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University of the Witwatersrand

Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences

Forced Migration Studies Programme

The Impact of Social Interactions on Ethnic Identity Perceptions: The Case of Shona and Ndebele Migrants Living in Johannesburg, South Africa

By

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
Chapter One	1
Introduction	1
Rational	6
Chapter Two	8
Literature review	8
Ethnicity	9
Ethnicity in Zimbabwe	11
Socialisation	19
Chapter 3	21
Methodology	22
Introduction	22
Discussion of key concepts	23
Key tasks	26
Sampling method	26
Site selection	28
Data collection	28
Data analysis	29
Ethical considerations	30
Chapter 4	31
Data presentation and analysis	31
Introduction	31
Shona/Ndebele ethnic identity perceptions before flight	34
Social interactions in Johannesburg	37
Shona/Ndebele ethnic identity perceptions after social interactions	42
Co-existence and business sharing	46
Chapter 5	
Conclusions and implications for further research	54
Bibliography	59
Appendices	64
End notes	68

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Abstract

In Zimbabwe, interethnic relations led to animosities and divisions, between and among ethnic groups. Zimbabwe's main ethnic groups fought interethnic wars in pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial Zimbabwe. Interethnic differences Between Shona and Ndebele people caused the massacres of Ndebele people from 1980 to 1987. This study aimed at determining the impact of social interactions on ethnic identity perceptions or prejudices Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe have of each other within Johannesburg. To do so, I first understood respondents' perceptions before leaving Zimbabwe and perceptions after social interactions in Johannesburg. The nature and extent of social interactions were surveyed. Sixteen participants from each group were interviewed. Collection of data was made through in depth face to face interviews. Literature was reviewed to construct a theoretical framework for the inquiry.

The main finding in this work is that social interactions have helped in weakening negative ethnic identity perceptions Shona and Ndebele people have of each other. A larger number of respondents expressed views which showed support of weakening negative ethnic identity perceptions through social interactions such as intermarriages, street vending associations, church interactions and business sharing. The impact of that on the existing literature is that the findings support the argument that under certain conditions contact leads to the weakening of prejudices, perceptions or attitudes. But there are other minor findings that show that perceptions of few respondents have not changed. Basing on minor findings, I discovered that Shona and Ndebele people might have forgiven each other but that does not necessarily mean that the Shona and Ndebele people like each other as much.

Chapter one

1.0 Introduction

This study owes its foundation to arguments of contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) on the impact of intergroup contact on prejudices. The focus of this study is to investigate the impact of social interactions on ethnic identity perceptions of Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe who are living in Johannesburg as migrants. The basic question this research poses is: how social interactions between Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe living in Johannesburg as migrants have impacted on ethnic identitity perceptions they have of each other? For the purpose of my analysis, I demonstrate that social interactions through intermarriages, co-existence and business sharing do play a role in weakening ethnic identity perceptions and therefore, cannot be neglected in the analysis of how ethnic perceptions change. In this research report, I intend to uncover whether Shona and Ndebele people will be tolerant to each other in the migratory environment.

I argue that due to the ordeal associated with the process of coming to and living in Johannesburg (see Fischer, 1976), more so for Shonas and Ndebeles escaping torture and trauma associated with land seizures by the Mugabe regime, and economic and political deprivations in the country, there is bound to be a reconsideration of some previously held ethnic identity perceptions. Thus, interaction between Shonas and Ndebeles living in Johannesburg may also result in weakening previous held ethnic identity prejudices.

There has been much debate in examining the impact of inter-group contact on ethnic identity prejudices or perceptions. Inter-group contact is believed to weaken prejudice and

inter-group tension. Contact hypothesis is based on an interactionist perspective that states that interracial contact between people of equal status in cooperative circumstances will reduce prejudice (Allport, 1954). Contact hypothesis can also be considered as a broad generalization about the effects of personal contact between the members of different ethnic groups on their prejudiced opinions and discriminatory behaviour. The basic idea is that more contact between individuals belonging to antagonistic social groups (defined by culture, language, beliefs, skin colour, nationality, etc) tends to undermine or lessen the prejudices they have of each other and to reduce their reciprocated dislike, thus improving inter-group relations by making people more willing to deal with each other as equals. In short, more contact means less ethnic or cultural conflict, other things being equal (Forbes, 1997).

Robbin Williams' studies done in U.S.A in the 1950s found that contact reduces conflict. Contact, as Williams (1964) discovered, oversimplifies conceptions and images of ethnic groups interacting, gradually terminating or lessening what could have anchored ethnic violence or animosities.

Yet there is evidence that inter-group contact may exacerbate tensions. A school of thought under Barth (1969)'s inspiration, argues that contact can simply serve to intensify existing attitudes, both positive and negative. Moreover the individual's initial attitude can influence the outcome of the contact encounter, that is, contact may simply serve to reinforce initial attitudes. He says that, the groups in contact will see their boundaries and differences. As a result, prejudices and hostility will worsen. In addition, Amir (1998) argues that contact may intensify negative attitudes especially when goals pursued in such contact are not achieved or when one group remains in a vulnerable position due to such contact. This has been illustrated by the Israel and the Palestinian conflict.

The contact hypothesis argument is far from being conclusive. On one hand, evidence from Williams (1964) has shown that group contact lessen ethnic prejudices, thereby reducing animosities between ethnic groups. On the other hand, contact has been seen as amplifying conflict. Since time immemorial, it is no surprise that conflicts and wars have resulted due to contact between ethnic groups such as the Yugoslavia ethnic conflict. Thus Amir (1998) concludes that the assumption of contact hypothesis as weakening conflicts between ethnic groups seems naïve.

Various schools of thought attempt to shed some light on possible answers. For instance Hewstone *et al* (1986) argues that there are a number of variables that shape the contact situation. These variables fall into three main categories: the character of the contact situation, the character of the contact participants, and the attitudinal and behavioural results. While analysis of all the variables is not complete, some relevant factors have started to emerge. The researchers have found that prejudices or perceptions are more likely to change as a result of contact which offers an opportunity to be involved with and participate in activities with the members of the other group. Mere contacts have fewer tendencies to change attitudes (see also Hewstone and Brown, 1996).

Furthermore, Forbes (1997) says that contact between individuals of equal status (at least within the context of the contact situation) tends to decrease prejudice. Contact with lower status individuals tends to worsen views of their group. Contact with higher status people tends to improve one's view of the other group. However such contacts may also produce feelings of inferiority and diminished regard for one's own group, especially in the case of low status minority groups meeting higher status members of the dominant group. Participatory contact with high status members of a minority group can yield a

positive change in the attitudes of the dominant group, without corresponding feelings of lowered self worth in the dominant group.

Amir's (1998) ideas are that, the nature of the contact activity also affects the outcome. Cooperative activities tend to improve intergroup relations, while competitive activities may have a negative effect. Shared, superordinate goals promote cooperation between groups. Contact may intensify negative attitudes in the absence of superordinate goals, or when one side is disadvantaged by the contact. "When intimate relations are established, the in-group member no longer perceives the member of the out-group in a stereotyped way but begins to consider him or her as an individual and thereby discovers many areas of similarity."(p. 174)

The study explores the question of social interactions between Shona and Ndebele migrants in Johannesburg and how these have impacted on their ethnic identity perceptions. I sought to answer the question using three main ways. Firstly, by determining the prejudices held by Shona and Ndebele migrants before leaving Zimbabwe for Johannesburg. Secondly, by assessing the nature and frequency of social interactions the two ethnic groups are involved in while living in Johannesburg. Thirdly, by analysing the nature of social interactions between Shona and Ndebele people living in Johannesburg as migrants with a view to analyse whether social interactions contribute to the weakening of perceptions they have of one another, and if so, why it happens. This study investigate various explanatory reasons why this should be the case, especially among Zimbabwean migrants coming to search for tenable lives in Johannesburg.

This research report utilises theoretical guidance from research in the contact hypothesis framework. This research attempts to find the nature and conditions under which contact helps in lessening perceptions. The contacts that exist between Shona and Ndebele

migrants in Johannesburg would impact on perceptions or ethnic prejudices the two migrant groups have of each other. I hypothesize that social interactions through intermarriages, as workmates, among others, weaken ethnic identity perceptions Shona and Ndebele people have of each other.

Chapter two of this research is dedicated to the discussion of ethnicity in general, ethnicity in Zimbabwean context and as well socialisation. Through a review of the existing literature, ethnicity illustrates main issues related to the problem of perceptions. The importance of analysing ethnicity is that, the concept shows how groups treat each other in different circumstances, whether with or without attitudes. Under the second section on ethnicity in Zimbabwe, I am interested in showing how the relations between and within Zimbabwe's main ethnic groups, that is Shona and Ndebele people bred divisions and prejudices. This section also isolates the processes through which Shona and Ndebele relations bred perceptions they have of each other. The last section on this chapter discusses about socialisation. The interest in Socialisation is that important because when people interact, they will be socialising. Socialisation, consequently impacts on reshaping Shona and Ndebele people's perceptions. The importance of this section to my argument is that, it is a process by which perceptions are bred or rekindled, and it is a case of reference to which results will be used to deduce a conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter three is the methodology section. I discuss the social interactions and ethnic identity perceptions conceptual framework and how they can be measured. Also included in this chapter is an outline of key tasks, sampling method, site selection, data collection and analysis methods, and ethical considerations. This section is important in this research because it presents processes I took towards achieving findings.

Data presentation and analysis constitute chapter four. The chapter demonstrates effects of social interactions on negative ethnic identity perceptions. It demonstrates that Shona and Ndebele people's interactions in Johannesburg have weakened or lessened previously held perceptions. For example, intermarriages between Shona and Ndebele people, as explained by the respondents were rare, but it is now a common phenomenon among migrants.

Chapter five is mainly the conclusion and recommendations. I summarised what I discovered and implications of findings on existing literature. My main findings support ideas of contact theory which says that under certain conditions, contact may weaken negative perceptions. I recommend that the use of inferential statistical modelling such as Analysis of Variance would be useful in monitoring the shifts of perceptions and to elicit whether that would be statistically significant. I further challenged future scholars of Shona and Ndebele relations while in the diaspora, to look at the impact of intermarriage rates and their implication on ethnic relations the two groups have.

1.1 Rationale

This study might have potential importance in the South African context, as it hopes to enlighten how ethnic identity perceptions are being renegotiated and contested as Johannesburg becomes increasingly populated by refugees of different nationalities. The importance is about the fact that South Africa and the world will understand how to handle differences between groups of people from different countries within a migratory environment. This will also help South Africa to either adjust or reinforce her security against migrants who transnationalise their ethnic attitudes, thereby compromising South Africa's security.

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), migrants bring into play many sensitive issues like national identity, social change and cultural adaptation (IOM, 2003). There are various studies that focus on social interactions between host society and migrants and a few have been done on social interactions between inter-ethnic migrant groups. Most studies on migrants focus on problems of adaptation, remittances, discrimination from host society, rights issues and racism.

For Kloosterman, Van De Leun and Rath (1999:257), there is need to further research on social interactions of migrants. Thus this study is a project that seeks to document and explore the experiences of migrants in central Johannesburg. I want to contribute to the Johannesburg Survey Project[i], especially on how social interactions between different migrant ethnic groups from the same country within the host society affect ethnic identity perceptions they have of one another.

According to Eriksen (2002), anthropologists who carried out research on urbanisation in Africa have tended to focus on persistence and change in social identity following migration to new settings, to which this research wants to contribute knowledge. Furthermore, though there have been a few studies done in areas of migration and diaspora pertaining to Shona and Ndebele people, a little has been done to establish the impact of social interactions on the perceptions of ethnic divisions in the case of Shona and Ndebele migrant community in Johannesburg. The work aims to contribute to the body of knowledge about ethnic interactions of Zimbabwean communities in the diaspora. The interactions are worth studying because it is worth understanding the trans-nationalization of ethnic prejudices into different countries and how the prejudices survive or how the interactions can impact on other country's security.

Chapter Two

Literature review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on ethnicity in general, ethnicity in Zimbabwe and socialisation. This literature review seeks to analyse some of the arguments in an attempt to develop a plausible explanation for the central argument in this study, that is; if contact exist between Shona and Ndebele migrants living in Johannesburg, there will be exchange of information that would likely impact on ethnic identity perceptions. What is the potential of social interactions to transform the migrants' perceptions? For instance, would socially interacting in Johannesburg result in a greater exchange of information that will change previously known perceptions among Shona and Ndebele migrants? Why, if so? A process of socialisation as a result of interaction between Shona and Ndebele migrants in Johannesburg may also result in new ideas previously unknown to the migrants.

The first section looks at ethnicity and gives an overview of arguments surrounding the ethnicity concept. The second section focuses on ethnicity in Zimbabwe. In particular, the section shows different ethnic formations, Shona-Ndebele relations and how perceptions existed between the two. The third part looks at socialisation. Using the literature on socialisation, I intend to link social interactions between Shona and Ndebele migrants in Johannesburg, and how the process might impact on ethnic identity perceptions Shona and Ndebele migrants have of one another. Generally, social interactions may be

established among Shona and Ndebele migrants within the processes of adjusting to life in Johannesburg.

Mobility and migratory behaviour of human beings has increased greatly in contemporary times. All over the world, people are leaving their rural areas and migrating to urban centres. People are also leaving their home areas and migrating to other countries. There are many reasons why people leave their home areas. Many are displaced by economic forces are drive them from a self-sufficient subsistence base into poverty, for example, Zimbabweans. Others are displaced by civil strife and warfare, forcing them to seek refuge in other countries. And some are drawn by new opportunities. Migration and contact has led to the existence of multi-ethnic cities.

2.1 Ethnicity

According to Guibernau and Rex (1997), ethnic identity is based on a belief in ethnicity that is unconscious norm or standard guiding group behavior and forming group consciousness among group members. Ethnicity, which is an ethnic sense of self, suggests a feeling of belonging to an ethnic group. This sense of belonging is based on differentiation, how much they and others share common characteristics that differentiate them from others in a society.

Further more, Seymour-Smith (1986) also suggested, “Ethnicity may be objective or subjective, implicit or explicit, manifest or latent, acceptable or unacceptable to a given grouping or category of people” (p. 96). Like Guibernau and Rex, Eriksen (2002) pointed out, “Ethnic identities are neither ascribed nor achieved: they are both. They are wedged between situational selection and imperatives imposed from without” (p. 57). Therefore, there is always a possibility that a gap exists between evaluation by oneself and

evaluation by others. Such a gap can be recognized, since ethnic identity mirrors one's ethnic characteristics. Ethnic characteristics individuals to assure their identities by asserting ethnic identities and the boundaries of their ethnic group and so on, especially when they know or confront ethnic characteristics different from their own.

For Eriksen (2002), when people talk of ethnicity, they indicate that groups and identities have developed in mutual contact rather than in isolation. He argues that, ethnicity is an aspect of social relationships between agents who consider themselves a being culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they a minimum of regular interaction. Yelvington (1991) pointed that ethnicity can be defined as a social identity characterized by metaphoric and fictive kinship. When cultural differences make a difference in interaction between members of groups, the social relationship has an ethnic element. Ethnicity refers both to aspects of gain and loss in interaction and to aspects of meaning in the creation of identity. In this way, it has a political, organizational aspects as well as symbolic one (Eriksen, 2002)

Generally speaking, identity refers to a sense of self with the sameness and continuity that is held by an individual by assuring that both self as well as others recognize this sense (Eriksen, 2002). The content of self-identity varies and changes among people according to differences in culture and between individuals, regarding whether self is defined by separating from others or within relations with others. Self, a capacity of an individual, allows people to project their characteristics and the world of their daily lives through communication activities. This process of projection is, in other words, an identification process through which people find the meaning of objects and place themselves and others based on a given social context at the time. More often, identity is bequeathed, maintained and changed through communication activities (Nash, 1990). Thus the study

of ethnicity is also the study of how groups continually reinvent themselves in cultural terms. Moreover, contexts themselves may change, possibly leading individuals to adopt a different identity, temporarily or permanently as a consequence.

Thus, ethnicity has been the subject of great intellectual inquiry in recent times. What seems to be the unanimous view is that ethnicity and identity conflicts will be the dominant form of violence and war in the coming years. Ethnicity can be enhanced and reformulated under certain conditions, especially under migratory environment. Myths of origin, enemy images, demonizing the other, are old and traditional myths of long historical duration. Most ethnic groups do have a myth of origin, a history of the group, chosen enemies, and stories of traumas. It is at this point that the intersection between interactions in the migratory environment and the revival of myth and ritual is of interest.

2.2 Ethnicity in Zimbabwe

Much has been written about ethnicity in Africa and there is no need to summarize the discussion (see Van Binsbergen, (1987) who discussed *'Ideology of Ethnicity in Central Africa'* and his (Van Binsbergen, W.M.J. 2002) subsequent essay on, '*Aspects of ethnicity in Africa today'*. What is significant and important in the discussion is that there are particular factors that are general in the discussion of ethnicity as highlighted in the previous section. Here, I discuss ethnicity in Zimbabwe in order to show ethnic formation and relations between the two major ethnic groups i.e. the Shona and Ndebele people. This section highlights a two-fold analysis of the origins of Ndebele-Shona ethnic perceptions or prejudices. On the one hand, the two ethnic groups had tribal wars that emerged out of Ndebele predatory behaviour on Shona wealth and women, while on the other, a mainly Shona fifth brigade army killed Ndebele people after Zimbabwean independence under the pretext of pacifying the Matebeleland region in Zimbabwe. Thus

Shona and Ndebele ethnic perceptions were crafted by and nurtured through intertribal raids and wars against each other.

Shona people are not a monolithic entity. Shona people are a mixture of about five sub-ethnic groups. It has been shown that the Shona-speaking peoples before 1890 had two historical characteristics (Beach, 1986; Ranger, 1985).

The first one is that they had possession of a language as well as many other cultural traits that were common among them and they were scattered over a large area, in contrasting environments, and pulled in different directions by trading links and military alliances. However, they were not conscious of a cultural identity, still less a political one.

The second one is that they also had local chieftaincy groups; powerful states had emerged which demanded honour from chiefly groups in a system of over-rule. But these states never tow all their subjects together into self-conscious identities, nor had they manipulated concepts of group identity in a manner which left a lasting ethnic legacy. Between the Shona culture as a whole and the local chiefly group there existed no intermediate concept of ethnicity (Ranger, 1985: 121).

There has been a wide perception that ethnicity was a colonial creation, but Beach shows that the terms such as Korekore, Zezuru, Manyika which describe the Shona sub-ethnic groups, did not have an ethnic attachment pre-colonial currency. Each arose in a different way and had different connotations and each was available to be pressed into distorting service by the classifiers of the twentieth century. Two of the ethnicity-classifying terms had topographical significance, and one was a slang term invented by an enemy.

In addition, Ranger mentions that the terms with a long recorded history were Karanga/Kalanga and Manyika. When the Portuguese came into contact with the Shona-

speaking peoples in the sixteenth century, they noted that the primary lineages which ruled over the commoners were known as 'Karanga'. They also gave an account of the existence of a chiefly territory which was called 'Manyika'. Thus, European usage altered the significance of these terms. The Portuguese called a large region around the Manyika chieftaincy Manicaland, and the name was picked up by the British in the late nineteenth century. Most of the peoples of this region, however, did not think of themselves as related in any way to the Manyika chieftaincy. As for the term Karanga, it suffered a shift both of location and of meaning. The Portuguese had used it to refer to the ruling lineages of the northern and eastern Shona-speakers. The incoming British at the end of the nineteenth century picked up this 'historic' term to describe the first Shona-speakers they encountered, naming the total populations of the southwest area Kalanga and those of the southern plateau Karanga.

In his analysis, Beach found out that the terms which had a topographical connection were Korekore and Zezuru. Beach tells us that 'Korekore' gradually appeared in the north of Zimbabwe. It generally meant the people of the north and northwest.' He also tells us that 'by the middle of the eighteenth century the Portuguese were beginning to refer to the people around the head of the Mazoe Valley as Zezuru. The term meant people who live in a high area. The two words were, then, the equivalent of northerner and highlander rather than ethnic or tribal categorizations. As for the term Ndau, it was a derogatory nick-name given to the peoples of the eastern frontier by the raiding Gaza Nguni of the mid-nineteenth century. Beach concludes by regretting the projection backwards into 'tradition' of what have become modern tribal names since, as he argues, most of these terms were originally used in a much more restricted sense.

Despite all this, the terms have come to possess at least that degree of reality in suggesting ethnic associations. Ranger believes that this has happened as a result of the agency of both 'unofficial' Europeans and of unofficial Africans—of missionaries and their converts and of African labour migrants. Later, when these unofficials had achieved a diffused sense of *Manyikahood*, *Zezuruness* and so on, the concepts were belatedly taken up by officials and by chiefs, and by the colonial administration.

The Ndebele of Zimbabwe are concentrated in Western Zimbabwe in Matabeleland and live apart from other ethnic groups. The Ndebele people have their own language, but are otherwise not that different from the majority Shona ethnic group. In fact, Ndebele is an ethnic group that grew out of a military state encompassing people of different origin, including some Shona. The Ndebele of Zimbabwe are descendants of King Mzilikazi who fled from the Zulu warrior king Shaka in the 19th century. King Mzilikazi and a group of 500 followers went north until they settled in Matabeleland. The Ndebele Kingdom had various groups such as the Kalanga, the Sotho and Shona. The mentioned groups became part of the Ndebele Kingdom due to the fact that they were captured people during raids (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). (See also Cobbing 1976; Beach 1984: 52 ff, and Nyathi 1994, 1996, 1999 and Mazarire, 2002).

As a consequence, depending on whom their ancestors were at the time of their incorporation into the Ndebele state, an Ndebele today may be of, for example, Nguni, Venda, Sotho, Tswana, or Shona origin. “Such categories of belonging are constantly used in southern Zimbabwe, and often in a hierarchical manner. While the Nguni or original Khumalo followers form a kind of aristocracy, people of Shona origin were or are more often considered to be commoners. People also tend to arrange these and other categories of origin hierarchically according to an older caste-like division. People of

Nguni origin are then termed Zanzi (abeZanzi), the highest stratum, while people of Sotho origin are referred to as Enhla (abaEnhla), and people of Shona origin are called Lozwi (abaLozwi) or, pejoratively, Holi (Holi, 'slaves').” (Lindgren, 2004: page 173). The above history describes how Shona and Ndebele people came into contact.

In Kaplan’s (1992) ideas, the most important issue has been-and will continue to be-the extent to which ethnicity serves as a basis for division between Zimbabwe's two most important African peoples. The distinction between Shona and Ndebele has been said to account for political alignments in modern nationalist movements and to limit easy social relations between people of each category. In fact the situation has seldom been so clear-cut.

Ndebele defeat and domination of sections of the Shona not long before colonial rule was imposed left its residue of bitterness among the Shona and perhaps a sense of superiority among some Ndebele people. Ranger (1985) argues that the Ndebele, who espoused a Zulu warrior tradition, fought intertribal wars against the Shona people. In most cases Ndebele people won tribal wars against Shona people until the end of the 18th century, when Zimbabwe became a colony of Britain. Ndebele warriors took wealth and women from the Shonas.

Ranger further mentions that many Shona people never experienced either conflict with the Ndebele or dominance by them, and the Shona did not at the time see themselves as one people. The Zezuru tribe was raided by Ndebele warriors more often than the Manyika tribe. This was mainly due to distance. Zezuru and Karanga tribes were closer to the Ndebele Kingdom than the Manyika people. By that time, the experience of some sections was not regarded as the experience of all Shona. Moreover many of the modern leaders such as Robert Mugabe and the late Joshua Nkomo stemming from both groups

considered the ethnic difference irrelevant, although their followers often have not. In social matters different regional distribution and differences of language rather than antipathy have accounted for most social separateness. Thus, this created a diversity of experiences and attitudes in Zimbabwe's ethnic groups.

Contrary to the above argument, Wiley (1981) argues that the present turmoil in Zimbabwe is primarily between different political parties with different histories, leadership styles, goals, and membership. In Zimbabwe, ethnic identity has political implications. In Zimbabwe, persons who never identified as Shona in the rural areas but as members of a particular village or lineage or family suddenly found Shona identities in the rough and tumble of urban politics.

Kaplan (1991) posits that differences of dialect, culture, and region between Shona and Ndebele people could be used to signal ethnic boundaries that existed and came into play in political and social relations.

Even today, Ndebele people believe that infrastructural development is high in Mashonaland than in Matebeleland. Financial and educational empowerment is seen as in the hands of Shonas as compared to Ndebele people (Rothchild, 1997). Thus, the Ndebele people of Zimbabwe view the differences between them and Shonas in terms of empowerment as retribution for old scores from the Shona side; especially the fact that the government has got a Shona president. For Kaplan (1991), all the above mentioned happened to Ndebeles because Ndebele defeat and domination of sections of the Shona during the pre-colonial period, left its residue of bitterness among the Shona. Thus perceptions in this regard were not only brought about by the wars Shona-Ndebele tribes engaged in but also the position of other tribes in societal institutions.

The two groups (Shona and Ndebele) fought against each other in pre and post colonial Zimbabwe. The violent nature of both groups against one another significantly shaped the perceptions they have of each other today. According to Yap (2002) ZANU and ZAPU supporters fought in 1963 and 1964 because they saw each other as rivals for popular support. There were also military clashes between ZANLA and ZIPRA forces during the war of liberating Zimbabwe from colonial rule. Members of the nationalist organizations at times labelled each other as enemies. When nationalist political and military developments partitioned Rhodesia into separate ZANU and ZAPU areas, coinciding with the ethnically divided geographical regions, a reinforcement of the Zanu/Shona – Zapu/Ndebele dichotomy took place. Ethnicity had become a political identity. For Dabengwa (1990), despite the ethnic reinforcement, the engine for the dichotomous set-up seems, nevertheless, to have been intense power competition between nationalist organisations and animosities between the two movements became prevalent.

Furthermore, political and military developments that took place in post-independence Zimbabwe between 1980-1987 fuelled tribal differences between Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups. Soon after independence, the new government of Zimbabwe tried to integrate freedom fighters of two main nationalist movements (ZANU and ZAPU) into one army. Also, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (1989) discovered that ZIPRA[ii] cadres defected from building a national army because they felt some of their colleagues were disappearing mysteriously under the hands of ZANU. The ZIPRA cadres were also annoyed because they felt ZANLA[iii] cadres were being favoured for promotion through a Shona ethnic card. In Bulawayo, Entumbane area, ZANLA and ZIPRA cadres exchanged fire for two days in the holding camp where they were supposed to be vetted, so that they were to be integrated into the national army of Zimbabwe. Causes of the exchange of fire are not yet authentically established but many argue that it was a prelude

to the Ndebele uprising against the Shona led government. The exchange of fire led to the death of as many as 300 people in Entumbane, most of them Shona (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, 1989).

In addition, the Matebeleland region in Zimbabwe was marked by violence conducted by dissidents[iv] and other civil unrest prompted military action by the government. The military strategy the government opted for had dire consequences. The mainly Shona fifth brigade army was responsible for Matebeleland massacres. According to Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (1989), an instrumental element in the fifth brigade operations was its ethnic stance. It is alleged that Shona soldiers victimised people identified with the Ndebele ethnic group, and stressed Shona superiority. Alexander et al (2000:162) mentions that, "Shona soldiers often told civilians that their task was to wipe out Ndebeles, one of the reasons being crimes conducted by Ndebele warriors on Shona ancestors." It is estimated that between four thousand and twenty thousand Ndebele people died. The fifth brigade's actions reflected a shift in a policy of quelling dissident activities in the Matebeleland region to terror tactics and genocide.

Prejudices or perceptions about Shona and Ndebele hostilities and distinctions are well documented by Ranger (1985), Beach (1986), Vail (1989) and Bhebhe (1979). These works show that popular myths and perceptions were a result of violence and they give a picture of the Ndebele as predatory because they used to raid Shona wealth and women, and the Shona as murderers and a cruel people because of fifth brigade activities in Matebeleland. The myths or perceptions became part of the Shona and Ndebele oral and literary traditions (Ranger: 1985).

With the melt down of the Zimbabwean economy from 1997-2004, associated with political and economic deprivations, many Zimbabweans migrated to South Africa. South

Africa is said to host more than two hundred thousand diasporic Zimbabweans[v] out of an approximated total of three and a half million Zimbabweans in diaspora.

In this research, I have focused on active perceptions[vi] in Zimbabwean society that were brought about by inter-tribal wars between the two groups. The main reason for taking intertribal wars is that it is the most active catalyst for perceptions the two groups have of each other. Thus Shona identity [for Ndebeles] resembles an avenging cruel people who killed their relatives and are aimed at destabilising them in all aspects of life, while for Shonas, a Ndebele identity resembles a lazy, violent and predatory people, who killed their ancestors.

2.3 Socialisation

Socialisation is important in this research in that, when people interact, they socialise. Thus for Ndebele and Shona migrants in Johannesburg to understand each other better, and exchange information, they have to interact and socialise.

Socialisation is a learning process. Socialisation refers to all learning regardless of setting or age of the individual. In every group one has to learn the rules, expectations, and truths of that group, whether the group is your family, the army, or the state (nation). Socialization is the process where people acquire personality and learn the way of life of their society. Essentially, one has to learn culture. Learning culture is learning everything. It encompasses all the truths, values, rules, and goals that people share with one another. Culture is a shared perspective. Charon further argues that, we obviously learn throughout our lives (Charon, 1987:63-69)

While there are two levels of socialisation; primary and secondary, secondary socialisation is of use to this research. In any society, the process of secondary

socialisation is necessary because it represents the way people learn about the nature of the social world beyond primary contacts**.** People have to learn how to deal with people who are not emotionally close to them, people whom they come into contact with.

The agents of socialization are people and/or groups that influence self concepts, emotions, attitudes and behaviour (Henslin, 1999:76-81). Other agents of secondary socialisation are the family, the school, peer groups, the mass media, religion, work place, the state etc.

Parsons (1951: 17) claims that the main purpose (or function as he called it) of secondary socialisation is to: "Liberate the individual from a dependence upon the primary attachments and relationships formed within the family group". In this regard, Shona and Ndebele people interact; probably exchanging information and this process might demystify already held perceptions about each other. The dependence on previously known perceptions might weaken through the process of secondary socialisation of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg.

Thus in this research, platforms of social interactions such as intermarriages, vending associations etc are agents of secondary socialization. That is where perceptions are negotiated and renegotiated. Most Shona and Ndebele migrants in Johannesburg might be strangers to each other. The driving force that makes them meet is a fact that they are all Zimbabweans. By socially interacting in Johannesburg, I consider that as a sign of secondary socialisation. However, secondary socialisation remains the property of the individual and is carried out of the context in which the individual carries out the action.

This research investigates whether ethnic identity perceptions still exist between Shona and Ndebele migrants after social interactions in Johannesburg. On one hand, I

investigate whether the Ndebeles still hold perceptions they have for Shona people after social interactions, while on the other; I investigate whether Shona people still have perceptions against Ndebele people after social interactions.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.0 Introduction

Various research strategies were employed to answer the following question: how social interactions between Shona and Ndebele migrants in Johannesburg have impacted on ethnic identity perceptions they have of one another? With the research question in mind, the researcher intends to answer the following subquestion; whether social interactions have impacted on negative ethnic identity perceptions, and if so, why? The findings draw mainly on desk research, questionnaire – based interviews and analysis of field notes. A review of related universally recognised literature was carried to situate the research question.

I collected field information from Zimbabwean immigrants of both Shona and Ndebele origin/ethnicity, and both sexes during the second half of 2004. The survey took four and a half weeks. Each interview took about thirty to sixty minutes. The survey included questions about perceptions and attitudes of Shona and Ndebele people towards each other. An initial pilot study was carried out involving Shona and Ndebele migrants (inclusive of asylum seeking students at Wits University). With the assistance of the pilot study, the final version of the questionnaire was developed.

As a form of communication, I used personally administrated questionnaires. This decision was taken because personally administered questionnaires were appropriate for the nature of the research sample. The appropriateness arise out of the fact that personally administered questionnaires have considerable advantages such as flexibility, control of

interview situation and higher response rate when compared to other survey techniques such as mail and telephone interviews (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992).

In next step, I discuss and clarify key concepts and how they are measured in relation to this research.

3.1 Discussion of Key Concepts

Social interactions (SI)

The study of social interactions has been incorporated in different academic disciplines. House and Kahn (1985) argue that social interactions can maintain a functional aspect of describing complex phenomena. If analysed, social interactions can help one to understand the interplay of phenomena (e.g. attitudes) of people socially interacting.

By definition, social interaction is a process by which people act toward and respond to one another (ib id). The authors further argue that, social interaction involves the interplay of many factors including people's perceptions, cognitions and behaviours in specific social contexts. For instance, the way one interprets a given situation will rely on his/her perception of reality and how he/she interprets others actions.

Social interactions are acts or practices of two or more people mutually oriented towards each other's selves, that is, any behaviour that tries to affect or take account of each other's subjective experiences or intentions. This means that the parties to the social interactions must be aware of each other--have each other's self in mind (Coleman, 1988). In relation to this research, the type of social interactions I discuss are experienced through interactions, such as intermarriages, visiting each other at respondents' homes, meeting at work, interacting at cultural events, independence and heroes day

celebrations[vii], expressing solidarity on funerals and social gatherings such football matches[viii] among Shona and Ndebele migrants themselves, and having same sentiments when demonstrating against Zimbabwean officials who visit South Africa. In this regard, participation in a network of social interactions would impact on ethnic perceptions in the sense that social interactions involve matters of social resources, socialisation and cultural background. The two overlap to produce a different structure[ix] and the structure becomes a factor in its own right in future social interactions and ethnic group perceptions.

For the purpose of this research, I will evaluate social interactions using following indicators; intense, mild and poor. Intense social interactions mean interactions that take place almost on daily bases. This perhaps includes at work places or vending venues. Mild interactions are those that take place erratically within a week or weeks. In this regard, people meet maybe twice in a week or several times in a fortnight throughout their stay in Johannesburg. Poor social interactions are those that take place once in a month or twice in a month.

I classify social interactions as taking place among Zimbabweans in Johannesburg if they visit each other at their homes; meet during social soccer tournaments meant for Zimbabweans in Johannesburg; interacting at work and attend same religious groupings. In this regard, their discussions might revolve around issues of mutual interest during interactions.

Ethnic identity perceptions

In defining ethnic identity perceptions, I first explain the concept of ethnicity, and later, perceptions. I then come up with the definition of ethnic identity perceptions. A commonly used definition is that an ethnic group is a collectivity of people who share the

same primordial characteristics such as common ancestry, language, and culture. (People have included religion in the category of shared culture.) Ethnicity then refers to the behaviour and feeling (about oneself and others) that supposedly emanates from membership of an ethnic group.

For purposes of this research, Wallman (1978) provides a useful definition of ethnicity: ethnicity is a dynamic concept encompassing subjective, ascriptive and objective elements. It is the mixture of perception and external contextual reality which provides it with meaning. In political theory, ethnicity describes a group possessing some degree of coherence and solidarity, composed of people who are aware, perhaps only latently, of having common origins and interests. Thus, an ethnic group is not a mere aggregate of people but a self-conscious collection of people united, or closely related, by shared experiences and a common history.

As a subjective concept, (Stephen: 1996) ethnicity refers to groups of people who determine their own distinct identities by creating boundaries between themselves and other groups through interaction. And, as a component of the larger human society, a distinct ethnic group is a social unit that is defined as part of the larger social unit.

Ethnic identity is an enduring, basic aspect of the self that includes a sense of membership in an ethnic group and attitudes and feelings related to that membership (Isajiw, 1974).

Perceptions are negative or positive sets of beliefs held by an individual(s) about the characteristics of a group of people. If one is identified by a specific ethnic identity, perceptions that describe a specific identity will be used on individual/s that carries the identity. Thus ethnic identity perceptions are a set of beliefs (negative or positive) used to describe a certain group of people with a specific identity. For this research, if one is

identified as Ndebele, a set of beliefs known about Ndebeles will be used to them. The same applies for Shona identity. If one identifies him/herself as Shona, set of beliefs known about Shona people will be used to describe him or her.

I say respondents' perceptions have changed if I see the following taking place; intermarriages, co-existence and business sharing, visiting each other at their homes, and street vending together.

3.2 Key Tasks

To determine how social interactions impact on ethnic identity perceptions Shona and Ndebele migrants have of each other, I performed the following key tasks:

- Determining the Shona and Ndebele migrants' perceptions towards each other before coming to Johannesburg (pre-location perceptions)

- Establishing the Shona and Ndebele migrants' perceptions towards each other after social interactions in Johannesburg

- Assessment of the degree and type of social interactions

- Using literature review and analyzed data, the researcher established possible explanations for the findings

3.3 Sampling Method

Peil (1982) noted that sampling involves the selection of a part to represent the whole. Sample elements are sometimes chosen because they represent certain criteria (Denzin and Linclon, 1994). The researcher used the snowball-sampling method to select a sample from Yeoville suburb in Johannesburg. The researcher begun by identifying interviewee/s

[or a focal actor or set of actors] who meets the criteria for inclusion in the study. Each of the actors was asked to name some or all of their ties in social interactions. Then, ties named were tracked down and asked for some or all of their ties. The process went on until the research decided to stop [because of resources and time constraints, and also the required sample size was achieved]. I talked to a student at the University of the Witwatersrand who introduced me to the Zimbabwean immigrant community in Yeoville. The student has been staying in Yeoville for the past four years. The student's stay in Yeoville has led him to have many Zimbabwean immigrant contacts. Due to time, logistics as well as financial constraints, the sample size was limited to 32 respondents. The breakdown of respondents is 16 females [8 Shona women and 8 Ndebele ones] and 16 males [8 Shona ones and 8 Ndebele male respondents]. This breakdown was decided on in order to come up with a balanced or broadened explanations on the impact of social interactions on ethnic identity perceptions.

Jacobson and Landau (2003) mention that there are two problems associated with use of snowball sampling strategy: "one methodological and one ethical." The authors are of the idea that, if snowball sampling is not applied with care, the researcher risks producing a biased sample. This is likely because the sample is drawn from subjects who are from the same community or place. Consequently, the people are likely to share most of the things, such as religion and networks of care.

The ethical dilemma associated with snowballing is that, it increases the risk of exposing or revealing critical and potential damaging information to members of a network or subgroup. Confidentiality is broken. Simply informing the respondent how one [the researcher] obtained a name or contact information demonstrates "a particular kind of link." (Landau and Jacobson, 2003: 17)

While the am aware of the above mentioned drawbacks, I think that snowball sampling is of use in locating Shona and Ndebele migrants living in Johannesburg. To minimize bias of the snowballing sampling technique, after interviewing, I will ask each respondent to nominate many respondents known to him/her from which the researcher randomly selected one to go for. And from there, the process will continue until the desired number of respondents is achieved. Eventually, this will take me to other parts of Johannesburg.

3.4 Site Selection

The choice of Johannesburg and specifically Yeoville, was made for various reasons: the area has a number of Zimbabweans residing there, and that the research site is close to the University of the Witwatersrand. The researcher wanted to be in close contact with the supervisor for consultation during data gathering process. Yeoville was chosen as an initial point of contact, from which respondents in different parts of Johannesburg were nominated and interviewed.

Yeoville was also selected due to the fact that it is part of Johannesburg where Forced Migration Studies Programme at University of the Witwatersrand carried out its survey under the banner dubbed *Human Displacement, Survival and the Politics of Space*. The researcher wants to find out if the Forced Migration Studies Programme data is typical of what the researcher might find out. It is imperative that the results I will get will also add on to the data the Forced Migration Studies Programme got.

3.4 Data Collection

Collection of qualitative data was through asking a series of open-ended questions, some of which were followed up by further probing, as necessary, to ensure that the

respondents' perceptions were fully captured. Open ended questions were chosen because they have no rigid answers.

Data collection was through semi structured and in-depth interviews. The interviews were guided by an interview schedule. Each interview took between thirty to fifty minutes. Interviews were conducted in English. However, in some cases interviews were conducted in Shona and Ndebele, with the help of an interpreter. There were drawbacks of using a translator, especially bias when interpreting. For instance, with basic knowledge of Shona and Ndebele language the researcher has, he was able to pin point where the translator had shown bias or interpreted incorrectly.

3.5 Data Analysis

The process involved analysis of the interview transcripts of the Zimbabweans living in Yeoville and other parts of Johannesburg in order to determine whether their engagement in social relations impacted on their perceptions of ethnic identity.

The data collection process and analysis ran concurrently. This was done mainly for two reasons:

1) Bickman and Rog (1998) have argued that piling up unanalysed field notes and transcripts makes the task of final analysis much more difficult; besides insights that enabled the collection of data which will be useful in supporting conclusions, may be lost; and

2) The researcher has time and resource constraints.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

The study adhered to general ethical standards of a social research with particular consideration to the following ethical issues:

The respondents were approached individually prior to interviewing them. The reason for getting in touch with them before the interview was that, they [Zimbabweans in Johannesburg] must be provided with adequate information about the research project, so as to enable them to give informed response which enabled the reliability of the research. This included purpose of the research, approximate length of an interview session, likely avenues for dissemination of the findings and the academic pursuit the research intends to achieve.

Efforts were made to protect the confidentiality of the respondents, by coding their names, thereby making them anonymous. This involved use of fictitious names. The questionnaires will be destroyed once no longer needed. Destruction of questionnaires and other pieces of sensitive information that have to do with respondents is another measure meant to protect the respondents. Participation was purely voluntary.

Interviews were conducted at a location that was agreed upon by the researcher and the respondents, and the places were within Johannesburg. This was done in an attempt to create an atmosphere conducive for in-depth interviews. The researcher was responsible for ensuring availability of transportation for the respondents to the interview venue, if separate from their home or place of work, etc.

Chapter 4

Data Presentation and Analysis

4.0 Introduction

This study seeks to determine whether social interactions impacts on ethnic identity perceptions of Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe who are living in Johannesburg as migrants, and why, if so? Owing to a number of several explanatory reasons discussed in the literature, such as the processes of socialisation owing to the subjects' social interactions on different platforms in Johannesburg, the researcher argues that there might be transformation of perceptions the subjects have of each other. In this chapter the researcher analyses the data to prove the case in the thesis. The subjects' history, living process, social interactions and socialisation in Johannesburg details the nature of how perceptions might have changed. This study hypothesizes that a greater exchange of information due to social interactions and socialisation may occur among Shona and Ndebele migrants as a result of living in Johannesburg, and that will consequently impact on ethnic identity perceptions Shona and Ndebele people have of each other.

Most participants in the study come from Matebeleland, Manicaland and Masvingo. Respondents in this study list a variety of reasons for coming to Johannesburg, but the most widely said reason is the need to have opportunities such as jobs and running away from political and economic deprivations and repressions. The data shows that three of Ndebele respondents from Matebeleland relocated from Zimbabwe to Johannesburg when the Matebeleland massacres were on the peak. Other participants moved to Johannesburg in search for greener pastures, escaping political and economic repression, and unemployment. They said that they see South Africa as a land of opportunities. The data

shows that most Shona respondents are frustrated young men whose aim is to change untenable lives they experienced while they were in Zimbabwe. Three quarters of the respondents hold South African visas a few months after staying in South Africa.

The majority of Ndebele migrants in Johannesburg, who were interviewed, did not plan their journey. These are respondents who came at a time of the Matebeleland massacres. They were escaping persecution. All what they wanted was a safe place to stay. In this regard, forcible movement of some Ndebele people from their place of habitation due to murderous' activities of the fifth brigade shaped the way some of Ndebele people perceive some of Shona people. Respondent Y is among those who did not plan for the journey. As he states, "my plans were just to get a haven of peace, a place where I will stay without the fear that government agents will rape my wife whilst I am forced to cheer up for the act".

However, other Ndebele males who came to Johannesburg indicated that they planned about the journey. They said that, when they heard about the massacres, they planned about moving before they were attacked. Respondent X argues that, "we had to move because we heard rumours that Ndebele people were being killed whether one is dissident or not." Some of Shona and Ndebele female respondents indicated that they came with their beloved ones but later broke away from them. When I further probed the respondents why they disserted their relationships, the respondents argued that their husbands wanted them to be house wives. Other single females like males, expressed that they planned about the journey. Respondent D argues that, "hunger, starvation, a collapsed and repressive government, and lake of opportunities made me to move into the heart of Johannesburg."

A number of respondents made prior contact with friends and families in Johannesburg before starting on their journeys. However, few actually got to meet their contacts during their first few days in Johannesburg. During this time, acquaintances (fellow Zimbabweans) that are made at various popular spots in Park Station and Hilbrow serve as guiding hands for the new arrivals. Social interactions and socialisation also start from there. Respondents V of Ndebele origin and Respondent W of Shona origin are among some of the respondents who did not make contact with friends and relatives upon arrival. However, they also make easy acquaintances with Zimbabweans of different ethnic groups, and from this point on, their basic needs are catered for. For many new arrivals, the first few nights are spent at the Park Station, where they will be picked by relatives and friends in Johannesburg. Yeoville, many (respondents) argue, presents more advantages than disadvantages. For one, the large Zimbabwean community in Yeoville enhances their sense of security. They also get to share resources among themselves, whether one is Ndebele or Shona. According to Respondent L, "The spirit of sharing Zimbabweans in Yeoville have is marvellous. When I arrived in Yeoville, I had nothing to propel my living during the first three months. But fellow Zimbabweans helped me with shelter, food and sometimes money to buy my personal things."

While new arrivals in Johannesburg are taken to different places of habitation by friends and relatives, it is important to note that Yeoville hosts half of respondents to this research. The Forced Migration Studies Programme (University of the Wiwatersrand) did a project dubbed *Human Displacement, Survival and the Politics of Space* also discovered that 19.9% of new migrants stayed in Yeoville upon arrival in Johannesburg. Probably, this is due to the fact that Yeoville host immigrants of different nationalities. Upon further research, I discovered that Yeoville has got specific areas for specific nationalities. In Rocky Street of Yeoville, there are specific night clubs for Congolese, Kenyans,

Zimbabweans, etc. Most immigrants mingle together in their respective clubs, especially on Fridays and Saturdays when people are not going to work.

The interviews reveal that some of the trips seem to be well planned and they use the Beitbridge border gate to get into South Africa. The use of the border gate is mainly due to the fact that the respondents will be holding valid South African visas. Contacts play an important role concerning the welfare of the new arrivals. Some respondents meet their contacts at the Park Station at the moment of arriving. They are then taken to Brea Taxi Rank where they will board public transport to either Yeoville or Hillbrow. For respondents with contacts who stay in Johannesburg central, they walk to their place of habitation.

For those who go to Hillbrow, they are taken to places where some Zimbabweans hang around. Mostly, there are night clubs that play Zimbabwean music. That is where new arrivals make friends who introduce them to various money making opportunities.

Contacts give friends and family members information on how to live in the metropolitan Johannesburg. Some of the advice ranges from how to avoid the police if the respondent's documents are not up to date and to always move with a passport.

4.1 Shona/Ndebele Ethnic Identity Perceptions before Flight

In order to determine whether negative ethnic identity perceptions had changed, I ascertained the respondents' attitudes to members of their own and the other ethnic groups prior to arrival in Johannesburg. In this quest to investigate ethnic identity perceptions and prejudices Ndebele and Shona migrants had of each other before locating to Johannesburg, I conducted a survey. Ndebele women expressed two versions of perceptions they have of some of Shona people before coming to Johannesburg. Some of

these women respondents said that they used to see some of Shona people as unmerciful, cruel, unfriendly and greedy. Women who migrated to Johannesburg escaping the genocidal behaviour of the fifth brigade, perceived Shona people as people without mercy and who want to dominate them. Their point of view is that, even though the soldiers were sent to capture dissidents that did not mean raping women and shooting toddlers. Respondent E said that, "How can a state sanction a Shona dominated army to massacre one tribal group (Ndebele) that did not support a Shona dominated government?" The Ndebele female migrant argues that, this led to a conclusion that the Shona led army was not only in search of dissidents but to instil fear within the Ndebele people and that, not supporting Zanu and not being Shona could lead to severe consequences. Respondents argue so because they said some of Ndebele people did not support a Shona led political party. Eventually, perceptions of hurt were bred. This resonates with Mafeje (1971) argument that in most of Africa, soon after independence from colonial rule, state formation was through domination of one group by the other. In this regard, Shona and Ndebele relations were strained by some of Shona people's need to control state power and national resources.

Other Ndebele female respondents had a different view. They are of the view that, evaluating people individually is the best. They argued that, some Shonas they met before relocating to Johannesburg showed a loving character. These are a group of women migrants who came after 1990, when the Zimbabwean economy was collapsing. Respondent Z argues, "There are a lot of Shona people whom I met in Bulawayo before coming to Johannesburg. I used to visit them at their places of work and homes. I loved the way they treated me"

Time of migration and social class background might be the reason behind contrasts in the responses of Ndebele women. Social class background in this regard is about people who worked together and visited each other. That is why Ndebele women who worked with Shona people showed different perceptions towards Shonas than Ndebele women who migrated during the time of massacres. Those who migrated during the Matebeleland massacres are still filled with visions of the dreadful past. Respondent TA said that," I still see visions of how unarmed and vulnerable Ndebele people were raped and killed. It was horrific". Thus the Zimbabwean state formation soon after colonial period had an ethnic conflict element because only Ndebele people were targeted.

Some Ndebele male respondents like their fellow females, described Shonas as unmerciful and a people who stop at nothing to achieve their aims. Similarly, this view was from interviewees who migrated to South Africa at the height of Matebeleland massacres. For respondent F, "Shonas are bad and cruel because they did not stand by us when the Shona led government killed innocent Ndebele people". The respondents argue that the state acted as an agency of terror instead of acting as an agency of protecting its citizens. That is why Ndebele people still view Shonas with suspicion. In contrast, a few young Ndebele male and females hold a different view. They had a neutral view of perceiving Shonas before locating to Johannesburg. They viewed Shona and Ndebele people as the same, "only that life has its ups and downs like anywhere in the world" said respondent Q. Their view is probably so because they did not witness or experienced the Matebeleland massacres.

With no exception for Shona men, the perceptions they had is that some of the Ndebele people are lazy and thieves. This allegation is based on tribal wars between Shona and Ndebele people. While a few Shona women expressed the same sentiments as their fellow

men, other women argued that they view people as the same. Other women argued that every human behaviour generates perceptions differs with an individual character. Views expressed by other women respondents might be associated with Eriksen's (2002) ideas. Eriksen argues that, instead of viewing ethnic identity and cultures as more or less isolated, static and homogeneous units as the early structural functionalists would tend to, many anthropologists now try to depict flux and process, ambiguity and complexity in analysing social worlds. Thus in this context, ethnic identity perceptions have proven to be a useful concept, since it suggests a dynamic situation of variable contact and accommodation between groups.

Generally, a large number of Ndebele respondents can be said to be haunted by Zimbabwe's post-independence Ndebele massacres. It is apparent to note that, words of hate are expressed by respondents who witnessed Matebeleland massacres. They seem to have made a conscious decision that a Shona dominated army was just in Matebeleland to cause havoc and eliminate political competition from some of the Ndebele people in pursuit of creating a one party state. For some of Shonas, the humiliation they went through under the military might of pre-colonial Ndebele army, caused them to see Ndebele as lazy people who want to reap where they did not sow.

4.2 Social interactions in Johannesburg

Social interactions in Johannesburg take place at various platforms. Most of social interactions take place during political meetings, social events and funerals, at migrants' homes, place of work and religious meetings.

Types of social interactions I discovered in Johannesburg are as follows; accidental, formal, and intensive types. Accidental type is when people meet without prearranging

for the interactions. Interactions of this type could take place anytime, anywhere depending on the occasion. Respondents meet accidentally in Johannesburg. I found out that interaction discussions vary and depend on the interest of the people at the time of interacting e.g. interacting when demonstrating against Zimbabwean officials visiting South Africa, during street vending and interacting upon arrival at the Park Station (Johannesburg) from Zimbabwe. Such accidental social interactions are part of the process which subsequently initiated high degree of formal or intense interactions. I argue so because when Shona and Ndebele people accidentally interact, they would exchange contact details. Then, the respondents would phone or visit each other. Accidental social interactions also take place at churches where Zimbabwean people attend. The major churches are Roman Catholic Church in Braamfontein and, Apostolic Faith Church and Universal Church of Christ in Yeoville.

Secondly, formal type of social interactions is interactions that respondents prearrange. The interactions can be between two individuals or more. Conversations revolve around the Zimbabwean community in Johannesburg. Respondents sometimes discuss personal and family issues. Formal type of interactions take place at coffee shops, restaurants, and at home of respondents. This type of interaction is prevalent in Yeoville where Zimbabwean community is significant in numbers.

Thirdly, to the two above, there is intensive social interaction. Intensive social interactions occur where respondents meet everyday. Respondents in this type actively interact everyday at most. Respondents meet at their homes, especially in Yeoville. Other respondents street vend together in Yeoville and at the Park Station.

Conditions/factors affecting such interactions comprise of geographical locations which connect as the same patch to convenient communication routes linking the respondents;

kinship ties which made interactions easily possible directly and indirectly; being friends and close neighbours which made frequent and close interactions possible, sometimes more frequent and closer than simply being relatives; having the same occupation which made it possible for constant sharing of common topics and matters of interest. The availability of abundant, quick and relevant information; and the availability of ideas or support from external organizations as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) of Zimbabweans living in Johannesburg is another factor affecting social interactions between Shona and Ndebele migrants. NGOs such as Peace and Democracy Project spearhead the meeting of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg.

Almost half of the respondents meet once a month, especially for Zimbabweans Johannesburg Association. Meeting once a month represents poor interactions according to the measurement developed for this study by the researcher. The respondents meet because they are involved stockvel[x]. The importance they attach to this meeting is great. It is a moment of commitment towards assisting each other. Most of the migrants earn meagre salaries, so being involved in the association is a sign of great commitment towards the welfare of every member of the association. Respondents involved in the association are mainly in Yeoville and at the Park Station. They travel from their different homes for the gathering. Respondents at the Park Station meet there because it is their vending place or working place. The associations involve any Zimbabwean, whether Shona or Ndebele, inclusive of South Africans.

Three quarters of the respondents meet at events of their national pride and significance. One of the events is 18th of April. Zimbabwe got its independence from colonialism on the 18th of April 1980. So 18th of April is associated with freedom and independence from colonialism. For Zanu (PF) supporters, 18th of April signifies their party and its leadership

coming into power. Secondly, migrants meet every 12th of August. 12th of August since 1980, is a day when people who died contributing towards the independence of Zimbabwe are remembered. Lastly, since 1987 migrants meet on 22 December. 22 December 1987 (Unity Day) commemorates the signing of the unity accord between Zanu (PF) and (PF) Zapu after the Matebeleland Massacre. So migrants in Johannesburg meet during these dates and they are of great importance to them. These kind of interactions are poor interactions as defined in the concept. From my point of view, poor interactions might be less effective in weakening perceptions; especially 22 December day. Respondent ME said that, "This day evokes past horrors in my mind. So I cannot meet with Shonas during that day."

Few Shona and Ndebele migrants who share workplaces interact frequently. These are intensive interactions. They meet daily besides weekends. To mention a few, places of work are in Yeoville and at the Park Station. Respondents meet at these places because that is where they do trading activities. Most of the respondents at the Park Station have vending points. When their businesses are not busy, the respondents said that they talk together about various issues pertaining to their well-being as foreigners in South Africa, economic hardships, xenophobia the respondents experience and exclusionary behaviour they face from South Africans. Responded HT said that, "If one is a foreinger, life in South Africa is not easy unless you are well connected to people from your own country. Xenophobic statements and verbal attacks have become a norm from South Africans towards foreigners." The value they attach to these interactions is that, they are workmates and the fact that they come from the same country.

There are street vendors' interactions. Some of the Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg areas such as Yeoville, Hillbrow and the Park Station formed vending

associations. Vending associations as institutions are helping in the weakening of perceptions Shona and Ndebele migrants have of each other. Among other things, vendors trade in artefacts and doilies. Traders formed the associations as way of sharing ideas on how they can price their goods competitively and share ideas on how to approach the market. Zimbabweans involved in trading associations meet every Friday to discuss strategies on how to go about doing their businesses. This resonates with Portes (1995) who argued that immigrants assist each other in business ventures when they are in foreign lands.

The importance of association is to avoid competition among Zimbabwean migrant traders, to help each other in hoarding goods to sell, to empower new traders with finances and ideas on how to run business. Respondents said that, competition is avoided by selling different kind of commodities as compared to what other association members sell. Respondent MT said that, "I sell artefacts at the Park station and my fellow association member sell doilies. If a customer comes to me looking for doilies, I will refer the customer to my fellow association member." This has led to cooperation among Zimbabwean migrant traders and clashes have been avoided.

There are also religious interactions in Johannesburg. Other respondents interact at church every Sunday for religious reasons. Some respondents meet at Universal Church of Christ and Apostolic Faith Church in Yeoville and some at Roman Catholic Church in Braamfontein. These are mild interactions because respondents meet once a week. Respondents said that if they come early to church, they would first socialise and converse about religious and family matters. The same happen after church services. The importance of interacting at church is that they venerate God together.

For respondents who interact or visit each other their homes, they meet mostly on weekends. Some respondents travel from Johannesburg Central to Yeoville. The agenda of travelling will be to visit friends and relatives. During weekends, most respondents visit during midday till evening. The importance of interacting during weekends is that, it is an opportunity for them to discuss family issues, events that are taking place in Zimbabwe and to discuss ways on how to generate money in Johannesburg.

At social events such as football matches, migrants meet once in a while; depending on the availability of the social event. Usually, social events are organised when people commemorate events linked to national pride and significance, such as Heroes Day, Independence Day and Unity Day. These kind of social events occur three times a year. Social events represent poor social interactions. The agenda for meeting mainly is to have fun and commemorate what each day represents in the Zimbabwean history.

4.3 Shona/Ndebele Ethnic Identity Perceptions after Social Interactions

This study posits that social interactions between Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe staying in Johannesburg as migrants can impact on ethnic identity perceptions they have of each other. Studies by Williams (1951) have shown that contact can lessen prejudices. On the contrary, studies by Amir show that contact can heighten tensions between groups. Even though Hewstone *et al* have set conditions under which productive contact can take place, the contact hypothesis argument is far from being over. To determine the impact of social interaction on ethnic identity perceptions Shona and Ndebele migrants have of each other, the nature and extent of migrants' social interactions becomes central to the respondents' exchange of information and socialisation process in this study. This is particularly with regard to the subjects'

perceptions, prejudices or attitudes. To be able to prove this, it is therefore important to determine the nature and extent of such interaction and exchange of information, if any.

Having socially interacted, the overwhelming indication is that the majority of respondents mingle together despite the fact that one is Ndebele or Shona or South African. With an exception of some of Ndebele respondents who migrated to South Africa between 1980 and 1987, they interact with Shonas with a suspecting mind but they feel safe when interacting with South Africans. Respondent MQ argues that, "Shona people are just arrogant. Mugabe refused to make a formal apology for mistakes he did in Matebeleland". Most of the data arising from the interviews is dominated by the expression of a reconciliatory tone towards each other. Shona migrants have mixed reactions towards their Ndebele counterparts. Both Shona and Ndebele migrants socially interact in meetings, social clubs, at funerals etc. Some Shona men are still unwilling to share businesses and have relationships with Ndebele people. When asked why they still have such attitudes, some Shona migrants argue that they are generated by social positions some members of the two groups have in Johannesburg. Respondent K argues that, "Ndebele people suffer from inferiority and superiority complexes; superiority complex because they feel that they originally emerged from South Africa and they feel a South African link in them, and inferiority complex because not all of them are successful and on well paying jobs."

Incidentally, some of Shona and some of Ndebele female respondents expressed that they see people from Zimbabwe as the same. These sentiments are dominant in respondents who attend same churches. In this instance, religion acts a unifying agent. Respondents identify themselves as children of God when they are at church or at home. Thus the ethnic divide between people is mended by religion. Religion has replaced ethnic identity

in this instance. This is in contrast with Barth's ideas. Whereas Barth argues that, by contact, people would virtually know their boundaries and differences, leading to exasperation of tension but this work has got a different observation. Contact of Shona and Ndebele migrants led to the weakening of tension between them, especially those involved in same religious groupings. The researcher is of the idea that contact conflict theoretical ideas will be incorporated in a coherent, situational and convergent understanding of inter-group contact.

Social interactions have helped in highlighting that not every Shona and Ndebele migrants will perceive each other in prejudicial way. On one hand, perceptions have been weakened while on the other, social interactions have thinly eroded stereotypes. Another discovery that is worth mentioning is that Ndebele migrants especially those who came to Johannesburg at the height of Matebeleland massacres in Zimbabwe, still characterise Shona people as unmerciful and suspicious. This should not be surprising considering that the majority of the respondents who share this sentiment migrated into Johannesburg, mainly because they were escaping horrendous massacres. The respondents' position resonates with Volkan's (1994) argument that identity groups have chosen traumas and chosen glories. Volkan says that identifying these traumas is crucial because in most cases, groups have never properly mourned their losses or healed from their experiences. It has been found that a sense of victimization actually gets passed down from generation to generation, regardless of whether a person has physically experienced any trauma themselves. So, whether or not members of a group have suffered personally from specific instances of victimhood, certain traumas nonetheless become the chosen traumas of the group. These mental representations serve to connect the group while simultaneously creating hatred toward the aggressor. Thus some of Ndebele people's unhealed traumas are making them perceive some of Shona people with lenses of hatred.

Respondent GL argued that, “If what I hear from oral history is correct, then Mugabe as a representative of some of Shona people must make a public apology about what happened in Matebeleland. A truth and reconciliation commission will be a first step towards healing past wounds.”

Another point worth mentioning is that respondents who migrated escaping political and economic repression from the current Zimbabwean regime have shown a change in attitude towards each other. The main reason given, being that, some of Ndebele and Shona ordinary people are the ones that are suffering regardless of ethnic origin. They argued that they assist and interact more often than not in Johannesburg. This has given some of Shona and Ndebele people opportunities to understand each other individually and find their common enemy to be the current government of Zimbabwe. Respondent U of Ndebele origin reveals that, “I used to think that Shona people are privileged more than Ndebele people in Zimbabwe to an extent that I sued to think they will never migrate, but interacting with Shona people here in Johannesburg has proved me wrong. They suffer like Ndebele people here in Johannesburg and they are also involved in street vending. I used to have bad thoughts about them, but now, it is no longer the same. They are my best friends now when street vending.”

Respondent J of Shona origin said that, “Most Ndebele people have come to realise that it is not every Shona person who is cruel. Some Ndebele people I have met have told me that it is Mugabe who is at the behest of separating Shona and Ndebele people.”

Respondent J and respondent U’s responses can be a reminiscence of segmentary opposition. The basic thesis of segmentary opposition is that the threat of violence creates a source of unity and direction within a society by emphasizing the danger imposed by an external enemy (Barth, 1959). Thus, for some of young migrants, whether Shona or

Ndebele, perceptions have lessened because their expression is that, prejudices came out of Mugabe regime's previous and present autocratic behaviour and the regime has become their common enemy who is at the centre stage of all skirmishes.

Having understood what happens soon after social interactions, it would be imperative to understand if intermarriages, business sharing and visiting each occurred among migrants. Basically, this is meant to find out if negative attitudes among Shona and Ndebele migrants weakened.

4.4 Co-existence and Business Sharing

Indicators that I used to measure if social interactions impacted on ethnic identity perceptions were intermarriages, business sharing and, respondents visiting each other at their homes and work premises. With intermarriage as a determining factor, it does not mean that intermarriages were not taking place as per se among some of Shona and Ndebele people but the rate at which they occur and in which direction is a very important factor to consider.

Intermarriages occur as a result of prior social interactions and weakened perceptions. Intermarrying is one of the reasons I discovered to be weakening respondents' perceptions. The link between social interactions and intermarriages in weakening perceptions is that, most intermarriages involve families of the marrying couples. Due to intermarrying, family relations will intensify due to interactions, thereby facilitating greater exchange of information. While not ruling out that intermarriages were occurring between Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe, intermarrying was a rare phenomenon between some of Ndebele and Shona migrants in Johannesburg. But currently intermarrying is prevalent between Ndebele men and Shona women. "Intermarrying is

due to the fact that Shona and Ndebele people no longer despise each other. They believe that they same people of the same nation." respondent D said. According to the data I gathered, intermarriages are common among Zimbabwean migrants who came into South Africa due to economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe.

The importance of intermarriage rates, according to sociologists, is that they are very indicators of social acceptance and lack of discrimination. Callister and Barkely (2004) discovered that intermarriages between Maori and other ethnicities in New Zealand were about 7.1%. Out of thirty two respondents, eight were involved in intermarriages. There have not been studies that looked at intermarriages between Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe in diaspora. It is imperative to note that intermarriages might help in weakening perceptions two groups have of each other. The need to look at specific areas is important because marriage does tend to take place based on physical location, and in Johannesburg, the greatest number of intermarriages is between respondents in Yeoville and Hillbrow. A true indicator of coexistence and social acceptance is the degree to which minorities intermarry with the majority. Clearly, in areas like Yeoville, Ndebele men marry Shona women.

Intermarriages are prevalent among Shona and Ndebele migrants but they are unidirectional. Some of Ndebele male respondents are involved in marrying some of Shona women. When probed, Respondent L of Ndebele origin said that, "there is a general belief that Shona women have good behaviour, they commit themselves once they are in a relationship, and they are respectful of their husbands." What respondent L says can be alluded to the findings of Stephen and Stephen (1984). Stephen and Stephen argue that due to the information exchange, intergroup interaction can increase knowledge about outgroup members and reduce intergroup anxiety, which in turn broadens the

perceptual field to allow impressions of outgroup members to become more accurate and more favourable. Thus some of the Ndebele men come to have a perception as that of respondent L, which I believe, was due to contact between Shona and Ndebele migrants. In general, most respondents agreed that staying together is possible, since some of Shona and Ndebele migrants are currently staying together.

On the contrary to the above mentioned explanations, a few Shona and Ndebele male respondents opposed intermarriages. Some Ndebele respondents, especially those who migrated into South Africa when the Matebeleland massacres were on the peak, refused union of their daughters to Shona men and union of their sons to Shona women. The respondents are reminisce of people whose perceptions towards Shona people have not weakened. They argued that, they do not trust some of Shona people, so allowing union of one of the respondents' offsprings to marry a Shona will be mistake.

A few Shona male respondents argued that they do not wish to see any of their children be involved with Ndebeles. The respondents regard Ndebele people as lazy. Respondent KL said that, "I do not want any of my kids to be in a love affair with Ndebeles. The Ndebeles I know do not want to work. So who will provide for their children?"

When it comes to the question of sharing businesses, the revelations are that, some respondents share businesses, especially those involved in intermarriages but those not involved in intermarriage, expressed a negative view over the idea. Respondent N of Shona origin said that ,"Of course I share ideas with fellow Ndebeles but I am not yet ready to share my business ventures with them". When further probed why the respondent had such an idea, he argued that he did not want to have conflict of interest in business management. This outcome converges with Forbes (2004) explanation that contact at the interpersonal level may lead to more positive views of a cultural out-group, but, at the

inter-group level, contact is likely to lead to competition and hatred. Under Forbes model two groups compete, each trying to make the other bear the costs of adaptation that will produce joint benefits. More generally, an encroaching culture is a threat to the status quo, including both material and status threats. Forbes emphasizes the nature of the threat being far more from economic. This threat also stems out from that perceived danger or threat that a number of a cultural group is facing. Identification with a cultural group is particularly powerful form of group identification, and a threat to this group is particularly likely to elicit in-group cohesion and out-group hostility.

Church interactions are mild and their frequency has positive impact in weakening negative ethnic identity perceptions. There is a high degree of importance placed on religion in the lives of the migrants, especially on the question of marriage. Marriage within rather than without the denominational divide is the dominant preference of the respondents surveyed. Indeed, the fears and taboos surrounding going out with someone from the other denomination were vividly explained by the interviews. As respondent MS said, “I would marry a man of any ethnic group as long as he is in the church I attend”. Respondent TA said, “I am a Shona woman married to a Ndebele man. For us, what is important is our religion”. In this regard, religion has resulted in shifting perceptions Shona and Ndebele people have of each other. Ethnic identity perceptions are no longer recognised since the importance of religion is highly valued. Churches have become agencies which manifest a commitment to reconciliation, mutual understanding and respect across the ethnic divide.

Opposition politics is one of reasons I identified as weakening perceptions Shona and Ndebele people have of each other. The political division that was/is between Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe was great. Shona people used to support Zanu(PF), which is

the ruling political party while Ndebele people supported Zapu(PF). The political divide between Shona and Ndebele people existed since 1980 till 1999; when the labour led opposition party[xi] was formed. In this research, I discovered that ethnic divisions between Shona and Ndebele people have overlapped with political ideals the groups have. Same political ideals have made perceptions to be lessened. Respondent G of Ndebele in origin said that, "Now that Shona people here in Johannesburg also support Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), I feel closely attached to them because we share same political sentiments. I never used to think that Shona people can ditch Zanu(pf) and support another political party, especially in the Zimbabwean context. The fact that we can meet at opposition political meetings and finish meetings without pointing fingers at each other, shows that hostilities have gone down." It is because of this finding that it is probably correct to conclude that the political views of Shona and Ndebele migrants have made them to reflect a change in being hostile towards each other. Respondents further mention that, since MDC is supported through all ethnic divides, the opposition political party might be an instrument in uniting a fragile Zimbabwe, ruled along tribal lines by the current regime.

Overally, it is therefore evident that the impact of social interactions of Ndebele and Shona people of Zimbabwe living in Johannesburg as migrants is the weakening of prejudices the two groups have of each other. It can also be inferred that the prejudices and perceptions were weakened and as a result people from both groups appear to be preoccupied with positive and optimistic feelings for the future especially if opposition politics takes over from the current Zimbabwean ruling party. The diminishing of prejudices as a result of supporting opposition politics can be alluded to Hewstone and Brown's (1996) ideas. Hewstone and Brown argue that some conditions such as having common interests have to be met for a successful weakening of perceptions and

hostilities. In this regard, it is vending support Zimbabwean migrants give each other, the role of religion and common support for Zimbabwean opposition politics; that is viewed by some of the respondents as progressive towards mending Shona-Ndebele differences.

But it is imperative to mention that a smaller section of Ndebele migrant population that moved to Johannesburg at the height of Matebeleland massacres does not support opposition politics. The argument they raised is that, the opposition leader is Shona. "Why can we not have a Ndebele opposition leader who will also be supported by some of the Shona people. Currently, some Ndebele people of Zimbabwe support Mugabe and Tsvangirai. All are Shona political leaders" argued respondent VO.

Politics of the belly one of the reason I discovered to be weakening perceptions between Shona and Ndebele migrants. I mean that, when one's stomach is well fed by the system he used to hate, then friendship will rekindle again. The Ndebele respondents whom I interviewed showed love for Mugabe, who once sanctioned his army to do atrocities in Matebeleland. The main reason for that affection for Mugabe is that, the respondent benefited a farm from the chaotic land reform programme that was done in Zimbabwe. As he argues, "I am a young man aged thirty. I am proud to Zimbabwean. I don not believe that Mugabe is a tribalist since I benefited a farm during the land reform programme. My farm has three hundred cattle. I love Mugabe. He is my hero". Basically, the horrors of what happened in Matebeleland are forgotten because he benefited a farm and his family is now rich. The respondent is now teaching some of the Zimbabweans he comes across while in his favourite Hillbrow night club. Basically, Hewstone *at al* argues that, when two groups meet and there is mutual benefit, then the likelihood that perceptions will weaken is very high.

Furthermore, politics of the belly are prevalent in Johannesburg. Shona and Ndebele people who assist each other in their daily lives have forgotten about the past. They go about daily vending activities as though they are siblings. What is important for them is to survive and have a place to stay.

Age is also a determinant in weakening perceptions that exists between Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe living in Johannesburg as migrants. Some of the Ndebele elderly men who are in their late fifties and early sixties of age still believe that the mistreatment of some of Ndebele people got from Shonas has not yet been fully apologised for. They argued that, in a world where rational men live in, it would be imperative for the Mugabe regime to publicly apologise or renounce murderous activities the fifth brigade did in Matebeleland. Basically, the mind set of some old Ndebele men is that, some apologetic movies must be done to some Ndebele people by the current regime which sanctioned the Matebeleland massacres. Some of elderly Ndebele female respondents shared the same view.

Some young Ndebele male respondents who are in their late twenties of age expressed what contradicted the mind set of the elderly. For them, every human being is inseparable with mistakes, especially if the mistakes are linked to acquisition of power. They argued that, what the Mugabe regime did could have been committed by Ndebele people against the Shonas if a Ndebele leader was in power. It is only that Mugabe overreacted to the Matebeleland problem.

Some of the Shona male respondents, who are in their late fifty years of age, acknowledged that their association with some of Ndebele migrants is not as forthcoming as they want it to be. The respondents argued that they would want to engage with their Ndebele counter-parts on issues revolving around survival in Johannesburg.

Some of young Shona female respondents are actively involved in intermarriages with some of the Ndebele men. Some of the young female respondents canvas the idea that people are the same. To the respondents, what matters is how one reciprocates to the other.

While this research mainly determined negative interethnic identity perceptions between Shona and Ndebele migrants living in Johannesburg, I investigated negative intraethnic identity perceptions. Since the Shona ethnic group consist of sub-ethnic groups such as Karanga, Manyika, Zezuru, Kore Kore and Ndau. It became imperative to investigate negative ethnic identity perceptions the Shona sub-ethnic groups have of each other. While ethnic identity perceptions exist among Shonas, they are quiescent. The perceptions among Shonas do not generate active discriminations among themselves. Some of the Manyika people regard the Zezuru group as unfriendly. When I investigated on the unfriendliness of the Zezuru people, respondent ZK said that, "There are allegations that the first Zanu (pf) leader died under bizarre circumstances during the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe's independence came from the Manyika tribe. Some Manyika people claim that some of the Zezurus organised his dearth so that they were to take over the leadership of Zanu (pf)".

It is also worth mentioning that perceptions among some of Shona people are being generated in diaspora. Some of Shona people in Yeoville have specific prejudices for specific Shona people. Some of the respondents mentioned that they do not like some their Shona neighbours in Yeoville because they hide their Shona identity in exchange for South African identity. Probably, this is due to the fact that the people do not want to be easily tracked down, especially by South African immigration officers and also by Zimbabwean intelligence agents. Again, people change identity as a survival strategy.

Negative intraethnic identity perceptions among some of the Ndebele people were not shown in the interviewees' response. The sense of victim-hood that persist among Ndebele people gave them unity. Lindgren (2004) mentions that there are various subethnic groups among Ndebele people, their sense of insecurity generated by the Mtebeleland massacres has blared ethnic divisions that exist among some of Ndebele people.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and implications for further research

This study had as its aim to investigate the impact of social interactions on ethnic identity perceptions of Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe, who are living in Johannesburg as migrants. By employing the contact theory, perceptions, prejudices and attitudes of both people from Zimbabwe were surveyed. The results have led to an overall conclusion that the contact that has resulted while in Johannesburg had an influence in lessening perceptions, prejudices and stereotypes between Shona and Ndebele people.

Perceptions that most Shona and Ndebele migrants used to have of each other wielded to the pressure of social interactions because, intermarriages prevalently taking place in diaspora, coexistence and business sharing is taking root and respondents visit each other at their homes. To that effect, this is wholly contributed to Zimbabwean opposition politics taking root in the diaspora. Opposition politics has become a conglomerate to which Zimbabweans of different walks of life share same views and agree to its viable

existence. It is also apparent to note that while social interactions happen at different platforms, the opposition politics juggernaut is of irrelevance to Ndebele migrants who migrated to Johannesburg at the height of Matebeleland massacres. A truth and reconciliation commission to Matebeleland massacres may pacify their mindset that still sees Shona people with suspicion.

Basing on the above analysis, on one hand, there is a general effect of contact in the present study because a larger number of respondents shared the same view that their perceptions have weakened. The main in this research is that contact has led to the weakening of negative ethnic identity perceptions some of Shona and Ndebele people have of each other. The reasons behind the weakening of perceptions are that some conditions or activities such as intermarriages, formation of vending associations facilitated mingling and communication among some of Shona and Ndebele migrants.

On the other hand, a few respondents among Ndebele migrants still perceive Shonas with suspicion. The implication of this finding is might be that to weaken perceptions might be to forgive each other, but knowing any group does not necessarily make one like them better.

The most salient result emerging from the data is that social distance and religion are important factors affecting the likelihood of intermarriages. Shona and Ndebele migrants' concentration in Yeoville and Hillbrow has been important for community formation and for the establishment of social institutions (such as NGOs) and organisations such as vending associations. Organisations in turn are an important means of both cultural maintenance and the development of further social interactions, which provide the opportunity to meet potential marriage partners.

Furthermore, another point to note is that the social distance between generations differs. Social relations are intense among the second generation and also less confined to members of their own ethnic group. Therefore, some of second generation Zimbabwean migrants are highly involved in intermarriages. This finding has important implications for social cohesion of ethnic groups across generations.

Again, there is a further difficulty that with the significant social interactions between Shona and Ndebele migrants, the direction of causation could on some occasions be two way. That is, Shona and Ndebele migrants who come into contact because they support opposition politics may have been led to such contact by their prior approval for the idea. Thus, people will believe that perceptions have lessened just because they interact in Zimbabwean opposition politics forums, while the participants are the ones that brushed aside ethnic differences as a way of taking part in Zimbabwean opposition politics forums.

The cause of ethnicity especially in Africa, I would argue, must be discussed with confinement to time. This has been the argument Ranger (1985) and Beach (1980) put forward. And in the creation of stereotypes and perceptions, as witnessed in the Zimbabwean people, can be said to be the art of suppression by a dictatorial regime rather than ethnic politics as Majefe (1971) argued. In this regard, that is why many Ndebele respondents came to realise that, not all Shonas are to be incriminated for what happened to some of the Ndebele people. Some of the unprivileged Shonas suffer the same as Ndebeles at the current moment in Johannesburg. Only the ruling aristocracy in Zimbabwe uses the ethnic card to benefit its ulterior motives, such as holding onto power continuously and plunder of state resources at the expense of the general populace[xii].

The innate migratory behaviour of human beings has made most of major cities in the world to be multicultural. The new urban African centres is where different people of different ethnic groups interact for business, refuge etc, it is essential that the norms and values of friendship, social justice, respect for one another, etc., be cultivated. Education has proved to be a valuable asset in bringing such culturally diverse peoples together. It helps purge their minds of the biases, prejudices and other ethnocentric values imbibed during socialization process. With high societal level of education, the new values of oneness, progress or pattern variables of development (Parsons 1951) will eventually emerge and even trickledown or replicated to societal centres of population. This will manifest in the high quality of social interactions of individuals and the society in which individuals find themselves will be a better place to live in.

The researcher has noted that the findings presented in this research are a result of analysis which is solely based on qualitative interpretation of questionnaires and field notes. As recommended by Masanov *et al* (2002), further research and analysis needs to be done using inferential statistical modelling such as Analysis Of Variance (ANOVA) and Multiple Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). The utilisation of these methods will allow the elicitation whether the shifts of opinions between and within the samples are statistically significant. Furthermore, Masanov *et al* suggests that the repetition of the survey on a quarterly or bi-annual basis will probably shed more light into the way that perceptual and stereotypical patterns between people from both communities evolve and will also enable to capture the trends of ethnic hatred and hostility as they are influenced by the increasing contact between Shona and Ndebele people. I recommend this because the society and culture in which the research is carried out change as time pass on, creating and unforeseen conditions and scientific challenges; this is especially so in the social science research.

I also recommend that future scholars or students interested in studying interethnic relations among Shona and Ndebele migrants do a full study of intermarriage rates and their implications for interethnic relations between the two groups.

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APPENDICES

QUESTIONNAIRE

Some of the questions on this questionnaire were adapted from the Johannesburg Survey Project.

Introduction

My name is Takwana Makaya, a student at the University of the Witwatersrand. The reason why I am interviewing you is that I am doing a research about Shona and Ndebele migrants living in Johannesburg. In particular, I am investigating the impact of social interactions on ethnic identity perceptions Shona and Ndebele migrants have of one another. This research aims at understanding the nature of perceptions after social interactions.

Participation in this research is purely voluntary and there are no economic incentives one would get by participating. Again, your privacy is guaranteed. The information you give is solely used for this research only.

Research Title

The Impact of Social Interactions on Ethnic Identity Perceptions: The Case of Shona and Ndebele Migrants Living in Johannesburg, South Africa

Questions 1-4 to be filled by interviewer

1) Interviewer's Code:

Interviewer's code	

2) Date of Interview

Day	Month	Year

3) Enumerator area

Start Time

Finish Time

4) Total minutes spent on interview

Minutes	

Personal Details of the interviewee

5) Name

6) Age

7) Sex

8) How best do you describe your Marital Status?

9) Household members

10) Profession

11) Educational Qualifications/Skills

a) Highest level of education you have completed?.....

b) Apart from that which you have just described, have you had any additional training or education?…….

12) Nationality

13) What is your ethnic group?

14) For how long have been in Johannesburg?……..

15) What languages do you speak? .....

16) What is your native language? …….

17) Did you learn any language when you were in Johannesburg? ……. If yes, which one and why did you learn it? .....

Pre-flight conditions and expectations

I am going to ask you about your life before you came to Johannesburg.

18) Did you leave in a city, town or village for most of your life before leaving country of origin?.....

19) What was its name?.....

20) Why did you ultimately consider leaving country of origin?.....

21) When you were thinking about leaving your country of origin, did you already have relatives/friends in Johannesburg?.....

22) Who are they?.....

23) Were you in contact with them before you left?.....

24) To which ethnic group do they belong to?……..

25) Did they encourage you to come to south Africa? ……..

26) What kind of help did they give you? ……..

Documenting Arrival

27) Whom did you first make contact with in few days after you first arrived in Johannesburg?.....

28) In what part of Johannesburg did you stay for your first week after arriving in the city?.....

29) With whom did you stay for your first week in Johannesburg? …….

30) How did you learn about your first place of residence? …….

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your life since you first came to Johannesburg.

31) How would you describe the people you are staying with right now?.....

32) Do you have Zimbabwean neighbours?.....

33) Do you ever meet with members of another ethnic group from Zimbabwe? ….. very often, fairly often, once in a while, or hardly ever?.

34) If you meet, where do you meet and for what purpose? ……..

35) In order to determine how comfortable are Shona and Ndebele migrants in Johannesburg with their interactions, I will ask the following questions:

a) Would you feel comfortable or uneasy in the following situations:

i)Working on a business project with someone of a different ethnic group from Zimbabwe? ……..

ii)Visiting someone of a different ethnic group from Zimbabwe at his/her home in Johannesburg?

iii)Being roommates with someone of a different ethnic group from Zimbabwe?

iv)Dating or marrying someone of a different ethnic group from Zimbabwe?

36) How many funerals have you attended in Johannesburg?.....

37) Have you ever attended any funerals of other Zimbabweans?.....

38) a) Do you go to church?.....

b) If you do, which church do you go to?.....

c) Do you do home fellowships, and how?.....

d) Do other Zimbabweans attend the same church?.....

e) Do you also have prayer groups?.....

f) If you do, where do you hold them?.....

g) Have you ever attended any wedding in your church?.....

h) If you did, who were marrying?.....

39) a) What do you do for a living or are you involved in any activity?.....

b) Do you also have some Zimbabweans involved in that activity?.....

c) Do you sometimes talk to them?.....

d) Do you sometimes help each other as Zimbabweans?.....

e) Does it help you to have those Zimbabweans in that activity?.....

[i] In 2002, the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand and the Refugees and Forced Migration Program at Tufts University began collaboration on a three-city study of urban forced migrants and their effects on the city, entitled "Forced Migration and the New African City: Transnational Livelihoods and Politics in Johannesburg, Maputo, and Dar es Salaam." The Johannesburg Survey Project made a survey of South Africans and forced migrants—people from refugee-producing countries regardless of their legal status as refugees or asylum seekers—in seven central Johannesburg neighborhoods. (adapted from the Johannesburg project site - http://migration.wits.ac.za/UJPbackground.html)

[ii] ZIPRA was a Zimbabwe Africa People's Union (ZAPU) army

[iii] ZANLA was a Zimbabwe African National Union's (ZANU) army

[iv] There were problems after Independence in integrating freedom fighters of different political parties into the National Army of Zimbabwe. These problems were not only in Matabeleland, but also in Mashonaland. Many combatants disserted the integration process. Those who left took and hid weapons, and these are people who later operated as dissidents.

[v] The real figure of Zimbabweans in South Africa is not clearly quantifiable. There are various estimates from various sources. For Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), the estimate is around 20 050 Zimbabweans in South Africa. But the director of SAMP Jonathan Crush argues that the number is very low (http://www.queensu.ca/samp/migrationresources/braindrain/). The World Refugee Survey (2004) estimates the number of Zimbabweans in South Africa to be around 3 million (http://www.refugees.org/wrs04/country_updates/africa/zimbabwe.html) while other sources estimate from 1.5 million. Basically, the number of Zimbabweans in South Africa is not known but the country hosts a bigger number of Zimbabweans in comparison to other countries.

[vi] Perceptions within the context of this research mean prejudices or attitudes.

[vii] Among other important days/ events to remember, Zimbabweans celebrate Heroes and Independence Day. Independence Day is commemorated on the 18th of April each year and Heroes day is on the 12th August. Independence Day is when Zimbabwe got self rule from British colonists and heroes day is a day to remember fallen heroes during the liberation struggle. Zimbabweans all over the world observe these days, whether in diaspora or at home.

[viii] Currently, Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa formed a non-governmental organization called Peace and Democracy Project that was established in 2003. The non-governmental organization is involved in organising events for Zimbabweans in South Africa to interact, despite whether one is of Shona or Ndebele ethnic affiliation. Some of the events have been above mentioned [e.g. football matches -- on the 12th of August 2004, Peace and Democracy Project organised football matches for Zimbabwean migrants living in Johannesburg. Zimbabweans organised different teams and competed amongst themselves].

[ix] Structure refers to relations that might crop up after Shona and Ndebele engage in social interactions. The relations that would be established will have impact on imminent perceptions one has on ethnic identities.

[x] Stockvel is a practice whereby club members give each other money on monthly basis. Every month, a specific club member is entitled to get money from other association members. The amount of money each member is supposed to contribute is agreed upon by the association members.

[xi] The labour led opposition party is Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The opposition party was formed on September 11, 1999. In Zimbabwe's history, MDC is the first opposition party that gave a considerable threat to end Mugabe's rule of Zimbabwe since independence.

[xii] See also Meredith (2002) Power, Plunder and Tyranny in Zimbabwe. The book describes how Mugabe abused state power for crushing rebellion against him, the Matebeleland massacres were carried out and the death of rule of law in Zimbabwe.