculinities to be, but engage in reverse xenophobia. An interpretivist approach is well placed to identify and analyse these salient features of xenophobia and masculinities.

In keeping with its qualitative nature, the study also examines issues in relation to the wider context of Cape Town and Stellenbosch as well as the specific research sites of Nyanga, Kayamandi and central Stellenbosch. Cape Town and Stellenbosch were selected as research sites because of the diversity and contrast they present and their proximity to Stellenbosch University. A comparative analysis of Cape Town and Stellenbosch in terms of the ordering of urban space and the configuration of power relations is a central feature of the study. Cape Town, a far more cosmopolitan city than Stellenbosch has a wider spectrum of employment opportunities, including opportunities for self-employment. Stellenbosch is much smaller in size and provides opportunities of employment in hotels, restaurants, bars and service stations. Both research sites present contrasting case material not only because of the divisions between the nationals and non-nationals, but the dividing practices instituted in the towns' spatial, temporal and social compartmentalisations.

Chapter 4 of the thesis provides much of the historical context and background of both Cape Town and Stellenbosch and how the two towns' historical experience of coloniality, apartheid and modernity continues to cast a shadow over the physical and social spaces migrants inhabit and the power relations within these spaces. Cape Town has had its fair share of xenophobia-related attacks in the post-apartheid era whilst central Stellenbosch has no record of violent xenophobic attacks, even though its spatial organization belies the latent xenophobic sentiments that lurk underneath the surface.

1.7   Do masculinities matter? The significance of study

There has been a series of developments that have challenged long-held conceptions of manhood in contemporary Africa. One only has to look at how the increasing visibility and growing assertiveness of gays, the mass production of sexual products, and HIV and AIDS

15

have all had a profound effect on what it means to be a man in Africa today, to understand this point (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Ratele, 2011; Howson, 2013). To this list we should add transnational migration because of how it fractures the hegemony of men and their hegemonic notions of manhood as they move between different national and cultural contexts (Howson, 2013). Transnational migration engenders numerous opportunities for migrant men. However, a new national/cultural context presents migrant men with different, multiple and, in places, conflicting ways of enacting manhood (Grillo, 2007:200). In their foundational definition of transnationalism, Basch, Schiller and Blanc-Szanton (1994:6) refer to "transnational social fields" that produce diverse understandings of masculine identity and practice. Basch, Schiller and Blanc-Szanton define transnationalism as:

> The process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders (Basch, Schiller & Blanc-Szanton, 1994:6).

What emerges from the definition is that transmigration, as a social process, has overt and covert challenges that do not render themselves to easy resolution. The process is not a seamless, unproblematic transition into a new gender order for migrant men who have to negotiate the pursuit of economic opportunities, assimilation and integration (Howson, 2013). Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch assert the "reality" of xenophobia. They single out their characterisation as *amakwerekwere* as evidence of this reality. Some of the migrants also speak of being infantilised by Xhosa men, who ridicule them for being uncircumcised. Most have learned the Xhosa language in order to communicate with Xhosa-speaking black South Africans, the majority of whom are their neighbours and work mates. For the Zimbabwean male migrants who were unemployed in Zimbabwe, coming to South Africa has opened up opportunities for self-determination through earnings. Yet for those who had fairly "respectable" jobs as teachers, artisans, and builders, migrancy has entailed the psycho-social anguish of accepting low-level jobs as waitrons and fuel attendants. As men, these migrants' narratives appear to suggest a form of status distress marked by anxiety over perceived reduction in social standing because of the

16

work they do. What the foregoing highlights is the manner in which transnational migration has fractured Zimbabwean male migrants' notions of enacting manhood.

What does it mean for non-nationals in South Africa today to have the label *amakwerekwere* attached to them? To be constructed as *amakwerekwere* suggests "a compromised capacity to engage in intercourse with autochthonous society" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002:789-790). This has particular ramifications for male migrants as they attempt to insert themselves in their host communities. This is evident in the fact that wherever they end up in South Africa, "immigrants take their place on a fraught historical terrain" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002:790). It is an environment of high unemployment levels among employable South African men. This also feeds into the broader frustration over the perceived failure of the post-apartheid redistributive agenda to address the twin challenges of poverty and inequality. The high unemployment and immigration rates have contributed towards producing threatened masculinities among South African men who conceive of foreign men as taking their jobs and women (Gqola, 2008; Landau, 2011). Inevitably, South African nationals in general, and black South African men in particular, scapegoat immigrants for the socio-economic challenges facing the country (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Gqola, 2008; Landau, 2011). This brings us to the question of why masculinities matter and from where my interest in them derives.

My intellectual interest in xenophobia and migrant masculinities is intricately linked to my formative years as an academic in Zimbabwe and my anthropological interest in the migrant labour system in southern Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular. Research on labour migration (Arrighi & Saul, 1970; Van Onselen, 1976; Sachikonye, 1998; Gaidzanwa, 1999) shows that immigration in Zimbabwe dates back to the time the Pioneer Column[3] established its roots in present day Zimbabwe (Mlambo, 1998). The subsequent introduction of wage employment and a money economy in Rhodesia laid the foundation for African male

---

[3] The force raised by Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company (BSAC) in 1890 and used in his efforts to annex the territory now called Zimbabwe.

17

immigrants, particularly from Malawi. I argue that if we confine ourselves to the period between 1900 and present, the movement of black African male migrants to Zimbabwe has followed three distinct phases. These trajectories have shaped my academic interest in the questions of inclusion and exclusion in general and xenophobic exclusion and migrant masculinities in particular.

The first wave of black African migrants was that of male migrants from Malawi and, to a lesser extent, Zambia. These migrants were contracted to work in plantations and on farms in colonial Zimbabwe. Most settlers in colonial Zimbabwe ventured into farming once it became clear that there was no hope of discovering a second Rand in Zimbabwe after the great gold discoveries in South Africa (Mlambo, 1998, 2000). Attracting black Zimbabwean men into wage employment faced numerous obstacles to the extent that outright coercion, economic pressure and legislation were used to push them into wage labour (Arrighi & Saul, 1970). The introduction of various taxes compelled many able-bodied men into taking up paid work in the emerging cities and industrial zones, but the commercial farming and mining sectors continued to experience significant labour deficits (Maravanyika & Huijzenveld, 2010). In response to the shortfalls in the workforce, the colonial state entered into agreements with the authorities in Malawi and Zambia to acquire extra-territorial labour (Maravanyika & Huijzenveld, ibid). From the empirical work that has been done on circular migration and early capitalist development in Africa, we know that the divisions of labour and social roles that were characteristic of most African societies determined that if any group was to be available for wage labour, it would be young men (Stichter, 1985). As a result, Zimbabwe found itself host to male migrants from Malawi and Zambia.

In places, the immigrant men started families by marrying locally or had some form of conjugal arrangements with local women. By all accounts, the immigrant men were not considered as a threat to Zimbabwean men given that they had no claims to land. Even though the male migrants could marry local women, their numbers were not considered large enough to destabilize the local dominant constructions of masculinity. In fact, Zimbabweans

18

generally considered the male Malawian nationals as inferior and disparagingly referred to them as *maBhurandaya*[4]. Typical of when human groups encounter "strangers" or "foreigners", the process of othering of the Malawian immigrant men by Zimbabweans was palpable (Chimedza, 2008). Many stories were told about their perceived expertise in the use of *muti* or *juju* (black magic) and how their *juju* was more lethal than the Zimbabwean equivalents.

The second phase of African male immigration came in the period immediately after Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Mozambican nationals moved into Zimbabwe in fairly large numbers, fleeing from the civil war that started in 1977 as a result of the contestation between the Front for Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) and the Rhodesian, and later, the South African-funded Mozambique Resistance Movement (RENAMO). Unlike the Malawian immigration, which was gendered, Mozambican nationals arrived both as individuals and families. Most of them settled in the Eastern highlands of the country, working on the margins of the Zimbabwean economy. Young Mozambican men worked as cheap, casual labourers in rural households or as street vendors in the streets of Harare and Mutare (Chimedza, 2008). They were typically called *maSena* (from Sena- a tribal group from Mozambique), *maMoskan* (from Mozambique) or *mabwidi* (foreigner). These were all pejorative terms, deployed to demarcate belonging. According to Chimedza (2008), it became fashionable in the 1980s to ridicule as ignorant anyone coming from the "farms" (commercial farming areas). It is no coincidence that these are the areas that were largely populated by male immigrants of Malawian, Mozambican and Zambian origin.

The third phase was radically different from the first two. Probably for the first time, black Zimbabwean men were confronted with a group of black African male immigrants who

---

[4] The name derives from Blantyre, the Malawian capital. In the Shona language, it literally means "those from Blantyre". It was the common term used for all Malawian nationals irrespective of their specific area of origin in Malawi. It did not matter whether they were from Lilongwe or Mzuzu. They were all presumed to be from Blantyre.

19

challenged their hegemonic forms of masculinities. In the late 1990s, Zimbabwe started receiving immigrants from Central and West Africa, particularly Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Unlike the Malawian and Mozambican nationals, who mostly subsisted on commercial farm labour, domestic work and petty informal trade, Congolese and Nigerian nationals sought to establish themselves in Zimbabwe's urban landscape. Most of these migrants never really made an effort to look for formal employment in Zimbabwe, preferring instead to survive on small-scale retailing of second hand clothes, electrical goods imported from Dubai, trinkets and a range of household goods. It was not long after their arrival that allegations emerged from the police and ordinary citizens that Nigerian and Congolese nationals were fuelling an illicit drug trade in the country. Many other allegations of impropriety were made, particularly against Nigerian nationals. It would seem that these allegations masked deeper social concerns relating to the destabilization of Zimbabwean men's conceptions of manhood.

The reaction to the presence of the Nigerians and the Congolese was as masculinist as it was xenophobic. There were retorts about Nigerian and Congolese men "overdressing", wearing more perfume than women and making extensive use of aphrodisiacs, notwithstanding the centrality of the use of traditional aphrodisiacs amongst Zimbabwean male and in local sexuality discourses. Congolese and Nigerian males were accused of enticing local women by their claims to sexual appeal and virility. Writing in the South African context, Gqola (2008:218), illustrates how immigration and the dominant constructions of masculinity coalesce to produce "imagined emasculation" on the part of local men. The perceived weakening of hegemony finds expression in xenophobic sentiments specifically targeting black immigrant men with whom local men compete for jobs and other resources. From this perspective, xenophobia transforms the discourse to a contest between two groups of men - one local and the other foreign. Specific masculine entitlement and threatened hegemony are both encoded in the resentful articulation that local women are the entitlement of local men (Gqola, 2008).

The immigration of Congolese and Nigerian nationals coincided with an economic downturn in Zimbabwe following the failure of a neo-liberal economic structural adjustment

20

programme (ESAP). Nigerian male migrants in particular, seemed to have the financial capital that the Zimbabwean males did not have or were struggling to accumulate. They also made use of the networks of Nigerian nationals who were already established in Zimbabwe to set themselves up quickly in business. Meanwhile, the Congolese male migrants became famous for being fashionably dressed, not to mention their exquisite *rumba* dances. Because the Nigerian and Congolese male migrants settled in Zimbabwe at a time when most Zimbabwean men were financially stressed, their seemingly superior financial capital accentuated Zimbabwean troubled and emasculated masculinities. The refrains Zimbabwean males made about the Nigerians and Congolese derived from a complex mix of the truth (some Nigerians were indeed involved in the trade of illicit drugs and were arrested and deported), envy arising from economic distress, and outright resentment towards non-nationals in general.

The foregoing was happening at a time when I was already a young adult with dreams of carving out an academic career at the University of Zimbabwe. It was intriguing listening to popular discourses in beer halls, streets, buses and markets around non-nationals undermining Zimbabwean morals through drugs, prostitution and other acts of criminality. Looking back, the comments around the dress sense of non-nationals were actually an early introduction to how masculinities are bound to the sartorial. There have been several ethnographic studies on the male Congolese sartorial subculture of the *sapeur*. Friedman (1992) recounts the fashion obsession in the Congo of the 1970s and '80s when a culture around European luxury goods, and in particular, *haute couture*, developed among Congolese youth. European clothes, particularly those of *haute couturiers,* Yves Saint Laurent, Versace, Uomo, were the currency of a sub-culture of young, mostly unemployed men known as *sapeurs,* who valued elegant dress above all else (Friedman, 1992). For the *sapeurs*, fashion (*la sape*) was the essence of identity (Friedman, ibid). According to Gondola (1999), the *sapeurs* transitioned from social dereliction to psychological redemption in fashion.

Were the Congolese male immigrants in Zimbabwe simply reflecting continuities with their past? It is possible that this was the case even though I would not want to draw the reader into the realm of speculation. What is indisputable is that their sartorial sense challenged

21

Zimbabwean men's notions of manhood to the extent of producing resentment. This speaks to the relationship between immigration and threatened or emasculated masculinities. It was in this context that my intellectual interest in otherness and foreignness began to form. This interest has persisted and I am especially interested in how the notion of otherness is deployed by state and non-state groups, and the manner in which nationals exploit the notion of the indigene to protect their resources or heritage from perceived foreigner invasion.

There have been many instances when friends and colleagues suggested to me that xenophobia in South Africa has been studied enough. I respectfully argue that this study goes beyond the mere documentation of xenophobic exclusion or isolated attacks. It is an anthropological exploration of how migration intersects with masculinist ideology to produce struggles over urban space, thereby cultivating inhospitable sentiments towards immigrant men who are constructed as outsiders. The thesis analyses the manner in which xenophobia contributes to the production of particular identities of masculinity among Zimbabwean male migrants. It has an interest in gendering the analysis of xenophobia through an understanding of how Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch conceptualise the phenomenon and its impact on their expression of masculinities. The study sheds light on the manner in which Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch struggle to aspire toward a new hegemonic masculinity in a new country that has a history of being anti-foreigner. Following Howson's (2013) contention, the study assesses the manner in which Zimbabwean male migrants articulate specific identities and practices textured by the threat of xenophobia.

In most anthropological studies, gender is mostly used as a synonym for sex to the extent that most studies with a gender focus invariably centre on women. Given the injustices women have faced as a result of patriarchal institutions and social relations, it is probably fair that there be a bias towards women. However, researching and theorising about men contributes to the attempts to make gender studies a study that not only looks at the subordinate status of women, but the substance of male power and how it is subject to a continuous process of reinterpretation.

Another pertinent query to emerge from conversations with colleagues and research participants has been why masculinities are important. In the South African context, there has been an upsurge in masculinity activism, particularly around fatherhood. Organisations such as Sonke Gender Justice (SGJ) have been campaigning through television adverts and public educational campaigns for a "new" man in South Africa. The campaigns, which are pitched at men, call for enactments of manhood that are not defined by violence and misogyny, but ones that celebrate the virtues of fatherhood, responsibility, gender equality and equitable masculinities. How effective these campaigns are going to be remains to be seen. What is critical at this juncture is how the masculinity activism is informed by a rich scholarship on masculinities in South Africa. The studies cut across masculine identities in general (Morrell, 1998) to more localised and specific ones such as studies on Afrikaner nationalism and masculinity (Grundlingh, 1994), rugby and masculine identities (Nauright & Chandler, 1996), HIV, AIDS, gender and masculinities (Mane & Aggleton, 2001), sexual violence in post-apartheid South Africa (Posel, 2005), fathers and fatherhood (Richter & Morrell, 2006), masculinities and male mortality (Ratele, 2008a) and masculinities, violence and misogyny (Langa & Kiguwa, 2013).

However, there remains a paucity of scholarship on Zimbabwean migrant masculinities, especially the interface of xenophobia, migrant experiences and the articulation of male identities and practices. How do Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch constantly negotiate their identifications as men - as providers, producers and protectors in a conflictual environment? This is not to discount seminal studies that have been done on xenophobia and foreign migrants. Greenburg (2010)'s study analyses how Congolese migrants in Johannesburg experience xenophobia and navigate their way around it. Lubkemann (2000) examines the transformation of transnationality among Mozambican men in Machaze district in the Vaal townships of South Africa. Madsen (2004) documents the evolution and policing of a "moral community" among undocumented Mozambican male migrants in Johannesburg as a way of coping with or avoiding crime, police harassment and deportation. Notwithstanding the fact that masculinities, xenophobia and migration have attracted a lot of attention in South African scholarship, none of the aforementioned studies foregrounds xenophobia or xenophobic exclusion as critical in the analysis of masculinities,

not to mention the gendering of the analysis of xenophobia. This study makes a small contribution towards that through its focus on xenophobia and Zimbabwean migrant masculinities.

1.8 Crossing borders; blurring boundaries: researching the 'familiar' Other

There can be no denying that being a male Zimbabwean migrant myself arrogates to me the status of an "insider" in that I relate with the primary research participants on a number of levels. For the majority of them, I speak their first language, identify with the anxieties they have about being away from home and the insecurities that they have about living in a foreign country. Being an insider potentially makes it easier to draw a line between discursive narratives and lived realities. My position as a Zimbabwean migrant has shaped my understanding of anthropological research in general and masculinities research in particular. It has allowed me to be reflexive in the perspectives and experiences of the research participants and the audiences to whom the research findings are directed.

Nonetheless, I remain an outsider in the sense that my experiences of migration are different from those of my study participants. As a documented migrant in South Africa, I have little fear of arrest and deportation. I do not work in restaurants nor do I live in the neighbourhoods that the majority of my study participants do. That makes me an insider-outsider (Abu-Lughod, 1991). Responding to Clifford and Marcus' (1986) critique of social anthropology's premises in their pioneering book *Writing Culture*, Abu-Lughod writes on the dilemmas of being an insider-outsider, or what she calls a "halfie" (Abu-Lughod, 1991:137). Halfies are understood as people whose national or cultural identity is mixed by virtue of migration, overseas education, or parentage (Abu-Lughod, 1991:137). For Abu-Lughod (ibid), halfies unsettle the divide between self and other, by which reason they are confronted with special dilemmas in their anthropological practice. I deal with some of these issues in Chapter 4, which deals with the epistemological premises of the study. In that chapter, I outline in detail issues of reflexivity, ethical dilemmas and the decisions I took in confronting the challenges that come with studying a familiar other.

24

1.9   Outline of chapters

Chapter 2: *Xenophobia, migrant experiences and masculinities: debate, discourse, and experience in South Africa* provides a comprehensive review of literature on the theories and conceptual ideas in critical studies of men and masculinities research. The chapter engages with the literature on migrant masculinities in South Africa and the manner in which xenophobia potentially fashions particular masculine identities.

Chapter 3: *Historical patterns of male migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa* introduces the discourses on the history, trends and practices of male migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa and how these trends and practices have altered over the years. The chapter assesses the implications of the century-long history of Zimbabwean male migrants coming to the mines in South Africa in relation to changing masculinities, paying particular attention to what the literature says about this long history of migrant masculinities.

Chapter 4: *Epistemological premises of the study, research design and methods,* examines the epistemological assumptions shaping the study. The chapter outlines the research design and research methods used and the key decisions made in regard to data collection and analysis. The chapter provides a critique of methodological orientations in anthropology of gender and discusses at length the issue of reflexivity in social anthropology and gender research.

Chapter 5: *Place making, migrant incorporation, xenophobia, and masculinities in Cape Town and Stellenbosch* integrates the Zimbabwean male migrants' accounts of their experiences of migration, xenophobic exclusion and masculine identities in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The chapter sketches the different resources and strategies that male migrants mobilise as foreign men in their quest to embed themselves in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

Chapter 6: *Zimbabwean male migrants and sites of encounters with South African nationals in Cape Town and Stellenbosch* engages with the relational nature of masculinities, and how space, temporality and migrancy are all determinants of compensatory and aspirational

25

masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants. The chapter interrogates the interplay of xenophobic exclusion (fear and fearlessness) in the construction of masculinities.

Chapter 7: *Conclusion* provides a synopsis of the major arguments made on xenophobia, migrant experiences and masculinities and conclusions. The chapter reflects on what can be learned and opportunities for future research.

2   Masculinities and xenophobia: discourse, debate and experience in South Africa

2.1   Introduction

In sketching the evolution of critical studies of men (CSM), Hearn (1987) begins by assessing the impact the rise of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) and modern feminism had on the empirical examination of what it means to be a woman. Feminist theory was critical in the systematic examination of patriarchy and how the social relations it produces subordinate women to men (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Rattansi & Phoenix, 1997; Morrell, 1998, 2001). Emerging versions of feminist theory were marshaled to challenge the ideological and material basis of male dominance. For example, the feminism of the 1970s provided the impetus for the contestation of all assumptions underwritten by patriarchy by demonstrating how sexual politics and women's oppression were closely bound up with patriarchal institutions and social relations (Edley & Wetherell, 1995; Morrell, 1998).

Hearn (ibid) suggests that there is a connection between the women's movement, feminism and the growth of CSM. Taking this connection as fact, it is paradoxical that the rise and impact of feminism brought into focus the paucity of knowledge about men. The more the premises of male superiority over women were questioned, the more it became apparent that most of the suppositions about men were largely assumed rather than empirically verifiable deductions (Morrell, 1998). According to Morrell, until the advent of the WLM and feminism, the fact that power was exercised publicly and politically by men had obscured the fact that little was known about masculinity (Morrell, 1998:605).

In exposing the oppressive and contradictory nature of patriarchy, feminist studies and the women's movement indirectly set the epistemological foundations for a science of masculinities that explores the dynamics of manhood and masculinities in diverse social contexts (Hearn, 1987; Clatterbaugh, 1998). Engaging with the relationship between masculinities and gender has come to receive a great deal of attention (Connell, 1987; Brittan,

1989, 2001), as are the social relations that exist between versions of masculinities (Connell, 1995, 2001). This thesis builds on the advances made in masculinities research and theory to analyse the interplay between xenophobic exclusion or its threat, and the construction or expression of masculine identities by Zimbabwean migrant men situated in the urban spaces of Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

My study is inspired by the contributions CSM have made to the understanding of men's power over women, how it is sustained, perpetuated and exercised in everyday practice. From CSM we learn that male power is circumstantial and shifts according to the material conditions in which men and women find themselves (Brittan, 1989). Studies elsewhere on male transmigration show that migrancy does not necessarily alter the substance of male power. What it does though is to reconfigure hegemonic and subordinate expressions of manhood as immigrant men learn to negotiate new dominant forms of masculinities in a different country (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002). Howson (2013) explores how transnational migration fractures and dislocates dominant and popular conceptions of masculinities as immigrant men re-invent and re-present themselves in a foreign country. In this study, the objective is not to simply understand how Zimbabwean male migrants' conceptions of masculinities evolve once they are in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. It is to appreciate the manner in which xenophobia particularly textures specific masculine identities that straddle South African and Zimbabwean influences.

Transnational migration presents both opportunities and complications for migrant men (Howson, 2013). According to Grillo (2007:200), transnational migration opens up a "multiplicity of potential trajectories" for migrant men. What this means is that migration opens up possibilities for accumulation of financial capital and the socially approved markers on manhood. Some Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch speak of how the income they earn has allowed them to send their kids to "good" schools in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Some claim to have acquired moveable and immoveable property back in Zimbabwe. This is consistent with findings elsewhere in Africa. Akyeampong (2000) finds that Ghanaian migrants in the US frequently define "successful" migration as marked by

28

investments in property back home, provisioning of financial assistance to needy family members and conspicuous consumption.

From a masculinities point of view however, migration comes with recognised adversities. Expressions of manhood will still depend on the resources men are able to mobilise. Only this time they have to do it in a new national or cultural context. Chapters 5 and 6 of the thesis will sketch out how the presence or absence of family is critical to place making and the integration of Zimbabwean male migrants into Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The chapters will also show the manner in which documentation, whilst not absolutely necessary for employment purposes, is central to accessing services such as banking and health care. There is evidence of Zimbabwean male migrants taking up any manner of employment, including jobs in supposedly "feminised" sectors such as waitressing and domestic work. The fear of "xenophobia" or being attacked has produced socio-spatial separations between Zimbabwean and South African nationals. This is evident in the "Zimbabwean" spaces migrants carve out for themselves within their host populations. Safety and, or security considerations texture the migrants' decisions on where to stay or go for recreation. These variables appear to be critical in the making of Zimbabwean migrant masculinities in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

CSM also ushered in the acceptance of a diversity of masculinities as opposed to a single masculinity. This study shows how Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch project multiple masculinities and not a homogeneous one. They express situational masculine identities that are shaped by their subjective migrant realities. These identities are also a reflection of the strategies, capital or social resources the male migrants are able to call upon. The empirical data shows that provider, aspirational, subordinate, rugged masculinities and so on are all enacted by Zimbabwean male migrants at different times and in different social contexts. The performance of manhood is situational. Chapters 5 and 6 examine how Zimbabwean male migrants deal with perceived xenophobic exclusion by reverting to enclaved spaces by way of football and social get-togethers.

By pronouncing the multiple displays of masculinities by Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, the study rejects the essentialist or positivist assumption of

gender identity that men and women's lives follow set patterns that are mediated by inflexible social facts or practices. That supposition is discarded in favour of the more expansive ideas of identities advanced by critical feminist and masculinity approaches. Amadiume (1987) asserts not only the social construction of identities, but more importantly, disrupts the dualism that insists on a priori distinctions between male and female as biological entities. Amadiume (ibid) argues that far from all being subordinates to men, women in precolonial Africa were structurally allowed to play roles usually monopolised by men, even if that meant becoming classified as 'men' in the process. Sex and gender did not necessarily coincide, as the dualistic thinking in dominant western orthodoxies suggests, where roles tend to be rigidly, narrowly and blindly masculinised or feminised in abstraction. This made precolonial Africa a place where "masculinity" was possible without men – "female masculinity", as women assumed positions or characteristics usually regarded as the preserve of men. We see in the Zimbabwean male migrants who work as waiters, status distress as they do "women's work".

I also draw from Judith Butler's ideas, which question the representation of the modernist subject as created through a static, essential identity. In rejecting the notions of fixed, predetermined subjects, Butler underscores the importance of discourse and performativity in the constitution of gender identities and practices (Butler, 1990). Meanwhile, Connell's (1995) theorisation of masculinities is predicated on the assumption that social and cultural systems have numerous versions of masculinities as opposed to a solitary masculinity. Differentials in terms of the power different clusters of men wield make a hierarchy of masculinities inevitable. Even Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch experience exclusion differently depending on their individual circumstances. As chapters 5 and 6 will show, even the way in which Zimbabwean male migrants construct xenophobia or express their masculine identities is variable, an indication of the inadequacy of the essentialist notion of fixed, and predetermined male subjects.

2.2   Defining masculinities

I would like to start this section by drawing on the observations made by Sigmund Freud and Arthur Brittan, two theorists whose theoretical work has been influential in the development of a science of masculinities or CSM. Freud remarked that:

> The concepts 'masculine' and 'feminine' are amongst the most confused that occur in science (Freud, 1953 [1905]:219-220).

Brittan has written extensively on the concept of masculinities and in his early writing, challenged the many uses of the term to the extent of asking:

> Does the concept 'masculinity' have any meaning at all when it seems to change from moment to moment? (Brittan, 1989:2)

Freud and Brittan's (ibid) observations are indicative of the key challenge that confronts any systematic examination of masculinities: how are they defined? CSM scholars have consistently grappled with whether everything that men do is masculinities or the term is limited to only specific aspects of male behaviour. Hearn (1987, 1996) questions the utility of the term "masculinity", arguing that its fuzziness undermines its usefulness as a category of theorisation and debate. According to Hearn (1996:203), developing a coherent definition of masculinities is hampered by three interrelated variables:

i)   The wide variety of uses of the concept.
ii) The imprecision of its use.
iii) The use of the concept as a primary and underlying cause of other social effects.

Meanwhile, informed by her research into sex, gender and status in Nigeria, Ifi Amadiume has argued that to conflate sex with gender is to deny the social cultivation of "nature" or nature's capacity to become manifest through unlikely containers or categories. In *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society* (1987), Amadiume reiterates not only the social construction of identities, but more importantly, disrupts the dualism that insists on a priori distinctions between male and female as biological entities. Far from all being subordinates to men, as is often erroneously claimed in studies informed

31

by western-inspired orthodoxies, women in precolonial Africa, Amadiume argues, were structurally allowed to play roles usually monopolised by men, even if that meant becoming classified as "men" in the process. Sex and gender did not necessarily coincide. This made precolonial Africa a place where "masculinity" was possible without men – "female masculinity", as women assumed 'positions or characteristics usually regarded as the preserve of men.

Following in the tradition of her fellow Nigerian writers, Amos Tutuola and Ben Okri in *The Palm-wine Drinkard* and *Famished Road* respectively, Amadiume challenges gender scholars to do more than embrace the multiple and ambiguous dimensions of masculinities and femininities. She suggests that this be done by contesting narrow conceptions of reality characterised by dualisms and the primacy of the mind, the purportedly autonomous individuals and a world of sensory perceptions. Amadiume's understanding of gender is ultimately an invitation to think beyond dichotomies and to problematize a tendency to be wedded to appearances and the implicit or explicit unilinear rationality of the mind, even among those who provide for other forms of rationality. Amadiume's analysis adds another layer of understanding to our theorisation of masculinities and to the study of masculinities on the move in contexts of xenophobic tensions. Her analysis draws our attention to the need to destabilise the givenness of masculinities and to have a more robust critique, not of masculinities or xenophobia per se, but "masculinities" and "xenophobia" as discursive regimes of veridiction.

Petersen (1998), finds no value in CSM as a whole, labelling them as epistemologically naïve and narrow-minded. Clatterbaugh (1998) is not as dismissive of CSM as Petersen (ibid), but finds most definitions of masculinity to be unsatisfactory, vague and inconsistent. McMahon (1993) criticises masculinity scholars for their failure to explicitly define what masculinities are. Disapproving of the manner in which the term is deployed, McMahon writes:

> It is remarkable how seldom writers on masculinity explicitly indicate what kind of concept they take masculinity to be…The usefulness of the concept is generally taken for granted, and what is offered is a description, frequently a list of traits (McMahon, 1993:690-1).

32

McMahon's (ibid) assessment, however, overlooks what a difficult proposition it is to develop a comprehensive, all-encompassing definition of masculinities. As Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994) point out, masculinities have multiple and ambiguous meanings which are typically changeable depending on the context. One can be a masculine subject in one setting, a client, pimp, or person in others. Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town or Stellenbosch straddle contradictory positions where some are respected professionals at work yet are *amakwerekwere* in other settings. Whilst there is merit in McMahon's (ibid) observation that merely listing traits and naming them masculinities is unsatisfactory, I agree with the view that calling for a precise definition runs the risk of reifying and universalising masculinities (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994).

It is unsurprising that there are ambiguities in the meaning of masculinities. This speaks to the situational nature of gender identities. Howard (2013) contends that Judith Butler's theoretical work on discourse and performativity in the formation of gender identities opens up new possibilities for the review of identity as a static and stable category. In moving away from the essentialist notions of gender categories, Butler (1990) lays the foundation for the analysis of gender (masculinities and femininities) as performances. Not only should gender categories be understood as performances, but as plural and open to contestation (Butler, ibid). This is a conceptual idea that Connell embraces in questioning the idea of a modernist unified male subject (Connell, 1995). By stressing their variable nature, Brittan (1989) rejects the portrayal of masculinities as timeless and universal. Instead, he characterises them as time bound and subject to a continual process of contestation. This is a theme I develop in the next section where I present a detailed analysis of the work of Connell and how it fits in with the primary questions of this study.

The title of Clatterbaugh's (ibid) paper, "What is problematic about masculinities?" is a useful point of entry in the examination of why defining masculinities is challenging. Part of the challenge in formulating a fixed definition of masculinities lies in the manner in which masculinities draw and encroach on numerous elements, domains, identities, behaviours and objects (Amadiume, 1987; Hearn, 1987; Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Butler, 2011). Masculinities are fluid and their expression or significance is not the same in every given

context (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Howson, 2013). According to Cornwall and Lindisfarne (ibid), the plurality of images and behaviours contained in the notion of masculinity means that they are incoherent, contradictory and mutually undermine each other.

Delineating masculinities becomes even more challenging in the context of transnational masculinities. For example, Zimbabwean male migrants in South Africa straddle Zimbabwean and South African socio-cultural influences. This is a state Grillo (2007:2001) calls "in-betweenness", a social condition that often produces compound, disjointed and conflicting [transnational] masculinities. The empirical data from Cape Town and Stellenbosch shows that the perceived threat of xenophobia- real or imagined- produces variable responses from Zimbabwean male migrants. Some try to minimise their visibility in the areas in which they live through strategies of self-exclusion. Others become disparaging towards South Africans in general and black South Africans in particular. Chapters 5 and 6 interrogate the interface between xenophobia and vulnerability/insecurity among the Zimbabwean male migrants. The chapters also explore the numerous outcomes such insecurity may produce.

2.2.1   Masculinities as practice: Raewyn Connell and gender orders

One of the most influential and creative theorists on men and masculinities is Raewyn Connell (Ghail, 1996). Connell's thinking and writing in the latter part of the 20th century have had a profound effect on CSM. With her examination of the complex interlocking of psychological, sociological, personal, and structural factors in the production of manhood, Connell created a theory of masculinities that supplanted the once dominant sex-role theory (Morrell, 1998). In her popular book, *Masculinities* (1995), Connell proposes a science of masculinities based on a systematic investigation of the specific historical and cultural contexts that texture the creation of particular ways of enacting manhood. In underlining hegemonic masculinity as a practice, Connell (ibid), questions essentialist notions of maleness and underlines the historical nature of the processes that give legitimacy to specific gender orders. Following Connell, I interrogate South Africa's long history of hosting male labour migrants from the southern African region and its documented record of violent

attacks against non-nationals in the post-apartheid period. I do so with the objective of assessing how this history shapes the experiences of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

In rejecting essentialist and normative notions of masculinities, which hold that identities are embedded in a single attribute, character or dominant culture (Rattansi & Phoenix, 1997), Connell (1995, 2000) provides the scope for the exploration of masculinities as multifaceted and a reflection of the gender structure obtaining in a given society at a specific historical point. Among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch are several articulations of masculine identities and practices in response to xenophobia. Situated experiences of migration account for the variations. Some migrants elect to reside in neighbourhoods or areas that they consider to be safe from possible xenophobic attacks. Others consciously avoid particular recreational areas/spaces. These "choices" migrants make are in keeping with Landau & Freemantle's (2010) notion of strategic insertion and self-exclusion, but also reinforce Howson's (2013, 2014) view that hegemony does not signify the existence of a singular way of enacting manhood.

The thesis builds on Connell's (1995, 2001) logic that masculinities are produced in the process of social interaction in which social actors exploit the resources and strategies available to them in their specific social settings. In chapter 6, I pay considerable attention to three spaces of encounters between Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals. These are the workplaces, areas of residence and places of recreation. I explore the manner in which Zimbabwean males experience, express and negotiate masculine identities in these specific social settings and how xenophobia is a key determinant of the identities they articulate in these settings. Also useful as an analytical tool in my study is Landau and Freemantle's (2010) notion of "tactical cosmopolitanism", which I discuss at length in 5.3.3. Tactical cosmopolitanism speaks to the strategy of simultaneous insertion and self-exclusion Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch employ to navigate a social milieu that they perceive to be xenophobic. In strategically inserting and excluding themselves in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, Zimbabwean male migrants articulate or express both aspirational and subordinate masculinities. Their performances of masculinity reflect

35

their aspiration towards economic integration in their host communities. However, their quality as non-nationals puts them at risk of being attacked, which sees them revert to subordinate positions of self-exclusion.

According to Connell (1995), the questions confronting theorists in defining masculinities include, but are not limited to, the following:

i) Is everything that men do masculine?

ii) Is masculinity a coherent object of knowledge?

iii) Is there unity in men's lives?

iv) Do all men have the same masculinities, and so why?

At the core of Connell's theory of masculinities is the premise that masculinities and femininities should be understood primarily as gender terms. By their nature, gender terms are contestable because competing, contradictory discourses and conflicting systems of knowledge are deployed in their analysis (Connell, 1987, 1995, 2000, 2001). Connell therefore defines masculinities as follows:

> Masculinity, to the extent the term can be defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture (Connell, 1995:71).

In locating the examination of masculinities in the broader context of gender, Connell provides one of the key dimensions to my enquiry: the relational nature of masculinities. Connell writes that masculinities and femininities are "inherently relational concepts" (Connell, 1995:44). The two concepts can only have meaning in relation to each other. Men's expressions of power and the material interests they harbour have to be understood in terms of how they relate to women and other men. As the latter sections of the thesis will show, working in a restaurant has economic and social significance in terms of how Zimbabwean male migrants identify themselves as masculine subjects. The job is a source of income, which allows for the expression of provider masculinities. However, the fact that it is a low-

end job symbolises the non-hegemonic position they occupy relative to South African men whose opportunities are not limited by their nationality.

2.2.1.1 Relations among masculinities

Using the industrial Western gender order as his analytical context, Connell identifies four main performances and associations that structure masculinities. These are hegemonic, complicit, submissive and oppositional masculinities. It is important to keep in mind that these categories are used as analytical constructs and are by no means exhaustive. Their use should not be taken to mean that there no other practices and relations outside them. As Morrell (2001) points out, no assumption should be made that these categories are rigid, mutually exclusive and timeless. The ever present competition over ways of performing manhood by different groups of men means that friction between these practices and relations is inevitable (Morrell, ibid). Some men express their masculinity by being predatory towards women. Others elect to be homophobic. Yet others associate manhood with violence or providing for their families (bread winning). In the end, there is not a single masculinity but multiple masculinities that reflect the plurality of male subjects.

2.2.1.2 Hegemonic masculinities and dominance

In chapters 5 and 6, I explore Zimbabwean male migrants' negotiation of the dominant practices and relations of gender in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. I do so through the prism of Connell's (1995) concept of "hegemonic masculinity". Connell deploys the term to refer to "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell, 1995:77). Understood in this way, hegemonic masculinities reflect practices of manhood that are culturally dominant over others at a given point in time in a society's history.

According to Connell (ibid), at any given time some practices emerge as dominant over others. These could be practices relating to how men dress, the music they listen to, the

37

number of children they have or physical security. In the context of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, the practices relate to the kind of work they do, their income, the investments back home (real and imagined), proficiency in a local language or the number of local women with whom they have had romantic or sexual relationships. When conditions in society change, new groups may challenge old solutions and construct new hegemonies. This is what Connell (1995) meant with his assertion that hegemony is a historically mobile relation. The tastes that Zimbabwean male migrants have in dressing or music are also variable. What is fashionable is always in a state of flux. Some may brag about working in a top hotel today, tomorrow they will be bragging about another employer or even a different type of job.

2.2.1.3 Subordinate masculinities and subservience

Within the ambit of gender under patriarchy are relations of dominance and subordination between men and women (Brittan, 1989, 2001). Unequal gender relations are not however limited to men and women. Interactions between groups of men are also guided by relations of supremacy and subservience (Morrell, 1998). In conceptualising subordinate masculinities, Connell (1995, 2000, 2001) affirms that hegemonic practices are by no means all-encompassing. Nor is their control over subordinates absolute. Some practices of manhood are subordinate to the hegemonic ones, which means that at any given point in any given social milieu, there is always scope for secondary masculinities (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). Class, race, ethnicity, occupation, sexuality, intersectionality or religion are all potential markers of dominance or subservience (Ratele, 2008b).

Migrant, working class, black and gay men typically find themselves on the margins of hegemonic forms (Morrell, 1998; Ratele, 2011), inhabiting what Connell (ibid) characterises as subordinate variants of masculinities. Hassim, Kupe, & Worby's (2008) book, *Go Home or Die Here,* documents the challenges Zimbabwean migrant men face up to in making a life in contemporary South African urban space. They have to fashion their masculinities within the context of xenophobia and difference. Most of the migrants who participated in the study work as waiters, security guards, gardeners, and roadside traders. Some of them claim that the

38

reason they find themselves doing menial work is structural; the South African formal labour market discriminates against non-nationals even when one hold requisite qualifications. This view validates Connell's (1995, 2000, 2001) observation that subordinate masculinities are anchored in material practices of exclusion, which sometimes extends to physical violence, imprisonment and economic discrimination. The perceived threat of xenophobia means that some masculinities among the Zimbabwean male migrants are produced and enacted in sites of subservience. Sometimes, it is in the context of self-imposed subservience (tactical cosmopolitanism). However, to illustrate how fluid and adaptable masculinities are, the very same Zimbabwean migrants who are economically and politically marginalised enact hegemonic masculinities in other contexts. In the get-togethers and football, we see an enactment of hegemonic masculinities generally free from the gaze of South African nationals.

2.2.2 Masculinities, gender and power

Another influential writer of masculinities in the latter part of the 20th century is Arthur Brittan. In his book, *Masculinity and Power*, Brittan proposes that "any account of masculinity must begin with its place in the general discussion of gender" (Brittan, 1989:1). Brittan justifies this by arguing that the gender structure of a society echoes the material interests of those who exercise power and those who do not have power. For this reason, any analysis of masculinities should be located in the general discussion of gender. Brittan's ideas that practices of gender do not exist outside history and culture are certainly at play in Robert Morrell's (2001) enquiry of the conjunction of specific histories (colonialism, industrialisation, labour migration etc.) and cultural contexts in the formation of multiple masculinities in 20th century southern Africa. Drawing from Morrell's (ibid) work, I argue in the thesis that a nuanced understanding of the contemporary politics of exclusion, should be located in South Africa's long history of attracting labour migrants, particularly from the neighbouring countries. The empirical evidence emerging from Cape Town and Stellenbosch suggests that xenophobia, however way it is understood by Zimbabwean migrants, produces a specific gender order, which in turn influences the creation of particular masculinities.

There are aspects of Brittan's theorisation that are critical in my analysis of xenophobic exclusion and migrant masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Given the differentiation of men along class, race, sexuality and other material divides, it is inevitable that even among Zimbabwean male migrants, opposing and competing ways of enacting manhood abound. Some express their masculinity by being predatory towards black South African women. Others tend to reify the very same xenophobic stereotypes that they seek to deconstruct by being xenophobic towards some South African men. Yet others attach manhood to providing for their families (bread winning). In the end, there is not a single masculinity but multiple masculinities that reflect the plurality of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. In Chapters 5 and 6, I will show how authoritative masculinities at the work place often co-exist with troubled, disengaged and subordinate masculinities in recreational and residential areas.

2.3 Locating the study in the South African scholarship on masculinities

Scholarly considerations of masculinities in South Africa have followed different trajectories. From analyses steeped in the dominant polarity between rural black areas and white production centres (Bolt, 2010:3), to ones that trace the conjunction of patriarchy, colonialism and capitalism (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005), and race, violence, fatherhood (Richter & Morrell, 2006; Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala, & Buikema, 2007), the scope and breadth of the scholarship is wide.

Pertinent to the issues addressed in this study are studies that have attempted to assess how xenophobia or xenophobic violence is linked with masculinist violence (Gqola, 2008; Langa & Kiguwa, 2013). Gqola (2008) argues that xenophobic violence in post-apartheid South Africa has roots in negrophobia and masculinist violence as evidenced by claims by black South African men that immigrant men take "their" women. Negrophobia is taken to mean black-on-black hatred. In this case, it is the loathing of black African migrants by black South African nationals. Numerous cases of popular mobilisations against black non-nationals in the townships and informal settlements are regularly cited as proof that xenophobia in South

Africa is racialised (Misago, 2011) and thus negrophobic (Mngxitama, 2008). The notion of negrophobia is linked to South Africa's history of coloniality and apartheid, which supposedly nurtured black-on-black hatred and violence (Mngxitama, ibid).

Langa and Kiguwa's (2013) piece on service delivery protests in two communities in Mpumalanga explores how the protests often transform the discourse from an expression of dissatisfaction with local government's absence or limitations in service provision, to narratives of misogyny and the politics of envy. Langa and Kiguwa's (ibid) findings are that "service delivery" protests often result in targeted violence against female councillors and rich, successful, black men who are reproached for "flaunting" their wealth or having "too many" girlfriends. The attack on female councillors has echoes of Comaroff and Comaroff's (2002) finding that economic distress fractures social relations between men and women through accusations of witchcraft in parts of the North-West province. In the context of high unemployment, which challenges the notions of provider masculinities, women (especially older ones) are routinely accused of earning income through the practice of witchcraft. For Comaroff and Comaroff (2002), in reality the accusations are simply a reflection of a masculinist resentment/envy of female social grants recipients. What we see in the cited examples from Mpumalanga and the North-West is the association that seems to exist between resource constraints, misogyny and masculinist violence.

Aggressive or violent masculinities have long been a feature of South African gender relations and practice (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005). According to Ouzgane and Morrell (ibid), this analysis can be extended to the entire Southern African sub-region. The region has a long history of war or aggression. An anthropological examination suggests that a lot of the antagonism was motivated by spurious notions of difference. Pape (1990) and McCulloch (2000) provide fascinating historical and ethnographic accounts of the race-driven collective panic that gripped white communities of Johannesburg, Bulawayo and Salisbury (Harare) between 1910 and 1920 because of the perceived threat interracial sexual relationships posed to the moral fabric of white civilisation. Interracial sex generated so much anxiety and panic among sections of white communities that "rampaging lynch mobs" took it upon themselves to dispense "violent retribution" (Phillips, 2011:101). These lynch mobs were encouraged by

41

church leaders, politicians and other prominent social figures whose racially-motivated alarm animated the violence.

How similar is this hostility to what we see today where black African immigrants are constructed as *amakwerekwere*? There are noticeable continuities in that motivating the contemporary resentment are the politics of (imagined) difference. Politicians and prominent figures today continue to fan the embers of xenophobia through public utterances that construct non-nationals as blameworthy for unemployment, crime and drug trafficking in South Africa (Neocosmos, 2006; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011; Landau, 2011). One of the study participants in Stellenbosch makes the point that he likes to play football on Sundays with fellow Zimbabweans because it is the only time that he feels that he is not being judged as *amakwerekwere.* Football allows for momentary escape from restrained to unrestrained displays of masculinities. As foreign nationals, Zimbabwean male migrants have to live with allegations that they have been nothing but a negative influence on South African moral fabric through 'corrupting' young girls with money, prostitution, crime and putting a strain on the service delivery infrastructure (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Landau, 2011).

2.3.1   Studies on Zimbabwean migrant masculinities in South Africa

Empirical studies done on Zimbabwean migrant masculinities in South Africa are few. Matshaka (2009) examines the challenges young male migrants relocating to the working class townships on the Cape Flats face in making a better life for themselves in Cape Town. The main challenge is a formal labour market that is discriminatory against immigrants. The young migrants subsist on informal work (making wire and bead art) for sale in the affluent parts of Cape Town (Matshaka, ibid). Matshaka's study analyses the way in which young male migrants navigate the "gendered and gendering experience of migration and relocation" (Matshaka, 2009:65).

Bolt's (2010) empirical study of divergent masculinities among Zimbabwean migrant farmworkers in Limpopo explores the interplay between migrancy, class and practices of manhood. The study deploys the notion of diversity (regional, linguistic, ethnic and class

42

histories) to establish how male fruit pickers interpret "the nexus of class, ethnicity and masculinity" (Bolt, 2010:377). Bolt's research provides insights into displaced Zimbabwean male migrants' understanding and interpretation of diversity and how this feeds into the agricultural work that they do.

Evidently, some empirical work has been done on Zimbabwean migrant masculinities but there remains a gap in data on xenophobia and the construction of particular masculine identities. Matshaka (2009) and Bolt (2010) do not consider the conjunction of xenophobia, migrant experiences and the construction of masculinities in their studies. Xenophobia is only implicit in Matshaka's study and almost invisible in Bolt's, apart from a fleeting reference to the stereotypes Zimbabweans have for the Venda people[5] and vice-versa. Xenophobia is central to the primary questions of this study and its objective of exploring the connection between xenophobic exclusion, or its threat, and the construction of particular masculine identities.

In concluding this section on masculinities, it is important to recall that there is still contestation concerning the concept of masculinities. This derives from the different ways in which the term is used by different authors. What is not in doubt is that CSM rejects the use of the term in ways that suggest a static notion of masculine identities. CSM discards essentialist notions of masculinities. Connell's (1995) conceptual idea of masculinities holds that masculinities are best understood within the broader framework of gender relations and their analysis should be located in the domain of social practice/interaction. Masculinities are complex, fluid and are historically shaped. As Connell (2000) observes, post-structuralism and materialism provide significant outlets for the theorisation of masculinities.

---

[5] The Venda (Vhavhenda) live mostly near the South African-Zimbabwe border.

43

2.4 *"Hamba mukwirikwiri!"*[6] South Africa and xenophobia

A 1998 report by Human Rights Watch (HRW) describes how South Africa's "public culture has become increasingly xenophobic, and politicians often make inflammatory statements that the 'deluge' of migrants is responsible for the current crime wave, rising unemployment, or even the spread of diseases" (Human Rights Watch, 1998:4). The central message in the report is that official and unofficial discourses have been responsible for the production of negative sentiments against non-nationals. The report goes further and mentions that:

> … unfounded perception that migrants are responsible for a variety of social ills grows, migrants have increasingly become the targets of abuse at the hands of the police, the army, and the Department of Home Affairs. Refugees and asylum seekers with distinctive features from far away countries are especially targeted for abuse (Human Rights Watch, 1998:4).

The scholarship on the discrimination, exclusion or maltreatment of non-nationals in modern African countries has produced fascinating insights into the relationship between xenophobia, identities of citizenship and access to resources. Gray (1998) and Nyamnjoh (2002) trace the cultivation of citizenship through xenophobia in Gabon and Botswana respectively. In both countries, non-nationals are marginalized on the basis of xenophobia. The notion of national citizenship inevitably requires the production of the category of the *Other* of the nation, those who are foreign, alien and do not belong. The official rhetoric in most African countries is that the discrimination of non-nationals or xenophobia is distasteful and regressive, yet evidence from Botswana, Cameroon, Gabon, Kenya, Ivory Coast and South Africa show that hidden behind the rhetoric are contestations over belonging (Geschiere, 2009). The contestations pitting nationals against non-nationals result in fractures that manifest themselves in the competition for jobs, housing, and social services. Nationals use citizenship

---

[6] Zulu for "go, foreigner/stranger!" Many study participants recall this "call to arms" being used by South African nationals during the May 2008 xenophobic attacks.

as a resource by which they assert their claims to what are perceived to be finite resources (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Geschiere, 2009; Landau, 2011).

For Geschiere (2009) and Nyamnjoh (2006), the paradox of neoliberal globalization is evident in the rhetoric of free flows and dissolving borders that stand in opposition to increasing calls for the intensification of border controls. The processes of globalization have been celebrated for their contribution to the impressive advances in information and communication technologies, human mobility, social diversity, geographical dispersion of economic activity and opportunities for cultural exchange (Harvey, 1989; Bhalla, 1998; Castells, 1996, 1997, 1998; Giddens, 2002). Yet, globalization has also animated calls for the distinction between citizens and non-citizens, insiders and outsiders (Nyamnjoh, 2006).

There are anthropological explanations for these apparent contradictions. Meyer and Geschiere (1999) assert that globalization and identity operate in dialectical relationship between "flow" and "closure". The circulation of goods, information and humans represents the flow. In situations where there is contestation over resources that are demarcated as limited, attitudes towards migrants harden and calls for border controls increase. Zenker (2011:64) writes about the "contradictory expansions of modernity", which simultaneously produce "accelerated desires for interconnecting individuals, groups and 'their' territories" and heightened claims to indigeneity and autochthony. "Closure" reflects the less desirable side of globalization. This relates to the exploitation of identities of citizenship and other various forms/markers of membership and belonging for the purposes of accessing resources or denying particular social groups access to those resources (Meyer & Geschiere, 1999). From this perspective, globalization has fashioned a rebirth of local identities and vernacular forms of autochthonous exclusions (Ceuppens & Geschiere, 2005; Geschiere & Jackson, 2006; Zenker, 2011).

The renaissance of identity politics has often been celebrated as the political recognition of cultural variance, but it also has the potential of producing exclusion, discrimination, mistreatment or violence against those considered to be outsiders (Zenker, 2011). Nyamnjoh (2006) characterizes the contemporary global society as straddled by "insiders and outsiders"

and access to resources is mediated by the extent of one's belonging. Citizenship and belonging have become the tools by which insiders justify their claims to resources and the mechanism by which outsiders are excluded (Neocosmos, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Geschiere, 2009; Landau, 2011).

Comaroff and Comaroff (2002:780) explore the workings of what they term the millennial global capitalist order and conclude that it is an order in which immigrants "have become pariah citizens". In the article, *Alien Nation: zombies, immigrants, and millennial capitalism* (2002), Jean and John Comaroff draw on their empirical study of rural North West Province of South Africa to assess some of the ambiguities and contradictions neoliberal capitalism as a model of accumulation produces. One of the conclusions the paper draws is that neoliberal capitalism appears to entrench material benefits to those who control technologies and flows of capital while threatening the livelihoods of those who do not. The threats to livelihoods in the North West Province in particular, and South Africa in general, find expression in the competition for paid work in an environment of high unemployment rates (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002). The contestation over paid work has seen increased conflict between young South African men, women, and immigrants. So fierce has the contest been that it has fed accusations of witchcraft, zombie-making and the demonization of African immigrants (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002). Whilst women become targets because of the social grants they receive, immigrants are even softer targets because of the manner in which they are constructed as "those wanderers in pursuit of work, whose proper place is always elsewhere" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002:779-780).

Landau (2011) observes that the presence of non-nationals in the South African urban space has repeatedly generated violent and non-violent strategies of exclusion. The non-violent responses are very important in the analysis of exclusion because they reveal the manner in which xenophobia in the country is institutionalized and embedded in most aspects of social life. According to Landau, identities based on indigeneity and autochthony in South Africa have meant that non-nationals are perceived as a group that cannot "justify claims to a patch of urban space" (Landau, 2011:1). This is in keeping with Nyamnjoh's (2006) observation that since the collapse of colonial and postcolonial authoritarian orders in Africa, there has

46

been a growing effort to question the efficacy of availing certain rights, benefits and resources to certain groups of people, particularly those perceived as 'outsiders'. The irony of it is that the South African Constitution refers to the rights of all persons who live in the country, and not only citizens of South Africa. The only exclusion for non-nationals is that they cannot vote in elections.

The association that I am making between globalization, xenophobia and exclusion should not be interpreted to mean that I am suggesting the existence of a causal relationship where xenophobic sentiment is set off by the apprehension created by globalization. I am proposing that xenophobic sentiments often build on or exploit such fears/anxieties. Not all people and countries have responded to neoliberal globalization-induced uncertainties similarly. The responses have been variable, but certain discernible patterns speak to the challenges immigration has produced in migrant-receiving countries.

2.5   Conceptualising xenophobia

The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology defines xenophobia as the culturally-based fear of outsiders (Johnson, 2000). The fear is not limited to the physical body of the other, but encompasses their customs and religions (Bekker, 2010). In their article on understanding xenophobia in South Africa, Hopstock and de Jager (2011) refer to the definition of xenophobia used by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). The SAHRC understands xenophobia to be "the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state". According to Landau (2011), there are certain instances in which xenophobia is based on a genuine fear of strangers and the unknown and more often, it has a more concrete basis, especially where it involves competition for resources. Nyamnjoh (2006) suggests that xenophobia is rooted in discourses and practices that are discriminatory towards foreign nationals. Understood in this way, the process of othering is textured by identities of nationality. In that respect, the violent attacks and mobilisation against non-nationals by sections of the South African population over the years are xenophobic.

An assessment of the construction of xenophobia in South Africa shows that reducing xenophobia to practices and discourses of discrimination against non-nationals is too simplistic and inadequate. This is because there are examples of South African nationals who have been victims of xenophobic attacks on the basis of their physical appearance or linguistic habitus (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Hassim et al., 2008; Greenburg, 2010; Polzer, 2010). There are reported cases of ethnic minorities such as the Tsonga and Shangaan being attacked in Johannesburg for "looking" like Mozambicans (Steinberg, 2008). During the May 2008 xenophobic attacks, some South Africans from minority ethnic groups like the Venda or Pedi were attacked along with migrants, having been constructed as non-South Africans on the basis of their physical appearance (Landau, 2011). Groups of South Africans speaking a minority language or coming from a different province can therefore easily find themselves being treated alongside migrants as "outsiders" (Landau, 2009; Matzopoulos, Corrigall, & Bowman, 2009; Polzer, 2010). This awakens us to the multiple layers of xenophobia and the numerous ways in which it finds expression in day-to-day life. The targets of attacks or xenophobia need not be necessarily African migrants or solely African, but can include non-nationals from other continents residing in an urban settlement (Bekker, 2010).

2.6   Notion of "foreignness" in postcolonial Africa

South Africa is not the only African country grappling with the challenges of xenophobia. Recent years have seen, in different parts of Africa, various forms of popular organizations against those branded as outsiders as well as expressions of hatred towards those constructed as foreigners (Gray, 1998; Ungar, 2001). Masculinist violence, politics, and the fight over urban resources, have led to boundaries being drawn and redrawn between "rightful" claimants to resources and outsiders. This process was witnessed in Côte d'Ivoire in the mid-1990s following the conception of the notion of *ivoirité*[7] (Ivorianness) by the then President, Henri Konan Bédié. *Ivoirité* was ostensibly conceived to capture the common cultural identity of all those living in Côte d'Ivoire. In reality, nationalist and xenophobic ideas

---

[7] The term is sometimes translated into English as Ivoirity.

48

fanned by politics transformed the idea into a criterion for the identification of a bona fide Ivorian citizen (Skogseth, 2006). Geschiere (2009) traces how a southern coalition of ethnic groups established itself as the "true" autochthonous nation under the notion of *ivoirité*, thereby disenfranchising northern Ivorians.

Salah Abdi Sheikh (2009) is a blogger who writes on issues of politics and belonging. In one of his blogs entitled *The Rise of Xenophobia in Kenya*, he contends that postcolonial Kenya has wrestled with an undercurrent of xenophobia that many have failed to acknowledge. Sheikh (ibid) argues that from the time of independence in 1964, the Kenyan state and large sections of its population have exhibited xenophobic tendencies towards the Kenyan-Indian, Somali communities, as well as minority ethnic groups. Sheikh (ibid) documents as examples of xenophobia the violent attacks and looting that targeted Kenyan Indians in the aftermath of a failed coup in 1982. The anti-foreigner sentiment gathered pace with the discrimination against Somalis living in Kenya from the early 1990s following the collapse of Somalia, and then exploded in the post-election violent outbursts that claimed over a thousand lives in 2008 (Sheikh, ibid). At the centre of all the violence were young, out of work Kenyan males.

The popular mobilizations against "outsiders" in Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya are completely disparate in their genesis and execution. The two examples reflect the configurations and re-orderings of power, population and place in postcolonial African urban centres and how xenophobic violence is gendered. They also reveal the anger and resentment the presence of those constructed as foreigners rears among sections of the host populations (Landau, 2011). This is useful in that it draws attention to the manner in which xenophobia is nuanced, and how it is not just some random, spontaneous outcome of the criminal or lunatic fringe (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Landau, ibid). In South Africa, perpetrators of xenophobic violence justify their attacks against non-nationals by arguing that they are simply getting rid of a "threatening obstacle to achieving justice and retribution for decades of discrimination and indignity" (Landau, 2011:3).

At the forefront of the attacks are usually young, black unemployed South African men who see in immigrant men unwanted, unnecessary and unjustified competition for jobs that they

believe belong to them as citizens (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Landau, 2011; Misago, 2011). In September 1998, a crowd returning by train from a protest march[8] in Pretoria threw three non-nationals (a Senegalese and two Mozambicans) to their deaths for taking away their scarce jobs (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002). In May 2008, xenophobic attacks claimed the lives of 62 people, led to the rape of dozens of women and the displacement of over a hundred thousand people in a period of no more than two weeks (Landau, 2011). In that period, the world witnessed South African nationals turn against non-nationals, nationals who were married to non-nationals, or those who refused to partake in the violence (Crush, 2008; Bekker, 2010; Dodson, 2010; Landau, 2011). The attacks were the culmination of a problem that had festered for years (Crush, 2008). Preceding the May 2008 attacks/violence had been numerous occurrences of xenophobic violence in different parts of the country (Crush, 2008; Greenburg, 2010; Monson & Arian, 2011). The question is why this is happening when immigrant men, primarily from Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana and Mozambique have over a century's history of working in South African industry, farms and the service sector (McDonald, Zinyama, Gay, de Vletter, & Mattes, 2000; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002)?

2.7   Immigration, xenophobia and masculinities in South Africa

Empirical studies on xenophobia in South Africa are wide-ranging. They include assessments of its extent (Crush, 2008; Landau, 2008a, 2011; Crush & Ramachandran, 2009; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011; Jearey-Graham & Böhmke, 2013; Langa & Kiguwa, 2013), its manifestation (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009; Robins, 2009; Dodson, 2010; Flockemann, Ngara, Roberts, & Castle, 2010; Landau, 2011), explanations of its existence (Neocosmos, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Geschiere, 2009; Fauvelle-Aymar & Segatti, 2011; Misago, 2011) and how it is perpetuated (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Landau, 2011; Peberdy, 2009). What these studies share in common is their attempt to explain the negative sentiments that most South Africans have towards non-nationals (Mattes, 1999).

---

[8] The protest was over mass unemployment.

In many ways, the title of Landau's book, *Exorcising the Demons,* captures many of the issues that have dominated the debate on xenophobia in South Africa. The May 2008 attacks captured the world's imagination in their callousness as violence directed at the bodies and belongings of foreigners (non-nationals and South Africans speaking minority languages) spread across the country. The image of a Mozambican man, Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave[9], being burned alive whilst some bystanders laughed (Hassim et al., 2008) has come to define the ferocity and callousness of the attacks. Close followers of South Africa's experience with xenophobia may have been shocked by the magnitude of anger, but the violence itself came as little surprise as this was "hardly the first expression of post-apartheid violence targeting 'foreigners'" (Hassim et al., 2008:3).

Results from national opinion surveys by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in 1997 (see Mattes et al., 1999), 2006 (see Crush, 2008) and Futurefact in 2007 (see Erasmus, 2008) show significant levels of anti-migrant sentiment across all sections of the South African population. The 2006 survey by SAMP also showed strong levels of support for citizen-led actions to rid the nation of non-nationals (Crush, 2008). The explanation for such negative attitudes towards immigrants remains largely elusive. Most of the systematic attempts at understanding xenophobia in South Africa reflect diverse scholarly legacies and have complementary merits. One thing that can be said with certainty is that there is an objective connection between gender and xenophobic violence. Most of the attacks against non-nationals have been led by out of work black South African men living in informal settlements (Gqola, 2008). However, not all informal settlements have a history of xenophobic attacks.

Neocosmos (2006) argues the case for studies of xenophobia, which scrutinize the role played by the state or nationalist politics in the production of xenophobia in South Africa. Meanwhile, Monson and Arian claim that by underplaying the role of the state or politics,

---

[9] To date, no arrests have been made, ostensibly due to lack of witnesses.

51

most of the explanations of xenophobia in the country provide a "decontextualised view of events" (Monson & Arian, 2011:32). Some descriptive accounts of xenophobia simplistically attribute xenophobic violence to the frustrations that the lower income groups who reside in townships and informal settlements have about service delivery and employment (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Crush, 2008; Bekker, 2010; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011). Such interpretations tend to disguise other important considerations like "state politics associated with a specific discourse of citizenship" (Neocosmos, 2006:vi).

According to Neocosmos (2006), the state's expressions and pronouncements on citizenship and how they are linked with the country's prospects for sustained socio-economic development are central to an understanding of the genesis and expression of anti-immigrant attitudes in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. From this perspective, reducing citizenship to indigeneity and formalising it by legislation is exclusionary, and such arbitrary demarcation of those who belong and those who do not has contributed towards the development of anti-immigrant feelings. Whatever its causes are, xenophobia in South Africa is gendered. Young black South African men constitute the bulk of the aggressors. Immigrant men are also the primary targets of violent attacks. It begs the question of what the link is between xenophobic exclusion, migration and masculinities.

2.7.1 History of exclusion, threatened masculinities and xenophobic violence

Apartheid, the political system that was built on the principle of separation, is the point of departure for many systematic analyses that trace xenophobia to the country's historical roots of exclusion. Different racial groups were separated in the areas of residence, education, occupations, professions and the socio-economic and political opportunities open to them were different (Lodge, 1983; John, 2005). Race was a key determinant of masculinities as it defined the resources that groups of men could access or exploit (Morrell, 1998).

Mamdani (2001) writes on political identities in contemporary Africa and how they are linked to the colonial state. In his thesis on the transition from what he calls settler and native political identities in post-colonial African societies, Mamdani (ibid) contends that the

colonial state was a central "legal or institutional complex that reproduced particular identities" (Mamdani, 2001:652). Following Mamdani's (ibid) logic, it seems reasonable to situate many of the contemporary practices of exclusion and violence within the framework of colonial domination and state formation during apartheid. Landau (2011) contends that the notion of the "alien", understood as a concept and set of enforcing practices, has colonial roots, but attained a more sophisticated, sinister status during apartheid. Black South Africans were turned into "foreign natives" within the country (Neocosmos, 2006).

The outcome of this political identity was controlled mobility of black South African men and limited claims to resources. State practices ensured that black South African men were reduced to "temporary sojourners in the city, aliens whose usefulness lasted only for as long as they could build the city…" (Landau, 2011:5). Black South African men and immigrants who worked in the mines, farms and service sector found themselves in subordinate positions relative to white South African men. White men were bosses at work and earned considerably more than black men, ensuring that they potentially acquired social indicators of manhood such as housing and cars earlier than black men.

Empirical data in South Africa demonstrates that xenophobia is racialised and gendered, with black African male migrants bearing the biggest brunt of chauvinism and intolerance (Mamdani, 1996, 2001; Morris, 1998; Danso & McDonald, 2001; Landau, 2004; Warner & Finchilescu, 2003). This is evident in Morris' (1998) work on the experiences of prejudice by Congolese and Nigerian male migrants in Johannesburg. They narrate of the "hell" they experience from "fellow African brothers". Landau's (2004) paper, *The Laws of (In) hospitality: Black Africans in South Africa,* also documents the challenges and hostility African immigrant men face from black South African men. In the end, you have two groups (national and immigrants) of black men who compete for jobs and other services being involved in the production of xenophobic discourses. In chapters 5 and 6, we see how some Zimbabwean male migrants are actively involved in the production of discourses of xenophobia with their adverse comments on black South African men.

53

Admittedly, there are documented cases of xenophobic attacks against Asian nationals like the Chinese and South African Indians. However, as Warner and Finchilescu (2003) point out, the majority of the xenophobic incidents reported by the media are committed by black South African men against black non-national men from other African countries. This has been variously explained as stemming from the inherited racism of state apparatuses, whereby historically, state organs have systematically fuelled racialised intolerant sentiments (Warner & Finchilescu, 2003). Evidence also suggests that black African migrants are disliked even when indications are that very few South Africans have any tangible direct interaction or relationships with them (Danso & McDonald, 2001; Landau, 2004). The reverse also appears to be true because Zimbabwean male migrants in both Cape Town and Stellenbosch confirm that they have little meaningful interaction with South African nationals, yet, as we see in chapters 5 and 6, they have a lot to say about them.

It is on the back of the above-mentioned that there are explanatory accounts that locate xenophobia in negrophobia. Expressions like "negrophobic violence" (Mngxitama, 2008:198) have found their way into the literature on xenophobia. Negrophobia is defined, following Fanonian thinking on the psychopathology of colonization and the social and cultural impact of decolonization, as the internalised perceptions of white supremacy and hatred of blacks (Mngxitama, 2008). Colonialism and apartheid's divide and rule system is blamed for turning black people against one another (Mngxitama, ibid). Gqola (2008:213) reflects on the outbursts of May 2008 and writes that it was not just xenophobia, but was negrophobic in character as nobody attacked "wealthy German, British or French foreigners in Camps Bay or anywhere else in South Africa", but black people from the African continent. Gqola argues that it would be "unthinkable" in South Africa for European nationals to be violated in a xenophobic manner because of how "sexualised, class marked and racialised South African stories about immigrant communities are" (Gqola, 2008:213). This explains why black South African men have issues with black immigrant men being romantically or sexually linked to black South African women. Accusations that immigrants "take our women" are therefore not simply rooted in masculinist thinking, but in negrophobia as well (Gqola, 2008).

Landau's examination of the responses to xenophobic outbursts shows that while the official (state) responses are confused and incongruous, the perpetrators of the violence and ordinary township residents' are not. In various public pronouncements following the May 2008 attacks, many ordinary citizens from the affected areas made no secret of the fact that the "impetus for the violence was their own" (Landau, 2011:1). A young man, after a 2007 xenophobic attack in Motherwell, explained that:

> The approach for the Somalis to come and just settle in our midst is a wrong one. Somalis should remain in their country. They shouldn't come here to multiply and increase our population, and in future, we shall suffer. The more they come to South Africa to do business, the more the locals will continue killing them (Landau, 2011:13).

The words by the young man speak to the manner in which some South Africans understand the link between citizenship, belonging, place and entitlements. The young man is emphatic in saying that Somalis should stay in Somalia because South Africa belongs to South Africans. The words are a chilling reminder of the lengths to which economically disenfranchised, young South African men are willing to go to protect their perceived birth right from the threatening foreigner (Landau, 2011). The fact that it is mostly young, unemployed men who are enacting these xenophobic practices tells an important story. It is related to their sense of inhabiting threatened masculinities because of their inability to be breadwinners and to have the material resources to marry and establish independent households. That frustration often finds expression in the targeting and scapegoating of immigrant men. Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti (2011) contend that socio-economic variables are key triggers of xenophobic violence among young South African men. They claim that the higher the proportion of unemployed young men in a community, the higher the probability of xenophobic violence that targets soft victims such as migrant men.

Yet xenophobic sentiments are not confined to the young, uneducated or the poor South African men. In May 2002, one of South Africa's most celebrated male playwrights,

55

composer and director, Mbongeni Ngema, produced a song entitled *AmaNdiya*[10]. Ostensibly a protest song, it confronted issues around Zulu-Indian relations in KwaZulu-Natal province. The Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) banned the airplay of the song after ruling that it bordered on racial incitement. The song's relevance to the questions addressed in this study lies in its lyrics, and the drama that followed its release. The song's lyrics capture the manner in which sections of the South African population produce knowledge about identity, belonging, place and entitlement. It is worth mentioning that Ngema does not live in the township or an informal settlement. He has a relatively good education and is a well-travelled man. However, there is a line in the song, *"I have never seen Dlamini emigrate to Bombay, India"* that in many ways resonate with the words of the young man from Motherwell who said that Somalis "should stay in their country". The suggestion that Dlamini, who embodies Zulu masculinity in the song, has never travelled to Bombay is meant to highlight that Zulu men belong and should be domiciled in KwaZulu-Natal. Everything Dlamini desires as a man can be found in his place of origin so there is no point of relocating to Bombay or anywhere else for that matter. The song celebrates bounded masculinities. From this perspective, Somalis and Zimbabwean male migrants endanger themselves by coming to South Africa because they have no rights to claim anything here. Rather, they should be like Dlamini who is 'sensible' enough not to relocate to Bombay where he does not belong. The claim that Dlamini never emigrates to Bombay is however inaccurate. There are many Zulu men and women spread across the globe, including India.

Xenophobic mobilisations organised along claims to citizenship, indigeneity or autochthony often seek to deny immigrant men even usufruct rights (Gray, 1998; Geschiere & Nyamnjoh, 2000; Ceuppens & Geschiere, 2005). Black, male South Africans take up the imperative to deny migrants access to jobs, housing, services, including women. In the aftermath of the May 2008 attacks, a South African man justified the violence by telling a newspaper reporter that:

---

[10] Zulu for Indians.

> We are not trying to kill anyone but rather solving the problems of our own country. The government is not doing anything about this, so I support what the mob is doing to get rid of foreigners in our country (Madondo, 2008).[11]

Remarks such as these speak to the agency or active participation, primarily by black South African men who, historically, have competed with immigrant men for jobs and resources for more than a century. The xenophobic attacks or sentiments are therefore motivated by deeply felt emotions (L. B. Landau, 2011), arising out of a sense of emasculation and threatened masculinities. But why would the presence of Zimbabwean male migrants be an issue today in a country with over a century's history of labour migration? If immigrant men lived in relative harmony with South African nationals in the past, what has changed now? Why is there now an apprehension over "a shadowy alien-nation of immigrants" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002:789)? The answers to these questions seem to lie in the evolution of the capitalist system itself. The evidence of this is found in Comaroff and Comaroff's (ibid) assertion that changes in the production and consumption patterns characteristic of post-apartheid South Africa have had far-reaching implications on the popular constructions of manhood. It is a theme I discuss at length in the next section on economic exclusion, xenophobia and disenfranchised masculinities.

2.7.2 Socio-economic exclusion, xenophobia and disenfranchised masculinities

According to Harris (2002), South Africa's high levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment provide ideal conditions for xenophobia to thrive as the poor compete for scarce urban resources. The country has a widening gap between the rich and the poor, the fusion of enfranchisement and exclusion and contestation over resources (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002). For Nyamnjoh (2006), it is not surprising that feelings of hostility towards non-nationals are very strong in post-apartheid South Africa because socio-economic citizenship remains elusive for most black South Africans. As a result, most have to compete with migrants for the low-level jobs. As I have already pointed out in 2.8.1, clusters of young,

---

[11] Quoted in Landau, L. (ed.) Exorcising the Demons (2011:13).

out of work, black South African men invariably find themselves competing for jobs with immigrant men. Invariably, they are often the main perpetrators of xenophobic violence (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Gqola, 2008; Langa & Kiguwa, 2013).

Sichone's (2001) anthropological study of East African migrants in Cape Town shows that the cultural definition of *amakwerekwere* is not the main source of xenophobic hatred. Rather, the animosity emanates from the popular belief that immigrants take away jobs from locals (Sichone, ibid). Xenophobic attacks therefore often reflect masculinist contestations over sources of livelihoods. Immigrant men become targets and are scapegoated for many of South Africa's social challenges. They are accused of fostering prostitution and spreading AIDS, usurping scarce jobs and resources and of disrupting local relations of production and reproduction (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002) and are constructed as people whose presence pose "an existential threat to South Africa's collective transformation and renaissance" (Landau, 2011:1). In chapters 5 and 6, I will show how Zimbabwean male migrants are not only infantilised for being "uncircumcised", but face accusations of luring young South African women into prostitution.

It is not uncommon for community leaders to issue opportunistic threats demanding that immigrants leave South Africa (CoRMSA, 2010). Motivating this practice is the belief that strict controls on the movement of foreigners is essential for the country to prosper, especially as non-nationals bring disease, poverty, unemployment and crime (Murray, 2003; Palmary, Rauch, & Simpson, 2003). According to Murray (2003), the popular construction of non-nationals as impediments to prosperity has fed the view that the country is under foreign invasion by undesirable elements (migrants). Palmary, Rauch, and Simpson (2003) show in their study of violent crime in Johannesburg how migrant men are scapegoated for the increase in crimes of that nature. Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch complain of open harassment and assault in their areas of residence. It evokes Comaroff and Comaroff (2002:789) who observe that like zombies, migrant men are constructed as "nightmare citizens, their ruthlessness threatening to siphon off the remaining, rapidly diminishing prosperity of the indigenous population".

The foregoing show how there is an internalisation of the logic that links mobility and outsiders to threat (Landau, 2011). This nurtures a public rhetoric of fear based on the symbolic threat posed by immigrants (Jonathan Crush & Ramachandran, 2009). Mr. Mbatha, an *induna* (headman) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader in the Madala hostel in Alexandra, which was the centre of some of the most vicious violence in 2008, justified the attacks on migrants and remarked:

> The government is now pampering them and taking care of them nicely. As long as the foreigners are here we will always have unemployment and poverty here in South Africa. There was no poverty and unemployment in South Africa before the influx of foreigners…(Landau, 2011:13).

This brings me to the series of questions I posed in 2.8.1. If migrant men co-existed in relative peace with South African nationals for a long period, what has changed now? According to Comaroff and Comaroff (2002), part of the explanation is found in the threatened masculinities the neoliberal capitalist order has cultivated. This argument holds that the post-apartheid state has prioritised consumption at the expense of production, a result of which has seen a significant reduction in opportunities for paid work. This has in turn put a lot of strain on the capacity of black African men to provide for their marital and natal families (Comaroff & Comaroff, ibid).

To put it into proper perspective, the regular migrant labour incomes that have long subsidised subsistence agricultural production and given young African men a degree of independence, have diminished in contemporary South Africa (Comaroff & Comaroff, ibid). This has fed young, black South African men's sense of threatened masculinities, particularly among the out of work males. This partly explains the gendered nature of xenophobic exclusion in contemporary South Africa. South African men accuse immigrant men of taking away jobs that are already scarce (Crush, 2011; Jearey-Graham & Böhmke, 2013). Meanwhile, most of the negative comments Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch have are reserved for young, black South African men who they disparagingly describe as muggers, drunkards, violent, parochial and uneducated.

According to Misago (2011), the scramble for resources triggers the imperative to exclude and the marginalization is often achieved through violence. Landau sums it up by writing;

> when state institutions evidently failed to deliver on their promises to protect and promote a politically entitled but materially deprived citizenry, the population (or parts of it) took on the obligation to alienate and exclude those standing in its way (Landau, 2011:3).

Understood in this way, xenophobic violence is not an expression of anomie in the Durkheimian sense, but a considered response by citizens to the limitations or absence of the state in service provision (Fauvelle-Aymar & Segatti, 2011; Jearey-Graham & Böhmke, 2013; Langa & Kiguwa, 2013). Non-nationals are easy targets for scapegoating or bullying because of migrant masculinities which often prevents them from reporting acts of criminality to the police for fear of reprisals or drawing attention to themselves. Sometimes, the police officers who should protect them ask for bribes or dismiss their concerns as frivolous (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009). Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch have no complaints about the police soliciting bribes from them. Instead, they complain that some of the police officers appear to be indifferent to their concerns.

There is literature that suggests that there is systematic oppression by state agencies in South Africa that even beneficiaries of state-granted rights (refugee permit holders) regularly find it hard to transform their legal standing into meaningful claims to service or protection from the police (CoRMSA, 2009, 2010). There have been reported cases of the police tearing up or confiscating valid permits and passports as a way of soliciting for bribes (Lubkemann, 2000; Greenburg, 2010; Siziba, 2013). This is a theme Landau builds on in the claims that the South African state (apartheid and post-apartheid) has always sought and enforced a systematic divide between "privileged insiders" and "demonic outsiders" through immigration control (Landau, 2011:7). According to Landau (ibid), state practices produce cognitive and spatial divides between the citizenry and non-nationals. This is evident in three areas of state political action aimed at excluding non-nationals: legal status and documentation for refugees and migrants; arrest, detention and deportation and a general lack of access to constitutional protection through the courts and political processes (Landau, ibid). In 5.3.1 and 5.4.2, I

engage with Zimbabwean male migrants' discourses of vulnerability and the sense of insecurity they have as a result of past experiences with state agencies such as the DHA. The migrants and the DHA appear to have a fractious relationship borne out of mistrust and exploitation.

The book *Exorcising the Demons Within* (2011) is a useful resource in understanding the fractious relationship between Zimbabwean male migrants and officialdom. In the book's editorial, Landau posits that migrants in contemporary South Africa constitute an amorphous group of outsiders that is perceived by the state and citizens alike as a threat to the well-being of South Africans. The challenge that migrants pose in the country is that even though they are generally disliked, they have become a group of people that is difficult to spatially exclude (Landau, ibid). This is true of Zimbabwean male migrants whose visibility in the restaurant, security and construction sectors of Cape Town and Stellenbosch is palpable. Even though they cannot be spatially excluded, they still retain the status of "demons within" in the popular and state imagination (Landau, 2011:2). Arrests, deportations and violence inevitably become a resource deployed by state and non-state actors to disenfranchise the migrants (Landau, ibid) and to establish forms of spatial control, political authority and sovereignty (Agnew, 1999; Latham, 2000; Torpey, 2000; Vigneswaran, Araia, Hoag & Tshabalala, 2010). Nevertheless, black African migrants have consistently found ways by which to root themselves in the South African city (Landau & Freemantle, 2010). As Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch assert, fraud, dissimulation or playing to the state's instrumental logics are some of the options/strategies open to them. Some of the study participants openly admitted to using fake documentation or misrepresenting who they really are[12].

---

[12] My informants told me that some Zimbabwean migrants whose first names are Deon, John, Robert etc. sometimes change them to Dean, Johan or Rupert. They then adopt Afrikaans surnames, such that someone previously known as John Chimuti for example, becomes Johan van der Merwe. This is usually meant to fool employers or fellow workmates into believing that they are South African nationals, and should therefore be free from harassment, ill-treatment or any form of xenophobia-inspired discrimination.

2.8   The media and stereotyping of immigrant men

The media has frequently come under discussion in many of the analyses of xenophobia in South Africa. Undoubtedly, the media comprise a critical institution with the potential to shape how non-nationals are portrayed in the public psyche. Most of the discussions on the media and xenophobia have revolved around two questions:

i) Has the mass media done enough to challenge the underlying foundations of xenophobia?

ii) To what extent has the mass media fanned the embers of prejudice and other forms of discrimination?

The mass media in South Africa has been fairly successful in creating awareness about xenophobia (Harber, 2008), yet there is a sense that it has been complicit in the production of stereotypes about immigrant men (McDonald & Jacobs, 2005; Lerner, Roberts, & Matlala, 2009). This observation comes on the back of the use of potentially stigmatising terms in electronic, print and social media. For example, Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town note that headlines such as "Zimbabweans pour into South Africa", "Zimbabwean men up for armed robbery", "Two Zimbabweans arrested for smuggling explosives", "Zimbabwean man up for cannibalism in Cape Town", etc. create anxiety and feed the stereotype of a criminal immigrant man. In the May 2008 xenophobic outbursts, media reporting became an important arena for identity construction (Harber, 2008; Monson & Arian, 2011). Harber (2008) examines how two of Johannesburg's best-selling newspapers, *The Daily Sun* and *The Star* covered the attacks. The former is a mass market tabloid targeting a black working class readership. The latter is the country's second-biggest daily and is pitched at Johannesburg middle-class suburban readership (Harber, 2008).

The two papers' coverage of the attacks fell into an almost neat binary between masculinist support for the perpetrators of the violence by *The Daily Sun* and condemnation of the violence and support for the migrants by *The Star* whose coverage of the attacks was largely focused on the victims. *The Daily Sun* consistently referred to non-South Africans as "aliens" (Harber, 2008:162) and largely projected the victims of the attacks as "gangsters" and

62

"conmen" whose presence in South Africa was unjustifiable. The paper's entire thrust was on rationalising the anger behind the outbursts, referring to the many out of work young South African males and the rising levels of criminal gangs. On day four of the attacks, the paper carried a front page editorial, which suggested that South African nationals had legitimate concerns about "aliens". It wrote:

> Many of us live in fear of foreign gangsters and conmen. Much terror has been caused by gangs of armed Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and others… Not every foreigner is a gangster, of course- but too many are (Harber, 2008:163).

The paper's coverage of the 2008 attacks is an illustration of how sections of the mass media portray migrant men of African origin as gangsters and conmen. It goes to the heart of how knowledge about citizenship, immigration and belonging is constructed. According to Lerner et al. (2009), media coverage of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa presents a narrowly focused view of transnational migration, leaving large sections of the population uninformed about the complexities of cross-border migration. The criminalization of migrants feeds into the stereotyping of migrant men to the extent that it becomes accepted and acceptable to portray Nigerian male migrants as drug smugglers, Mozambican male migrants as car thieves and Zimbabwean male migrants as job-stealers (Lerner et al., 2009). A Zimbabwean male migrant in Stellenbosch acknowledged that there were some criminal elements among them. However, he questioned the logic of associating most male migrants from Zimbabwe with criminal masculinities. He did not believe that most of the convicts on serious crimes were non-nationals, but South Africans. The impression that is created in the public psyche is that the country is being flooded by criminal gangs (Landau, 2004, 2008b; Crush & Tevera, 2010).

Uncritical media coverage of the May 2008 attacks is a theme that is also evident in the work of Monson and Arian (2011) who observe that most of the local media reporting at the time was characterised by the use of labels such as "foreigners", "locals" and "community". Monson and Arian (ibid) interpret the use of such terms very adversely, arguing that they were and still are deployed to exclude non-nationals from membership of South African "communities". From this perspective, uncritical media reporting of the value of migrants and

migration reinforces the outsider status of non-nationals who are perceived as criminals or people unjustly benefiting from resources that should be accruing to South Africans.

2.9   Anti-xenophobia mobilisations: pockets of hope?

It would be unfair and inaccurate to paint every South African as xenophobic. There have been responses to attacks on non-nationals that leaves hope that South Africa may as yet become the "Rainbow nation" Archbishop Emeritus Tutu spoke about many years ago. Landau (2011) writes that some male community leaders in the informal settlements neighbouring Alexandra in Gauteng, where the May 2008 xenophobic attacks started, refused to be drawn into the violence against non-nationals. In Masiphumelele, Cape Town, community leaders were pressured by their own communities to facilitate the return of displaced Somali traders once it emerged that local traders could not provide goods at the low prices for which the Somali were known (Misago, 2011). The Social Justice Coalition (SJC) was also at the forefront of social movements' response to the May 2008 attacks in Cape Town (Robins, 2009). Maybe there is a glimmer of hope that pockets of the citizenry are willing, for their own various interests, to open up South African urban space to non-nationals and establish new socialities. It remains to be seen the terms under which such groups of people are willing to do this.

2.10 Concluding remarks

Xenophobia in contemporary South Africa is expressed in many forms. It is difficult to identify a single cause of it. The phenomenon of exclusion is particularly salient in urban South Africa where competition for resources has magnified the contestations over belonging, rights and entitlements. In the last five years, there has not been any popular mobilisation against non-nationals at the scale witnessed in May 2008, but there have been sporadic attacks against Somalis and Asians in different cities in the country. This suggests that the use of violence as a tool of marginalisation resonates with sections of the population. Non-nationals still find themselves faced with a strong anti-immigrant sentiment in South Africa. It is also true that some South African citizens have been at the forefront of

championing the cause of immigrants. These are citizens who have denounced xenophobia and the mistreatment of non-nationals.

3   Mapping the historical and contemporary patterns of male migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa

3.1   Introduction

Black Zimbabwean men in their productive prime have historically migrated to South Africa in search of the social markers of manhood: wealth and status. Temporary labour migration to South Africa by black Zimbabwean men dates back to the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand (Sachikonye, 2011). South Africa's attraction is multi-layered. Some men are lured by the promises of an affluent lifestyle upon returning home (McDonald et al., 2000). Professionals such as doctors, teachers and engineers, move in search of improved working conditions (Gaidzanwa, 1999; Tevera & Crush, 2003; Crush & Tevera, 2010). Nothing captures the ethos of male migration to South Africa better than the hit song *Mari Ye Phepha* by Bongo Maffin[13]. The song valorises the centripetal pull of Johannesburg as a site of material accumulation. It begins with the verse, *Amai ndoenda kuJobheki kani kune mari yephepha* (Mother, I am going to Johannesburg where there is a lot of money). The song neatly captures the essence of Zimbabwean male migration to South Africa through the image of a character saying goodbye to their mother for a stint in Johannesburg, ensnared by its promise of great riches (paper money).

Male migration patterns have shifted tremendously since Zimbabwean men started working in South African gold mines decades ago. If we restrict ourselves to the post-independence period, the outmigration of both skilled, educated professionals and low or moderately skilled Zimbabweans dates back to the early 1980s (Sachikonye, 2011). It gathered pace with the inception of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in the early 1990s and

---

[13] Song released in 2000. *Pepa* is a derived Shona term for paper. Also called *iphepha* in Ndebele. *Mari* is money, so the literal translation of *mari yepepa* is paper money. Bongo Maffin is a South African musical group comprising two South Africans and a Zimbabwean. The song infuses Shona and Xhosa lyrics.

accelerated from 2000 onwards in response to rapidly weakening economic and political conditions (Bloch, 2008; Zimbabwe Statistical Agency, 2012).

The precise number of Zimbabweans in South Africa is unknown (McDonald et al., 2000; Crush, 2002; Landau, 2008; Schachter, 2009). The tendency has been for the South African government, media, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and commentators to throw around figures but with very little substantiation (Crush & Tevera, 2010). At the launch of the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP) in 2010, the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) estimated that there were approximately 1.5 million Zimbabweans in South Africa[14]. Another estimate available is the one published in April 2013 by the First National Bank (FNB) when they announced the launch of a remittance facility for Zimbabweans living and working in South Africa. The FNB estimates are that there are about 1.9 million Zimbabweans living and working in South Africa (New Zimbabwe.com, 2013). It is however, not clear if the FNB figures are inclusive of both documented and undocumented migrants. Whether we are looking at modest estimates of 500 000 or extreme ones of 3 million, what is apparent is that there is a significant stock of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa today. Estimates show that the majority of the Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa are males.

Scholarship on Zimbabwean migration to South Africa shows that since the late 1980s, both men and women have actively participated in informal cross-border trade and documented or undocumented migration to South Africa. Official and anecdotal evidence however, shows that men have migrated in greater numbers than women (Internatioal Labour Organisation, 1998; McDonald et al., 2000; Crush, 2002; Schachter, 2009; Crush & Tevera, 2010). Empirical studies on Zimbabwe-South Africa migration in the last 15-20 years have been particularly helpful in demonstrating the gendered dynamics of migration (Gaidzanwa, 1998, 1999) and unpacking the socio-economic profiles of the migrants (Crush, 2002; Tevera & Crush, 2003; Crush & Tevera, 2010). Zimbabwean male migrants are in the main pulled by the desire to accumulate wealth but in recent years, migratory patterns have been positively

---

[14] DHA Immigration Statistics Inspectorate, 2010.

correlated to a governance crisis in the country (Crush & Tevera, 2010; Tevera, Crush, & Chikanda, 2010; Sachikonye, 2011).

South Africa is the biggest economy in southern Africa (Barker, 1995). It is therefore unsurprising that it is the country that has presented the biggest visibility of the migrant question in the region (Sachikonye, 1998). Claims have been made that most of the concentrated attempts to regulate the mobility of migrants in southern Africa have been in South Africa (Sachikonye, 1998; Fauvelle-Aymar & Segatti, 2011). It is true that the regional migration system has been profoundly shaped by the economic attractions of work in its most populous and most industrialised state (International Labour Organisation, 1998). Since the late 19th century, South Africa has been the key recipient of male labour migrants from Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique (Van Onselen, 1976; International Labour Organisation, 1998; Sachikonye, 1998; Du Pisani, 2000). This is not to overlook other forms of migratory dynamics such as reflected in the Rhodes Livingstone Institute anthropological studies of migration to the Copperbelt towns in the then Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) in the 1940s and 1950s.

The historical patterns of male migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa are best understood in the context of decades of an institutionalised migrant labour system in Southern Africa (Du Pisani, 2000). Posel (2003) assesses migration patterns in post-apartheid South Africa and her work shows that many migrants entering into South Africa perceive themselves as circular migrants, rather than immigrants. It appears that many of the Zimbabwean male migrants exhibit the same characteristics that have been observed in migrants from other parts of the region entering South Africa. This is instructive in the evaluation of where and how the male migrants locate themselves in different sections of the South African economy and their degree of integration into their host communities. Circular migrants primarily seek usufruct rights (employment or income generating initiatives) after which they return to their countries of origin (Posel, 2003). Household survey data from migrant-sending countries in southern Africa support Posel's assertion. The data reveal that most migrants from the region "have very little interest in staying in the country permanently" (McDonald et al., 2000:2-3). We can assume from the foregoing that the behaviours and responses of Zimbabwean male

migrants to challenges such as xenophobia therefore derive from the overriding need to accumulate.

In the following sections, I sketch out the historical evolution of migration in general and male migration in particular, from Zimbabwe to South Africa. My point of departure is the time of the great mineral discovery in the Witwatersrand. The chronological outline provides the context within which I engage with the contemporary male migration patterns from Zimbabwe to South Africa. But before I get to that, I also provide a brief anthropological description of migration to locate the study within the broader context of regional and international migration.

3.2   Capitalism, migration and masculinities in southern Africa

"A fundamental characteristic of people is their movement from place to place" (United Nations, 2002:1). According to UNESCO, transnational migration is the movement of people with the intention of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence in a country other than the one in which they were born. One of the world's most recognisable social-cultural anthropologists, Arjun Appadurai, wrote about migration:

> It has now become something of a truism that we are functioning in a world fundamentally characterised by objects in motion. These objects include ideas and ideologies, people and goods…(Appadurai, 2002:274).

Appadurai has devoted considerable time to the scholarly analysis of the modernity of nation states and globalisation. In doing so, Appadurai draws our attention to how the world we live in today is characterised by flux and complexity arising out of objects continually in motion (Appadurai, 2002). Benedict Anderson famously wrote that the free market ideology is central to the emergence of a "new world disorder" that is defined by contrasts, contradictions, complexity, inclusion and exclusion (Anderson, 2002:266). One of the key features of this new order is mass migration. Anderson (ibid) observes that some migrants are still pushed by political repression, persecution and war, but most are now pulled by the market, which renders opportunities to those who move. It is within this broad context of

69

global human movement that the Zimbabwe- South Africa male migration patterns should be understood.

3.3   WNLA and the making of Zimbabwean migrant masculinities

In 1900, the Johannesburg-based Chamber of Mines established a joint recruiting organisation, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA). This followed lengthy and ultimately unsuccessful attempts to get the government to set up a labour bureau (Stichter, 1985; Du Pisani, 2000). In 1912, the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC) was also set up to consolidate and coordinate recruitment and wage determination of male labour in the mining sector (Stichter, ibid). Having initially limited its operational area to Mozambique, WNLA grew in size and reach and by 1946, its tentacles spread to recruiting stations in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland (Du Pisani, ibid). What is the legacy of WNLA and of what relevance is it to the analysis of xenophobic exclusion and migrant masculinities in contemporary South Africa?

From literature, we learn that WNLA, along with other smaller recruiting agencies, established an institutionalised system of migrant labour that was exploitative and debasing to the black men recruited under it (Du Pisani, 2000). Thanks in no small part to the activities of WNLA, mining in South Africa became the symbol of white oppression, racial prejudice and negative stereotyping (Stichter, 1985; Morrell, 1998, 2001). Mining jobs were available and they provided the means with which to acquire the social markers of adulthood and manhood. According to Gaidzanwa (1998), a stint on the South African mines became a rite of passage for young Zimbabwean men driven by the desire to acquire enough resources to set up their own independent homes and other signifiers of manhood such as women and cattle. Meanwhile, mining jobs enabled black South African men to supplement the income from rural subsistence agriculture, be independent and invest in cattle (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1990, 2002).

WNLA's legacy to our understanding of contemporary migration issues in South Africa is perhaps best captured in this quote:

> … not surprisingly, the whole migrant labour system and its relationship to mining and industrial capital and to the corrosive policies of apartheid, raised political and normative questions about the human rights and entitlements of both South African and foreign migrants (Du Pisani, 2000:14-15).

The foregoing assessment suggests that the alienation of black labour migrants and questions over their plight in South Africa goes back in time. This leads us to the question of the role migrant labour played in the production of black masculinities in 20th century South Africa.

Scholars such as Colin Bundy, Colin Murray, Dunbar Moodie and William Beinart have written on the role that mine wages and remittances played in the social reproduction of households, marriage and black masculinities in colonial South Africa. Their work explores the systematic destruction of family life triggered by mass migration to the mines and other centres of capitalist accumulation. Male absence from rural homes became one of the key distinguishing features of the labour migrant system. Absence from home disrupted the social and economic life of black African men (Murray, 1981). Njabulo Ndebele's novel, *The Cry of Winnie Mandela,* is a work of fiction, but is a poignant reminder of the profound impact that male migration had on the social reproduction of households. The trauma, anguish and agony male absence caused is reflected through the accounts of four women who wait for their husbands through absences that have no particular duration (Ndebele, 2003). The women's husbands all travelled to far off places, leaving them to contend with an "indeterminate space of waiting… anxiety, loneliness, longing, wishing, desiring, hoping, doubting" (Ndebele, 2003:6).

Bundy (1979) traces the social processes that marked the emergence of a South African peasantry and the proletarianization of some of them. Bundy (ibid) documents how these social processes led to a new understanding of what it meant to be a man among black African men. The declining *per capita* income from agriculture meant that labour migration for younger men who had not yet acquired land or livestock became necessary rather than discretionary (Murray, 1981). Yet the labour migrant system in South Africa was integrated in cultural rituals and practices of "making men" and homesteads (White, 2001). As Beinart (1987) shows in his work on black, male South African wage labourers from the Transkei

71

between the early 1880s and the early 1930s, their experiences of working in the ports, railways or mines were diffused back into a rural culture that was changing, but remained deeply tied to its pre-colonial past. The Comaroffs' (2002) work on alien nation, immigration and capitalism is also very pertinent here because of its engagement with the evolving rural economy in North West Province as a result of millennial capitalism.

How is all this related to the study's primary questions? The problem for young out of work black South African men today is that jobs are now hard to come by. For example, they find it difficult to pay *lobola*[15] or provide for their marital or natal families. One can only assume that there is a sense of being stuck without a way forward in terms of the "traditional" lifecycle trajectories that once shaped the ritualised passage from boyhood to manhood.

White (2001) examines the cultural crises and conundrums unemployed young black men face in this post-migration, post-wage labour era and asserts that unemployment has limited the capacities of young men to create marital households. This has cultivated frustrated, threatened and agitated masculinities, which have often found expression in xenophobic violence. The neoliberal policy the state has adopted in post-apartheid South Africa has not helped either. Built on the notion of free trade and fiscal restraint, the policy has seen the emergence of a nervous working class and a middle class that feels increasingly marginalised (White, ibid). "Neoliberal policy" is of course a very general term. I use it here drawing from James Ferguson's (2009) usage that neoliberalism can be understood as the "valorization of private enterprise and suspicion of the state" (Ferguson, 2009:170). What we see in the works of Bundy (1979), Murray (1981), Beinart (1987), and White (2001) is that South African men have historically been forced to migrate for most of their adult lives to support their rural dependents. The expectation was that the end of apartheid would ameliorate the circumstances of poverty and alienation. Instead, even the previously exploitative jobs are

---

[15] Bride price or bride wealth.

hard to come by and they now have to compete for these with immigrant men, sparking a masculinist contest couched in the politics of belonging.

3.4   Gender in Zimbabwe-South Africa migration

Zimbabwean traditions of migration to South Africa have historically differed between men and women (Stichter, 1985; Gaidzanwa, 1998). This is consistent with findings elsewhere, which demonstrate the gendered nature of mobility. White (1990) finds that in colonial Kenya, patriarchal institutions and social relations combined with the labour needs of the colonial state to produce different forms of movement for men and women. Male migrants built colonial cities and the women who made it to the cities did so as sex workers (White, 1990). The historiography of circular migration in early capitalist development in Africa shows that "divisions of labour and social roles that were broadly characteristic of most African societies determined that, if any group was to be available for wage labour, it would be young men" (Stichter, 1985:10). The recruits in the mine migrant system in South Africa were all male who were not allowed to bring their spouses or dependents with them (Stichter, ibid; du Pisani, 2000). Without their wives, the migrants frequently patronised a thriving commercial sex industry at the mines (Moodie, 1988). So it is that the story of male migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa is never complete without the mention of South African women, either as their concubines, sexual partners or as spouses.

3.5   WNLA, household constitution and masculinities

There are interesting parallels between South Africa and Zimbabwe in terms of the impact labour migration had on the constitution of households and masculinities. Beinart (1987) and Bundy (1979) write on migrant labour and the history of Pondoland in the Eastern Cape and demonstrate how families became smaller in size due to the absence of men. Families also became dependent on the wages of migrant workers for subsistence and major purchases (Bundy, 1979; Beinart, 1987). Migration to South Africa opened up opportunities for young black Zimbabwean men to accumulate sufficient material possessions to allow them to marry upon returning home (Stichter, 1985; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005).

The Shona novel, *Makunun'unu maodzamwoyo*[16] by prominent Zimbabwean novelist Charles Mungoshi, aptly expresses the socio-economic meaning of male migration to South Africa through the central character *Mujubheki*[17]. In the novel, *Mujubheki* typifies what it meant to be a successful return male migrant in the Zimbabwe of the 1950s to the 1970s. Not only did he build himself a big house roofed with corrugated iron sheets in a context where most houses were thatched, he also owned a truck. When one considers that the novel is set at a time when owning a bicycle was, for the most part, a symbol of status and wealth among black men, *Mujubheki'*s scale of success is remarkable. He magnifies his masculinity of status by frequenting the local *siraha* (butchery) in a village where most people only ate meat occasionally. He regularly buys liver, which indicates affluence in the eyes of the average villager. Through migration, *Mujubheki* acquires the much sought out social signifiers of masculinity- wealth, prestige and status. Such is his standing in the village that he is courted by some parents who wish him to marry their daughters. One woman, *vaChingweru* risks everything, including her own marriage, as she tries to broker a marital union between her daughter and *Mujubheki*.

The novel reflects the narratives, aspirations, desires and world views of colonial Zimbabwe but I find it a useful entry point into understanding the economic and social significance of male migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa. It is a process resourced by the male quest for wealth, status, prestige and power. There is a very public display of wealth by *Mujubheki*, a performance pitched at both men and women. He brags to other men because of his material possessions and projects the image of provider masculinities through the purchases of groceries for a family in whose daughter he has romantic interests. Contemporary patterns of male migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa have however changed. This is partly because WNLA is long dead and partly because both men and women now migrate in

---

[16] The title of the novel is taken from the *Shona* proverb "brooding breeds despair".

[17] In Shona, *Mujubheki* literally means "one who has been to Johannesburg". It is a moniker that was especially attached to male return migrants from South Africa during the time of WNLA. In the Zimbabwean popular imagination, Johannesburg was South Africa and South Africa was Johannesburg.

significant numbers (Landau, 2008b; Crush & Tevera, 2010; Siziba, 2013). Nonetheless, the aspirational nature of migration remains as male migrants seek to secure their financial future and by extension, their social standing in the communities from which they originate.

3.6   Post-independence male mobility patterns (1980s)

This section discusses the main migration spurts from Zimbabwe to South Africa in the period after independence in 1980. The idea is understand the context within which the migration of Zimbabwean men to South Africa is taking place. It is also important to note if there are continuities and discontinuities in the patterns of migration. The history of Zimbabwe to South Africa migration shows that political and economic variables have provided the greatest impetus for mobility (Sachikonye, 1998, 2011). The question we have to ask now is if the push factors are in any way related to Zimbabwean male migrants' experiences in South Africa? In particular, it is important to assess if the contemporary migration dynamics impact on migrant masculinities in South Africa.

3.6.1   White migration to South Africa

Outmigration in postcolonial Zimbabwe has followed two racially distinct waves (Schachter, 2009). The first comes in the immediate aftermath of independence in 1980 when a sizeable number of white people left the country for South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom (Schachter, ibid). The reasons for their migration have never been a subject of sustained scholarly scrutiny. This leaves the door open to speculation that perhaps postcolonial anxieties, a real and imagined sense of insecurity, and outright racism informed their decision to move (Mlambo, 2010). The absence of documented reasons for this particular wave of migration does not take away its historical and symbolical significance. A good number of these migrants settled in South Africa (Schachter, 2009; Sachikonye, 2011), suggesting that independence did not disrupt the historical migration links between the two countries (Crush, 2002; Landau, 2008b).

3.6.2   Conflict and migration

The political conflict- commonly referred to as the 'dissident period'- in the Matebeleland and Midlands provinces in the early to mid-1980s may have triggered a hitherto understudied dimension of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa. The conflict between the two major political parties that executed the war of liberation over the make-up of the newly formed majority government exposed the ethnic and regional tensions that antedated the postcolonial period (Musemwa, 2006). The power play between the two parties ultimately led to a bloody government-led military operation in the two provinces, ostensibly to root out dissident elements that wanted to overthrow the government. Codenamed *Gukurahundi*[18], some sources assert that the offensive claimed the lives of an estimated 20 000 civilians (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe, 1997). The internal displacement of some people in the affected areas forced some to seek refuge in South Africa (International Labour Organisation, 1998; Schachter, 2009). Figures to verify the magnitude of this forced relocation are hard to come by but anecdotally, it is known that some families relocated to South Africa either in search of peace or security after being accused of collaborating with the dissidents.

3.6.3   Black professionals and non-professionals on the move

The second wave of male migration in postcolonial Zimbabwe came with the growing number of black Zimbabweans moving to Botswana, South Africa, the United Kingdom and other countries primarily for economic reasons (Gaidzanwa, 1999; Crush, 2002; McGregor, 2007; Crush & Tevera, 2010; Sachikonye, 2011). The economic recession of the late 1980s worsened with the implementation of an Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in the early 1990s, creating a centrifugal force that pushed both professional and out of work men out of the country in search of better economic opportunities (Sachikonye, 2011). Professionals such as medical doctors, nurses, teachers and veterinarians left in

---

[18] Derived from the Shona term for the early rain that washes away the chaff before the spring rains.

numbers in search of improved conditions of service in countries like Botswana and South Africa (Sachikonye, 1998; Gaidzanwa, 1999; Crush & Tevera, 2010;). Many out of work young men also migrated to South Africa because of the deteriorating economic and political conditions in the country (Sachikonye, 2011).

3.7   ESAP, vulnerability and male mobility

ESAP was a five-year programme implemented in 1991, ostensibly to kindle economic growth, attract foreign direct investment, expand employment and reduce government expenditure through trade liberalisation measures. It represented a major shift from the widespread intervention system of the 1980s to one largely driven by market forces (Sachikonye, 1992). Not surprisingly, the programme was accompanied by the removal of subsidies on social services and basic commodities, currency devaluation, price decontrols and labour and commodity market deregulation (Sachikonye, 1992; Brand, Mupedziswa, & Gumbo, 1993; United Nations Development Programme & Poverty Reduction Forum, 2003) thereby deepening the already worsening socio-economic insecurities among the people.

From the 1990s onwards, there was a significant increase in the number of Zimbabwean male migrants to South Africa. Increased retrenchments accelerated the informalisation of the economy (Brand et al., 1993) and one of the upshots of that was the growth in the visibility of cross-border informal trading by women (Gaidzanwa, 1998; Muzvidziwa, 2005). Women's cross-border informal trade caught the attention of the academic community because it exploded the myth that economically-driven migratory tendencies were exclusively male. ESAP gave impetus to the migration of male Zimbabweans to many parts of the world but primarily to South Africa (McDonald et al., 2000; Sachikonye, 2011). The migration transcended class, ethnicity, age, gender or profession (Makina, 2008). It was a case of economic needs both pushing and pulling the migrants who perceived in the more diversified South African labour market, opportunities to make a better life for themselves (International Labour Organisation, 1998).

In migrating to neighbouring South Africa, we see continuities with the past. We see young Zimbabwean men continuing a century-old tradition of searching for better opportunities in the bigger economy of their neighbouring country. The motivation for migrating is rooted in masculinism. It may no longer be about buying cattle or liver like Mujubheki in Mungoshi's novel, but the principle of acquiring wealth and securing the social indicators of manhood remains the same. Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch express different views on the notion of return, but most envisage themselves going back to Zimbabwe once they have been able to build themselves a house in the city, bought a car or amassed sufficient capital to set themselves up in entrepreneurship. They also worry about the quality of their children's education and want to save enough to send their children to private schools where the quality of instruction is regarded as better than that found in government-affiliated schools.

The narratives of return by Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch indicate that they constantly think about a future divorced from the struggles of the past. Migrancy gives them hope that they will acquire wealth and fulfil their potential as men. It is an imagination of the future, well captured by Piot (2010) in his assessment of migration dynamics in post-Cold War West Africa. However, as Piot (ibid) shows, such a future rarely comes to fruition because of various factors. But that dream of a rosy future motivates Zimbabwean male migrants of today to follow in the footsteps of their forefathers to make a life for themselves in South Africa. The sites of accumulation have shifted from mines to industrial, service and agricultural sectors of the South African economy, but the prospect of going back to Zimbabwe as successful and prosperous remains true today as decades ago.

3.8   Contemporary migratory circuits: 2000 to present

Contemporary male migratory circuits from Zimbabwe to South Africa have seen a significant shift in the volume and profile of migrants (Crush, 2002). The migrants are no longer primarily men targeting work in the gold mines, but a cross-section of male Zimbabweans seeking to eke out a living in different sections of the South African economy (Makina, 2008). During WNLA, Zimbabwean men came to South Africa and went back

78

home to perpetuate their conjugal families. Today, Zimbabwean male migrants either come with their families or perpetuate them in South Africa. Since 2000, the volume of migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa has grown exponentially due to a confluence of factors such as the failure of ESAP, a contentious land reform exercise in 2000-2002, and disputed or inconclusive general elections, all of which led to negative economic growth rates (Makina, 2008; Crush, 2011; Sachikonye, 2011).

A debilitating decade (1998-2008) of political, economic/developmental and social instability (Sachikonye, 2011) has in many ways contributed to the situation we have today where Zimbabweans comprise the largest group of foreign migrants in South Africa (Hopstock & de Jager, 2011). A Human Rights Watch (HRW) report estimates that between one and one-and-a-half million Zimbabweans moved to South Africa between 2005 and 2008 (Human Rights Watch, 2008). It is not surprising therefore that Zimbabwean migrants in general and male ones in particular have had a significant impact on South Africa's socio-economic landscape, especially in the areas of employment, household reproduction, and housing (Schachter, 2009; Sachikonye, 2011). Notwithstanding the prospects of a relatively affluent lifestyle and social status upon returning home (Crush & Frayne, 2010; Crush, 2002, 2011), migration to South Africa brings with it recognised adversities for both documented and undocumented Zimbabwean male migrants. *"Kumagobo[19] ka kuno",* (it is hard here) as one of my key informants, Cultureman says.

There is the social dislocation that comes with being away from one's conjugal or natal family (Lubkemann, 2000; Crush, 2002; Madsen, 2004; Vromans, Schweitzer, Knoetze, & Kagee, 2011). I use the word dislocation borrowing from Anderson's (2002) theorisation of international migration. In an essay provocatively titled *A New World Disorder*, Anderson (ibid) stresses that the fundamental difference between migrants and the other transnational

---

[19] *Magobo* is Shona for clearing a piece of land [forest] for farming purposes. It involves the uprooting of tree stumps. It is a common metaphor for extremely challenging labor-intensive work.

79

commodities is that immigrants "carry with them memories and customs, beliefs and eating habits, music and sexual desire" (Anderson, 2002:265). Memories, customs and beliefs mean that they are rooted in a particular sociality and mobility physically raptures this embeddedness even though at a cognitive level, they still relate to the habits. Migration therefore ushers in some significant levels of dislocation.

It is through recollections that Zimbabwean male migrants establish and perpetuate, to use Basch, Schiller and Blanc-Szanton's (1994:6) terminology, "transnational social fields". Far from producing a unitary model of masculinity, these social fields create diverse understandings of masculine identity and practice, but they also aid the migrants in maintaining some sort of bond with their country of birth. In Stellenbosch, they play football matches structured along "money games" popular in Zimbabwe. In Cape Town there are "get-togethers" with a very strong religious influence. In both contexts, there are attempts to remain connected with "tradition" or "custom". How these "customs" and beliefs interact with new ones in South Africa is a source of significant challenge for them as their stories of exclusion and enacting manhood show.

The large presence of Zimbabwean and other non-nationals has also often triggered popular mobilisations against immigrants for the perceived threat they pose to the prosperity of South Africa (Neocosmos, 2006; Landau, 2011; Langa & Kiguwa, 2013). In South Africa, Zimbabwean male migrants have to contend with the challenges of living in a country where non-nationals constantly face the threat of xenophobic violence, arrest and deportation (Robins, 2009). It has not escaped the attention of many that the South African constitution guarantees all people in the country- citizens and non-citizens alike- basic rights but in practice, official policy has been geared towards immigrant containment, expulsion and denial of rights (Neocosmos, 2006; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011; Landau, 2011).

In the previous chapter, I posed the question of why relations between South African nationals and immigrants are toxic given the country's long history of migrant labour. In chapter 6, I deploy Claude Lévi-Strauss and Georg Simmel's notions of strangerhood as resources with which to analyse xenophobia and migrant integration in contemporary South

80

Africa. Without pre-emptying the analysis done in 6.2, it is easy to understand what the major differences are between the WNLA and contemporary periods and what the impact on migrant masculinities have been.

Firstly, unlike now, during WNLA mining jobs were readily available. Immigrant men did not have to face up to the accusation that they were taking away scarce jobs. Secondly, few Zimbabwean male migrants are still working in the South African mining sector (Schachter, 2009). They have since branched out into other sectors of the economy. Thirdly, because immigrant men did not come with their families during WNLA, the expectation was that after a stint in the mines, they would go back to their countries of origin to set up or perpetuate their marital families. Even though some migrant workers like the Basotho mineworkers never actually went back, the expectation was that at some point, they would return home (Ndebele, 2003). Today, Zimbabwean men live with their families in South Africa. This has often been interpreted by the nationals as an intention to permanently stay in the country. This seems to create anxieties among South African nationals who see "strangers" or "visitors" who have no intention of leaving. In a context of high rates of unemployment, this creates resentment against non-nationals and often leads to masculinist violence.

One could also ask what the relationship between Basotho mineworkers and South African citizens is like given that they have been coming to Johannesburg/Gauteng in large numbers for over a century. Have they become "South Africanised"? There are no easy answers to these questions. Maybe the answer can be found in the new role of the democratic state as a redistributor of resources and the fear by South Africans that non-nationals will gain access to public goods like housing, jobs, and welfare.

There are significant differences between Zimbabwean male migrants and the Basotho ones though. Whilst the Basotho have consistently worked in the mines, a great number of Zimbabwean male migrants are no longer in the mining sector (Schachter, 2009). Many have found their way into other areas of the economy. Most of this study's participants are employed in the service and security sectors. Undocumented male migrants toil in the highly exploitable agricultural industry (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002). Some Zimbabwean male

migrants have gone into entrepreneurship by trading in arts and crafts (Matshaka, 2009). Others are into road-side trading of all manner of goods, including the vending of pirated CDs/DVDs. Zimbabwean male migrants have therefore significantly diversified their income-generating strategies in South Africa, which has also seen them occupy diversified urban spaces. One could argue that this has brought them greater visibility, thereby increasing their chances of being othered.

3.9   Zimbabwean male migrants in South Africa: an overview

Studies on Zimbabwean male migration to South Africa span diverse themes. Some assess its impact on Zimbabwe's human resource base (International Labour Organisation, 1998; Gaidzanwa, 1999; Tevera & Crush, 2003). Others evaluate the impact of remittances on household survival (Makina, 2008; Tevera et al., 2010; United Nations Development Programme, 2010). There is emerging literature that addresses the predicament of male migrants in diverse sectors of the South African economy (Matshaka, 2009; Bolt, 2010; Crush & Tevera, 2010). These studies focus on the lived experiences of Zimbabwean male migrants such as their struggle for survival in Johannesburg (Crush & Tevera, 2010; Siziba, 2013) or the challenges that they face in regularising their stay in the country (Landau, 2008b; Crush, 2011; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011). Xenophobia has become a subject of interest following numerous anti-foreigner mobilisations among sections of the South African population (Crush, 2008; Landau, 2011).

In this section, I highlight the key points emerging from the empirical studies of Zimbabwean male migrants' lived experiences in South Africa. The synopsis that I present here is by no means exhaustive, but provides insights into the situated realities Zimbabwean male migrants inhabit. For the convenience of the reader, I present the summary in point form.

i)   Men make up the biggest share of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa (Crush, 2002; Posel, 2003; Mosala, 2008; Bolt, 2010).

ii)   Documentation is important but not critical to finding work (Mosala, 2008), which is why undocumented migrants are still able to work.

iii) The biggest prospects for seasonal and permanent employment are in commercial agriculture, construction and hospitality sectors (International Labour Office, 1998; Crush & Frayne, 2010).

iv) Many Zimbabwean male migrants are working or are self-employed in the informal sector (Matshaka, 2009; Crush, 2011).

v) In comparative terms, unemployment rates among migrants in general are lower than among South Africans (Crush, 2011). Findings from a survey conducted by SAMP among Zimbabwean migrants who entered South Africa between 2005 and 2010 show that only 14% of those surveyed were unemployed. 10% were working on a part-time basis and 53% on a full-time basis (Crush, 2011). One suggestion is that the variations in the employment/unemployment rates between migrants and South African nationals is because the former are not as choosy as the latter in the selection of jobs.

vi) A significant portion of Zimbabwean male migrants currently in South Africa have first-hand experience of the Zimbabwean economic and political crisis of 2000-2008, characterised by inflation, mass unemployment and violence (Sachikonye, 2011). For Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, taking up jobs below their educational qualification makes sense because any job signifies a financial gain (Mosala, 2008).

vii) Networking is central to finding jobs quickly. The male migrants rely on family, friendship and old school networks to get information on employments prospects (Crush & Frayne, 2010). In the case of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, family/social networks seem particularly key to securing employment. It is not unusual to see a number of family members employed at the same place.

viii)   Many Zimbabwean male migrants perceive themselves as circular migrants rather than as immigrants (McDonald et al., 2000).

ix) Undocumented male migrants are twofold. There are those who enter into South Africa officially, but then overstay their visas. Then there are those who enter unofficially without valid travel documents and/or use unofficial border-crossing points (Schachter, 2009).

3.10 Problematizing migration management in South Africa

In this section, I assess the extent to which South Africa's migration management infrastructure has contributed towards the construction of a negative view of immigrant men as undesirable, criminal elements that are there to take South African women. In doing so, I am illustrating how the process of othering among sections of the South African population is given substance by state actions. The South African immigration policy has historically been fraught with complications and ambiguities. Apartheid-era immigration policy reflected how the state was ill at ease with immigration in general, but particularly the uncontrolled mixing of people from different racial backgrounds (Landau, 2011). The policy was therefore informed by the racist principle of separation and disenfranchisement, principally of black immigrant men (Neocosmos, 2006).

The official definition of an immigrant during apartheid was that of a person who was able to integrate into the white population (Crush, 2008). At the same time, the policy encouraged the hiring of cheap migrant labour from neighbouring countries (Lotee, 2008). The last major immigration policy pronouncement by the apartheid regime was the Aliens Control Act of 1991, an Act that was calculated to reinforce strict controls on immigration including immediate deportation in the event of violation (Klotz, 2000). This Act provided the basis upon which the ANC-led government fashioned its immigration policy throughout the 1990s (Klotz, ibid). The post-apartheid government envisioned a very ambitious transformation and change agenda aimed at affirming previously economically and politically marginalised sections of the population. Regrettably, the rhetoric that informed and accompanied this agenda incubated popular discourses that assumed that policy and action were there expressly to 'protect' South African citizens from 'outsiders' (McConnell, 2009).

In 2002, a more progressive Immigration Act was signed into law to replace the patently discriminatory Aliens Control Act. The Aliens Act in the 1930s was passed largely to prevent the entry of European Jews who constituted an economic threat to poor white South African men. One notable feature of the 2002 Immigration Act was that it eased the entry of skilled workers into the country, but at the same time reinforced efforts to locate and remove irregular

84

migrants (Hopstock & de Jager, 2011). The 2002 Act committed the government to rooting out xenophobia in society, but was mute on the precise apparatuses required to execute this commitment (Dixon, 2008). More than a decade has passed since this Act was promulgated yet most people consider the South African immigration policy to be too narrowly focused to deal with the mobility challenges presented by neoliberal globalisation. The policy has not improved border controls, created sufficient protection of migrants and has cultivated an imperative to conceive migration as an issue of control rather than development (Hopstock& de Jager, ibid).

The chief policy response to irregular migration in South Africa has been arrest and deportation (Neocosmos, 2006; Crush, 2011; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011; Landau, 2011). The post-apartheid immigration regime has a management system or an enforcement infrastructure that is very similar to the pre-1994 period when the default position was the deportation of people suspected to have contravened the then Aliens Control Act (Crush, 2011). South Africa seemingly has an ambivalent approach towards immigration (Mattes, 1999; Crush, 2008; Peberdy, 2001, 2009). The state has consistently favoured a policy that privileges the internal control of immigrants with the intention of making the country "a place where undocumented migrants would feel unwelcome, and thereby encouraged to return home, or better yet, not come at all" (Vigneswaran, 2008:784).

There is no substantial evidence that this restrictive approach has had the desired effect. Instead, it has fed a thriving trade in forged documentation and "police corruption as migrants buy the right to stay" (Crush, Williams, & Peberdy, 2005:13). It has also meant that a significant section of Zimbabwean male migrants remain undocumented. Almost 300,000 Zimbabweans responded to the Zimbabwe Documentation Project of 2010 discussed in greater detail in 3.10. This indicates a fairly large number of undocumented migrants. This number represents those who responded and there is evidence that many did not. They remain undocumented and operate on the fringes of the South African economy. Where are they located in the South African economy? What is it that they do? My empirical data on a few undocumented male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch show that despite being gainfully employed in the hospitality industry, they express troubled masculinities

85

characterised by a sense of an unsecured future and extreme fear of government authorities. The way they map the spaces they inhabit is such that they try as much as possible not to attract undue attention to themselves. Some of them spend inordinate amounts of time at home just to avoid being in public spaces. The reclusive masculinities emerge from their undocumented status.

The deportation policy has mostly targeted migrants from SADC countries, with Mozambique and Zimbabwe making up 90% of the total deportations (Crush eta al, ibid). It is not surprising therefore that it is around arrest and deportation that the issue of immigration has been brought into sharp focus in South Africa (Sachikonye, 2011). The manner in which the deportations have been effected has attracted questions over migrants' rights and guarantees (Landau, 2011), rights violations (Human Rights Watch, 2008) and xenophobia (Neocosmos, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Vigneswaran, 2008; Misago, 2011). In certain instances, the courts have had to be involved in these issues.

On the 2nd of November 2012, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), PASSOP and thirty-nine detainees instituted court proceedings against the Minister of Home Affairs (Department of Home Affairs) in the south Gauteng High Court. The court application demanded that the detainees be released from the transit facility in Lindela, Johannesburg, since their incarceration had exceeded the 120 days permissible under the Immigration Act and Immigration Regulations. Section 34 of the Immigration Act (2002) spells out the grounds for and procedures to be followed in the detention and deportation of "illegal foreigners". Under the Act, people detained for the purposes of deportation can be held for no more than 30 days, a period that can be extended for 90 additional days provided a court issues a warrant showing "good and reasonable grounds" for the extension (Immigration Act, 2002). The detainees and PASSOP won this particular case and the detainees were released.

I argue that these practices have heightened a sense of insecurity among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Interestingly, even documented migrants express an overwhelming sense of insecurity informed by the mistrust they have in the system/visa to protect them. Chapter 6 recounts an encounter that I had with a young Zimbabwean man at

Cape Town stadium in January 2014. In the middle of a football match, the young man jokingly expressed his mistrust/fear of officials from DHA, wondering if they were waiting outside to ask for permits after the game. It made for a good laugh at the time, but it puts into perspective how Zimbabwean male migrants construct the immigration management infrastructure in South Africa. They perceive it to be arbitrary and exclusionary and at any given point in time, they try to avoid coming into contact with immigration officials. This is a theme I address in depth in chapter 5, but there appears to be pervasive ambivalence among Zimbabwean male migrants towards DHA officials.

It seems reasonable to ask if there has been a policy failure in South Africa's management of post-apartheid immigration. There are strong claims that there has been a policy failure as is evident in the work of Vigneswaran (2008). The failure is reflected in past and present legal and institutional framework that guarantees that African migrants remain migrants and never settle in the country. The provisions of the Immigration Act of 2002 and its precursor, the Aliens Control Act, have ensured that a large majority of African migrants are consigned to the ranks of contract migrants who are expected to return home when they are no longer useful as workers (International Labour Organisation, 1998; Vigneswaran, 2008). This signals continuity with past policies.

With the exception of a minority of skilled workers, the post-apartheid immigration regime has not transformed substantially to absorb non-nationals into the formal labour market, which guarantees protection because their rights and privileges will be safeguarded by the law (Crush & Tevera, 2010; Crush, 2011). Most Zimbabwean male migrants' claims to residence therefore continue to be burdened by an exclusionary immigration regime (Vigneswaran, 2008). They remain the annoying outsider and are widely criminalized. It is almost as if Zimbabwean male migrants occupy frontier masculinities, floating somewhere in South Africa but missing the full benefits of belonging. An exclusionary environment makes it difficult to root themselves permanently in either Cape Town or Stellenbosch. Landau and Freemantle (2010) note that in Johannesburg, one of the options available to migrants faced with xenophobic exclusion is a strategy of tactical cosmopolitanism. This involves strategic, situational insertion and withdrawal in host communities. This resonates with Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape

Town and Stellenbosch who prefer to play football amongst themselves, away from the gaze of nationals. It is ironic that they complain about how xenophobia produces exclusive masculinities, yet by their strategic withdrawal, they reinforce the expression of these exclusionary masculinities.

3.10.1 Zimbabwean special dispensation permit

In the mid- to late 2000s, it became apparent that there was a large number of undocumented migrants from Zimbabwe (Crush, 2011). This was a period that coincided with a severe political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye, 2011). South Africa came under increasing domestic and international pressure to address the issue of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants already living and working in the country. By the government's own admission, the 2002 Immigration Act "does not cater for all as its requirements are too high for many unskilled or poor migrants who are thus unable to obtain the necessary work permit or other form of legal documentation"[20].

On 3 April 2009, the DHA announced its plan to grant Zimbabweans in South Africa 12 month special dispensation permits. Issued under Section 31(2)(b) of the Immigration Act, the special permit conferred the right to legally live and work in the country (CoRMSA, 2009; Amit, 2011). A raft of accompanying measures was also introduced, including a freeze on deportations and a 90-day free visa for Zimbabweans entering South Africa. The measures were supposed to be implemented from May 2009 (CoRMSA, 2009; Amit, 2011; Crush, 2011), but the actual permit was never issued due to implementation challenges that were never adequately explained (CoRMSA, 2010).

---

[20] Information briefing by the DHA on New Measures for Zimbabwean nationals in South Africa, 6th September 2010.

3.10.2 The Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP)

After the Special Dispensation lapsed in May 2010, the South African government announced the institution of its successor; the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP). It commenced on the 20th of September and ran until the 31st of December 2010. The project was specifically targeted at regularising the immigrant status of undocumented Zimbabweans that were living and working in South Africa. It was therefore aimed at Zimbabweans who were in the country for economic reasons as opposed to those who were seeking asylum (PASSOP, 2010).

The project initially targeted those who had entered the country before May 2009, but this requirement was later dropped. It had an implementation period of three months, which was a very limited time-frame considering the scale of what needed to be done (PASSOP, ibid). The DHA justified the timeframe on the grounds that the project was not a new one, but an extension of the special dispensation programme (Crush, 2011). The DHA stood firm on the timeline despite concerted efforts by organisations like PASSOP to lobby for its extension. The Department did however, make concessions such as relaxing the conditions under which the applications would be made (PASSOP, 2010). The standard requirements for work, business and study permits were relaxed and the visa processing period was shortened from the standard 30 to 10 days. Each permit would also be issued free of charge.

Under the terms of the project, applications could be submitted without all the relevant supporting documents and without the taking of fingerprints (CoRMSA, 2009, 2010; Amit, 2011). These could be submitted at a later date for the application to be approved. The undocumented migrants could apply for work, study or business permits. What they needed was a Zimbabwean passport and documentation confirming proof of employment[21] for a work permit, evidence that they were registered with an educational institution for a study

---

[21] Letter of appointment or an affidavit from the employer confirming employment status.

permit, and confirmation of an operational business[22] for a business permit (Amit, 2011). Migrants who did not have passports but wished to apply were asked to apply for passports at the Zimbabwean consulate in South Africa. The Government of Zimbabwe decentralised the issuance of passports from Gauteng to all the nine provinces in South Africa, but at an extortionate fee of R750 per passport (PASSOP, 2010).

The permits issued under the project were valid for four years. This was interpreted by some as cynical, as it was just one year short of the five required to apply for permanent residence (Amit, 2011; Crush, 2011). The Zimbabwe migrants were encouraged to hand in fraudulent documentation and were guaranteed immunity from arrest and prosecution.

---

[22] Company registration or certification document.

The table below shows the project statistics of 31 December 2010.

Table 3:1 The ZDP application figures as of 31 December 2010

Applications received	Permits Issued	Pre-adjudicated and check-listed	Granted asylum	Incomplete applications	Amnesty
275 762	134 369	141 393	49 255*	116 960	6 243**
Sources: *DHA Briefing on the Zimbabwean Dispensation to the Home Affairs Parliamentary Committee, 19 September 2011.* *SAMP Policy Brief Number 25 Complex Movements, Confused Responses (August 2011).*					

*Number of people who surrendered their asylum status in return for valid work/business permits.

**Number of people who voluntarily surrendered fraudulent documents.

From a masculinities point of view, Zimbabwean male migrants welcomed the ZDP as it allowed them to regularise their stay in South Africa and work for their families. Previously undocumented male migrants who were working illegally had an opportunity to legally work and stay in the country. Documentation also opened up previously inaccessible resources such as banking services. In short, the ZDP allowed for legitimate and regular provider masculinities as opposed to living in the shadows of illegality and the threat of arrest and deportation. The opportunities open to male migrants were numerous as well. They could apply for study, work or business permits, allowing for expressive

3.10.3 ZDP implementation challenges

PASSOP monitored the implementation of the ZDP in the Western Cape Province where the project was earmarked to run from three separate Home Affairs regional offices- Cape Town, Paarl and George. Renovations to the Cape Town office resulted in operations being moved to the Wynberg office. There were numerous problems with regard to the implementation,

most of which related to the short and strict timeframe (PASSOP, 2010). Perhaps by way of a disclaimer, the implementation challenges I present here relate mostly to the Western Cape Province even though in places, Gauteng reported similar hurdles.

For a project that had a relatively short implementation period, it was fairly successful considering that close to 300, 000 applications had been lodged and processed by the time the closing date came. However, directly and indirectly, it marginalised a considerable number of Zimbabwean migrants. In a comprehensive report based on field observations and interviews with Zimbabwean migrants at some of the application centres, PASSOP provides an insight into some of the project's limitations. Entitled *"Zimbabweans failed by Zimbabwe": The Zimbabwe Dispensation Project* and published in March of 2010, the report hints at a general lack of information about what the prospective migrants needed to do to apply. Information dissemination mechanisms were not very effective.

The report also touches on an important issue relating to poor planning on the part of the DHA. The project's strict and short time span failed to take into consideration that there was bound to be categories of migrants who would be left out. The report notes how seasonal workers, who are usually in the country for only several months, were disenfranchised by the project. The same applies to migrants whose employers refused to write confirmatory letters of employment, people who could not afford the R750 passport fee on such a short notice, the unemployed, housewives, househusbands, the self-employed migrants, and people who were not allowed to leave work for two consecutive days that were normally required to get applications into the consulate (PASSOP, 2010).

The Zimbabwe government has been fingered for being the "biggest constraint and threat" to the success of the project (PASSOP, 2010:9). The criticism comes on the back of the Zimbabwean consulates failing to timeously produce passports for its citizens in South Africa. This was such a big problem that with two weeks before the deadline, the DHA started accepting applications with Zimbabwean consulate receipts as proof of a passport application (PASSOP, 2010).

3.11 Concluding remarks

The Zimbabwe-South Africa migratory patterns and trends- past and present- have closely followed the two countries' uneven levels of economic development, with South Africa consistently absorbing the greater share of migrants between the two. Whilst in recent times there has been a significant increase in both the visibility and volumes of female immigrants from Zimbabwe, men continue to make up the biggest share of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. A reliable, comprehensive compendium of the actual numbers of Zimbabweans in the country is difficult to compile, partly because of the deficiencies inherent in the current data collection systems, and partly because of the presence of undocumented migrants who are always seeking to escape exposure. The scope of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa has undergone changes since the advent of WNLA. Male labour migrants from Zimbabwe are still eking out a living in the South African urban space, just like their WNLA predecessors used to in the gold mines of Gauteng. However, they no longer work in the mines and they now stay in the country longer than their WNLA predecessors.

4   Research design and methods

4.1   Introduction

This chapter examines the epistemological assumptions that shaped the study, the choice of methodology and limitations of field research. In the discussion of the conceptual issues surrounding masculinities in Chapter 2, I referred to the gap in knowledge about Zimbabwean migrant masculinities in South Africa and the difficulty that accompanies attempts to find a coherent definition of masculinities. Methodologically, this warranted a consideration of how migrant masculinities in general and Zimbabwean migrant masculinities in particular, can be examined substantively and systematically. This chapter describes the research design and methods I used to engage with the primary questions of the study and the key decisions that I made in regard to data collection and analysis. The chapter has seven sections. Section 4.2 sketches the study's research design. Section 4.3 describes how contact with research participants was established, leading up to the discussion on the methods of data collection in 4.4. There is a synopsis of the epistemological assumptions that guided data analysis in 4.5 and the ethical considerations that confronted the study in 4.6. The chapter ends with a conclusion in 4.7.

4.2   Research design

My choice of a qualitative study was motivated by the need to generate detailed accounts of the ways in which masculine identities are constructed and reworked in the face of xenophobic exclusion or its threat. I deployed the ethnographic method, described in greater detail in 4.2.1, to investigate, understand and interpret the interface between xenophobia, migrant experiences and the production of masculine identities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The qualitative nature of my research problem and the study questions made the choice of a qualitative approach fairly straightforward. I needed a research design that captured the texture of Zimbabwean male migrants' social and

economic lives and the contribution of xenophobia to the production of their lived experiences or realities.

Adopting a qualitative approach did not preclude the use of quantitative data that are critical to my research problem. For example, the number of years that migrants have been in Cape Town and Stellenbosch for, the frequency with which they play football in Stellenbosch, the regularity of social get-togethers in Cape Town, the average number of times they go to places of recreation in and around Cape Town and Stellenbosch, their ages and, in places, their average monthly income constitutes pertinent statistical information. To this extent, I triangulated qualitative and quantitative data even though the analysis of the data is more in keeping with qualitative than quantitative approaches.

Doubtless, the scholarship on qualitative methodology in the social sciences is rich and diverse (Holliday, 2007; Lauren, Mahler, & Auyhero, 2007; Robben & Sluka, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The attraction I find in applying the qualitative methodology to the investigation of xenophobic exclusion and masculine identities among Zimbabwean male migrants is in its potential to capture the subjective realities of the migrants' social lives. It would be understandable if some find the notion of reality in the context of anthropological research discomforting because even in a single community, what constitutes "reality" is rooted in specific individual contexts. After all, there are many factors that mediate reality (Geertz, 1974). According to Geertz (ibid) it is the responsibility of anthropologists to discern, inquire and infer as a way of producing accounts of the people and communities that they study.

The main method for data collection was individual, in-depth semi-structured interviews. These were designed to be conversational as opposed to being typical or conventional question and answer sessions. My competence and fluency in both English and Shona allowed me to gather data through the languages, imagery, metaphors and concepts that shape the world of the research participants without the need for translators. Among my study sample are Ndebele-speaking migrants. Like their Shona counterparts, they are conversant in English. Because most of them also speak Shona and indicated that they were comfortable

95

with either language, our conversations were largely bi-lingual, switching between English and Shona. On occasions though, there was a little splattering of Ndebele given my elementary grasp of the language.

4.2.1 Description, representation, interpretation as ethnography

Brewer (2000:6) describes ethnography as the study of people in naturally occurring "settings" or "fields". Ethnography's strength lies in its emphasis on the understanding of the perceptions, organisations and cultures of the people it investigates (Troman et al., 2005). For this reason, ethnography has often been characterised as "holistic" for the reason that individuals or groups are "studied within the holistic contexts of families, households, networks, communities, societies and individual and group history" (Whitehead, 2004:6).

My study focuses on a highly differentiated group of migrants drawn from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Even their realities in Cape Town and Stellenbosch are markedly different. Some are documented and others are not. There are also variations along occupational lines, with Zimbabwean male migrants employed in pretty much all the sectors of the South African economy. To have a sense of their holistic contexts therefore required an analysis of their individual experience of migration and xenophobia followed by how that experience has shaped their masculine identities. This called for the production of dense, descriptive accounts of how they experience, express and encounter their maleness in light of the threat of xenophobia.

Ethnography has always been dependent on fieldwork and, according to Whitehead (2004), ethnographic fieldwork is inevitably a process of discovery and inference-making as ethnographers strive towards attaining emic validity. Robben and Sluka depict ethnographic fieldwork as founded on "participant observation which hinges on the dynamic and contradictory synthesis of subjective insider and objective outsider" (Robben & Sluka, 2007:2). From this perspective, the fieldworker gradually inserts him/herself into the world of the researched and learns the conduct of the researched and the meanings they attach to particular kinds of behaviour or practices.

In this study, the considerable time I spent with the migrants in their homes, workplaces and places of recreation allowed them to open up the doors to the socio-economic milieu they occupy in Cape Town and Stellenbosch to me. I became an insider, learning what staying in central Stellenbosch, working in a restaurant as a waitron or particular displays of masculinities in Kayamandi or central Stellenbosch, means to Zimbabwean male migrants. I also learned how migrants in Cape Town map and define the residential and recreational spaces that they patronise. As an outsider, I observed, experienced and made comparisons among the research participants. For example, I noted the manner in which they refer to money by the slang term *ndai* or the kind of language that they use to describe women in general and Zimbabwean and South African women in particular. I also compared how the immediate lived realities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch produce specific mappings of space and performances of masculinities.

The time I spent with the Zimbabwe male migrants also afforded me time to reflect on my position as a Zimbabwean male researcher with an interest in migrant masculinities. I often wondered how different things would have been if I were a female Zimbabwean migrant. Given the ease with which my study participants eroticised or sexualised women in general, would some of them have hit on me if I was a woman? We will never know the answers to these questions, but they did cross my mind as I got to know more about Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

Not all qualitative studies are ethnographic. However, there are close parallels between ethnographic studies and qualitative ones given that the former can yield substantial qualitative data about the researched (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Following Whitehead's (2004) conceptual ideas on ethnography, my approach in this study was to view ethnography as more than mere methods of data collection but as a framework encompassing broad ontological and epistemological properties. In developing a framework that best addressed my research questions, I had in mind a research design that captured the many facets of xenophobic exclusion and their impact on the performances of masculinities. The ethnographic method provided that scope because of its provision for continuous evaluation and interpretation of the findings as well as the research process itself.

In an address delivered to the academy and guests at the American Academy Annual Meeting of May 1974, Geertz spoke at length on what he called the nature of anthropological understanding. In his lecture, which was later published in the *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 28(1) under the title '"From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding', Geertz stressed that anthropological research has to be predicated on the interpretation of the "native's point of view". Put in another way, it is the responsibility of anthropology to produce accounts or narratives that are grounded in the world views of the people the discipline studies. With that in mind, in this study I destabilise the orthodox categories that have dominated thinking on xenophobia in favour of Zimbabwean male migrants' own situated understandings of the phenomenon. The assumption is that their engagement with certain spaces and social practices is shaped by how they perceive xenophobia and its effects to be. As chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate, the manner in which Zimbabwean male migrants experience, interpret and perceive xenophobia, and how it feeds into the construction of their masculine identities is taken to constitute the migrants' reality. It is that reality that the thesis investigates, categorises, and theorises through the aid of description and interpretation.

Description, representation and interpretation underpin the ethnographic method. Drawing on Geertz's (1973) logic of thick description, I focused on the "reality and social life" (Holliday, 2007) of Zimbabwean male migrants living in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. I sought an understanding of the work that they do, the decisions that inform the places in which they set up residence and their mapping of recreational spaces. The description, representation and interpretation of the Zimbabwean male migrants' world in Cape Town and Stellenbosch could only have emerged from proximity and intimate interface with the research participants. Individual, in-depth interviewing and observation were the main tools for this intimate interface. A critical point Geertz (1974) makes about anthropological research is that researchers need to be aware of the fluidity or instability of social realities, which are subject to constant change. Identities of masculinity are a good illustration of this because they are continually constructed, argued and reaffirmed as men's material conditions transform (Whitehead & Barret, 2001; Richter & Morrell, 2006; Uchendu, 2008; Langa & Kiguwa, 2013).

As I conducted my fieldwork, I was cognisant of the situational and relative nature of xenophobia and masculinities. I therefore made the decision to employ an interactive and comparative process that allowed for face-to-face communication with the study participants as well as comparison with empirical studies done elsewhere. Chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6 all contain references to anthropological studies that have been done elsewhere on the subject of xenophobia and exclusion. A basic precept of anthropological studies is that new insights into social relations follow the investigation of cultural categories that have been previously taken for granted (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). Anthropology has always been about making the familiar strange and vice versa. Interacting with the research participants and comparing social interactions in different contexts meant that I could gain insights into- and maybe even experience- what it means for groups of Zimbabwean migrant men to go and watch a European Champions League match in a sports bar in central Stellenbosch. Or what it means to go and play football in Paarl, Somerset West, Strand or Bellville. As chapters 5 and 6 show, spending a Sunday afternoon playing football can embody the expression of aspirational masculinities, but it can also be a manifestation of inequitable masculinities textured by xenophobia.

A situational analysis of masculinities was critical given that the migrants' realities are variable and are dependent upon the spaces they inhabit at particular times. Spaces of encounter between migrants and South African nationals are central to the analysis of the primary questions of the study. Invariably, residential, recreational and work places provide the bulk of the spaces in which this contact takes place. I drew on notions of self-discipline, and Landau and Freemantle's (2010) conceptual idea of tactical cosmopolitanism to interrogate where, how and according to what processes power plays between South African nationals and Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch is applied in different sites of contact. Tactical cosmopolitanism is a term Landau and Freemantle use to describe the numerous strategies non-nationals use to negotiate inclusion and belonging in Johannesburg. Chapters 5 and 6 have extended discussions of this conceptual idea, but it mainly speaks to the strategies of insertion/integration and self-exclusion migrants use to deal with the spectre of xenophobia.

In Johannesburg, Landau and Freemantle (ibid) find that this involves non-nationals partially inserting themselves into selected spaces of Johannesburg for economic purposes, yet maintaining a distance from South African nationals as a way of protecting themselves against attacks. Different spaces have different mechanisms and procedures of power, depending on whether the Zimbabwean male migrant is at work, home or place of recreation. Diverse performances of masculinities are therefore contingent on whether one is at a football match in Stellenbosch, enjoying a drink in Kayamandi or central Stellenbosch, at church, at social get-togethers in Cape Town, at home or at work. It was through interaction and comparison that I was able to examine in greater detail the Zimbabwean male migrants' lives in the contexts of Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

4.2.2   Coupling theory with ethnographic research

Michael Burawoy argues that the ethnographic method should be based on a triad of theory, reflexivity and description (Burawoy, 1991). In this section I present a brief discussion of Burawoy's conceptual ideas on the value of coupling theory, reflexivity and description, and the manner in which his ideas on ethnography fit in with my own study. Theory comprises situated knowledge and guides empirical intervention by locating social processes in their wider contextual analysis (Burawoy, 1991; 1998). It is through theory that we learn that masculinities are defined collectively in culture and are configurations of practice within gender relations (Connell, 1995; Uchendu, 2008; Howson, 2013; Moolman, 2013). Because of theory, I approached masculinities as relational: as identities that are deployed in opposition to versions of femininities and other masculinities (Hearn, 1987; Collinson & Hearn, 1996; Connell, 2000). In interrogating xenophobic exclusion and masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants, I relate their self-identified masculine identities to the constructions they make of South African versions of masculinity and femininity.

4.2.3   Researching selves and "familiar" others: reflexivity and ethnography

In answering the primary questions of this study, I have grappled with the empirical and theoretical challenges that come with doing ethnography of subjects who, at face value,

100

represent the familiar. The male migrants who comprise the key informants in this study are from the same country as I and some of their fears, anxieties, insecurities, aspirations etc. are also mine. I constantly asked myself if at all the nationality we share made them familiar to me. There were many questions that remain to this day. In researching the locales Zimbabwean male migrants inhabit in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, what "familiar" boundaries are there to be navigated? If the familiarity between me and the study participants relates to nationality and language, what borders do I have to cross and are there boundaries that I blur in attempting to cross those borders? In posing these questions, I drew and continue to draw on a subject social anthropologists have grappled with mixed results through the years: reflexivity.

Burawoy identifies reflexivity as a critical avenue for legitimising research findings (Burawoy, 1991, 1998; Burawoy et al., 2013). The legitimation follows a process of subjecting the entire research framework to close scrutiny through questioning the research practices and representations. Reflexivity is one of the key developments in social anthropology since the 1970s and involves the growing disposition of anthropologists to reflect candidly about their field experiences, their relationships with informants and the milieus in which they collect their research material (Pillow, 2003; Robben & Sluka, 2007). Interest in reflexivity spans numerous social and intellectual currents. It is important to acknowledge the critical role played by feminists in the emergence of critical reflexivity in anthropology (Okely & Callaway, 1992).

Considerations of reflexivity have become particularly important in ethnographic research because of the realisation that the contact between ethnographers and the people they study cannot be ignored in the analysis of fieldwork findings. According to Okely and Callaway (1992), social anthropology, more than any other discipline in the humanities and social sciences, involves extensive fieldwork by a single individual. As such, the race, gender, nationality, age and personal history of the researcher are all factors that inexorably affect "the process, interaction and emergent material" (Okely & Callaway, 1992:viiii).

As the debate on reflexivity evolves, questions remain on how research outcomes should be interpreted. Some take the view that study results are mere artefacts of the researcher's presence and inevitable influence on the enquiry process (Davies, 1999). At the centre of reflexivity are also questions of power and asymmetrical relations between researchers and the researched. This is reflected in the use of terms such as "subjects" and "knowers", "field-researchers" and "savages" (Davies, 1999; Pillow, 2003; Lauren et al., 2007). Accounting for the inherent biases and inequalities in the anthropology encounter and their impact on knowledge claims are also important aspects of the debate on reflexivity. Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994) argued that anthropologists needed to gain an appreciation of their own cultural biases and how these are often imposed on others.

Understood in its broad sense, reflexivity is "a turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference" (Davies, 1999:4). From this perspective, reflexivity is basically a process of self-examination, where the entire research process is subjected to self-questioning as the anthropologist grapples with the ways of learning how others perceive the world. Clifford and Marcus' (1986) pioneering book, *Writing Cultures*, refers to the "poetics" and "politics" of ethnography. The book has been lauded for its interrogation of the basic premises of knowledge production in social anthropology. In talking about "poetics" and "politics" of ethnography, Clifford and Marcus (ibid) speak to the multiple voices and processes involved in the production of ethnography. In the words of Okely and Callaway (1992), the poetics and politics are such that in the production of the final ethnography, many voices are concealed, including that of the author. It leaves us with the conclusion that all anthropological research is partial (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). Reflexivity allows ethnographers to reflect on these realities as a way of legitimating, validating and questioning "research practices and representations" (Pillow, 2003:175).

Responding to Clifford and Marcus' book, Lila Abu-Lughod (1991) calls for anthropology to be mindful of the different forms of insiderness and outsiderness. Abu-Lughod writes on the dilemmas of being an insider-outsider, or what she calls a "halfie" (Abu-Lughod, 1991:137). Halfies are presented as people whose national or cultural identity is mixed by virtue of migration, overseas education, or parentage (Abu-Lughod, 1991:137). For Abu-Lughod

(ibid), halfies unsettle the divide between self and other, by which reason they are confronted with special dilemmas in their anthropological practice. Researching migrant masculinities among Zimbabwean immigrant men in South Africa when I am also one makes me an insider-outsider. Following Abu-Lughod (1991), it makes me a halfie.

On my part, reflexivity has entailed being conscious of the power dynamics inherent in social interactions generally and interactions between researchers and the researched in particular. I have had to confront my own position as a Zimbabwean male migrant who also lives in Stellenbosch. There were also the preconceptions that I brought with me from Zimbabwe, such as my construction of South African townships as inherently violent and my fear of using public transport such as taxis or trains. That said, I made no attempt to reduce or control the effects of my presence on the research context. I felt that such an effort could only be informed by a spurious notion of objectivity. As a result, I did not keep the interaction between myself and the research participants to a minimum with the aim of achieving "objective distance" between the two of us. I also did not assume that high levels of interaction between us would mask the researcher-researched dynamic. I, therefore, engaged with the research participants in the full knowledge that all anthropological research is partial, but reflexive. I could not run away from the reality that I was as much part of the knowledge production process as was the Zimbabwean male migrants who agreed to take part in the study.

The relationships that I developed with my informants- face-to-face or via social media- made me an integral component of the construction and expression of the meaning of masculinities and xenophobia. Observing performances of masculinities during *braais* and get-togethers in Cape Town and during football matches or team meetings in Stellenbosch, I constantly worried about what level of involvement or detachment was acceptable. At football matches and in bars, some of the Zimbabwean male migrants use sexist, offensive, derogatory and, or stereotyping terms. Women are routinely objectified, sexualised and eroticised through songs and metaphors that imply that they can be appropriated at men's leisure. I listened to women being likened to chicken or lamb meat that should be eaten and be forgotten and move on to the next premium meat. I mused over how to respond to openly

103

misogynistic and chauvinistic comments. I pondered over whether to laugh at the sexist, racist and xenophobic jokes in order to affirm my group belonging. The other option would have been not to pay attention to the unpleasant talk at all, but can an ethnographer realistically disengage or detach him/herself from these social encounters or challenges? What about my own fears and anxieties about South Africa that were nurtured in Zimbabwe? Was I not actively reifying the very stereotypes against which I proclaim to stand?

There were many times during football matches when I was asked to be the coach or to be the technical director for a few matches. Team selection is one of the most contentious issues when it comes to the team in Stellenbosch. The question I kept asking and still ask myself is why some members of the team thought that I could be the coach when I would rather have been playing? Maybe they thought that I was not a good enough player and this was their way of saying it. It could not have been because I was too old for there were a couple of Zimbabwean male migrants who were older or of the same age as me. I cannot help, but imagine that it had a lot to do with group dynamics. I must have been constructed as an outsider; someone neutral who could select the team without fear, favour or prejudice.

My constructed neutrality (real or imagined) is not without empirical and theoretical implications though. It is possible that some of the team members associated my "neutrality" with my otherness, foreignness or outsiderness. I get the sense that even though I am Zimbabwean like the rest of the team members, in many ways I remained an outsider to them. I have only been a member of the team for about two years, yet most of the team members have been playing together for more than five years. Besides being a late-comer, it is reasonable to assume that my status as a doctoral student in a team chiefly made up of people working as waitrons, fuel attendants and security guards contributed towards the production of my outsiderness.

Being a coach, even for a day, presented an awkward situation for me as a researcher. Selecting the team or discussing tactics inevitably meant leaving out, frustrating or irritating certain players, and there were many opinionated personalities in the team. Other equally emotionally strenuous situations were political debates on the ever evolving political situation

104

back in Zimbabwe. Depending on the individuals you were with, it was imperative that one proved their group credentials by being robust in their criticism or praise of the ruling party or the main opposition MDC-T. I had opinions on a lot of the issues that were discussed by the migrants, but I tended to be tentative or guarded, sensitive to what could potentially antagonise some of my informants. I tried to be both friend and stranger (Powdermaker, 1967) to my study informants by getting fully involved in activities yet seeking some level of detachment through reflection and analysis. My decision to straddle these seemingly incompatible dichotomies was not because I was afraid of being absorbed into the realities of the research participants but, to borrow from Davies (1999), to negotiate the boundaries between subject and object.

Being a male Zimbabwean migrant in South Africa also means that I have particular anxieties and fears shaped by South Africa's history of xenophobic attacks. During the course of my studies, a Mozambican immigrant and taxi driver, Mido Macia, was killed in the custody of the South African Police Service (SAPS) in February 2013 in Daveyton, Gauteng. Somali nationals were attacked and had their shops looted in Port Elizabeth in September of the same year. When I watch the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) 2's *Morning Live,* a current affairs, news, weather and sports programme that airs between 06h00-08h00 on weekdays, messages such as "this country will never prosper for as long as there are foreigners here" are expressed by viewers on the SMS strap on an almost daily basis. On the eve of the 2014 May general elections, I listening to the Secretary General of the ruling African National Congress (ANC), Gwede Mantashe, telling journalists that South African voters were not particularly worried about Nkandla[23], but why they were competing for jobs with foreigners. It would be inaccurate if I said that these events or messages do not play on my mind as a migrant.

---

[23] Nkandla is President Jacob Zuma's private residence in KwaZulu Natal (KZN). The security upgrades done to the homestead at a cost that escalated from the initial projection of R28m to over R200m, have created a big political talking point that refuses to go away even to this day.

I have had to confront and exorcise personal demons deeply embedded in Zimbabwean discourses of South Africa. My initial fear of boarding the train from Cape Town to Stellenbosch is a case in point. The fear was based primarily on the stories told in Zimbabwe that people are thrown off moving trains as part of *muti* (ritual sacrifice) or robberies. My first visit to Kayamandi was marked by an almost debilitating fear of being attacked for being a non-national. It took a number of journeys and visits, in the company of others and ultimately on my own, for the fear to dissipate to the point where I gradually began to be comfortable riding on the trains or having haircuts in Kayamandi. To this day, I have my haircuts in Kayamandi and I use the train for all my visits to Cape Town.

In practical terms, I also have to mention my numerous experiences of South African hospitality. I distinctly remember a time when I almost panicked in Somerset West. It was getting late and I needed public transport to Strand. Along came a taxi driver who really struggled to speak English, but went out of his way to help me with transport to Strand. In the end, he organised something for me and warmly bade me farewell. All for no charge at all. Continual engagement with my position as a Zimbabwean male migrant, and my personal fears, self-scrutiny, being aware of the subjective nature of participant perspectives (including spurious notions of objectivity), rigour and honesty were critical in the production of this ethnography on xenophobic exclusion, migrant experiences and masculinities.

4.2.4   Description as representation

Central to ethnography is the notion of description. Bronislaw Malinowski's theoretical and empirical contribution to ethnographic studies has been subject to re-evaluation in recent times (Wax, 2012), but his contribution to the evolution of ethnographic writing remains substantial. Malinowski (1922) pioneered detailed anthropological descriptions through his portrayals of the systems of exchange among the Trobrianders. Similarly, Gluckman (1940) implores social anthropologists to use the extended case analysis to produce comprehensive descriptions of the social situations from which relationships can be inferred. Gluckman's piece on a social situation in Zululand has since become a major intervention in anthropology in terms of the systematic examination of the processes behind the formation of social

realities (Kapferer, 2005). Evans-Pritchard's work on social organisation among the Nuer of south Sudan is also an ideal illustration of how description can be deployed as a tool of representation. It seems reasonable therefore to treat Burawoy's call for ethnography to be descriptive as an attempt to integrate Malinowski's exhaustive descriptions with Radcliffe-Brown's idea of ethnography as text. For Radcliffe-Brown, ethnographic descriptions should lead to the production of theory.

Geertz (1973, 1974) calls on social anthropologists to describe the world from the point of view of the subjects they study. Departing from the Malinowskian logic of immersing oneself into the world of the researched, Geertz builds on Gilbert Ryle's idea of thin and thick descriptions to argue that anthropological research is an iterative process of observation, discovery and interpretation. Understood in this way, the entire anthropological enterprise is predicated upon "sorting out the structures of signification" (Geertz, 1973:9) as opposed to becoming a native. Ethnography is therefore thick description in so far as it involves explication. According to Geertz, the ethnographer describes:

> a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular and inexplicit and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then render (Geertz, 1973:10).

In deploying description as a means to representation, I am therefore simply continuing a time-honoured tradition in social anthropology. The value of ethnography is in its suggestive power of specific detail (Redfield, 2013). The production of thick descriptions in social anthropology has remained fashionable even if ethnography in the discipline is no longer confined to the "villages… imbued with a cyclical, usually agrarian rhythm" (Redfield, 2013:3). Today, the scope of social anthropology has widened considerably to include everywhere there are human beings and every imaginable human group (Lauren et al., 2007; Robben & Sluka, 2007).

In the South African context, van der Waal & Robins (2011) combine the ethos of thick description and theory to great effect in mapping nostalgia in post-apartheid Afrikaner culture industry through a detailed analysis of the reaction among young Afrikaners to Bok van

Blerk's song about General de la Rey, a second Boer War army general. The piece engages with notions of structural unity, identities and division and how these are reinforced by cultural and political cleavages in terms of language, daily life and performance. It is in the same tradition of unpacking notions of structural unity that this study examines the social situations of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Mindful of my own position as a Zimbabwean migrant in South Africa, and engaging Connell's ideas on hegemonic masculinities, the study explores Zimbabwean male migrants' lived realities in terms of how xenophobia or its perceived threat mediate their masculine identities.

4.3   Contact with study participants

The primary data for the study were collected through individual, in-depth interviews with a cross-section of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Given its proximity to the University's main campus and my place of residence, the research started in Stellenbosch. The initial contact with some of the research participants in Stellenbosch came about three days after I first set foot in Stellenbosch in January 2012. This was well before I had even developed my doctoral proposal. At the time of initial contact with some of the participants, the idea of doing a doctoral thesis on migrant masculinities was not on the horizon as I was toying with the idea of researching masculinities, but in Zimbabwe.

Three days after I arrived in Stellenbosch, my friend Mduduzi[24] who has lived in Stellenbosch since 2006 took me to Goldfields[25] sports fields at the university main campus. At Goldfields are dual-purpose pitches that can be used for football and rugby. It should be mentioned that all sports fields at the university fall under the jurisdiction of the Stellenbosch University Sport Performance Institute (SUSPI). It was at Goldfields that I was introduced to

---

[24] Not his real name. All names in the thesis have been anonymised.

[25] Access to Stellenbosch University students is open. The Stellenbosch community is also allowed to use the pitches on condition that the students are not utilising them. Community members can book a pitch through SUSPI for an hourly fee.

108

what Mduduzi characterised as "the football loving" Zimbabwean community of Stellenbosch. The "football loving" Zimbabwean community was all male and it turned out that Mduduzi was a very popular personality among this group. I had not expected to see so many Zimbabwean male migrants in Stellenbosch given its distance away from Johannesburg, historically the destination of choice for most Zimbabwean migrants (Schachter, 2009). My first encounter with the migrants was, therefore, one characterised by curious admiration. Here was a group of male Zimbabweans making a life for themselves in a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking town, and I became curious to know more about how they were subsisting.

A series of developments after the game were critical in the formulation of the scope and research questions of this study. I asked Mduduzi to tell me as much as he possibly could about the place and location of the Zimbabwean male migrants with whom we had spent the better part of that Sunday afternoon. Mduduzi narrated to me the accounts he knew or had heard about the adventures and misadventures (most of them relating to alcohol consumption, women and sex) of some of the men I had just met. Mduduzi told me about the challenges the migrants grapple with to regularise their stay in South Africa. Most use counterfeit or fraudulently-acquired asylum permits. Mduduzi also mentioned how some of the migrants reportedly used fake or forged qualifications and drivers' licenses to get into tertiary institutions of learning or jobs. I was also told about how some of the men have not been able to go back home to visit for various reasons like lack of documentation or being swallowed up by the attractions of *Mzansi* (South Africa). I attentively listened to Mduduzi's stories about Zimbabwean migrants struggling to make ends meet in Stellenbosch.

There were also 'feel good' or humorous stories around the competition for local women, showing off the latest smart phone, who was driving what car, who was getting married, or who had bought what from which store. Controversy was never far away from the migrant discourses as narrated to me by Mduduzi. One story was that a Zimbabwean man "married" to a South African woman from the Eastern Cape, allegedly financed substantial renovations to a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) house in Cape Town. After the completion of the renovations, a South African man is said to have appeared on the scene,

109

claiming to be the woman's "real" husband. The Zimbabwean man was subsequently evicted from the house he thought he co-owned with his "wife". He had no recourse to the courts because there was no documentary proof that he had financially invested in the improvement of the house. My conversation with Mduduzi opened up some of the discourses around Zimbabwean male migrants in Stellenbosch.

In the weeks following my initial encounter with the football-playing migrants, I became a regular watcher of their football, played primarily in Stellenbosch, but with visits to Strand, Somerset West and Paarl. Relationships with the team members formed. It soon became an exciting endeavour meeting every Sunday afternoon to play football and catch up on the latest news or gossip from Zimbabwe. At the time, the evolving political situation in Zimbabwe was a major talking point with most discussion focused on elections[26] and who was likely to win between Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai. Once the gap in literature about xenophobia and migrant masculinities became clear to me, the Zimbabwean migrants in Stellenbosch were a useful entry point for my study. I made the decision that not every member of the team would participate in the study so that the enquiry would not just be about football-playing migrants. However, their networks were critical in me coming into contact with other Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

4.3.1 Sampling and representativity

Sampling choices demarcate the contours of research (Leilde, 2008). Given the amount of data qualitative research produces, it was important to restrict my sample size to manageable numbers in terms of both time and cost. Besides, ethnographic studies do not necessarily conceptualise representativity (and by extension, validity) of research in statistical terms

---

[26] These were the elections that were supposed to end a Government of National Unity (GNU) that was established in Zimbabwe in 2009 following inconclusive presidential elections in 2008. At the time of my initial contact with Zimbabwean migrants in Stellenbosch, it was not yet clear when the elections would be held due to major disagreements between parties to the GNU. They were subsequently held in May 2013.

(Goodwin & Horowitz, 2002), but in the density of the ethnographies. 16 Zimbabwean male migrants took part in individual interviews in Stellenbosch and 12 took part in Cape Town, bringing the cumulative sample size to 28.

I used purposive sampling to identify the research participants. Bryman (2001) asserts that purposive sampling is particularly effective in situations where study sites and participant samples have to capture a multiplicity of variables. I engaged with the Zimbabwean male migrants' micro-practices in specific social contexts- home, work and recreation. These are sites of reproduction, accumulation and amusement, yet they are also locations of contestation. Not only do nationals and non-nationals come into contact in these settings, the resources the migrants deploy to mitigate the effects of xenophobic exclusion are produced in these sites as well. It is in these spaces of encounter that specific masculinities are formed and performed.

My sample had both married and unmarried men. This was an important variable given that masculine identities vary depending on one's marital status. It included employed and unemployed men to evaluate the notion of migrant provider masculinities and what the consequences are if one is out of work or undocumented. It was important for me to understand from the male migrants themselves what employment or unemployment meant to them as migrants and as men. It was also important to understand from the Zimbabwean male migrants if they made any connection between their employment status and xenophobic sentiments from South African nationals. Age, educational level, period of stay in South Africa and diversity of occupations (low-wage, informal sectors of the economy and the middle to high wage, formal sectors of the economy) and all kinds of living arrangements (housing ranging from formal rental housing in middle class neighbourhoods to shacks in informal settlements) are variables that I used to select participants for the study. A few known survivors of xenophobic attacks in Stellenbosch that I got to know of shared their experiences and the impact what they have lived through has had on how they construct xenophobic exclusion and the expression of masculine identities.

111

4.3.2 Snowballing and the elusive other

Snowballing, or chain referral sampling, is a technique that yields a study sample through referrals made among people who know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Considering that the study deals with a delicate subject (xenophobia), it required the knowledge of insiders to access people whose experiences spoke to its objectives. My insiders were primarily Zimbabwean male migrants who were or knew of Zimbabwean survivors of xenophobic attacks. This strategy worked very well in Stellenbosch where I interviewed 6 people who have suffered xenophobic attacks at different points between 2008 and 2010. Their experiences of xenophobic attacks are different.

Zimbabwean male migrants who knew of other migrants living in areas with which I was not particularly familiar with were critical in the identification of study participants. Whilst the football team provided the entry point in Stellenbosch, in Cape Town my contact with participants came through two forms of referrals. The first was from an employee of a Non-Governmental Organisation working on immigrant and refugee issues in Cape Town. The second was from one of my informants in Stellenbosch who introduced me to his colleagues in the township of Nyanga. In both instances, the referrals were coming from people I considered insiders by virtue of the knowledge that they had about the issues addressed by the study.

The snowballing technique was particularly effective in accessing Zimbabwean male migrants in middle or high income jobs who typically are not easily accessible for a number of reasons. Most scholarship on migration or xenophobia in South Africa focuses on migrants working on the margins of the South African economy (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009; Landau, 2011; Jearey-Graham & Böhmke, 2013) or living in townships and informal settlements (Crush, 2011; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011; Misago, 2011). Little is known about the migrants in the middle to high-income jobs and living in the middle and high-income neighbourhoods. Anecdotally, we know about the existence of this class of migrants but there remains a gap in the literature about their experience of prejudice. Three of the interviews in

112

Cape Town were conducted with Zimbabwean male migrants in highly paying jobs in the media, engineering and information technology sectors. The three individuals stay in the relatively affluent suburb of Rondebosch in Cape Town, but all share a passion for tennis. It was through their tennis playing network that I was able to get into contact with them. The most common criticism against the use of snowballing is that it produces homogenous research population samples (Nueman, 2008). In my study though, it allowed me access to a cluster of migrants that is traditionally difficult to access.

4.4   Data collection methods

It helped that some of the research participants in Stellenbosch are Zimbabwean male migrants with whom I had played football. Nevertheless, I knew them first as fellow male migrants who loved playing football. My initial contact with them was not in my capacity as a researcher. As a result, the dynamic between us changed once I told them that I was working on a scholarly study that examined xenophobic exclusion and masculine identities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The methodological implication was that I had to work towards re-focusing the relationship to the new reality; that I was no longer merely a team member but a researcher as well. The re-focusing of relations did not take the form of behavioural changes in the manner in which I interacted with the research participants. It required detailed explanations of the objectives of the study, why I was doing it, the expected outcomes of the research and their role, including their rights, in the study process. I needed to assure the Zimbabwean male migrants that they could still relate with me as "one of them" and that no information about them or anything they told me would be disclosed to third parties.

Admittedly, the change in my status created a few awkward moments not only on the part of the research participants, but on my part as well. We both had to work towards trusting each other again to eliminate doubts/suspicions the research dynamic might have triggered. On the one hand, I needed to gain the trust of the study participants that I was not a Zimbabwean government intelligence operative looking for supporters of opposition political parties. It was important that the study participants understood how I was going to use the data they

provided me with and that our conversations were confidential. Above all, they had to understand that their participation was elective, and they were free to discontinue their involvement at any given point in time during the study period. On the other hand, I needed to trust that they would not tell me what they thought I wanted to hear. In Cape Town, the scenario was different because the initial contact with research participants was within the framework of the traditional research context.

4.4.1   Conversations as in-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were critical in getting the primary data of the study. Given that the experience of migration or xenophobia is highly personalised, I needed a data collection tool that allowed for the cultivation of personal and collegial relationships between me and the research participants.

Creating personal and collegial relations with research participants involved hanging out with them as much as I possibly could. Apart from watching football matches in Stellenbosch, Paarl and Strand and taking part in social get-togethers in Cape Town, I spent time with the research participants at their homes and occasionally invited them to mine for dinner or lunch. A convenient way of conversing with informants was by going to their favourite restaurant or bar, especially when there were English Premiership or European Champions League matches. I used this strategy a lot in Cape Town where I would have interviews over a Premiership match. It was inevitable that on occasion, I had to pay for drinks or snacks, not as an inducement for the research participants to share their stories with me, but out of courtesy and as a way of strengthening our interpersonal relations. After all, there is a Shona proverb, *"hukama igasva hunozadziswa nekudya"* (relations are consummated by sharing food), that speaks to the centrality of food sharing in the consolidation of social relations.

To establish a good rapport with the research participants, I exploited information and communication technologies and social media such as phone SMSs, WhatsApp and Facebook. My relationship with the research participants developed to a point where a call, SMS message or WhatsApp message notifying me of the travel time to Paarl, Somerset West

114

or Strand for football, or the time for the get-togethers in Cape Town, was no longer about me the researcher going out to investigate a social situation in the Gluckman (1940) sense. Instead, such communication morphed into friendly banter between *wangu* (mate/dude), *mwana wamai*[27] and me. I became *mudhara* (senior/dude)*, wangu* (friend) or *asekuru* (uncle) to some, all colloquial Shona terms that, particularly in Zimbabwean youth lingo, signify genial relations.

The research process was not a uni-directional process where I just extracted data from the study participants. True, my competence in the street/township/youth lingo received a major boost from my interaction with sections of the study participants. It was like going back to school again as I scrounged around to get the meanings of some of the terms the youthful study participants were using. However, participants in turn used me as a source of information about the academic programmes offered by Stellenbosch University, tuition or the entry requirements into various programmes. Those who had aspirations of applying to the university wanted to know about race relations on campus, the medium of instruction, and what the most "attractive" programmes were. I gave most of them the University's prospectus for information regarding programmes, tuition and entry requirements. For issues to do with race, I shared with them my personal account, which was not much anyway considering that postgraduate students are likely to experience the university very differently from undergraduate ones. But this goes to illustrate the manner in which our interaction was mutually beneficial, especially where it transcended the primary questions of the study.

The interviews were semi-structured and centred on how the participants construct the threat of xenophobia. Conversational in nature, the interviews explored the channels through which xenophobic exclusion manifested itself to the participants and the manner in which it impacted on their masculine identities. Semi-structured interviews were appropriate for getting information on a wide range of issues, including the migration experience of the

---

[27] Literally "my mother's child" in Shona, signifying not necessarily a sibling but a close acquaintance.

participants, their motivation to be in Cape Town or Stellenbosch, their understanding of xenophobia, their work, their association with South African and Zimbabwean women, their aspirations, their dealings with Zimbabwean and non-Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals, and their construction of space in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

I used semi-structured interviews for two reasons. Firstly, their adaptability allowed me and the research participants to situationally shape the flow and content of our conversations to the extent that each individual interview had its own dynamic, depending on the situation at the time. An interview could start with the participant's account of how they came to South Africa, Cape Town or Stellenbosch. Some participants' accounts of coming to South Africa were traumatic. In such cases, the participants were free not to talk about them. With time though and as our friendship grew a lot of the participants eventually opened up about these traumatic experiences. Some interviews started with a general discussion of issues that were topical in Zimbabwe at the time. Yet others started off with talk of xenophobia. In many cases, the informants were given the latitude to steer the conversation in the direction in which they felt comfortable. This gave the participants the leeway to set the agenda for the research as well. For example, the issue of racialised recreational spaces in Stellenbosch and the infantilisation of "uncircumcised" men came up in the course of conversations with some study participants. It made for long hours of transcriptions, but it was the most suitable way of getting information on xenophobic exclusion and masculinities.

Secondly, the interviews provided the data needed for the production of thick descriptions of xenophobia and masculine identities among the study participants. Chapters 5 and 6 contain substantial direct quotes from participants on xenophobic exclusion, masculinities, and their diverse migration experiences in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The quotes in themselves are a testimony of the value of semi-structured interviews, including observations of a non-verbal nature, in the production of ethnographies. The participants had the leeway to narrate their experiences of xenophobia using imagery, social categories and metaphors that are used in contemporary Zimbabwean youth lingo. Their description of South African young men as *vapfanha vengunzi* (young muggers) captures how their masculine identities are constructed relative to imagined South African masculinities.

The interviews covered the participants' experiences of working in bars, hotels, restaurants, construction, security, media, and engineering and information technology. The interviews produced diverse qualitative data such as the research participants' general preference for working with white or coloured people as opposed to "Xhosas"[28] whom they accuse of being particularly negative towards them. The interviews also shed light on the struggles migrants have to go through when trying to regularise their stay in the country, and the seemingly problematic relationship migrants have with the local police. The interviews also generated discourses on black South African women who seem to straddle two contradictory positions in the imagination of the Zimbabwean male migrants. South African women are compared with Zimbabwean women at every turn. They are admired for their physical beauty, sexual attraction, and fashion sense. However, they are also painted as materialistic, disrespectful towards men, carnal libertines, lazy and given to excessive alcohol consumption. One study participant who lives in Cape Town neatly captures the underlying masculinist nuances behind some of the migrants' constructions of women when he says, "for all their beauty, they are not marriageable because they are more difficult to control than Zimbabwean women".

The flexibility of the interviews was not only confined to the structure and content of the conversations. It extended to the scheduling and execution of the interviews as well. For good reasons, some conversations took place aboard the train from Cape Town to Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch to Cape Town or Stellenbosch to Bellville. They also took place in bars and restaurants in Cape Town and in cars while driving from Stellenbosch to Paarl, Somerset West or Strand for the football matches. The personal circumstances of the research participants largely determined how and where the interviews were held. Some participants' working hours were such that I could not get hold of them during the day or evening. Some of them caught two trains to work every day and preferred spending quiet weekends at home. The choice I had, with their approval, was to interview them at work during breaks (usually

---

[28] Most Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch generally refer to black South Africans as Xhosas.

lunch) or on their way to or from work on the train. In a sense it turned out to be therapeutic for me sitting on the train and chatting to someone without the overwhelming fear that I was going to be thrown out of the moving train.

The close relationship I cultivated with most of the study participants enabled me to interact closely with them and gain insights into the social realm that they inhabit. It is a world with potential benefits and pitfalls in equal measure. If a migrant has a lucky break, works hard, is financially prudent etc., there are material benefits to be reaped. Some of the participants have cars and household goods to show for their exertions. However, it is also a world in which the threat of violence- real and imagined- is never far away and getting close to the migrants allowed me to pick on the numerous nuances of the migration experience.

4.4.2 Key informant interviews

Interviews also covered individuals and organisations who are critical informants in the issues spanned by the study. A few current and former members of the football team in Stellenbosch were selected as key informants. This is because the history of the football team is critical to understanding the meaning the team has to the male migrants. I set out to understand why the team is exclusively Zimbabwean and why its playing circuits[29] are predominantly Zimbabwean. It was important to establish how the team was formed to establish possible links between the team's formation and the broader politics of belonging and masculine identities in Stellenbosch.

Chapter 6 provides a comprehensive account of the team's creation and its location in the migrant recreational landscape of Stellenbosch. Whilst there is no formal leadership structure in the team, there are individuals who take the lead in scheduling the matches, organising

---

[29] Playing circuits denote the geographical locations in which the team plays as well as the demographic composition (race and nationality) of the teams against whom they play. I use the term to describe the teams played against and the places in which these teams are found. In most cases, the teams are made up of fellow Zimbabwean male migrants in Somerset West, Strand and Paarl.

venues, collecting money for uniforms and balls, cleaning the kits and, where applicable, organising transport for matches outside of Stellenbosch. I chose a few of these individuals to be my key informants on what the team means to them, the logic behind 'money games' (winner take all challenge matches), and the absence of women at their games. I needed to understand from these leading individuals why a lot of money is spent on traveling to Paarl, for example, to play against a team of Zimbabwean migrants when there are other football teams in Stellenbosch. It was also important to investigate why the team now draws most of its members from Kayamandi at the exclusion of central Stellenbosch.

People Against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty (PASSOP) is a community-based, grassroots non-profit organisation based in Cape Town. The organisation was established in 2007 in response to tensions between Zimbabwean and South African nationals in Cape Town. The latter was scapegoating the former for the rise in unemployment and crime levels. PASSOP has devoted to fighting for the rights of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants. PASSOP is a repository of information on the constraints faced by Zimbabwean migrants and issues to do with xenophobic exclusion in Cape Town. When the DHA formulated the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP), discussed in Chapter 2, PASSOP took a leading role in creating awareness among Zimbabwean nationals in South Africa about the ZDP. At the launch of the ZDP, PASSOP was active, assisting Zimbabwean nationals with information regarding the project. Given the foregoing, it made sense for PASSOP officials to become key informants in this study.

My first contact with PASSOP was through an electronic mail that I sent to their office explaining my study objectives and seeking permission to interview a few of their officers as well as using their archives. From the information provided on their official website, I had already identified the ZDP Project Officer and the Gender Rights Project Coordinator as the officers that I wanted to engage with on the key issues that added value to the study. I got a response from the Community Outreach Officer who told me that I was free to communicate directly with the two officers. Communication between the three of us was electronic and they alerted me to their organisational reports that were relevant to the objectives of the study. Our correspondence centred mainly on the contents of PASSOP's Newsletter,

PASSOP Watch, and two reports: "Perils and Pitfalls: Migrants and Deportation in South Africa" (June, 2012) and "Inquiry into South African residents' perceptions of deportation and the Zimbabwe Documentation Project" (August, 2011). The Newsletters and reports contain valuable statistical and qualitative information on Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town, deportations, xenophobic attacks, arrests and convictions etc. The correspondence with the aforementioned lead persons was to validate or update the information in the reports and Newsletters. This was particularly useful in understanding the successes and failures of the ZDP, not to mention what the broad consequences of its successes and failures were and the gendered nature of prejudice.

4.4.3   Observation, observing and description

Ethnography relies on close, personal experience and observation is crucial to this process. I did not follow the classical ethnographic approach of complete immersion in the lives of research participants as advocated by Malinowski (1922). Xenophobia is intangible and amorphous and does not render itself to direct observation even though some of its effects are observable. Physical attacks and displacement are two examples of such observable effects. Some of its impact on social practices can also be observed. I observed the specific places in which Zimbabwean male migrants had their get-togethers in Cape Town, played football in Stellenbosch, lived or entertained themselves in order to infer the power dynamics at play and the relationships that form from these social arrangements.

Masculinities are not quantifiable but some masculine performances are observable. Playing football or other sports, having *braais*, drinking in clubs, interaction with women etc. are performances that I subjected to observation wherever and whenever it was possible to do so. Through observation, I was able to gain access to the intimate social aspects that define the lived realities of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. I took part in visits to clubs, bars, the beaches of Cape Town and Strand and the football fields of Mbekweni in Paarl. With participant observation I became a part of some of the research participants' social lives and observed certain social practices as they occurred. We had *braais* together. We played football together. We had drinks together. We were witness to

countless fights at football matches together, including the time when a huge physical fight broke out in Paarl and we all feared for our lives. We walked the streets of central Stellenbosch and Kayamandi together. We argued over the political direction in which both Zimbabwe and South Africa were going. Through all these interactions, I observed how Zimbabwean male migrants map both Cape Town and Stellenbosch in terms of where they go and where they do not.

Where possible, and only upon invitation, there were visits to the workplaces of participants who worked as waiters, shift managers or runners in bars and restaurants. Where possible, I would engage in non-participant observation in these places. It was helpful in that I attached a physical place or activity to the oral descriptions from the interviews. For example, most participants employed in the hospitality sector gave graphic accounts of the physical toll that waiting on tables takes on them. Watching the men work brought into perspective the descriptive details contained in their individual narratives. The research also produced some unexpected findings. In Cape Town, one of the highlights of my research was a visit to Mzoli's, the popular *shisa nyama*[30] in the township of Gugulethu. I visited the *shisa nyama* in the company of three Zimbabwean men from the township of Nyanga. Whilst I had been to the place before, this particular visit was special in that I enjoyed the food, but also met a long lost cousin. A resident of Gugulethu, he became- whenever he was free- my companion during my visits to Nyanga. He was very useful in the mini-buses and *spaza* shops[31] because of his command of Xhosa.

---

[30] Barbecue or braai.

[31] An informal convenience shop, typically run from home. It is a retail shop with limited floor space and is usually operated from a residence in townships. For a detailed description of the *spaza* shop, see Terblanché, N.S. (1991) "The Spaza Shop: South Africa's first own black retailing institution" in *International Journal of Retail and Distribution Management* 19 (5).

4.4.4 Literature review

The review of literature on xenophobic exclusion and masculinities was carried out on a continuous basis throughout the period of study in order to situate the study within existent knowledge in social anthropology. All the chapters in the thesis frequently make reference to empirical work done elsewhere on subjects pertinent to the study. This includes literature on other African countries like Botswana, Kenya and Ivory Coast's experiences with post-colonial xenophobia. Reference is also made in the chapters to studies that have been done on xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa and migrant masculinities.

4.5 Data analysis

Data analysis was a continuous process throughout the research project, but increasingly became more nuanced after fieldwork. In analysing the data, I took into account my role in the construction of meaning. Confronting my biases and preconceptions from the very beginning of the study meant that my entire research project was an iterative and reflexive process of signification that started at project inception and continued right through to its conclusion.

4.5.1 Data analysis and the logic of interpretation

Once my data collection was completed, I set about transcribing the interview data, which were in audio form. This involved typing the entire interview transcripts with a view to reading them as opposed to listening to them. In doing so, and also making reference to field notes, I began to form impressions about the data and the issues that were emerging from them. I situated my analytical framework within the thinking of Bogdan and Bikle who posit that qualitative data analysis entails:

> Working with data, organising it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesising it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned and deciding what you will tell others (Bogdan & Bikle, 1982:145).

In choosing the ethnographic method, I was cognisant of the fact that the research component of the study would produce large quantities of qualitative data. These data needed to be analysed, organised and ultimately made sense of (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Rich descriptions are the hallmark of ethnographic studies, but detailed descriptions without the accompanying explanations are deficient (Simon, 2011). On several instances, I had to pause and reflect on what it all meant to have detailed descriptions of the working or recreational habits of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Grappling with these issues was a strategic way of transforming the raw data from the field into meaning and significance. Meaning and significance in this study draws from Geertz (1974) and took the form of interpretation. I took interpretation to mean the explanation of my findings through attaching meaning and significance to them.

In organising and attaching meaning to my research findings, I was confronted by the age-old ethnographic question of what to learn and take away from my text. The word text is used here to denote interview transcripts and field notes. In reflecting on how best the data could be analysed, I found myself grappling with two primary questions:

1) The first question was whether I had to approach my text as a means by which I could understand what the research participants "really" thought or felt about xenophobia and what they did as men as a result of its threat?

2) The second question was on what the merits were of drawing on the hermeneutic perspective where the meaning of text was an outcome of a process of negotiation amongst a community of interpreters?

In the end, it made logical sense to adopt a hermeneutic approach to the analysis of text. The implication of this was that I constructed the "reality" (Roberge, 2011) of xenophobic exclusion and masculinities out of interpreting the text provided by the subjects of research. Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch shared with me their accounts of xenophobia, their personal experiences of xenophobic exclusion and the strategies that they use to deal with the sense of exclusion. Chapters 5 and 6 describe in detail the terms and language the male migrants use to describe and interpret their experiences. Specific Shona and Ndebele words like *jambanja* (chaos) and *udlakela* (violence) are used to characterise the

123

South African urban space that they experience as violent and threatening. Young South African men are commonly referred to as *vapfanha vengunzi* (young muggers), which signals reverse othering and xenophobia.

The study participants also shared with me the consequences of particular displays of masculinities in particular places. Even with the in-depth interviews and participant observation, I cannot claim to know how the male migrants really think and feel about xenophobic exclusion. Nor can I claim to have a complete understanding of what they actually do when they are confronted with situations they perceive to be exclusionary. This explains why I did not use text as a means of understanding what the research participants really think or feel. Instead, I used it as a resource through which I interpret their realities of xenophobic exclusion and masculinities in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. I did the interpretation through the mediation of theory.

4.5.2   Coding as an interpretive technique

Qualitative researchers are increasingly using coding as a technique of organising data for the purposes of analysis and interpretation (Simon, 2011). Far from attaching numeric values to the text, I deployed coding as an interpretive technique to bring order and understanding to interview transcripts and field notes by organising them into themes and sub-themes. Chapters two and three deal with the themes that emerge from literature review and the research. Meanwhile, chapters 5 and 6 show the manner in which I organise the primary data on the basis of themes and sub-themes that emerged from fieldwork. For example, interview data covered participants' personal accounts of immigration into South Africa, settling in Cape Town or Stellenbosch, their understandings and or experiences of xenophobia, their experiences in the work setting, ways of enacting manhood, and how they map spaces in the areas that they visit. I thought it important to organise the data into analysable themes or constructs as a means of introducing the interpretations of it. My thematic categorisation drew from the patterns that I identified in the working, recreational and living habits of the Zimbabwean male migrants. This was the first step towards developing wider theoretical propositions informed by the information provided by the research subjects.

Given the enormous quantities of qualitative data the interviews and observations produced, I had to be systematic in coding what happens at get-togethers in Cape Town and football in Stellenbosch, the language the migrants use to describe South African nationals and women, and their constructions of fellow Zimbabwean male migrants. As chapters 5 and 6 illustrate, the terms, categories and language they use to describe and interpret their experiences are important talking points in the thematic organisation of data. In coding the data, I followed the typical ethnographic technique of listening to the interview tapes a number of times, reading the transcripts, and making notes of my impression of the text in order to become intimately familiar with both the content and context of my text. The coding or thematic categorisation was not arbitrary but systematic in that I used my research questions as the point of departure in identifying the categories. Reading and re-reading the text helped in ensuring that the data were correctly categorised.

Having coded the data into themes, the next step in the analysis was organising the themes into coherent categories that I could interpret. In attaching meaning and significance to the text, I identified and listed the key points or important findings like place making and migrant insertion into Cape Town or Stellenbosch, sites of encounters between Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals, enclaved recreational spaces in Stellenbosch, the place and location of women in the discourses on masculinities, and aspirational masculinities that find expression through get-togethers in Cape Town and football in Stellenbosch. It was from identifying such key points of discussion that I developed an outline for presenting the results of the study. But the process of reading through the data and interpreting them continued throughout the project.

In concluding the discussion on data analysis, I need to point out that there were informants who preferred not to be interviewed at their homes. Instead, we would meet at a restaurant or bar that was convenient for them. One even offered to come to Stellenbosch University since he lives very close to the campus. As part of the reflexive process, I have had to confront what this means. Is it a case of them not trusting me enough to welcome me into their homes? Are they embarrassed by their lodgings? Are they just private individuals who are uncomfortable opening up their doors to strangers? Or maybe as tenants, they are not allowed

125

visitors on their premises? Despite my curiosity, I found it difficult to ask direct questions about this. I was just grateful that the said individuals were granting me the time and opportunity to learn about their personal lives and this was sufficient. In my mind though, there remained questions about whether this had anything to do with performances of masculinities.

4.6   Research Ethics

The study was primarily guided by the provisions of Stellenbosch University's Ethics protocol. Ethical considerations were upheld from the commencement of the project through to its conclusion. Informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and access to information were particularly salient in this study because of its concern with migrants, a category of people disposed to various insecurities. An appropriate level of anonymity was established to protect the identities of research participants.

4.6.1   Informed consent

Qualitative studies should, as far as possible, be based on research participants' freely given informed consent (Ulin, 2002). I sought the informed consent of the research participants and ensured that participation was voluntary. Informed consent also involved gaining consent from the research participants to archive data from fieldwork. I explained to the research participants the background and purpose of my study, how information from the study would be used and disseminated and the right that they had to review their participation at any point during the course of the study. In saying this, I was mindful of the concerns in anthropological research about whether research participants can ever be fully informed (Corti et al., 2000). I explained as much as I possibly could what the objectives of the study were. But was that enough in terms of 'informing' the research participants? Can I honestly say that they were fully informed about how their narratives would be subjected to peer review and theoretical analysis and there was a good chance that the final output would be radically different from what they expected? I am not sure I am absolutely certain in that regard.

4.6.2 Confidentiality

According to Corti et al. (2000) social researchers should attempt at all times to guarantee promises of confidentiality that they make to research participants by ensuring that personal information, where desirable, is kept confidential. By their very nature, qualitative studies provide comprehensive detail about research participants' lives and their surroundings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, I removed major identifying details like participants' names, street names, addresses, places and company names and replaced them with pseudonyms.

The confidentiality of information and anonymity of informants was and will continue to be maintained unless the informants themselves explicitly decide otherwise. Should any of the research participants waive their right to confidentiality, I have already explained to them what the information will be used for and to whom it will be disclosed. In cases where unexpected, unsolicited data were revealed during the process of research such as who was dating who and whose husband, wife, boyfriend or girlfriend was having an affair or which individual was co-habiting with a South African national or how a neighbour or fellow migrant's car or household furniture was purchased, I kept them confidential.

4.6.3 Restricted access

I made it explicit to the research participants that there would be restricted access to the data from the interviews. The data were and remain protected from unauthorised use or access by electronic data sets which are password protected. The data sets are stored on my computer. However, this being a study leading to a doctoral dissertation, my supervisor in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch University had access to these data. Audio tapes from the interviews remain accessible to the research participants for their review but I have kept them locked away in a cabinet at home. I undertake to erase them upon the successful completion of the doctoral dissertation. I informed the participants that once the results of the study are published in scholarly publications, access to data will be restricted to *bona fide* researchers for research purposes.

4.7   Concluding remarks

The motivation behind using the ethnographic method in this study was to produce dense descriptions of the interface between xenophobia, the experiences of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch and the production of specific masculine identities. The chapter has shown how it is possible to investigate sensitive topics like xenophobia or masculinities through the aid of the ethnographic tradition of description, theory and reflexivity. Combining text and theory aided the process of data analysis. I drew from the notion of tactical cosmopolitanism to analyse how xenophobia, or its threat, textures the production of enclaved spaces, subordinate, authoritative and aspirational masculine identities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

5   Place making, insertion into Cape Town and Stellenbosch: xenophobia and frontier masculinities

5.1   Introduction

Interviews with my study participants yielded numerous interpretations of xenophobic exclusion as well as motivations Zimbabwean male migrants have for migrating to South Africa. Some of the motivations are social; some are economic, whilst others involve a combination of social, political and economic factors. Towards the end of the chapter, I draw on the theoretical work that has been done on exclusion, othering and migrant precarity to integrate the Zimbabwean male migrants' experiences of migration, xenophobic exclusion and masculine identities in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. I also deploy the work of Connell (1995) on the importance of place and history in the making of multiple masculinities and Landau and Freemantle (2010) on violence, exclusion and tactical cosmopolitanism to provide insights into the structural, institutional and contextual issues that shape the world inhabited by Zimbabwean males in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The analyses done in the chapter also sketch the different resources and strategies that male migrants mobilise, as foreign men, to embed themselves in their host socialities. I do this with the intention of making sense of the motivations behind Zimbabwean male migrants inserting themselves in host societies that they openly describe as ill-disposed towards them.

Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch speak of the numerous accusations against them that they take or corrupt local women. Zimbabwean male migrants report that they are accused of "corrupting" young women by giving them money in exchange for sex. Interestingly, some of the study participants do not deny having sexual liaisons with young South African women, but claim that it is the women who initiate these relationships because Zimbabwean men treat them better than South African ones. This is a theme that I discuss in 6.6, but it is apparent that there are masculinist discourses that project Zimbabwean male migrants as better providers for women hence South African women find them attractive. This creates problems in that such perceptions threaten black South African

men's sense of entitlement or manhood. Xenophobic exclusion therefore becomes an expression of masculinist violence that objectifies women as commodities that can only be appropriated by the rightful claimants to place.

5.2 Migrant vulnerability context in Cape Town and Stellenbosch

Irrespective of one's level of education or occupational status, there is a vulnerability Zimbabwean male migrants experience for their quality as outsiders. This is the demarcation between insiders and outsiders that Nyamnjoh (2006) writes about. Some of my study participants speak of regularly being asked what they are doing in South Africa, why they do not want to be in Zimbabwe, or when they plan to go back to Zimbabwe. They mention having an overwhelming sense that at each and every point of their lives, they are being asked to account for themselves, that is, to declare their value to South Africa. This vulnerability is magnified by the fact that South Africa has a fairly recent history of violent popular mobilisations against non-nationals in which male migrants bore the brunt of the attacks.

In Nyanga and Stellenbosch, there are Zimbabwean male migrants who are living with people they know actively beat up or robbed their compatriots during the May 2008 xenophobic attacks. They are also neighbours to people who have openly expressed their objection to their presence. They live in the same neighbourhood as men or women who have openly threatened to "fix" them for having romantic or sexual relations with local women. Physical violence is used by young South African men to assert their claims to physical space, women and even the material possessions that the male migrants have. The Zimbabwe male migrants' agency as males is thus compromised because of a social milieu that generally sides with the nationals. Reporting cases of intimidation is considered as a complete waste of time as the male migrants feel that no action will be taken by the police, especially in cases involving a South African wronging a non-South African. There is an overwhelming sense of powerlessness and frustration when the male migrants have to subordinate their masculinities to that of South African men as a way of avoiding confrontation.

Chamu (28) lives in Stellenbosch and works as a mechanic in Bellville. He speaks of two occasions when South African work colleagues have openly questioned the value he brings to South Africa. Christian (32) is a resident of Gugulethu Township and works as a waiter at a restaurant in Stellenbosch. He speaks of the pain he felt when one of his male work mates remarked that "it was only with the coming of Zimbabweans into South Africa that the country has had a problem with sweaty armpits. Minibuses and supermarkets are full of foul smell now because of these dirty Zimbabweans". Christian says that a female workmate joined the discussion and queried the observation that Zimbabweans were "dirty". Instead, she was of the view that the problem with Zimbabweans was that "they don't use cologne or deodorant". She concurred that Zimbabweans had "smelly armpits", but that was because they did not use cologne or deodorant. Christian's experience speaks to the numerous channels through which xenophobic sentiments can be expressed. It is not always expressed in violent practice, but often takes the form of insults or negative stereotypes such as being called "Mugabe" or being told to "go and die of cholera in Zimbabwe".

Even though I never had focus group discussions with the study participants, I made it a point to get their opinions on what they made of the hostility they claimed to face from South African nationals. The responses were varied. Some linked the hostility to "ignorance", which they understood to be a lack of appreciation of how cosmopolitan urban centres are becoming the world over. *"Even kweduwo tinawo maforenezhi"* (even in our own country we also have foreign nationals as well), observes Dhikita (30) who is convinced that ignorance is at the centre of the problem of xenophobia. Others, like Siphosami (40), have a fairly more sophisticated take on things and linked the resentment to notions of belonging, access to resources and threatened masculinities. Siphosami lives in Cape Town where he is employed in the media industry. He has a tertiary qualification and therefore provides, to quote him, an "educated view of things". He points to what he claims to be a "deep-seated sense of

131

insecurity" on the part of black South African men and women "whose Bantu education[32] makes it hard to compete with Zimbabweans for good paying jobs. As a result, they end up competing with migrants for lower-end jobs. Siphosami reckons that xenophobic violence and exclusion is therefore an expression of hyper masculinities faced with a significant threat in the form of migrant masculinities. These hyper masculinities not only close off opportunities for equitable masculinities, but perpetuate violence and exclusion.

5.2.1   Maleness and conceptualization of space in Cape Town and Stellenbosch

Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch deploy numerous strategies to cope with the adverse environment they claim to face on a day-to-day basis. Whether it is learning to speak Xhosa or self-policing, Zimbabwean migrants speak of finding ways of managing the situations in which they find themselves. I draw on Landau and Freemantle's concept of "tactical cosmopolitanism" to illustrate the manner in which Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch produce compensatory masculinities through their occupation of enclaved spaces that form as a result of self-policing.

According to Landau and Freemantle (2010), the notion of tactical cosmopolitanism relates to the problematic of migrant insertion into conflictual environments. It has echoes of self-government whereby migrants strategically immerse themselves into their host communities while retaining the ability to disengage from them with minimum difficulties. Tactical cosmopolitanism therefore entails migrants' "partial inclusion in South Africa's ever evolving society without being bounded by it" (Landau & Freemantle, 2010:375). This is evident in the plurality of strategies Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch employ to navigate space, place and exclusion. Some of the strategies come out in chapter 6 when I analyse the sites of encounters between Zimbabwean male migrants and

---

[32] Reference to the segregated education system of the apartheid era. The system enforced racially separated educational facilities, with native Africans receiving inferior education and facilities.

South African nationals, the role of get-togethers, football and self-policing in the production of compensatory, rugged and aspirational masculinities.

One would imagine that Zimbabwean male migrants find the strategy of partial inclusion useful given that some performances of masculinities play out in the public domain. Tactical cosmopolitanism requires that recreational activities such as sports, drinking and clubbing be carefully planned to avoid areas of potential friction with South African nationals. Zimbabwean male migrants in Stellenbosch self-regulate by avoiding specific nightspots in Kayamandi with a history of being hostile to non-nationals. They are also careful when planning social events such as birthday parties or *braais*. Given the population density of Kayamandi, these inevitably attract the attention of South African neighbours and nationals in proximate locations. Consequently, the planning of such events needs to take into consideration the reality of the anger foreign nationals generate among large sections of the South African population. They either need to be low-key affairs or be held away from the environs of one's residence. Image seems to be everything, and one has to organise a social event in such a way that it does not come across to the South African nationals as show off. Whilst the South African nationals will not necessarily stop or crash the event, the thinking is that it sows seeds of resentment, or escalates already existing ones, which may lead to xenophobic attacks in the future.

Pikito (34) has lived in Kayamandi for close to 8 years now. He insists that *braais* and parties are "tricky" and a potential source of friction between Zimbabwean and South African nationals. Pikito says *"ukadedza muXhosa one kana two, vanonokoka yavo nhimbe vobva vazara pamba pako. Ukasavasheedza, wonzi wadada futi. Itight baba"* (if you invite one or two Xhosas (South Africans), they will bring along a lot of their (uninvited) friends and before you know it, your place is full of South Africans. At the same time, if you fail to invite them, they take issue with you saying you discriminate against them. It is a delicate situation). For Pikito, it is important that as a Zimbabwean male migrant, he does not give the impression that he is living large or has a lot of disposable income. He asserts, *"ende chokwadi ndechekuti tiri kutambura, wangu. Vakawanda tiri kutamba nhamo. Rand racho unozoribata but wasenzeswa"* (And the truth is that it is very tough going here, dude. Many

[Zimbabwean migrants] are struggling. The income we earn comes after a lot of hard labour and exploitation).

The sites of encounters between Pikito and South African nationals are carefully traversed because of the fear he has "for these people". He stresses, *"hakusi kungorohwa chete. Neshishto, mudhara! Ko kuti Ndazo ka ndokuti mushonga* (It's not just the violence [that I am afraid of]. There is witchcraft as well, dude! South Africa is synonymous with witchcraft). Pikito's fears are at many levels, but are largely psycho-physical (the fear of being physically attacked) and spiritual (the fear of being bewitched or associating with witches). In mapping his associations with South Africans therefore, he tries to strike a balance between his personal safety (physical and spiritual), and the need to "integrate" into the community in which he lives. *"Vanhu vacho vakagarwa nemweya wasatan. Vanokuuraya nyore nyore"*, he says (They [South Africans] are possessed by the spirit of satan. They kill very easily). *"Imi mudhara munofunga vanhu vanoisa advert mutrain kuti huya ndikupe mushonga kana chikwambo? Kutoroya masikati machena ka uku?"* (Dude, what do you expect from people who openly advertise for all kinds of *muti* and goblins even in trains? Is that not witchcraft in broad daylight?). Pikito's account shows that a social milieu that he constructs as hostile to the presence of non-nationals makes it too "risky" for a person like him to fraternise with many South Africans. Yet living in Kayamandi means that it is impossible for him to spatially exclude them. He then has to tactfully navigate this reality by simultaneously attaching and detaching himself in place. When organising a social event such as a birthday party for example, he has options; having it in a place he considers as reasonably safe, cancelling it altogether or having a very low key version of it.

Pikito is not unique in his re-ordering or re-constitution of space on the basis of real or perceived threat of xenophobia. The empirical data shows that significant sections of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch make it a point to avoid specific areas and activities to maintain some level of anonymity. I assert that this version of "tactical cosmopolitanism" leads to a process of self-enclaving whereby Zimbabwean male migrants inhabit particular bounded social spaces. This is evident in the maps the male migrants draw through their movements and activities, which are aimed at avoiding potential trouble spots.

134

These include most of the nightclubs or shebeens in the townships of Kayamandi, Nyanga or Gugulethu. Most males who drink prefer to do it in the company of small groups of fellow Zimbabweans and in a place they consider to be safe. This can be a club/pub in an area considered as safe or in the safety of a colleague's car or house. Potential trouble spots also include most of the public places and spaces in the townships, especially at night. The tactic of partial inclusion by the Zimbabwe male migrants is textured by the challenges they confront in asserting or integrating themselves in the South African urban space. I argue that all this gives rise to the production of compensatory masculinities, a subject I discuss at length in the next chapter.

5.2.2   Hope, dreams and the pull of the Rand

The form and content of migration has altered from the time of WNLA discussed in chapter 3, but migration to South Africa by black Zimbabwean males in their prime productive years remains widespread. The empirical data show that South Africa's attraction to Zimbabwean men is predicated on a range of economic, social, political and class variables. The inevitable corollary of this is that contemporary Zimbabwean migration to South Africa reflects the historical links (WNLA) discussed in 3.1 and 3.5, as well as other attractions such as proximity to Zimbabwe, which makes it easier for migrants to navigate what Grillo (2007) calls "transnational social fields". Ndebele-speaking migrants, for example, find the transition to speaking Zulu easier, whereas Shona speaking migrants are able to pick on the Venda language (Siziba, 2013). Nevertheless, contemporary Zimbabwean migration to South Africa is not as congruous as some literature has suggested. Empirical evidence from Cape Town and Stellenbosch suggests that its underlying dynamics are inconsistent and, in places, contradictory, making it difficult to come up with a coherent body of knowledge of the migratory dynamics.

Nothing captures the contradictory pull South Africa has to most Zimbabwean men better than the words of two study participants I spoke with in Cape Town. I refer here to the two men's reflections on their migration experiences as a way of alerting the reader to the multiple and conflicting discourses of migration, xenophobia and masculinities presented in

135

this thesis. The two men, Adhala and Zano, characterise their experiences in Cape Town as straddling the structural and situational factors obtaining in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. They contend that their decision to migrate from Zimbabwe and set up base in Cape Town was largely informed by the economic, political and individual circumstances that confronted them at the time. The extent to which they believe they have overcome these structural and situational factors is the yardstick that they use to measure the "success" or "failure" of their migration experience. The structural theory of return migration provides a lens through which Adhala and Zano's migration narratives can be analysed and infused into the discourses of masculinity.

The structuralist approach to return migration holds that a migrant's return to their country of origin is contingent upon the financial resources they are able to mobilise abroad, their expectations, aspirations and needs, and the structural/institutional/contextual factors in their country of origin (Cassarino, 2004:257). The greater the alignment between the financial resources that they have, their aspirations and an enabling environment back home, the greater the chances of a migrant returning. In other words, the socio-economic environment in the country of origin has to be such that it gives confidence to the returnee that their aspirations and needs will be met. For migrants who plan to return home as "men" respected for their wealth, structural conditions back home are critical because they have to believe that their savings/investments will be safe (Cassarino, 2004). Without safe investments, there cannot be performances of triumphant return. From a masculinities perspective, the triumphant performances are situational and contingent upon the demonstration of wealth and acquired assets.

I would like to invert the basic premise of the structuralist approach to return migration and argue that the decision to migrate by Zimbabwean male migrants is, in the first place, informed by the perceived resources they are going to realise abroad; including the networks they are able to call upon for the migration to be a success. In 5.6, I deal with migrant insertion into Cape Town and Stellenbosch and the role played by family and nostalgia in the process. I present Adhala and Zano's reflections as a prelude to the analysis of the aspirations and hopes that Zimbabwean male migrants to South Africa in general have. Charles Piot

136

writes about how central to migration decisions imagination is. Deploying the notion he calls "nostalgia for the future", Piot (ibid) engages with migration experiences in post-Cold War Togo to illustrate what sometimes is a big chasm between migrant expectations and imaginations and the reality on the ground. Piot (2010) examines the association Togolese migrants and would-be-migrants to the United States make between transnational migration and a "better" future. I draw on Piot's (ibid) work to gives depth and direction to my own analysis of what migration means to my study participants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, and the potential adversities migration may trigger. How the production of masculine identities is related to these understandings of migration is also a key facet of the analysis I do in the following sections.

5.2.3 Dreams deferred: masculinities and unfulfilled expectations

Adhala (32) has lived in Cape Town for 8 years, and has worked as waiter, security guard and fuel attendant. His migrant account is a fascinating blend of multi-layered raw emotions- melancholy and anger. He bemoans the "future" that he was robbed of in Zimbabwe by the economic crisis that peaked in 2008 with a world record annual inflation rate of 231 million percent (Crush & Tevera, 2010). It was that crisis that made him leave Zimbabwe, first for Botswana and then South Africa. *"Haungazadze nhava[33] wakagara mumba ka"*, (you cannot fill up your bag whilst seated at home), he says. Adhala reckons that as a man, one has to go out in the world and fend for their family. Just staying at home can depreciate the contents of one's *nhava*, which can only spell trouble for its owner. The metaphor of *nhava* is a common one in the masculine discourses of Zimbabwean men generally. The extent to which the *nhava* is stocked is indicative of how wise and thoughtful about the future a man is.

---

[33] *Nhava* is Shona for a hunter or male long-distance traveller's pouch/satchel/bag. Its size varies, but it is usually a small carry-on bag, typically strapped on the shoulder. Its value lies in that it carries basic necessities/food a hunter or traveller needs, particularly in crisis times. Its stock can be likened to a reserve fund that one uses in order to survive.

Interestingly, Adhala laments the opportunities for economic and social advancement that he feels he has "missed" at home as a result of his absence. He laments all the time he has laboured on the margins of the South African economy. He attests that it is ironic that he left Zimbabwe to escape an economic crisis and make a better life for himself, yet the same crisis has given opportunities to his peers who stayed behind. On his part, he claims to have very little to show for his toils in South Africa but his peers who remained in Zimbabwe have managed to build houses, buy cars and, in places, set themselves up in small businesses.

The disconnect that often exists between what transnational migration is considered to be and the stark realities of life draws me to the work of Piot (2010), which interrogates facets of international migration in West Africa, particularly the strategies employed by the Togolese to gain passage to the United States or Europe. The title of Piot's book, *Nostalgia for the Future* (2010), probably sums up the motivations most West African nationals have to migrate to Australia, Europe, and the United States. The book sketches the post-Cold War political and economic crisis in Togo and how the crisis fed into the discourses of mobility. I am particularly struck by a passage in the book which reads;

> While Eyadéma remained in power throughout this time through a mix of cunning, ruthlessness, and election fraud, the Togolese state nevertheless became a shadow of its former self. It was (and remains) a state that, to cite Achille Mbembe (1992a, 2001) has been little more than a "simulacral regime", subsisting on "performance" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2006a, 2006b) and the staging of dramatic events- false coup attempts, hyperbolic celebrations of national holidays- as much as anything substantial. It is also a state that responded to its increasing evacuation with paranoia and surveillance (Piot, 2010:3).

The parallels between the Togo depicted in the passage and Zimbabwe is striking. If I substitute the words "Eyadema" and "Togo" in the passage with "Mugabe" and "Zimbabwe" respectively, I am not likely to be on my own in believing that the passage is an apt description of the Zimbabwe of the early 2000s to present. We have seen in Zimbabwe, just like in Togo, an increasingly paranoid state that has kept itself in power through numerous "performances" couched in hollow nationalistic discourse such as "Zimbabwe will never be a colony again". The performances have come at a great cost to the country though (Mangezvo, 2009; Sachikonye, 2011). A hurriedly put together land reform exercise resulted in low

agricultural production, which played a part in the economic meltdown that characterised Zimbabwe in the period 2000-2008. Disputed and inconclusive elections ushered in a full blown political and economic crisis. The state has become increasingly authoritarian in the face of its inability to meet its obligations to the citizenry (Mangezvo, 2009, 2013). It is in this context that Adhala's claim that Zimbabwe robbed him of his "future" should be assessed.

Adhala's thoughts provide two layers of analysis. The first is what Piot (2010) designates as "nostalgia for the future." According to Piot, it is not uncommon for individuals to consciously uncouple themselves from an undesirable past with the hope that the future will bring a better life. Transnational migration provides the opportunity for such uncoupling. More so for male migrants who are afforded the opportunity to present and represent themselves as male subjects. In general, migrants aspire to a social, economic or political life that is radically different from what they are used to. Piot observes that the future "evokes the disjunctive temporalities of a moment when not only futures are exchanged for pasts but also diverse sovereignties" (Piot, 2010:20). It is this aspirational facet of migration; the longing for a future unencumbered with painful pasts that Piot's (ibid) work in Togo speaks to the many travails for which many African migrants in general are known. Piot finds this yearning for a better future fairly generalised in post-colonial and post-Cold War Togo. It would be fair to suggest that this desire is equally widespread across most post-colonial African countries where the aspiration to leave for Europe or the United States is very high (Akyeampong, 2000; Tiemoko, 2004). The critical observation Piot makes is that the wistfulness for "a different future …, as with all nostalgic longing, are already elusive before they can be attained" (Piot, 2010:20). What this says is that many, for various reasons, never get to realise the future for which they yearn. Such fantasies are generally unattainable for most migrants because of numerous reasons.

Adhala's narrative is illustrative of the foregoing, particularly in the constant reflections he makes on the merits of his decision to migrate to South Africa. He is not exceptional in this case as most social actors regularly reflect on most of the momentous decisions that they make. Adhala remarks, *"takabva kumba tichiti tiri kutiza nhamo but takatouya kune nhamo"*

139

(We left home thinking that we were running away from problems, yet here we have even bigger problems). Two issues immediately stand out from this evocative statement. Firstly, Adhala is not convinced that coming to South Africa has substantially altered his material (financial) circumstances and there are doubts that this situation will improve in the future. Secondly, he compares himself materially with his male peers who remained in Zimbabwe and says of them *"vatoenda, ende hatichavabate"* (they have made a lot of progress, and we will never catch up with them). Adhala says that his peers in Zimbabwe have done better than most of the people who migrated to South Africa. He adds:

> *Varikuita madhiri kwete zvechitea boy[34] zvatiri kuita kuno izvi.*
>
> They are making money doing hustling, not working as waiters like we are doing here.

Adhala's notion of "success" is assessed through the prism of masculinist status competition between the men who migrated to South Africa and those who stayed behind. He emphasises that the material differences between himself and the peers he left behind are not down to a lack of effort on his part. He argues that he has pushed himself very hard working in South Africa. It is just that *"hauna chidealer chaungaite kuno"* (it is not possible to hustle here). Adhala's examination of which group of men has amassed more material benefits between migrants and non-migrants is instructive. It speaks to the relational nature of masculinities and the motivation some Zimbabwean men have for migrating to South Africa. The future can only make sense if they go back home as rich and successful; engaging in conspicuous consumption to show that they have been to the diaspora. This reinforces the view of gender as performance. Financial accumulation has to translate into social capital for it is the society that validates what is success and what is not. Adhala has a pretty good idea of what success

---

[34]Adhala uses the rather anachronistic word "tea boy", which is a throwback to the colonial times when black African men who worked as office orderlies/messengers were infantilised and referred to as boys. Robert Morrell (1998) notes that using the word "boy" in colonial times denoted condescension and servitude combined with the denial of manhood. Tea boy/messenger was one of the lowest ranking jobs and Adhala uses the term to index how lowly regarded waitressing is in Zimbabwean popular discourse.

in the Zimbabwean context is, and that is why he can say without any ambiguity that *"vatoenda hatichavabati"* (they have made good progress and we will never catch up with them).

Reverting to Adhala's reference to the "bigger problems" that migrants confront in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, these pertain to an array of issues relating to the anxieties associated with living in a foreign country in general and the perception that South Africa is inhospitable to black African migrants in particular. Adhala also refers to the emasculating nature of menial work and how it impacts on his self-esteem and confidence as a man. *"Muzvimabasa zvedu izvi, unobatwa senhapwa. Wekuchemera hapana"* (in our jobs we are sometimes treated like slaves. [Being foreign] there is really no one to complain to). Adhala complains about low salaries that are below the going rate, long working hours and having to work without a contract. *"Rega timbovaitire mari wena"* (we are making money for them), he remarks. It is a precarious situation fraught with numerous challenges that breed anxiety most of the time. It is this picture painted by Adhala; a picture of vulnerability that forms the basis of the second level of analysis his remarks provide. They speak to the general precarity transnational migration engenders. In a sense, Adhala's words afford us a glimpse into the other side of neo-liberal globalisation; a side characterised by a fierce competition for resources and the subsequent division of socialities into insiders and outsiders.

Adhala's views cannot be generalised across all Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. They are not even applicable to all migrants who constitute the study sample. However, they do alert us to the troubled, if not frustrated masculinities migration to South Africa has triggered among sections of Zimbabwean male migrants. Societal/familial expectations of accumulation weigh heavily on the shoulders of the Zimbabwean male migrants. The threat of xenophobia in South Africa presents yet another layer of challenges the male migrants have to overcome in the affirmation of their maleness. For some like Adhala, the dream for a better future has been deferred and that has produced frustrations at many levels.

5.2.3.1 Migrancy: a narrative of "success"

Zano, 34, has lived in Cape Town since 2004. Divorced and a father of two children living with their mother in Zimbabwe, Zano is in no doubt that migrating from Mutare (Zimbabwe's 4th largest city) to Cape Town is one of the best decisions he has ever made. He works as a manager at a restaurant with a staff complement of 35 people. He is one of the study participants who were prepared to take me to their workplaces to see the kind of work that they do as well as having a feel of their work environment. He mentions the predictability of the South African economy as one of the biggest attractions South Africa holds for him. He juxtaposes this predictability with Zimbabwe's inflationary environment of the 2000s and maintains that South Africa's relatively stable economy allows for short and long-term financial planning. In economic terms, Zano constructs South Africa and Zimbabwe as constituting a neat binary of predictability and unpredictability. He affirms this point:

> *Kuno uku ndakuziva kuti ndikabhadharwa mari yangu ndinoibudgeta sei. Rent yangu, shopping kana pane extra ndotumira kumusha. You can budget normally. Ende zvinhu zvese zvaunoda zviri ti. Ukaenda kumusha manje, hauzviwane zvinhu izvozvo. Especially nedollarisation yakaitwa iyi* [shakes his head for emphasis]. *Kana usina a steady income, ha-aaa zvinorema.* [long pause] *Mzansi ndizvo!*

> Here, when I get paid I have a pretty good idea of how to budget for the money. There is my rent, shopping, and if there is extra money left, I send it home. You can budget normally. All the goods and commodities that you need are available. At home though, you won't get all those things. And the dollarization of the economy [shakes his head for emphasis]. If you do not have a steady income, things will be hard. [long pause] South Africa is good.

Both Zano and Adhala speak about the present with eyes firmly focused on the future. Adhala has regrets about the opportunities he imagines he has missed back home. He cannot say for certain what breaks he has missed. He reasons that because some of the acquaintances he left behind have achieved some level of "success", there must have been prospects for financial gain that he failed to take advantage of because of his absence. Zano in the meantime, sees his future in South Africa given that its economic fundamentals allow for concrete planning. Zano is unambiguous in his view that migrating from Zimbabwe was the right decision.

142

Once again, Piot's analysis of experiences in Togo offer interesting perspectives on the very notion of the future, its predictability, or lack thereof as far as migrants are concerned. Zano left Zimbabwe to escape from a political and economic crisis that was hindering his ability to be the best that he could be as a man. He moved to an environment he perceives to be enabling as far as meeting one's aspirations for provider masculinities is concerned. It explains why he cherishes the "predictability" the South African economy offers. Zano's narrative is therefore a celebration of a seemingly hopeless masculinity turned around to an aspirational and successful one. However, there is a long pause in his response before he proclaims that "South Africa is good". Zano himself concedes that the history of xenophobic attacks in South Africa means that his future as a migrant can never be completely predictable. It is a future fraught with uncertainty, notwithstanding the opportunities that exist for material accumulation and redefinition of one's standing in society.

5.3   Family and migrant insertion into place

In this section, I describe the study areas of Cape Town and Stellenbosch and the manner in which the two areas texture the construction of specific masculine identities among Zimbabwean male migrants. The section examines the appeal Cape Town and Stellenbosch have on Zimbabwean male migrants, including the resources that they deploy to insert themselves into the two urban areas. In engaging with the discourses of place making, xenophobia and masculinities, this segment of the thesis considers the specific role played by family or acquaintances in informing the decision by Zimbabwean male migrants to set up base in both Cape Town and Stellenbosch. As 5.6 will show, family plays a critical role in migrant insertion into the study areas. The family's influence extends to the male migrant's choice of a job or place of employment as most of the migrants get their first job through exploiting family networks.

As I pointed out in chapter 2, this evokes memories of labour recruitment practices in colonial Zimbabwe when supervisors and foremen would be asked by their employers to recruit from their villages. Invariably, family and kin were recruited. There was an insidious side to it though as employers sought to enforce workplace discipline through exploiting

customary practices of deference to senior members of the kin group or family. Whilst I am not suggesting that South African restaurant owners are using the same strategy, it is just fascinating that Zimbabwean migrants have picked on a colonial relic of work recruitment through family networks or referrals as a mechanism of integrating themselves in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

Just over 60 percent of the study participants came to Cape Town and Stellenbosch at the invitation of family or friends who were already established in the country. None of these jumped the border. They entered the country on the back of 30-day visitors' permits and used the 30-day window to apply for asylum permits, which they obtained with minimum fuss. Zimbabwean male migrants who came at the invitation of family or acquaintances found themselves anchored in specific places in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, living with whoever had invited them. Their initial resource mobilisation strategies depended very much on the family or friendship networks that they had at their disposal. Many of them ended up working in the same job or place as their kith and kin. Because they had reasonably established support networks, they embedded themselves in place fairly quickly. Chartwell came to Stellenbosch at the invitation of his sister. He lived with her for 3 months and took his first job at his sister's workplace in Devon Valley. He was initially employed as a barman, but rose through the ranks to work in the hotel's human resources section as a salaries officer.

Family or friends are particularly helpful when it comes to Zimbabwean male migrants' integration into Cape Town and Stellenbosch because of the practical and psychological support they confer to the migrant. There is the basic support in terms of accommodation and food upon the migrant's arrival from Zimbabwe. Family members or friends who are already established in Cape Town and Stellenbosch also provide practical ideas on how to go about regularising the migrant's stay, including how to exploit or manipulate loopholes in the immigration system such as what to say to the immigration authorities when applying for an asylum permit. They also know the networks involved in the production of fake documentation if, and when, the need arises. My investigation suggests that there is a thriving enterprise for the production of fake documentation like asylum permits and international driver's license. It is therefore little surprising that Zimbabwean male migrants who came at

144

the invitation of friends or relatives quickly establish themselves in place and hardly ever leave Cape Town or Stellenbosch for another South African city or town. They have the necessary supporting networks to help them deal with the most common/basic problems migrants encounter.

In contrast, migrants who have no family with whom to anchor themselves in a particular place, become highly mobile. Magu, for example, has lived in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. He explains that it is much easier for a male migrant to change places of settlement if there are no familial ties in a given place than when such relations exist. Magu's motivation to move from one place to the other is economic and he explains, *"vele, umuntu waze uchazeka kuhambelana lokuthi ubunandi buvelaphi"* (the truth is that one would get excited depending on where goodies came from). Dhumiri (36) has lived in Durban and Bloemfontein, and now Cape Town. He says he moves depending on where he thinks the better prospects for financial gain are located. Not only are male migrants like Magu less tied to a particular place, they also express a greater sense of loneliness and anxiety due to the absence of a social support system. Adding xenophobic exclusion only makes matters worse as evident in Magu's expression of precarious masculinities where he constantly worried about dying alone at the hands of South African nationals. He feared dying without his family in Zimbabwe knowing.

In the following two sub-sections, I provide brief background material on the two study areas of Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The material describes the context within which Zimbabwean male migrants deploy different resources and strategies to circumvent the real or imagined threat of xenophobic exclusion.

5.3.1   Cape Town

Judging by the number of people one comes across speaking Shona and Ndebele in public places such as malls, trains, commuter omnibuses and on the streets, it is fair to suggest that Cape Town is a popular destination with Zimbabwean migrants. During my research, I was struck by the number of Shona-speaking people that I came across at the beaches in Strand

145

and Camps Bay, on trains to or from Cape Town, Bellville and Muldersvlei, in taxis, supermarkets, malls or in bars. My position as a Zimbabwean whose first language is Shona probably meant that, subliminally, I was quick to identify out Shona registers around me. A Shona-speaking Zimbabwean national living in Nyanga says, "It's a mystery to me why Shona isn't being taught in South African schools. There are so many of us here now". Whether the anecdotal remark is an expression of a deeply felt conviction or is meant to be a joke is anybody's guess. What it does highlight though is how Cape Town is now home to a significant number of Zimbabwean nationals.

Zimbabweans are not only settling in Cape Town and Stellenbosch in large numbers. They are also part of new socialities emerging in an already transitioning South Africa. I find the example of one primary school in Stellenbosch particularly fascinating. The school has a considerable contingent of Zimbabwean children. It seems to have become standard during parent-teacher meetings or school festivals to greet and welcome the parents in 4 languages: Afrikaans, English, Xhosa and Shona. Shedza is 42 and works as a welder. I deal with his experience of migration in greater detail in 6.3.1. He talks about how he has been able to teach Shona swear words to his South African work colleagues. They have since embraced these as a linguistic code with which they gossip or swear at managers/supervisors and other non-Shona speaking work colleagues.

I argue in the thesis that cheaper transport costs, the wane in popularity of mining jobs, and the increased mobility that has come with the demise of apartheid, all play a part in the expansion of Zimbabweans' circle of options beyond the traditional destinations of Gauteng, North West and Limpopo provinces. From working as formal or informal tour guides, waiters, flea market traders, road side traders, taxi drivers and lecturers in universities, to being employed as technicians or programme officers/managers in NGOs, Zimbabwean men are very much part of the economic fabric of Cape Town. To put things into perspective, when South Africa hosted the African Nations Championship (CHAN) from 11 January to 1 February 2014, match attendance figures showed that Zimbabwe was the second best supported team after South Africa out of all the teams that were based in Cape Town.

146

Thousands of Zimbabweans packed Athlone and Cape Town stadiums whenever "the Warriors" (Zimbabwe national football team) were playing.

One of the lighter and instructive moments of the tournament for me was provided by a young-looking male Zimbabwean male supporter at Cape Town Stadium. Zimbabwe was playing Mali for a place in the semi-finals. With the match delicately poised, and the Zimbabwean supporters in full voice, the man, whom I did not know, remarked to no one in particular:

> There are just too many of us [Zimbabweans] here. I hope we don't get out of the stadium only to find Home Affairs[35] waiting to check our papers [passports/permits]; otherwise many here will be deported!

We had a good laugh at the man's tongue-in-cheek comments. Zimbabwe beat Mali and there was a great celebration among Zimbabwean nationals at Cape Town Stadium. For the record, there was no one from Home Affairs outside the stadium when we got out. As the euphoria of CHAN waned and I reflected on the experience of what had been a very enjoyable football tournament- and a welcome distraction from the stress of writing up the thesis - I found myself being drawn back to the remarks by the Zimbabwean supporter about the Department of Home Affairs, passports, and permits.

Viewed in the context of my study, the remarks began to assume greater salience. In hind sight, I found it incredible that in the middle of an absorbing football match and an evidently animated support for the Zimbabwean national team, the young man still had the awareness to reflect on the visibility of Zimbabweans in Cape Town and the mutually mistrustful relationship that they have with immigration officials. I never got the chance to ask if the man's concerns were borne out of lived experience. His remarks, however, take me back to the discussion in 2.7, where I presented Neocosmos' (2006) examination of the role the South African state has played in the production of xenophobic discourses. Neocosmos (ibid)

---

[35] By Home Affairs, migrants are referring specifically to Immigration Section.

observes that migrants in South Africa are constantly fearful of an immigration regime that is overwhelmingly skewed towards the criminalisation, policing and repatriation of non-nationals.

Understood in this way, Zimbabwean male migrants are justified in being fearful and insecure. My study participants Ben, Joe, Kanyire and Cultureman are generally of the view that Cape Town is yet to acquire the notoriety of Johannesburg in terms of the patently criminal and self-serving interactions between migrants, the police and immigration officials. According to Cultureman, *"Mapurisa epaJoza ndomagweregwere makuru"* (the police in Johannesburg are the biggest crooks). Cultureman goes on to say, *"Chavo kuswera vachifurufusha maforeigner mbavha dzichiponda nekurepa daily"* (they expend a lot of effort harassing foreign nationals yet people are being robbed and raped on a daily basis). Joe says of the Johannesburg police *"vaya ndiyo ZATO[36] hombe"* (they are big ZATO). Ben and Kanyire also describe the Johannesburg police as *"majuru"* (termites) that fleece foreign nationals. These negative sentiments are based on the four's personal experiences of physical and verbal harassment at the hands of Johannesburg police. Ben says that they wanted him to give them money yet he had a valid permit and had not committed any crime. Joe says they called him a "dog" after asking them for directions from Braamfontein to Melville. Kanyire was threatened with deportation and was pushed against the wall after a policeman claimed that he had ignored his calls for him to tell him the time. Cultureman was slapped across the face after trying to help a friend whose passport had been confiscated by the police. You add to these experiences accounts of Johannesburg police reportedly tearing up migrants' passports/permits and soliciting for bribes and a picture begins to emerge of police force that is viewed with suspicion. However, Ben, Joe, Kanyire and Cultureman say that in Cape Town

---

[36] Some daring thieves in the late 1980s purportedly formed the Zimbabwe Allied Thieves Organisation (ZATO). It is common for criminals to be referred as ZATO in Zimbabwe. Joe therefore uses this expression to highlight the corrupt nature of the police.

and Stellenbosch, they are more fearful of arrest and deportation than bribe-seeking police officers.

5.3.1.1 Cape Town and the architecture of xenophobia

The city of Cape Town is celebrated the world over for its beauty and one of its well-known landmarks, Table Mountain. Amidst the beauty and international acclaim though, are socio-economic and political concerns around inequality, poverty, unemployment, crime and drugs. These concerns often provide the platform upon which various interest groups mobilise for action against the responsible state authorities. The service delivery protests frequently result in the physical attacks or displacement of non-nationals (Jearey-Graham & Böhmke, 2013; Langa & Kiguwa, 2013).

Examining the manner in which the media covered the May 2008 xenophobic violence, Monson & Arian (2011) refer to a history of systematic attacks against non-nationals in some areas of Cape Town. Between 1994 and 2008, areas like Hout Bay, Imizamo Yethu [Mizamoyethu], Milnerton, and Masiphumelele have witnessed acts of aggression against foreign nationals. There were forced removals of Somali shop owners in Valhalla Park in February 2008, followed by the looting of immigrant-owned shops in Masiphumelele in May of the same year, leading to the displacement of thousands of foreign nationals who ended up at Soetwater and other refugee camps in Cape Town (Monson & Arian, ibid).

In a move that has not received as much public attention as it probably deserves, especially given South Africa's recent fight against xenophobia, the community of Masiphumelele apologised a few days later and asked the immigrants to come back. This happened again more recently in Joe Slovo informal settlement in Langa. In the case of Masiphumelele, community members pledged to assist in the re-integration of the displaced, and assisted in the construction of houses that had been destroyed in the mayhem. For such a bold move, the community was given the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) Annual Reconciliation Award. It was not just the IJR, however, that was at the forefront of efforts to bring together nationals and non-nationals in Cape Town. The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) also

facilitating similar reconciliation processes and was instrumental in coordinating a massive civil society humanitarian response to the xenophobic violence and displacement of thousands of non-nationals (Robins, 2009).

The signal the community of Masiphumelele sent to the rest of South Africa by apologising, and the IJR's recognition of the significance of that gesture, have surprisingly received little recognition in both academic and government circles. The two developments provide hope and impetus to those who believe in the ideals of rights for all. The apology by the community of Masiphumelele is, however, the exception rather than the rule. South Africa still has to contend with the challenge of foreign nationals or, to borrow Landau's (2011) terminology, "demons within". It is important to remember that the impetus for the violence that the community later apologised for was the presence of people (foreigners) whose presence they constructed as detrimental to their community's transformation (Landau, 2011). The perception that non-nationals are an impediment to South Africa's renaissance resonate with significant sections of the South African population (Jearey-Graham & Böhmke, 2013). It is in this context that Zimbabwean male migrants experience, express, negotiate, and assert their identities as men in Cape Town.

5.3.2   Stellenbosch

Stellenbosch, situated along the banks of the Eerste River, is widely acknowledged as the second oldest European settlement in the Western Cape, after Cape Town. The town became known as the City of Oaks, or *Eikestad* in Afrikaans and Dutch, owing to the large number of oak trees that were planted by its founder, Simon van der Stel. The town is approximately 50 kilometres east of Cape Town. Stellenbosch has its own municipality that combines the nearby towns of Pniel and Franschhoek. The town is also home to Stellenbosch University. The spatial organisation of the town in terms of housing reveals the legacy of racial separation, and c Central Stellenbosch is predominantly white whilst the outlying areas of Cloetesville, Idas Valley and Kayamandi are coloured and black respectively.

Stellenbosch is an interesting case study for me in the sense that many of my research participants routinely construct it as a "White" town. A few of my informants from Cape Town ask, *"kuri sei kuvarungu uko?"* (how are things in the land of the whites?), an indication of how Stellenbosch is generally constructed as a white space. The significant presence of a Coloured population living in Stellenbosch is generally overlooked. Excluding students, Stellenbosch's population was estimated as 117,713 in 2001 (Statistics South Africa, 2001). This estimate, based on formally housed residents, was almost certainly understated as it excluded a number of informal settlements that made up part of the region of Stellenbosch. According to the South African 2011 census data, the Stellenbosch Local Municipality population stands at 155,733 (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The racial make-up of that figure is as follows:

Race	%
Black African	36.7
Coloured	35.4
Indian/Asian	0.4
White	26.5
Other	0.9

The population of Stellenbosch is predominantly Afrikaans-speaking (70%), with English (10%), and Xhosa (20%) speaking minorities. The black population mostly speaks Xhosa as their home language, with whites speaking Afrikaans or English, and the coloured (mixed-race and Khoisan descent) primarily speaking Afrikaans. The valleys of Stellenbosch, Paarl and Franschhoek make up the Cape Winelands, the larger of the two main wine growing regions in South Africa. Stellenbosch is also the primary location for viticulture and viticulture research. The Stellenbosch wine route, established in 1971 by Frans Malan from Simonsig, Spatz Sperling from Delheim and Neil Joubert from Spier, is a world-renowned and popular tourist destination and attraction.

151

5.1   Migration as re-presenting and re-defining masculine identities

On average, my research participants have been in Cape Town and Stellenbosch for about seven years. Cape Town and Stellenbosch are therefore places of durable settlement for these male migrants. They attest that both Cape Town and Stellenbosch offer them opportunities for permanent or seasonal service sector jobs, mostly as waiters. The majority (84%) of my study participants are employed in hotels, bars, fast-food outlets, coffee shops, and restaurants in various capacities, but mostly as waiters, supervisors or managers. I would contrast this with Limpopo province for example, where the political economy is such that Zimbabwean migrants are largely drawn into farming jobs (Schachter, 2009; Bolt, 2010).

My study participants' experiences of migration vary considerably, but most regard Cape Town and Stellenbosch as ideal locations to remake themselves as male subjects. Here is what some of my study participants had to say on the subject:

> *Kuno munhu wese ari parun kutsvaga chingwa, mudhara.*
>
> Dude, here everyone is busy trying to make money/a life for themselves (Ben, 28, from Kwekwe and works in Cape Town as a waiter).
>
> *Kana tasvika kuno chinenge chakatochaira munhu wese. Chako kungofunga chete kuti ndosvika here paRoadport[37] ndingori nepaperbag.*
>
> When we are here it is a struggle for everyone. Each person will be worried about what they will take back home when they eventually return (Kanyire, 26, from Harare and works in the information technology sector in Somerset West.
>
> *Zvediaspora ndezvekuti kuda ungashandure vupenyu hwevana kumusha uku.*
>
> The whole idea of being in the diaspora is to work towards transforming the lives of [my] kids back home (Joe, 37, from Masvingo and works as a mechanic in Bellville.

There are significant, subtle differences in the manner in which Ben, Kanyire and Joe construct what migration to South Africa has meant for them as Zimbabwean men. The substance of their thinking is pretty similar in that in the long term, they would like to change

---

[37] The bus station in Harare for South Africa bound buses. It is referenced here to indicate a narrative of return.

their material circumstances and go back to Zimbabwe as successful male subjects. A native or fluent Shona speaker would however, not miss Ben and Kanyire's deployment of language, which is basically a fusion of Shona slang and English expressions or words. In the quotes above, Ben and Kanyire use the words *"chakachaya"*, *"parun"*, and *"chingwa"* as metaphors for busy and money respectively. There is also an undertone of adventure when they say *"tiri parun"* (we are busy), almost as if for now there is no time to reflect on what has been going on. That time will maybe come someday, but for now the focus is very much on being busy working and accumulating capital. From a masculinities point of view, this betrays the carefree masculinities of the young (both are in their 20s). Their choice of words also reflects their status as young men who, notwithstanding the fact that they have been away from Zimbabwe for over 5 years, are still very much in touch with the linguistic registers popular with young Zimbabwean males.

Ben and Kanyire are also very self-centred in their appraisal of the object of migration, presumably because they are unmarried. They are very proud of the fact that they came to South Africa when they were very young and have been able to settle reasonably well. They are delighted to be living independent lives. In this regard, they compare themselves with most of their friends back home who still live at their parents' homes. Meanwhile, Joe, who is married with two children, speaks in almost "unadulterated" Shona, a sign perhaps that he is more mature in age than his younger counterparts. His notion of success is built on how much he is able to transform the lives of his children he left in Zimbabwe. It is not so much about him, but the future of his children.

Ben and Kanyire left Zimbabwe in their early 20s, having failed to obtain jobs upon completion of their Advanced Level[38] examinations. Their first experience of employment has been in South Africa. In that respect, they see the decision to migrate as having been worthwhile. Joe came to South Africa when he was 30. He already had a Higher National

---

[38] Zimbabwean equivalent of Matric.

153

Diploma in Automotive Engineering from Harare Polytechnic. Getting a job in Zimbabwe though was a big challenge for him. The car dealership he used to work for in Mutare ceased operations because of viability issues arising out of the country's economic challenges. For almost 3 years, he was not formally employed in Zimbabwe, surviving on occasional part-time appointments. It was then that he decided to try his luck in South Africa. Having done a number of casual jobs in Johannesburg and Durban, he is finally settled in Cape Town, happy that he is now employed in his area of expertise.

From Ben, Kanyire and Joe's accounts, we see how being in Cape Town or Stellenbosch affords Zimbabwean male migrants opportunities to re-invent and re-present themselves as men. First, both are urban locales, which allow for anonymity. Second, their distance away from Zimbabwe is significant in the production of adaptable masculinities. I use adaptable masculinities to denote configurations of (gender) practice that allow Zimbabwean male migrants to construct new forms of masculine ideals away from the scrutiny of kith and kin back in Zimbabwe. Kanyire and Joe's experiences reflect this point. They have had to do a number of lower end jobs before finally settling into the IT and mechanical occupations respectively. The new masculine ideals produced in the diaspora may be transient, and convenient for specific purposes such as getting a job, resource mobilisation, acquiring immigration papers and so on.

I conclude this particular section by noting that all the research participants spoke about the reality of xenophobic exclusion in South Africa, and the anxiety of living with that reality often triggers. They, however, insist that xenophobia, or its threat, does not negate the need for them to fend for themselves and their families. Joe says *"tinoshanda nezviripo"* (we make the most of the situation). Fanyana, whose first language is Ndebele says, *"mina,* I know that I sometimes pass myself off as Zulu, but I know that we are not very welcome here. But what can you do? *"Ngiyakwazi ukulwa"* (I am a good fighter). I just need to think about my family's future and deal with xenophobia as it comes".

The sentiments by Joe and Fanyana encapsulate the discordant position Zimbabwean male migrants occupy; that of fear and of resilience. The threat of xenophobia- real or imagined-

154

hovers over them, but it does not stop them from seeking employment to provide for their families, as well as striving to acquire the social markers of manhood. The aspiration to acquire the markers of manhood thus overrides, or co-exists with the fear of being attacked. Aspirational masculinities drive the migrants to use whatever available resources and strategies to "make the most of the situation" as Joe says. If the situation demands that they express subordinate or complicit masculinities, they will do so as a way of navigating perceived danger or potential flashpoints. It is all part of a survival game. Zimbabwean male migration to South Africa is also not of recent vintage. It is thus fair to suggest that Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch express, experience, and negotiate different ways of enacting manhood on the basis of their construction of history. They are acutely aware of the long history of migration between the two countries. They are also conscious of the material implications of this history.

5.2 Xenophobia, rugged and aspirational masculinities

Conversations on how the study participants ended up in South Africa show that some of them never really planned to come to the country. Some like Chaka, aged 28 did so only because family or friends already in Cape Town kept pressuring them to come. Others like Ludza, aged 30, Toringa, aged 32 and Siphosami, aged 30, came with the intention of staying for no more than two years, after which they expected to have raised sufficient capital to start a business back home. Yet others like Shedza, aged 42, and Joe, aged 37, clearly planned to come and stay for as long as they possibly could. The common thread that runs through all the narratives is that these relatively young men conceived of a plan to circumvent the dire economic conditions in Zimbabwe at the time of their immigration. The plan was to explore opportunities for professional or financial advancement in the bigger economy of South Africa.

The median age at the time of immigration was approximately 22. Many left Zimbabwe for South Africa to escape from biting economic challenges. In the words of Shedza, *"nhamo yakanga yatigara bumper"* (the economic challenges had become insurmountable). *"Zvakanga zvasvika pekuti ndakanga ndakutadza kuendesa vana kuchikoro"* (it got to a point

155

where I could not afford to send my kids to school anymore), Shedza goes on to say. From a masculinities point of view, privation pushed or pulled the likes of Shedza, Toringa and Fanyana into migrating to South Africa to meet the requirements of provider masculinities for their conjugal or natal families. But for Toringa, Ludza and Siphosami, it was more than the need to provide for their families that motivated their decision to migrate. They speak of their burning desire to accumulate sufficient financial capital to set themselves up in business back in Zimbabwe. They would like to go back to Zimbabwe as wealthy men respected for their success. Shedza in particular seems to be very clear on what he wants to achieve, he likens his migration experience to that of the Zimbabwean men who used to work in the gold mines of Gauteng during WNLA. He says that like most of them at the time, he is in South Africa to acquire social markers of manhood like financial capital, cars and real estate investments back home.

5.2.1 *Chidhuura,* documentation and the construction of masculine labels

How Zimbabwean male migrants come to South Africa and stay is largely dependent on the South African immigration regime at the time of their departure, the resources (financial, family or acquaintances already in South Africa) they have at their disposal, and the motivation behind immigration. As the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe deepened, migration levels to South Africa grew exponentially (Sachikonye, 2011). At the same time, the South African immigration regime became increasingly stringent, if not exclusionary (Neocosmos, 2006; Hassim et al., 2008; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011; Landau, 2011). The austere visa requirements introduced by the government, ostensibly to curb the influx of non-nationals into South Africa, were particularly harsh on black African immigrants who wanted to come in as economic migrants, students, refugees or asylum seekers (Landau, 2008b; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011). Efforts to introduce the free movement of people within the SADC region were stillborn, with South Africa in particular, raising concerns that it would get a disproportionate number of the ambulant population given its status as the economic powerhouse of the region (Crush, 2011).

156

As the formal channels of entry into South Africa became increasingly cumbersome, some Zimbabwean men resorted to entering the country illegally by "jumping the border" as well as staying in the country through the use of fake documentation. Known as *"chidhuura"* in Shona slang, this involves the production of fake asylum permits, educational certificates and many other official documents. Feeding this industry are groups of South Africans and non-South Africans. For a fee, one can have an asylum "permit" or "driver's license". Even students with valid study permits or applying for their renewals have been known to make use of *chidhuura* where they produce fake medical aid cover certificates.

Two of my informants in Cape Town confessed to having entered the country illegally and they are unambiguous as to why they entered the country illegally: state xenophobia in South Africa left them with no choice. They were literally smuggled in the cabin of a long-distance haulage truck from Beitbridge to Johannesburg. One of them, Magu (29), travelled from Bulawayo in the company of his uterine sister. At the Beitbridge border post, he negotiated with a long-distance truck driver who smuggled him, his sister, and two other people into South Africa for R600 per head. Together with his sister, Magu later applied for, and was issued with an asylum permit, which he surrendered for a work permit in 2010 under the ZDP.

Magu stresses that throughout the journey from Zimbabwe, he was alert to the risks associated with entering the country illegally. He claimed to have been particularly aware of how vulnerable his sister was to sexual assault or rape, having heard many stories of how female migrants were abused at the border. It is something that he had discussed at length with his sister, until they decided to take the risk with the proviso that they would be "side by side no matter what". Given the economic and political challenges the country was grappling with at the time, the choice between staying in Zimbabwe and skipping the border was no choice at all as far as the two siblings were concerned. Having grown up as orphans under very challenging circumstances, they decided that dying on the way to South Africa was no different from staying in Zimbabwe, because staying meant grappling with unemployment and extreme poverty anyway. He asked rhetorically in his native Ndebele, *"okungasikufa yikuphi?"* (What difference does it make? You are damned if you do, damned if you don't).

Notions of maleness alter within different contexts. In the study participants' narratives, contradictory and ambivalent images (performances) of masculinities emerge. By "jumping the border", Magu presents himself as more daring and manlier than other male migrants who entered the country through other less dramatic means. His image of manhood is constructed around the odds he has overcome to be in South Africa. The single-minded determination to leave Zimbabwe, and the motivation to be in South Africa, is projected as a mark of rugged, aspirational masculinities. Jofure (28) says that jumping the border has moulded him into a man with an unbreakable spirit. He has great respect for border jumpers and says:

> *Ukaona ukajamba bhodha madhara angu, wopinda muno wotanga kukiya kiya zvisina problem, tinokupa sando dzako.*

> Dude, if you are able to jump the border and you are then able to eke out a living in this country without any problem, we give you the utmost respect).

However, informants whose immigration was legal take the view that border jumping amounts to foolhardiness, and not manliness. Chartwell (28) lives in Stellenbosch and has a valid asylum permit. He muses:

> *Unojamba border usina passport kana chii zvacho kuno kwacho unosvikoita chii? Ndochidofo! Unoguma washuman ka!*

> You skip the border without a passport or a single document with you, what are you going to do when you get here? That is not very clever! You can only end up being a thief!

5.2.2   Migrancy and the geography of anger/fear

My study participants' narratives highlight xenophobic exclusion as a considerable challenge in terms of their insertion into the spaces of Cape Town and Stellenbosch. They claim that they are accused of fuelling the sharp rise in rentals in the townships. They also claim that black South Africans hate it when they speak English to them. Shedza says that one day he met a group of primary school kids in their uniform. Trying to be friendly as the group reminded him of his kids back in Zimbabwe, he enthusiastically greeted them in English. A good number of them responded, but as he turned his back on them he heard murmurs of *mukwirikwiri*. Shedza says it pained him that such young kids would have such stereotypes

about peoples. He says it continuously makes him anxious and fearful about his personal security and safety in the country.

Based on the maps the migrants draw of their movements, they experience economic integration through the permanent or seasonal jobs they have. Socially however, there is little to suggest meaningful engagement with South African nationals. This is not to suggest that Zimbabwean migrants are a social island. Ben and Joe mention the multi-layered relations that they have with South African based on occasional encounters at work or at home. At work they often have drinks or lunch with their South African colleagues. At home it is usually good neighbourliness marked by greetings and courtesy extended to those they are familiar with. In places, they have spontaneous solidarities with South African nationals cultivated at work or home in moments where they face a common challenge, like unfair labour practices, a boss who is considered to be a problem or crime. If a thief is caught in Kayamandi, for example, both nationals and non-nationals come together to ensure that the thief is taken into police custody. The church also provides space for spontaneous, albeit fleeting, solidarities as the migrants fellowship with church colleagues and collaborate in outreach activities.

Pentecostal churches in particular have the scope for outreach programmes that bring together nationals and non-nationals. Siphosami is a member of one such church in Stellenbosch. Every Saturday they go for hospital ministries, which involve praying for and with the sick and the distribution of daily devotionals. There are also cell group meetings on Thursday where members of a cell share, praise and worship together. Solidarities between Siphosami and South African nationals have grown this way. However, such cases of solidarities across national identities are the exception rather than the norm. South Africa's history of racial categories is still very much a factor in texturing social relations. Even in the church, loyalties can be divided along racial lines. Siphosami says sometimes there are tensions along racial line when it comes to serving in the church. Joining the choir or becoming a cell leader can very much depend on one's racial or national identity, a situation Siphosami says is a sad reminder that race and xenophobia are never too far away.

Because of the social chasm between nationals and non-nationals, Zimbabwean male migrants find family networks, where they are available, to be critical in their incorporation into Cape Town or Stellenbosch. The migrants' choice of Nyanga, central Stellenbosch, Idas Valley, Cloetesville or Kayamandi as places of residence is as much an economic decision as it is a social one. The decision of where to stay is informed by a number of variables such as the presence of family or acquaintances living in the same area, the perceived security or insecurity of the place and, of course, affordability. Security is understood as the likelihood of being attacked or targeted for one's status as a non-national. In this regard, the migrants assess a neighbourhood's security or insecurity on the basis of its history. Joe says *"handiti kumba tinoti kusina mai hakuindwi. Worse muno muSouth, kusina hama hakugariki"* (at home we say you should never go where your mother is not. More so here in South Africa. You cannot stay in an area where there are no people known to you). Otherwise *"unodzoka kuZimba wati kan'an'a"* (otherwise you go back home dead). Joe stresses that your relatives/friends will not stop physical attacks or robberies, but it is psychologically beneficial to know that there are there for you, if only to lend a shoulder on which to cry.

With this in mind, neighbourhoods or sections of neighbourhoods that have a history of violence against non-nationals such as Khayelitsha are generally considered as insecure for settlement purposes. So too are neighbourhoods that have few Zimbabweans, excluding suburban areas. Archduke has been living in Stellenbosch for close to 10 years now. He lives in an apartment in central Stellenbosch with his wife and kid. When he arrived in Stellenbosch in 2005 at the invitation of a cousin, he lived in Kayamandi. He left in 2008 in the aftermath of the xenophobic attacks that swept through urban South Africa in May 2008. Even though he was not attacked physically, he recalls a lot of the non-nationals living in Kayamandi relocating to central Stellenbosch and Idas Valley due to fears of being attacked. He describes that period as traumatic for him because of the psychological toll it took on him; having to constantly worry if the attacks were coming or not. It was at that time that he made the decision never to live in a township again, saying *"kutamba nehupenyu"* (it is dicing with life). Archduke is convinced that living in densely populated areas/informal settlements/townships produces a heightened sense of insecurity given the history of xenophobia in this country.

160

The foregoing migrant narratives evoke Çaglar's (2007) insightful piece, *Rescaling cities, cultural diversity and transnationalism: migrants of Mardin and Essen,* which explores the interplay of neoliberalism, urban restructuration, cultural diversity and migrant incorporation in host societies. The paper focuses on migrant integration in industrialised Europe. Nevertheless, some of its conclusions are useful entry points in the examination of migrant insertion in other parts of the world. Çaglar (ibid) stresses the importance of history and politics in determining the levels of success migrant communities have in integrating in their host societies. Each host community has its own distinctive historical and political context that textures the strategies migrants can deploy as part of their assimilation into these communities. I draw on Çaglar's thinking to analyse the link between the history of *apartheid* and the challenges of migrant incorporation in contemporary urban South Africa.

Neocosmos claims that apartheid in South Africa fundamentally moulded citizens' notions of mobility in that it legislated specific areas that different social (racial or ethnic) groups could populate (Neocosmos, 2006). It effectively produced a racial hierarchy in terms of how space and place were used. Landau and Freemantle (2010) agree and posit that the primary social effect of apartheid was that it created a suspicion and fear of those who move, particularly out of the confines of what the Group Areas Act prescribed. By all accounts, South Africa has made progress in confronting the legacies of apartheid. However, anti-immigrant sentiment remains very high among South African nationals (Bekker, 2010; Dodson, 2010; Langa & Kiguwa, 2013; Siziba, 2013), suggesting that the mistrust of those who move endures.

Sections of Zimbabwean male migrants describe their experience is akin to "shepherding a leopard" (see 6.4.2). Others liken it to *magobo* (see 3.8). It is apparent that there are tensions- both said and unsaid- between Zimbabwean migrants and South African nationals. These tensions seem to impact on the social construction of space in a very significant way. Where South African nationals mobilize this space to assert their claims to insiderness, Zimbabwean migrants have to develop ways of tactically inserting themselves into places and spaces that they construct as hostile. The numerous masculine identities that are produced in the course of these "struggles" are what animate this study.

161

5.2.3 *Jambanja* and migrant narratives of xenophobia

Focusing on how Zimbabwean male migrants define xenophobia provides an insight into the manner in which they organise aspects of their social world as targets, or potential targets, of xenophobic exclusion. This also helps in moving the discourse away from a discussion of the possible causes of xenophobia to situated understandings of Zimbabwean migrants' description and experience of prejudice. The study participants assert that men and women experience xenophobia in different ways. They talk about the "men centric" nature of South African discourses of migration and xenophobia. They claim that most of the attention is directed towards the activities of foreign men, hence the suggestion that they were taking women and jobs. One study participant from Stellenbosch boldly proposed that the only worry female migrants have to worry in South Africa is getting a man, because they are generally free from official and non-official harassment. This participant is also convinced that the unemployment rate among Zimbabwean female migrants in Stellenbosch is lower than that of their male counterparts. The thinking seems to be that while male migrants are built as carjackers and bank robbers, female migrants remain largely untouched by the negative stereotypes that are focused on men only. Shedza observes; *"varume chete ndivo vanogadzirirwa size. Kuvakadzi noise hakuna"* (It is male migrants only who are targeted. Women are generally left alone).

It is fascinating that male migrants are routinely accused of taking away South African women, and yet there is little popular and scholarly debate on foreign (migrant) women who have romantic or sexual relationships with South African men. I concur with the sentiments of Shedza who contends that there exists an overall indiscernibility of female migrants in the discourses of xenophobia, exclusion and urban space in contemporary South Africa. I find myself persuaded that this has a lot to do with patriarchal attitudes and social relations, which construct male migrants as threats or competition for jobs, women and other valuable urban resources.

One interesting observation coming out of the study is the observation by a number of the study participants that there is a disconnect between the provisions of the South African

162

constitution and lived realities. Taonerera (27) is a postdoctoral fellow whose take on xenophobia in South Africa is very pedantic. He did all his tertiary education in South Africa and has lived in Stellenbosch since 2008. His overall impression of South Africa as a host to migrants is very negative. He asserts to have experienced all manner of discrimination during his time as an undergraduate and postgraduate student. He claims that Stellenbosch is particularly interesting because of unstated exclusionary racial hierarchies. In terms of xenophobia, Taonerera observes:

> Despite having one of the most celebrated liberal constitutions in the world, xenophobia remains a major concern in contemporary South Africa. What is interesting is that South Africans like it when they get praise for their constitution, yet in practice, they merit no such praise. *Blaz* (Dude), one minute you find them boasting about their Nobel laureates like Tutu, Mandela and De Klerk, and in the next, it's *hamba mukwerekwere!* (go home, foreigner!). It's absurd! But *ndomaSasco*[39] for you (that is South Africans for you).

It was from my conversations with Taonerera that I picked up some of the nuances in terms of how South Africans are referred to by Zimbabwean migrants. Whilst most University students to them in general as "Sascos", most migrants in the lower end jobs prefer a racialized identification system where black South Africans are called Xhosas and then the usual classifications of Coloured and White. I was able to establish that the use of the word derives from the acronym for South African Students Congress (SASCO). The word is apparently used by many Zimbabwean students in South African in universities. What I was not able to establish is whether there is a derogatory tone to its use.

The study participants provide a raft of incidents that they believe were steeped in xenophobic exclusion. They define xenophobia in numerous ways like *"godo/ruvengo"* (hatred), *"kushaya brain"* (thoughtless/clueless) or *"kushaya fundo"* (a lack of education). Many are of the view that Zimbabweans are especially targeted for xenophobic exclusion

---

[39] The word used by Zimbabwean students in universities to refer to their fellow South Africans.

because of their large presence in South Africa and also because *"maZimba anogona kutsvaga mari"* (Zimbabweans are savvy when it comes to hustling for a living). Others believe that xenophobia is generalised across all non-nationals, particularly black foreigners. The words, terms and expressions the Zimbabwean migrants use to describe xenophobia are instructive in that for most of them, the phenomenon denotes both physical and psycho-social violence. Most of the expressions used to characterise xenophobia derive from Shona and Ndebele registers of war and violence. From the colloquial terms for violence such as *jambanja*[40]*, ndimba ndimba*[41] (trouble), *ginya* (force) to the more conventional *bongozozo* (trouble) *chimurenga* (struggle), or the Ndebele equivalent, *udlakela*, or *ingxabangxoza* (violence/pandemonium), to the mystical, *mhepo* (bad spirits/jinx), there are as many conceptualisations of xenophobia as there are individuals.

Many of the study participants understand xenophobia to be physical attacks on their persons and their belongings by South Africans who do not want them here. The migrants who subscribe to this view essentialise South Africans as violent and generally parochial as a result of limited education. Others detect "xenophobia" in the "ostracism" their children face at school. There appears to be tension between the expectations parents have and the lived realities of their kids. Bullying and the non-appointment of their "deserving" children as class captains, school prefects or as members of the schools' sports teams etc. all trigger murmurings of xenophobia. There is no objective measure of why the child should be made a prefect, or a member of the sports team, apart from the parent's subjective belief in the child's abilities. I mention this to draw attention to how easily prejudice can be imagined. At an interview in Kayamandi, a participant told me of how his sister was convinced that a school in Stellenbosch had denied her daughter a prize for a good performance in

---

[40] *Jambanja* is a Shona word that apparently has an ambiguous meaning. It was popularised during the land invasions of 2000-2002 when it became synonymous with violent take-over of farms. It is now used to mean a range of anomic acts such as anger, violence, and lawlessness.

[41] A Shona expression whose actual meaning is fuzzy, but it often denotes dire circumstances.

Mathematics because of her nationality. Outraged, she confronted the school principal, only to realise that the prize had actually been won by another Zimbabwean learner.

Imagining xenophobia can also turn into a political tool by which migrants extract concessions from the perceived oppressor/system. In Stellenbosch, I got introduced to Maziketela. From Bulawayo, Maziketela is a medical practitioner who now has permanent residence in South Africa. Our mutual love of football and interest in politics meant that we shared quite a bit in common with Maziketela. It was during one of our many discussions on the challenges children of migrants face that he told me of a Zimbabwean man who effectively arm-twisted a school in Stellenbosch into making his son a prefect on the grounds of "diversity" and "transformation". The man kept pushing during parents-teacher meetings that the school had to do more to include minorities (blacks). Maziketela is convinced that the man's son was made prefect as a way of toning down his transformation 'crusade'. Many others see it as the general unfriendliness of South Africans towards Zimbabweans. Interestingly, even what seem to be random acts of criminality are explained through the prism of xenophobia.

Ben says that he understands xenophobia to be physical attacks against the bodies and property of non-nationals. He says, *"xenophobia kutongoziva kuti chatsva. Chinenge chatobhiridha because ndevemukonyo vanhu vacho"* (xenophobia is basically the physical attacks meted out to foreign nationals. South Africans are essentially violent). Joe believes that the attacks are driven by any of hatred, fear or jealousy. Toringa believes xenophobia to be unfriendliness deriving from "ignorance" or innate "anger" *"havana brain vanhu ava, mudhara"* (dude, these people lack brains). Taonerera attributes xenophobia in South Africa to apartheid, arguing that the system disempowered South Africans to the point where people do not know how to deal with people outside their own racial or ethnic identities. What most of the migrants seem to agree on is that xenophobia is discrimination and that it is "irrational". Informants allude to what they call the "in-built" tension between nationals and non-nationals, which usually manifests in the competition for employment opportunities, housing and the attention of South African women.

Rodney (30) lives in central Stellenbosch and works as a manager at a restaurant. He says of xenophobia;

Xenophobia is a fear, handiti? Fear is based on a lack of knowledge… [Long pause] I think, umm, toti chii..? Fear of the unknown. Vanhu vari kuuya vausingazive. Patakauya pane change yatakakonzera. So, xenophobia is fear of change. Lack of understanding of the world we live in today. Problem is vanhu vemuno umu, especially vanhu vatema, they don't travel. Anongoenda kuEastern Cape chete. Pamwe pacho haatoendi. Even kuenda kuCape Town chaiko anogona kutorasika. Yet munyika make.

Xenophobia is fear, not so? Fear is based on a lack of knowledge… [Long pause] I think, umm, what can we say..? Fear of the unknown. Strangers are coming. When we came, there was some form of change that we caused. So, xenophobia is fear of change. Lack of understanding of the world we live in today. The problem is that South Africans, black South Africans in particular, are not well travelled. They only travel to the Eastern Cape. Sometimes, they don't even travel to the Eastern Cape. Some of them cannot even go to Cape Town without getting lost. Yet they are from here.

Cultureman (27), another resident of Stellenbosch, says;

Munoona kuti chiika? Time iye pakaitika xenophobia [reference to May 2008 attacks against foreign nationals] *even press yaiti maSouth Africans ari kuvenga maforeigners. Yanga yakarerekera pakuti maSouth Africans akavenga especially maZimbabweans…* [Inaudible] *Nyaya yaingotaurwa yaive yekuti maZimbabweans ari kutitorera mabasa nevakadzi.*

Look, during the time when there were xenophobic attacks [reference to May 2008 attacks against foreign nationals], even the media was reporting that South Africans were against foreign nationals. Especially Zimbabweans… [Inaudible] The main reason given for the attacks was that Zimbabweans were taking away their jobs and women.

Asked to comment on the substance of the allegations that migrants are taking away jobs and women from South Africans, Cultureman provides a rather lengthy response. I am including here an extended excerpt to illustrate how elastic and subjective his notion of xenophobia is. There is also evidence of reverse xenophobia on his part:

Zvakafanana nekuti kana ndichitora vanhu vebasa, unotora munhu anogona basa kwete kutora munhu nekuti ihama yako kana kuti ihama yanhingi... [Inaudible] *Nyika ino iyi kuti ifambe iri kuda vanhu vanoshanda, vanhu vanosimudzira nyika.*

Mukaona kuti even South Africa kutangira kugovernment, kucabinet maZimbabweans akabata, kuti isadonhe. MaSouth Africans ane mutambiro wavo. Kana vasiri mudoro, vanenge vari mudoro [laughter from both of us]. *Ehe! Kana vasiri mudoro, vanenge vari mudoro nemabraai avo nemabhebhi.*

It is like this. When employees are hired, employers go for the most competent ones not their relatives or acquaintances… [Inaudible] For this country to work, it needs working people, people who can drive the economy forward. If you look around, in South Africa, from the government to the cabinet, it is Zimbabweans who are in control so that things do not fall apart. South Africans have their own unique lifestyle. When they are not drinking, they will be drinking [laughter from both of us]. Yes! When they are not drinking, they will be drinking, having their *braais* and women.

Cultureman's notion of xenophobia is predicated on a romanticised view of Zimbabweans as hard-working, intelligent, educated, and focused. I asked him to clarify whether he was referring to all Zimbabweans or primarily to successful Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. It was critical to understand if, in Cultureman's view, this initiative and drive is found in other immigrant groups, or it is something specific to Zimbabweans. According to Cultureman, Zimbabweans have "done well" in "the UK, Australia and all over", and in South Africa they are "in demand" as teachers, engineers, doctors, waitrons and housemaids and so on because of their intrinsic hardworking nature. Cultureman says that his experience in South Africa has taught him that Somalis excel at running *spaza* shops, Asians at retailing low cost goods, and the Congolese at security jobs. For him, Zimbabweans are the most adaptable of all immigrant groups because of their disparate resource mobilisation strategies. Cultureman boldly claims that Zimbabweans in the "diaspora" can do pretty much anything and everything.

Cultureman's claim that Zimbabweans have done well in the UK is contestable. Whilst there have been success stories of Zimbabweans in the UK investing in the property market back home (Bloch, 2008), the majority of Zimbabwean migrants in the UK has struggled in the care industry (McGregor, 2007). Limitations of space preclude a detailed analysis of the deskilling and class distress that care work has triggered for these migrants. McGregor's (2007) piece explores the experiences of a highly educated, middle-class migrant group of Zimbabweans who left the country in the context of a deepening economic and political crisis

167

in the early 2000s. Some of these migrants have been able to exploit transnational mobility and care work as a means of coping with their status as migrants. Care work has provided opportunities for them to fulfil family obligations and personal ambitions relating to material accumulation (McGregor, 2007). However, Mcgregor (ibid) also shows the stress and deskilling most Zimbabwean care workers have experienced in trying to support themselves and dependents through excessive hours of low-status and often poorly paid work. Zimbabweans in the United Kingdom care industry have had to contend with racialised workplaces characterised by the insecurities and abuse produced by migrancy (McGregor, 2007, 2009). Zimbabwean male care workers have particularly struggled with the strain of working in strongly feminised workplaces (McGregor, ibid).

Cultureman's narrative is also intriguing in its characterisation of South African men as "drinkers" and "womanisers". Does Cultureman think that all South African men are drinkers and womanisers? It turns out that he was just referring to black South African men. Where, then, are white South Africans located in his discourse of xenophobic exclusion and masculinities? Cultureman's response is, "it is black South Africans who attack migrants. *Mavheti ane zvawovo asi havaise munhu tyre muhuro, mudhara"* (it is black South Africans who have a history of attacking migrants. I have issues with white South Africans too, but they are not known for "neck lacing"[42] [non-nationals]). For Cultureman, black South Africans hate Zimbabweans and they suffer from parochialism.

One cannot help but notice the paradox of Cultureman's notion of xenophobia. Unconsciously, he also actively participates in the production and co-production of xenophobic discourses and chauvinistic stereotypes by his hyperbolic characterisation of black South African men as drunkards and womanisers. It is ironic that someone who openly admits to having minimal contact with black South African men has no qualms in judging,

---

[42] Neck lacing, otherwise known as "horse collaring", is the practice of summary execution and torture carried out by forcing a rubber tyre, filled with petrol around a victim's chest and arms, and setting it on fire. The victim suffers severe burns in the process.

profiling and stereotyping them. How different is this from racist stereotyping, one wonders? It evokes Susan Fiske's observation that "category-based images, emotions, and actions certainly abound in postmodern life" (Fiske, 1998). According to Fiske (ibid), social psychological analysis provides conceptual insights into prejudice. There are automatic and socially pragmatic aspects of prejudice and stereotyping and both aspects tend to sustain them. If Cultureman characterises South African men as drunkards or violent, the stereotype is self-serving in that he can then justify his detachment from them. It also allows him to project his version of Zimbabwean masculinities as better. This is also indicative of how xenophobic discourses are co-produced by perpetrators as well as its survivors. Like masculinities, xenophobic discourses are produced relationally. They are produced performatively, much like the performativity of gender and masculinities.

Mazvita (34) and Claver (29) explain xenophobia by alluding to the experiences of their children at school. Their children go to different schools in Stellenbosch even though both parents maintain that their kids experience incessant bullying at school. Claver says his child, aged 10, has been called a *kwerekwere* countless times by his fellow school mates. In one instance, two of her schoolmates teased her for being "skinny" because she was from a famine country. The child broke down from the incessant bullying to the point where she did not want to go to school anymore. Claver took the issue up with the school authorities and the school head explained to him how difficult it is to control what pupils say outside the classroom/school premises. Claver appreciates the school head's argument, but maintains that the bullies get away with it because they are not sanctioned. *"Vakatuka ticha outside the school zvinopera zvakadaro here?"* asks Claver (what happens if they insult a teacher outside the school premises? No action will be taken?) Meanwhile, Mazvita complains that her daughter is very good at spelling and has always come out on top of her class. He therefore does not understand why his daughter never makes it into the school team for interschool spelling competitions. Joe is convinced that his daughter's "exclusion" from the school team is steeped in xenophobia.

Cultureman, Claver and Joe's conceptualisations of xenophobia present challenges for the analysis of what is xenophobic and what is not. The ethnographic approach in anthropology

169

rejects the Durkheimian notion that the social world is made up of "discoverable" patterns/objective truth waiting to be discovered through anthropological enquiry. Geertz (1973, 1974) makes it clear that ethnography is founded on an integration of description and meaning (interpretation). Cultureman has a lot to say about people (black South Africans) with whom he hardly has meaningful relationships. He confesses to having no black South African friend, but still constructs black South Africans as parochial. It is because stereotypes are often produced by people who have very little actual exposure to the other that they are stereotyping. Claver rightly worries about his son's bullying. However, that does not necessarily mean that the teachers condone such behaviour or are themselves xenophobic. Claver accepts that a lot of Zimbabwean kids at the school are prefects or class captains, but still identifies xenophobia within the school setting. Meanwhile, a Zimbabwean waiter whose supervisor asked him to "go and wash" because of a bad body odour, blames the incident on xenophobia. How do we theorise this?

Kevhi is a media practitioner. He is 35 and has lived in Stellenbosch for 9 years. His account brings up the intersection of cultural practices and xenophobic discrimination. Kevhi, a married man with two children, speaks of being infantilised by one particular workmate who is Xhosa. According to Kevhi, this man generally believes that all non-Xhosa men are uncircumcised. He has told Kevhi to his face that he will never respect him because he is *inkwenkwe,* which is Xhosa for an uncircumcised man. In this instance, Kevhi's South African workmate uses it derogatively to infantilise Kevhi and other non-South African men at work. The idealised Xhosa hegemonic masculinities which see boys' transition into manhood through *ulwaluko* (circumcision rituals) is mobilised to mark out the boundary between insiders and outsiders. It is perhaps worth mentioning that *ulwaluko* is actually a cluster of rituals that mark the transition from boyhood to manhood among the Xhosa (Shefer et al., 2007). In that sense, it cannot be reduced to penile foreskin cutting, but a process that ultimately serves the purpose of delineating authentic masculinities from non-authentic ones (Gqola, 2007). Yet Kevhi's workmate picks on the aspect of circumcision, not only to ridicule and disrespect his colleagues, but to remind them of their outsiderness and thus subordinate status as male subjects. Contestations over inclusion and exclusion can therefore be easily and conveniently located in a chauvinistic interpretation of customary practices such

170

as *ulwaluko*. In the end, Kevhi has an air of resignation and says *"vanhu vacho vanotsvinya"* (they are arrogant). *"Apa graft havakete"* (Yet they are not good at their jobs).

Mandipa (32) and working as a fuel attendant in Stellenbosch is at pains to understand how and why sections of Xhosa men take it for granted that all non-Xhosa men are uncircumcised. Mandipa states he had a discussion with a Xhosa counterpart over the issue of circumcision. Mandipa recalls his colleague declaring that all Zimbabwean men were uncircumcised and should be treated like boys. The colleague is said to have stated that his family does not entertain thoughts of his sisters marrying into a Zimbabwean family, condescendingly asking "how would the *lobola* negotiations go, because in our culture only men are involved in these?" Mandipa interpreted his colleague's comments as illustrative of "South Africans' ignorance about other cultures" and their "hatred of Zimbabweans". Whether it is ignorance, which may even be contrived for the purposes of advancing a particular agenda, or hatred, there is a very apparent prejudiced denial of manhood in the remarks of Mandipa's colleague. That achieves two things. It marks out Mandipa and his fellow Zimbabwean men as "incomplete" or "different". Being "different", they are liable to being constructed as outsiders. Whilst their number is such that they are impossible to exclude partially, Zimbabwean male migrants still have to contend with exclusionary practices and attitudes. For Mandipa, the "widespread" anxiety the presence of non-nationals generates among South Africans is evidence that xenophobia is real and shapes the processes of interaction between the two groups.

Most (56%) of my study participants assert that black South Africans have a deep-seated hatred of Zimbabweans. In the words of one, "they hate our guts". To buttress their claim that black South Africans hate Zimbabweans, they present a repertoire of practices by state and non-state actors alike, which I present in the following sections.

5.2.3.1 Self-government and disengaged masculinities

The study participants not only shared with me what they understand xenophobic exclusion to be, but their perceptions of its manifestation and channels of transmission. Rodney (30)

171

works as a manager at a restaurant in Camps Bay, Cape Town. As part of his remit, he organises fortnightly rosters for waitrons and oversees their on-duty performances. He says that whilst his South African counterparts (coloured and white) can shout and swear at staff, he exercises extreme restraint in terms of how he speaks with workmates, especially those junior to him. Rodney says he is cautious in his choice of words because he has always felt that his nationality is a talking point among staff. He laments;

> *Sometimes zvinonetsa to put the point through… ummm… even une chinzvimbo. Ivo vari kuona huforeigner hwako* [pointing to his facial features] *havaone chinzvimbo chako.*
>
> Sometimes it is difficult to put the point through [at work]… ummm… even when you are in a position of authority. All they see [workmates] is your foreignness [pointing to his facial features] and not the authority that comes with your position.

Henry (34), Lazarus (28), and Victor (40) explain that their mobility in Nyanga is highly regimented. The three live in Nyanga but work in Bellville. Either they are at work or at home, locked up in their rooms/houses. When an opportunity to share drinks with friends comes along, they usually do so in Bellville or any other place away from their immediate neighbourhood. Says Henry:

> *Iwewe usaite nharo nembocho[43] idzi. MaTaliban ka aya! Kungotenga pimbiza yako worova zvako uri muden. Kana kunotyora zvako uri muBellaz umu pasina anokuona.*
>
> You need not engage with these stubborn [he-goats] people. They are [violent] like the Taliban. You just buy our beer and drink at home. Or you go and relax in Bellville where no one will see you/knows you.

Pressed on why he and his other Zimbabwean counterparts do not simply befriend a couple of South African guys and drink with them, Henry is literally taken aback that such a proposition is even a possibility and says following a hearty laughter:

---

[43] Shona for he-goats. It is used by Henry here to capture what he calls the stubborn, lusty, lascivious and violent nature of particularly black male South Africans.

Ehede, mudhara uri wengano handiti? Uchimwa nadzo hove idzodzi? Isu tichitadza kumwa nemaNdevere chaiwo wozoti maXhosa? Vanokucheka nebanga vabva kunwa beer rako!

Wow, dude, you love to joke, don't you? They drink like fish! If we cannot even bring ourselves to drink with Ndebeles, how can we possibly drink with Xhosas? They will stab you soon after drinking your beer!

In the aforementioned statement, Henry not only captures the tensions that exist between Zimbabwean migrants and South African nationals, but the Shona-Ndebele ethnic fault lines that seem to be reproduced even away from Zimbabwe. I look at some of those in 6.5.2 when I engage with football and the enclaving of recreational spaces in Stellenbosch. For now the issue is the socio-spatial separations emerging between Zimbabwean migrants and South African nationals as a result of the perceived threat of xenophobia. The separations are evolving as Zimbabwean male migrants try to manage the spaces they inhabit by minimising their visibility among their neighbours. Victor explains that when the May 2008 xenophobic attacks broke out in Khayelitsha, some Xhosa-speaking Zimbabweans' cover was blown by the people with whom they lived or worked. Victor is very emotional in saying:

"Ndiana sapwati mhani vanhu ava! Munotamba mese nhasi, mangwana chikabvondoka ndivo vanetenge vari pamberi kukubhurara" (They [South Africans] are very bad people.

They pretend to be friends with you but when trouble [xenophobic attacks] comes, they are the one who will be at the forefront).

Victor tries to debunk the myth that speaking Xhosa or having South African 'friends' can help a migrant gain acceptance in South African communities or when xenophobic attacks ensue. Victor insists that when the attacks come, the very 'friends' are the ones that tip off the attackers about the whereabouts of non-nationals. This has engendered a form of tactical disengagement from place/social relations with South African nationals on the part of Victor. This tactical disengagement does not entail complete isolation from all forms of interaction, but heightened levels of anonymity marked by little disclosure of his day-to-day movements. The rationale is that the less known about his life the better. Anonymity is a resource by Victor shields himself from potential attacks or informal policing by South African migrants.

Rodney, Henry, Lazarus and Victor's stories of "self-regulation" are common among the study participants. We see in tactical disengagement the creation of severed/disengaged masculinities characterised by Zimbabwean male migrants holding back on things they would ordinarily do or say. Rodney disengages from deploying the linguistic registers that are commonly used at his workplace for fear of possible attacks outside the workplace:

> *Inyaya yekungo reader sichaz kuti yakaita sei. Unogona kuteedzera, but imaksaz because chikabvondoka mangwana anenge ari patight ndiwe*
>
> You could actually do it [using the language used at the workplace] but when trouble comes, you will be on your own.

His South African counterparts of a similar rank do not have to wade through all these challenges. Henry, Lazarus and Victor spend the majority of their free time at home, not necessarily out of choice, but because they are fearful of what their visibility may trigger. There is a subtle process of re-masculinisation that takes place as the migrants alter their mobility patterns to deal with a social milieu they deem as conflictual. The male migrants paint a "them versus us" picture, pitting themselves against South African nationals. The picture indexes a seemingly continual, understated "cold war" characterised by mutual suspicion, fear, resentment, and in places, physical confrontation.

The sense that their quotidian lives are subject to inordinate levels of surveillance is a constant theme among Zimbabwean male migrants. Kudzi recounts an incident at the Paarl DHA offices in 2012. A group of about 30 Zimbabwean nationals was dropped off at the offices by a lorry belonging to their employer. Kudzi was not part of the group, but was queuing in the Immigration section trying to process his son's permit. An immigration officer saw the group and casually walked up to them and asked "do you people all have passports? Otherwise I am calling the police right now". Soon after, the group disappeared. Kudzi was surprised that the officer did not see it prudent to give the men a chance to present their cases. Instead, he scared them off. For Kudzi, the incident epitomises the multiple levels of policing that migrants have to put up with in South Africa. This policing, as we have seen in the earlier sections, often determines where migrants go and what they can do. Kudzi was never able to establish what the group wanted. He suspects that they wanted to regularise their

"papers" and were denied the chance through needless intimidation. Once the men had disappeared, Kudzi remembers the officer chuckling, "border jumpers".

Zimbabwean male migrants living in the townships report subtle forms of policing and surveillance by landlords or neighbours. Kuda (30) lives in Nyanga and says he was shocked one day when his landlady asked him where he got the money to buy "goodies" from Shoprite every day. He was surprised that the landlady was able to pick out that he brought home a few groceries every day. Even more concerning for Kuda was that she even knew that he bought his groceries from Shoprite. Kuda interprets this to mean that she regularly checks his movements. Kuda generalises this practice to most South Africans in the townships, where mundane things like what and where one buys daily provisions becomes a significant issue. Kuda makes the point that communities and community leaders often arrogate to themselves the authority to monitor the activities and movements of migrants for the "good" of the community and felonious elements often hijack this surveillance for criminal gain.

5.2.3.2 Institutionalised xenophobia or migrant paranoia?

In the world Zimbabwean male migrants inhabit in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, average South Africans, provincial and federal state agencies and the media are all key protagonists in the production of popular notions of foreignness and stereotyping. Officers in the Department of Home Affairs are particularly constructed as central to the making of discourses of *amakwerekwere*. Some of the study participants complain about the disrespectful and humiliating manner in which the officers deal with immigrants generally. Henry recalls how one official at the Bellville Office derisively asked him how it felt "to have 3 meals a day and a television, something you Zimbabweans can only dream about with your inflation and stupid Mugabe". Other notable institutions that migrants hold responsible for the production of exclusionary discourses are the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC),

175

Supersport[44], South African Police Service (SAPS) and Metro Police in Cape Town and municipal officials in Stellenbosch.

Taonerera, Henry, Lazarus, Victor, Kuda all have an interesting take on the media and the production of xenophobic narratives. They question the production practices of the SABC and assert that they are generally very negative towards Zimbabwe and Zimbabwean migrants. Supersport is mentioned specifically with regards to its coverage of Zimbabwean sport. Taonerera wonders why during CHAN 2014, both the SABC and Supersport had expert analysts from West and Central Africa for games involving teams from these regions and not a single one from Zimbabwe, yet Zimbabweans constitute the biggest contingent of foreign players playing in the ABSA Premiership.

The underlying disquiet that sections of the Zimbabwean population have towards the SABC came to a head when the fairly popular broadcaster Thomas Mlambo, host of SABC 1's *Soccerzone*,[45] came in for inexorable abuse on his Facebook page during CHAN 2014. This followed comments he made about the Warriors not being worthy of their semi-final berth because they had scored only 3 goals on their way to the semi-finals. Taonerera, who firmly believes in the SABC conspiracy against Zimbabwe, observes that Mlambo did not make similar disparaging remarks about Libya. Taonerera goes to say, "the Libyans' style of football was worse than that of a pub team. They were horrendous, yet none of the SABC analysts was able to pick on this!" The Libyans were crowned champions having drawn their quarter and semi-final matches as well as the final itself. In all 3 games, they scored once in open play and won through penalty shoot outs.

Thomas' comments, and the Warriors' fans reactions, made the press in Zimbabwe as they were picked up by the hugely popular sports editor of the *Herald* newspaper, Robson

---

[44] South African group of television channels owned by Multichoice and carried on the DStv platform. Supersport is arguably the leading sports provider in Africa given the sports content it provides.

[45] An hour-long live football programme that airs on SABC 1 every Monday at 9pm.

Sharuko. Under the headline, *"You are just a disgrace" Warriors fans slam Thomas Mlambo*[46], Sharuko captured the combative mood of the Warriors' fans. The comments were made when most of my fieldwork was done, but I noticed that they were a big talking point among Zimbabwean migrants in Stellenbosch. The reactions were tinged by nationalistic fervour, with Taonerera going to the extent of claiming that he will never watch *Soccerzone* again. These seemingly "patriotic masculinities" were motivated by the thinking that Thomas' comments were in sync with the SABC's longstanding anti-Zimbabwe narrative. Many interpreted the episode as indexing the fractious relationship between Zimbabweans and South Africans and used it as an illustrative case of how South Africa is generally xenophobic and particularly hostile to Zimbabweans.

5.2.3.2.1   The Police

Early in the evening of the 15th of October 2010, 6 people forcibly entered into Rodney's house and robbed him of his clothes, cell phone, TV, and a new microwave that he wanted to send to Zimbabwe. The robbers came to the house he shared with a Congolese national, ostensibly to destroy "drugs" that his Congolese housemate was supposedly selling. The Congolese man was not at home at the time of the attack and Rodney became the target. According to Rodney, the robbers were not physical with him but just demanded money and his cell phone. They packed their loot in his bags. Realising that his then wife's passport was in one of the bags, Rodney pleaded with the men for the return of the bag. For a moment, the robbers thought the bag probably had money or something valuable. When Rodney told them that it had his wife's passport, they searched, found it and gave it back.

Rodney is adamant that his then housemate was and is not a drug dealer. This was a pretext that the robbers used to gain access to their house. Two weeks after the incident, he left Kayamandi to live in an apartment in central Stellenbosch for security reasons. He insists that

---

[46] *The Herald,* 28 January 2014.

the police were not very helpful and that left him feeling vulnerable. Below is an excerpt from his interview about the incident:

> *PM: Did you report the attack?*
> *Rodney: Yah. But hapana zvakaitika. No action, nothing. Hapana kana akauya* (Yes. But nothing happened. No action, nothing. No one from the Police came).
>
> *PM: Indava?* (Why?)
> *Rodney:* [Long pause and a heavy sigh] *Hameno* (I don't know). *But ndokaitire kavo kana vachidealer nesu* (But that is what they usually do when they are dealing with us [non-nationals]).
>
> *PM: Kana?* (Nothing?)
> *Rodney: Nothing*
>
> *PM: How did that make you feel?*
> *Rodney: Sad and powerless. But munongozivawo kuti mwana washe muranda kumwe* (Sad and powerless. However, you know that the child of a chief is a slave in another chieftaincy[47]. *But ndakabva ndabva kuKayamandi kuenda mutown ndikati better kubhadhara mari yakawanda but ndiri safe* (Soon after, I left Kayamandi for the city [central Stellenbosch]. I felt that it was better to pay more in rent and be safe).

For Rodney, the police are no better than members of the public in their "hatred" of foreign nationals. He says he finds the attitude and behaviour of the police unsurprising because it mirrors the communities from which they come. Because the communities resent non-nationals, the police cannot be expected to act differently. Rodney also recounts an incident in Nyanga when his Zimbabwean friend was attacked for dating a South African woman that his attackers claimed was already engaged. His attackers allegedly told him that "Mugabe's tactics of grabbing[48] things do not work in South Africa!" When the friend tried to open a case at the police station, they were flippant and told him to "simply look for another woman". Was this not a mere case of incompetence or indifference on the part of the police? Rodney maintains that it was xenophobia because "*dai ari wavo paimhanywa*" (if he [his

---

[47] Shona proverb that means that the respect one is accorded as a high born does not apply outside one's chieftaincy or in foreign/strange land.

[48] Reference to Zimbabwe's fast-track land reform programme of 2000-2002 in which the government forcibly took land from white commercial farmers, absentee landlords, foreign land owners and so on.

friend] was South African, the police would have pulled out all the stops to apprehend the attackers).

5.2.3.3 Leisure and the making of compensatory masculinities

Mhofela (28) states that tracing the recreational spaces people occupy reveals palpable socio-spatial separations in Stellenbosch organised along racial and national divides. Mhofela attests that it is not uncommon to find restaurants in the town that do not employ people of colour or nightclubs that cater principally for white or coloured audiences. The most common discriminator is the type of music played. Mhofela claims that the music selections at nightclubs is such that the clubs now broadly fall into "race colonies", that is, black, coloured, and white colonies. The clubs play rock, rock and roll and house music that appeals primarily to white and coloured audiences. He says:

> *Zvinoti ukaendawo kwerock ingova rock yoga. Ukaendawo kweMafikizolo, vanorova Mafikizolo. Kuti uwane pane vanomixa majati chaiwo.*
>
> The entertainment scene is highly regimented. Where they play rock music, it is rock music only. Where they play the likes of Mafikizolo, then it is that type of music only. It is really hard to find a place where a cross-section of music is played.

According to Mhofela, within this milieu there is very limited space for black migrants, primarily because the "black colonies" are confined to outlying areas like Kayamandi. Given the tension the presence of non-nationals often generates, black migrants consciously avoid patronising these areas for fear of being attacked or drawing undue attention to themselves. For that reason, black African migrants often find themselves excluded from the town's social scene. Mhofela's narrative suggests that black migrants based in Stellenbosch grapple with the twin challenges of xenophobic exclusion by black South Africans and racialised recreational spaces dominated by white South Africans. Both challenges are a reflection of South Africa's past of legislated mobility and racialised social relationships.

Analysing the different accounts of place making reviewed in this chapter, it emerges that an overwhelming fear of being attacked drives Zimbabwean migrant men into mapping the spaces of Cape Town and Stellenbosch in very specific ways. Choosing where to stay or

recreate therefore becomes very much a process of dealing with, and navigating the geography of South African anger. As much as possible, they seek to reduce their visibility and thus increase their anonymity, especially in spaces they construct as black spaces, which invariably are mostly townships. Cost considerations mean that many of the Zimbabwean male migrants live in these townships, but they do this tactically in terms of avoiding potential trouble spots and staying close to relatives/fellow Zimbabweans. In places, they also avoid recreational spaces in the townships that may expose them to potential attacks for their quality as non-nationals. This has often meant entering into subordinate relations with South African men and women, but they consider this as a small price to pay for one's safety.

For some Zimbabwean male migrants like Taonerera, Ben and Joe, the fear of being attacked is not without merit given the history of xenophobic attacks against non-nationals in post-apartheid South Africa. It is fair to say though that this fear can also be exaggerated, especially in cases where all South Africans are essentialised as violent and inhospitable. It also becomes self-evident from the foregoing that xenophobia, or its perceived threat, does not stem the flow of immigrant men from Zimbabwe to South Africa at all.

5.3   Xenophobia and social exclusion: anthropological insights

The findings on Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch presented in this chapter resonate with findings elsewhere in Africa where migration is shown to be a vital economic and political resource base for male Africans. Transnational migration in particular, is shown as providing the platform for redefining one's social identity (Akyeampong, 2000; Tiemoko, 2004; Piot, 2010) and, by extension, one's status as a man (Grillo, 2007). We see in most of the migrant narratives presented in the chapter that moving to South Africa is very much intertwined with the notion of seeking one's fortune. This is best illustrated in the statement that *"haungazadze nhava wakagara kumba ka"* (you cannot possibly fill up your hunting bag whilst sitting at home). Coming to South Africa has the added advantage that one can go about his business far removed from the gaze of family and kin. Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch stress that their principal motivation for being away from home and doing all manner of jobs is economic; to go back to Zimbabwe as successful

men esteemed for their affluence. Working as waiters affords them the opportunity to re-invent or re-present themselves as male subjects, without having to worry about pressure from family and kin. Xenophobic exclusion, working on the margins of the South African economy, and all the adversities they claim to encounter are perceived as indispensable inconveniences on the road to returning home as venerated male subjects.

How similar or different are Zimbabwean male migrants' experiences from religious or ethnic chauvinism, right wing nationalism, or Islamophobia in other parts of the world? Are there other kinds of anthropological studies of this phenomenon that would help to understand the issues at stake in this study? Studies on the discrimination, exclusion and abuse of the other (ethnic/religious/racial minorities, foreigners, migrants and so on) demonstrate the reality of xenophobia in the world today and how it is fashioned by many sources (Gray, 1998; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Geschiere, 2009; Shryock, 2010). Frustrated expectations of development and imagined threats to predominant values often produce xenophobic sentiments towards groups of people perceived to be threatening to the development aspirations of a given society (Gray, 1998; Geschiere, 2009). Migrants are one of the clusters of people who comprise easy targets for scapegoating and exclusion when competition for resources produces the politics of belonging (Geschiere, 2009; Landau, 2011).

Anthropologists have over the years produced studies on the notion of vulnerability as it relates to the marginalised. I draw on the work of Veena Das' (2007) empirical work on resettlement colonies[49] in India useful in the analysis of the link between disempowerment and violence. Das' depiction of the colonies in India has broad theoretical implications for our anthropological understanding of vulnerability or living precarious lives. Das' (ibid) study describes how residents of the colonies recurrently experience the state of exception through communal unrest in which the police openly side with the majority religious community. Religion is a key determinant or marker of insiderness and outsiderness. While

---

[49] So named because their occupants are former slum dwellers.

Das' study in India is not about migrants, there are parallels between the struggles people living in the colonies and Zimbabwean male migrants both have to navigate. Das (ibid) sketches how people construct a semblance of normality in the context of vulnerability or precarity. In the colonies, people live with neighbours who they know are the murderers of their family and friends.

This is where I make the connection between the situation in the colonies Das describes work and the condition Zimbabwean male migrants describe as their everyday reality. Das depicts the resettlement colony as assuming the nature of a camp where the state of exception is the norm. We have seen how most Zimbabwean male migrants describe their neighbourhoods as arenas of informal surveillance where their liaisons with women or recreational activities are monitored by the local population. We have seen how they prefer drinking far away from their areas of residence for fear of attracting unwanted attention. We have seen how they map the spaces they inhabit very carefully in order to minimise or control their visibility to South African nationals. It speaks to some level of precariousness or vulnerability.

In *Precarious Japan*, Anne Allison examines the confluence of political economy, affective experience, gendered, sexualised and irregular labour in texturing precarity in modern day Japan. In the book, Allison uses the word "precarious" to refer to "disconnected" clusters of people or "people who experience themselves as being out of place, out of sorts, disconnected… a precariousness no-one cares to share" (Allison, 2013:14-15). I like the way Allison develops an expansive understanding of precarity to include groups of people who are disconnected from legible social ties of family and community and thus in many ways socially and politically invisible (Goldfarb, 2014). Some undocumented and unemployed Zimbabwean male migrants can easily fit into the category of invisible subjects. Most migrants are also politically invisible so it sounds reasonable to draw from Allison's notion of precarity.

Prejudiced sentiments against non-nationals in most parts of post-colonial Africa are often rationalized on the grounds that foreign nationals are forerunners of social instability and anxiety (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001; Geschiere, 2009). Empirical evidence point to a

systematic pattern that the discrimination against non-nationals usually follows; the outcry against their presence is carefully designed to create a moral panic (Ungar, 2001). The threat non-nationals or ethnic minorities pose is nothing more than hyperbole and a simplification of complex issues done to unify people behind an anti-foreigner sentiment. It is more imagined than real. Male migrants are particularly seen as invasive outsiders and are scapegoated for such social ills as crime, child or human trafficking, unemployment, housing shortage, and so on (Gray, 1998; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2001; Crush, 2008; Jearey-Graham & Böhmke, 2013). We see it in Kenya where Somali refugees are blamed for compromising Kenya's security (Wamela, 2009), in Morocco where a rapid increase in the number of sub-Saharan migrants transiting or intending to transit to Spain has generated widespread disquiet among Moroccan nationals (Natter, 2013) or in Israel where Arabs, foreign workers and Ethiopian Jews are confronted with hostility from the predominantly Jewish majority (Pedahzur & Yael, 1999). In this regard, Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town are in good company.

Gray (1998) and Ungar (2001) rightly point out that the scapegoating of non-nationals is often a strategic move on the part of various interests to focus attention away from complex, substantial issues of resource distribution or the equalization of opportunities. Claims to authenticity, autochthony or indigeneity are mobilised or deployed to foster spontaneous, permanent or fleeting nationalisms that arrogate to the autochthons the right to determine the parameters of belonging (Zenker, 2011). More often than not, the parameters set for group belonging are not available to being contested. The chapter has shown the manner in which some Zimbabwean male migrants are infantilised by their Xhosa counterparts on the basis of their circumcision status. I interpret these to be attempts by sections of Xhosa men to set the parameters of group belonging as a way of excluding perceived outsiders. It can also be seen as part of the informal surveillance mechanisms that non-nationals face on a day-to-day basis.

5.3.1 Discourses of foreignness in contemporary South Africa

In South Africa, nationals have often scapegoated non-nationals for a whole range of problems obtaining in the country. Foreign nationals have been blamed for deficiencies in

service delivery (Gqola, 2008; Hassim *et al.*, 2008; Robins, 2009; Langa & Kiguwa, 2013), rising unemployment (Crush, 2008; Crush & Ramachandran, 2009), upsurge in crime (Landau, 2011) and other challenges confronting South Africa today. Gqola (2008) locates the incrimination of black African non-nationals in negrophobia, understood as the contempt or fear of black people and their culture, including any behaviour founded on such an outlook. This is a theme Matsinhe (2011) builds on in his engagement with the notion of *amakwerekwere* in his empirical study of migrant experiences of exclusion among Tanzanian migrants in Cape Town. Matsinhe (ibid) determines that the idea of *amakwerekwere* among sections of the South African population derives from an irrational fear of the black African other. This black other is imagined by some black South Africans to be uncultured, a bearer of diseases, and someone who speaks an unintelligible language (Matsinhe, 2011), a result of which should be their banishment from the South African space (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002).

Most accounts report xenophobic sentiments in South Africa as fairly generalised across all races and social classes. With just over a week before the 2014 general elections in South Africa, the *Sunday Times* newspaper[50] carried results of a survey it had commissioned. Conducted by Ipsos, the survey assessed registered voters' views on a range of issues pertaining to the election, including voters' attitude towards the presence of non-nationals in South Africa. The people surveyed were presented with the following statement:

> Some people say there are not enough jobs and opportunities because there are too many foreigners in South Africa. Others say foreigners help and play an important part in growing the economy by starting businesses and working in South Africa.

In response to the statement, 67% said there are "too many foreigners that take jobs and opportunities away from South Africans"; 19% said foreigners "play an important role"; and 14% did not know. The results were barely affected by political party affiliation. 67% of ANC voters, 62% of Democratic Alliance voters and 63% of Economic Freedom Fighters

---

[50] Published on the 27th of April 2014 under the headline "Pulse of the Nation". The survey had a representative sample of 2 219 registered voters.

voters said there are too many foreigners and that they are taking jobs from South Africans (van Onselen, 2014). Whilst the results by race alter slightly, the majority for each group has an adverse outlook towards the presence of foreign nationals in South Africa. On the question of whether there were too many foreigners in the country, 67% of black voters, 57% of white voters, 68% of Indian voters and 73% of coloured voters responded in the affirmative. Interestingly, the survey results are in keeping with the findings of similar surveys carried out by SAMP more than five years ago. More expansive than the *Sunday Times* one in that they cover cross-sections of the population beyond registered voters, the SAMP surveys also find a high prevalence of anti-immigrant sentiment among South African nationals (Crush, 2008).

In 2.8 and 2.8.4, I discussed at length how Neocosmos (2006) links xenophobia in South Africa with statecraft. The main point Neocosmos (ibid) makes is that it is important to take note of how state actions (through policy and public pronouncements) have consistently portrayed immigrants as a threat to the socio-economic development of the country. This makes it easier for citizens to stereotype non-nationals as the unwanted other. Mangosuthu Buthelezi's 10 year (1994-2004) tenure as the Minister of Home Affairs is frequently referenced by many xenophobia scholars as one of the most regressive in terms of the official engagement with the subject of immigration. The comments that are attributed to the then Minister, such as his claim that South Africa's developmental aspirations were under threat because of a deluge of foreign nationals, show a man who had a very insular view of immigration and a lack of a nuanced appreciation of development. It comes as no surprise therefore that Buthelezi's tenure was marked by a sustained attempt to make South Africa a fortress that was impenetrable to the unwanted alien. Prior to the 2004 elections, Buthelezi took his attempt to overhaul immigration laws to a whole new level as, for the first time in South African history, a Cabinet Minister (Buthelezi) took the President (Thabo Mbeki) to court for refusing to sign into law his attempt to secure stricter immigration regulations.

I should point out that I am not reducing immigration policy in South Africa to a single individual in the person of Buthelezi. I accept that the country's history of coloniality, apartheid and modernity has influenced how such policies come into being. Buthelezi was simply projecting the social milieu that has always been exclusionary from the time of the

Quota Act of 1930 that denied Eastern European Jews entrance to South Africa, the Anti-Aliens Act of 1937 that barred Western European Jewish immigration, to the Aliens Control Act of 1991 that promoted and furthered a racist and anti-Semitic immigration discourse (Hicks, 1999). The stringent visa requirements triggered by the Aliens Control Act (1991) resulted in the construction of black, African migrants as illegal and a threat to the development aspirations of the country. Various pieces of legislations over the years and the fact that government officials habitually blame immigrants for the country's social problems, such as the spread of crime, unemployment and diseases gives credence to Neocosmos' (ibid) thesis that statecraft is at the centre of xenophobic sentiment in the country.

5.3.2   Hyper masculinities as violence

One of Giorgio Agamben's major works is on the *homo sacer* (the sacred man or the accursed man), a somewhat vague figure of Roman law. In early Roman religion *sacer* designates set apart from common society. The sacred man straddles both the "hallowed" and that of "cursed". Understood by today's standards, *homo sacer* is a person purged or removed from society and denied of all rights. My interest in Agamben's work is in its interrogation of the link between state violence and exclusion. Agamben draws on the killings of the Jews, homosexuals and Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) in Nazi Germany to theorise about the association between state-sanctioned exclusion and violence. Agamben asserts that the killings were preceded by a process where these groups of people were legally excluded and disenfranchised from the German state (Agamben, 2005). From this perspective, exclusion is preceded by structural violence that is institutionalised and perpetuated by state apparatuses.

I do not suggest that the killing of millions of Jews by the Nazis compares with the killing and displacement of thousands of migrants (Landau, 2011), but I see in Agamben's logic a way of analysing how migrants in South Africa experience violence and exclusion. I posit that in both the Germany and South African cases, hyper-masculinities- premised on crude notions of power and hegemony- prescribed the parameters of belonging. In Nazi Germany, Jews, gypsies and homosexuals fell foul of the Nazis' fascist agenda. Hitler played on and mobilised imagined injustices, which he cleverly manipulated to invoke a sense of grievance

186

that the Nazis used against the Jews. The tactic was to marginalise the Jews through the promotion of Hitler's Pan-Germanism and anti-Semitism, which were all aimed at the elimination of Jews from Germany.

In South Africa, the state has employed the triple strategy of containment, arrest and deportation to deal with immigration (Neocosmos, 2006). Immigration legislation has consistently sought to contain the immigration of foreign nationals who are perceived as obstacles to the attainment of socio-economic development in the country (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Sharp, 2008; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011). The *amakwerekwere* are constructed as threats to South African masculinities in that they take away jobs and women (Gqola, 2008). There is evidence that black African male and female migrants experience prejudice differently. There is a greater chance of male migrants being asked for IDs than there is for their female counterparts (Dodson, 2010). There is a gap in literature on romantic relationships between female migrants and South African men. There is evidence that some South African women married to migrant men were attacked during the May 2008 xenophobic violence (Landau, 2011). It is not clear if South African men married to migrant women were also attacked but the fact that most of the reported tension has been around migrant men taking local women suggest that xenophobic exclusion is also gendered.

I argue that this is an expression of hyper-masculinities built on perceived injustices or unwarranted privileges. Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch point out that black South African men often express the view that black African immigrant men in the country are spoilt and enjoy unlimited privileges (employment, housing and women) that should not be accruing to them.

5.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter has drawn on the experiences of migration, xenophobic exclusion and masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. By sketching out the discourses on place-making and xenophobia, migrants' conceptualisation of xenophobic exclusion, and how all this weaves into the construction of specific masculine

identities, the chapter has laid the foundation for the analyses which follow in the next chapter. We have seen in the chapter how some Zimbabwean male migrants insist that Zimbabweans are the most hated of all immigrant communities, and their attempts not to be defined by the failures of the state in their country.

6 Politics of belonging, aspirational and compensatory masculinities

6.1 Introduction

To understand xenophobic exclusion and how it weaves into the making of masculine identities among Zimbabwean male migrants, I found it instructive to interrogate the key sites of encounters between them and South African nationals. Understanding these sites helps us better appreciate how notions of power play out in specific sites of contact, what facets of integration are available to Zimbabwean male migrants and the extent to which the migrants are embedded in place. The empirical data from the study demonstrate that the key locations of encounters are workplaces and residential areas, but recreational spaces are equally important sites in exploring the spaces Zimbabwean male migrants populate and the power dynamics that emerge from these spaces.

The analyses which I present in this chapter relate mostly to the relational nature of masculinities, and how space, temporality and migrancy are all determinants of compensatory and aspirational masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. We have seen in the previous chapter how the research participants variously characterise xenophobia as *jambanja* (chaos)*,* or *chimurenga* (struggle) or *udlakela* (violence or pandemonium. In this chapter, I interrogate the interplay of xenophobic exclusion and Zimbabwean male migrants' experiences in the production of compensatory and aspirational masculinities.

On the back of Connell's theory that masculinities are not fixed character types but "configurations of practice generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships" (Connell, 1995:81), I analyse how Zimbabwean male migrants express the compensatory and aspirational masculine identities in the context of the threat of xenophobia. Through the prism of anthropological debates on social inclusion and exclusion, I illustrate

189

the manner in which xenophobic exclusion, or its perceived threat, form the basis of the masculinisation of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

6.2   Encountering the "other": sites of encounters; sites of struggle

This section describes the context within which most contact between Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch and South African nationals takes place. In examining the channels through which xenophobia is transmitted in chapter 2, I pointed out that one of the paradoxical features of the discourses on xenophobic exclusion and masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants is that there are a lot of negative comments about South African nationals even when there is evidence of little meaningful social interaction between the two. Outside of individuals with conjugal or sexual relationships with South African women, there is confirmation from the Zimbabwean male migrants themselves that contact, particularly with black South African men, is minimal. The reason given for this is the mistrust that Zimbabwean male migrants have about black South African men. There is a sense that getting close to them makes one vulnerable to physical attacks at the slightest hint of trouble and robbery as the Zimbabwe male migrants report that non-nationals are targets of crime such as house break-ins. It is against this background that it is important to interrogate the specific spaces within which South African nationals and Zimbabwean male migrants come into contact. A systematic analysis of the sites of encounters helps us better understand the interface between xenophobia, migrant experiences and the production of particular masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. The specific sites that I am going to be looking at are workplaces, places of residence and recreational places.

6.2.1   Workplaces

Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch report that overt xenophobic exclusion at the work place is marginal. The lack of mobilisation at the workplace is attributed to employers who have adopted a zero tolerance policy towards xenophobic tendencies at work. Says Cultureman, *"zvenoise pagraft murungu ndozvaakaramba manje.*

190

Mungatsemurane henyu kumaraini, but pagraft pake haadi" (employers do not tolerate [xenophobic] violent mobilisations at work. You can fight at home, yes, but not at the workplace). Cultureman says that the employers are not necessarily motivated by their innate good nature, but by the profit motive. Cultureman emphasises this point by observing, *"ko tiri cheap labour ka, mudhara"* (we are cheap labour after all). *"Inhamo munyika yevatorwa"* (it is not easy being a foreigner/living in a foreign country).

Employers in the hospitality industry are particularly singled out for taking advantage of the vulnerability of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants. They are said to exploit them through underpayment, long working hours and engaging their services without work contracts. Casual work arrangements are entered into by the employers and, whilst these are elective, the fact that there is no recourse to the law opens up possibilities for abuse. Kintu (33) has worked as a waiter for four different establishments in Stellenbosch but has never signed a single contract. He has seen fellow Zimbabwean migrants being fired for breaking a wine glass or bad breadth. He says that working as a waitron is fraught with job insecurity and shares his own experience:

> *Basa rangu rekutanga kuchihweta muna2007 ndakashanda for about two weeks pane restaurant yanga ichangovhurwa muno muStellenbosch. Ndotime yaifaya kuchihweta manje iyoyo because matourist aiuya kuStellenbosch zvakaipa. Ipapo but mapepa anga asina kumira mushe futi. Ndakanga ndangonzi tinokupa basic yeR2000. Muna 2007 kutaurira munhu ari kuZimba kuti ndine R2000 munhu aibata denga ka! After two weeks ndakanzwa zvakunzi tipe mapepa, yet ndakanga ndanyatsotaura kwekutanga kuti handina. Ndakabva ndamiswa basa ndobva ndapihwa R35 yetwo weeks dzandakanga ndashanda. R35 mudhara! Ini ndaitogaya kuti ndichapihwa half yemari yandakanga ndapromiswa.* [Laughter] *Ndakagadzirirwa size kani!*

> My first job as a waiter was in 2007 when I worked for a restaurant that had just opened its doors in Stellenbosch. At that time, tourism was booming in Stellenbosch and waitressing was very lucrative. However, my [immigration] papers were not in order as I had overstayed. I had been told that I would be paid a basic salary of R2000. In the Zimbabwean context, R2000 then was a lot of money. After two weeks, I was asked to avail my permit, yet I had made it clear to the managers that I did not have one. I lost my job and was subsequently given R35 as payment for the two weeks that I had worked. Dude, R35! I had thought that they would at least pay me half of the basic salary that they had promised. [Laughter] They got [fixed] me!

191

Kintu illustrates how bad things can be in the waitressing business by asserting, *"muchihweta umu, unogona kutongosvika pagraft mangwana uchinzi shamulaz. Bepa kana contract hapana saka unoita sei? Kutongoti shoes usina kana chawakabata"* (you can report for work one morning, only to be told that your services are no longer needed. You don't have a work contract and your immigration papers are not in order so what do you do? You just leave with no terminal benefits or anything).

Let us revert to Magu (29), who I mentioned in the previous chapter (5.5.1) in connection with illegal entries into South Africa by Zimbabwean male migrants. He has been with his current employer in the construction industry for over a year. He does not have a signed contract of employment, but works on the basis of the "understanding" he has with the employer. Magu says that he has not had a problem with getting paid as he always gets his salary timeously. However, he has a sneaking suspicion that he is paid less than his South African counterparts. Given his experience of entering the country in the cabin of a haulage truck, Magu says he is simply thankful for the "protection" his employer provides him with at work. Notwithstanding the unfair practice of working without a valid employment contract, Magu is contend that he has a job that allows him to live an independent life and help out his sister as and when he can. For Magu, that is precisely why he left Zimbabwe.

Interpersonal relationships between Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals were an interesting topic of discussion during the fieldwork. What emerges from the empirical evidence is that there are tensions around racial and ethnic lines. Waiters like Kintu say that at the workplace they get on well with most of their colleagues, be they white, coloured or black. However, Kintu notices that white and black white colleagues are more eager to learn a bit more about Shona than their black counterparts. According to Kintu, simple sentence like *"gara pasi"* (sit down), *"uri benzi"* (fool), *"wamama"*[51] etc. are como

---

[51] Derived from the Shona word *"kumama"*. Its literal meaning is "to defecate". The term is popularly used to denote tight/uncomfortable/stressful or any other situation that creates discomfort, pain or anxiety. If someone says "wamama", it roughly means that you are in a spot of bother.

among his white and coloured workmates. His black counterparts seem to resent the idea of speaking a few Shona expressions, preferring that he speaks Xhosa. Kintu uses this experience at work to describe black South African nationals as xenophobic and generally set in their ways to the extent that makes it difficult for him to relate to them. White and coloured South Africans are no saints, but at least they are open to basic, functional exchanges of cultural symbols such as basic Shona words.

6.2.1.1 Restaurants as sites of re-masculinisation and exaggerated masculine ideals

Most of my study participants are working in restaurants, bars, hotels, cafes, and fast food outlets. A few of them are employed in fuel service stations as cashiers or petrol attendants. Stellenbosch is reputed to have over 150 restaurants comprising upmarket and downmarket dining restaurants, bistros, coffee shops, cafes and fast food outlets. Zimbabwean male migrants have created a niche in waitressing in restaurants and bars. It is neither coincidental nor surprising that the bulk of the Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch work in the hospitality industry as waiters. As I mentioned in 5.4.2 and 5.4.3, Cape Town and Stellenbosch attract a lot of tourism and the hospitality industry naturally emanates from that fact. There are Zimbabwean male migrants who work on the wine farms as well, but for now, restaurants attract the biggest share of the migrants, especially in Stellenbosch.

I present the restaurant as the symbol of Zimbabwean male migrants' re-masculinisation and as a marker of prestige and status, chauvinism and machismo. The restaurant is the arena within which Zimbabwean male migrants contest Zimbabwean dominant conventions of masculinities/gender. I argue that the restaurant is well-placed for the repositioning of Zimbabwean men and the remaking of their masculine identities. This they do through the cultivation of exaggerated masculine ideals, chauvinistic sexualities and blatant machismo. Pretty much every study participant claims to be building a house in Harare, and having another residential stand elsewhere in the city or in another Zimbabwean city. *"Ndirikuvaka"* (I am building [a house]) or *"ndozodzokera kumba kana ndapedza kuvaka"* (I will go back home once I finish building my house) seems to be a slogan among most Zimbabwean male migrants working in the restaurants of Cape Town and Stellenbosch. There is no way of

193

verifying the various claims made about the "investments" being made back home. The cost of residential stands in urban Zimbabwe and the average wage waitrons earn however, give us an idea of the odds someone relying solely on these wages will have to beat to start building a house. It is not uncommon for migrants to make exaggerated claims, which are typically developed in response to the pressure to account for themselves and meet the social expectations that a migrant should return wealthy and triumphantly.

My empirical data suggests traces of exaggerated masculine cultures and machismo. Xenophobia, or its perceived threat seems to cultivate an exaggerated sense of self-worth, which leads to Zimbabwean male migrants claiming that "South African men are lazy. These restaurants cannot do without us". Some speak derogatively of South Africans saying:

> *"Imboko dzevanhu"* (they [South Africans] are stupid).

> *"Ko isu ndisu titori neyese ka, mudhara"* (we are the clever ones).

> *"Varungu vachitotiona, vanenge vachitoona simbi dzebasa"* (employers rely on us as we are good at our jobs).

But these masculine performances are not limited to South African nationals only. There are also displays of anger directed towards Zimbabwean female migrants they work with as waitrons. Dhivha (36) says Zimbabwean women should "remain home" (Zimbabwe). "*Ndosaka vasina varume mhani"* (that is why they are unmarried). Chenge (28) says *"mvana dziri kubva kuZimbabwe dzawandisa. Mahure ese aya"* (There are too many single mothers comng here from Zimbabwe. They are all prostitutes). It is evident from Chenge'sexpression that he associates the mobility (migration) of Zimbabwean women with either independence or loose morality. Being a single mother is seen as synonymous with being loose. Change unashamedly appropriates the restaurant space as one for males and not single mothers from Zimbabwe.

Sections of Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch contend that reworking their masculine ideals away from home is easy because the "new" identities are

194

not necessarily bound by the conventional notions of gender that are in place back in Zimbabwe. Gudhu been a waiter in Cape Town for more than 5 years and he observes:

> *Kuchihweta uku unenge wakabata tray kunge mukadzi mudhara. Uchisevha maguests zvazviri. Uchimhanya nemagirazi emvura zvinoita anamai vedu kumusha panouya vaenzi but anokuona ndiani?*

> In waitressing, you handle a tray like a woman; serving your guests. You run around with water glasses in the same manner that our mothers do when you have visitors at home, but no one you know sees you [doing it, so it is all good]).

Waitressing is a fairly feminised occupation in Zimbabwe, even though I am not suggesting that jobs in restaurants and other related places are exclusively for women. It remains true in the Zimbabwean popular imagination that service jobs in restaurants and hotels are the domain of women. Historically, men only became waiters in hotels by default. It was primarily because of the colonial enterprise that privileged male labour at the expense of female labour that men ended up doing "housewifery" jobs like waitressing, cooking, cleaning etc., although for a monetary payment. Being removed from Zimbabwe, and not having to wade through Zimbabwean notions of masculinities, Ben feels liberated to construct, deconstruct or reconstruct new masculine ideals. He does not mind running around with water glasses- just like his mum does when they have visitors- for as long as his peers are not there to witness this.

Being away from home allows the Zimbabwean male migrants the freedom to take up any type of job without having to worry about the prestige or status that comes with the job. Prior to coming to South Africa, Fanyana (36) was a policeman in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe. Born and bred in the country's second largest city of Bulawayo, Fanyana says there came a time in 2005 when his police salary was not enough for his rentals. He then decided to resign from the police after a friend in Johannesburg promised him that with his police background, he could easily get a job in the "lucrative" South African private security industry. He came to Johannesburg and a job in the private security sector never materialised. Following the advice of his uncle, he relocated to Cape Town where he started doing casual jobs until he got a job as a fuel attendant and then as a waiter. There are many Zimbabwean

195

male migrants whose experiences are similar to Fanyana's in that they left teaching, army, carpentry etc. jobs in Zimbabwe, but have had to embrace new, deskilling, resource mobilisation strategies such as waitressing and working as gardeners.

Following Arthur Brittan's theorisation that masculinities are an "expression of the current image that men have of themselves in relation to women" (Brittan, 1989:3), we see Zimbabwean male migrants like Ben and Fanyana being able to do "women's work" and low end jobs respectively in Cape Town and Stellenbosch because they are away from the patriarchal gaze of the cultural gatekeepers. They are 'safe' from value judgments and set notions of maleness. The gender parameters in the South African context thus become open to contestation and are contestable, as the pressure to conform to the dominant conventions of gender lessens considerably. Fanyana concedes to struggling with class or status distress, but suggests that such distress is bearable away from the prying eyes of his family and acquaintances in his beloved Bulawayo. Cape Town and Stellenbosch provide the anonymity required for such reinvention and re-presentation.

6.2.1.2 The restaurant and subaltern masculinities

As in all spheres of social life, there are crude and patterned stratifications or differences within the waitron occupation. The type and class of restaurant a Zimbabwean male migrant works for influences how he enacts his manhood, that is, how he relates to women and to fellow Zimbabwean male migrants. This is because the resource mobilisation strategies Zimbabwean male migrants have at their disposal are dependent on the type of establishment they work for. The hourly minimum wage as per the sectorial determination for the hospitality industry in terms of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act is R12.39. However, conditions of service are highly differentiated across restaurants. Some pay a fixed weekly or a monthly basic pay. Over and above the hourly minimum rate, others pay a commission based on the waiters' monthly turnover. Yet other restaurants do not pay a basic pay, in which case waitrons rely on gratuities from customers. Big establishments are often attractive, not because of higher pay, but for the opportunities they provide for pilfering things like wine, meat or cutlery.

196

Exclusive restaurants (subjectively defined by the Zimbabwean male migrants based on clientele and price) are thought to be classier than "cheap" ones. There is greater prestige and status that comes with being employed in the "classy" restaurants. Dining restaurants are the preferred choice for employment because they generally pay better than the others. They are also patronised by foreign tourists who reportedly pay handsome gratuities. A Zimbabwean male migrant working for an upmarket restaurant brags to fellow Zimbabwean male migrants working in less fashionable coffee or take-away shops for example[52]. These seemingly mundane issues are critical in the formation of inequitable masculinities among the migrants themselves and South African men.

The restaurant is an arena of contestation as Zimbabwean males fashion provider masculinities in opposition to their South African counterparts who they ridicule for their perceived poor command of spoken English. Kintu almost derives absolute pleasure from the fact that the black South Africans he works with struggle with spoken English. He says, *"chirungu vanochigona? Chinovhuniwa zvekuti unosvoda iwe! Vanhu vanoti "borrow me your pen"* [Laughter] (They have very poor command of English. The frequent lapses in grammar are embarrassing! They say "borrow me your pen" [instead of "lend me your pen" [laughter].

Another common claim is that black South Africans working in restaurants prefer to work in the kitchens because they are afraid of white people. According to Kintu, *"vanokwata mavheti zvekunge achatozviitira weti"* (they are so afraid of white people to the point of almost peeing in their pants). Fear and fearlessness are used by Zimbabwean male migrants to project themselves as better at the job and as "better men". Are black South Africans really "afraid" of white people? It is probably fair to suggest that relations between white and black people

---

[52] The bragging is based on numerous factors like the gratuities the migrants earn, the training they receive, the salaries they earn, the perceived class of clientele they serve, including the social standing of the restaurant proprietor(s). The more prominent the owner(s), the more the restaurant is thought to be prestigious.

are burdened by the country's history of coloniality and apartheid. It may very well be fear, but it could also be some residue of mistrust and suspicion based on a scarred past.

I mention the foregoing subtle workplace politics as it is my contention that it is around these practices and issues that some of the friction between Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals is either triggered or entrenched. For example, it is difficult to tell whether the tension between a South African national and a Zimbabwean male migrant working in the same restaurant as waiters is located in the former's aversion of the latter, or the competition for customers, gratuities, or both. Restaurants are therefore critical points of analysis, not only as places of encounters between the migrants and South African nationals, but as melting pots of othering and masculinities of status competition and bravado among peers. In many ways, restaurants are simultaneously sites of accumulation and struggle at the same time as migrants jostle with nationals, managers and supervisors for profitable shifts to maximise on the potential income from gratuities.

Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch report that they are constantly building and rebuilding informal workplace relationships with fellow Zimbabwean men on the basis of shared masculine interests and common values. The motivation for the production of these informal connections is twofold; to identify with other Zimbabwean men while simultaneously distinguishing themselves from other groups of migrant men and women. The empirical data show that Zimbabwean male migrants in Stellenbosch are organised into numerous informal groups or associations both at work and their areas of residence. These relate to money-lending groups, quasi-burial societies and church-affiliated social groups. These informal networks are structured on the basis of nationality as part of the migrants' attempts to express a masculinity of status competition and bravado in opposition to their South African counterparts. Their informal currency focuses on the vicissitudes of migrancy, real and imagined threats of xenophobic exclusion, South African women, informal money lending networks, sex, and drinking alcohol. Money lending networks and alcohol

198

consumption are major rallying points where every month these men take turns to give each other a set amount of money[53].

In 5.5.1, we met Chartwell (28) commenting on illegal entries into South Africa drives a small second hand car that he bought a year ago. It is not a fancy car, but one that has a good engine and serves its purpose of taking him wherever he wants to go within Stellenbosch and its environs. Occasionally, he uses the car to take people to or from the airport for a fee. Chartwell says he bought the car for R12 000 after receiving R10 500 from his "money club". The club has seven participating members. Each month members pay R1 500 which is then given to the one whose turn it is to receive the money. Chartwell says that this is how many in his club have been able to purchase "big things" like flat screen TVs, refrigerators, cars and sometimes expensive medication for family back home. Non-Zimbabweans are not part of Chartwell's club and many such in Stellenbosch, apparently because of trust issues. Zimbabwean male migrants do not believe that these social arrangements should be entered into with non-Zimbabweans for fear that they may not honour their financial obligations when their turn to pay comes.

The contestation in the workplace speaks to a crude form of subaltern masculinities. In critical theory and post-colonialism, subaltern is the social group, which socially, politically and geographically, falls outside of the hegemonic power structure of the colony and of the colonial metropole (Mbembe, 1992; Prakash, 1994; Spivak, 2003). I use the word subaltern loosely and as it derives from Antonio Gramsci's theorisation of cultural hegemony. Gramsci (1971) identifies the subaltern as social groups who are excluded from a society's established structures for political representation, the means by which human subjects have a voice in their society. Most migrants in many parts of the world fall into the group Gramsci describes because of the precarious nature of their existence.

---

[53] The minimum amount I have heard mentioned is R3000 and the maximum is R5000. The bigger the number of members the lower the amount contributed and vice versa. On average, the lending group comprises about 8 members.

Zimbabwean male migrants in Kayamandi point out that housing is a contentious issue as they are accused of creating a demand for housing, which has seen the rentals go up. In asserting their claims of belonging, the nationals are sometimes antagonistic. This is also evident in the work of Nyamnjoh (2006), which shows the manner in which contestations over resources in post-apartheid South Africa often lead to xenophobic violence. The violence may not necessarily get rid of the unwanted foreigner, but it demarcates hierarchy and hegemony where the migrants are reminded of their place on the margins of the economy. Being on the margins of the economy also relegates male migrants to the periphery as men.

6.2.2   Alternative masculinities? Construction, transport and security jobs

Some of the study participants work as drivers of private taxis that ply the Table Mountain-City Centre route and some are in the construction industry in various capacities, mostly as painters, welders, bricklayers and general hands. Most of these informants are reasonably skilled in their areas of expertise and many of them have requisite qualifications obtained in Zimbabwe. A few others acquired their skills through on-job training or experience. Shedza (42) is a welder who works for a glass fitting company in Stellenbosch. He came to Stellenbosch with no prior knowledge of welding but acquired the skill through the experience of fitting steel window frames in houses and apartments in and around the town.

Shedza is very proud that he has never been a "tea boy" (waiter), *"zvakaita maZimba akawanda"* (like most Zimbabweans did). In his words, *"chi tea-boy ndochaiitiswa vana sekuru vedu nevarungu saka hatingauye kuno kuzoita izvozvo. But zvinoraramisa hazvo"* (domestic service/waiting on tables is what our forefathers used to do for white people and we cannot possibly come to do the same here. However, people are making a living out of it). Shedza's sentiments echo those of a number of Zimbabwean male migrants who work outside the hospitality sector. Most attach true manliness to the type of job one does, even away from home. They concede that during the peak season (summer), waitrons make reasonable income, but they still regard it as a feminine job and a low-level one for that matter. Farai (30) is a taxi operator in Cape Town and remarks;

> *Kana machinda echihweta achizviti matop shata, sei pavanoenda kumba munaDcember havatuare kuti mawaiter? Vese vanongoti tiri ana makanika. Zvega zvinobva zvangokutaurira kuti chibasa chacho hazvisi.*

> If waitressing is such a noble job, why is it that when they go home in December [for the Christmas break] they never tell people that they work as waiters? Instead, they all claim to be mechanics. That tells you that it's a low end job.

Zimbabwean male migrants who drive taxis pretty much work alone and have little of workplace stories to tell. Their contact with South African nationals in the work context is when they drive them around as tourists or visitors. Most of them speak Xhosa and can comfortably conduct a business transaction in the language. The few who cannot speak Xhosa speak of the visible surprise on the faces of black South Africans when they come across a black taxi driver who cannot converse in the vernacular, but that has never significantly impacted on business.

Zimbabwean male migrants in the construction sector report a lot of workplace contact with South African nationals. As with their hospitality counterparts, their employers have come hard on any attempts by South African nationals to mobilise against non-nationals at work. However, subtle contestations take place at sites. Kacha (30) who works as supervisor at a construction company reports of how his South African workmates regularly question his decisions just because he is a foreign national. Tea and lunch breaks are often a source of irritation for him because of talk among South Africans that disparages non-nationals. Kacha says before he could speak in Xhosa, none of his workmates socialised with him even though most could speak English. He is now proficient in Xhosa and the level of interaction at work has improved greatly but the conversations are still tinged with a xenophobic feel with talk of when Kacha will go back home and why "foreigners continue to bride officials to be here". Kacha says he has no fears that he will be attacked at work because of the protection he is afforded by the employer. He however insists that his South African workmates lack relatable and adaptable masculinities that allow social interaction beyond the confines of work. Kacha locates this in xenophobic exclusion.

6.2.3   Skilled migrants

The study finds that Zimbabwean male migrants in highly paying jobs in the media, engineering and information technology sectors in Cape Town also have stories to tell about their experience of prejudice. This comes out in the narratives of Zimbabwean male migrants who live in the relatively affluent suburb of Rondebosch in Cape Town, but still speak of a chasm that they feel exists between themselves and black South Africans at their work places. It is important to have the perspective of migrants in middle or high income jobs primarily because there is a gap in literature in terms of how this category of migrants confront or are confronted with xenophobia in contemporary South Africa. It is customary that migration and xenophobia studies focus typically on migrants working on the margins of the economy or living in townships and informal settlements. There are very few studies that address the lived experiences of elite migrants. My conversations with Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch brought out a number of issues facing middle to high income migrants. The most common themes to come out of the migrants' narratives were unjustifiable differences in pay between people doing the same kind of work or of comparable experience/qualification, hostility at the workplace and racism. Some migrants attributed this to xenophobia and others to outright racism.

Debela is a qualified teacher with an Honours degree and a Graduate Certificate of Education (GCE) from the University of Zimbabwe. Before migrating to South Africa in 2003, he had taught for seven years at a school in Harare. When he got to Stellenbosch, he tried to get a teaching job but failed to do so because of his incompetence in Afrikaans. After completing a post-graduate certificate course at Stellenbosch University and following numerous stints as waiter and barman, he eventually got a teaching job at a private school in Cape Town. Debela says the money was good and conditions of service seemed fair. That was until he accidentally came across the payroll and discovered what he calls "anomalies" in the payment system. Debela realised that co-workers who had less experience than him were earning almost twice as much as him. When he sought redress with the school authorities, they kept promising to "look into the matter" but nothing was ever done until he resigned out of frustration. Debela accuses the school of being discriminatory on the basis of race and

202

nationality because he claims that people who were junior to him but were white earned more than he did.

Simba (38) has a senior editorial position in a media company. He points out that the organisation he works for has a mix of black, coloured, and white in its workforce. Among the personnel are non-nationals working as technicians, online editors, sub-editors and reporters. Simba says that he generally relates well with most staff members, even though it worries him that staff members invariably break into groups along racial, national, and ethnic lines whenever there are editorial team outings or brown bag lunches. It was at one such lunch that Simba was told by a black South African senior male staffer that it is tough for a Xhosa man to have lunch with uncircumcised men because it feels like men hanging out with boys. Simba says that the statement was said in jest but he has no doubt that the man meant what he said because of his well-documented habit of making snide remarks about non-nationals and women. Simba recalls another incident in which the same staffer described a Kenyan female member of staff as "too dark" and "needing a lot of South African lotion to be recognisable".

6.2.3.1 Tendentious jokes, xenophobia and violence

Sigmund Freud interrogates the relationship between humour and offensive topics as part of his project on psychoanalysis. To this end, he makes a distinction between tendentious and non-tendentious humour (Freud, 2003). Tendentious humour involves a victim, that is, someone at whose expense the audience laughs. Non-tendentious humour on the other hand, does not have a victim, which is why it is sometimes referred to as innocuous humour (Smyth, 1986). I find Freud's analysis of humour as an avenue to the unconscious fascinating. This aspect of Freud's theorisation fits into a perfect conversation with my wider anthropological project of xenophobia, migrant experiences and masculinities. In 5.7, we met Kevhi who works as a media practitioner in Cape Town. Kevhi has a South African colleague who regularly infantilises him for being "uncircumcised". Kevhi says that his colleague couches his disparaging remarks about non-nationals in jokes. He frequently tactfully uses humour or jokes to express his deeply held convictions. Since humour is a socially acceptable

way of disclosing issues people normally have difficulties revealing, it provides insight into the unconscious.

Kevhi reports that his workmate uses tendentious jokes to infantilise uncircumcised (read foreign) men and ridicule dark (foreign) women. Joking that "I will not sit next to a boy" or "Zimbabwean women are so shabby, I wonder what their armpits look like" is not coincidental and neither is it random. According to Freud (2003), they specifically give voice to the socially unacceptable wish. Freud argues that tendentious jokes often reflect the fears and inadequacies of the one making the joke. I argue that we see in the jokes from Kevhi's work colleague traces of xenophobia and bigotry. It is common to find comedians, and people in general, using tendentious jokes to express the views people have about ethnicity, religion, sexuality, race, and politics. This shows how derogatory jokes are sometimes told with a conscious intention to humiliate or denigrate. Despite many appeals to this work colleague to stop his "jokes", the man has not stopped and has said that anyone who has a problem with his jokes "should go to the border nearest to them and go back to where they are from".

So pervasive is the practice of using jokes to express bigotry and many other forms of intolerance that we may need to be educated on the broad consequences of such practices by the least likely of sources: one of the leading managers in club football. Arsenal Football Club's manager, Arsene Wenger, recently took time to reflect on an understated dimension of sporting masculinities- homophobia in football. In a perceptive expose one would not ordinarily expect to see in the sports pages, Wenger told the club's official website that;

> Accepted disrespectful jokes can lead to racism. If you read some documents, it starts with jokes, then goes to acceptance and after it becomes real and after that it becomes violent.

His comments on homophobia and football would sit well with rights campaigners as they would in the academy. Wenger makes insightful links between the normalisation of prejudice and violence. Discourses of *amakwerekwere* normalise migrants as "babblers" or "aliens" and what follows this process of normalisation is ostracism (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Matsinhe, 2011). We see this in the threats by sections of the South African population to the

migrants that they should go back "home" or die here (Hassim et al., 2008). To suggest that non-nationals should go "home" indicates a denial of "home" in South Africa. This notion of "home" privileges autochthony and indigeneity as the determinants of belonging and, by extension, access to resources and services. Any categories of people falling out of thoseous groupsIt starts with a joke that denies the migrant "proper" agency (babbler) and the joke soon translates into violence in similar ways to Wenger's observations.

6.2.3.2 Status and troubled masculinities

The skilled informants in high paying jobs confess that their status usually means they have little informal interaction with fellow workers. They have collegial associations with fellow senior workers even though there is hardly any affiliation outside the work setting. For this reason, Simba (40) says that open disparaging remarks about his or non-nationals' physical appearance, or where they come from, are uncommon. He works in the medical field and says he has not had to deal with a case of open hostility towards him from work colleagues or their clients. But he has always suspected that such pejorative statements about non-nationals are made behind the scenes given how "cold the people here generally are". Simba goes on to say, "I find them to be generally incapable of durable, emotional or empathetic relationships with foreigners. Only when there is something they want from you do they pretend to like you".

Bhebhe (44) is a chemical engineer working for a large firm in Cape Town. He says that the most common form of resentment he has detected in his workplace is when subordinates engage in subtle or passive resistance to his instructions or directives. He states that there are times when he has felt conflicted. This is particularly the case when he tries to balance the responsibilities that come with his senior position and the need to reassure fellow workers that he is part of a team that has the simple objective of making a success of the company. Bhebhe may not shy away from discharging his duties, including calling people to order, but he still reports the discomfort that comes as a result of dealing with seemingly resentful subordinates. His biggest fear is that his subordinates will organise an attack on him disguised as an attempted robbery. He knows of a Zimbabwean colleague who was attacked

205

in this manner outside Parow Centre just outside of Bellville. Police investigations showed that the attack was orchestrated by a disgruntled subordinate at work.

6.3   Places of residence as sites of struggle

In the following sections, I provide some background information about the various residential areas of the respondents. I specifically describe Nyanga in Cape Town and Kayamandi in Stellenbosch because the majority of the study participants reside there.

6.3.1   Nyanga

Nyanga Township is located about 26 kilometres from Cape Town along the N2 highway. It is close to the townships of Gugulethu and Crossroads. Established in 1946, its name in Xhosa means 'moon'. Xhosa is also the most commonly spoken language in the township. Nyanga's formation can be traced back to the evolution of the South African black migrant labour system. In the early fifties, black migrants were forced to settle in Nyanga as Langa, a township designated for Black Africans before the apartheid era, became too small to accommodate all black migrants. Census data and police crime statistics show that Nyanga is one of the poorest and most dangerous parts of Cape Town. The township is known as the murder capital of South Africa because of the high murder statistics from the settlement. According to the crime statistics for the 2012/13 financial year released by the SAPs in September 2013, 262 people were murdered in Nyanga Township. According to the same report, screwdrivers, knives, *pangas,* and scissors are just some of the weapons police confiscate from the township on an almost daily basis. Unemployment (estimated to be around 70%) and a high prevalence of HIV and AIDS (28.1%) are enormous concerns in Nyanga.

According to the South African 2011 census data, the racial make-up of Nyanga is as follows:

Race	%
Black African	98.8
Coloured	0.3
Indian/Asian	0.1
White	0.2
Other	0.7

6.3.2   Kayamandi

Kayamandi is a township in Stellenbosch. Kayamandi is a *Xhosa* word for "pleasurable home". In the context of migrant integration in South Africa in recent years, its meaning could not have been more ironic. Kayamandi was established in the early 1950s as an offshoot of apartheid's segregationist project. In 1966, the 9 principal employers in the Stellenbosch district, among them the University, the city administration, several vineyards and a fruit packing company, combined to build 38 ready-made-homes (hostels) to house black migrant male labourers. Today, the township comprises the original hostels, formal and informal houses, including shacks. The principal language spoken in the township is Xhosa.

According to the South African 2011 census data, the racial make-up of Kayamandi is as follows:

Race	%
Black African	94.6
Coloured	4.7
Indian/Asian	0.1
White	0.2
Other	0.5

Kayamandi is a hugely popular and important site of encounter between South African nationals and Zimbabwean migrants. Many Zimbabwean nationals live in the township because of its comparatively cheaper accommodation compared with central Stellenbosch, Idas Valley and Cloetesville. The migrants' living arrangements vary depending on their personal circumstances. Single men rent single rooms whilst married ones often rent full houses or a couple of rooms, depending on their needs and the ability to pay. 53 percent of my informants in Kayamandi rent full houses, 26 percent a room or two, and 21 percent were not at liberty to disclose the nature of their living arrangements. Where the informants rent full houses, the landlords have either vacated the premises completely or just the main house and built themselves informal houses or shacks within the premises.

6.3.2.1 Kayamandi, Nyanga and the construction of xenophobic discourses

Kayamandi and Nyanga are places of regular encounters between Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals. The two groups encounter each other in various capacities as landlords, neighbours, workmates, and as complete strangers on the streets and in mini buses. The power relations within these spaces require migrants to have a working knowledge of

Xhosa. Speaking and understanding Xhosa is mentioned as key to inserting oneself in the neighbourhoods of Kayamandi and Nyanga. My informants state that speaking the language does not lessen the feelings of resentment the nationals have towards non-nationals. It simply makes for improved communication between the two groups. It also ensures that Zimbabwe male migrants are less conspicuous and do not attract needless attention to themselves through speaking a different language.

Can one conclude from the foregoing that it is just the black South Africans who exhibit xenophobic tendencies? This would be an incorrect assessment primarily because it reduces the scope of xenophobia to physical attacks. Studies of the phenomenon suggest that most South Africans have a negative sentiment towards non-nationals (Crush, 2008; Robins, 2009; Hopstock & de Jager, 2011). However, different racial groups seem to respond to their presence in dissimilar ways. The majority of documented xenophobic attacks have certainly been instigated and carried out by black South Africans. Their main targets for attack have been black African immigrants (Gqola, 2008; Landau, 2008a; Bekker, 2010; Crush, 2011). The pattern seems to be that a protest against poor service delivery evolves into an attack against foreign nationals. Zimbabwean male migrants who live in central Stellenbosch do so for many reasons. Some do it as part of status competition among male peers, but most cite safety as the primary reason for so doing. They designate the area as essentially "white" space (dominated by white people in economic and demographic terms). Black South Africans in Stellenbosch are constructed as being fearful, distrustful or suspicious of venturing into white spaces and for that reason, the area is safe from potential xenophobic attacks. This seemingly racialised response is yet to be studied systematically in a way that sheds light on its dynamics beyond the negrophobia thesis discussed in chapter 2.

Kayamandi and Nyanga's significance in the construction of xenophobia and masculine identities is better understood when one considers that estimates put the population of the townships at 30 000 and 58 000 respectively. These are mostly Xhosa speaking residents. Demographically, both townships are estimated to average an annual growth rate of 10% (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The growth in population is, however, not matched with a concomitant expansion in the spatial area of the townships. In Kayamandi for example, 30

000 residents live on an area of just over 1 square kilometre (Statistics South Africa, 2012). This probably explains why informal settlements and informal houses are a big feature of the landscapes of both Kayamandi and Nyanga. Housing is therefore a key resource, which explains why access to housing is often a trigger for xenophobic sentiments and even attacks (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009; Crush, 2008, 2011).

Participants of the study confirm that there exist deep economic and social problems in Kayamandi and Nyanga. Housing and unemployment are the most noticeable challenges they refer to, even though they also point to other issues such as crime, alcoholism, drug abuse, and a high incidence of single female parent households. It is within these sites of encounters-sites marked by intense jockeying for limited resources- that Zimbabwean male migrants seek to embed themselves. Invariably, they put themselves in direct competition with South African nationals and other migrants for the scarce resources such as housing and jobs. Research shows that they also compete with South African men for women (Gqola, 2008). It comes as little surprise therefore that young black South African men are routinely described in extreme terms as *"vapfanha vengunzi"* (muggers) or *"vanowachisa"* (they try to fix you out of jealousy). This characterisation says a lot about the non-hegemonic masculinities Zimbabwean male migrants occupy.

6.4   Self-enclaving as maleness and the re-ordering of space

There is an overwhelming sense that white spaces are relatively safe from potential physical attacks, but that they do not cater for the recreational needs of the Zimbabwean male migrants along with other black people. According to most of the study participants, there is not a single nightclub in central Stellenbosch that caters for their musical needs as black males. One has to go to Kayamandi to find such a place. However, those who live in Kayamandi claim to be no better off as fear drives them to tactically disengage from the circuits of entertainment in the township. This speaks to migrants' ability to deploy the strategy of tactical cosmopolitanism discussed in 5.3.3. Zimbabwean male migrants who reside in Kayamandi affirm that their movements in the township are self-restricted due to the real threat of physical or verbal abuse. This requires that migrants carve out their own recreational spaces.

For the men in Nyanga, "get togethers" are popular and useful ways of bringing together family, friends and acquaintances for drinks and *braais.* In Stellenbosch, the men find solace in the football that they play every Sunday against fellow Zimbabwean migrants in Paarl, Somerset West, Strand and Bellville.

6.4.1   Get togethers in Nyanga

Once every month, a few of my informants in Nyanga meet for what in South African parlance is called a *braai.* For these Zimbabwean men, it is a "get together". The initiative was started by male migrants who are members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The idea then was to have rotational meetings at members' houses, where scriptures would be shared alongside information about job opportunities, what to invest in back home, parenting, and preparations for big church festivals. The monthly meetings were a huge success until other Zimbabweans who were not Adventists requested to participate as "neutrals".

Jim (36) is the man behind the get togethers and says his experience in Cape Town motivated the idea behind the initiative. Jim says that most Zimbabwean migrants in his church work as waitrons. He has worked as a waiter before. He recounts the four years he worked as a waiter and states that there were times when he would go for 2 or 3 days without seeing his kids. He would find them asleep when he came back from an evening shift. He would leave home early in the morning when the kids were asleep and come back late at night when they were already in bed. His main concern was the amount of time his kids were spending without parental supervision since his wife also worked as a waitress in Sea Point. He confesses that he worried that his kids would forsake the Adventist way of life he so much wanted them to follow. That is when he mooted the idea of weekly family gatherings to reinforce the Adventist way of life amongst the children.

Jim says he tried to rope in his South African neighbours who were not Adventists for weekend *braais* but the idea was not well received. One of the neighbours is said to have stated that he had "enough South African friends and did not need any from Harari" (sic). It was then that Jim sold his idea to fellow Zimbabwean migrants at church. So started their

weekly gatherings but work commitments meant that attendance was erratic. They then changed the meetings to monthly ones with a reasonable degree of success. It was at that point that other Zimbabwean migrants who were not Adventists sought to join. There was a lot of resistance to the incorporation of non-Adventists for fears that they would not abide by the Adventist doctrine. Eventually, the agreement was that non-Adventists would join for as long as they did not insist on beer and popular music.

From the time non-Adventists were incorporated, the meetings have ceased to be exclusively male gatherings. They are very much family-orientated gatherings where couples contribute towards food and drinks for the monthly meetings. The meetings retain a strong Christian feel in that scriptures are read and there is a lot of moral teaching around fatherhood, drugs, teenage pregnancies and how to carry oneself as a Zimbabwean Adventist. The meetings are hosted on a rotational basis, but no one is forced to host the meeting. Jim feels that the meetings create a platform for Zimbabwean male migrants to affirm their key responsibility of fatherhood and other issues that are critical to them as men such as employment, investments and spirituality.

6.4.2 *Kufudza mbada:*[54] **football and masculinities in Stellenbosch**

This part of the thesis shows how football is used by Zimbabwean male migrants in Stellenbosch to negotiate space, rights and entitlements in an environment they construct as inhospitable. In the following sections, I argue that football is not merely a form of recreation, but also a medium through which Zimbabwean male migrants express, negotiate and assert compensatory and aspirational masculinities.

Kanyire excitedly left Zimbabwe in February 2007 at the age of 21. In the company of his younger sister, his first port of call (and taste of life in South Africa) was Johannesburg where

---

[54] Herding/shepherding a leopard. Ordinarily, one hardly shepherds a leopard, but Kanyire uses this metaphor to express the challenges transnational migrancy often triggers.

his mother lived. Kanyire's excitement at coming to South Africa was twofold. First, it meant that he would be reunited with his mother he had not seen for five years. Second, there was the huge sense of relief at leaving behind biting economic hardships in Zimbabwe. His dream of a durable familial reunion suffered a stillbirth though, as his mother shared lodgings with 6 other Zimbabwean women in Braamfontein. His mother made arrangements for him to stay with a relative in Pretoria whilst he 'sorted himself out'. Kanyire quickly learned that sorting himself out entailed getting a job and regularising his stay in South Africa. Both enterprises turned out to be seminal experiences and lessons in the exigencies of migration. Following numerous inauspicious stints in menial work in Johannesburg and Pretoria, Kanyire relocated to Stellenbosch in March 2008 at the invitation of his Zimbabwean friend who worked and lived there. His first job in Stellenbosch was as a waiter and he was sharing a single room with his friend in Kayamandi.

Today, Kanyire's fortunes have changed. He works for a Somerset West-based IT company as a technician and moonlights as an event organiser. Following a couple of unsavoury incidents, which he claims left him with a deep fear of being physically attacked for his quality as a non-national, he moved from Kayamandi to live central Stellenbosch. Kanyire maintains that he has had a whole spectrum of experiences ranging from frustration, anger, happiness, sorrow, hostility, fear to conviviality. He likens migrancy in South Africa to tending a leopard. He says, *"kufudza mbada, wangu"* (it is like shepherding a leopard, my brother*).* This is a very interesting use of the hunting/shepherding metaphor. According to Kanyire, when you elect to tend a leopard, it is scary, unpredictable, risky and exciting at the same time because it is an adrenaline-driven exercise. You just have to know how to keep your distance.

The one constant in Kanyire's life as a Zimbabwean migrant in Stellenbosch has been his unbending attachment to the football he plays every Sunday at the Stellenbosch University grounds with fellow Zimbabwean male migrants. Every Sunday, he looks forward to playing

money games[55]. Money games are a common urban pastime in Zimbabwe, especially in the townships, where male professional and amateur football players organise one-off winner-takes-all challenge matches. It is this pastime that Kanyire and his colleagues have been reproducing in Stellenbosch, partly for the love of the game and, partly, in response to wandering habits of the leopard.

In the Zimbabwean context, money games have a reputation for being brutal, hypercompetitive, and a platform for the expression of machismo. They are typically tribal[56]. They carry with them numerous symbolisms in that they transcend the modest monetary spoils, but confer bragging rights to the victors. They speak not only to sporting masculinities, but have broader ramifications in marking out masculine relations of hierarchy and hegemony. The nature of competitive sport is such that these relations are transitory. You win today, you are heroes; you lose the next match and you are zeroes. With the foregoing in mind, I maintain that the money games Kanyire participates in are more than just football. It is not a mere gathering of Zimbabwean male migrants having a casual kick about on a Sunday afternoon. Underneath the immediate pleasure of playing and winning are undercurrents of very specific masculinities textured by the migrants' experience of migration in Stellenbosch.

I use these migrant experiences to show how football is used by sections of Zimbabwean male migrants in Stellenbosch to negotiate space, rights and entitlements in an environment they construct as generally inhospitable to non-nationals. On the back of conversations with these migrants, I conclude that beyond the physical exertion of playing, and the modest economic gain that comes from winning, is a platform the game affords the migrants to express, negotiate and assert compensatory and aspirational masculinities. Such a supposition corroborates Connell's (1995) theorisation that enactments of manhood is situational and is

---

[55] On average, each player contributes R20 per every game.

[56] I use the word 'tribal' to denote the 'them' and ''us' division that underlies the competitive nature of football contests. More so, money games that are characteristically organised along residential areas or sections of them.

214

neither programmed in genes, nor fixed by social structure prior to social interaction. Instead, such enactments evolve as social actors interact on the basis of the resources and strategies that they have at their disposal.

I argue that Loren Landau and Iriaan Freemantle's notion of "tactical cosmopolitanism", discussed in 5.3.3, is also a useful lens through which we can engage with the link between xenophobia, football, Zimbabwean male migrants' insertion into Stellenbosch and the production of compensatory and aspirational masculinities. For Landau and Freemantle (2010), tactical cosmopolitanism relates to the problematic of migrant insertion into conflictual environments. On the basis of their work that explores the experiences of black African migrants in Johannesburg, Landau and Freemantle reflect on the notion of "self-government", whereby migrants strategically immerse themselves into their host communities while retaining the ability to disengage from them with minimum difficulties. Tactical cosmopolitanism therefore entails migrants' "partial inclusion in South Africa's ever evolving society without being bounded by it" (Landau & Freemantle, 2010:375).

I look at football as one among many ways through which anthropologists can engage with the numerous and complex facets of migrant insertion in Stellenbosch. It also speaks to the sites and tensions of encounter(s) between Zimbabwean migrants and South African nationals. I contend that a seemingly innocuous endeavour such as playing football is laden with imageries and narratives of inclusion and exclusion. It mirrors some of the challenges that Zimbabwean male migrants confront in their efforts to integrate in Stellenbosch. Looking at the team composition and its playing circuits suggests the existence of constantly shifting, contradictory and often competing socio-spatial separations between the Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals. But how does this square with Landau's observation that in the contemporary South African context, migrants have become a group that is virtually impossible to spatially exclude? If migrants cannot be spatially excluded, can they in turn exclude South African nationals spatially?

The team's composition and its playing circuits speak to the production of enclaved spaces that the Zimbabwean male migrants inhabit as part of their efforts to establish a foothold in

215

Stellenbosch. The perceived threat of xenophobia cultivates a loose structural coherence among the migrants. Real and imagined threats of xenophobic exclusion places them in subordinate positions relative to SA men (and women). The challenges connected to their failure to assert hegemonic masculinities feeds this structural coherence, which in turn allows for the enactment of compensatory masculinities. The football space provides the platform for counter-hegemonic masculinities that are meant to address this sense of exclusion.

6.4.3 Football and "liberated" and "liberating" spaces

Writing about the genesis of the football team evokes memories of Foucault's (1971; 1981) compelling deduction that history or its representations are, at best, truth claims that reflect specific fields of power relations. The history and trajectory of the football team is intertwined with the migrants' experiences of migration. Following Foucault, we know that history is not absolute because its representation shifts in accordance with particular arenas of power relations. I keep this in mind in recounting the team's history.

The history of the football team has two narratives. The two are not mutually exclusive, but diverge on certain key points. The first narrative is by those who formed the team. This version has it that the team was formed out of the initiative of three Zimbabwean male migrants. The three "founding fathers" were highly qualified professionals who were employed in the media, engineering and agricultural sectors in Stellenbosch and Cape Town. Adhez is one of those founding fathers. He is 36 and still lives in Stellenbosch. The other two left for Canada and Australia. According to Adhez, the team was formed in 2008 to provide a platform for the exchange of ideas, news and information among Zimbabwean migrants living in Stellenbosch. In essence, the team was open to everyone and was not exclusively for men. Nor was the motivation to play money games. It had been envisaged that families, spouses, kids, friends, and acquaintances would all be part of the fun during weekends, particularly on Saturdays.

The biggest response to the calls to join the team initially came from male students at Stellenbosch University. Chamu and Taonerera were 1st year students at the time. Chamu is

now employed in Cape Town and Taonerera is a postdoc fellow outside of Stellenbosch, but both still live in the town. Chamu says at the time, he found the idea of playing football with fellow Zimbabwean migrants very attractive. Not only were the games a welcome distraction from the routine of campus life; they also appealed to him as a young black man who felt disenfranchised from a lot of the student fraternities in the university. Chamu says that most of the fraternities catered primarily for white male students. For Taonerera, playing social football conjured memories of a favourite pastime back home, something he grew up with as a young man in the townships of Harare. He found in the games opportunities to reproduce this Zimbabwean practice; to present and re-present himself as a migrant male subject with agency in Stellenbosch.

The second narrative is by current team members who I distinguish from the founding fathers by the fact that they joined rather than formed the team. The majority of the current team lives in Kayamandi and I conveniently refer to them as "Kayamandistas". Notwithstanding the different experiences of migration each of them has had, their views generally converge in their portrayal of their team as an outlet for self-expression as Zimbabwean men without having to worry about being judged, ridiculed or attacked. In the words of Ludza, *"zvinongonakidzawo kuenda somewhere kwausinganzi mukwirikwiri"* (it is great to go somewhere without having to worry about being called *makwerekwere*). The Kayamandistas maintain that the football team gives them the platform to unwind and reconnect with masculine traditions back home. This they do through playing and, in places, drinking alcohol. In this enclaved space, they are free to express themselves however they see fit. Among other things, they:

- Converse mostly in Shona, thereby creating a "mini-Zimbabwe".
- They use popular Shona swear/offensive words.
- They sexualise women, especially Zimbabwean and South African ones.
- They stereotype black South African men as lazy, drunkards and uneducated.
- They construct white South Africans as generally racist. They contrast them with white Zimbabweans who they say are relatable and friendly.
- They have lewd and sexist jokes.

- They engage in animated discussions about the evolving political situation back home, especially during the build up to the May 2013 general elections.

- In places, there are physical fights among team members triggered by a bad tackle, foul, poor officiating or language considered as disrespectful or offensive.

- They bet on the English Premier League and UEFA Champions League matches.

- They show off to one another the latest gadgets or clothes that they will have purchased. These include smartphones, ipads, cars, sneakers, sweaters etc.

"Pano takasununguka" (here we are free), says Kanyire who contrasts this particular recreational space with the lived realities in Kayamandi where often migrants have to practise self-censorship and self-exclusion in order not to attract attention to themselves. To emphasise how the football space is considered as liberated and liberating, Kanyire jokingly says*"chero Mayor veStellenbosch chaivo vakauya kuno tinovagwadamisa"* (even if the Mayor of Stellenbosch comes, in this space he will defer to us).

6.4.3.1 *Mvana*[57] and the place and location of women in the team

The place and location of Zimbabwean women and, to an extent, children in the current team is ambiguous. The rhetoric from most members is that any Zimbabwean is welcome to come and watch the team play. However, given that the language spoken and the mannerisms are very macho, it is clear that the space is very much a male playground. In fact, it is a Kayamandista male playground. Even as I carried out my fieldwork, I felt that I was constructed as an outsider, notwithstanding the fact that I can speak Shona fluently and am also very good at the art of football. Perhaps it comes as little surprise that Cultureman openly says *"kuno ndekwemvana"* (this space is for single mothers only). The statement is pregnant with meaning. *Mvana* (single mothers) are considered to be morally loose and can therefore fit into this particular environment of insults, offensive jokes etc. as the men's

---

[57] This space is for single mothers only.

pleasure objects/toys. It is a statement that shows how disrespectful or hostile to women some of the team members are.

Women and children are therefore generally absent from this space. Occasionally, some team members bring a girlfriend along, which often attracts a bit of banter or a few eyebrows. On the face of it, the football space seems to have become even more enclaved than it was when the team was formed. It is paradoxical that in attempting to escape what they claim to be the exclusionary recreational milieu of Stellenbosch, the team members have effectively demarcated the footballing space as exclusively male. Women can only enter this space as sexual objects, which is why *mvana* are preferred. The counter-hegemonic liberating and liberated masculinities seem to have reproduced other forms of marginalisation and control, whose politics (of the body) control the mobility of female bodies. Perhaps this should come as little surprise because money games in Zimbabwe, and football match attendances generally, are predominantly a male endeavour. The women who patronise these spaces are constructed as loose morally or trophy wives/girlfriends. A man can bring a trophy wife/girlfriend to a football match, but never a "proper" wife or "decent" girlfriend. Given the strong association between loose morality and money games, there is very little chance that Zimbabwean female migrants will inhabit this space without running the risk of attracting socially negative labels.

6.4.3.2 Spatial politics of xenophobia and long-distance nationalisms

The team make up is a remarkable talking point. It is exclusively Zimbabwean. Chaka is 28 and has very strong views on issues to do with race, ethnicity, religion and marriage. He says that the composition of the team is important so that there is no ambiguity in terms of its identity, especially because it is a product of a social milieu that is exclusionary. He asserts, *"apa kutongomira newako, mudhara"* (in this case, each to their own). Kanyire says that he finds a lot of the recreational places in Stellenbosch essentially inhospitable. Many other team members express the same sentiment. Cultureman says he loves music and eating out but finds most of the restaurants 'too white' in terms of patronage or the food served there. Siphosami also adds his voice to the issue of nightclubs/restaurants/shebeens etc. being "too

South African", "too white" or "too coloured". There is a sense that the recreational scene of central Stellenbosch marginalises black people generally, and it is worse when you are a migrant because you are only left with Kayamandi as an option. This is not an option at all given the hostility that black African migrants generally face from black South Africans. The team gives them a sense of worth, belonging and limited opportunities for the expression of authoritative masculinities.

Notable is the transformation the team has undergone since its creation. The team was initially run and dominated by people (professionals and students) who did not live in Kayamandi. In a way, it became an elitist cluster because of the occupations, professions and places of residence of its members. It excluded fellow Zimbabwean male migrants who inhabited a separate socio-spatial milieu, that is, those that were living in Kayamandi. When the two clusters merged to form a single entity in 2010[58], its strength became its downfall. Whilst the team/group grew numerically, there was an inevitable collision of representations, narratives and aspirations. Masculinities of status competition were at play. Fault lines formed along class, occupational, age and residential lines. There were regular disagreements over the purchase of balls, which days of the week were appropriate for playing and the teams against which they could play.

Progressively, the Kayamandistas asserted their influence because of their numerical superiority. This superiority was to prove pivotal in altering the direction in which the team would go. From a relaxed and leisurely kick about on a Sunday afternoon, the focus gradually shifted to the highly competitive and passion-filled money games. They also introduced the notion of playing outside of Stellenbosch in places Like Paarl, Strand and Somerset West. In a sense, they have made it fairly expensive to play "recreational" football because now players have to invest in uniforms, contributions towards the match fees, fuel etc. this was not

---

[58] Because my anthropological study had not commenced in 2010, I rely on the dates provided by the informants. Since there is no disagreement that the merger took place in this particular year, I will take it as a fact. The same applies to the year the team was formed.

the case previously because all the games were played in Stellenbosch. Yet the chance to travel outside of Stellenbosch is constructed as liberating and a way of engaging with a greater spread of Zimbabwean migrants in the Western Cape. The class differences/tensions that existed with the founding fathers are reproducing themselves once again, especially as team members without cars find it difficult to travel out of Stellenbosch. Even though they always travel in their teammates' cars, they still have to contribute towards fuel expenses, making it an expensive undertaking.

Looking at the football team critically, patterns of anthropological interest emerge not only in the manner in which the team is set up, but also in its playing circuits. A team exclusively made up of migrants is not in itself unusual as migrants everywhere across the globe frequently develop numerous life strategies to cope with the vagaries of transnational migration. The team's composition as wholly Zimbabwean is therefore not a talking point *per se*. Nonetheless, the general invisibility of South African nationals from its playing circuits is perhaps worth a word.

The team plays in Stellenbosch, Paarl, Somerset West and Strand. In all situations, they play against fellow Zimbabwean migrants living in the townships of these locations. On occasion, they enter into team tournaments run in and around Stellenbosch that feature teams made up of South African nationals. However, the pattern is usually to play against fellow Zimbabweans. They have actually moved into organising tournaments involving only Zimbabwean teams. To illustrate just how the "Zimbabwean" identity is crucial to the team members, on one or two occasions during my fieldwork, a leading member of the team brought a South African national to play striking role for the team. He turned out to be a very good player but the ructions his presence created were enormous. The fact that he was quite good seemed to have made it worse. A team member remarked *"ko makutiigira maforeign-*

221

based players[59] *kuti zvaita sei?"* (why are you bringing non-Zimbabweans?). The South African never played for the team again.

The absence of South African nationals in the team and its playing circuits seems to hang on trust deficits and fears of losing control over team affairs. The thinking is that the team should be for Zimbabwean men to do 'Zimbabwean' manly[60] things. Cultureman says "we have to show the world that we exist out there". Then there is the fear of extending the gaze of South African nationals to spatial milieus that are supposed to be free from such surveillance. There is a constant worry that once you take South Africans, particularly black South Africans, into your confidence, you make yourself vulnerable to robberies and physical attacks when the opportune time arises.

There is a tacit acceptance by the Zimbabwean migrants that freely asserting themselves as male subjects in Stellenbosch is probably never going to happen. Gijima (28) lives in Kayamandi and has been in Stellenbosch for 5 years. He says he is "fully" aware that *"mwana washe muranda kumwe"* (a king's son is a subject/commoner in other lands/elsewhere) and *"hapana murume akazomboenda kumba kweumwe akanoita mambo ikoko* (no man ever goes to another man's house and becomes King). Picking on the Shona saying that a king's son is a subject elsewhere, there is an acceptance that there are limits to which they can insert themselves in the various recreational spaces of Stellenbosch. As men, they have to contend with the social relations of hegemony and hierarchy where they subordinate themselves to South African versions of hyper masculinities, which they experience as violent and exclusionary.

---

[59] He used "foreign-based players" in reference to when the Zimbabwe national team is going into camp. There is always interest in the players based outside the country. The South African player must be understood in this context- coming from outside.

[60] Undefined.

There is also an acknowledgement that there are dangers of particular displays of certain masculinities in specific sites. There is nothing to stop them from having a party or *braai* in Kayamandi, for example. However, care has to be taken so that the party or *braai* does not come across as showing off, which can lead to trouble one day. Instead, the Zimbabwean migrants find themselves situationally located in enclaved recreational spaces. Football is one such space that provides the platform for the assertion manhood without having to worry about surveillance or informal policing from South African nationals.

There is an element of aspiration to it as well. Football and the experience of playing it becomes a metaphor for the journey towards liberated and liberating spaces. While "power" in Kayamandi is concentrated in the realm of the nationals, football symbolises a reconfiguration of that power. The power claims and a sense of entitlement are notable in Cultureman's expression that "we have to show the world that we exist out there". A closer examination of why the world has to know that they exist reveals layers of contestation over space, visibility, rights and entitlements. There is the underlying quest for authoritative and more equitable masculinities. Even within the socio-spatial separations, are aspirations to respectability as the migrants retain the desire to show the world that they exist. The compensatory and aspirational masculinities that subsequently form can be understood as part of the migrants' strategy to rupture notions of power/hegemonic masculinities.

6.4.4 *Aziva kwake aziva kwake*[61]: social fractures beyond football

Are material practices of exclusion in Stellenbosch incubating oppositional masculinities? The answer to this question is coloured by the fact that the team members are not a homogeneous entity. There are divides along religious, class, marital, age and occupational lines. There are hardliners who are not prepared to welcome non-Zimbabweans into the team and there are "liberals" who are open to the idea of other nationalities joining for as long as

---

[61] Go your way and I will go mine.

Zimbabweans retain control. There are also players who are not comfortable with the idea of playing "money games", preferring instead just "social football".

Even though most players are friendly with each other, they are not friends, at least not in the sense we understand the term in anthropology. For most, there are no bonds outside the parameters of their money games or the fleeting solidarities football games produce. Only a few of the team members have forged enduring relationships that extend to lending each other money, emotional and financial assistance in times of distress and sharing information on opportunities for employment. This stands in opposition to some of them who say that after the game, it is *"aziva kwake aziva kwake"* (Shona for 'go your way and I will go mine'). Such a statement does not speak to a closely knit entity, but reveals that even among migrants are divisions according to individual interests and aspirations.

While Zimbabwean male migrants share experiences of being cast as the other, there are limits to how they strike alliances. For example, some drink and others are non-drinkers, yet they all view football as providing a space for conviviality. However, home spaces imply different normativities and often require a different network of alliances. Tribal issues also play a role in the construction of masculinities or alliances, where the fault lines between Shona and Ndebele languages often serve as sources of divergences. It is fair to suggest that the football space is largely Shona-dominated demographically and linguistically. Ndebele-speaking migrants often find themselves having to subordinate themselves linguistically to the Shona majority. The linguistic habitus of the migrants is such that migrants who speak Ndebele, which is mutually intelligible with Zulu and Xhosa, and English integrate quicker (linguistically) than those speaking only Shona and English (Siziba, 2013). It is ironic therefore that Ndebele-speaking migrants in Stellenbosch linguistically assimilate faster than their Shona-speaking counterparts[62], yet find themselves on the margins of a space that should be Zimbabwean. It appears that "tribal" identity frames itself in the construction of migrant masculinities.

---

[62] This is because Ndebele is an Nguni language, which is mutually intelligible with Xhosa.

The love of football and xenophobic exclusion seems to have created a transient bond that is critical as a life strategy to contend with the frustrations of living in a conflictual environment. Whilst there may be a case for arguing that, at some level, there is some form of self-exclusion, it is not total self-exclusion since most players live in Kayamandi where they have, at the very least, functional interfaces with South African nationals.

6.5   Zimbabwean migrant masculinities and women talk

In 4.3, I described how my friend Mduduzi introduced me to some of the football-playing Zimbabwean male migrants in Stellenbosch. I also described how, after my first encounter with the male migrants, I sought to find out from Mduduzi what the main migrant discourses were. South African and, to a limited extent Zimbabwean, women are an integral part of the Zimbabwean male migrants' conversations. Since some of the xenophobic violence against immigrant men in South Africa has been attributed to masculinist violence over women with accusations that foreign men were taking away local women (Gqola, 2008), it was only fair that my conversations with Zimbabwe male migrants span issues to do with women.

A discussion on women seems almost inevitable in a study of this nature. After all, as Brittan (1989:3) argues, masculinities are very much an "expression of the current image men have of themselves in relation to women". The section is therefore divided into three sub-sections. The first presents some of the discourses on Zimbabwean male migrants and South African women. The second examines the interaction of predatory masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch and their racialised nature. The third and final sub-section brings into the conversation Zimbabwean female migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch and their location in their male counterparts' narratives of xenophobia, migrant experiences and masculinities.

225

6.5.1   Constructing South African women

"Kuroora muXhosa? Mai vangu vanofa neBP chairo".
Marrying a Xhosa? My mother would die of high blood pressure (Bryan, Cape Town).

"Ini handina kana one example yeakatora muXhosa kwaye".
I can't think of a single example of a Zimbabwean who has dated a decent Xhosa woman (Vhatso, Cape Town).

Ngithathelani umfazi wezizweni? Abafazi abafaneleyo bagcwele ekhaya koBulawayo!
Why marry a local woman? There are plenty of good women back home in Bulawayo! (Siphosami, Cape Town).

Vakawanda vari kutoita vana navo muno.
Many are having children with them here (Pat, Stellenbosch).

Vakadzi vemuno vari popular with Zimbabwean men.
Local women are popular with Zimbabwean men (Gidza, Stellenbosch).

Vakadzi vemuno vanogeza. Vakabatana.
Local women know how to bath/are always smartly dressed. They are beautiful (Dumi, Stellenbosch).

Vanomwa doro kunge varume.
They drink beer like men (Justin, Cape Town).

MaXhosa akavakwa, mudhara. Kwete zvipurunyenye zvedu zvisingageze izvi.
Xhosa women are very beautiful. They are unlike our [Zimbabwean] women who are dark and shabby (Tapezh, Stellenbosch).

Buttercup margarine! Ndorinonzi gumbo!
Yellow, beautiful thighs like Buttercup margarine [back at home] (Ben, Stellenbosch).

Musanyeperwe mudhara. Hakuna asingavade vakadzi vechiXhosa.
Dude, don't let anybody lie to you. There is not a single [Zimbabwean] man who does not like a Xhosa woman (Chenge, Stellenbosch).

I am of the view that if the two of you like each other, by all means go for it (Taonerera, Stellenbosch).

Zvagara zvinozikamwa kuti tinotsvairira marara panze. Kutora muXhosa zvinofanana nemunhu anoita opposite. Vamwe vachitsvairira marara panze, iwe unenge uchitsvairira mumba.
In general, we sweep the rubbish out of the house and throw it away. Marrying a Xhosa woman is the same as doing the exact the opposite. It is the equivalent of collecting all the rubbish outside and dumping it into the house (Joe, Stellenbosch).

The empirical data point to a fascinating and evidently contradictory perception some Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch have about South African women in general and black South African women in particular. In this section, I draw attention to "women talk", or the narratives Zimbabwean male migrants have on South African women and how they fit into the xenophobia-migrant masculinities matrix.

The construction of black South African women by Zimbabwean male migrants straddles a continuum of positivity and negativity. Most of the conversation on black South African women centred on their physical attraction as sexual partners. Most of the study participants project the imagery of masculinities as predatory heterosexuality. Generally, the women talk by Zimbabwean male migrants who took part in the study expresses hetero-masculinity characterised by the eroticisation of black South African women. The patriarchal, masculinist desire to subordinate the female body finds expression in the study participants' comments that black South African women *"vanonetsa kunge manyoka"* (they are as troublesome as diarrhoea) or *"havashandike navo"* (they are difficult to deal with)[63]. Pretty much all the study participants have comparative scales pitting black South African and Zimbabwean women. The women are contrasted on the basis of the male migrants' notions of physical beauty, intellect and their value as potential wives. Black South African women are perceived as *"vakadzi vanogeza"* (smartly dressed), *"vatsvuku"* or *"matsvukisto"* (they are light skinned)*,* and *"vane makumbo"* (nice legs). The majority of my study participants identify black South African women as generally better looking than Zimbabwean women. However, as the latter parts of the section will show, the physical attraction of the black South African women is tampered with the migrants' concerns over their supposed moral turpitude.

We see in the Zimbabwean male migrants' discourses of black South African women interesting comparisons between South African and Zimbabwean women across behavioural

---

[63] The suggestion is that they are troublesome or difficult to deal with if one is looking at establishing long-term love relationships. This description of black South African women does not therefore preclude the formation of casual or short-term sexual relations.

patterns, with the former characterised as carnal libertines, materialistic, lazy and sometimes even dangerous because of their use of love potions. In talking about black South African women, Zimbabwean male migrants also express their constructions of black South African men. We have seen in 5.7 how they are portrayed as violent, inhospitable and irresponsible. Some of the study migrants claim to have dated black South African women who have told them that Zimbabwean men are responsible, loveable and caring. Many of the migrants seem to take this as a sociological truism and believe in their own hype. Relative to black South African men, they present themselves as epitomes of caring and provider masculinities. To project themselves in positive light, the migrants have quite an extreme representation of black South African men as irresponsible, violent and alcohol loving. This is the justification they use to claim that they are not taking away South African women but it is the women who are rushing to them because they are better men. They also claim that xenophobia is therefore an expression of inferiority or inferior masculinities by black South African men who have problems competing with Zimbabwean men in terms of providing for their women.

6.5.2   Predatory masculinities, race and women

As I state in 4.3.1, my study sample had 28 Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Out of these, five are married to black South African women[64] and have children, four are co-habiting with them, and three are dating coloured women. All in all, 22 of my study participants claim to have had romantic or sexual relationships with a South African woman at some point during their stay in the country. Notwithstanding the negative comments most of the Zimbabwean male migrants make about black South African women being difficult to deal with, there is evidence of a profound desire to be sexually intimate with them. Zimbabwean male migrants living with black South African women in matrimonial or co-habitual arrangements describe them as "normal women like any other". They reject the claims made by some of their Zimbabwean counterparts that the women are of loose morals, insisting that even if that was true, every society has its fair share of loose women, including

---

[64] In most cases, these happen to be mostly Xhosa women.

Zimbabwe. The male migrants dating coloured women express complete satisfaction with their relationships and maintain that many of their friends would die to date coloured women like them.

The question I had to grapple with in interrogating the discourses on women was, if South African women are as badly behaved as most of my informants claim, why have many (22) of them dated them? Most mention that there is overt pressure from and among colleagues to date and be intimate with local black women. The male migrants speak of a competition among themselves to have as many sexual conquests as they possibly can. Not only is it considered to be important to be outwardly heterosexual in the performance of masculinities (ways of dressing, kind of company one keeps, the places one frequents for recreational purposes etc.), it is also critical to "play the field" as well.

Chesa is 29 and has been living in Nyanga for four years. He hustles for a living, which means that he sometimes works as a security guard, gardener or get casual jobs in construction. He is married but his wife lives with his parents in Zimbabwe. They have one child. Chesa has no immediate plans of bringing his family to South Africa. He says that his plan is to work for another five years in South and then go back home. Chesa openly confesses to being attracted to other women and says that part of his mission before he goes back is to be sexually intimate with South African women of all races (black, white, Asian, and coloured). He considers this to be the ultimate test of manhood. If he cannot sleep with women of all the race groups, at least he has to make sure that he is intimate with a number of Xhosa women. He remarks, *"ungazodzokerawo kuZim* [Zimbabwe] *usina kumboti o nemuXhosa here?"*(Can you conceivably go back to Zim [Zimbabwe] without having been sexually intimate with a Xhosa woman?). The interrogatory statement suggests that for Chesa, going back to Zimbabwe without having slept with a Xhosa woman is something a "normal" man cannot bear thinking about. From this perspective, "normal" masculinities are understood as sexual virility; a distinct, high sex drive that has to be satisfied through multiple, casual sexual encounters with local women.

229

Zimbabwean male migrants confirm that some of the tensions they have with black South African men have to do with competition over the hearts and minds of local women. They assert that sometimes their quality as migrants gives them added advantage in the competition. For example, Chesa says that, unlike most of South African male counterparts, he is prepared to do any kind of job for an income. As a result, he almost always has disposable income at hand. It is this income that he sometimes spends on South African women, buying them cheap shoes and groceries. This often creates the impression that he is very caring and responsible, qualities for which women often fall. This naturally creates friction between the two groups of men, leading to South African men asserting their supposed hegemony through the use of xenophobic violence.

There is perhaps a need to clarify why the object of the migrants' sexual desire is primarily a black (Xhosa) woman. The overwhelming response from the migrants is that it is because they are black and that makes them *bona fide* South African women. They say when they go back to Zimbabwe and their friends ask them about South African women, they will be referring to black South African women. There is also a practical and economic side to it. There are better chances of being intimate with a black woman since there is greater contact with them (at work and at home) than there is with white or coloured women. Given South Africa's legacy of legislated mobility, whites, blacks and coloureds do not share the same social (recreational) spaces.

Absent in this "women talk" are white South African women. In the main, the Zimbabwean migrants date black women. The absence of white South women in the discourse is attributed to the country's history of separate existence which made cross-racial relationships challenging. The informants argue that the residues of apartheid still make it difficult for ordinary black and white South Africans to cultivate enduring romantic relations. In their view, spaces are still very much racialised in both Cape Town and Stellenbosch. According to the migrants, white women only date wealthy and powerful black men such as businessmen and sports stars.

6.5.3   Zimbabwean female migrants and discourses of masculinities

The empirical data demonstrates how suspicious Zimbabwean male migrants are of migrant Zimbabwean women. The majority of my informants have a very negative attitude towards single or unattached female migrants from Zimbabwe. They describe them as vultures that are on the hunt for men. The argument goes that South African men hardly date migrant women and this significantly narrows down the pool of available men. It means the women have to compete with their South African counterparts for Zimbabwean men. Some of the Zimbabwean male migrants claim that they actually try to avoid Zimbabwean female migrants as much as possible because of commitment fears. They contend that Cape Town and Stellenbosch have a serious shortage of black men and this makes life particularly difficult for Zimbabwean female migrants. This is where the metaphor of a vulture comes in. The fear is that once you start a romantic relationship with a Zimbabwean migrant woman, they will cling to you, and in places, give you love portions, given the intense competition that exists for men.

In view of the foregoing, there is a sense that Zimbabwean female migrants are often desperate for men, and are, therefore, "there for the taking". However, the fear of being tied down means that some Zimbabwean male migrants keep their distance away from them. There is also the sense that Zimbabwean women in South Africa are generally unfaithful. My informants recount a number of stories involving married waitresses who reportedly have affairs with their supervisors (mostly Zimbabwean men) at work to guarantee their job security during the winter months. The other issue Zimbabwean male migrants raise in terms of unfaithfulness is the nature of the waitressing job. The shifts are irregular and waitrons work long hours, which means that they spend a lot of time away from home. Some of the Zimbabwean female migrants are said to end up being unfaithful because of an almost absent husband or partner.

6.6   Debating notions of social inclusion/exclusion

There is significant anthropological and sociological work that has been done on the notion of inclusion and social exclusion. Moreso in the context of globalisation, a subject Appadurai (2006) reckons has been a source of debate almost everywhere. Globalisation has often been sold as a positive buzzword for cultural diffusion, human mobility and cosmopolitanism. Yet for migrants and other marginals, it is often a cause of apprehension about inclusion, jobs and entrenched marginalisation. In this section, I draw on the classical work of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Georg Simmel to understand issues of inclusion/exclusion as they relate to the other. I also use the concepts developed by Arjun Appadurai (2006) to provide insights into the geographies of anger and ethnonationalist violence in the context of globalisation. The theorists' ideas are pertinent to the questions of the study because of their attempts to problematize the manner in which contemporary socialities integrate or disintegrate migrants and cognate marginal groups. Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch attest to being considered as outsiders and they also self-identify as "foreign" through their constant reference to the Shona word *mutorwa* (foreigner). What are the implications of this for their expression of masculinities?

6.6.1   The social integration of the other: Claude Lévi-Strauss' thesis

In anthropological debates on social inclusion and exclusion, it is not unusual to be drawn to Claude Lévi-Strauss' sophisticated dyad captured in his memoirs, *Tristes Tropiques,* which contrasts what he calls cannibalistic and isolationistic societies. According to Levi-Strauss (1995:297-8);

> If we studied societies from the outside, it would be tempting to distinguish two contrasting types; those which practice cannibalism- that is, which regard the absorption of certain individuals possessing dangerous powers as the only means of neutralising those powers and even of turning them to advantage- and those which, like our own society, adopt what might be called the practice of anthropemy (from the Greek *emein,* to vomit)… which consists of ejecting dangerous individuals from the social body.

Considerations of space preclude an exhaustive analysis of Lévi-Strauss' characterisation of societies as either receptive or hostile to a perceived other. My main interest is in how the notion of a dyad provides an avenue through which anthropologists can theorise the processes of inclusion or exclusion. Young (1999) observes that Lévi-Strauss' logic leaves us with the conclusion that there are two basic forms of society. The first is the anthrophophagic (cannibalistic) society where the other is wholly swallowed and digested (integrated) leaving little evidence of prior independent existence. The second is the anthropoemic (isolationistic) society where the reverse is true; the other is discarded, institutionalised, incarcerated or excluded.

It should be mentioned in passing that Lévi-Strauss' use of the word "primitive" in the depiction of the anthrophophagic society makes many uncomfortable. More so, if one takes into account the less than flattering association that is often made between anthropology and colonialism. Cohen (2013), rightly points out that many in the social sciences squirm at the portrayal of a sociality as primitive because of the attendant empirical and political implications of such characterisations. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the value of Lévi-Strauss' thesis lies in its contribution to our understanding of social inclusion and exclusion: Societies have the potential to swallow or vomit the other depending on circumstances. Lévi-Strauss contends that the resources (human, financial, social etc.) the outsider or stranger possesses go some way in determining whether they are swallowed or vomited, and how either of the two options will take place.

Most of the study participants construct xenophobia as exclusion, discrimination, violence, or hatred. Even though the study participants describe xenophobic exclusion differently, their understanding of it point to a sense of unjustified marginalisation on the basis of nationality and race. The statement by Cultureman that "white people don't necklace" suggests strong racial undertones to the understanding and mobilisation of xenophobia. There is also evidence that suggests that white migrants in South Africa are not subjected to the "xenophobic" treatment black migrants are. The perception is that they have financial capital and they should therefore be welcomed as potential job creators and investors. Meanwhile, black African migrants are accused of taking away jobs, not to mention women (Landau, 2011).

233

Constructed as *amakwerekwere* (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Matsinhe, 2011), criminalised, policed and repatriated in large numbers (Neocosmos, 2006), it would be easy to argue the case that South Africa "vomits" its black African migrants/other. However, chapter 5 of the thesis has shown that Zimbabwean male migrants share neighbourhoods and workplaces with South African nationals. To suggest, therefore, that the black African other is vomited would be too simplistic and overgeneral. The architecture of inclusion/exclusion in contemporary South Africa is far more nuanced than Levi-Strauss' dyadic categories suggest.

I argue that Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch have neither been swallowed nor vomited, largely because it is virtually impossible for either action to take place. Instead "the eater" can be seen to be "choking on ingestion". Nevertheless, the ingestion has left the other (Zimbabwe male migrants) with a heightened sense of insecurity, of not knowing what the future holds. Is the threat real or imagined? The answer to the question is possibly immaterial. What is important to understand is that Zimbabwean male migrants' decisions are influenced by their perception of South Africa in general and Cape Town and Stellenbosch in particular. Once they take the view, as they do in this case, that they face xenophobic exclusion they structure the relationships that they generate on the basis of that world view.

6.6.2   Strangerhood, distance and nearness: Georg Simmel

Simmel's (1950) sociological essay on the stranger has parallels with Levi-Strauss' work in that it also uses the notion of a dyad to explain social inclusion/exclusion, integration and embededness of the other into society. Simmel does this by differentiating between the "wanderer" and the "stranger". From an integration or social embededness point of view, the wanderer is described as an ephemeral character. This is because a wanderer is essentially a traveller who is here today, but is gone tomorrow. The stranger, by contrast, is fixed within the group in that they are here today and here again tomorrow. What separates the stranger from the insiders is that they usually have no autochthonous claims (Nyamnjoh, 2002, 2006; Geschiere, 2009). Due to lack of autochthonous claims, the stranger's belonging to the group is one of "distance and nearness, indifference and engagement" (Wolff, 1950).

I draw on this theme to engage with Zimbabwean male migrants' relationships with South African women and their mapping of recreational spaces. The fact that most of the study participants have been in South Africa for over years is enough indication that they can hardly be called wanderers. In the Simmelian sense, they are strangers, the reason there is tension between them and South African nationals. They compete with South Africans for jobs, housing and women. For that reason, their identity as "strangers" is constructed and mobilised by nationals in a way that requires their exclusion, leading to relations of "distance and nearness, indifference and engagement" (Wolff, ibid).

6.7   Concluding remarks

This chapter has focused on the places of encounters between Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals. It has highlighted how the real or imagined threat of xenophobia leads to the formation of enclaved spaces in the realm of recreation and the compensatory and aspirational masculinities that are produced within these milieus. The chapter has shown the link between the restaurant and the production of bread-winning masculinities, including masculinities of status competition between and among migrants. The chapter has also demonstrated how football is used by the migrants to express authoritative masculinities in an environment they consider to be not only exclusionary but conflictual as well.

7   Conclusion

Mindful of its own limitations, the study has aimed to contribute to the scholarship on Zimbabwean migrant masculinities in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, as well as the politics of belonging, inclusion and exclusion. In 4.3.1, I pointed out that the bulk of the primary data for the study was based on individual in-depth interviews with 28 Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Even though the sample comprises of Zimbabwean male migrants of diverse backgrounds in terms of age, marital status, occupation, immigration status, period of stay in South Africa, and experience of xenophobia, its size remains one of the study's limitations. This has to be taken under consideration when assessing some of the deductions made in the thesis. The study sample is clearly not large enough to make any definitive conclusions on the migration experiences of all Zimbabwean male subjects in the two study areas. The conclusions made in the thesis should therefore be seen as applicable to the clusters of Zimbabwean male migrants who took part in the study.

Notwithstanding this limitation in terms of sample size, the study has sought to analyse the situations or contexts within which the perceived threat of xenophobia intersect with Zimbabwean male migrant experiences to produce a variety of masculinities. The study has also attempted to understand these Zimbabwean migrant masculinities by systematically examining the sites of encounters between Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals in Cape Town and Stellenbosch (see 6.3-6.5). Chapter 5 assesses the manner in which the fear of xenophobia influences social behaviour in terms of how Zimbabwean male migrants construct different spaces in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. This fear often leads to the formation of socio-spatial separations, which in turn produce specific forms of compensatory and aspirational masculinities.

Xenophobia in contemporary South Africa is expressed in many forms. It is difficult to identify a single cause of it. There is a rich scholarship on the manner in which the competition for resources in post-apartheid South Africa has magnified the contestations over belonging, rights and entitlements. The thesis (see chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6) has explored how

xenophobic violence is often used as a tool of marginalisation by sections of the South African population. Why this violence occurs in some neighbourhoods and not in others of comparable demographic or socio-economic make up remains unclear. What is apparent though is that where xenophobic violence occurs, the majority of the perpetrators are men. The victims of the violence are usually male migrants as well, which suggests a strong link between xenophobic violence and masculinities. Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch therefore find themselves confronted with a strongly gendered anti-immigrant sentiment in South Africa.

How Zimbabwean male migrants map the spaces in Cape Town and Stellenbosch is instructive of how knowledge about xenophobia is constructed. What emerges from the empirical data is that there are as many interpretations of xenophobia as there are individuals and that there is no objective way migrants use to evaluate the phenomenon. To some Zimbabwean male migrants, xenophobia is the physical attacks that South African nationals mete out on non-nationals. To others, it is the perceived general unfriendliness of South African nationals towards non-nationals. This unfriendliness is constructed as emanating from ignorance about what good neighbourliness is about and the value migrants bring to the country. It is important to note how the Zimbabwean male migrants who participated in the study self-identify as more educated and therefore "better" than their South African counterparts. The male migrants' understanding of "ignorance" is also ambiguous. Notwithstanding the many interpretations Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch have about xenophobia, they see in it attempts by black South African men in particular to deny them their manhood.

In a demonstration of the manner in which knowledge production about xenophobia is subjective, participants of the study claimed that Zimbabwean nationals are the most hated of all immigrant communities in South Africa. There is no objective measure for this assertion. However, whether it is real or imagined is a moot point because it is accepted as objective reality. The inevitable corollary of this is that the "reality" influences the social behaviour of Zimbabwean male migrants in terms of where they reside, go for relaxation, and the ways in which they construct black South African men and women. Interestingly though, by their

237

extreme and evidently hyperbolic characterisation of black South African men as drunkards, muggers and irresponsible, Zimbabwean male migrants engage in reverse xenophobia and extreme masculinist othering.

That a section of South African nationals harbour negative sentiments towards non-nationals and immigration has been extensively documented (see Neocosmos, 2006; Robins, 2009; Crush 2011; Landau, 2011; Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). What has been missing from the literature is the role of migrants in the production of xenophobic discourses about their host country. The thesis has presented literature that suggests that the racialization of xenophobia reflects the politics of access to socio-economic resources in post-apartheid South Africa (see Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Neocosmos, 2006; Crush 2011). To what extent has this type of politics nurtured reverse xenophobia against South African nationals? To what extent are these politics masculinist? The thesis has provided only partial answers to these questions. Further empirical investigation is required to gain full insights into these important anthropological phenomena.

The introductory chapter of the thesis alludes to how male transnational migration has destabilized long-held conceptions of manhood in contemporary Africa. Transnational migration has affected the discourses on what it means to be a black African man today (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Ratele, 2011) because of how it profoundly challenges the hegemony of men and the hegemonic conceptions of masculinities (Howson, 2013). Even for a country like South Africa with its long history of migrant labour from other countries, transnational migration remains a key concept of masculinities debate and theorisation. Male transnational migration fractures dominant enactments of manhood as men move between different national and cultural contexts (Howson, ibid). Transnational migration not only challenges male migrants' hegemonic notions of masculinities, but the conventional forms of masculinities in host societies as well. This is evident in the literature that shows how the presence of black immigrant men threatens black South African men's sense of entitlement or manhood (see Comaroff & Comaroff, 2002; Gqola, 2008). Migrant men from Zimbabwe are not new in South Africa and questions have to be asked why their presence is generating

anxiety among South African men now. It seems reasonable to suggest that immigration has heightened a sense of insecurity among out of work South African men.

At a theoretical and empirical level, it should not escape our attention what the discourses of xenophobia are doing in reinforcing patently sexist stereotypes of both South African and Zimbabwean women. In accusing migrants of taking "their" women, sections of South African men effectively objectify women and reduce them to commodities for their exclusive appropriation. Conversely, by being predatory towards South African women (see 6.6.2) and eroticising them, Zimbabwean male migrants equally objectify South African women as well. In conversations, the majority of Zimbabwean male migrants expressed a big desire to engage in sexual relationships with South African women as a form of conquest. The conquest is a performance pithed at friends back home. In addition, some Zimbabwean male migrants also talk of Zimbabwean female migrants in very adverse terms (see 6.6.3). There is evidence in their comments that they are distrustful of women who move. They make a spurious connection between a woman's mobility and her morality. The more mobile a woman is, the more her morality is questioned. As anthropologists, we should be alive to situations where xenophobic violence or exclusion becomes a process by which women are pawns in a masculinist contest between two groups of men.

If the migration of male subjects from Zimbabwe to South Africa goes back in time, what have been the continuities and what has changed? There are continuities in terms of the ethos of the mobility of Zimbabwean men to South Africa (see 3.1). Male migration to South Africa is predicated on the aspiration to acquire the socially approved signifiers of manhood (Gaidzanwa, 1998). In the past it used to be cattle, money for bride price and the ability to set up and perpetuate independent households. This should be understood in the context of the place or social and economic significance of cattle in most countries of southern Africa (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1990). A stint in South Africa was always understood as temporary, a means to acquiring the metaphors of wealth (Comaroff & Comaroff, ibid). What has changed is that Zimbabwean men now stay longer and are no longer restricted to Gauteng or mining jobs (Schachter, 1999; Crush 2011). The target now is to invest in real estate and business back home. Unlike in the past, some of the male migrants also come with their

wives and children. The case of Cape Town and Stellenbosch illustrates how Zimbabwean men have embraced the many occupational trajectories open to them in South Africa. They work as waitrons, security guards, teachers, engineers, medical doctors and so on. As Landau (2011) puts it, they have become a demon that is impossible to spatially exclude.

Zimbabwe-South Africa male migratory patterns- past and present- have closely followed the two countries' uneven levels of development. South Africa absorbs the greater share of male migrants from the entire southern African region (see 3.1). Migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa is gendered with far more men migrating than women. Even though there has been a significant increase in both the visibility and volumes of female migrants from Zimbabwe in recent times, men continue to make up the biggest share of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa (Schachter, 2009). Reliable figures for the numbers of Zimbabweans in the country remain elusive due to various factors including the presence of large numbers of undocumented migrants.

The presence of Zimbabwean male migrants and migrants from elsewhere has often triggered violent acts of exclusion (Crush, 2011; Landau, 2011). Language and cultural practices like circumcision have been deployed as markers of difference (Siziba, 2013). It comes as little surprise that migrants are commonly referred to as *amakwerekwere* and in places, are infantilised (chapters 5 and 6). Yet xenophobia has done little to reverse the flow of Zimbabwean male migrants into South Africa. There is little evidence to suggest that it has had any impact in slowing down the processes of migration. This begs the question of the socialities that are emerging in contemporary urban South Africa. The thesis has alluded to socio-spatial separations between Zimbabwean male migrants and South African nationals. However, that is only part of the story. Zimbabwean male migrants are getting married to South African women (6.6) and have settled marital lives with children and so on. How have they been able to navigate the scourge of xenophobia? This question presents opportunities for future research into the role of migrants, hosts, politics and other players in fashioning new socialities.

The outcomes presented in the thesis illustrate the enclaved spaces Zimbabwean male migrants inhabit in Cape Town and Stellenbosch (see 6.3). The narratives by Zimbabwean male migrants presented in the thesis suggest that xenophobia adds another dimension to the vulnerability and precarity they feel as migrants. There is a sense of insecurity that derives from a history of violent attacks against non-nationals in South Africa in general and Cape Town in particular. Some of the male migrants have direct experience of displacement and violence. Allison (2013) writes about vulnerability and precarity in terms of people experiencing themselves as socially and politically invisible. There is enough from the accounts by Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch to suggest that being labelled *amakwerekwere* or being infantilised is interpreted as a denial of manhood.

It is unfair and inaccurate to paint every South African as xenophobic. There have been pockets of resistance to anti-foreign sentiment. Landau (2011) documents how some community leaders in the informal settlements neighbouring Alexandra in Gauteng, where the May 2008 xenophobic attacks started, refused to be drawn into the violent mobilisations against non-nationals. In Masiphumelele, Cape Town, community leaders were pressured by their own communities to facilitate the return of displaced Somali traders once it emerged that local traders could not provide goods at the low prices for which the Somali were known (Misago, 2011). Residents of Masiphumelele may have been motivated by individual material interests, but the fact that they were prepared to engage in instrumental relationships with non-nationals gives hope that nationality need not be a marker of difference. Similarly, the Social Justice Coalition coordinated social movements' response to the May 2008 attacks in Cape Town (Robins, 2009), and there were anti-xenophobia marches in Johannesburg soon after the May 2008 attacks (Harber, 2008). That speaks to windows of opportunity to open up South African urban space to non-nationals. However, a lot of research still needs to be done to establish the relations nationals and non-nationals are forging in the context of competition for limited resources such as jobs, housing and service delivery.

The thesis has provided a fairly extended analysis of Connell's conceptual framing of masculinities in chapter 2.2.1. Important to the analysis in this study is the connection made between a given society's history and culture, and the production of masculinities (Connell,

1995). We have seen how, according to Connell (ibid), masculinities cannot be removed from the society's history and culture. This makes the systematic examination of migrant masculinities even more interesting given that transmigrant men often straddle multiple national and cultural contexts. Their ways of enacting manhood therefore draw from two historical and cultural influences: places of origin and host societies (Howson, 2014, 2014). This in-betweenness sometimes stands in opposition to the many opportunities that transmigration may trigger, offering migrant men the prospects of re-inventing themselves as male subjects. This is evident in Chapter 6, which evaluates the value of restaurant jobs to Zimbabwean male migrants. Nothing illustrates the re-masculinisation, re-invention or re-presentation of Zimbabwean male migrants better than being employed as waitrons in restaurants. Some left Zimbabwe as teachers, clerks, soldiers, builders and so on and took up waitressing jobs. These are jobs that are generally constructed as 'feminine' in Zimbabwe, but they turn them into 'respectable' bread-winning masculinities. They even use the very same waitressing jobs they look down upon as the basis for the construction of masculinities of status competition with other Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch take up any type of job, which, given the economic problems in Zimbabwe, represents a financial gain. This way, Zimbabwean male migrants are able to re-invent themselves as providers, a role some of them could not play back in Zimbabwe. Migrating to South Africa for work purposes therefore represents an aspiration to a social and economic life that is different from what they used to have back in Zimbabwe. There is an aspiration to go back to Zimbabwe as successful men, respected for their material possessions. This ambition means that the migrants are able to live with the security threat xenophobia poses.

There remains room for further research on the role of institutions such as churches and other social support groups in forging transnational subjectivities among Zimbabwean male migrants in the face of the threat of xenophobia. Preliminary evidence from this study shows that Zimbabwean male migrants are organising themselves into various forms of group membership. Further research is needed to establish how these support formations tie in with xenophobia or the male migrants' money making enterprise.

Football is also used by some Zimbabwean male migrants in Stellenbosch to express authoritative masculinities in an environment they consider to be exclusionary and conflictual. From literature we learn that team sports generally cultivate fleeting solidarities (Bromberger, 1995; Peterson, 2014). We have seen the manner in which football cultivates a structural coherence among Zimbabwean male migrants (see 6.5.2.4). The perceived threat of xenophobia and the struggles Zimbabwean male migrants encounter in asserting themselves in Stellenbosch feeds this structural coherence. I have argued in the thesis that this, in turn, allows for the situational performance of authoritative and assertive masculinities. However, there remain possibilities for further research into how some of the male migrants have exploited these fleeting solidarities to cultivate enduring informal self-help associations such as money-lending clubs and quasi-burial societies. The football networks have also been used as a source of information about jobs, permits, opportunities for investment and so on. Further research is needed to also explore the possibility of using football as the bridge between the supposed differences between Zimbabwean migrants and South African nationals.

The discourses of the experiences of migration, exclusion and masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch have yielded data on xenophobia, place-making and the manner in which all this weaves into the construction of specific masculine identities. Chapter 5 discusses the resources or capital that Zimbabwean male migrants exploit to insert themselves into Cape Town and Stellenbosch. Family and friends often play a critical role in assisting the male migrants in settling in and getting a job. The study draws attention to the practices of using kin and family networks to secure employment and inserting oneself in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. We have seen in the thesis how the presence of family impacts on the options available to the Zimbabwean male migrants. Migrants who have family already living in Cape Town or Stellenbosch tend to be tied to place as opposed to those who have no family ties and are very itinerant. Family ties are also critical in informing the decision of where to stay. Zimbabwean male migrants who have relatives in Cape Town and Stellenbosch prefer to reside in areas close to where family members or relatives live. The presence of family will not stop xenophobic attacks but it gives a sense of security that a support network exists to fall back on it times of crisis.

The study findings also confirm the findings by Landau and Freemantle (2010) who write about the numerous strategies migrants in South Africa employ to deal with a perceived conflictual environment. This relates to tactical cosmopolitanism or the partial insertion of oneself into a locality without really being bounded by its demands. Speaking Xhosa is one of the strategies Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch employ so as not to mark themselves out as *amakwerekwere.* They then pass themselves as Zulu (see Siziba, 2013) and this helps in communications with black South African nationals in the townships, on trains and in minibuses. However, self-government on the part of the male migrants means that there is little meaningful contact with nationals beyond what is functionally necessary. For leisure, they carve out their own forms and places of recreation where they feel safe and where they can assert and express their versions of masculinities.

In concluding this thesis, it is important to revert to the discussion introduced in chapter 2 about the contribution that the CSM have made towards the theorisation and debate over the concept of masculinities. It has to be acknowledged that the concept is used differently by different authors and scholars. This thesis has been guided by Connell's (1995) conceptual framing of masculinities which holds that they should be understood within the broader framework of gender relations. Their systematic examination should be located in the domain of social practice or social interaction. Migrant masculinities should therefore be understood as also complex, fluid and historically situated. This explains why the thesis has sought an understanding of the production of specific masculinities by Zimbabwean male migrants in Cape Town and Stellenbosch on the back of a systematic examination of xenophobia.

Bibliography

Abu-Lughod, L. (1991). "Writing against culture". In R. G. Fox (Ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Adjai, C., & Lazaridis, G. (2013). "Migration, Xenophobia and New Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa". *International Journal of Social Science Studies*, *1*(1), 192–205.

Agamben, G. (2005). *State of exception*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Akyeampong, E. (2000). "African in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa". *African Affairs*, *99*, 183–215.

Ali, A. H. (2011). *Nomad: from Islam to America: a Personal Journey Through the Clash of Civilizations*. London: Simon and Schuster.

Allison, A. (2013). *Precarious Japan*. Duke University Press.

Amadiume, I. (1987). *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society*. London: Zed.

Amit, R. (2011). *The Zimbabwean Documentation Process: Lessons Learned*. Johannesburg.

Anderson, B. (2002). "The New World Disorder". In J. Vincent (Ed.), *The Anthropology of Politics A Reader in Ethnography, Theory and Critique*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Appadurai, A. (2002). "Grassroots globalization and the research imagination". In J. Vincent (Ed.), *The Anthropology of Politics: A Reader in Ethnography, Theory and Critique*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Appadurai, A. (2006). *Fear of small numbers: An essay on the geography of anger*. Duke University Press.

Arrighi, G., & Saul, J. S. (1970). "Essays on the Political Economy of Africa". *Journal of Development Studies*, *6*, 197–230.

Bakewell, O. (2008). "'Keeping them in their place": the ambivalent relationship between development and migration in Africa". *Third World Quarterlyorld Quarterly*, *29*(7), 1341–1358.

Barker, G., & Ricardo, C. (2005). *Young Men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, Conflict, and Violence* (No. 26). Washington D.C.

Bauman, Z. (1987). *Legislators and Interpreters On Modernity. Postmodernity and Intellectuals*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beinart, W. (1987). *Hidden struggles in rural South Africa: politics & popular movements in the Transkei & Eastern Cape, 1890-1930. Vol. 40.* University of California Press.

Bekker, S. (2010). "Explaining violence against foreigners and strangers in urban South Africa: outbursts during May and June 2008". *The African Yearbook of International Law*, *16*, 125–149.

Bhalla, A. S. (1998). *Globalisation, Growth and Marginalisation*. International Development Research Centre.

Bloch, A. (2008). "Zimbabweans in Britain: transnational activities and capabilities". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(2), 287–305.

Bolt, M. (2010). "Camaraderie and its Discontents: Class Consciousness, Ethnicity and Divergent Masculinities among Zimbabwean Migrant Farmworkers in South Africa". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *36*(2), 377–393.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Brand, V., Mupedziswa, R., & Gumbo, P. (1993). *Women Informal Sector Workers and Stuctural Adjustment in Zimbabwe*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Breckenridge, K. (2014). Marikana and the Limits of Biopolitics: Themes in the recent scholarship of South African Mining. *Africa*, *84*(1), 151–161.

Brewer, J. D. (2000). *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Brittan, A. (1989). *Masculinity and Power*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Brittan, A. (2001). "Masculinities and Masculinism". In M. Whitehead, Stephen & J. Barret, Frank (Eds.), *The Masculinities Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bromberger, C. (1995). "Football as world-view and as ritual". *French Cultural Studies*, *6*(18), 293–311.

246

Bryman, A. (2001). *Ethnography*. (A. Bryman, Ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Bundy, C. (1979). *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry. Vol. 28.* University of California Press.

Burawoy, M. (1991). *Ethnography unbound: Power and resistance in the modern metropolis.* . (M. Burawoy, Ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burawoy, M. (1998). "The Extended Case Method". *Sociological Theory*, *16*(1), 4–33.

Burawoy, M., Sherman, R., Duneier, M., Epstein, S., Ferguson, J., Ferndindez-kelly, M. P., … Gieryn, T. (2013). "Revisits: An Outline of a Theory of Reflexive Ethnography". *American Sociological Review*, *68*(5), 645–679.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Çaglar, A. (2007). "Rescaling cities, cultural diversity and transnationalism: migrants of Mardin and Essen". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *30*(6), 1070–1095.

Caldeira, T. P. (2000). *City of walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*. University of California Press.

Cassarino, J.-P. (2004). "Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited". *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, *6*(2), 253–279.

Castells, M. (1996). *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Volume 1: The Rise of the Network Society*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing.

Castells, M. (1997). *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Volume 2: End of Millenium*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing.

Castells, M. (1998). *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Volume 3: The Power of Identity*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing.

Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe. (1997). *Breaking the Silence, Building True Peace: A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, 1980 to 1988*. Harare.

Ceuppens, B., & Geschiere, P. (2005). "Autochthony: local or global? New modes in the struggle over citizenship and belonging in Africa and Europe". *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *34*, 385–407.

247

Chimedza, T. L. (2008). "Bulldozers Always Come "Maggots", Citizens and Governance in Contemporary Zimbabwe". In M. T. Vambe (Ed.), *The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Weaver Press.

Clatterbaugh, K. (1998). "What is problematic about masculinities". *Men and Masculinities*, *1*(1), 24–45.

Clifford, J., & Marcus, G. E. (1986). *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. (J. Clifford & G. E. Marcus, Eds.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Collinson, D., & Hearn, J. (1994). "Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management". *Gender, Work & Organization*, *1*(1), 2–22.

Collinson, D., & Hearn, J. (1996). "Men' at "work": multiple masculinities/multiple workplaces". In M. Mac an Ghail (Ed.), *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural arenas*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (2001). "Naturing the nation: Aliens, apocalypse and the post-colonial state". *Social Identities*, *7*(2), 233–265.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (2002). "Alien-nation: zombies, immigrants, and millennial capitalism". *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, *101*(4), 779–805.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (1990). "Goodly beasts, beastly goods: cattle and commodities in a South African context". *American Ethnologist*, *17*(2), 195–216.

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and Power: society, the person and sexual politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. (2000). *The Men and the Boys*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. (2001). "The Social Organisation of Masculinity". In M. Whitehead, Stephen & J. Barret, Frank (Eds.), *The Masculinities Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

CoRMSA. (2009). *Protecting Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in South Africa*. Johannesburg.

CoRMSA. (2010). Incidents of violence against foreign nationals. Retrieved June 30, 2012, from http://www.cormsa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/cormsa-database-of-violence-against-foreign-nationals.pdf

Cornwall, A., & Lindisfarne, N. (1994). *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies*. (A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne, Eds.). London: Routledge.

Crush, J. (2008). "The Perfect Storm: The Reality of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa". *Southern African Migration Project* Migration Policy Series, 50.

Crush, J. (2011). "Complex Movements, Confused Responses: Labour Migration in South Africa". *Southern African Migration Project* Migration Policy Series, 25.

Crush, J., & Frayne, B. (2010). *Surviving on the move: migration, poverty and development in Southern Africa*. (J. Crush & B. Frayne, Eds.). African Books Collective.

Crush, J., & Ramachandran, S. (2009). *Xenophobia, International Migration and Human Development* (No. HDRP 2009/47). Human Dvelopment Report Office (HDRO), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Crush, J., & Tevera, D. (2010). *Zimbabwe's Exodus: crisis, migration, survival*. (J. Crush & D. Tevera, Eds.). Southern African Migration Programme/IDRC.

Crush, J., Williams, V., & Peberdy, S. (2005). "Migration in Southern Africa" A paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration. *Global Commission on International Migration*.

Danso, R., & McDonald, D. A. (2001). "Writing Xenophobia: Immigration and the Print Media in Post-Apartheid South Africa". *Africa Today*, *48*(3), 115–137.

Das, V. (2007). *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*. University of California Press.

Davies, C. A. (1999). *Reflexive Ethnography*. London: Routledge.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). "The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research". In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Dodson, B. (2010). "Locating Xenophobia: Debate, Discourse and Everyday Experience in Cape Town, South Africa". *Africa Today*, *56*(3), 3–20.

Du Pisani, A. (2000). "Migration and Politics in Southern Africa: Past and Present". In J. Whitman (Ed.), *Migrants, Citizens and the State in Southern Africa*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press.

Edley, N., & Wetherell, M. (1995). *Men in Perspective: practice, power and identity*. London: Prentice Hall/Wheatsheaf.

Fauvelle-Aymar, C., & Segatti, A. wa K. (2011). "People, Space and Politics: An Explanation of Factors Explaining the 2008 anti-foreigner Violence in South Africa". In L. Landau (Ed.), *Exorcising the Demons Within:Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Ferguson, J. (2009). "The Uses of Neoliberalism". *Antipode*, *41*(S1), 166–184.

Fiske, S. (1998). "Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination". In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology, Volume 2* (4th ed.). McGraw Hill.

Flockemann, M., Ngara, K., Roberts, W., & Castle, A. (2010). "The everyday experience of xenophobia: performing The Crossing from Zimbabwe to South Africa". *Critical Arts*, *24*(2), 245–259.

Freud, S. (2003). *The joke and its relation to the unconscious*. Penguin.

Friedman, J. (1992). "Narcism, roots and postmodernity: the construction of selfhood in the global crisis". In S. Lash & J. Friedman (Eds.), *Modernity and Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Gaidzanwa, R. B. (1998). "Cross-Border Trade in Southern Africa: A Gendered Perspective". In L. M. Sachikonye (Ed.), *Labour and Migration Markets Policy in Southern Africa*. Harare: SAPES.

Gaidzanwa, R. B. (1999). *Voting with their Feet: Migrant Zimbabwean Nurses and Doctors in the Era of Structural Adjustment*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Geertz, C. (1974). ""From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding". *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, *28*(1), 26–45.

Geschiere, P. (2009). *The Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Geschiere, P., & Jackson, S. (2006). "Autochthony and the crisis of citizenship: democratization, decentralization, and the politics of belonging". *African Studies Review*, *49*(2), 1–8.

Geschiere, P., & Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2000). "Capitalism and autochthony: the seesaw of mobility and belonging". *Public Culture*, *12*(2), 423–452.

Giddens, A. (2002). *Runaway world: how globalisation is reshaping our lives* (2nd ed.). London: Profile Books.

Gluckman, M. (1940). "Analysis of a social situation in modern Zululand". *Bantu Studies*, *14*(1), 1–30.

Goldfarb, K. (2014). Anne Allison's Precarious Japan. Retrieved August 21, 2014, from http://somatosphere.net/2014/05/anne-allisons-precarious-japan.html

Gondola, C. D. (1999). "Dream and Drama: The Search for Elegance among Congolese Youth". *African Studies Review*, *42*(1), 23–48.

Gqola, P. D. (2007). ""A woman cannot marry a boy": rescue, spectacle and transitional Xhosa masculinities". In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala, & R. Buikema (Eds.), *From Boys to Men: Social Construction of Masculinity in Contemporary society*. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Gqola, P. D. (2008). "Brutal Inheritances: Echoes, Negrophobia and Masculinist Violence". In S. Hassim, T. Kupe, & E. Worby (Eds.), *Go Home or Die Here: violence, xenophobia and reinvention of difference in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Gramsci, A. (1971). "Hegemony, Intellectuals and the State". In *Selection from Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gray, C. (1998). "Cultivating citizenship through xenophobia in Gabon, 1960-1995". *Africa Today*, *45*(3-4), 389–410.

Greenburg, J. (2010). "The spatial politics of xenophobia: everyday practices of Congolese migrants in Johannesburg". *Transformation*, *74*, 66–86.

Grillo, R. (2007). "Betwitx and Between: Trajectories and Projects of Transmigration". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*, 199–217.

Grundlingh, A. (1994). "Playing for power? Rugby, Afrikaner nationalism and masculinity in South Africa, c. 1900–70". *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *11*(3), 408–430.

Harber, A. (2008). "Two newspapers, two nations? The media and the xenophobic violence". In S. Hassim, T. Kupe, & E. Worby (Eds.), *Go Home or Die Here: violence, xenophobia and reinvention of difference in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Harris, B. (2002). "Xenophobia: A new pathology for a new South Africa." . In D. Hook & G. Eagle (Eds.), *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice*. Cape Town: Cape Town University Press.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Hassim, S., Kupe, T., & Worby, E. (2008). *Go Home or Die Here: violence, xenophobia and the reinvention of difference in South Africa*. (S. Hassim, T. Kupe, & E. Worby, Eds.). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Hearn, J. (1987). *The Gender of Oppression*. Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books.

Hearn, J. (1996). "Is masculinity dead? A critique of the concept of masculinity/masculinities". In M. Mac an Ghaill (Ed.), *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural arenas*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Hickel, J. (2014). "'Xenophobia' in South Africa: Order, Chaos, and the Moral Economy of Witchcraft". *Cultural Anthropology*, *29*(1), 103–127.

Hicks, T. F. (1999). "The Constitution, Aliens Control Act, and Xenophobia: The Struggle to Protect South Africa's Pariah- the Undocumented Immigrant". *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, *7*(1), 394–417.

Holliday, A. (2007). *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Hopstock, N., & de Jager, N. (2011). "Locals only: understanding xenophobia in South Africa". *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, *33*(1), 120–139.

Howson, R. (2013). "Why Masculinity is Still an Important Category: (Trans)Migrant Men and the Migration Experience". In J. Hearn, M. Blagojević, & K. Harrison (Eds.), *Rethinking Transnational Men: Beyond, Between and Within Nations*. New York: Routledge.

Howson, R. (2014). "Re-Thinking Aspiration and Hegemonic Masculinity in Transnational Context". *Masculinities and Social Change*, *3*(1), 18–35.

Human Rights Watch. (1998). *"Prohibited Persons": abuse of undocumented migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa*. New York.

Human Rights Watch. (2008). *Neighbors In Need: Zimbabweans Seeking Refuge in South Africa*. New York.

International Labour Organisation. (1998). *Labour Migration to South Africa in the 1990s*. Policy Paper Series No. 4. Harare.

Jearey-Graham, N., & Böhmke, W. (2013). ""A Lot of them are good buggers": The "Foreigner" as South Africa's Discursive Other African". *PINS*, *44*, 21–41.

Johnson, A. G. (2000). *The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology: a user's guide to sociological language*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Krause, K. (2011). "Cosmopolitan charismatics? Transnational ways of belonging and cosmopolitan moments in the religious practice of New Mission Churches". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *34*(3), 419–435.

Landau, L. B. (2004). *The laws of (in) hospitality: Black Africans in South Africa*. Forced Migration Studies Programme, Johannesburg. University of the Witwatersrand.

Landau, L. B. (2008a). "Attacks on foreigners in South Africa: more than just xenophobia?" In *Security 2008*. Pretoria.

Landau, L. B. (2008b). *Drowning in Numbers: Migration from Zimbabwe: Numbers, Needs and Policy Options*. Johannesburg. Centre for Development and Enterprise.

Landau, L. B. (2009). "Living within and beyond Johannesburg: exclusion, religion, and emerging forms of being". *African Studies*, *68*(2), 197–214.

Landau, L. B. (2011). *Exorcising the Demons Within: Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*. (L. Landau, Ed.). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Landau, L. B., & Freemantle, I. (2010). "Tactical Cosmopolitanism and Idioms of Belonging: Insertion and Self-Exclusion in Johannesburg". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(3), 375–390.

Langa, M., & Kiguwa, P. (2013). "Violent masculinities and service delivery protests in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of two communities in Mpumalanga". *Agenda*, *95*(November), 37–41.

Lauren, J., Mahler, M., & Auyero, J. (2007). *New Perspectives in Political Ethnography*. (J. Lauren, M. Mahler, & J. Auyero, Eds.). New York: Springer.

Leilde, A. C. (2008). *Changing Identities in Urban South Africa: An Interpretation of Narratives in Cape Town*. Stellenbosch University.

Lerner, A., Roberts, S., & Matlala, C. (2009). *Race and Migration in the Community Media: Local stories, common stereotypes*. Johannesburg.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1995). *Tristes Tropiques*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Lubkemann, S. C. (2000). "The transformation of transnationality among Mozambican Migrants in South Africa". *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, *34*(1), 41–63.

Lyotard, J.-F. (1986). *The Postmodern Condition*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Mac an Ghail, M. (1996). *Understanding Masculinities: social relations and cultural arenas*. (M. Mac an Ghail, Ed.). Buckingham: Open University Press.

Madsen, M. L. (2004). "Living for home: Policing immorality among undocumented migrants in Johannesburg". *African Studies*, *63*(2), 173–192.

Makina, D. (2008). *"A profile of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg" in Migration from Zimbabwe–Numbers, Needs, and Policy Options.* (pp. 14–18). Johannesburg.

Malinowski, B. (1922). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea.* London: Routledge.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton University Press.

Mamdani, M. (2001). "Beyond settler and native as political identities: overcoming the political legacy of colonialism". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *43*(4), 651–664.

Mane, P., & Aggleton, P. (2001). "Gender and HIV/AIDS: What Do Men have to Do with it?" *Current Sociology*, *49*(6), 23–37.

Mangezvo, P. L. (2009). "Sovereignty, the Ballot and Democracy: Interrogating Zimbabwe's political and electoral processes in the first years of the 21st Century". *CODESRIA Bulletin*, (1 & 2).

Mangezvo, P. L. (2013). "Debating the Global Political Agreement and Gender Equality in Zimbabwe: A Critical Analysis of Women's Access to Land Ownership and Political Decision Making". *Southern Peace Review Journal (Special Issue in Association with the OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter)*, *2*(1), 75–96.

Maravanyika, S., & Huijzenveld, F. D. (2010). "A Failed neo-Britain: Demography and the Labour Question in Colonial Zimbabwe". *African Nebula*, *1*(1), 18–33.

Matshaka, N. S. (2009). ""Marobot neMawaya"- Traffic lights and Wire: Crafting Zimbabwean Migrant Masculinities in Cape Town". *Feminist Africa*, *13*, 65–85.

Matsinhe, D. M. (2011). "Africa's Fear of Itself: the ideology of Makwerekwere in South Africa". *Third World Quarterly*, *32*(2), 295–313.

Mattes, R. (1999). *Still Waiting for the Barbarians: South African Attitudes to Immigrants and Immigration* (No. 14). Cape Town. Southern African Migration Project.

Matzopoulos, R., Corrigall, J., & Bowman, B. (2009). *A health impact assessment of international migrants following the xenophobic attacks in Gauteng and the Western Cape*. Johannesburg.

Mbembe, A. (1992). "Provisional notes on the postcolony". *Africa*, *62*(01), 3–37.

McCormick, & Wahba. (2003). "Return International Migration and Geographical Inequality: The Case of Egypt". *Journal of African Economies*, *12*(4), 500–532.

McDonald, D. A., & Jacobs, S. (2005). *Understanding Press Coverage of Cross-Border Migration in Southern Africa since 2000*. Cape Town.

McDonald, D. A., Zinyama, L., Gay, J., de Vletter, F., & Mattes, R. (2000). "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner: Migration from Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe to South Africa". *International Migration Review*, *34*(3), 813–841.

McGregor, J. (2007). ""Joining the BBC (British Bottom Cleaners)": Zimbabwean Migrants and the UK Care Industry". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(5), 801–824.

McGregor, J. (2009). "Associational links with home among Zimbabweans in the UK: reflections on long-distance nationalisms". *Global Networks*, *9*(2), 185–208.

McMahon, A. (1993). "Male readings of feminist theory: the psychologization of sexual politics in the masculinity literature". *Theory and Society*, *22*(5), 675–695.

Meyer, B., & Geschiere, P. (1999). *Globalization and identity: Dialectics of flow and closure*. (B. Meyer & P. Geschiere, Eds.). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Misago, J. P. (2011). "Disorder in a changing society: Authority and the micro-politics of violence". In L. Landau (Ed.), *Exorcising the Demons Within:Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Mlambo, A. S. (1998). "Building a White Man's Country: Aspects of White Immigration into Rhodesia up to World War II". *Zambezia*, *25*(2), 123–146.

Mlambo, A. S. (2000). *"Some Are More White Than Others": Racial Chauvinism As A Factor of Rhodesian Immigration Policy, 1890-1963*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Mngxitama, A. (2008). "We are not all like that: race, class and nation after Apartheid". In S. Hassim, T. Kupe, & E. Worby (Eds.), *Go Home or Die Here: violence, xenophobia and reinvention of difference in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Monson, T., & Arian, R. (2011). "Media Memory: A Critical Reconstruction of the May 2008 Violence". In L. Landau (Ed.), *Exorcising the Demons Within:Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Moodie, T. D. (1988). "Migrancy and male sexuality on the South African gold mines". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *14*(2), 228–256.

Moolman, B. (2013). "Rethinking "masculinities in transition" in South Africa considering the "intersectionality" of race, class, and sexuality with gender". *African Identities*, *11*(1), 93–105.

Morrell, R. (1998). "Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in Southern African studies". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *24*(4), 605–631.

Morrell, R. (2001). "The Times of Change: Men and Masculinity in South Africa". In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press/Zed Books.

Morris, A. (1998). "'Our fellow Africans make our lives hell': the lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *21*(6), 1116–1136.

Mosala, S. M. . (2008). *The Work Experience of Zimbabwean Migrants in South Africa* Issues Paper No. 33. Harare.

Murray, C. (1981). *Families Divided: The Impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho*. Cambridge University Press.

Murray, M. J. (2003). "Alien strangers in our midst: the dreaded foreign invasion and 'fortress South Africa.'" *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, *37*(2-3), 440–466.

Musemwa, M. (2006). "Disciplining a "Dissident" City: Hydropolitics in the City of Bulawayo, Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, 1980–1994". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *32*(2), 239–254.

Muzvidziwa, V. N. (2005). *Women Without Borders*. Addis Ababa: OSSREA.

Natter, K. (2013). "The Formation of Morocco's Policy Towards Irregular Migration (2000–2007): Political Rationale and Policy Processes". *International Migration*.

Nauright, J., & Chandler, T. J. (1996). *Making men: rugby and masculine identity*. (J. Nauright & T. J. Chandler, Eds.). London: Frank Cass.

Ndebele, N. S. (2003). *The Cry of Winnie Mandela: A Novel*. Claremont: New Africa Books.

Neocosmos, M. (2006). *From "Foreign Natives" to "Native Foreigners" Explaining Xenophobia in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA Monograph Series.

New Zimbabwe.com. (2013). FNB moves into Zim remittance market. *New Zimbabwe.com*. Retrieved April 10, 2013, from http://www.newzimbabwe.com/business-10793-FNB group joins Zim remittance market/business.aspx#news.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2002). "Local attitudes towards citizenship and foreigners in Botswana: an appraisal of recent press stories". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *28*(4), 754–775.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2005). "Images of nyongo among Bamenda grassfields in whiteman kontri". *Citizenship Studies*, *9*(3), 241–269.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2006). *Insiders and outsiders: citizenship and xenophobia in contemporary Southern Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA Books/Zed Books.

Okely, J., & Callaway, H. (1992). *Anthropology and Autobiography*. (J. Okely & H. Callaway, Eds.). Routledge.

Ong, A. (2002). "Flexible Citizenship among Chinese Cosmopolitans". In J. Vincent (Ed.), *The Anthropology of Politics A Reader in Ethnography, Theory and Critique*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Ouzgane, L., & Morrell, R. (2005). *African Masculinities: Men in Africa from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present*. (L. Ouzgane & R. Morrell, Eds.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Palmary, I., Rauch, J., & Simpson, G. (2003). "Violent crime in Johannesburg". In R. Tomlinson, R. A. Beauregard, L. Bremner, & X. Mangcu (Eds.), *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*. Routledge.

PASSOP. (2010). *Zimbabweans failed by Zimbabwe: The Zimbabwean Dispensation Project*. Cape Town.

Peberdy, S. (2001). "Imagining immigration: Inclusive identities and exclusive policies in post-1994 South Africa". *Africa Today*, *48*(3), 15–32.

Peberdy, S. (2009). *Selecting immigrants: National identity and South Africa's immigration policies, 1910-2008*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Pedahzur, A., & Yael, Y. (1999). "Hatred by hated people: Xenophobia in Israel". *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *22*(2), 101–117.

Petersen, A. R. (1998). *Unmasking the Masculine: "Men" and "Identity" in a Sceptical Age*. London: Sage.

Peterson, G. (2014). "Sports and Emotions". In J. E. Stets & J. H. Turner (Eds.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions: Volume II*. Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media.

Phillips, O. (2011). "The "perils" of sex and the panics of race: the dangers of interracial sex in colonial Southern Rhodesia". In S. Tamale (Ed.), *African Sexualities*. Oxford: Pambazuka Press.

Pillow, W. S. (2003). "Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research". *Qualitative Studies in Education*, *16*(2), 175–196.

Piot, C. (2010). *Nostalgia for the Future: West Africa after the Cold War*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Polzer, T. (2010). "'Xenophobia': Violence Against Foreign Nationals and Other "outsiders". In *Contemporary South Africa*. Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand.

Posel, D. (2003). "Have Migration Patterns in post-Apartheid South Africa Changed?" In *African Migration in Comparative Perspective*. Johannesburg.

Posel, D. (2005). "'Baby rape': Unmaking secrets of sexual violence in post-apartheid South Africa". In G. Reid & L. Walker (Eds.), *Men Behaving Differently*. Cape Town: Double Story Books.

Potter, M., & Hamilton, J. (2014). "Picking on vulnerable migrants: precarity and the mushroom industry in Northern Ireland". *Work, Employment & Society*, *0*(0), 1–17.

Powdermaker, H. (1967). *Stranger and friend: the way of an anthropologist*. London: Secker and Warburg.

Prakash, G. (1994). "Subaltern studies as postcolonial criticism". *The American Historical Review*, 1475–1490.

Ratele, K. (2008a). "Analysing males in Africa: certain useful elements in considering ruling masculinities". *African and Asian Studies*, *7*, 515–536.

Ratele, K. (2008b). "Masculinity and male mortality in South Africa: African safety promotion". *A Journal of Inquiry and Violence Prevention*, *7*(2), 19–41.

Ratele, K. (2011). "Male sexualities and masculinities". In S. Tamale (Ed.), *African Sexualities*. Oxford: Pambazuka Press.

Rattansi, A., & Phoenix, A. (1997). "Rethinking Youth Identities: Modernist and Postmodernist Frameworks". *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, *5*(2), 97–123.

Redfield, P. (2013). *Life in Crisis*. California: University of California Press.

Richter, L. M., & Morrell, R. (2006). *Baba: men and fatherhood in South Africa*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Robben, A. C., & Sluka, J. A. (2007). *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader*. (A. C. Robben & J. A. Sluka, Eds.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Robins, S. (2009). "Humanitarian aid beyond "bare survival": social movement responses to xenophobic violence in South Africa". *American Ethnologist*, *36*(4), 637–650.

Sachikonye, L. M. (1992). "Structural Adjustment, State and Organised Labour". In P. Gibbon (Ed.), *Social Change and Economic Reform in Africa*. Uppsala: SIAS.

Sachikonye, L. M. (1998). "Rethinking about Labour Markets and Migration Policy in a New Era". In L. M. Sachikonye (Ed.), *Labour and Migration Markets Policy in Southern Africa*. Harare: SAPES Books.

Sachikonye, L. M. (2011). *Zimbabwe's Lost Decade: Politics, Development & Society*. Harare: Weaver Press.

Schachter, J. P. (2009). *Data Assessment of Labour Migration Statistics in the SADC Region: South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe*. Harare.

Sharp, J. (2008). "'Fortress SA': Xenophobic violence in South Africa". *Anthropology Today*, *24*(4), 1–3.

Shefer, T., Ratele, K., Strebel, A., Shabalala, N., & Buikema, R. (2007). "From boys to men: An overview". In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala, & R. Buikema (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social Constructions of Masculinity in Contemporary Society*. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Shryock, A. (2010). "Introduction: Islam as an Object of Fear and Affection". In A. Shryock (Ed.), *Islamophobia/Islamophilia: Beyong the Politics of Enemy and Friend*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Sichone, O. (2001). "The Making of Makwerekwere: East Africans in Cape Town" Paper for the workshop Interrogating the New Political Culture in Southern Africa: ideas and institutions, Harare, Sheraton Hotel. 2001. Harare.

Simmel, Georg (Kurt H. Wolff, T. (1950). *"The Stranger" in The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. New York: Free Press.

Simon, M. (2011). "Analysis of Qualitative Data". In M. Simon (Ed.), *Dissertation and Scholarly Research: Recipes for Succees*. Seattle: LLC.

Siziba, G. (2013). *Language and the politics of identity in South Africa: The case of Zimbabwean (Shona and Ndebele-speaking) migrants in Johannesburg*. PhD Dissertation. Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Stellenbosch University.

Skogseth, G. (2006). *Cote d'Ivoire: Ethnicity, Ivoirite and Conflict*. Oslo.

Smyth, W. (1986). "Challenger jokes and the humor of disaster". *Western Folklore*, *45*(4), 243–260.

Spivak, G. C. (2003). "Subaltern studies: deconstructing historiography". In J. Culler (Ed.), *Deconstruction: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*. Routledge.

Standing, G. (2011). *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Steinberg, J. (2008). "South Africa's xenophobic eruption". *Institute for Security Studies Papers*, *169*, 15–p.

Stichter, S. (1985). *Migrant Laborers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tevera, D., & Zinyama, L. (2002). *Zimbabweans who move: Perspectives on international migration in Zimbabwe*. *Southern African Migration Project* Migration Policy Series No. 25. Idasa and Queens University.

Tevera, D., & Crush, J. (2003). *The new brain drain from Zimbabwe* (No. 29). Cape Town.

Tevera, D., Crush, J., & Chikanda, A. (2010). "13. Migrant Remittances on Household Survival in Zimbabwe". *Health*, *2*(18), 10–930.

Tiemoko, R. (2004). "Migration, Return and Socio-economic Change in West Africa: The Role of Family". *Population, Space and Place*, *10*, 155–174. doi:10.1002/psp.320

Tolson, A. (1977). *The limits of masculinity*. London: Tavistock.

Troman, G., Jeffrey, B., & Walford, G. (2005). *Methodological Issues and Practices in Ethnography (Studies in Educational Ethnography Volume 11)*. (G. Troman, B. Jeffrey, & G. Walford, Eds.) (Vol. 11). JAI Press.

Uchendu, E. (2008). *Masculinities in Contemporary Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA Books.

Ulin, P. R. (2002). *Qualitative Methods: A field guide for applied research in sexual and reproductive health*. North Carolina: Famly Health International.

UNESCO. (n.d.). Glossary: Migrants and mgration. Retrieved June 08, 2013, from http://www.unesco.org/most/migration/glossary_migrants.htm

Ungar, S. (2001). "Moral panic versus risk society: the implication of changing sites of social anxiety". *British Journal of Sociology*, *52*(2), 271–291.

United Nations. (2002). *International Migration Report*.

United Nations Development Programme. (2010). *The Potential Contribution of the Zimbabwean Diaspora to Economic Recovery in Zimbabwe* (No. 2). Harare.

United Nations Development Programme & Poverty Reduction Forum. (2003). *Human Development Report 2003 Zimbabwe: Redirecting our responses to HIV and AIDS*. Harare.

Van der Waal, K. C. S., & Robins, S. (2011). "'De la Rey' and the Revival of 'Boer Heritage': Nostalgia in the Post-apartheid Afrikaner Culture Industry". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *37*(4), 763–779.

Van Onselen, C. (1976). *Chibharo: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933*. London: Pluto Press.

Van Onselen, G. (2014, April 27). "Pulse of the Nation". *Sunday Times*. Johannesburg.

Vigneswaran, D. (2008). "Enduring territoriality: South African immigration control". *Political Geography*, *27*(7), 783–801.

Vigneswaran, D., Araia, T., Hoag, C., & Tshabalala, X. (2010). "Criminality or monopoly? Informal immigration enforcement in South Africa". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *36*(2), 465–481.

Vincent, J. (2002). *The Anthropology of Politics A Reader in Ethnography, Theory and Critique*. (J. Vincent, Ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Vromans, L., Schweitzer, R. D., Knoetze, K., & Kagee, A. (2011). "The Experience of xenophobia in South Africa". *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *81*(1), 90–93.

Wamela, W. W. (2009). *The linkages between immigration and national security: a case study of Kenya, 1998-2008*. University of Nairobi.

Warner, C., & Finchilescu, G. (2003). "Living with prejudice- xenophobia and race". *Agenda*, *5*, 36–44.

Wax, M. L. (2012). "Tenting with Malinowski". *American Sociological Review*, *37*(1), 1–13.

White, H. (2001). "Tempora et mores: Family values and the possessions of a post-apartheid countryside". *Journal of Religion in Africa*, *31*(4), 457–479.

White, L. (1990). *The comforts of home: Prostitution in colonial Nairobi*. University of Chicago Press.

Whitehead, S. M., & Barret, F. J. (2001). *The Masculinities Reader*. (M. Whitehead, Stephen & J. Barret, Frank, Eds.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Whitehead, T. (2004). *What is Ethnography?*. Maryland.

Winter, A. (2010). "American Terror: From Oklahoma City to 9/11 and After". In B. Brecher, M. Devenney, & A. Winter (Eds.), *Discourses and practices of terrorism: interrogating terror*. Routledge.

Young, J. (1999). *The exclusive society: social exclusion, crime and difference in late modernity*. London: Sage.

Zeleza, T. P. (2005). "Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic". *African Affairs*, *104*, 35–68.

Zenker, O. (2011). "Autochthony, ethnicity, indigeneity and nationalism: time-honouring and state-oriented modes of rooting individual-territory-group triads in a globalising world". *Critique of Anthropology*, *31*(1), 63–81.

Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency. (2012). *Migration in Zimbabwe A COUNTRY PROFILE 2010*. Harare.