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Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa: Space, Movement and Spatial Identity

Khangelani Moyo

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the Requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Town and Regional Planning)

Johannesburg 2017

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for a Doctor of Philosophy Degree. It has not been submitted to any other university or institution as a requirement for a degree or any other qualification.

Signature:

Date:

Abstract

Focusing on Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, this thesis engages the ways in which diverse groups and individuals construct and negotiate spaces in the city. I have looked at how Zimbabwean migrants spatially respond to the regulatory and socio-economic environments within which they lead their everyday lives in Johannesburg. I emphasize the theme of heterogeneity, specifically highlighting the differentiated nature of Zimbabwean immigrants living in South Africa and discuss their movements and spatial identities. Theoretically, I have combined de Certeau's conception of space as represented by the schema of "strategies" of the powerful and the "tactics" of the subordinate with Bourdieu's concept of "habitus", which operates within a field of social forces that are responsible for, and the result of, its emergence. Following my empirical engagements within the context of Johannesburg, I observe that, the initial decision by Zimbabwean migrants to move to South Africa, be it in search of work opportunities or forced by political circumstances, enable a structure that predisposes them (migrants) to continued mobility. Firstly, as transnational migrants who engage in frequent short term and long term movements between Zimbabwe and South Africa. Secondly, as transient residents of Johannesburg who frequently change residential addresses yet remain largely within the same spaces where they first arrive. Thirdly, as de Certeau's *ordinary man* who walks the city while engaged in everyday activities such as, shopping, going to places of employment, to places of education, etc. I theorise mobility as a way of *making do* and an inhabited space that migrants mobilise in contestation with the broader strategic entities such as the City of Johannesburg's regulatory platforms, South African citizens and other migrants. I also argue that, for migrants to engage in different mobility cycles and deploy mobility as a tactical resource, particular dispositions are necessary. I refer to these dispositions as the *transnational migrant habitus*, which operates within a *transnational social field* constituted by socio-cultural factors in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. Both, the transnational habitus and the transnational social field are hybrid social formations that are not reducible to either the Zimbabwean

or the South African contexts that are responsible for their genesis and ongoing reconstitution. Methodologically, I employed a mixed methods research design, which refers to a procedure by which the researcher mixes two or more methods with different meta-theoretical assumptions in a single study in order to understand a research problem. I used mixed methods because I needed sufficient breadth to explore the diversity of Zimbabwean migrant experiences and spatial decision-making, but also sufficient depth to uncover the reasons for behaviours and decisions.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my family - my father, Kenaan Khanda Moyo; my mother, Zodwa Dumani; my wife, Pauline Ndlovu; my siblings, Nobuhle Moyo, Methulelwa Moyo, and Luzibo Moyo; and, my son, Buhle Ntjidzi Moyo.

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1 Chapter One: Introducing the Research

1.1 Introduction

This research explores Zimbabwean migrant spatial decision making in Johannesburg. By spatial decision making I refer to the decisions that migrants make regarding where to reside in the city, how and where they move across space, and where they participate in a variety of other life activities, including, work, recreation, worship, and shopping. While these are mainly everyday activities, they speak to underlying processes and deeper meanings attached to space inherent in the processes of movement, and decision-making. In focusing on these aspects of migrant lives, I engage space beyond physical fixity and argue that, it is a fluid conception, and difficult to isolate and attach descriptors. Due to this social dimension of space beyond the physical, it plausibly can be understood better through isolating the consequences of its proclamation, which are commonly found in the everyday activities of its actuators. In this instance, these actuators are the Zimbabwean migrants who traverse Johannesburg daily.

The spatial turn in South African migration studies can be traced at least to Crush and McDonald (2000) on the new migrant spaces in South Africa. A few other academic authors have engaged migration spatially and territorially, for example, Harrison, Moyo and Yang (2012) focused on the production of Chinese diasporic space in the city of Johannesburg and Simone (2004) argued that the associational networks of migrants and the clandestine forms of navigating the city constituted infrastructural properties. In her study of female international migrants in Johannesburg, Kihato (2013) characterised them as occupying a "liminal space", as being in-between a past in the home country and a future elsewhere. As such, they remain suspended in a space that belies common notions of classification. Landau and Freemantle (2010) use the example of African migrants in Johannesburg and argue that, their activities constitute "tactical cosmopolitanism"

where migrants access the city on a "usufruct" basis yet claiming non-belonging to it. Kihato's (2013) and Landau and Freemantle's (2010) perspectives speak to the production of space beyond the common Cartesian conceptualization of space, which is a hallmark of many migration studies researches.[1]

Spatial production itself is a Lefebvrian concept that speaks to the structuring of spatial relations and the control of urban space. Lefebvre's argument is that, in as much as space is a social product, it must be borne in mind that it possesses structuring qualities and these are not only limited to the forces that produce it (Lefebvre and Levich 1987). Following, the important assertions made by Lefebvre regarding spatial production, I observe that, migrants make decisions in space and about space and therefore space is an integral component of migrant decision-making. As such, I have inserted this research within the discourse of spatial production and I converse with and apply the ideas of Michel de Certeau (1984) who, like Lefebvre, attributes structuring properties to the concept of space in his theorisation of *strategies* and *tactics*. De Certeau also attributes conceptual status to "the city" and argues that it is a place of transformations and appropriations (1984: 35-6). I also deploy Pierre Bourdieu's thinking tools of *habitus*, *social field* and *social capital* in understanding and theorising the mobility of Zimbabwean migrants in and across space.

1.2 The research problem

There is consensus in the academic literature that South Africa constitutes the key node of international migration in Sub Saharan Africa in general and Southern Africa in particular due to its middle income status and economic development relative to other African countries (Jacobsen 2007; Klotz 1997). Studies on migration in Southern Africa have traditionally discussed it in relation to the migrant labour system in the South African gold mines and the genesis of regional

[1] Cartesian conceptualisations of space relate to the common practice going back to Rene Descartes where space is theorised as fixed or inert and physically bounded geometrical container in which activities happen.

migrant circulation (for example, Crush 1984; Crush and James 1991; Crush, Jeeves and Yudelman 1991; Maloka 1997). More recently, however the focus has shifted away from the gold driven labour migration system to a broader engagement with multidimensional aspects of migration in the region. Examples include, engagement with issues of migrant rights and the difficulties of accessing social services (see for instance, Bloch 2010; Sigsworth 2010), as well as migrant exclusion and xenophobia (see for example, Landau 2011; Nyamnjoh 2006; Nyamnjoh 2010). Academic writers focusing primarily on Zimbabwean migration into the region have followed a similar line as the regional scholarship in seeking causation and have mainly engaged the movement of migrants in relation to the humanitarian, political and economic situation in Zimbabwe. Examples include the work of Tevera and Zinyama (2002), who give a historical overview of Zimbabwean migration up to the early 2000 period and Crush and Tevera (2010) who discuss the scale of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa after the onset of the post 2000 economic and political turmoil in Zimbabwe. Other authors, such as Kiwanuka and Monson (2009) and Polzer, Kiwanuka and Takabvirwa (2010) have drawn attention to the regional spread of Zimbabwean migrants and the regional policy responses to this. The literature examples given here are not exhaustive, but highlight the general focus by researchers on the scale of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa and the causal factors, which is an important discussion. However, there has been no similar vigour and attention to understanding issues of Zimbabwean migrant settlement patterns and factors informing migrants' spatial decision-making in Johannesburg. Without a clear understanding of these processes, it is difficult to ascertain and map the spaces that migrants inhabit in the cities, more so if we consider space beyond “physical fixity”. The sensitivities of migrants to different spaces in Johannesburg and the conscious decisions that they make concerning where they live, work and walk remain largely unexplored in the existing literature.

Using the thinking tools of de Certeau and Bourdieu, I extend the analysis of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa, specifically arguing that, the presence of Zimbabweans as a national category in South Africa has endured for a long time and warrants attention to its different forms of spatial permanency. I propose that,

migration scholarship should start moving away from approaching the study of migrants as *temporary* residents of the city. Rather, academic authors and policy makers should look at migrants as residents and actors in the city and not just guests who come and go, with no permanency. As such, it is important to understand the structuring of migrants presence in Johannesburg, for instance, areas like Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville and the historical Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) have become permanent international migrant hosting areas. Thus, it is not an issue of saying, from this period to this period, there was a dominancy of certain types of migrants in this particular section of the city, but it is about understanding the structuring of the different forms of migrants' permanency.

It is important however to highlight that a conceptualisation of space, which includes but goes beyond Cartesian notions, allows us to conceive of a form of "permanence in mobility". When we understand that space is material, relational and perceived, we can explore migrants in terms of the physical places they occupy in Johannesburg, but also in terms of the multiple other spaces they retain connection to, the paths and modes of movement through spaces, and the meanings they ascribe to space. In a purely Cartesian or conventional analysis, a study of migrant space may include analysis of migrant enclaves in Johannesburg such as the Somali enclave in Mayfair; the Chinatown business enclave in Cyrildene; the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladesh enclaves of Fordsburg; and, the Mozambican residential enclave in the suburb of La Rochelle, south of Johannesburg. In relation to Zimbabweans who are far more numerous than these other groups, this study reveals a more complex spread of migrant space. An investigation of the physicality of migrant space is important but we need to extend beyond this, exploring the pathways of movement, and the phenomenological dimensions.

1.2.1 The choice of Johannesburg

Johannesburg has been a migrant city since its inception in 1886 as a mining hub. The earlier migrations included a mix of southern African and overseas fortune hunters from England, Australia, United States of America, Germany, France, Poland and Italy, amongst other places, who all congregated in the emerging city of Johannesburg (Hart 1975). The successive colonial governments maintained a strict and selective immigration regime in order to facilitate the entry of desirable white immigrants and exclude those deemed undesirable (Glaser 2010; Weisbord 1967). In addition to the European migrants, black African migrants from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and Zimbabwe migrated to Johannesburg to work in the mines (see for example, Crush 1997; Crush, Williams and Peberdy 2005b; Prothero 1974; Wilson 1976). As such, Johannesburg has a long history of Zimbabwean migration streams and has the largest contingent of Zimbabwean migrants and other migrant populations on the continent and, indeed, globally. Some academic writers have characterised it as a transnational gateway city for migrants whose preferred destinations may be European and North American cities but who cannot easily access these cities (see for example, Simone 2004).

According to Friedmann (2002), the transnational cities are strategic and linked to regional and global networks as well as connected to migrant origin communities. Alluding to this idea of Johannesburg as a transnational and gateway city in no ways precludes it from other forms of characterisation. Westwood and Phizacklea (2000), and also Westwood (2002), for example, take the debate further when they show that we can understand transnational connections as not only being about the physical linkages across space (e.g. the flows of migrants) but also about how places coexist in any one space. If we understand the nature of the Bourdieusian *habitus,* we could conceive of multiple cities and other places coexisting within one city as individuals bring their spatially derived sense of *habitus* into new contexts.

1.3 Research Arguments and Questions

Zimbabwean migrants share space with different contending groups and forces within the South African landscape. These groups include the diverse ethnic, class, linguistic constituents of the South African public, and other migrants, including, of course, other Zimbabweans. While it is important to understand the construction of space (physical, relational and perceived) in terms of the actions, or tactics, of migrants, it is also important to understand that migrant space cannot be easily set apart from other forms of space. I argue that, rather than understanding Zimbabwean migrant space as a separate phenomenon, we could employ the idea of a "social field" – or a "socio-spatial field" – to show how space is created and recreated in constant interaction between highly differentiated bodies of migrants and diverse other South African and foreign national migrants. This also involves the multiple groupings of established residents in Johannesburg.

The study engaged Zimbabwean migrant spatial decision-making as an avenue to understanding the broader issues of migrant lives in Johannesburg and the tactics they employ in navigating the city. It is through understanding the differentiated nature and dynamics of Zimbabwean migration that we can be able to delve into the real and underlying tactics deployed in everyday practice. In this regard, I employed the questions listed in this section to lead the research, summarise the objectives, and serve as guidelines in devising suitable research instruments for the collection of relevant data. I divided the questions into two parts, namely, the central and theoretically enmeshed research question and the subsidiary questions that assisted in structuring the research.

1.3.1 Central Research Question

How do the diverse groups and individual Zimbabwean migrants construct and negotiate their spaces, mobility and spatial identities in the city, and between places, within a context of continual interaction with others.

I have disaggregated the main research question into five subsidiary questions in order to clarify my approach.

1.3.2 Subsidiary Research Questions

1. What are the dimensions of Zimbabwean migrants' diversity in Johannesburg?
2. How do different groups of Zimbabwean migrants make spatial decisions and what informs those decisions in the Johannesburg context?
3. How do Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg deploy spatial movement, at all scales – from the transnational to the local - as an economic and social tactic?
4. In the process of making spatial decisions, how do migrants construct and reproduce migrant space in Johannesburg? In addition, how does the socio-economic and living environment influence their spatial choices and shape the construction of their spaces in the city?
5. How strongly are Zimbabwean migrant cultural symbolisms represented in Johannesburg and what role do these play in the migrant spatial decision-making process?

1.4 Thesis Organisation

This thesis consists of nine chapters. The first chapter introduces the research and states the research questions, context and key arguments. The second chapter is a methodological articulation of the means through which the data was gathered and handled. The third is a literature chapter that foregrounds the discussion of the theoretical tools employed in the thesis, which I discuss in chapter four. Essentially, I discuss the definition of space, its production, creation and shaping by migrants in Johannesburg. Chapter four is a discussion of theoretical tools deployed in the thesis. I engage the work of Michel de Certeau, specifically his analysis of strategy and tactics and Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and social field. In chapter five, I engage the Zimbabwean migration literature and highlight the different phases and characteristics of migration streams to South Africa. Chapter six, seven and eight engage the empirical material and substance of the thesis, and chapter nine is the conclusion. In chapter six, I discuss the different forms in which Zimbabwean migrants deploy mobility as a tactic and coping mechanism in Johannesburg. Chapter seven looks at the social fields within which migrants live their lives and how migrants partake in the creation of transnational spaces that straddle multiple social fields. In chapter eight, I look at the different forms of identity in the city as well as levels of attachment to place by migrants. Chapter nine re-states the key arguments of the thesis and provides a reflective concluding note.

2 Chapter Two: Methodological Choices and Applications

2.1 Introduction

This chapter opens with an engagement of the mixed methods approach, as a philosophically and methodologically pragmatic approach, and as a response to the limitations of methodological *monism.* I discuss the reasons why I chose the mixed methods approach for this study and then discuss how the mixed methods approach is utilised in the research as well as the specific methods used to gather data. I also reflect on the practical challenges of doing research on migrant populations in the Johannesburg context, more specifically in situations where it is impossible to delineate sampling frames. I highlight the places where the interviews took place, how the participants were identified and who did the interviews as well as my "researcher's backpack" on getting into the field[2].

2.2 Introducing the Mixed Methods Approach

2.2.1 Explaining mixed methods

This research employed a mixed methods research design, which refers to a procedure by which the researcher mixes two or more methods with different meta-theoretical assumptions (commonly qualitative and quantitative) in a single study in order to understand a research problem (Creswell 2012; Creswell, Shope, Plano, Green and Green 2006; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Moran-Ellis,

[2] A researcher's backpack refers to, "Previous personal and professional experiences, prestudy beliefs about how things are and what is to be investigated, motivation and qualifications for exploration of the field, and perspectives and theoretical foundations related to education and interests" (Malterud 2001: 484).

Alexander, Cronin, Dickinson, Fielding, Sleney and Thomas 2006). Describing mixed methods research, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 17) posit that, "It is inclusive, pluralistic, and complementary, and it suggests that researchers take an eclectic approach to method selection and the thinking about and conduct of research." Creswell (2012: 535) argues however that, "mixed methods research is not simply collecting two distinct 'strands' of research — qualitative and quantitative. It consists of merging, integrating, linking, or embedding the two strands". Advocates of the mixed methods approach justify its utility by arguing that methodological monism is not adequate in addressing certain research problems, hence the preference for approaches that accommodate methodological pluralism. Thus, combining qualitative and quantitative methods gives the researcher more options and a comprehensive set of flexible tools to tackle a specific problem. There is consensus amongst a number of academic authors that, mixed methods has been in use for longer than currently acknowledged and in its current form, has emerged out of the qualitative vs. quantitative paradigm wars (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner 2007; Morgan 2007). In specific terms, advocates of the mixed methods approach contend that it represents a *third wave* or *third way* in terms of philosophical approach and draws from the pragmatism paradigm in offering a practical alternative to the traditional qualitative and quantitative research paradigms (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Morgan 2007; Onwuegbuzie and Johnson 2006).

Mixed methods studies derive justification on the basis that, using both sets of qualitative and quantitative methods makes research more comprehensive, enhances validity, and creates complementation between the methods used (O'Cathain, Murphy and Nicholl 2007). The key attraction of mixed methods is that it acknowledges plurality and moves beyond the epistemological justification for methodological choices, and thus allows researchers to make such choices at the level of methods and methodology rather than conform to purist worldviews and assumptive judgments. For example, Jang, McDougall, Pollon, Herbert and Russell (2008: 222) have argued that,

> …in practice, most research questions cross paradigmatic boundaries. In other words, one should choose methods that are most likely to provide evidence useful for answering important research questions given the inquiry objectives, research context, and the available resources.

As such, making choices about methods at the epistemological level can be limiting especially for researchers that maintain purist lines of thinking. Some academic writers have advocated for pragmatic, contextually informed decisions regarding methodological choices rather than adhering to particular epistemological and ideological persuasions (see for example, Greene, Caracelli and Graham 1989; Moran-Ellis *et al.* 2006). It is important, however to ensure that a mixed-method approach is not simply an *ad hoc* cluster of different methods, but represents a reasoned choice for what makes methodological sense in each instance.

Mixed methods researchers employ a number of research designs depending on specific project requirements. Some authors have grouped the designs into four common sub groups, namely, sequential, concurrent, conversion, and fully integrated designs (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2006: 12). Sequential designs involve the deployment of the different strands of research one after the other while in concurrent designs, the mixing of methods happens in "parallel or synchronous manner" (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2006: 17). In practical terms, researchers commonly apply the sequential mixed methods approach where they start the process with a quantitative instrument and then do a follow up through a qualitative engagement to try to give a human feel to the findings (Creswell 2012). Researchers do this in order to generate explanations for the findings of the quantitative process where a standard questionnaire is used and the data aggregated and analysed to get the key findings. Alternatively, the study begins with a qualitative process in order to pave the way and inform the design of the quantitative instrument. The conversion mixed design entails the mixing of methods at all stages of the research and the fully integrated design involves the interactive mixing of both qualitative and quantitative methods (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2006).

2.3 Reasons for choosing the mixed methods approach

My methodological engagement began with an attempt at ethnographic investigation of the spaces of Zimbabwean migration in Johannesburg. I initially set out to do a multi-sited ethnographic study, which academic researchers refer to as ethnography that targets phenomenon which single-sited ethnography cannot account for, stitching together the life-worlds of variously situated subjects (see for example, Berg 2008; Boccagni 2010; Hannerz 2003; Marcus 1995). Such research is a response to the increased mobility and displacement of people worldwide and heralds a trend in ethnographic inquiries of moving beyond a single locality to a multiplicity of localities which reflects the translocality of many people's lives (Berg 2008). However, in the early stages of the study it quickly became apparent that the local origins of Zimbabwean migrants are hugely diverse, and a multi-sited ethnography would struggle to address this diversity. Multi-sited ethnography would provide depth in the study, detailing the intricacies in the lives of a limited number of individuals, but would not necessarily help in building an understanding of the creation of "Zimbabwean space" in Johannesburg, as the construction of space is the product of the lives and decision-making of multiple individuals and groupings of individuals.

I shifted instead to a mixed methods design. It was a pragmatic choice based on the practicalities of the research and a consideration of the specific set of methods that would best answer the research questions (see for example, Jang *et al.* 2008). In the research, I needed sufficient breadth to explore the diversity of Zimbabwean migrant experience and spatial decision-making, but also sufficient depth to uncover the reasons for behaviours and decisions. Difficulties in sampling a mobile and often hidden population, limits the use of quantitative study, but there is still value in large surveys as an indicator of the variance within a population. The depth came from observation, open-ended interview questions and focus group discussions. It was the mixing of quantitative and qualitative approaches, which was to give the balance between breadth and depth.

2.3.1 Deploying the mixed methods approach

For this research I applied the concurrent or convergent parallel design, in which the researcher collects both qualitative and quantitative data simultaneously and "…analyses both datasets separately, compares the results from the analysis of both datasets, and makes an interpretation as to whether the results support or contradict each other" (Creswell 2012: 540). In this instance, the research employed a questionnaire consisting of both open ended and closed questions in an attempt to cater for both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the research. There is however, a variation to the common application of the concurrent mixed methods design. Instead of deploying the quantitative and qualitative processes separately, I designed a questionnaire that included both closed and open ended questions in which, probing questions followed up some closed questions to get more depth on the experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants and get information on some issues that could not be answered by closed questions. The advantage of this approach is that; rather than engaging in two separate data gathering processes, the researcher simultaneous collects required data in one instance and ensures that both the quantitative and qualitative data are collected from the same participants. In order to clarify certain points that emerged from the analysis of the survey and interview data, I held two focus group discussions consisting of diverse Zimbabwean participants. I discuss the use of focus group discussions and other methods in the following sections.

2.4 Specific Methods Utilised

2.4.1 Using the survey questionnaire for data gathering

The research employed a survey questionnaire as the anchoring data-gathering instrument, which Creswell refers to as, "procedures in quantitative research in which investigators administer a survey to a sample or to the entire population of people to describe the attitudes, opinions, behaviours, or characteristics of the population" (2012: 376). These procedures have become common platforms for gathering data on immigration within the Southern African region and especially in South Africa, which has the highest concentration of immigrants in the sub region.

Most of the surveys have taken place during the post-1994 period, which has coincided with the increased presence of African immigrants in South Africa. The studies have ranged from small-scale student dissertations and pilot projects to large-scale inter-city surveys. Examples of the large-scale surveys include the Southern African Migration Project's (SAMP) surveys which focused on residents' attitudes towards migration in five Southern African countries (Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana and Namibia), South African citizens attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, and the attitudes and experiences of African immigrants living in South Africa (see Mattes, Taylor, Mc Donald, Poore and Richmond 1999; McDonald, Gay, Zinyama, Mattes and De Vletter 1998; McDonald, Mashike and Golden 2000). The latter segment of the SAMP surveys, which focused on African immigrants' attitudes and experiences in South Africa has some methodological similarities with the current research as the researchers highlight the difficulties of sampling migrant populations and discuss the use of snowball sampling instead of a randomised probability procedure consistent with the survey method (McDonald *et al.* 2000). The other notable large-scale survey was conducted by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (now the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS)) which sampled 648 foreign migrants and 191 South African citizens in Johannesburg as part of a

larger study on African cities, which included, Johannesburg, Maputo and Nairobi (Landau 2010b). However, the biggest survey of Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg thus far, was conducted by Daniel Makina in 2007 and sampled 4 654 Zimbabweans in the inner city suburbs of Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville (Makina 2010). Apart from the large surveys, there have been numerous other small-scale surveys on immigrants in Johannesburg. For example, Rogerson conducted a survey of international immigrant entrepreneurs in Johannesburg and relied on snowball sampling to recruit 70 participants for the study (Rogerson 1997). What the different surveys on immigrants in South Africa have in common is that despite designing survey instruments to collect mainly quantitative data, they resort to non-probability sampling techniques to recruit participants.

The current research used the questionnaire as an interview platform administered by the researcher and a trained research assistant. The questionnaire itself consisted of both closed and open questions in accordance with the concurrent mixed methods design. The aim of the survey was to gain both breadth and depth in terms of the Zimbabwean migrants' experiences in Johannesburg. It was comprised of eight sections covering, participants' demographic information, reasons for migration, household dynamics, economic activities, relationships, interaction with state service providers, movements in the city and communication with family and friends back in Zimbabwe (see appendix A1 for the questionnaire). The data collected through the questionnaire constituted the bulk of the material for the research and I relied on it for the generation of themes on key issues that are discussed in this thesis. I tested the questionnaire for functionality, length and time taken with participants. I did this with colleagues conversant with research methods in order to gain input and to fine-tune the instrument before rolling it out for data collection. In designing the questionnaire, I drew from my experience and previous involvement in similar research studies at ACMS. For instance, the multiple response questions on the reasons for migrating to South Africa, economic activity, education profile and demographic details such as age, have become standard across different migration related surveys in Johannesburg.

The research procedure included careful recording of closed-question answers on the pre-coded questionnaire and the recording of responses to the open-ended questions using a digital voice recorder. We (the research assistant and I) transcribed the responses to open-ended questions within the shortest possible time after the interviews. Transcriptions however cannot reveal the subtleties of the recorded interview such as non-verbal cues, pitch and the manner in which participants deliver speech, but capture the plain and textual content of the interviews. Wilig (2013) argues that detailed transcription that takes into account the non-verbal cues and other forms of speech is required for conversation and discourse forms of analysis. When these are not employed, as was the case in this research, detailed transcription is not crucial (Willig 2013).

2.4.2 Observing and informally engaging Zimbabwean migrants

The research adopted both participant and non-participant observation, as a supplement to the survey, to understand the construction and representation of everyday reality of migrant spatial decision making in Johannesburg. It is in the mundane elements of participants lived reality that as researchers, we are able to extract and give meaning to the context of decision-making and as such, Silverman observes that "the mundane must assume precedence over the exciting" (Silverman 1993: 31). Observation contrasts with the research interview in that it focuses on naturally occurring activities and therefore surpasses the richness of the research interview (Silverman 1993). It resembles a window through which the researcher peers into the life of the participants without the control that participants exercise over the answers that they give in an interview. It is data through the eyes of the researcher rather than the combined efforts of the researcher and the researched. The observation component of the research focused on the observable aspects of migrant clustering and markers of identity in Johannesburg.

In my observations, I was on the lookout for distinctly Zimbabwean markings such as names of places and the presence of Zimbabwean nationals. It was in such

places that I sought to make sense of the texture and imprint that the Zimbabwean presence implanted on the spaces of Johannesburg. In some spaces like the long distance bus terminus on the western edge of Johannesburg, I would go and watch football matches, eat food prepared in the Zimbabwean way, particularly *sadza* (thick porridge) with *matemba* (kapenta fish) and covo vegetables and have conversations with travellers and other people using the space for recreation. I found it as a unique space of appropriation where an ordinary bus terminus turned into a vibrant social space with people of different social backgrounds and status but mainly of Zimbabwean origin coming to spend time and find recreation in this particular bus terminus.

During the course of the research, I held informal conversations with Zimbabwean migrants and discussed a wide range of topics including their daily struggles and the latest news from Zimbabwe. These conversations yielded a rich corpus of data, which would have been otherwise inaccessible through conventional interviews and observation. Such conversations took place in various beer drinking places in the Johannesburg inner city, the long distance bus terminus, and in community gatherings such as when a death occurred within the network of people known to the researcher. The informal conversations took place outside the scope of the planned interview platforms and in general terms added to the knowledge generated about the subject of Zimbabwean migrants' presence in Johannesburg. These conversations did not only contribute to data gathering but also created nodes of participant recruitment for the survey.

2.4.3 The richness of the focus group discussion (FGD)

In addition to the survey and observations, I employed the focus group discussion method in the data gathering process. The focus group discussion refers to a method by which the researcher brings together 4 - 12 participants to discuss areas of specific interest in an enabling environment (Boddy 2005; Powell and Single 1996). The idea is to allow participants to discuss selected topics with each other with the guidance of the facilitator whose role is to introduce new topics and

direct the discussion to the pre-set agenda. The focus group discussion also relies on the interaction between participants to generate data (Kitzinger 1995; McLafferty 2004). I conducted two focus group discussions for the purpose of clarifying pertinent points and filling gaps in the data, which emerged as the research unfolded. These gaps addressed by the focus group discussions included, explanations for the frequent residential changes by Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg and other matters associated with their relationship to Johannesburg (see Appendix A3 for the FGD guide). The first focus group discussion was composed of four male and three female participants while the second consisted of five females and six male participants. Both focus group discussions consisted of Zimbabwean migrants who have been residing in South Africa for periods ranging from one year to twenty-one years.

I had initially thought that designing a questionnaire consisting of both closed and open-ended questions would be enough to generate the requisite research data. However, as the analysis unfolded, it became apparent that I needed additional information and understanding to augment the data that I had collected through the survey. The preferred arrangement for mixed method design is to draw the participants for the focus groups from the pool of survey respondents. However, I had concluded the survey by the end of 2014, and when the FGDs were conducted, respectively in October 2015 and March 2016 the respondents could not easily be traced and I had to bring in new participants. This was not ideal but there were no discernible knowledge gaps between the survey participants and the focus group participants. The focus group participants spoke effectively to the questions that had arisen in the survey.

2.5 Data analysis

According to Creswell (2012: 10), data analysis consists of "taking the data apart" to determine individual responses and then "putting it together" to summarise it. This process involves drawing conclusions about the data; "representing it in

tables, figures, and pictures to summarise it; and explaining the conclusions in words to provide answers to your research questions" (Creswell 2012: 10). The procedure for handling the data for this research involved assigning codes to the participants' responses and entering the data into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software for analysis. I used the software to generate descriptive statistics and aggregate data from the 150 participants. Following the concurrent mixed methods design, I analysed the data from the closed questions separately from the open-ended questions, which required qualitative methods of analysis. In designing the questionnaire, I carefully selected the themes and questions that would elicit the required information from the participants. Such questions created a bridgehead for the analysis as the process involved separating and putting together the key emerging themes from the data. The expanded and open-ended questions were analysed as explanatory rather than theme-generators. In other words, the statistical data was the one used for generating themes rather than the qualitative data, which is often used to generate multi-layered themes during the analysis. As such, the qualitative responses were analysed thematically but in accordance with themes generated from the quantitative data.

2.6 Personal experience as a data asset in research

As a Zimbabwean migrant, I entered the field with certain pre-conceptions and could not claim value neutrality but be critically self-reflective as advocated by Chambers (1994) and Long (2001). In essence, a

> …researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communication of conclusions (Malterud 2001: 483-84).

Being a Zimbabwean immigrant researching Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa placed me as an insider to the Zimbabwean migrant community, a position described as, "sharing the characteristic, role, or experience under study with the participants…" (Dwyer and Buckle 2009: 55). While I claim insidership in terms of being a Zimbabwean and an immigrant in South Africa, I cannot characterise myself as completely enmeshed in the experiences of Zimbabweans in South Africa but an outsider through my professional position as a research student. Thus, the space I occupy is in-between and a hyphen between outsider and insider, which "acts as a third space, a space between, a space of paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction" (Dwyer and Buckle 2009: 60). My identity as a fluent Ndebele and Shona speaking Zimbabwean provided capital of its own. The ability to speak Ndebele and Shona allowed the Zimbabwean participants to converse in their preferred languages, broadened the scope of engagement, and encouraged informal discussions. Access to Zimbabwean communities was also relatively easier because of the language factor as my research assistant also spoke fluent Shona and Ndebele.

The research placed emphasis on the need inherent in many qualitative methodologies to answer the "how" and "why" questions of social science research in which a researcher engages the phenomena studied in more depth (Yin 2009). I found meaning in the research by actively immersing myself in the process and drawing from my own personal experiences as an ethnic Khalanga and Ndebele speaking Zimbabwean male migrant living in Johannesburg since

2008. I found resonance in the experiences of the Zimbabwean migrants with my own experiences, especially the pathways to Johannesburg and the frequent residential changes one makes during their stay in the city. I found myself identifying with many aspects of the participants' livelihoods, experiencing the same harassment from the police and at one point arrested over charges of loitering in the Johannesburg CBD (see Figure 8.2 for police charge sheet). Therefore, the choice of a mixed method approach here reflects both, the individual nature of the decision making process by migrants and the collective nodes of experience that each Zimbabwean migrant can identify with. I find that, it is only through careful and in-depth attention to detail that as researchers we can elicit the nuanced circumstances of the decision making process. This requires a methodology that pays attention to both the individual processes and contextual resources involved in the decision-making process and a mixed methods approach represents this ideal.

My personal connection to the research did require me to think carefully about my positionality in the process. Pure objectivity is arguably impossible, as our life experience – our *habitus* - is continually present in our thinking and our choices, whether we recognise it or not. I do not claim objectivity or an experiential separation between the survey or focus group respondents and myself. I acknowledge the possibility of *social desirability bias*[3] in the study. However, I was mindful of the pitfalls and tried throughout to maintain a reasonable level of critical distance and self-reflection. I managed the process of information collection through continually testing my own assumptions against the responses of others. At the same time, however there is an advantage in being personally close to the object of research. I could draw on personal knowledge and empathy. These resources should not be lost in an overblown attempt to be objective.

[3] Social desirability bias denotes the tendency of research participants, "to present themselves in the most favorable manner relative to prevailing social norms" (King and Bruner, 2000: 80). Within the context of this research, such bias could include instances where participants respond in a manner that they deem appropriate to the questions asked by the researcher, especially where the researcher is known to some of the participants.

2.7 Doing ethical research in Johannesburg

Ethical research practice refers to values and rules of conduct in research and represents the responsibility of the scientific community to the ideals of the pursuit of knowledge and principled sensitivity to the rights of the research participants (Bulmer 1982; Burgess 1984; Christakis 1992; Eide and Kahn 2008; Vanderstaay 2005). Unlike the natural sciences, qualitative research makes it impossible to take a standpoint divorced from the subject of the research. In qualitative research "the standpoint is mutual, researcher to participant, human being to human being" (Eide and Kahn 2008). Thus, the research followed the accepted procedures as laid down in the University of the Witwatersrand rules for the conduct of research involving human participants and ethics clearance was obtained from the University's Non-medical research ethics committee, protocol number H11/10/13 (see appendix A2).

Studies like these require careful handling as they involve undocumented migrants liable to deportation and in many cases maintaining a high degree of mistrust towards officialdom. The researcher and the trained research assistant explained the nature of the study in terms understandable to the participants and sought informed consent before commencing any interviews.

Informed consent implies a responsibility by the researcher to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, and why the researcher is doing it (Burgess 1984). This undertaking is in line with Burgess's (1984) argument that, as far as possible researchers should base their studies on the freely given informed consent of those studied. As affirmation that they understood the nature and conduct of the study, the participants were asked to append their signatures on a written informed consent form accompanying the participant information sheet with the researcher's contact details. As such, the participants signed the informed consent forms voluntarily and out of their free will. In cases where participants were unable to sign the consent forms, the research sought verbal consent only and the researcher or the research assistant signed on the participants' behalf.

2.8 Sampling migrant populations in Johannesburg

The study did not aim for a representative sample or seek to generalise the findings to the rest of the Zimbabwean population in Johannesburg. Such an exercise would have required a much more controlled and probability sampling based process of recruiting participants, which is arguably impossible when researching mobile populations. Migration scholars have discussed this matter in detail and have asked the question whether researchers possess adequate techniques to generate representative samples of migrant populations in the absence of complete and accurate sampling frames (see for example, Bloch 2004; Bloch 2007; Vigneswaran 2009). These populations tend to be hidden or hard to reach and difficult to access through conventional probability sampling techniques in the absence of reliable statistical data, and the prevalence of national census undercounts (see for example, Margolis 1995; Vearey 2010; Wasserman, Bender, Kalsbeek, Suchindran and Mouw 2005). Bloch (2007) observes that, when designing research, researchers should consider issues of vulnerability, fear and access that are always part of the migrants' lives.

A purist approach to quantitative study requires probability-based sampling procedures where every member of the surveyed population has a known and equal chance of selection (Bloch 2007). While Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg are not entirely a hidden population, there are segments of the population that may not wish to be observed, and many migrants live a fluid and trans-local life that makes accurate counting difficult. The purist approach is therefore not feasible, and may not even be ethical. Instead, we need adaptable methodological approaches to achieve research outcomes that are both feasible and ethical.

This research therefore utilised non-probability sampling that is purposively oriented and based on the snowballing technique. Snowball sampling refers to a technique by which new data collection units (in this case individual Zimbabwean immigrants) become the source of information that leads to the recruitment of other potential research participants (Yin 2011). In other words, the researcher

identifies a participant with the requisite profile and draws on that participant's social networks to recruit other participants with similar characteristics who in turn help recruit more participants connected to their networks (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981; Sadler, Lee, Lim and Fullerton 2010; Yin 2011). Thus, the recruitment of participants for this research followed a procedure in which the researcher identified multiple entry points (people known to the researcher and the research assistant) into the field and used them as nodes for snowball sampling. The research also used social networking platforms such as Facebook, LinkedIn and WhatsApp as sources of contacts and further referrals. In this regard, I leveraged my contacts on the social networking websites to recruit participants in a non-systematic and effectively informal manner. Social networking platforms added another layer and a different dimension to the usual practice of recruiting participants through physical contact when identifying nodes for snowballing.

Bloch (2007) alludes to the strength of snowballing and argues that the use of an intermediary through cumulative recruitment of participants rids the process of mistrust of the researcher by the participants and reduces the likelihood of eliciting false information. This process also considerably reduces the likelihood of people refusing to participate in the research and yields very high response rates. The reliance on networks also circumvented the problems of access to gated residences alluded to by some migration researchers in the Johannesburg inner city (see for example, Misago and Landau 2012; Vigneswaran 2009). The flexibility of the sampling procedure ensured that the research targeted individual migrants rather than specific buildings, which eliminated the effect of gate-keeping practices by caretakers, security guards and building management that migration scholars cite as hampering effective sampling strategies in the Johannesburg inner city (see for example, Misago and Landau 2012; Singh and Clark 2012; Vearey 2012; Vigneswaran and Quirk 2013). The participants could thus be drawn out of the buildings and interviews conducted outside the premises or sometimes the researcher became a guest to the researched for purposes of accessing the security complexes, whichever proved convenient for the participants. I employed a trained research assistant to assist with the recruitment and administering of the research questionnaire. Both the research assistant and I

scheduled appointments at times convenient to the participants to eliminate cancellations, and conducting interviews at the participants' places of residence ensured that there were no transport costs for participants. However, despite these efforts, there were participants who did not arrive at appointments. Where possible we rescheduled but in some instances, we had to find other replacement participants.

2.9 Conclusion

At the heart of the mixed methods approach, is the crossing of paradigm fields and the exercise of making methodological decisions at the methodological, rather than at the epistemological level. Epistemological and ontological positions entreat us into specific worldviews and beliefs about the nature of the world and construction of knowledge which when adhered to as suggested by methodological purists can be obstacles to doing things that are practical and useful at particular moments. For this research, the mixed methods approach was a deliberate and pragmatic choice in order to gather data and answer research questions that sought to make sense of aggregate experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants. I also sought to delve into details of the lives of individual immigrants as they negotiate their lives in the city of Johannesburg to support the explanatory element of the study. The survey questionnaire combined both closed and open-ended questions to cater for this need and researcher centred observations and reflexive moments added to the data gathering exercise. As with any approach, and application of an approach, there are limitations, but to the best of my ability, I sought to understand and accommodate these limitations.

3 Chapter Three: defining migrant space in the city

3.1 Introducing the evolving conceptions of space

This chapter focuses on the concept of "space" and looks at how the literature differentiates it from its twin concept of "place". The chapter does not attempt to give a full account of the many conceptions of space but focuses on the key elements of the literature that inform or have a relationship to the overall aims of this research. It is important to note that, the key figures in the discussion of space such as Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre concentrated on dislodging the conception of space from its Cartesian roots in a notion of geographic fixity and postulated it as a *dynamic* mechanism for understanding social realities. Thus, the chapter will start with de Certeau's definition of space, which sets it apart from the concept of place and the different responses from other academic writers such as Doreen Massey. In other words, de Certeau's differentiation of space and place ignited intense engagement in the literature, especially in the fields of geography, urban planning and sociology. The chapter then looks at Lefebvre's conception of space as produced by political and productive forces and draws on this conception to argue for the understanding of migrant space as subject to production by migrants themselves as well as social forces in the environments where migrants live. Significantly, not all work on migrant space has moved beyond the Cartesian framing, and so there is a need for an explicit engagement between migration studies, and post-Cartesian framings such as those of de Certeau and Lefebvre.

3.2 De Certeau's conception of space

The range of disciplines in the broadly constituted social sciences, including sociology, psychology, urban planning and geography, use the concept of social space with varying meanings, and often without actual definition. Place and space are concepts that are sometimes taken for granted in everyday practice, and seem to offer intuitive meanings. Yet, on closer analysis, meanings are elusive and the ways in which the words are deployed has important conceptual and practical implications. Tuan for example, employed a humanistic perspective in his analysis of space and argued that, the study of space intersects with people's experience and is essentially the study of "spatial feelings" (1979: 388). Latane and Liu (1996: 27) define social space as a "matrix within which people influence one another…it is the arena in which the forces of dynamic social impact play themselves out, the structure that shapes the outcomes of social influence." This definition relates to that given by de Certeau who is unambiguous about the need to make the distinction between place (*lieu*) and space (*espace*), and in doing so, matches the analogy to his thesis of strategy and tactics (see chapter four in this thesis for an extended discussion of strategy and tactics). According to de Certeau:

> …in relation to place, space is like the word when it is spoken, that is, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a "proper." (Michel de Certeau 1984: 117)

With his definition of space, de Certeau got credit in academic literature for articulating the difference between place and space. More so, place has been attributed conceptual status in most of the academic literature and its definition is seen as hinging on a number of key points that include inter-alia, topographic and ecological situatedness, inhabitation and boundedness (Farrar 1997; Gustavson and Cytrynbaum 2003; Tuan 1978; Westwood and Phizacklea 2000). Gustavson

and Cytrynbaum (2003) argue that, literature on place commonly see it as denoting a physical location and a container within which human activity takes place. To them, place receives meaning through human inhabitation and that is the point where it is transitioned to social space. On its own, place does not constitute space but with human inhabitation it does, and Gustavson and Cytrynbaum further clarify that space needs place to constitute itself and therefore the relationship between the two is one of mutual beneficence. Mendoza (2006) echoes the same sentiments as he constructs his argument around the notion of a lived space that is related to place and argues that lived space is related to place primarily because place assumes meaning only in connection with human beings and therefore representations of place are representations of lived experience which translates to lived space. Place, according to Tuan, "incarnates the experiences and aspirations of a people" (1979: 387). Tuan's assertion connects to the analogy by Mendoza who concludes his argument on lived space by arguing that place is not bounded but dynamic and fluid, and identities formed in places also continually undergo the process of construction and reformulation (Mendoza 2006). Mendoza also introduces the phrase, "sense of place" as an analytical concept in the discussion of space and argues that sense of place characterises place as a social construct and transforms place into space "as a result of the actions and experiences of the individuals" (2006: 542).

Massey (2003: para 27) extends this approach, arguing that, contrary to fixity, space should be seen as "the simultaneity of stories-so-far". In her conception, space is incomplete and in a state of continuous production. Massey's assertion is both enlightening and challenging, and implores a new way of looking at space as an arena with no finite point but in continual flux. Perhaps, more important is de Certeau's insertion of mobility as integral to his articulation of the distinction between place and space. He argues,

> A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus, space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it,

> temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. (Michel de Certeau 1984: 117)

The preceding passage by de Certeau casts movement as an important element in operationalising space. In chapter six of this thesis, I discuss the mobility of migrants as a tactic in the city and a response to the regulatory platforms of the city of Johannesburg and other elements within the environment where migrants live. I draw on de Certeau's usage of tactics to engage the mobility of migrants across space. More importantly, de Certeau's analogy of space enables the operation of migrants and the appropriation of sections of the city into spaces that represent the aspirations of the migrants. Thus, I argue that, migrants create space, shape space and move within space as a tactic for survival and as a way of life as well as finding flexible forms of permanence in mobility.

This broader discussion highlights that, while place defines space, space does not entirely define place and it would be logically fallacious to conflate the two. Space, especially its variant of lived space is central to this research and its understanding is crucial for exploring the many dimensions of Zimbabwean migrants' lives in the city of Johannesburg. The lives of Zimbabweans in the city of Johannesburg are centred on the creation and management of spaces of comfort as well as a set of behaviours that are complicit with the demands of the spatial and social environment. As will be discussed further in this thesis, knowledge of the urban terrain and awareness of risk are crucial in the migrants' daily lives, and determine whether an individual is comfortable in the city or not. In addition, the theoretical tools (de Certeau's *strategy* and *tactics* and Bourdieu's *habitus*) employed in this study have a central grounding on the conception of social space and the flexible nodes of power relationships that govern the control and utilisation of space amongst immigrant populations.

3.3 Lefebvre's conception of space as a product

The *incompleteness of space* as posited by Massey (2003) merits further discussion and a look at the whole discourse of the dialectical relationship between space and place introduced by Lefebvre. This discourse puts emphasis on the portability of space as an accentuation of belonging and attenuation of rights by the different groups living in the city (Westwood and Phizacklea 2000). Lefebvre's work has been central to the sociological transition from the analysis of social life in terms of binaries to the revisiting of the role of space and spatiality in the production of social forms (Westwood and Phizacklea 2000). Lefebvre, according to Westwood and Phizacklea (2000: 6) started the departure from the logic of compartmentalising space and presenting it as an empty stage where social life takes place. Lefebvre advocates an approach to space that analyses, "not things in space but space itself, with a view to uncovering the social relations embedded in it" (Lefebvre 1991: 89). He argues that the conventional approaches to space negate the social relations inherent and latent in the construction and constitution of space. According to Lefebvre (1991: 90), these kinds of approaches entrap us into,

> …treating space as space 'in itself', as space as such. We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so to fetishise space in a way reminiscent of the old fetishism of commodities, where the trap lay in exchange, and the error was to consider 'things' in isolation, as 'things in themselves'.

For Conrad (2006), the core tenets of Lefebvre's argument play the important role of conscientising us to the possibility that the normative understanding of an "empty space" needs re-thinking. Conrad argues that, Lefebvre's conceptualisation of space as a social product, directly challenges conventional wisdom, "that empty space is prior to whatever ends up filling it" (2006: 2). The crux of Lefebvre's philosophy on space, according to Zhang (2006) is his insistence that space is not only the product of social interaction but also the process of such interaction. He argues that space is much about itself as it is about the processes that produce it, and negating these processes is tantamount to a fetishism of space. Merrifield

(1993: 520) observes that, "Lefebvre's 'production of space' thesis effectively represents a spatialized rendition of Marx's conception of fetishism."

Lefebvre summarised his theory of space into the triad model of “perceived”, “conceived” and “lived” space, which Gardiner sees as corresponding to the physical, mental and a combination of the first two in the third (Purcell 2002). Purcell further explains Lefebvre's triad model in the following terms:

> Perceived space refers to the relatively objective, concrete space people encounter in their daily environment. Conceived space refers to mental constructions of space, creative ideas about and representations of space. Lived space is the complex combination of perceived and conceived space. It represents a person’s actual experience of space in everyday life (2002: 102).

In a review of Lefebvre's book, "The production of space", Molotch argues that, "space is produced and reproduced through human intentions…" (1993: 887) and therefore, can be conceptualised as being both a field of action and an object of action in itself (Richardson and Jensen 2003). "A space is thus neither merely a medium nor a list of ingredients, but an interlinkage of geographic form, built environment, symbolic meanings, and routines of life" (Molotch 1993: 888). The preceding arguments by Molotch (1993), and Richardson and Jensen (2003) render some structuring properties to the concept of space and therefore imply that space is both a structure and an agent with the propensity to organise and disorganise human actions. Lefebvre's analysis thus hinges on the production of space by capitalist forces and casts it as an arena of contestation.

While recognising the significant contribution of the work of Lefebvre to the comprehensive and context based understanding of the concept of space, this work takes a deviation to the conventional wisdom. Lefebvre to me, is a product of his generation and his analogy is deeply rooted in Marxism and so is his understanding of space, hence the observation by Merrifield (1993) regarding the conception of space in relation to commodity fetishism. In this regard, Lefebvre was intent on demonstrating the atomisation of space as a physical entity and the possibility of equating it to the same status as that of commodities and other physical entities that are subject to the process of spatial production. This is not

essentially the angle through which I have approached my research but it is important to note that, the approach by Lefebvre has implications for the whole discourse of space. In as much as he envisioned and sought to explain space in terms of a capitalist positional ethos, the idea of spatial production is an important one and I discuss how it links to the current study in the following section.

3.3.1 The production of migrant space: inviting Lefebvre to migration studies

This research has built and sought to interweave the space of Zimbabwean migrants into the conceptualisation of space by Lefebvre and de Certeau. Adding the element of spatial production to migrant space, the research posits that migrants' space like Lefebvre's space can be produced, not only by capitalist forces of production but also by numerous other agents who have a stake in the production of the said space. These include, the migrants themselves, the South African state, the city of Johannesburg, the South African citizens, and other migrant groups residing in the city of Johannesburg. What becomes migrant space is a creation borne out of the interaction between migrants themselves and non-migrants in circumstances more or less similar to Lefebvre's production of space. In other words, what becomes migrant space is contested and in continual flux, and like space itself as noted by Massey (2005), and as posited by Lefebvre, each society and every epoch produces space that enables its own reproduction. Whether Zimbabwean migrants have gone this far in producing spaces and ensembles for the reproduction of their own spaces is a contentious presumption, one that this research grapples with in the following chapters. Speaking to the production of migrant space is complicated by the fact that, the migrants themselves do not set out to produce such space but such production happens because of their actions as they lead everyday lives. It is the result of latent rather than manifest intentions of the migrants and other stakeholders within the same social field and/or social reality.

The preceding sections have thus laid the groundwork for my understanding of space as a field of contestation and production, which is in continual flux, rather than a static notion passed from one powerful entity to the subordinate and powerless recipients. In this work, I have married de Certeau's conception of space as represented by the schema of strategies of the powerful and the tactics of the subordinate with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which operates within a field of social forces that are responsible for and to some extent the result of its emergence. Applying these thinking tools to the field of migration and migrant space is important, more so in the context of southern Africa where the migration discourses have tended to mirror and conform to the global notions of immigrant space. In the following sections, I engage the different representations of migrants' space in the international literature and lead through to the engagement with the discussion of these spaces in the South African context, more specifically those of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg.

3.4 Emerging literature on migrant spaces in Johannesburg

Scholarly discourse has traditionally constructed migrant spaces as compounds and single sex hostels owing to the long standing tradition of the contract labour migration system (see for example, Crush 1992; Crush and James 1991; Crush and McDonald 2000), and these spaces continue to feature in discussions on Southern African migration as latent rather than manifest preoccupations of migration scholarship. Researchers at the Southern African Migration Project and the African Centre for Migration and Society have conducted numerous studies that suggest the inner city and informal settlements as spaces of internal and international migration (see for example, Crush, Williams and Peberdy 2005a; Landau and Freemantle 2010; Landau 2006). Crush and McDonald (2000) identified these spaces as pioneering an emerging resistance to confinement represented by the single sex hostels and the mining compounds. Discussing the emergence of informal settlements as new migrant spaces and sites of resistance, Crush and McDonald argued that:

> However, the "informal settlements" that increasingly dot the post-apartheid city landscape are testimony to the growth and rapid reconfiguration of new migrant spaces in South Africa. They are also powerful testimony to the ability of migrants to inhabit, reshape, and reinvent spaces prepared for other purposes (2000: 16).

Other academic writers have gone further and tried to stratify these emerging spaces according to the different categories of immigrants. For example, Landau contends that:

> Anecdotal evidence suggests that urban Zimbabweans – who are more likely to have been politically targeted – tend to move into South Africa's inner cities, while less educated workers tend to seek jobs in farming, industrial, and mining areas, and rural residents to remain in the border areas or Limpopo's rural villages (2008: 9).

Landau's sentiments are specific to Zimbabweans but have resonance with similar and more general observations made by Crush (2005) when he notes that:

> In general, skilled immigrants go to the suburbs, including the gated communities on the northern outskirts; semi-skilled and unskilled migrants from certain countries go to the informal townships, with their backyards and shack settlements; Francophone and West African migrants go to the inner city, as do refugees (2005: 131).

The important but tentative indication by Landau (2008), has however not been followed up by concrete research into the spatial patterning of the Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. Existing efforts by academic writers do not constitute coordinated mapping of the geography of migrants in Johannesburg and the contributions are limited to suggestive reference rather than empirically grounded inquiry. Adding credence to this discussion, Crush (2005) describes the social geography of Johannesburg as making it difficult to lump international migrants together and even more improbable that they occupy similar spaces or places in the city. Thus, while Crush's (2005) and Landau's (2008) sentiments are important in marking a foothold in terms of the tentative summation of immigrants' spatial decisions, they are however too tentative and neither substantive nor complex enough to capture the many dynamics involved in the spatial patterning of immigrants. For instance, these observations do not extend analysis to cater for individuals that are highly skilled but cannot find jobs that match their expertise and end up in the lower rungs of the migrants' hierarchy with residency in the indicated areas remaining only an aspiration rather than a reality. In this regard, it becomes a painstaking exercise trying to balance the need to produce substantive evidence while capturing the important nuances of migrant adaptation and settlement in the city. Being cognisant of these difficulties and having highlighted some of the initial work that is indicative of an emerging discourse of new immigrant spaces in Johannesburg, the following sections will turn attention to the more visible and distinctly immigrant spaces embodied by ethnic enclaves.

3.4.1 Ethnic enclaves in migrant space literature

Traditionally the literature on migrant adaptation centred on the progressive integration of new immigrants into the host society guided by the belief that over time, these new entrants will assimilate into the host society's cultural milieu (Borjas 2000; Chiswick and Miller 2005; Logan, Zhang and Alba 2002). Such notions undermined the complexity of migrants' behaviours and represented an acceptance of linear ways of looking at migration. Within the assimilationist discourse, migrant space never found expression as the expectation was that immigrants would become part of the host society and subsequently shed characteristics linking them with the countries of origin. Migrant spatial appropriation and place making has however emerged with the genesis of perspectives that look at the role of ethnic enclaves as an alternative lens for understanding migrant adaptation in the host countries. In this regard, migrant enclaves are an important reference point to the physical location of migrant spaces in the host cities.

Social science usage of the term enclave denotes a form of seclusion and compact settlements that socio-culturally differ from their surroundings, for instance, religious and ethnic enclaves (Vinokurov 2006: 6-7). Notwithstanding the problems of defining ethnicity itself, literature on ethnic enclaves describes them as anchored on ethnicity and coalescing in physical space (Light and Karageorgis 1994; Wilson and Portes 1980). Portes (1981) describes the 'enclave' as composed of immigrant groupings concentrated in a distinct spatial location and with self-serving markets and enterprises. Consensus amongst scholars is that, ethnic enclaves are a function of both economic disadvantage and the desire amongst the arriving immigrants to maintain their cultural and religious institutions in the destination country (see for example, Borjas 2000; Campbell 1994; Edin, Fredriksson and Åslund 2003; Johnston, Poulsen and Forrest 2003; Poulsen, Johnston and Forrest 2000). This happens in cases where the immigrants' cultural and religious practises are fundamentally different to those of the host country and it becomes spatially desirable to opt for separation. Some authors have described ethnic enclaves as a reaction to segregation by host communities, for example, the

famous Chinatown phenomenon that began with Chinese immigrants in the United States (Zhou 1992; Zhou and Logan 1991). There have also been debates around the effectiveness of this response and others have sought to draw relationships with the assimilation hypothesis, which states that cultural, social and economic differences between migrants and locals fade with time (Borjas 1992; Borjas 2000).

As early as the 1990s, Waldinger (1993) noted a change in the approach to the debates on migrant adaptation and argued that studies on migrant adaptation ignored the linear approach of the assimilationist perspective due to its assumptive assertions that migrant behaviour is predictable and subject to variable timelines of ethnic diffusion and final absorption into the host society. Waldinger argues that the seminal work of Wilson and Portes (1980) recast the debate on the ethnic enclave and gave it the defining characteristics that we know today and in many ways pioneered the 'ethnic enclave hypothesis', which constitute the reference point to date. Wilson and Portes (1980) were concerned about understanding what was going on amongst the Cuban immigrant businesses and Waldinger continued along those lines, articulating a discourse of business-oriented enclaves in the same way that some writers have interpreted the Chinatowns as places of business and entertainment.

However, Bauer, Epstein and Gang (2005) underscore the importance of language in migrants' spatial decision-making and formation of ethnic enclaves, arguing that language is endogenous to the location decisions of migrants. The argument is that large enclaves tend to form a "language trap" which attracts migrants with poor destination language proficiency while those with better proficiency are least likely to entrap themselves in the enclave but will migrate to other parts of the country (Bauer, Epstein and Gang 2005). In this regard, migrants with poor language skills come to the enclave and their ability to improve on their little language skills is curtailed and therefore miss out on the benefits of assimilation which are accessible to those in small enclaves as they are compelled to learn the language of the majority.

Thus, the literature on ethnic enclaves points to their role as the reference point for the physical location and visible spaces of migration. However, this has not limited the plurality of these spaces as recent developments, especially on Chinese migration worldwide point to the emergence of new concepts such as "ethnoburbs" (Li 1998; Li 1999; Li 2009) and "invisiburbs" (Skop and Li 2010) to describe these emerging spaces of migration. Ethnoburbs, "...are multiethnic communities in which one ethnic minority group has a significant concentration but does not necessarily constitute a majority" (Li 2009: 1) and invisiburbs denote ethnic spaces that are not easily identifiable and insular in nature (Skop and Li 2010).

Southern African migration scholarship is yet to grapple with these fine grain and nuanced conceptions of migrant adaptation and the many spaces of migration are still analysed within the context of ethnic enclaves and ethnic difference. The only exception is Harrison, Moyo and Yang's (2012) study of the Chinese diasporic spaces in Johannesburg as they refer to the suburbs east of Johannesburg's Cyrildene Chinatown, such as Edenvale and Bedfordview as constituting an ethnoburb. The following section discusses these spaces in the South African context and their development over time. Suffice to say, the literature on migrant space generally takes a conventional view on space as bounded and fixed. Even though there is recognition of transnational flows in the literature, the flows are into physically bounded space rather than really understanding the way in which these spaces have a relationship with the city.

3.4.2 Ethnic enclaves in the South African context

A number of academic authors have engaged in discussions about migrant spaces in South Africa, specifically in Johannesburg and to this end, there is a nascent literature that is worth highlighting. Recently, Moyo and Cossa (2015) have identified the suburb of La Rochelle, in the south of Johannesburg and the greater Rosettenville surrounds as areas of Mozambican immigrants' concentration. They note that, the historical presence of the white Portuguese in La Rochelle and the

development of the suburb as a white Portuguese enclave has facilitated the strong presence of Mozambicans in the post 1994 period, due to shared Portuguese language (Moyo and Cossa 2015). Other distinctly migrant flavoured spaces include the Ethiopian entrepreneurial enclave sandwiched between Jeppe and Bree Streets in the Johannesburg CBD (Le Roux 2014; Zack 2014). Amongst other merchandise, the business precinct referred to as the "Ethiopian Quarter" is characteristically a clothing retail district replete with warehousing space and crowded street partitioned clothing retail outlets (Le Roux 2014). This type of migrant space conforms to the entrepreneurial driven ethnic enclaving process, which is different from the process of Mozambican enclaving described by Moyo and Cossa where the clustering process centred on shared language and residential placement.

The presence of Somalis in Mayfair has also brought attention to the role played by religion and cultural identity in spatially influencing residential choices of migrants (Jinnah 2010; Sadouni 2009; Sadouni 2014b). Sadouni describes in detail how Somali immigrants have capitalised on their Islamic links with South African Indians to gain a foothold in the suburb of Mayfair where they have access to business opportunities, social amenities such as schools and mosques (Sadouni 2014a; Sadouni 2014b). Thus, the area has developed into a religious and business enclave providing the entrepreneurial resources and ethnic market for further expansion of small trader networks into the townships.

Perhaps, together with the Chinese business enclave of Cyrildene, Mayfair represents the successful appropriation and branding of specific spaces by immigrants in Johannesburg. Harrison, Moyo and Yang (2012) have described in detail how Derrick Avenue in the Johannesburg suburb of Cyrildene has developed into a vibrant centre of Chinese enterprises that include restaurants and fresh food shops all serving the surrounding Chinese communities and the greater Johannesburg areas. The Cyrildene enclave and the Ethiopian quarter are both primarily entrepreneurial while the Mayfair enclave is both religious and entrepreneurial, and the La Rochelle enclave is language centred and residential in nature. This highlights the nodes and connections that are central to the

development of ethnic and/or immigrant concentrations in cities. What the literature also latently shows is the absence of highly visible and appropriated spaces of Zimbabwean migration in the city of Johannesburg. Apart from the central Methodist church in inner city Johannesburg, there has not been an emergence of a distinctly Zimbabwean ethnic space.

3.4.3 Johannesburg's inner city as a migrant space

The inner city suburbs of Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville and Bertrams consist mainly of high-rise apartments that function as rental accommodation (Crush 2005). Speaking about international migrants in general, Crush (2005) considers four factors that attract them to the inner city of Johannesburg. These include the fact that the inner city's housing stock mainly consists of high-rise rental apartments that yield enormous profits for the slumlords; proximity to work and economic opportunities; cumulative causation as the presence of fellow migrants attracts more migrants, and the degeneration of the inner city to a criminal haven conducive for drug trade and criminal syndicates (Crush 2005). Greenburg (2010) has added that amongst the Congolese migrants she studied, the inner city presented a number of advantages with one of them being "safety in numbers" when living alongside fellow foreigners and not likely to be a target of xenophobic attacks by South Africans. The Congolese migrants, according to Greenburg see the inner city as a safer space than the townships where the majority of poor South Africans live. Greenburg further argues that the townships seem relatively homogenous in terms of ethnic composition though there are Ndebele speaking Zimbabweans and long term Mozambican migrants living there (2010: 69). Greenburg's findings reinforce those of The Solidarity Peace Trust (2004) which noted that, regardless of the unsafe living conditions in the Johannesburg inner city, Hillbrow and Yeoville are the preferred areas of residence for foreign migrants. Though crime levels are disproportionately high in the inner city, the areas are preferred because of the relatively low rental payments in the partitioned rooms and apartments. The inner city has also been identified as

home to large sections of the Zimbabwean population (Vigneswaran, Araia, Hoag and Tshabalala 2010: 477). The presence of Zimbabweans in the city of Johannesburg has largely belied containment and ethnic enclavisation processes. However, the emergence of the Central Methodist Church as a refugee shelter during the May 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa created a physical entity that could be identified as distinctly Zimbabwean in the city of Johannesburg.

3.4.4 The Central Methodist Church as an emblematic space of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg

Christa Kuljian makes a graphic description of the live bodies of Zimbabweans lying on the floor of the Central Methodist Church on the night of the surprise police raid on 30th January 2008. She describes them in the following terms:

> Like cars bumper to bumper on a highway, people lay head to toe and next to each other on flattened pieces of cardboard, most of them covered with grey blankets, in the space outside the sanctuary on the first and second floors (Kuljian, 2013:22).

The human bodies resembling cars in Kuljian's description constituted a multi-faceted crowd of people without homes and largely Zimbabwean refugees. Opened in 1965, the Central Methodist Church had a tradition of accepting homeless victims of the apartheid evictions in the 1980s and providing sanctuary to anti-apartheid activists. This trend continued during the post-apartheid era, as the church provided food and sleeping quarters to homeless South Africans and foreign migrants.

While the post 2000 political and economic turmoil in Zimbabwe kept the numbers at the Methodist church beyond average proportions, it was the events of May 2008, which had the most profound effect on the church and subsequently established it as the most visible and internationally significant space of Zimbabwean sanctuary (Awasu and Awasu 2012; Bompani 2013; Bompani 2015;

Kuljian 2011; Solidarity Peace Trust 2010). The church opened its doors to refugees and the homeless as early as the 1990s and continued to attract a mixed flow of both foreign nationals and South Africans (Awasu and Awasu 2012; Bompani 2015) though the 2008 xenophobic episode marked a turning point in its significance as an emblematic space of Zimbabwean migration. To date, academic articles published on the church include a 2013 book by Christa Kuljian, numerous journal articles and student dissertations. The migration literature has presented it as a "poster institution" of sorts and the face of the refugee crisis in South Africa. Some authors have described the Central Methodist Church as the tip of the iceberg and a mirror to a larger problem with the South African model of managing migration[4] (Solidarity Peace Trust 2010).

Thus, the Central Methodist Church provided an enclave and unique cluster of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, something similar to a refugee camp and in many ways a reference point to the presence of Zimbabweans in South Africa. The Central Methodist, however did not only constitute a Zimbabwean physical space, it also doubled up as a space for destitute South Africans and served as a reminder of the challenges faced by society and the city, namely, "poverty, migration, xenophobia, policing, inner-city housing and shelter, the vulnerable position of women and children, the gap between rich and poor" (Kuljian 2011: 172).

The Central Methodist Church's acceptance of refugees initially served as a short-term solution to the many migrants with a distrust of officialdom. However, the initial short-term stretched into a contested long-term though by 2012 the numbers had subsequently subsided to a little over 500 from a high of around 3000 between 2008 and 2010 (Bompani 2015). The reduction in the number of church residents, according to Bompani could have been the result of the relative calm in Zimbabwe, following the setting up of the Government of National Unity and some migrants returning home. Bompani (2015) adds that reasons for the reduced

[4] South Africa does not create camps for refugees and asylum seekers but encourages them to self-settle and integrate into local communities.

numbers could also have included the withdrawing of funding from other NGOs and critically the suspension of the United Methodist Committee on Relief (UMCOR) funding in 2010. Thus far, studies on the Central Methodist Church have highlighted the development of a Zimbabwean refugee community, and role played by the church in sheltering them and consequently bringing the governance of migration in South Africa under the spotlight. Until it shut its doors to refugees in December 2014, the church constituted the only visible space of Zimbabwean migration in the city and a mirror of the worsening Zimbabwean crisis.

3.4.5 Transnational, transient and liminal migrant spaces

While the literature on ethnic enclaves has presented them as a common migrant reaction to discrimination and xenophobia by host communities, they form only a part of these reactions. In South Africa, discussions have begun to emerge around the role of transnationalism as a reaction to the lack of belonging and xenophobia directed at foreign nationals. Transnationalism represents a process of simultaneous and sustainable embeddedness between the host and destination countries and simply put, it implies immigration and settlement in the country of destination as well as the cultivation of strong backward linkages with the home country (Crush and McDonald 2000; Portes 2001; Portes 2003; Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1995). Friedmann (2002) contends that it is not always the case that transnational migrants belong to both communities, it can also happen that they are simultaneously estranged from both communities and therefore always in a state of conflicted emotions. According to Friedmann, these migrants live in a real community in which they do not quite belong and this state of precariousness entreats them to imagine a romanticised community of origin. This in part, could explain the tendency to cling to ethnic groupings within the host countries as an attempt to salvage a measure of community belonging amongst the transnational migrants (Friedmann 2002).

Discussing the migration of Mexicans to the USA, Mendoza (2006) argues that the discourse of transnationalism and transnational spaces eschews the traditional

conception of migration as movement from one bounded nation state to the other with the intention of settling permanently. Mendoza (2006: 540) refers to a plethora of academic literature in identifying some key assumptions inherent in the transnational discourse and argues that:

> Transnational communities do not have precise geographical limits; they are "deterritorialised nation states" (Basch et al. 1994), "delocalized transnations" (Appadurai 1996), "hyperspaces" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992), "third spaces" (Bhabha 1994), and "ethnoscapes" (Appadurai 1991) that challenge the very essence of the nation-state (Kearney 1991).

In the case of South Africa, the discourse on migrant transnationalism begins to emerge in the late 1990s as increasing numbers of migrants from other African countries gravitate towards South Africa. Discussing this emerging discourse, Crush and McDonald (2000) question whether transnationalism is a new development in South Africa or it is just an incarnation of the age-old practice of migrants moving between the destination and source countries. The consensus is that, while movement has always occurred, it is the intensity of the exchanges, the new modes of transacting, and the multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a regular and sustainable basis that is unprecedented (Crush and McDonald 2000). Portes et al (1999) cited in Crush and McDonald (2000: 9) argue that, "it is this thick web of regular and instantaneous communication and travel that we encounter today that differentiates transnationalism from the otherwise ad-hoc and less frequent back-and-forth movements of migrants in the past."

There have also been discussions about the status of some cities as transnational cities and Friedmann defines these as "cities that harbour a large number of foreign residents - legal and illegal, short term and long term, heavily endowed with human capital as well as simple labour" (2002: 41). According to Friedmann, these cities strategically connect to regional and global networks and to migrants' communities of origin. The linkages manifest in the migrant transnational social spaces and Friedmann argues that the uncertainty surrounding migrant lives in host cities and their multiple ties to the home community have given rise to the

concept of "diaspora". It is this space of uncertainty and diaspora within the ambit of international migration that in some ways distinguishes Johannesburg as a transnational and gateway city in the context of South Africa in particular and the southern African region in general.

Westwood and Phizacklea (2000), as noted in the introductory chapter of this thesis, argue for a more personal theorisation of the relationship between individuals and the city. They posit that, the city exists both inside and outside of individuals and there are many dimensions to it, making it more of cities within a city as each group adheres to particular nomenclature. The place and position of the individual in relation to the city is an important component of the way they negotiate, understand and stake a claim to a particular city within the city (Westwood 2002). In other words, Westwood (2002:112) proffers the idea of a plurality of cities within a single city and underlines the importance of place and positionality in the creation and negotiation of an individual's life in the city. The importance of relationships that migrants have with the city perhaps entreats us to consider some pertinent questions regarding the state of South African migration studies, more specifically whether they have moved beyond the Cartesian trap.

There is an emerging South African academic literature that conceptualises migrant space beyond the physical boundaries that have traditionally been the reference point for most of the migration scholarship. This literature includes the work of Loren Landau, former director of ACMS, and of his colleagues. Landau (2006) analysed the nature of the migration landscape in the inner city of Johannesburg and argued that, foreign migrants and South African citizens have developed different and competing sets of idioms in relation to one another and to the spaces that they share in the city. Landau (2006) speaks to an important characterisation of migrants as *transients* rather than *transplants,* arguing that, foreign migrants actively resist implanting their roots in Johannesburg, instead opting to access and navigate the city from a position of partial inclusion and transience. Landau and Freemantle (2010) introduce the concept of *tactical cosmopolitanism* in describing a similar process discussed by Landau (2006) in which African migrants in Johannesburg take ownership of their social exclusion

and marginalisation in relation to South African citizens. Defining tactical cosmopolitanism, Landau and Freemantle argue that,

> …as non-citizens encounter and attempt to overcome the opposition to their presence, they draw on a variegated language of belonging that makes claims to the city while positioning them in an ephemeral, superior and unrooted condition where they can escape localised social and political obligations (2010: 380).

While this literature acknowledges the physicality of Johannesburg, it shows migrants create for themselves a space that transcends immediate physicality, using the fact that they are not defined in terms of one territory only as a tactical resources (Landau, 2006; Landau and Freemantle, 2010; Landau and Freemantle, 2016).

The concept of "liminality" has been used in recent South African literature on transnational migrants, and this may be one of South Africa's most significant contributions to international writing on migrant space. The concept of liminality is of course not new. It was originally posited by Arnold van Gennep (1960: 53) in relation to the classification of social rites and denotes a "*transition"*; as in a temporally defined transitional stage or transitional period. More eminent however is the expanded definition of liminality given by Victor Turner (1969: 95) who argues that:

> The attributes of liminality or of liminal *personae* ("threshold people") are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial.

Sutton, Vigneswaran and Wels (2011) equated waiting in queues at the South African Department of Home Affairs (DHA) to a liminal space. In her book, *Migrant Women of Johannesburg: Everyday Life in an In-between City*, Caroline Kihato explores the everyday lives of migrant women in inner-city Johannesburg using the notion of liminality in showing how they live "between and betwixt multiple worlds, suspended between a past back home and an imagined future

elsewhere" (Kihato 2013: xiii). The women Kihato refers to, live in a physical space but their identities and imaginaries are suspended between the spaces of their past and the spaces they hope to inhabit in the future. As such, the space of the present is liminal and in Kihato's analysis, such liminality is enabled by the context of Johannesburg's inner city, which is in continual flux. Kihato also alludes to the character of inner city Johannesburg as transitional owing to the history of legislated non-belonging for black Africans (both internal and foreign) during the apartheid era. Philips and James (2014) offer a similarly complex view of migrant relationship to space. They argue that we cannot simply consider migrant women as urban based working in the home sphere, in fact, they entreat the academy to challenge, "earlier certainties about where the private and public, or domestic and the work spaces, begin and end" (Phillips and James 2014: 427). Walker (2016) explores the everyday lives of migrant sex workers in Johannesburg showing similarly, how migrant women have multiple interacting identities that cannot be reduced to categories such as "sex worker" or "foreign". These women are suspended between different spaces, and must navigate, different worlds. In this sense, they live in liminal spaces.

3.5 Conclusion

The work of De Certeau and Lefebvre is important to migration studies scholarship, more specifically in understanding space beyond its physical properties and anchorage. Understanding migrants in relation to the physical space still dominates discussions on migrant spaces in the context of Johannesburg. There is however, a new literature from South Africa, which places the physicality of space within an acknowledgement of the fluidity and ambivalence of space. Although migrants may be physically located within the spatial context of Johannesburg, South Africa, they act also in terms of their spatial connections to their home territory and even their future desires for spatial location. While this liminality and subsequent transience may be unsettling, it also offers the basis for a "tactical cosmopolitanism" as argued by Landau and

Freemantle (2010) and further opens avenues for questions pertaining to mobility and flexible forms of migrant permanence, which this thesis engages.

4 Chapter Four: Strategy, Tactics & Habitus

4.1 Introduction

Understanding migrants' spatial decision-making is both a practical and a theoretical exercise, which requires a set of thinking tools. In the following sections, I discuss the theoretical resources I employed in understanding Zimbabwean migrant lives in the city of Johannesburg and how these resources provided a helpful set of thinking tools. The preceding chapter engaged the concept of space, especially as articulated in the work of Lefebvre and de Certeau, and looked at how this multiplex concept is distinguished from its twin concept of place, and connotes a representation of *sociality* in the form of "lived space", "sense of place" and "migrant space". I explored this spatial understanding through its use within the international and South African context, and more importantly, in terms of a conception of how migrant space is constituted and the particular role that diverse groups of Zimbabwean migrants residing in Johannesburg play in constructing and engaging their own spaces in the city. Thus, this chapter builds on de Certeau and Lefebvre's understanding of space and constructs an engaging discussion of de Certeau's concepts of *strategy* and *tactics* as well as Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, *social field* and *capital*. De Certeau distinguishes between the strategies of the powerful and the tactics of the subordinate in his account of power relations and analyses how these intersect in both physical and social space. Within the large corpus of Bourdieu's work, I found the concept of habitus more suited and complementary to de Certeau's thesis of strategies and tactics. Bourdieu defines habitus as both the product and genitor of social practice in the form of an acquired body of dispositions, classificatory categories and generative schemes (1977: 78). Bourdieu proffers an analogy of practice and a conciliation of structure and agency through the concept of habitus, which is important for this research as de Certeau's anthropology primarily focuses on the subordinate rather than a simultaneous engagement of both structure and agency as attempted by Bourdieu. However, an understanding

and a deployment of habitus without a simultaneous engagement of other Bourdieusian thinking tools such as field and capital would be incomplete. As such, I discuss these thinking tools alongside habitus and explain their utility to the research. Thus, Bourdieu's treatise of habitus and de Certeau's strategy and tactics provide the anchoring theoretical resources for the research and create a balanced set of thinking tools for engaging the nuances of Zimbabwean migrants' lives in the city of Johannesburg.

4.2 Michel de Certeau's *strategy* and *tactics*

4.2.1 Introducing Michel de Certeau

There is a rich corpus of literature on the work of de Certeau. Key amongst his contributions is the distinction that he makes between place and space, and his interpretation of sociality and power in terms of the *strategies* available to the powerful and the *tactics* utilised by the weak. His focus is on the "ordinary man" whom he describes as absent and invisible in everyday discourse (de Certeau, Jameson and Lovitt 1980) and there is an evident influence of his upbringing and education as a Jesuit priest in his academic work, more so through his interest in mysticism and the central figure of "God" which is transmutated into the invisible presence.[5] However, more telling and relevant to the current study, is his focus on "issues of representation and resistance, marginality and minorities, power and plurality" (Napolitano and Pratten 2007: 1).

[5] Michel de Certeau was a Catholic priest and scholar born on 17th May 1925 in France and entered the Jesuits order at the age of 25 in 1950. He worked on the history of the Jesuits, concentrating on esteemed Jesuits, Pierre Fabre and Jean-Joseph Surin and his early publications appeared almost exclusively in Catholic journals (Burke 2002: 29).

4.2.2 A response to Michel Foucault's discipline and punish

While de Certeau's work has found traction in geography, literature and cultural studies, his emphasis on marginality and otherness has particular relevance to the discussion of Zimbabwean migrants in the city of Johannesburg and migration studies in general. De Certeau's work, especially his famous book titled *L'invention du quotidien, Vol. 1: Arts de faire* (1980) or *The practice of everyday life* (1984) in English, came as a proposition for new ways of looking at social reality, focusing on individuals rather than the powerful rule making entities, especially in response to Michel Foucault's (1977) *Discipline and Punish*. To him, there were many other procedures and logic to the functioning of society other than that propagated by strategic systems as given in the example of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon[6] employed by Foucault (Colebrook 2001). In his chapter entitled, *Micro-techniques and Panoptic Discourse: A Quid pro Quo* in the 1986 book, "Heterologies: discourse on the other", de Certeau discusses the panoptical procedures forming the foundations of Foucault's arguments. He questions the coherence of the panoptical technological systems discussed by Foucault and contends that:

> The exceptional and even cancerous development of panoptical procedures would seem to be indistinguishable from their *historic role* as a weapon against heterogeneous practices and as a means of controlling the latter. Thus, their coherence is the effect of a particular historic success, and not a characteristic of all technological practices. Thus, behind the "monotheism" of the dominant panoptical procedures, we might suspect the existence and survival of a "polytheism" of concealed or *disseminated practices*, dominated but not obliterated by the historical triumph of one of their number. (De Certeau 1986: 188)

[6] "The panopticon, as Bentham conceives it, is an annular building composed of a central tower pierced with windows that overlook a peripheral building. From this watch tower, and through the effect of backlighting, a supervisor can constantly spy on the individuals enclosed in segmented spaces all around it without ever being seen." (Zayani 2008: 92).

He further expounds his point in the following terms:

> But we do not yet know what to make of other, equally infinitesimal procedures that have remained unprivileged by history yet which continue to flourish in the interstices of the institutional technologies. This is most particularly the case of procedures that lack the essential precondition indicated by Foucault, namely the possession of a locus or specific space of their own on which the panoptical machinery can function. Such techniques, which are just as operative though without locus, are rhetorical "tactics." I suggest that these secretly reorganize Foucault's discourse, colonize his "panoptical" text, and transform it into a "trompe-l'oeil." (De Certeau 1986: 189)

The preceding passages from de Certeau's rejoinder to Foucault's "Discipline and Punish" provide an insight into his theorising and focus on the marginal practices that seldom make it into the dominant cannons of knowledge. His proposition is that of a *hetero-logic* and advocates the understanding of social reality through approaches that privilege the *polytheism* or the plural rather than the *monotheism* inherent in panoptical discourse. He argues for an understanding that reveals the heterogeneous ways by which those operating under the radar of formal and institutional entities construct alternative realities to those imposed on them by these institutions. He calls attention to the *infinitesimal* procedures existing in the interstices of institutional orders and transforming these orders into *trompe-l'oeil* or *optical illusion* (de Certeau 1986). Importantly, de Certeau emphasizes the oversight of institutional discourse that privileges panoptical positions at the expense of the real experiences of those that actuate and for whom the institutional mechanisms are designed.

4.3 De Certeau's conceptualisation of *strategy* and *tactics*

Amongst a number of concepts proffered by de Certeau, his conception of *consumption* is quite instructive and builds on the foregoing discussion, particularly his engagement with Foucault's Discipline and Punish. In the opening sections of The Practice of Everyday Life, de Certeau draws attention to the

invisible machinations of consumers rather than the structural producers of infrastructure and argues that when systems of production have been put to work; such processes are incomplete until the actual consumers have put these systems to use through their own interpretations and actuation. Thus, another system of production is at work, not by the powerful and dominant entities, but by the less powerful consumers of products. De Certeau describes this process in the following terms:

> To a rationalized, expansionist and at the same time centralized, clamorous and spectacular production correspond another production, called "consumption". The latter is devious, it is dispersed, but it insinuates itself everywhere, silently and almost invisibly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its ways of using the products imposed by a dominant economic order. (De Certeau 1984: xii-xiii)

The preceding quotation provides a window into the thinking of de Certeau and the purpose of his theorisation of "consumption" which he positions against systems of production that supposedly give minimal attention to the actual consumers of products. De Certeau further enunciates his interpretation of power relations and the practice of what I will refer to as *consumptive production* in his central thesis of strategy and tactics, which he discusses in the general introduction of The Practice of Everyday Life. De Certeau (1984: xix) defines a strategy in the following terms:

> I call a "strategy" the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an "environment." A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper (propre) and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, "clienteles," "targets," or "objects" of research).

Thus, strategy, according to de Certeau exists in itself and for itself as it has capacity for self-realisation and self-distinction relative to its surroundings. To illustrate this point, de Certeau employs the examples of business, military and scientific institutions as capable of defining themselves and establishing their

place relative to the perceived "other" in the environment (ibid: 36). He distinguishes the strategy from the tactics by describing the latter in the following terms:

> I call a "tactic," on the other hand, a calculus which cannot count on a "proper" (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance. It has at its disposal no base where it can capitalize on its advantages, prepare its expansions, and secure independence with respect to circumstances. (De Certeau 1984: xix)

De Certeau's argument is that, whereas a strategy is fixed in time and space, a "tactic" has no locus point and does not define its boundaries and adversaries relative to a perceived other and in this regard its space is the space of "the other" (de Certeau 1984: 37). In terms of the analogy proffered by de Certeau, strategies continually define themselves relative to other similar entities and the perceived other within the operating environment while tactics do not create space for themselves but operate within a set environment as they take advantage of loopholes within an existing system. In discussing tactics however, we must not lose sight of the everyday, which is at the centre of the metaphorical representation of tactics by de Certeau. Accordingly, tactics constitute everyday events and manoeuvre within an already existing strategy (Colebrook 2001). De Certeau (1984: 30) further discusses the distinction between strategy and tactics in the following terms:

> We must therefore specify the operational schemas. Just as in literature one differentiates "styles" or ways of writing, one can distinguish "ways of operating"-ways of walking, reading, producing, speaking, etc. These styles of action intervene in a field which regulates them at a first level (for example, at the level of the factory system), but they introduce into it a way of turning it to their advantage that obeys other rules and constitutes something like a second level interwoven into the first (for instance, la perruque).

In terms of the preceding quote, tactics are portrayed as self-seeking and manipulative. This is what de Certeau refers to as *making do* and taking advantage

of opportunities offered by the dominant system, thereby subverting the manifest intentions of strategic entities. De Certeau recognises the "first level of regulation" as important and the acts of subversion by the subordinates constitute a secondary or latent activity carried out in the act of obedience to the first level. It is important to highlight here, that tactics of resistance and subversion take place within the course of responding to institutional structures of domination.

The foregoing section has focused on the different ways that de Certeau illustrates the distinction between strategy and tactics. A look at the academic literature shows that, discussing tactics and strategy is not straightforward as often presented but it is important to make the point that two perspectives emerge. One is that strategy and tactics represent a binary or form of dualism, and stand opposite each other and need reconciliation in the analysis of everyday realities. This perspective portrays strategy as separate from tactics and tactics as responding to strategy and essentially grants agency to both entities albeit with a separation of roles and possession of power. The other perspective portrays strategies and tactics as available to two sets of entities rather than being entities themselves. Essentially, strategies are available to the powerful and the tactics are available to the weak. These two perspectives are often used interchangeably and little attempt is made to separate them. Perhaps it is because of the fine line that exists between the two perspectives. I choose to look at the migrants as both the embodiment of tactics and possessing tactics, which to me represents them as "being" and "capable" and in a position to exercise agency rather than act as if following some rulebook.

4.4 Some academic responses to the strategy and tactics approach

The strategies and tactics thesis is by far the most commonly appropriated theoretical nugget of de Certeau's work, and Ben Highmore observes that "…the export of this figuration has been so successful that at times the name de Certeau simply seems conterminous with the idea of 'strategies and tactics'" (Highmore

2007: 15). In this section, I will concentrate on authors whose work bears a resemblance or directly links to my understanding of strategies and tactics as well as my use of them in discerning Zimbabwean migrants' spatial decision-making. Thus, I will start by discussing some criticisms of de Certeau's ideas and lead through to the manner in which the literature deploys his thesis of strategies and tactics, more specifically in migration studies.

4.4.1 De Certeau caught in the structure vs. agency dualism

Analysing the work of de Certeau, Doreen Massey (2005) argues that he grappled with the structure vs. agency dualism in coining the strategy vs. tactics dichotomy. According to Massey, one of the pitfalls of de Certeau's analysis is the failure to recognise that in as much as strategy and tactics represent different forms of power, they ought to be theorised together rather than separately, as they constitute, and are constituted by the same social reality. Napolitano and Pratten (2007) make a similar point, adding that, de Certeau's approach, "has been criticised for drawing too rigid an opposition between the official (the proper) and the everyday (the popular), for failing to recognise relationships of complicity and processes of consensus, and for providing only a partial cartography of the spaces between compliance and resistance" (2007: 8).

4.4.2 The question of overstating the coherence of strategy and underestimating the power of tactics

Massey (2005) is critical of the way that de Certeau sees tactics as the recourse of the weak and somehow counteractive to the strategy portrayed as only available to the powerful. She links de Certeau's strategy and tactics to the structure and agency distinction that associates power with the structure and somewhat represents it as immutable and a monolithic whole while portraying the tactics as weak and only exploiting advantages off the strategy. Massey furthers her

argument by bringing the strategy and tactics dichotomy to her own discussion of space and time and argues that de Certeau's discussion of strategy and tactics corresponds to the space vs. time distinction. She argues that, the way de Certeau introduces the strategy vs. tactics discussion overestimates the coherence of the strategy cum structure and underestimates the power of tactics cum the weak. Mookerjea (2007) reiterates the point made by Massey (2005), arguing that de Certeau fails to extricate himself from the inevitable binary in the work of Foucault, which summarily glorifies resistance as good and power as bad.

Continuing the discussion on the symmetry of de Certeau's strategy and tactics and the space/time analogy, Massey argues that for de Certeau, the space of strategy is the "proper" and circumscribed whereas the space of the tactics is outside and somewhat that of the other. In other words, tactics depend on time and strategy on space, which means that, as highlighted in the preceding sections, tactics are always on the lookout for crevices and prey on the weaknesses observable in the structure/strategy. This portrayal of tactics when used to discern the practices of migrants in Johannesburg underestimates the capacity of individual agency and somehow mirrors them as only responding to strategies rather than living normal day-to-day lives. Emirbayer and Mische (2008) have criticised what they term, the compartmentalisation of agency and argue that agency has the propensity for self-realisation and possesses enough capacity to stand alone without the imposing association with structure. What this implies is that, migrants are capable of making decisions without necessarily responding to strategies of the powerful or any entities for that matter. Massey cites Kristin Ross's (1996) criticism that the way strategy and tactics are conceptualised does not really help the academy much because tactics are described in such a way that they do not offer an avenue back to the strategy, neither do they build a strategy of their own. It is on the strength of this criticism that Massey advocates an abandonment of this binary between space and time.

However, there is no agreement, even amongst scholars critical of de Certeau's analogy. For example, Turino's (1990) stance on de Certeau's thesis of tactics is

different to that adopted by Massey (2005) and Emirbayer and Mische (2008), as he argues that de Certeau overstates the agency and capabilities of tactics. Turino proffers his criticism in the following terms, "My own objection to de Certeau's view is that it seems to project infinite creativity and variability into the realm of everyday practice whereas I think that in many instances people are rather conformist, and the nature of variations tends to be rather subtle (cf., Gramsci 1971:324)" (Turino 1990: 403). While Massey (2005) and Emirbayer and Mische (2008) argue that de Certeau underestimates the power and agency of tactics, Turino contends that, he overstates the creativity and resourcefulness of tactics.

Some academic writers like Mitchell (2007) have been critical of the ontological underpinnings of de Certeau's theorising, especially the influence of his religious upbringing on his scholarship. According to Mitchell (2007), de Certeau criticised the position adopted by both Bourdieu and Foucault, that of privileging the objective structural processes over the reflexive subject and viewing, "subjectivity as a reflex of broader structural processes – discourse, *habitus* – that determine subject position and generate action independently of the reflexive subject" (Mitchell 2007: 91). Mitchell criticises de Certeau for his critical stance on the theories of Bourdieu and Foucault while failing to offer "a coherent competing theory of agency, resistance and subjectivity" (ibid: 91). Juxtaposing the work of Geertz and de Certeau, Mitchell argues that de Certeau "sees action – and particularly the action of everyday resistance – as relatively autonomous from socially-derived subjectivity, and rooted in a much more fundamental human nature" (ibid: 91). This understanding, according to Mitchell is theological rather than theoretical as it casts agency as internal to the human being rather than a product of socially derived subjectivity as in Bourdieu's theory of habitus.

4.5 The relevance of de Certeau to migration studies research

De Certeau's work has elicited responses from numerous academic fields such as geography, sociology, anthropology, planning and political science, and more

expansively, cultural studies. Migration studies is a latter addition to the academic scholarship that uses and edifies the rich corpus of de Certeau's thinking tools, more specifically his theorem of strategy and tactics. This section looks at how migration scholarship has engaged with the work of de Certeau both internationally and in the context of South Africa.

4.5.1 Tactics as resistance and subversion

Jeremy Ahearne analysed the work of de Certeau in conversation with the work of Foucault and argues that de Certeau differed from Foucault in that he looked more at the way that the totalising apparatus of the carceral institutions could be traversed rather than reproduced in the minute details of everyday life (1995). According to Ahearne (1995: 147), "Certeau looks for limits both to those strategic politico-administrative and interpretive operations which he analyses in his own work, and to the proliferating mechanisms of 'discipline' diagnosed by Foucault". While authors such as Ahearne and others have extensively engaged with the work of de Certeau from a cultural studies dimension, many authors deploy de Certeau's work as an interpretive framework for understanding resistance and subversion by subaltern groups in society.

De Certeau, in The Practice of Everyday Life uses the example of an immigrant from Algeria when he makes a point about *making do* and how tactics of subversion operate in a real life scenario. He states that:

> …a North African living in Paris or Roubaix (France) insinuates into the system imposed on him by the construction of a low-income housing development or of the French language the ways of "dwelling" (in a house or a language) peculiar to his native Kabylia. He superimposes them and, by that combination, creates for himself a space in which he can find ways of using the constraining order of the place or of the language. Without leaving the place where he has no choice but to live and which lays down its law for him, he establishes within it a degree of plurality and creativity. By an art of being in between, he draws unexpected results from his situation. (De Certeau 1984: 30)

Motasim and Heynen (2011) employ a similar conception to the example used by de Certeau himself in the preceding passage. They discuss the practices of South Sudanese internally displaced people residing in Khartoum and argue that their resistance to authority and declaration of non-belonging to Sudan resides in the subtle practices such as not investing in permanent buildings and only investing in property that is mobile as a statement of non-permanence (Motasim and Heynen 2011). In other terms, they argue, "Investing in portable objects of identity provides a mode of living that allows for the endless postponement (enforced or voluntary) of the moment of decision as to 'where to live'" (Motasim and Heynen 2011: 63). This comes, as discussed by Motasim and Heynen in the context of a Khartoum that is steeped in the Islamic faith and its symbols and material culture represent Islam, which is at odds with the belief systems of people from southern Sudan who are predominantly Christian. While resisting the imposing exclusivity of Khartoum, the internally displaced South Sudanese people were cognisant of the status in Khartoum but had to make do rather than openly reject the city. The resistance of the South Sudanese refugees detailed by Motasim and Heynen happens in the interstices of the Islamic Sudanese material culture and below the radar of the state. This represents one form of resistance by populations living on the margins.

O'Shaughnessy (2008) draws on de Certeau in discussing what she refers to as invisible and reflexive practices in African cities, arguing that the city is constituted by multifarious spaces. O'Shaughnessy (2008: 13) contends that minor social practices and structures exist within the city that are available to individuals as silent reserves from which the dominant discourses are challenged. For O'Shaughnessy, "The capacity for invisible systems and alternative modes of urban living are granted by the very nature of the urban space itself, by the fact that it is a dynamic, variable, multifarious space" (2008: 14). Thus, the urban environment creates opportunities for subversion and resistance to authority. Frisina (2010) employs De Certeau's strategy and tactics lens in discussing the many subtle ways by which Muslim youths in Italy resist Islamophobia and assert their Italian citizenship in an environment that treats them with suspicion in the wake of the global proliferation of terrorism.

4.5.2 South African migration studies in conversation with de Certeau

The South African migration studies literature has begun to engage the work of de Certeau in discussing the multiple ways in which migrants relate to the South African socio-economic environment. This literature has followed the dominant tropes in conceiving de Certeau's tactics as a form of resistance to authority. In terms of this perspective, de Certeau's work advocates an understanding from below, i.e. understanding the multiple and intricate ways through which people adapt and make use of the options available to them. Migrants, in this analogy of tactics lack the means to define their own space and operate only in relation to a strategy by utilising opportunities and remaining within a space of mobility and tapping on the cracks within the system to survive (De Certeau 1984). I will discuss the interplay between de Certeau's strategy and tactics and the broader processes of mobility in chapter six of this thesis. Drawing from the perspective of tactics as subversion, Vearey (2010) describes the ways in which migrants navigate the city, using tactics of invisibility, and largely remaining under the radar to the South African state. Landau and Freemantle (2010) have described this position as *tactical cosmopolitanism* in which the migrant maintains a form of detachment from the local environment while negotiating a partial inclusion. Some academic writers have added to this discourse, arguing that migrants living in the city of Johannesburg have physical presence but are somewhat deprived of that sense of belonging and claiming the right to the city and the space in which they live (Landau 2010b; Landau and Freemantle 2010; Landau 2006; Mathers and Landau 2007; Vidal 2010). In this regard, the migrant represents the Simmelian stranger who walks the bounded vicinity of simultaneous remoteness and nearness, indifference and involvement (Simmel 1971).

Harrison, Moyo and Yang (2012) also employ the strategy and tactics thesis of de Certeau in analysing the emerging discourse of Chinese migration in South Africa. They argue that the Chinese have become prominent actors in shaping Johannesburg's spatial landscape and they do so in numerous and heterogeneous ways that belie any unitary conception of their presence in the city of Johannesburg. For them, the Chinese migrants find themselves in positions where

they are confronted with powerful groupings in South African society, including political figures in the South African government and other Chinese elites and have to resort to certain tactics to circumvent these and other challenges. Their conception of de Certeau's analogy highlights a more flexible application that considers the powerful and the weak rather than concentrating on the weak to understand the complex social reality that is co-produced by both the weak and the powerful as has been the case in most studies that overly focus on the marginal.

4.6 Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus* and *field*

Deleuze and Harrison (2000) credit Nietzsche with the call to start looking at what is closer rather than looking further and ignoring the realities that unfold before our eyes on a daily basis. They argue that, Nietzsche recognised the folly of looking further "towards eternals and essentials" while negating the complex and otherwise daunting things closer to us (Deleuze and Harrison 2000: 497). In other words, the everyday is a call to researchers to begin the process of paying more attention to the mundane elements of daily life and theorise the implications it has on overall social developments. It is with the everyday in mind that I explore Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and *social field*, and their utility to the current study as well as the study of migration in general.

Discussing structures and habitus in "The Outline of a Theory of Practice", Bourdieu argues that

> The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor. (Bourdieu 1977: 72)

The preceding passage provides a summation of Bourdieu's definition and explanatory nous of habitus. He argues that habitus is the product of structures that are "constitutive of a particular type of environment" (Bourdieu 1977: 72). In this sense, structures constitute a specific type of environment, which in turn produces a habitus that functions in that particular environment. Habitus is thus an inscription of the environment that produces it and when applied to human subjects, it is the '"social inscribed in the body,' 'a system of dispositions,' a feel

for or sense of 'the social game,' 'the source of most practices,' 'a tendency to generate regulated behaviours apart from any reference to rules'" (Foster 1986: 105). Importantly, Bourdieu (1977: 72) describes habitus as "…systems of durable, transposable dispositions". What this means is that, habitus has an enduring manifestation on the subject or its carrier and yet it is subject to change depending on the nature of the environment that it encounters. In other words, "habitus, while being a product of the system, has an 'endless capacity' to generate thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions" (Yang 2013: 1525). Thus, the habitus is a complex combination of the past we are socialised into, the present we are formulating and the future we are unconsciously projecting. In the words of Bourdieu, "Habitus is socialized subjectivity" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 126). While this subjectivity may be socialised by a specific social field or social environment, such environment is never static and so is the habitus, hence, the indication by Bourdieu that it is transposable.

Bourdieu uses the metaphor of a competitive ball game to illustrate the genesis and functioning of the habitus, and argues that:

> Habitus as a sense of the game is the social game incarnate, become nature. Nothing is freer or more constrained at the same time than the action of the good player. He manages quite naturally to be at the place where the ball will come down, as if the ball controlled him. Yet at the same time, he controls the ball. Habitus, as the social inscribed in the body of the biological individual, makes it possible to produce the infinite acts that are inscribed in the game, in the form of possibilities and objective requirements. The constraints and requirements of the game, although they are not locked within a code of rules, are imperative for those, and only those, who, because they have a sense of the game's immanent necessity, are equipped to perceive them and carry them out. (Lamaison and Bourdieu 1986: 113).

The concept of habitus, therefore builds on the strategies and tactics of de Certeau by proffering an analogy that allows a simultaneous engagement of both the strategy and tactics. As opposed to the strategy existing outside tactics, the habitus represents the internalisation of social structures by agents and is constituted daily in practice. Alexander (2008) argues that the habitus consists of the individuation

of the collective through bodily inscription and since it is similar in some groups of people, researchers construe it as a collective phenomenon.

Migrants in the context of Bourdieu's habitus therefore represent the internalisation of multiple externalities, including their home country environment, the host country environment and any other factors influencing their daily lives. Kelly and Lusis (2006) refer to such circumstances as the 'transnational habitus' as the mobility that is inherent in the lives of migrants belies any form of static classifications but invites multi-centred forms of analysis. Thus, the habitus functions as a structuring structure and a vehicle for the constitution of knowledge about place and the transnational landscape. As such, the transnational habitus is a distinctly migrant created and migrant centred concept (Guarnizo 1997; Kelly and Lusis 2006; Waters 2007).

4.6.1 The Social Field

Bourdieu's concept of *social field* completes a triumvirate of his thinking tools, namely, the *habitus*, *capital* and the *field*. As noted in the preceding discussions, I sought to engage Bourdieu's habitus to overcome the weaknesses of de Certeau's strategies and tactics. However, it is a difficult exercise to isolate habitus from other Bourdieusian tools such as field and capital. They are somewhat interlinked, such that if you engage one, you inevitably have to engage the others in order to have a complete and effective analysis of social reality. As noted by Yang (2013), the field is a latter addition to Bourdieu's thinking tools and Bourdieu introduced it at a later stage rather than simultaneously with the notion of habitus. In the book, "An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology", Bourdieu states that:

> In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by

> their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97).

For Yang (2013), Bourdieu's field is an arena of struggles over power relations and positions amongst social actors. In the following sections, I will further discuss the implications of Bourdieu's definition of field, more specifically, how I have operationalised it in this research.

4.6.2 The interlocking relationship between field and habitus

Bourdieu argues that, the habitus does not exist in isolation but must be analysed together with what he calls the "field". He contends that the field is the outside element of the habitus and the relationship between the two is one of mutual beneficence. According to Bourdieu, the field denotes "a network or a configuration of objective relations between positions" (1992:97). Bourdieu proposes a two-way relationship between field and habitus.

> On the one side, it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of a field… On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or *cognitive construction.* Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world… (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 127, emphasis in original).

Friedmann (2005) argues that in terms of Bourdieu's analogy, the social field produces and structures a habitus that is specific to it and it is in turn structured by that habitus. Describing the perfect fit between a habitus and its field, Bourdieu employed the metaphor of a fish in the water to sum up the ontological complicity that obtains in ideal conditions for both the habitus and field. He cautioned that, this position is only one scenario in which the habitus relates to the field, and in other cases, the habitus encounters conditions that are different to the field that constituted it. Friedmann (2005) argues that habitus is a way of making sense of the world and where people move from one place to another, the habitus

encounter a change in fields to which it is congruent. This, according to Bourdieu, results in a dialectical confrontation between the habitus and the field.

Friedmann posits that new conditions challenge the habitus, and migrants being the bearers of a specific habitus, for example, a Zimbabwean habitus, respond by escaping or adapting into the new field and new habitus to ensure survival in the new environment. However, this is not the default position of the habitus when confronted by a new field as indicated in the work of Oliver and O'Reilly (2010) who studied the phenomenon of lifestyle migration in Spain. Their findings suggest that it is not always the case that the habitus borne by new migrants subsides into the new field and is reconditioned or reshaped into conformity, but sometimes it imposes itself on the new environment. Looking at the case of British retirees, they argue that the prospect of an egalitarian environment in the cities of immigration remains a chimera as some class positions resist any form of capitulation and find expression in the new setting. In other words, being socialised in an environment with class positions, such traits carry over to the new environment rather than being replaced by the acquisition of a new egalitarian habitus.

Employing the notion of habitus in analysing migration and social capital, Erel (2010) argues that, rather than conforming to the established nomenclature; migrants and the process of migration actively shape and reformat the existing social capital at both places of origin and destination. The argument by Erel is a call to desist from conformist perspectives that assume the availability of socio-cultural capital as a given and accessible to whoever intends to migrate. These "rucksack" approaches, according to Erel (2010), ignore the emergent properties in the process of migration that are subject to unexpected twists and turns depending on the attendant dynamics of the migration process. Instead of reproducing the existing nomenclature, migration as a process serves as both a validating mechanism and an altogether genitor of new processes of cultural cognation in keeping with the frictional encounter between a habitus and a new field. Such instance entreats us into considering new forms of analysing migrant decision making, especially where mobility is part of livelihoods and transnational

spaces are predominant. The new and hybrid forms include transnational fields and transnational habitus.

4.6.3 The transnational habitus and the transnational field

Kelly and Lusis (2006) have suggested that the predominantly physical and place specific connotations applied to habitus are limiting and to realise meaningful utility to migration studies they propose a "transnational habitus". This form of habitus places emphasis on the social rather than the physical and encapsulates aspects of migrant lives in a wholesome manner that is cognisant of both destination and origin places as well as what lies in between. Guarnizo defines the transnational habitus as, "a particular set of dualistic dispositions that inclines migrants to act and react to specific situations in a manner that can be, but is not always, calculated, and that is not simply a question of conscious acceptance of specific behavioral or sociocultural rules" (1997: 311). The transnational habitus is enmeshed in the migration process itself and researching the Filipino migrants in Canada, Kelly and Lusis (2006) concluded that the habitus of the immigrants defies confinement and in many respects casts itself as much more ambient and social than static and physically confined in place.

The transnational habitus, like Bourdieu's habitus is enmeshed in a social field which is transnational and migrants living within such a field straddle the milieu of the state from which they originated and the one where they have settled (Schiller and Fouron 1999). A social field, according to Schiller and Fouron (1999: 344), denotes "…an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks." It is important however to clarify that, the transnational social field deployed in this research follows on Bourdieu's conception of social field rather that the transnational social field theory proposed by Levitt and Schiller (2004).

Kelly and Lusis argue that, the basis of the transnational habitus is an understanding that migrants do not start new lives as immigrants in destination countries but stride two or more communities as they maintain social, cultural,

emotional and economic ties with their places of origin (2006: 831). According to Kelly and Lusis,

> Economic, social, and cultural capital do not simply transfer to a new setting in which they are evaluated within a new habitus: instead, a process of valuation and exchange continues through transnational social fields well after settlement has occurred (2006: 837).

It is this exercise of finding the middle space between home, transit and destinations that are real or imagined that make the case for a transnational habitus. The existence of this form of habitus is particularly important in migration studies considering the common practice of "fixing in place" of migrants in most academic studies. Looking at habitus through this perspective permits a nuanced approach to the activities of migrants, especially as I have engaged the different forms of space and spatial relationships that migrants have with the city of Johannesburg. In chapter six of this thesis, I argue that Zimbabwean migrants are beginning to find space in mobility, and the existing social field as well as a specific habitus that operates within the specified field enables such mobility.

4.6.4 Some shortcomings of habitus

Richard Jenkins (1982) was amongst the leading critics of Bourdieu's conception of habitus as he pointed out that the habitus is internal and subjective to actors and contributes to the generation of objectivity yet it is in itself the product of objectivity. Jenkins maintained that Bourdieu's theorising was deterministic in nature and did not depart much from the structural determinism that he criticised. This position found resonance in the works of Giroux (1982) and later, Gartman (1991). King (2000) echoed the same sentiments a decade later when he posited that Bourdieu argued against structural determinism but his analogy fell short of entirely ridding itself of a relapse into the objectivism that he set out to overcome. Authors such as Lau (2004) have reiterated the earlier criticism of the notion of

habitus and in doing so; have drawn on Margaret Archer's (1982) morphogenic approach that emphasises the emergent. Building on his criticism of Bourdieu's quest to overcome the supposed antinomy between objectivism and subjectivism, Lau questions the falsity of this divide and argues that perhaps researchers should focus on the emergent rather than trying to overcome the structure-agency dialectic (Lau 2004). He further argues that those who say Bourdieu relapses into the structural determinism that he criticises fail to take account of the fact that objectivism is not necessarily always deterministic or reductionist. Habitus, to Lau presents a partial understanding of agency and is largely based on structuralism, which is the horizontal genitor of the dispositions that constitute it. Habitus therefore is what it is because of the structures that constitute it, not the other way round. Lau further argues that habitus possesses emergent causal and generative dispositions that are analytically irreducible to the structures from which it initially emerges.

Michel de Certeau also criticised Bourdieu's habitus, arguing that the notion of habitus implied that, "ordinary people are unconscious of their tactics" (Burke 2002: 28). Burawoy makes the same point that in his writings about class and subordination, Bourdieu trivialises important aspects of the social and somewhat creates the impression that the oppressed or subordinated do not comprehend the source and means of their subordination (Burawoy and Von Holdt 2012). Hence his argument, that if the dominated understood this aspect of their subordination, the world as we know it would be completely different.

4.6.5 Bourdieu's defence of habitus

Bourdieu (2005) argues that the notion of habitus has been criticised in some quarters as rendering human behaviour static and monolithic. He is keen to emphasise that human behaviour is by no means monolithic, rather it is diverse and within this diversity, he adds that there are limits to what is possible. This to him is what separates the notion of habitus from the phenomenologists whom he criticises for failing to note that there are limits to human behaviour. Within the

same breadth, he distances the notion of habitus from the structuralists whom he criticises for being overly deterministic of human behaviour and leaving it at the behest of structural properties. He also argues, "The model of the circle, the vicious cycle of structure producing habitus which reproduces structure ad infinitum is a product of commentators" (Bourdieu 2005: 45). His point is that the circle model is just one case in the divisible notion of habitus and not the definitive aspect of habitus. He notes that the case of the vicious cycle phenomenon obtains when the conditions that produced the habitus are similar to those where the habitus operates. In this regard, there would be 'fit' between the habitus and the field, much more like fish in the water, a case, Bourdieu and Wacquant refer to as "ontological complicity" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 127).

4.7 Framing the analysis: strategy, tactics, habitus, social field, mobility, transnationalism and identity

Having engaged de Certeau's *strategy and tactics* and Bourdieu's *habitus and social field* as the anchoring theoretical frames for this research, I will now reflect on the practical application of these thinking tools and the analysis of the data in this research. In employing these theoretical thinking tools, I am mindful that they have limitations and cannot be fully relied on to elicit the full understanding of the different processes that define the Zimbabwean migration experience. As such, I have deployed additional conceptual lenses, that augment these thinking tools and I have interweaved them together to generate a cohesive set of arguments. These include the concepts of mobility, which connects to de Certeau's strategy and tactics; transnational habitus, and transnational social field, which connect to Bourdieu's habitus and social field; and spatial identity, which is a standalone concept but speaks to and complements all the other thinking tools. Figure 4.1 illustrates the operationalisation of these connected concepts.

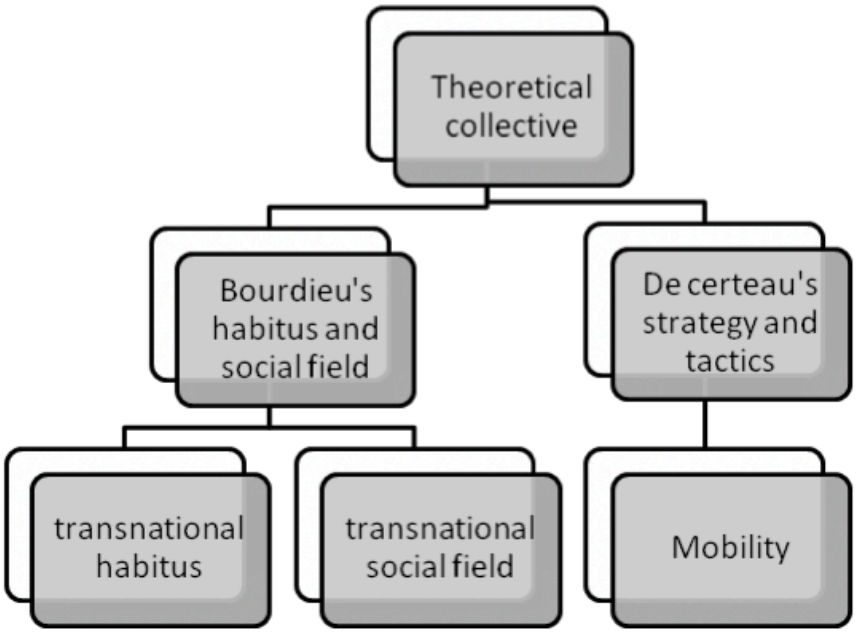


Figure 4.1: Theoretical Framing Diagram

4.7.1 Inviting de Certeau to the study of Zimbabwean migration

The important *nous* in de Certeau's description of strategies and tactics is that, strategies represent entities that are stable and have the power to make long-range plans and decisions. The analogy of tactics however relates to a lack of locus points and a state of temporariness and flexibility. De Certeau's conception of tactics applies to individual decision-making and everyday circumstances which underline the importance of "no fixed" locus points. While his engagement with migration per se is limited, de Certeau anchors his theorisation of tactics on mobility. He highlights the agency of tactics and attributes the strength of tactics to their lack of locus points and their temporariness. Tactics are devised on the move as individuals navigate the spaces around the strategies imposed from above. This has clear resonance for transnational migration.

Immigrants in the context of Johannesburg are fittingly analysed within this context of temporariness and individual attention as theories that focus on macro perspectives typically overlook those living within the realm of tactics,

manoeuvring within the crevices left by the deployment of strategy. This is the *making do* that de Certeau is concerned with in his anthropology of the subordinate and marginalised or of the ordinary person (de Certeau *et al.* 1980). The South African scholarship on tactical cosmopolitanism and liminality adds helpfully in this area, showing that tactics are not only deployed in relation to and using current physical location, but also in terms of the spaces across which an individual may be suspended both in terms of patterns of mobility and psychological attachment.

De Certeau's analysis has clear use value when applied to Zimbabwean migrants who reside in Johannesburg. Zimbabwean migrants in their diversity occupy the position of tactics in relation, for example, to the South African state as represented by different forms of officialdom that regulate or provide official services such as the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), the Department of Health (DOH). They also occupy the position of tactics in relation to the various units of the City of Johannesburg, including those who regulate street trading, housing, the conditions of buildings and public health.

Strategy is however not only exercised through official structures but also by groupings that have relative power in society. In the context of Johannesburg this includes South African citizenry quite broadly, who by virtue of being citizens have a privileged position over non-citizens. This is a complex area and I should clarify from the onset that this broad and loose categorisation of the South African citizenry as constituting strategy is only in relation to their contact with Zimbabweans and other immigrants in Johannesburg. It is used with awareness that South Africans are not by any means a homogenous group and that there is enormous variation in the degrees of power possessed by South Africans. South African citizens are often in the intermediate position between strategy and tactics, responding tactically to the authority of the state and to more powerful South Africans, and operating with strategy in relation to non South Africans and less powerful South Africans.

The further complication is that immigrants may themselves gather a degree of power within a host society, operating with strategy in relation to citizens and

non-citizens in the host society. The operation of strategy and tactics in relation to South Africans and Zimbabweans is complex and differentiated. However, we may take a broad position that, *generally speaking*, members of the host society have a position of power over those who are not recognised as belonging. Strategy as enunciated by de Certeau represents power and an established basis from which such entity derives or bases such power. Thus, in this case, the South African citizenry base their power on difference and the ability to distinguish between those that belong and those that do not belong. Such presence of difference and its actuation through the threat of xenophobic violence creates a flexible structure that is an important determinant in Zimbabwean migrants' spatial decision-making.

In adopting this position, I have drawn on my previous collaborative work, Harrison, Moyo and Yang's (2012) which pertains to the constitution of strategy and tactics and the need to look at de Certeau's thesis differently. In this work, we argued that, tactics do not only respond to regulatory frameworks or remote strategy but to other instruments or agents of similar disposition. As such, my conception of the dialectical relationship between strategy and tactics is that it is flexible and adaptable to different encounters between Zimbabwean migrants and the South African state as well as the South African citizenry. Both strategy and tactics may reside in any one group or individual even if there is a *tendency* towards one or the other dependent in part on the formal status of belonging.

Having articulated the usage of de Certeau's theory of strategy and tactics in understanding migrant spatial decision-making, I will now turn attention to the concept of mobility and discuss how it extends the analysis of movement within the context of de Certeau's tactics.

4.7.1.1 *De Certeau's tactics and mobility*

In his essay on "walking in the city", de Certeau reasserts his focus on the ordinary person whom he allocates to positions of subordination and on the

opposite side of apparatuses and panoptic structures of power. He argues that the streets and other infrastructure built by planning authorities receive use value and enunciation through the walking feet of the ordinary person. According to de Certeau (1984: 99), "walking affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, respects, etc., the trajectories it 'speaks'." This is analogous to the manner of speech and according to de Certeau,

> The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered" (1984: 97). "Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs (ibid: 117).

While de Certeau in this particular passage speaks to the strategic systems of urban planning and regulation, his intuition and pre-occupation with the ordinary person and his or her place in the generation of urban form has relevance to my approach to the exercise of movement in the city. I connect the articulation of the practice of walking and that of "walking feet" described by de Certeau to his earlier intimations about strategy and tactics as well as the practice of “making do” in the face of the structures that exist outside of the ordinary person.

Mainstream migration studies literature has largely focused on the movement of people across national borders, particularly on the reasons for migration and the destinations to which people move. However, this direction of the literature does not sufficiently theorise migration in terms of the logic and tactical nuance embedded in moving from one place to another at a multiplicity of scales. In the broader collective of social science disciplines however there is recent reference to the emergence of a "new mobilities paradigm" (Sheller and Urry 2006: 207) or the "mobility turn" (Hannam, Sheller and Urry 2006: 1), which brings together the many different forms of movements and mobilities and questions the traditional societal and geographic constructions of territoriality (see for example, Cresswell 2010b; Hannam *et al.* 2006; Langevang and Gough 2009). According to (Cresswell 2010a: 2), the crux of the mobilities turn, and what sets it apart from other similar approaches, is that, "it focuses on, and holds centre stage, a

fundamental geographical fact of life – moving". The mobilities concept, according to Hannam et al (2006: 1) "encompasses both the large-scale movements of people, objects, capital and information across the world, as well as the more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space and the travel of material things within everyday life".

Recognising the centrality of the new mobilities paradigm in current social sciences discourse, Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006: 3) argue that, "Mobilities cannot be described without attention to the necessary spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings that configure and enable mobilities." In other terms, these infrastructural and institutional moorings are for the most part facilitative of mobility and analogous to the structures and apparatuses of power described in de Certeau's strategies and tactics. Within the context of the *mobility turn*, some authors have drawn on de Certeau's strategies and tactics in theorising intra urban movements in cities. For example, Langevang and Gough (2009) discuss the movement of youth in the Ghanaian city of Accra and argue that, the youths use movement as a creative tactical response to a difficult economic environment that offers limited formal employment opportunities. Gough (2008) argues that in the Zambian city of Lusaka, strong linkages exist between young people's mobility and their livelihoods. Youth mobility in the context of Accra and Lusaka - taken as movement to and from work, movement to and from school and movement in search of employment - is cast as a key survivalist tactic (Gough 2008; Langevang and Gough 2009). For Gough (2008) and Langevang and Gough (2009) mobility is both a resource and a tactical recourse for those who have a subordinate position in relation to the powerful entities and structures in society. In a similar vein, Jackson (2012: 733) has extended de Certeau's strategies and tactics framework to the analysis of the mobility of homeless youths in London, and argues that mobility is used by the homeless youths to respond to uncertainty and danger. Jackson (2012: 740) further outlines three different tactical experiences of mobility by the homeless youth, namely, "mobility as a resource, mobility as loss, and mobility as managing". The common thread in Jackson's analysis and that of other authors that have drawn on the work of de Certeau to frame mobility is that the bulk of their analysis concerns states of mobility and daily movements as

tactical and constitutive of survivalist resources. Nonetheless, the important consideration for this research is the way that the different studies utilising strategy and tactics have looked at mobility as a resource and as a tactic in an urban environment.

4.7.2 The transnational habitus: inviting Bourdieu to Zimbabwean migration studies

The transnational habitus as explained and deployed in a number of studies on migrant adaptation provides a much distilled and fitting framework for the analysis of a migration specific problem. Looking at the Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, they are in a state of perennial limbo as discussed in numerous studies on Southern African migration. They often walk the bounded vicinity of being present yet existentially absent and not belonging to the South African milieu. As indicated, Landau and Freemantle (2010) describe this position as *tactical cosmopolitanism* while Kihato (2013) uses *liminality* as a conceptual descriptor. What the transnational habitus does is that it captures the sense of simultaneous embeddedness that characterises the many forms of existence by Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. While their characterisation as transnational is contested, they possess many forms that conform to this characterisation, for example, the intensity of their communication with family and relatives back in Zimbabwe suggests a continuing embeddedness of sorts in the country of origin. The transnational habitus, as will be further explained in chapter seven of this thesis, emerges or is produced rather than imposed on the immigrants. It is the result of processes of hybridization and infusion of both the home country socio-economic circumstances and the host country's circumstances. In other words, the habitus itself being a system of *durable dispositions*, it is produced within a specific social field in the home country and being a system of *transposable dispositions*, it is subject to change in circumstances where it is incongruent to the social field of the host country. As such, I argue in this thesis that, Zimbabwean migrants carry a specific habitus on

arrival in South Africa and such habitus contributes to the structuring of a social field that enables their continued survival. Such social field in turn continually structures and modifies their Zimbabwean habitus in order to sustain a degree of fit between the immigrants and the specific socio-economic context in Johannesburg.

4.8 Conclusion: reflecting on strategy, tactics and habitus

There is an added complexity to the manner in which migrant spatial decision-making can be conceptualised and somehow understood and interpreted as some authors have criticised the approach which by default relegates migrants into marginality (Raghuram, Henry and Bornat 2010). This is a direct criticism of the commonly perceived approach of strategy and tactics, which by default treats migrants as marginal and relegates them to the status of tactics or outsiders with no foreseeable route to strategy, seen as available only to the powerful. However, the supposed distinction is not as simple as the shortcoming suggests. In reality, as shown in the preceding sections, the dichotomy between outsiders and insiders is a false one. Likewise, the distinction between strategy and tactics is false and only exists at the level of analysis rather than practical engagement. This research has taken the position that these supposed binaries ought to be engaged with in a much more nuanced and careful manner that acknowledges the complexities of the migrant condition.

Casting the powerful as representing South African society and legislative arms of government proves problematic as it gives the impression that South African society is a monolithic whole yet in reality, it is fractured, with many crevices and is far from coherent. It is a result of such lack of togetherness that researchers such as Landau (2012) have questioned the very essence of the host community by arguing that in today's society it is difficult to talk of hosts and guests when discussing migrant issues. Engaging the strategy vs. tactics dialectic opens many avenues of analysis and at another level allows for a combined engagement in the

form of a habitus that characterises a commonality and shared social reality. As indicated in the preceding sections, habitus is both constitutive and constituted in social practice and therefore best represents the approach I have adopted in this research. The approach considers the migrants together with the circumstances of their migrant lives as informed on a daily basis by the conditions that they grapple with in South Africa.

In a discussion of how migration theorists utilise the concept of habitus in the analysis of migrant issues, Raghuran et al argue that they often ignore the fact that migrants and non-migrants are part of the same social habitus. In essence, they exist within the same social reality albeit with different relationships and experiences of this same habitus. Both the migrants and non-migrants constitute the habitus, so it is not enough to understand only what migrants do and experience without due regard to what the non-migrants experience and do within this shared social reality or habitus. Bourdieu is clear that habitus is not meant to be an explanatory framework but provides thinking tools for empirical analysis (Jenkins 1992). It is an important corrective to a strong tendency within migration studies to focus only on the group under study and it is a difficult tendency to depart from. Certainly, "Zimbabwean space" is not a dominant space in Johannesburg, and it can only be discussed in terms of a *field* of social and spatial relations. Zimbabwean space may in fact not exist *per se* in consequence but rather may only be a constitutive element in the ongoing construction and reconstruction of space within and across Johannesburg. In addition, the "Zimbabwean habitus" is actively changing in interaction with the habitus in the host society. While shorthand terms such as "Zimbabwean space" and "Zimbabwean spatial decision-making" are used in this research, there is a considerable complexity behind the words.

5 Chapter Five: Zimbabwean Migration in Context

5.1 Introduction

This contextual chapter maps the literature on Zimbabwean migration and locates the study within the global discourse that has focused on the Zimbabwean diaspora in the post 2000 era, specifically the intensifying engagement with the migration of Zimbabweans to South Africa. The chapter starts with a brief discussion of: the early forms of contract labour migration to South Africa; the movement of black exiles during the liberation war; and, the post 1980 flight to South Africa of white Rhodesians. The chapter then goes on to a more detailed discussion of the waves of migration by black Zimbabweans to South Africa from the 1990s. Thus far, three edited books have brought together a collection of works that focus on Zimbabwean migration to various global destinations as well as the nature of the nascent Zimbabwean diaspora. Two of the books are 2010 publications, one edited by Crush and Tevera titled, "Zimbabwe's exodus: Crisis, Migration, Survival" and the other edited by McGregor and Primorac titled, "Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival". The third is a 2012 publication edited by Chiumbu and Musemwa entitled, "Crisis! What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis". These are the highlight of the scholarly attention to the subject of Zimbabwean migration over the past decade, but there are also a number of significant journal articles (for example, Bloch 2006; Bloch 2010; Chikanda and Dodson 2013; Hammar, McGregor and Landau 2010) and student dissertations (for example, Beremauro 2013; Hungwe 2013; Mpofu 2014; Pasura 2008). In addition to highlighting the historical literature on Zimbabwean migration, this chapter discusses the key emerging themes from the literature that focuses on Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. The main highlight is the overwhelming focus on the human rights

abuses of Zimbabwean migrants by the police in South Africa and the lack of access to services for irregular migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

5.2 Early forms of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa - pre 1980

This section foregrounds the discussion on Zimbabwean movements to South Africa and highlights the early forms of contract labour migration, particularly the absence of black Zimbabweans for many years in this regional enterprise. The other movements highlighted here are those of ethnic Ndebele and Khalanga Zimbabweans who have been moving to South Africa over a long period due to the lack of meaningful economic opportunities in the southwestern parts of Zimbabwe. The southwestern parts of Zimbabwe effectively constitute borderlands due to their proximity to South Africa and Botswana. The other movement highlighted in this section is that of white Rhodesians before 1980, especially during the war of liberation in the 1970s.

5.2.1 Contract and demand driven labour migration

The migration between South Africa and its neighbours has historically taken many forms ranging from the regulated contract labour system in the mines to the informal, clandestine and irregular movements across borders (Crush 1999a; Crush 1999b; Prothero 1974). The historical demand driven contract labour migration regime limited the options available for formal supply driven independent movements (Crush 2005; Crush *et al.* 1991; Mosala 2008). While neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi and Swaziland supplied high numbers of contract labourers through bilateral agreements with South Africa (Crush 1999b), Zimbabwean labourers constituted very negligible figures. Wilson (1976) and Mlambo (2010) attribute this state of affairs to the fledgling Rhodesian manufacturing and mining industry, which

rendered Rhodesia a net importer of labour and curtailed the motivation to follow the examples of its neighbours in signing contract labour deals with South Africa. Zimbabwe occupied the position of being both a migrant sending and a migrant receiving country (Crush and Tevera 2010; Mlambo 2010; Tevera and Crush 2010; Tevera and Zinyama 2002; Zinyama 1990; Zinyama 2002). Rhodesia had its own labour recruitment agency, the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) that supplied as much as 13000 workers a year to the various Rhodesian industries between 1903 and 1933 (Mlambo 2010; Wilson 1976). Rhodesia also had its own set of labour agreements with Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi.

Mlambo (2010) contends that despite Zimbabwean labourers being recruited to South African mines by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) - colloquially named WENELA in Ndebele or WENERA in Shona - they never had a pronounced presence in South Africa except in a short period in the late 1970s. Wilson (1976) notes that Rhodesia only allowed South Africa to recruit labour formally in 1974 in a bid to cushion the withdrawal of Malawian and Mozambican migrant labour from the mines. This followed the fallout between South Africa and Malawi after the April 1974 air crash in Francistown, Botswana[7], and the end of colonial rule in Mozambique (Crush et al. 1991; Stahl 1981; Zinyama 1990). The government-to-government agreement between South Africa and Rhodesia permitted the recruitment of up to 20 000 labourers per year (Crush *et al.* 1991: 109). Consequently, Zimbabwean contract labour migration to South Africa peaked in 1977, reaching a figure of 37 900 workers (Mlambo 2010), which was a remarkable increase from around 7 000 workers in 1975 (Wilson 1976) to 29 000 in 1976 (Crush *et al.* 1991: 101). The sudden increase in the number of recruited Zimbabweans was however short-lived as most of them were repatriated at the end of their contracts and, by 1983, only 7 700 Zimbabwean contract labourers remained in South Africa, all finishing off their contracts (Zinyama 1990). Crush et al give further reasons why Zimbabweans constituted negligible figures in the migrant labour statistics. They argue that the

[7] The plane crash killed 74 new Malawian recruits and president Banda of Malawi responded by prohibiting any further recruitment of Malawian labour for three years (Crush et al. 1991; Stahl 1981; Zinyama 1990).

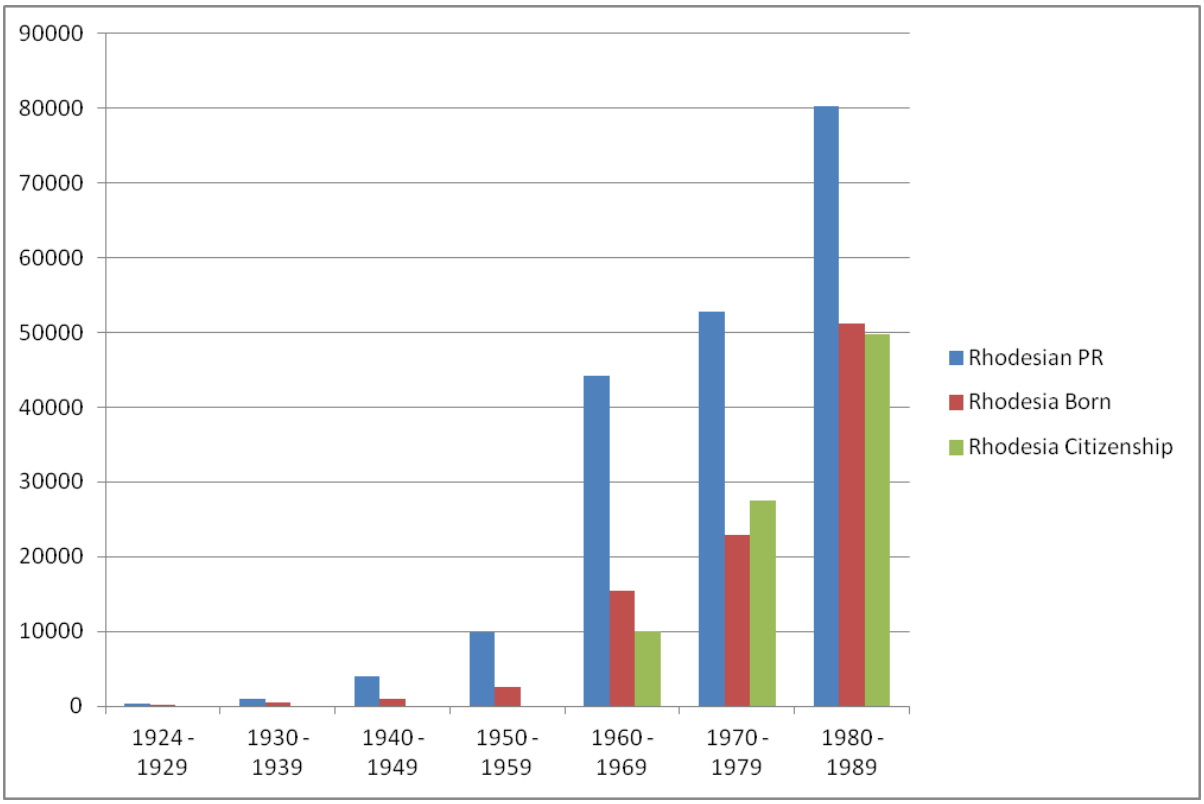
South African mining companies soon regretted the upsurge in the Zimbabwean labourers following the 1974 agreement, as they "were more militant than most other foreign workers and were heavily involved in the industrial unrest that racked the industry beginning in the mid-1970s" (1991: 109).

5.2.2 The pre independence movement of Rhodesians 1924 -1979

Apart from the contract labour migration, the other early form of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa included the movement of white Rhodesians, especially during the War of Liberation, and immediately after the 1980 elections (Mlambo 2010; Pasura 2008; Simon 1988; Tevera and Crush 2003). Literature on this movement is scarce and only Peberdy (1999) gives comprehensive and incisive statistics on immigration from the South African side (see Figure 5.1). Discussing apartheid South Africa's selective immigration, Peberdy argues that the government saw, "refugees from the newly independent African states to the north - as potential citizens who would understand South Africa" (2009: 123). The white refugees (immigrants) from African countries such as Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Zambia, especially those fleeing conflict, were immediately absorbed and deemed to understand the position of the apartheid state against black Africans as they would have been victims of black nationalism and communism (ibid.). Thus, during the period 1924 to 1979 South Africa absorbed 192 423 white immigrants from Rhodesia, with 54% (103 213) of this total immigrating during the decade from 1970 to 1979[8]. While the 1970-79 movement is attributable to the Zimbabwean struggle for independence, Zinyama (1990) has noted that the movement of young male Rhodesians accelerated during the war as they exploited loopholes in the South African migration system by declaring tourist status when in fact they were fleeing forced conscription into the Rhodesian army.

[8] Data aggregated using yearly immigration statistics from Peberdy's (2009) book, 'Selecting immigrants: National identity and South Africa's immigration policies, 1910-2008' pages 260-290. These include citizens of Rhodesia, Permanent Residents (PR) and those born in Rhodesia.

Figure 5.1: White Rhodesian citizens, permanent residents (PR) and Rhodesian born immigrants to South Africa for the years 1924-1989



Source: graph drawn using data from Peberdy (2009: 260-290)

5.2.3 Other pre-1980 movements of Zimbabweans: black exiles and independence war refugees

Another movement that the literature hardly refers to is that of black exiles before and during the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe. Pasura (2008) and Mlambo (2010) have mentioned this movement, though not quantifying it. They both argue that the movement from Zimbabwe of black political exiles in the 1960s and large numbers of black African refugees before 1980 preceded the wave of white Rhodesians in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Quantifying this movement is confounded by the fact that the emigration and immigration of black Africans was never recorded in official statistics in white-ruled Rhodesia before 1978 and 1980 respectively, which only considered the immigration and

emigration of White, Asian and Coloured citizens (Zinyama 1990). In addition, many blacks used clandestine channels to enter into South Africa rather than official border posts. Many Zimbabweans that moved to escape the war returned soon after independence and constituted a steady stream of returning residents in the post 1980 period (Tevera and Zinyama 2002).

5.2.4 Ethnic Ndebele and Khalanga movements

The literature on Zimbabwean migration is largely silent on another important movement of Zimbabweans that has been happening for many years and is unrecorded in official statistics because of its clandestine nature. This is the movement of ethnic Ndebele, Khalanga, and other ethnic minorities from the southwestern parts of Zimbabwe and the Midlands areas to South Africa and Botswana. Amongst the youths of the broader Matabeleland region, migrating to South Africa provided the only means to escape poverty as the region has some of the most arid and drought-prone lands in the country (Hungwe 2012). The movement of people from this region to South Africa and Botswana has endured due to the existence of close kin relations with the Tswana and Khalanga in Botswana, and the Zulu, Swazi and Ndebele in South Africa (Maphosa 2010).

5.2.5 Migration in the farming areas of Limpopo

Another early form of migration that the literature refers to is that of the farm workers in the border areas of Limpopo. Tlabela, Viljoen and Adams (2003) trace regional migration to South Africa as far back as 1840 and argue that migrants from Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho and Zimbabwe worked in sugarcane fields in Natal long before the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley. This trend continued into the Kimberley diamond mining in 1867 and the gold discoveries on the Witwatersrand in the 1880s (Crush *et al.* 2005b). The migration of permanent and seasonal Zimbabwean farm workers into the borderlands of Limpopo and other

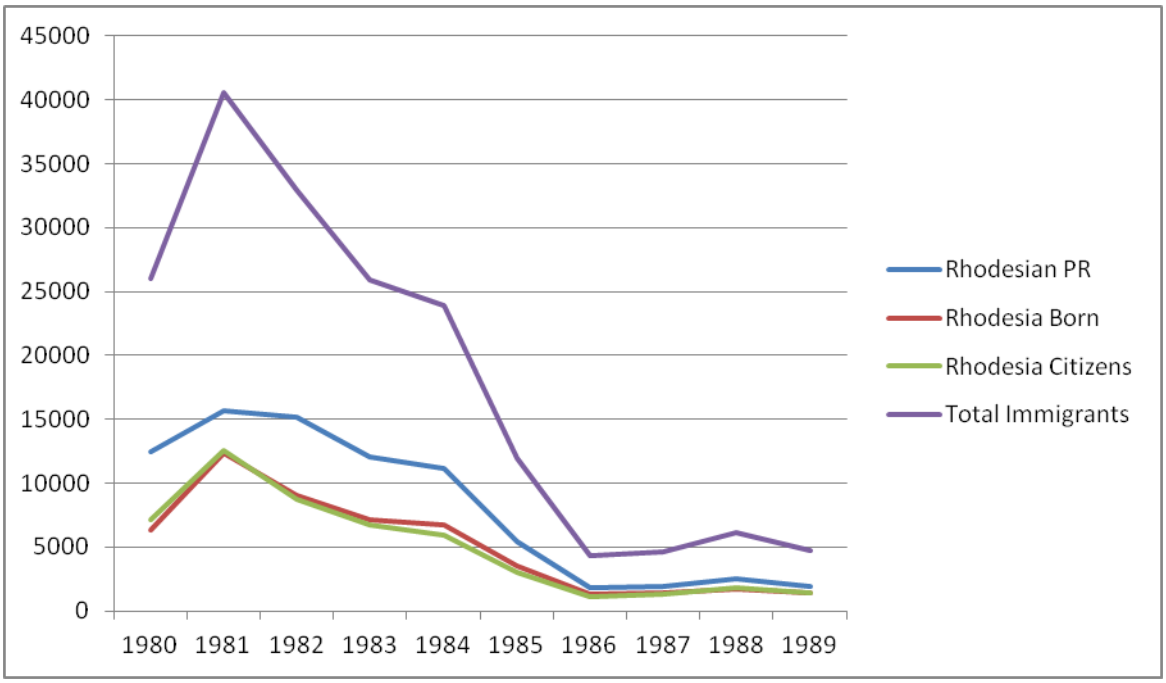
areas has also endured for decades (Crush *et al.* 2005b; Rutherford 2010a; Rutherford 2010b). Tlabela et al (2003) argue that, the farming areas of Limpopo employ between 7 000 and 8 000 Zimbabwean farm workers. However, in a study in 2000, the South African Department of Labour found that 10 111 of the 13 519 workers in 94 of the 210 farms in the special employment zones were Zimbabweans (Rutherford 2010: 247). In the 1990s, the Limpopo farmers received permission from government to recruit Zimbabwean farm workers under the auspices of the designated "special employment zone" (Rutherford 2010: 246). Rutherford (2010a) further argues that the size and composition of the Zimbabwean farm labour force has changed in the post 2000 period. During the 1990s and before, the labourers consisted of mainly ethnic Venda people from around Beitbridge. This has however changed in the post 2000 period with Zimbabwean farm labourers coming from different parts of Zimbabwe, showing increasing diversity in terms of language, ethnicity and class (Bolt 2010).

5.3 Early forms of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa: 1980-2000

5.3.1 Post-independence movement of white Rhodesians 1980 - 1989

During the post-independence decade, 181 112 Rhodesian citizens, Rhodesian born and Rhodesian permanent residents immigrated to South Africa from independent Zimbabwe, with the majority leaving shortly after independence (see Figure 5.2 for the breakdown by decade of immigration). Simon (1988) argues that white Rhodesians left the country in large numbers in 1980 and 1981, as they had believed that the more right-leaning Abel Muzorewa would win the 1980 Zimbabwean elections and the communist aligned Mugabe's margin of victory caught them by surprise. Mlambo (2010) argues that, in addition to those that left the country immediately after the 1980 elections, by 1987 more than half of Zimbabwe's white population had emigrated.

Figure 5.2: Number of immigrants to South Africa from Zimbabwe 1980-1989



Source: graph drawn using data from Peberdy (2009: 260-290)

While the numbers of white Zimbabweans that settled in South Africa before and after Zimbabwean independence are quite significant, they are not discernible in the South African population statistics as they largely assimilated into the South African white population and now largely identify themselves as South African. It is possible also that many of these white immigrants used South Africa as a transit point, and moved on to other countries, including the United Kingdom, USA, Australia and New Zealand, with their status captured as South African emigrants rather than Rhodesian emigrants. Overall, the white Rhodesian migrants are dealt with only marginally in the scholarly literature on Zimbabwean migration to South Africa. This may be because they are no longer a clearly discernible grouping, and within South Africa, they never experienced similar levels of exclusion and xenophobia experienced by black Zimbabweans.

5.3.2 Gukurahundi and ethnic Ndebele migration: 1982 - 1987

Gukurahundi or *the rain which washes away the chaff before the spring rains* was a Zimbabwean government programme of state sanctioned violence against the perceived enemies of the new government. The usage of the term gukurahundi is coterminous with the deployment of a special unit (the fifth brigade) of the Zimbabwean army answerable only to the Prime Minister into Matabeleland and Midlands areas in January 1983 (Alexander 1998; Catholic Commission for Justice & Peace in Zimbabwe and Legal Resources Foundation 1999; Eppel 2004). According to a 1999 Catholic Commission for Justice & Peace in Zimbabwe (CCJPZ) and the Legal Resources Foundation (LRF) report, the fifth brigade was formed through an agreement signed in October 1980 by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and the North Korean President, enlisting the services of North Korean instructors to train a special unit of the Zimbabwean army. Its mandate as enunciated by the Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was to "deal with dissidents and any other trouble in the country" (CCJPZ and LRF, 1999). However, "within weeks of deployment, its soldiers had massacred thousands of civilians, and tortured thousands more" (Eppel 2004: 45). The details and gruelling accounts of the fifth brigade are captured by the CCJPZ and LRF (1999) report and a few other texts, including Jocelyn Alexander's (1998) research on the perspectives of the dissidents and Shari Eppel's (2004) book chapter on the need for truth and reparation for the people affected by the gukurahundi violence. The fifth brigade left a trail of dispossession and trauma and an estimated 20 000 dead civilians in Matabeleland and parts of the Midlands (Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007; Solidarity Peace Trust 2004). The gukurahundi violence precipitated the movement of mainly ethnic Ndebele and other minorities from Matabeleland and Midlands areas of Zimbabwe, with Sisulu, Moyo and Tshuma (2007) arguing that, this movement constituted a second wave of migration during the post-independence period. The movement consisted of both former Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) combatants and civilians who were targets of the government sponsored violence. Highlighting this movement, Jocelyn Alexander notes that,

> …the vast majority of former ZIPRAs did not react to 'the situation' by taking up arms again: a great many simply fled the country, along with many civilians, to Dukwe refugee camp in Botswana, or to South Africa, where they looked for work or stayed with relatives (Alexander 1998: 160).

In his study on Zimbabweans in the Johannesburg inner city, Makina (2010) found a sizeable population of Zimbabweans citing the gukurahundi violence as reasons for migration to South Africa. This movement arguably remains largely under reported in the literature though its components constitute an important dimension of the Zimbabwean presence in South Africa. According to Sisulu, Moyo and Tshuma (2007) this movement was largely clandestine and undocumented, and as such is difficult to quantify as most of the refugees integrated into South African society due to the historical language and cultural affinities with isiZulu-speaking South Africans in particular.

5.3.3 The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) Factor: years 1990-1999

ESAP in the Zimbabwean context refers to a programme of economic restructuring, from a protectionist to a liberalised macro-economic environment introduced during the 1990-91 period at the instigation of the World Bank with support from the International Monetary Fund (Gibbon 1995; Riphenburg 1997; Sachikonye 1995). Trålim notes that:

> Trade liberalisation, devaluation, reduction of the budget deficit and a general deregulation of established control mechanisms on prices, incomes, employment of labour, foreign exchange and investments were key components that were supposed to replace the regulated and protected economic regime in Zimbabwe (Trålim 1999: 77).

Academic writers agree that, in spite of the optimism that accompanied its inception, a combination of the 1992 drought and implementation problems resulted in ESAP not achieving the targeted economic growth and other positive results (see for example, Chattopadhyay 2000; Gibbon 1995; Potts and

Mutambirwa 1998). Instead it set off a plethora of economic and social problems such as price increases for basic commodities, job losses, shrinking government revenues and increases in the cost of living for the general population (Chattopadhyay 2000; Potts and Mutambirwa 1998). In real terms, life expectancy fell from 61 years in 1990 to 53 years in 1996 (Carmody 1998: 325) because of factors such as spiralling inflation, increasing unemployment, and deteriorating health and education. Tevera and Crush (2010) argue that, as the economic conditions continued to worsen in the early 1990s, professionals began to think that *anywhere but home* was better and started migrating to other countries. Gaidzanwa (1999) and Chikanda (2010) have focused on the movement of health professionals in the 1990s, arguing that the realities of ESAP provided the push factors for doctors and nurses to consider seeking employment in other countries. Describing the flight of medical professionals in the 1990s, Gaidzanwa (1999) figuratively states that professionals chose to "vote with their feet" as the realities of ESAP started to be felt more widely and the main destinations were South Africa for the doctors and Botswana for the nurses. In sum, those that migrated because of ESAP were mainly professionals in the health and education sectors. While the scale of this movement is hard to establish and the literature hardly quantifies it, it is important to note that it provided the precursor to the flood of Zimbabweans that followed. In other terms, it was the first significant movement driven by deteriorating economic conditions as the previous movements had largely been politically motivated, for example the movement of white Zimbabweans and Ndebele ethnic Zimbabweans after independence.

5.4 Zimbabwe's decade of emigration: 2000-2009

5.4.1 A note on the early 2000 writings

Scholarly attention on the unfolding Zimbabwean crisis had been ongoing throughout the 1990s, specifically focusing on the vagaries of ESAP and its implications on the welfare of the Zimbabwean population (see for example, Chattopadhyay 2000; Gibbon 1995; Riphenburg 1997; Sachikonye 1995; Trålim 1999). Up to this point, the migration of skilled Zimbabweans featured prominently in academic writing and resonated with international discussions on the "brain drain" from less economically developed countries. Citing a 1998 International Labour Organisation (ILO) study, Zinyama (2002: 29) put the estimate of professional Zimbabweans working in South Africa at 60 000, which included teachers, university academics, doctors, nurses, engineers and accountants which further underlines the preoccupation with the migration of professionals in the late 1990s. Writings from the early 2000 period, however began to assume a more political dimension with notable contributions including an edited book by Raftopoulos and Savage (2004) entitled, "Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation". The book brought together a collection of works by academics and political activists discussing state sanctioned political violence and drawing parallels between the gukurahundi violence and the violence that accompanied land grabs in the early 2000 period. In general, the literature sought to generate meanings of the impending crisis, with Patrick Bond and Masimba Manyanya's (2003) "Zimbabwe's plunge: exhausted nationalism, neoliberalism, and the search for social justice" being one of the key highlight texts of this period.

5.4.2 The nature of the post 2000 migration of Zimbabweans

The 2000 to 2009 decade ushered in a period of economic and political uncertainty in Zimbabwe, with Campbell and Crush describing the unfolding economic crisis in the following terms:

> The Zimbabwean economy shrank by 50% between 2000 and 2008, unemployment rose to over 80% and runaway inflation decimated the livelihoods of most households. By 2009, the purchasing power of ordinary Zimbabweans had fallen to levels not seen since the 1950s (Campbell and Crush 2012: 4).

There has been a lot of scholarly attention given to the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy and its implications for migration. Academic writers have drawn direct linkages between the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy and the sharp rise in the numbers of Zimbabweans leaving the country and there is consensus amongst the authors on Zimbabwean migration that the post 2000 period represents a significant phase in the country's migration history (Makina 2010; Makina and Kanyenze 2010; Mpofu and Mudungwe 2008; Mudungwe 2009; Muzondidya 2008). The previous migration streams had distinctive characteristics to them; for example, the migration of professionals during ESAP and the continued migration of people from the arid areas of the south and western parts of the country (Gaidzanwa 1999; Maphosa 2010). The post 2000 movement, however does not have one specific distinguishing characteristic as it is mixed and includes a wide spectrum of migrants, namely, political refugees, economic refugees, undocumented and documented migrants, voluntary and involuntary migrants, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled (Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera 2015; Kriger 2010). A survey of 4 654 Zimbabweans in Johannesburg by Makina between June and July 2007, indicated that 92% of the individuals in the sample had migrated between 2000 and 2007; and 8% had migrated between 1979 and 1999 (Makina 2008). A high percentage (58%) of the respondents cited political persecution, torture and rights abuses as reasons for leaving (ibid).

5.4.3 The destinations of the post 2000 wave of Zimbabwean migrants

While this chapter has focused on Zimbabwean migrants to South Africa, it is important to highlight the variation in the destinations of Zimbabweans that have migrated during the post 2000 period. The saying that "wherever the sun shines, the Fujianese can be found" (Turner 2013: title) holds some relevance when applied to Zimbabweans who are spread all over the globe, effectively making them the country's biggest export in the post 2000 era (Solidarity Peace Trust 2004; Solidarity Peace Trust 2010). Echoing this sentiment, Muzondidya notes that due to the post 2000 crisis, "Zimbabweans are now found in their hundreds of thousands in Europe, North America and the relatively prosperous neighbouring countries of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa" (2008: 2). Crush and Tevera, identified the most likely destinations of Zimbabwean migrants as South Africa and the United Kingdom, while Makina and Kanyenze (2010) add Botswana to the list. While the concern has been to quantify the movement of Zimbabweans into the preferred destinations in the UK, Botswana and South Africa, Kiwanuka and Monson (2009) have attempted to document the regional spread of Zimbabweans by looking at the apparently atypical destinations such as Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi. Despite the limited documentation that exists on these movements, they found that historical linkages have facilitated much more movement than previously thought, though the length of stay tended to be much shorter, averaging 3 days to a week (Kiwanuka and Monson 2009). The Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP) survey in 2003 on the brain drain from Zimbabwe found that, the top six destinations of potential migrants included, South Africa, United Kingdom, Botswana, America and Canada and Australia and New Zealand (Tevera and Crush 2003). Thus, the main destinations of the post 2000 movement have been South Africa and Botswana in Southern Africa, and the United Kingdom in Europe.

5.5 Quantifying Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa

In the preceding sections, I have discussed the different waves of migrants from Zimbabwe, now I turn attention to the actual numbers of those that have settled in South Africa, paying specific attention to the different sources of data that quantify Zimbabwean immigrants. Quantifying the movement of Zimbabweans has proved complex due to the large numbers of irregular migrants who use unofficial crossing points to neighbouring countries, particularly South Africa and Botswana.

Estimates of the numbers of Zimbabweans who are in South Africa vary widely and some authors have noted that they range, "from the barely plausible to the totally outlandish" (Crush and Tevera 2010) . Undocumented migrants are commonly characterised as sailing below the radar and 'invisible' to the state (Crush and Tevera 2010; Solidarity Peace Trust 2004). Describing undocumented migrants, Crush argues that, "they certainly have no interest in declaring their status to the authorities or census-takers" (2005: 121). This invisibility is a deliberate tactic to avoid detection and arrest by the police. Some of the literature has also focused on the illusiveness and falsification of numbers of migrants in general and Zimbabwean migrants in particular (Crush and Tevera 2010; Solidarity Peace Trust 2004). Landau (2008) has been more graphic in portraying this scenario when he writes about 'drowning in numbers' in discussing the difficulties of enumerating Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. Landau (2008) points out four main issues that make the enumeration of Zimbabwean migrants a colossal task. He identifies cross-border communities and the movement that occurs there; the longstanding movement of traders and skilled migrants to South Africa; the ability by migrants to sail below the radar of the South African state; and the changing nature of contemporary Zimbabwean migration.

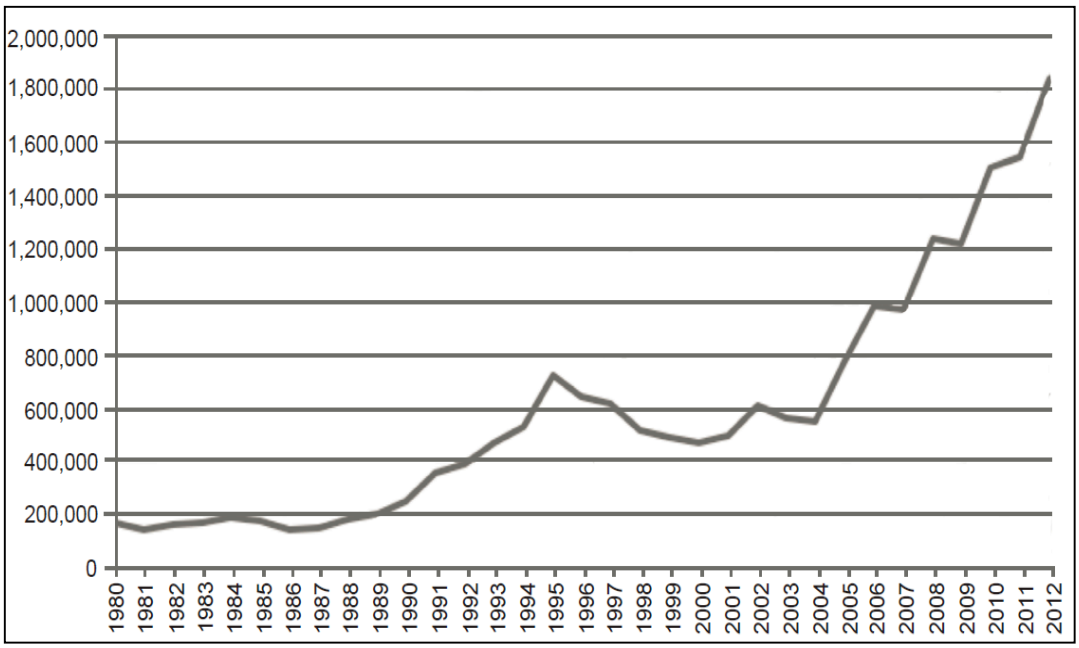
Sources of data for the numbers of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa include border crossing statistics, deportations, asylum seeker applications, census and other guesstimates from academic and media reports. However, deportation numbers, border crossing statistics and asylum applications constitute the factual

but unreliable and non-generalisable sources of available estimates (Mosala 2008: 10). I discuss these statistical sources in the following sections.

5.5.1 Zimbabwean border crossing statistics

Citing figures from the World Bank (2008 and 2011), Koech contends that, "Zimbabwe emigration totalled 761 226, about 6 percent of the Zimbabwean population in 2005. This number increased to 1.25 million in 2010, representing 9.9 percent of the population" (Koech 2011: 5). Crush and Tevera (2010) argue that, during the 1980s, about 200 000 Zimbabweans crossed to South Africa each year and this figure peaked at 750 000 in 1994 at the height of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes in Zimbabwe. In the succeeding period, the numbers fell due to restrictive South African government measures and in 2000, 500 000 Zimbabweans crossed legally into South Africa and this figure once again peaked at a high of 1.25 million in 2008. Thus, Crush and Tevera have provided a semblance of progression in terms of the number of Zimbabweans crossing into South Africa. Crush, Skinner and Chikanda (2015) give precise statistics for the years 1980 to 2012 and provide a complete picture in terms of border crossings from Zimbabwe to South Africa. This indicates the net effect of the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy and the increased intensity of movements during the post 2000 period (see Figure 5.3 for the statistics and trends).

Figure 5.3: Legal entries of Zimbabweans into South Africa, 1980-2012



Source: Crush, Skinner and Chikanda (2015: 20)

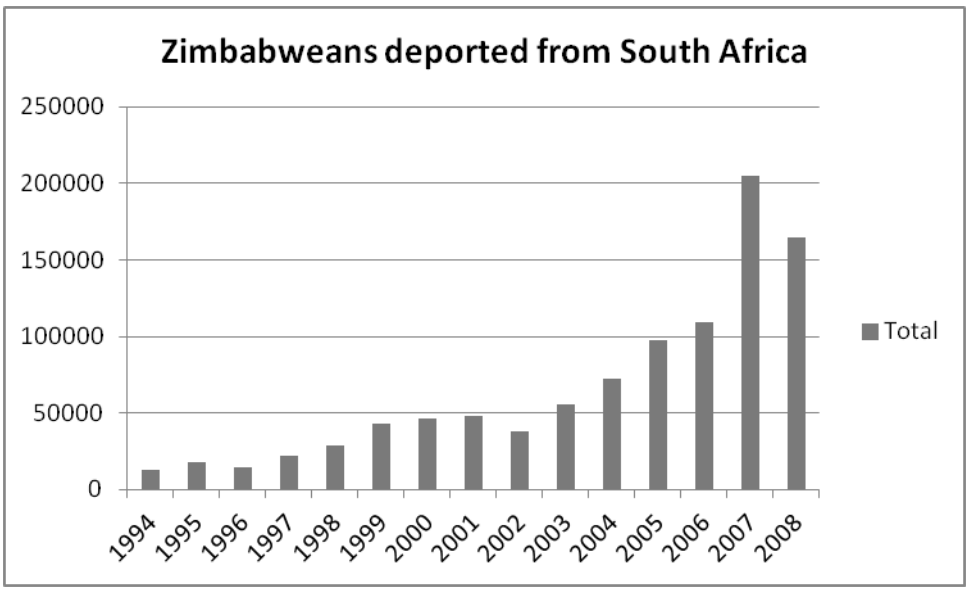
The border crossing statistics however do not tell the complete story about Zimbabweans that settle in South Africa as they only account for individuals that have passports and say nothing about those that jump the border illegally. They also give indication and measure the intensity of movements only; they cannot be relied on to give a measure of individuals that choose to settle in South Africa after crossing the border.

5.5.2 Zimbabwean deportation statistics

Deportation statistics from the South African department of home affairs show a steady rise in the number of deportees from Zimbabwe beginning at 12 931 in 1994 and reaching a high of 204 827 in 2007 (see Figure 5.4). This effectively means that between 1994 and 2008, South Africa deported close to a million (974

193) Zimbabweans which highlights the scale of the presence of irregular and unaccounted Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. However, it has to be noted that, while the deportation statistics give factual indication, they by no means can be relied on, as they are fraught with inconsistencies and have been noted for their failure to capture repeat deportees who effectively constitute a "revolving door" phenomenon where deportation and illegal re-entry into the country becomes a vicious cycle (Crush 1999a).

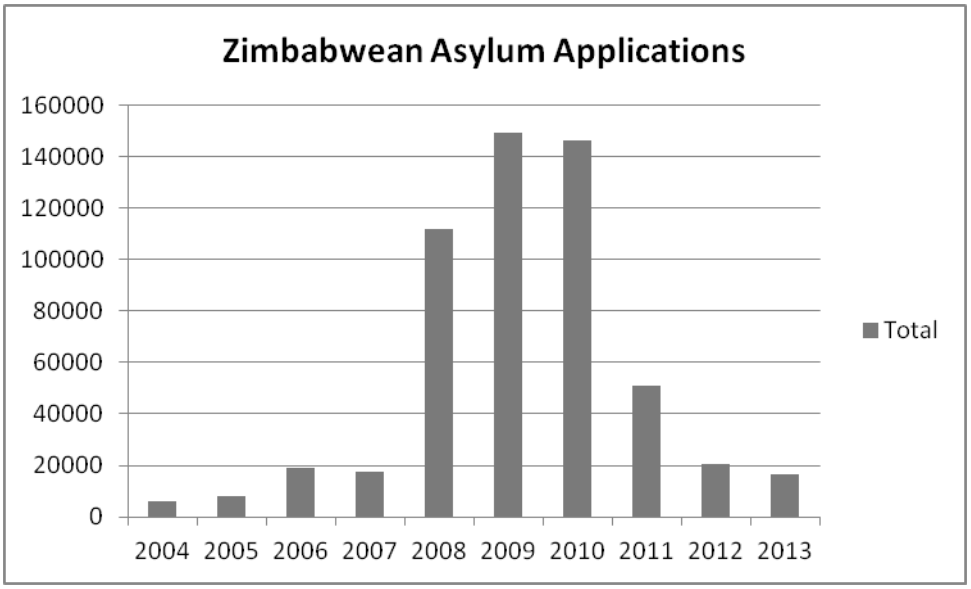
Figure 5.4: Zimbabweans deported from South Africa for the years 1994 to 2008.



Data Sources: years 1994 - 2004 (Trimikliniotis, Gordon and Zondo 2009: 99) and 2005-2006 (Crush, Skinner and Chikanda 2015: 21).

5.5.3 Zimbabwean asylum applications

Figure 5.5: Zimbabwean asylum applications in South Africa for the years 2004-2013



Data Source: UNHCR (http://popstats.unhcr.org/PSQ_RSD.aspx)

When immigration management systems are not responsive to large influxes of people, and formal channels for legal immigration are limited, the asylum system becomes a surrogate immigration channel. Zimbabwean asylum applicants practically overran the South African asylum system, especially during 2008, 2009 and 2010 (see Figure 5.5) and the Department of Home Affairs struggled to cope with massive backlogs, with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) noting that for the year 2009:

> The largest number of undecided cases at the first instance and on appeal was reported by South Africa (309,800). This figure includes an estimated 171,700 undecided cases at the first instance and 138,100 cases which were pending decision at the end of 2008 (UNHCR 2010: 19).

Applicants could stay suspended in the system for many years and very few succeeded in gaining refugee status as the ambivalence of the South African state

regarding its perception of Zimbabweans as economic migrants rather than asylum seekers created a bottleneck in the status determination phase of the process. The rejection of the applications for refugee status after several years of waiting would start another process of suspension in the system as the applicants appeal the decisions.

5.5.4 South African Census data

According to the 2011 South African census, there are 672 308 Zimbabweans residing in the country, constituting 31% of the total count of over 2 million (2 173 373) non-South African nationals in South Africa. More than half (59%) of Zimbabweans in South Africa, reside in the Gauteng province, which is the economic hub of the country (see Table 5.1). Academic scholarship on South African migration indicates that Johannesburg has by far the largest concentration of both internal and international migrants; hence, within the Gauteng region many Zimbabweans reside in the city of Johannesburg (Bloch 2008; Bloch 2010; Crush and Tevera 2002; Hungwe 2012).

The census figures are however not without problems as numerous academic writers have pointed to the deficiencies associated with the enumeration of migrant populations (Bloch 1999; Margolis 1995; Vearey 2010). These tend to stay hidden to officialdom and many times evade enumeration by the census agents, especially if they do not have regular documentation granting leave to reside in South Africa. However, the census remains the closest to accuracy in terms of its reach as it covers the entire country and somewhat gives the most credible estimation of the numbers for Zimbabweans in South Africa.

Table 5.1: Census 2011 data on migrants for selected African countries

Nationality	Gauteng	Total in South Africa
Lesotho	72 409	160 807
Namibia	11 271	40 575
Botswana	5 974	12 317
Zimbabwe	397 668	672 308
Mozambique	210 531	393 232
Swaziland	13 211	36 377
Angola	4 126	10 358
D.R. Congo (Zaire)	12 873	25 631
Malawi	51 055	86 606
Mauritius	957	2 812
Seychelles	77	249
Tanzania	3 157	6 887
Zambia	16 724	30 054
Unspecified	113 434	239 170
Total (all foreign	**1 124 857**	**2 173 373**

Source: Statistics South Africa (STATSSA) 2011 census

5.5.5 Academic and media guesstimates

Academic writers that have discussed numbers give estimates of between one million and three million Zimbabweans outside the country (Mosala 2008; Muzondidya 2010) which is more or less the same range given for Zimbabweans in South Africa alone (Mawadza 2008). Some have argued that the number does not exceed 1.5 million Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa, including documented and undocumented migrants (Polzer 2009) though it is generally accepted that they constitute the largest foreign national group in South Africa (Human Rights Watch 2007; Muzondidya 2010). Crush and Tevera, however,

throw a poser to the 3 million Zimbabweans story by tracing it back to its origins in 2003 when the then South African president, Thabo Mbeki reportedly mentioned it to the Commonwealth Secretary General Don McKinnon, with no statistical or substantiating evidence (Crush and Tevera 2010). Their point is that, since then, the popular media and at times government officials have regurgitated the figure to the point that it has assumed a life of its own regardless of the lack of any substantive evidence.

5.6 Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa: the state of the literature

In addition to the literature that I have highlighted in the preceding sections of this chapter, it is important to identify a number of themes that have emerged as academic writers engage the scale and dimensions of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa. The notable themes in the literature include issues of migrants' access to rights, xenophobic exclusion and abuse, and literature that refers to Zimbabweans as constituting a diaspora.

A few scholars have given attention to the diversity of Zimbabwean migration in the post 2000 era (for example, Kriger 2010; Muzondidya 2010). Authors such as Pasura (2011); Muzondidya (2008); Sisulu, Moyo and Tshuma (2010); Makina (2010) and Mlambo (2010) highlight the different phases of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa as accounting for the differentiated nature of their (Zimbabweans) presence in South Africa. Categories of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa include students, asylum seekers, refugees, skilled professionals, business executives and traders (Muzondidya 2010). While the literature on Zimbabwean streams of migration has highlighted the characteristics of the immigrants, it has however not gone further to engage the enduring presence of immigrants in South Africa, particularly, how they have conducted themselves spatially in light of their different circumstances. In other words, the literature engages the forms and characteristics of immigrants but does not discuss the spatial implications of migrants' diversity and spatial manifestation.

Other academic writers have discussed issues of access to services and rights abuses in South Africa. Bloch (2010) for instance, writes about the "right to rights" and highlights the difficulties and complexities that undocumented Zimbabwean migrants face in negotiating their everyday livelihoods in South Africa. Importantly, there is condemnation of the migration management systems in South Africa, which effectively exclude many migrants from accessing legal documentation (see for example, Mosala 2008; Amit 2010). Lack of documentation leads to numerous rights abuses. For instance, Rutherford (2010) has noted that the lack of legal documentation amongst the Zimbabwean farm labourers in Limpopo is the source of labour abuses in the farms as farmers take advantage by offering low wages and subjecting workers to long hours of hard labour.

Some writers have expanded the human rights theme to include abuse and extortion by the police. For example, Greenburg (2010: 74) has noted how the South African police prey on vulnerable foreign migrants and profile them as criminals and undocumented persons who have no legal recourse. Vigneswaran *et al* (2010) have explored the role of the state and how discretionary behaviour amongst the police officers impact on the everyday realities of undocumented migrants. They argue that, "Police officers routinely engage in intimidation and extortion of, and simple theft from, Zimbabweans and migrants of other nationalities" (Vigneswaran *et al.* 2010: 478).

There is also a significant literature that has looked at issues of xenophobic exclusion of migrants in South Africa. The consensus amongst academic writers is that xenophobia has been widespread since the end of apartheid due to a perception amongst South Africans that foreign nationals take away their jobs and depress the remuneration standards in the labour market (Crush 1999b; Murray 2003; Zinyama 2002). The xenophobic sentiment culminated in the May 2008 violence that killed 62 people and displaced over 100,000 (Landau 2010a; Landau 2011; Merrifield 1993; Misago, Monson, Polzer and Landau 2010; Mosselson 2010). The literature has thus far focused on Zimbabweans and other immigrants as victims of xenophobic violence (Els 2013) and interrogated the causes of the

xenophobic sentiment within the South African population (Landau 2010a; Landau 2011; Murray 2003). These are important issues in understanding the lives of immigrants in South Africa as they have implications for the livelihoods of the immigrants. While this literature has done the descriptive work and tracked the acts of xenophobic violence, discussed the causes of the xenophobic sentiment and proffered suggestive solutions, it has however not actively grappled with the spatial implications of xenophobia at the level of individual and communal decision-making. Suggestions and reportage on immigrants fleeing places where violence takes place have pilfered into the public and academic domains, but the agency of the immigrants has not been sufficiently captured, especially, how the fear of xenophobia becomes internal to decisions about where immigrants decide to live in the city of Johannesburg.

There is also an increasing stream of literature that refers to Zimbabwean migration as constituting a diaspora (for example, Makina and Kanyenze 2010; McGregor 2010; Pasura 2008; Pasura 2010; Pasura 2011). Makina and Kanyenze (2010) argue that, Zimbabweans outside the country have all the essential features of a diaspora such as a common sense of displacement and a pervasive desire to return home when the situation normalises. McGregor (2010) has argued that Zimbabweans adopt the usage of the term diaspora to distinguish those outside the country from those inside. However, the notable weaknesses of the literature that has conceptualised Zimbabweans as constituting a diaspora is that, there is no concerted effort to interrogate what this means for the whole debate on Zimbabwean migration, especially with the commonly acknowledged possibilities of return migration. The concept of a diaspora commonly refers to an enduring and semi-permanent communal presence outside the country of origin and alludes to a maturity in the migration experience for those involved. The real extent of the bonds that hold the Zimbabwean community together outside the home country is debatable and begs the question of whether the Zimbabwean community does indeed constitute a diaspora or whether the diaspora exists only in the imaginary of academic writers. Whether the diaspora exists as such or not, it is clear that most Zimbabweans are experiencing a long term absence from their home

country, and it is probable, although not shown in any quantifiable way, that a large number of Zimbabweans would like to return to their home country. While there are debates, on whether it is a diaspora or not, there is a form of permanence, or at least of long-term semi-permanence of the Zimbabwean presence in destination cities. Such interpretation departs from the simple conceptualisation of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa as circular or temporary.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has largely mapped the literature on Zimbabwean migration to South Africa, particularly highlighting the blurred lines of difference in terms of the motives for their movement. What is worth noting and of particular relevance to this study is the unambiguous nature of difference in the categories and types of Zimbabweans in South Africa. They differ in terms of the time that they arrived in South Africa, the reasons for migration and the areas where they have settled as well as their class positions both before migrating from Zimbabwe and after settling in South Africa. The chapter has highlighted the literature that looks at the causes of Zimbabwean migration, the destinations of the migrants and the numbers of Zimbabweans in South Africa. What is clear is that, Zimbabwean migration to South Africa intensified after the year 2000 and this intensification corresponds to the implosion of the Zimbabwean economy and the inception of a violent political regime by the government of Zimbabwe. Border crossing statistics, asylum seeker applications and the deportation statistics testify to the intensity of Zimbabwean immigration to South Africa. There is also a nascent literature that refers to Zimbabwean migration as constituting a diaspora and therefore alluding to its enduring presence in the countries of destination such as South Africa. The literature has also begun to engage the fine-grained aspects of migration such as the circumstances of the immigrants in the destination countries rather than just documenting the movement and its causes. Such efforts are evident in the literature that discusses migrants' access to healthcare and documentation as well as alluding to the ambivalence of the South African state in

handling the Zimbabwean refugee crisis. This literature has however been inclined towards human rights advocacy and characterised by close co-operation between academic writers and several Nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) advocating for the respect of the rights of immigrants and holding the South African state to international best practices.

However, the literature has not sufficiently engaged the spatial implications of the difficulties that immigrants encounter, particularly incidences of xenophobic violence. Despite emerging notions of referring to Zimbabweans as a diaspora, the broader literature keeps emphasising the non-permanence of immigrants in the countries of destination and analysing them only as making short term decisions rather than long term spatial decisions in South Africa. Thus, the wide-ranging literature on Zimbabwean migration has not really engaged with the presence of migrants in the Johannesburg in terms of their connections to space.

6 Chapter Six: Movement as a tactic in the City and the movement *habitus*

6.1 Introducing the chapter

This chapter discusses the theme of movement amongst the participants of this study and engages with it in both conceptual and empirical terms. The central argument is that, movement is more than the act of repositioning from one place to the next; it involves multi-layered personal and communal decision-making processes that respond to the circumstances presented by the existing socio-economic and socio-political environment. In this regard, I discuss movement in terms of differing spatial scales and cycles, as participants of this study engage in both long term cycles of migration and short term temporary cycles within South Africa, and, more specifically, within Johannesburg. In de Certolian terms, mobility is a way of *making do* and a tactical resource in the hands of migrant participants who in this case occupy less powerful positions in relation to the broader strategic entities such as the City of Johannesburg's regulatory platforms. Such mobility happens within a specific and enabling transnational social field, which, in Bourdieusian terms, structures and is structured by a transnational habitus.[9] I open the chapter with a description of the research participants, focusing specifically on the demographic characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, ethnic identity and place of origin in Zimbabwe.

The first instance of movement as a tactical response emerges from the decision to leave the home country for South Africa. In the first sections of this Chapter, I outline the circumstances and reasons for this choice. It is important to note, however, that the movement to South Africa is rarely an irrevocable, unidirectional movement. In almost all cases, there are long-term cyclical

[9] I discuss the transnational social field and the transnational habitus in detail in chapter seven

movements involved in the transnational presence of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg. This may include annual - or more or less frequent - return visits to Zimbabwe. There is also often the prospect of a permanent return to Zimbabwe, or of the movement from South Africa to a third destination such as the United Kingdom, for example.

The second instance of movement as a tactical response involves *residential* movements within Johannesburg. Change in the place of residence is generally not cyclical but is mainly *ad hoc* in response to particular pressures or opportunities. It is infrequent in relation to other forms of movement within the city, but is relatively frequent in comparison with residential movements amongst more established communities in the city. It is because of the complexity and significance of this form of movement that I devote the bulk of the chapter to it.

The third form of movement is broadly cyclical – although sometimes unevenly so – and involves *weekly* movements, including, for example, movement between: place of residence and place of worship; place of own residence and the residence of friends and family; place of residence and the site of weekly grocery shopping. There are, however, other movements at this "meso-scale", which are not cyclical and which include irregular movements such as visits to medical facilities or the offices of the DHA. The fourth cycle or layer of movement is the daily rhythmic cycle of movements to and from work places, or to and from places of education.

Transnational migrants rarely achieve permanence *in situ*, and so movement across the various temporal and spatial scales becomes a logical tactic of *making do* with what the city has presented to them. Migrants create their own spaces of comfort through such movements and achieving permanence in motion rather than in a single residential unit. For such permanence or flexible nodes of permanence to be achieved, there is a need for an accompanying process, which creates an enabling environment or structures such adoption of movement as fixity. This does not happen in a deterministic manner but is the result of the interplay between the immigrants' habitus, the dominant Johannesburg habitus and the transnational social field generated by such interplay.

6.2 A description of the Zimbabwean sample

Sampling a mobile population and gaining a reasonable number of participants is challenging. For instance, on the one hand, I had to think about getting sufficient numbers of individuals within different demographic categories while on the other I had a sampling method that did not allow me to manage the distribution of respondents across these categories. Snowball sampling means that you cannot be too stringent about the criteria that you impose on people that make referrals. By requesting referrals that meet criteria in relation to gender, age, occupation, ethnicity, and so forth, would seriously limit numbers. In many cases, it would mean no referrals.

6.2.1 Locating migrant participants in Johannesburg

Table 6.1: Residential distribution of participants in Johannesburg

Place of residence	Frequency	Percentage
Inner city	47	31.3
Inner ring	46	30.7
Suburbs	40	26.7
Townships	17	11.3
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

For purposes of analysis and ease of understanding, I divided the areas where participants lived into four categories, namely, the inner city, inner ring suburbs, suburban areas and the townships. The inner city areas include, inter alia, Hillbrow, Johannesburg CBD, Berea, Braamfontein, Joubert Park and Newtown. While geographically located in the inner city, Braamfontein however has not experienced the same levels of decay as Hillbrow, Berea and the Johannesburg

CBD. The inner ring suburbs are those areas on the edges of the inner city and in some instances sandwiched between the inner city and the suburban areas of Johannesburg. They have characteristics that identify them with the inner city yet their outline is suburban. These include, among others, the working class suburbs of Yeoville, Bertrams, Bezuidenhout Valley, Rosettenville and Turffontein. Townships include historically black African high-density areas on the outskirts of the city such as Soweto, Alexandra and Ivory Park. Suburban areas are those that are further from the inner city and characteristically composed of bigger stands and townhouse developments as well as security complexes, for example, areas like Randburg, Sandton and Midrand. The suburbs mentioned here do not represent the entirety of areas within the categories indicated, but highlight the specific areas where I recruited participants. The maps in Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 show these areas within the Johannesburg context.

Thus, in selecting these areas, the research considered the diversity of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg and the different influences on decision-making. Census data indicates that there is a markedly higher concentration of Zimbabweans in the inner city suburbs of Hillbrow, Berea and the Johannesburg CBD, which reflects the larger proportion of participants from these areas in this research. Studies that have looked at foreign migrants in the city of Johannesburg corroborate this assertion (Crush 2005; Greenburg 2010; Makina 2008). The same applies to the inner ring areas where the second largest number of participants for the research is drawn (see Table 6.1). In terms of numbers, 62% of the participants reside in the inner city and inner ring areas of Johannesburg. As indicated in previous sections, the participants were not recruited to any particular scale and proportion; as such, the figures are broadly indicative rather than representative.

Figure 6.1: General Map of Johannesburg

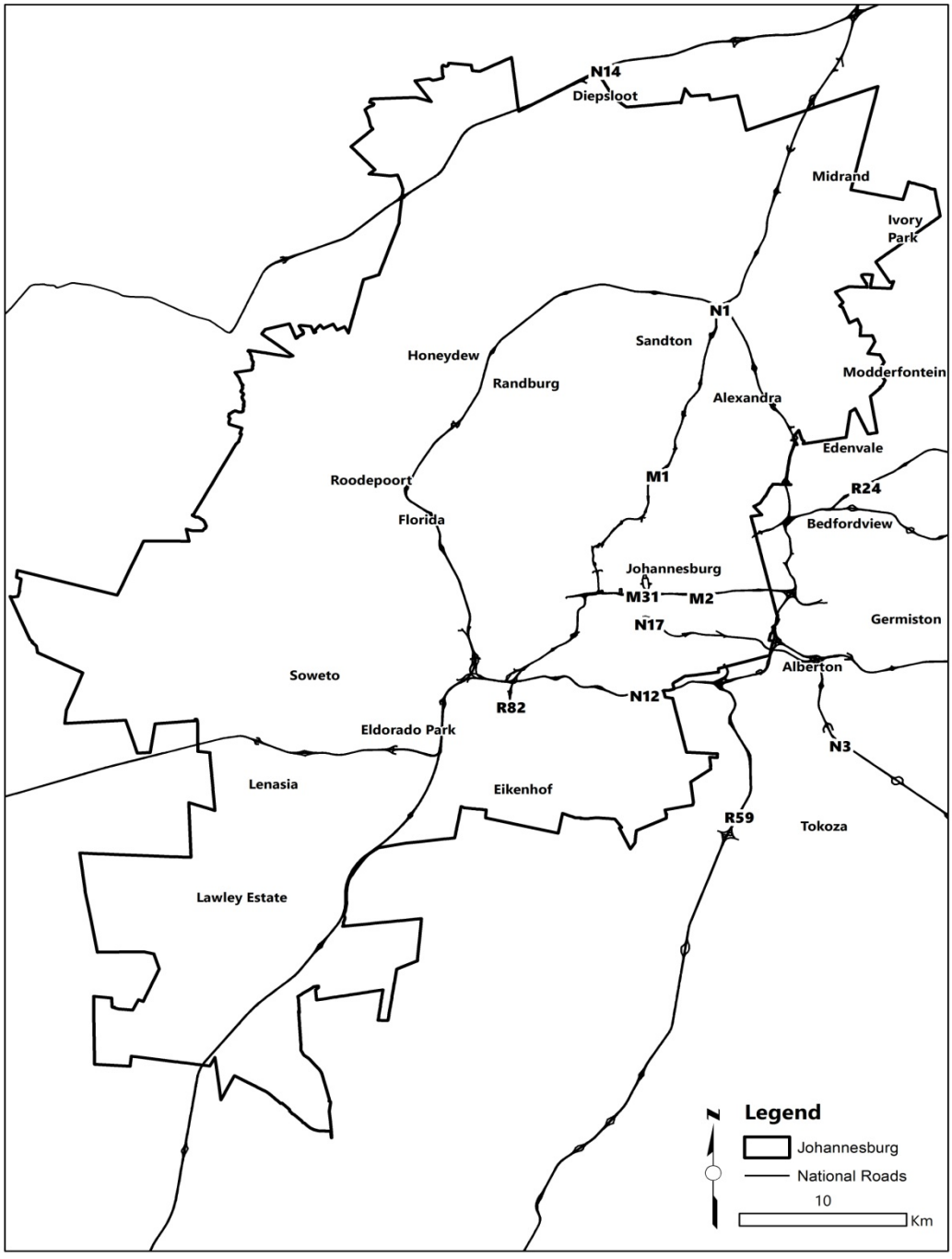


Figure 6.2: Map showing selected inner city and inner ring areas of Johannesburg

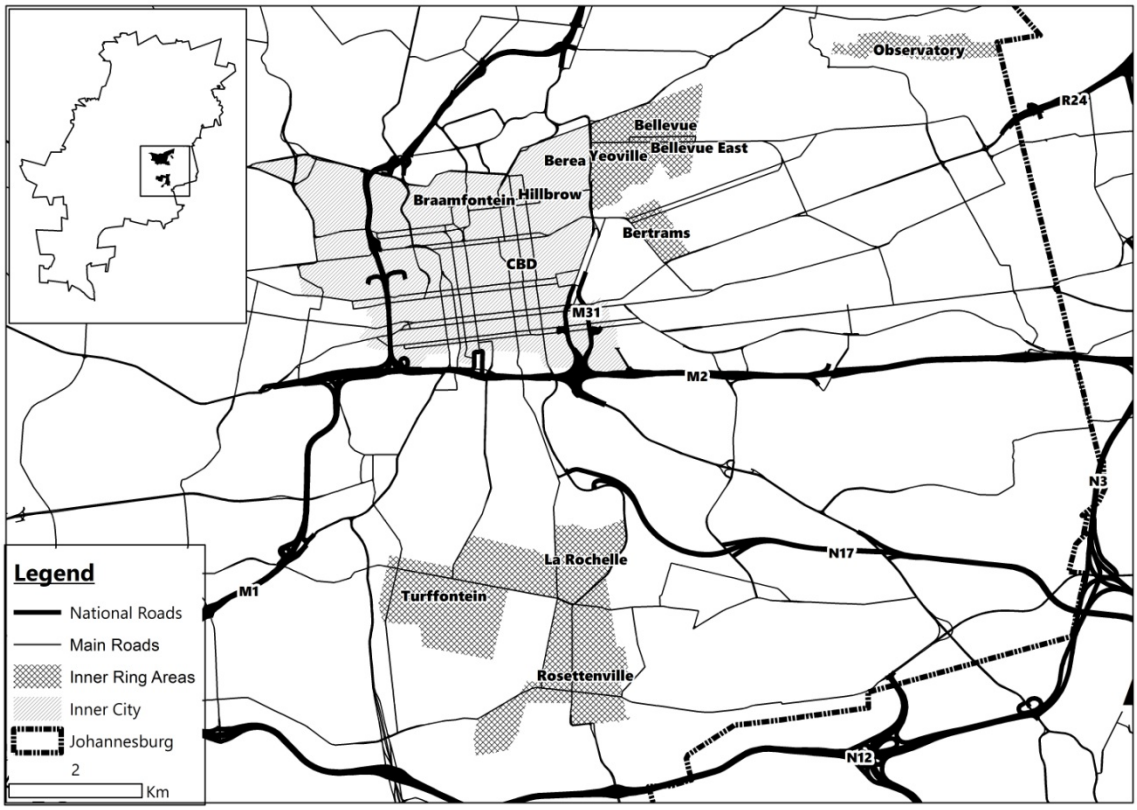
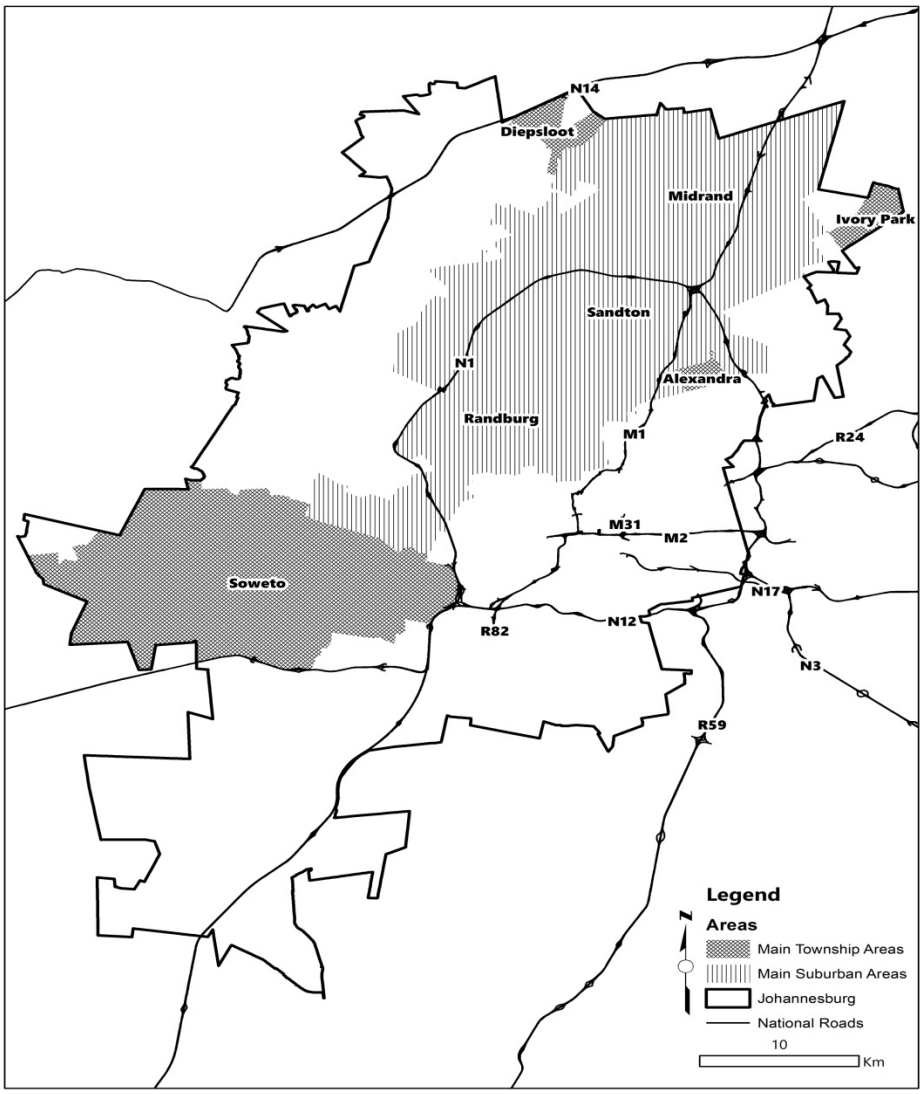


Figure 6.3: Map Showing selected Suburban and Township Areas of Johannesburg



6.2.2 The size of the sample and the gender distribution of participants

One hundred and fifty (150) Zimbabwean participants completed the interviewer-administered questionnaire. Of this number, 48% were female while 52% were male. However, these figures are not in accordance with the proportional distribution of male and female Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg. Statistics South Africa does not release the gender distribution of migrants by nationality for the census data but the figures for migrants from the Southern African Development Community (SADC)[10] show a distribution of 56% male and 44 % female. While the SADC regional bloc is composed of 15 countries, the main contributors to the South African migrant population are Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho. Zimbabwe however accounts for the largest volume of migrants in South Africa (cf. de Jager and Musuva 2016). Ascertaining the gender distribution of the Zimbabwean immigrant population in Johannesburg is quite a complex process owing to the difficulties highlighted earlier concerning the enumeration of mobile and in many instances undocumented populations. Thus, in the absence of reliable figures for the Zimbabwean population in general, it is an even harder task to generate a proportional presence in terms of gender.

A few studies that have focused on Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg give some indication of the gender distribution. For example, Makina's 2007 sample of 4 654 Zimbabwean immigrants living in Johannesburg consisted of 59 percent male and 41 percent female participants, with a visible increase in the number of female immigrants within the time-span of the sample (see Makina 2010: 231). The SAMP survey of 2005 while not specific to South Africa, found that out of 864 Zimbabweans sampled, 43.6 percent were female and by far the largest proportion of female migrants amongst five SADC countries surveyed (Pendleton, Crush, Campbell, Green, Hamilton Simelane, Tevera and Vletter 2006).

At best, using validation from other surveys and the 2011 census, my sample distribution across gender is in reasonable alignment with other surveys. However, there are a slightly higher percentage of females reflecting either an

[10] http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/sadc-facts-figures/

idiosyncrasy of one or other survey or a real increase in the percentage of females from the previous census. In specific terms, the majority (86%) of the female participants of this study indicated that, they arrived in South Africa after 2005 with 55.5% arriving during the 2006 to 2009 period. This period corresponds with the peak for all participants' arrivals (see Figure 6.5, in this chapter) in Johannesburg and the observed incremental levels of female migration are corroborated in the steady rise of female migrants to South Africa in Makina's sample between 2003 and 2006 (cf. Makina 2010: 231).

6.2.3 The age distribution of the research participants

Table 6.2: Age distribution of participants

Participants age	Frequency	Percentage
18 – 24	30	20.0
25 – 29	36	24.0
30 – 34	51	34.0
35 – 39	18	12.0
45 - 49	8	5.3
40 - 44	7	4.7
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

The sample shows a greater proportion (78%) of participants within the 18 - 34 age groups and a greater representation (34%) of individuals between the ages of 30 and 34. While these figures cannot be relied on to represent the entirety of the Zimbabwean population in Johannesburg, they however provide a useful indication of the age groups that are migrating to South Africa and are consistent with the existing data on immigrants in South Africa. Like other categories, it is difficult to control for age when using snowball sampling. At best, some form of

triangulation can be undertaken against other studies, and against the outcomes of the 2011 Census. For example, in the study undertaken by Makina, 80% of the Zimbabwean participants were between the ages of 20 and 40. While Makina's research took place in 2007, it provides a comparative base for this study, in terms of confirming the continued youthful nature of Zimbabwean migration and the largely working age of those that move to Johannesburg.

6.2.4 The Zimbabwean participants marital status

Table 6.3: Marital status of the study participants

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	79	52.7
Married	60	40.0
Co-habiting	4	2.7
Other	4	2.7
Divorced	3	2.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

The majority (52.7%) of the participants of this study indicated that they were single and 40% mentioned that they were married. In the married category, the study took account of the traditional types of marriage such as payment of bride price without marriage certificate and civil unions, which involve the issuance of marriage certificates. The number of single participants is consistent with the general profile of the Zimbabwean immigrants interviewed, as they tended to be within younger age groups. The difficulty with “marital status” as a descriptor however may be a tendency to understate “co-habiting” and overstate status as “married” or “single”.

6.2.5 Zimbabwean participants levels of education

The participants of the study have reasonably high levels of education on entry into South Africa, with the majority having completed the General Certificate in Education Ordinary Level, which is the foundational school leaving qualification in Zimbabwe (see Table 6.4). A further 18.8% have completed General Certificate in Education (GCE) Advanced Level, a two-year high school qualification that is required for entry into University study in Zimbabwe. A significant proportion of participants have completed tertiary education, with 10% of these in possession of national diplomas and 8.7% with honours degrees.

Table 6.4: Education levels of participants

Level Completed	Frequency	Percentage
GCE Ordinary Level	58	38.9
GCE Advanced Level	28	18.8
National Diploma	15	10.1
Honours Degree	13	8.7
Bachelor Degree	9	6.0
ZJC Grade 7	8	5.4
ZJC Form 2	8	5.4
National Certificate	4	2.7
Higher National Diploma	1	.7
Masters Degree	5	3.4
Total	**149**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

6.2.6 Ethnic distribution of participants

Table 6.5: Participants Ethnicity

Participants ethnicity	Frequency	Percentage
Ndebele	83	55.3
Shona	67	44.7
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

While, there are slightly more participants of Ndebele ethnic origin compared to ethnic Shona participants (Table 6.5), the distribution does not however reflect the actual numbers of the Ndebele and Shona as such ethnic enumeration is not currently available in South Africa. It is important to clarify that, the use of "Ndebele" and "Shona" is an aggregation of ethnicity as there are many sub-groups or smaller groups that fall under these overarching categories, which were consolidated during the colonial administration of Zimbabwe (Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007). Thus, Ndebele ethnicity in this context represents the Ndebele themselves as well as groups such as the Khalanga, Tonga, Venda, Shangani, Nambya, Sotho and other minority groups. The Shona ethnic group is a representation of different sub groups, namely, Zezuru, Korekore, Karanga, Manyika and Ndau who predominantly come from the eastern parts of Zimbabwe (Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007). It was however not possible to provide this more fine-grained differentiation in the study as most – not all - respondents have internalized this dual compartmentalization, and refer to themselves as either Shona or Ndebele.

6.2.7 Place of origin in Zimbabwe

A high proportion (58%) of this study's participants was born in the different regions of Matabeleland, in the southwestern parts of Zimbabwe (see Table 6.6 and Figure 6.4, which shows the map of Zimbabwe). Those born in the city of Bulawayo constitute 63% of this total and 34% of the national total (see Table 6.6). These figures are only characteristic of the participants of this study rather than representative of the entire Zimbabwean migrant population in South Africa but triangulation with other studies does confirm the probable preponderance of individuals from Matabeleland (cf. Makina 2010: 229). This is likely to reflect the realities of many years of historical Ndebele migration to South Africa. As I am of Ndebele origin, and so is my research assistant, I had more entry points into the Ndebele speaking networks compared to the Shona speaking networks in the city. I did attempt to compensate for this through a deliberate and proportionate targeting of Shona speaking Zimbabweans in the sampling, although as indicated there is no clear way of verifying whether an adequate balance was achieved.

Table 6.6: Participants place of birth in Zimbabwe

Participants place of origin	Frequency	Percentage
Matabeleland (excluding Bulawayo)	36	24.0
Mashonaland (excluding Harare)	15	10.0
Manicaland	10	6.7
Midlands	15	10.0
Bulawayo	51	34.0
Harare	23	15.3
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

Figure 6.4: Map of Zimbabwe showing the different administrative provinces



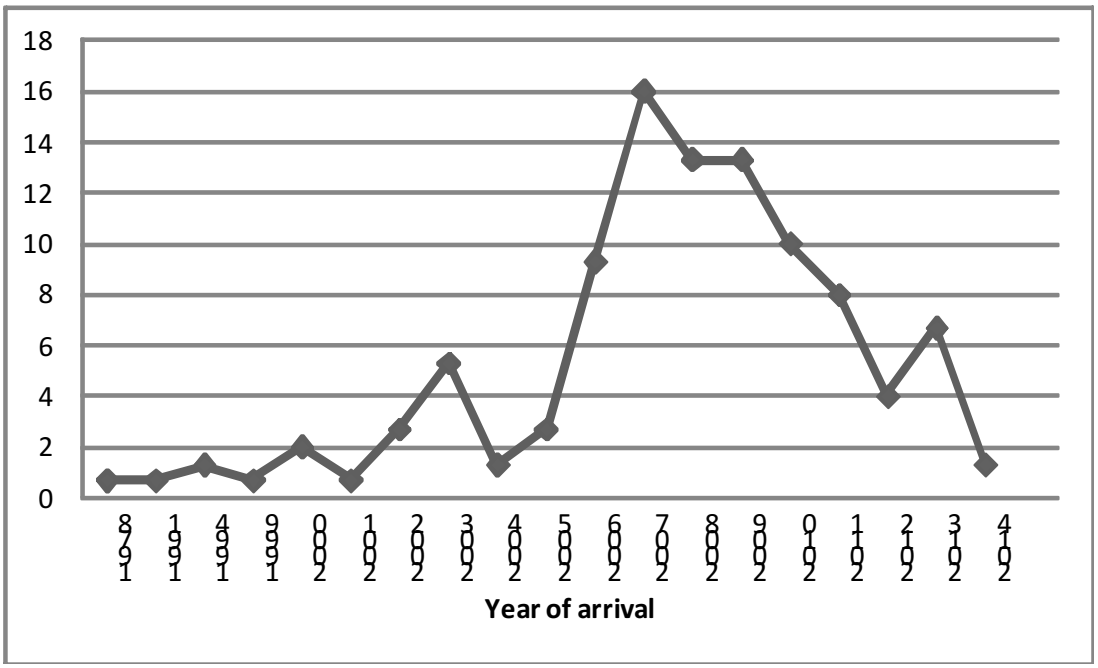
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Administrative_Divisions_of_Zimbabwe.svg

6.3 Crossing the South Africa-Zimbabwe border: movement as opportunity

In chapter five of this research, I highlighted that Zimbabwean migration has been topical in academic discussions during the post 2000 period. The economic and political instabilities in Zimbabwe during this period resulted in millions of Zimbabweans leaving the country for regional and international destinations, with South Africa receiving the majority of the migrants. This section foregrounds the broader discussion of movement as a tactical response and highlights the prominent years of the study participants' entrance into South Africa (Figure 6.5) and the stated reasons based on the data from the survey. What the data shows, is a relationship between a mix of compulsive economic and political factors and the increase in the number of entrants into South Africa.

Zimbabwean migration has traditionally involved many complex factors other than purely economic and political considerations, for example, Riley Dillon notes that, it has traditionally involved a mixture of "historical, social, economic, political and cultural factors" (2013:2). However, there is a modicum of consensus amongst Zimbabwean migration researchers that, the post 2000 migration streams have largely been economic and politically motivated rather than driven by socio-cultural factors. For instance, Crush and Tevera (2010) have underscored the importance of migration as a livelihood strategy for millions of Zimbabweans. Thus, migration across borders in many instances is the final consideration in a basket of alternatives in response to a person's negative economic conditions in the country of origin. In the absence of other alternatives or feasible solutions, individuals are forced to leave their country of origin and migrate to South Africa in search of better economic opportunities. The main point here is that, the majority of participants in this study left Zimbabwe in response to the failure of the Zimbabwean economy to provide sufficient economic opportunities (Table 6.7).

Figure 6.5: Participants' years of arrival in South Africa by percentage



Source: author's survey data[11]

[11] The data in Figure 6.5 shows a relationship between election periods in Zimbabwe and increases in out migration. Both the 2002 to 2003 period and the 2008 to 2009 period coincided with presidential elections in Zimbabwe, with the 2008 to 2009 period occurring during inconclusive presidential elections, which were marred by extensive political violence. When read with the asylum application figures for the same years, these periods somewhat explain the high number of asylum seeker applications during those periods, especially the 2008-2009 figures (cf: Figure 5.5).

Table 6.7: Reasons for migration

Reasons for migration	Frequency	Percentage
Economic reasons only	92	61.3
Educational reasons only	22	14.6
Combination of economic and education	15	10
Family reunion reasons only	6	4
Combination of economic and family	3	2
Combination of family reunion and education	3	2
Political reasons only	3	2
Combination of political and economic	4	2.7
Combination of economic, education and family	1	0.7
Other (medical reasons)	1	0.7
Total	**150**	**100**

Source: author's survey data

The reasons cited by participants of this study for migrating to South Africa are quite diverse but largely economic and where participants mention a combination of reasons, economic reasons are the common denominator (see Table 6.7). The preponderance of economic reasons for migration is in keeping with observations from other studies such as Makina's (2010) research in 2007, where 82% of the participants mentioned economic reasons for their migration to South Africa. While 58% of Makina's participants mentioned political reasons for migration, especially between 2002 and 2005, only 2% of the participants of this study mentioned political persecution as the primary reason for migration. Sampling differences and the profile of participants most likely explain this difference. However, the low number of participants that singularly state political violence in Zimbabwe as reasons for migration is particularly intriguing as this comes against the backdrop of high asylum seeker applications from Zimbabweans in the post

2000 period and the expectation is that this would show in the reasons for migration to South Africa. While the study does not go into detail regarding this aspect, it is plausible to contend that, to some extent, this underscores the notion that economic immigrants who do not have access to other immigration channels can easily turn to the asylum seeker system as a 'surrogate immigration channel' (cf. Rogers 1992a; Rogers 1992b).

Another point worth highlighting is the significant proportion of participants that have either migrated to pursue further education opportunities, as standalone reasons or combined with economic purposes. The participants point to the decline in the standards of the Zimbabwean education system as reasons why they prefer to study at better-resourced South African universities. While migration studies literature refers to this segment of the Zimbabwean migration stock, it has not quantified it and the only existing reference point in terms of numbers is the data from the department of home affairs on annual applications for study permits. For instance, in 2013, of the 18,899 temporary residency permits issued to Zimbabweans, 4143 (21.9%) were study permits (StatsSA 2014).

Further engaging the data on the reasons for migration reveals more profound gender dimensions, with 65.3% of all female participants migrating due to economic reasons and a further 16.7% mentioning economic reasons together with other reasons such as political persecution, education and family reunion. In other words, 82% of the female participants migrated either for purely economic reasons or due to a combination of economic and other factors. This implies a greater proportion of females that are migrating due to economic reasons in comparison with a lower figure of male participants, with 59% of the male participants migrating for purely economic reasons and a further 12.8% mentioning economic reasons together with other factors as reasons for migrating to South Africa. This brings the cumulative total of male participants that mention purely economic reasons and economic reasons in combination with other factors to 71.8%, which is 10.2% lower than the aggregated total for females. Perhaps the biggest indictment on conceptions of female migration as supplementary or secondary to male migration emerges from the few (9.7%) female participants of

this study that cite family reunion as the primary reason for migrating to South Africa. There is however, a growing literature in southern African migration studies that is shifting attention from a focus on migration as a male domain, and recognises the significance of female migrants who respond to similar economic forces as their male counterparts. For instance, Lefko-Everett (2010) notes that, female Zimbabweans often make the decision to migrate to South Africa in response to poverty, unemployment, inflation, and food insecurity.

In crossing into South Africa in the first instance, the diverse Zimbabwean participants respond to the socio-economic and political difficulties in Zimbabwe, and the subsequent movements back and forth in differing frequencies and the maintenance of relationships across the Zimbabwe-South Africa borders helps create a transnational existence. Such transnational existence often responds, not only to the compulsive socio-economic circumstances in Zimbabwe, but also to issues within the South African environment. I engage the South African contextual issues in chapter seven of this thesis. Suffice to say, the periodic flare-ups of hostility and xenophobic violence directed at foreign migrants are some of the issues that participants grapple with in the South African context.

6.4 Migrants residential movements in Johannesburg

In order to describe and theorise the nature of migrants' movement in the city, the questions asked by Gilbert and Ward (1982) are an important start. Discussing low-income migrants' residential movements in three Latin American cities in the late 1970s and early 1980s, they asked, "Where do migrants reside when they first arrive in the city? Which zones of the city are, or have been, the most important reception areas, what type of accommodation do migrants choose…?" (Gilbert and Ward 1982: 136). Turner (1968: 358) in his study of settlement patterns in Latin American cities placed emphasis on housing priorities and levels of income amongst urban dwellers, arguing that, new arrivals or "bridgeheaders" prioritise proximity to the central places of employment and subsequently move to

peripheral settlements as "consolidators" seeking permanent urban property ownership. Gilbert and Ward (1982) responded to Turner's proposition by highlighting the importance of housing markets and state policies in shaping the choices of the newly migrated. Instead of relying solely on the choices of the migrants in analysing residential movements, Gilbert and Ward pointed to a greater influence of housing markets and state regulatory platforms. These crucial and formative debates on migrants' intra urban movements are important in my engagement with Zimbabwean migrants' movements in Johannesburg, specifically as I argue that, these movements are tactical and respond to the regulatory environment in Johannesburg.

The debates on migrants' settlement behaviour as noted in the work of Turner (1968) and Gilbert and Ward (1982) pertained mainly to internal rural to urban migration. The literature on international migration however started with discussions of migrants' adaptation and assimilation of newly arrived immigrants in the host countries. Broadly, North American perspectives on migrants' adaptation and assimilation have dominated the international migration literature with assimilationist and the ethnic enclave discourses being topical. The ethnic enclave discourse proffered a different perspective to the migrant adaptation literature and challenged the arguments that valorised assimilation as the only viable option for new immigrants (Waldinger 1993). Academic writers, particularly in the 1990s debated whether immigrants stood to gain more by choosing ethnic enclaves or assimilating into the host country's systems. The migration studies literature describes ethnic enclaves as attractive for the newly migrated, especially by offering home country language and cultural comfort as well as valuable labour market information and social networking (Jayet, Ukrayinchuk and De Arcangelis 2010; Kaushal 2005). In the following sections, I engage the choice of residential spaces by the participants of this study, arguing that the decision by migrants to either choose ethnic enclaves or disperse is a tactical one and should be analysed in terms of available accommodation options in the Johannesburg.

6.4.1 The space of first arrival in South Africa as a tactical choice

Regarding the first place of arrival in South Africa, reliable destination contacts are an important resource for migrants and are crucial in the determination of where in the country and subsequently in Johannesburg, participants go. The data from this research shows that the majority of participants arrive in South Africa having already made contact with relatives and friends residing in specific parts of the city. Thus, apart from a handful of participants who come to South Africa to pursue tertiary studies and live alone in university-sourced accommodation, the majority of participants indicate that they have destination contacts that they live with on arrival in South Africa. As such, 86% of the participants came straight to Johannesburg while 14% first settled elsewhere and then made secondary movements to Johannesburg. Importantly, Johannesburg emerges as the preferred final destination for settlement even amongst those that first settle in different parts of South Africa.

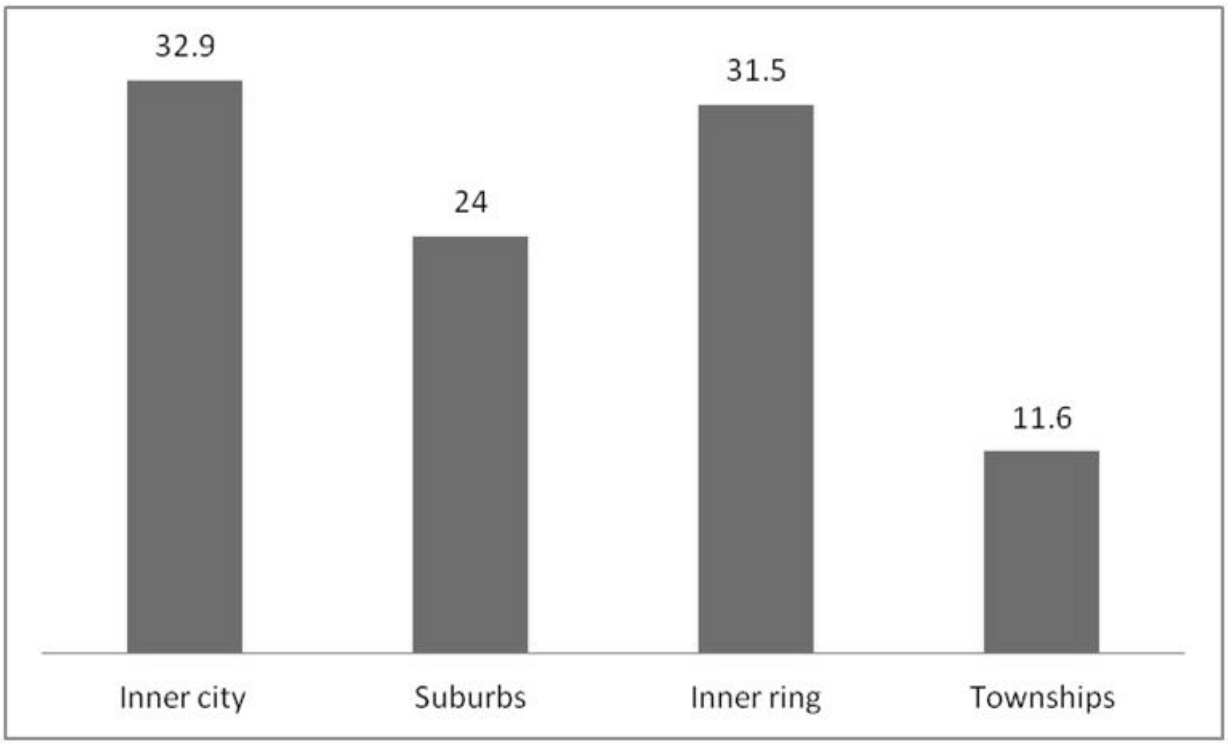
Amongst the 14% of participants that arrived in other parts of South Africa other than Johannesburg, 43% first settled in Limpopo before moving to Johannesburg and the remainder first settled in many different parts of South Africa such as Pretoria, Cape Town, East London and Durban. While the data itself speaks to numerous permutations, I find the data on those that settled in Limpopo particularly pertinent as it shows that all of them were ethnically Shona and 67% male (see Table 6.9). This is in the context of observations by some academic writers, that there is a greater presence of Shona and Venda speaking Zimbabweans in the Limpopo border areas due to language affinity with the ethnic Venda and Shangaan speaking populations in those parts of South Africa (Addison 2014; Bolt 2013). Thus, the decision to step-migrate for those that first settle in the farms is a response to the presence of language affines in Limpopo as well as proximity to home for migrants coming from the Beitbridge area. While such a decision is well considered and logical, it does however not seem to be tactically circumventive of any structural or strategic apparatus but a response to opportunity as most of them took up farming jobs with a view to earning money and cultivating networks for onward travel to Johannesburg. For those that first

settled elsewhere other than Limpopo, they did so in pursuit of further education opportunities. However, after finishing their studies, they migrated and settled in Johannesburg.

The first place of arrival as shown in some academic literature is often down to the presence of networks of friends and family already residing in particular areas of the country (Gilbert and Ward 1982; Gyimah 2001; Kaushal 2005). Kaushal (2005: 63) notes that, migrants search for ethnic enclaves in the destination countries in order to maximise economic opportunities and minimise the psychological and economic costs of relocation. The importance of reliable contacts at the place of destination has been widely covered in the literature on the role of social networks in migration and encompasses the social aspects of the migration related decision-making and motivations (see for example, Banerjee 1983; Muanamoha, Maharaj and Preston-Whyte 2010). Social networks also perform a channelling function, where migrants move to specific destinations rather than others because of the presence of contacts that help them settle (Gelderblom and Adams 2006).

6.4.2 The space of first arrival in Johannesburg as a tactical choice

Figure 6.6: Migrants first place of arrival in Johannesburg (percentage)



Source: author's survey data

Table 6.8: Place where participants first arrived by gender

Sex of Participants	Inner city		Suburbs		Inner ring		Township		Limpopo		Outside Joburg		Total	
Male	24	31%	13	17%	22	28%	5	6%	6	8%	8	10%	78	100 %
Female	15	21%	22	30%	18	25%	10	14%	3	4%	4	6%	72	100 %
Total	39	26%	35	23%	40	27%	15	10%	9	6%	12	8%	150	100 %

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.9: Place where participants first arrived by ethnicity

Ethnicity of participants	Inner city		Suburbs		Inner ring		Townships		Limpopo		Outside Joburg		Total	
Ndebele	27	33%	16	19%	22	27%	12	14%	0	0	6	7%	83	100%
Shona	12	18%	19	28%	18	27%	3	5%	9	13%	6	9%	67	100%
Total	39	26%	35	23%	40	27%	15	10%	9	6%	12	8%	150	100%

Source: author's survey data

The emerging pattern in this research, as shown in figure 6.6, is that of a greater role of the inner city and surrounding areas as reception areas for first time migrants into Johannesburg as they receive a combined 64.4%. The literature on first time migration in Johannesburg has largely acknowledged these trends. However, a salient observation in this research is that of migrants that first arrive in suburban areas of Johannesburg, which receive 24% of the participants while townships account for the remaining 11.6%. The suburban areas of the city are not commonly mentioned in discussions of migrants' areas of arrival in cities and in some circumstances are discussed where particular suburbs act as ethnic enclaves, for example, in the case of Chinese immigrants in Johannesburg's eastern suburb of Cyrildene (cf. Harrison, Moyo and Yang 2012). The global literature on migration, especially on the Chinese migration in major global cities has increasingly recognised a new phenomenon, which Wei Li (1998: 479) termed the 'ethnoburb', describing "…suburban ethnic clusters of residential areas and business districts in large American metropolitan areas." Apart from ethnic enclaves, immigrants' enclaves and latterly ethnoburbs, the global migration literature seldom gives reference to suburban areas as receptors for first time migrants to the city. Suburban areas are often discussed as constituting the secondary stage of migrants' mobility and part of the process of upward social mobility rather than important receivers of first time migrants to the city. Explaining the prominence of suburban areas as paces of arrival for first time immigrants, some focus group participants shared the following:

> Respondent 3: I have noted that most female domestic workers are foreigners; that is why most women arrive in suburban areas because they arrive in Johannesburg having already secured jobs as domestic workers. They are there because of work and they call others from home to come and stay with them in the suburban areas.
>
> Respondent 1: Many of the women, who stay there, are live-in domestic workers. Those that arrive there, often it is because of their relatives who already live there as domestic workers. (Focus Group Discussion 2 (FGD2), Johannesburg, 26/03/2016).

These perspectives represent the opinions of some participants who believe that, the increasing numbers of domestic workers in the suburban areas create nodes, which serve as channelling points for impending first time arrivals. However, there is also an ethnic dimension to suburban arrivals, with some participants sharing a perception that Zimbabweans of Shona ethnicity are relatively better resourced in relation to Zimbabweans of Ndebele ethnicity, and they are the ones predominantly arriving in the suburban areas of Johannesburg. For example, one focus group participant noted that:

> Many Shona people coming to South Africa own property and they do not live in places like Hillbrow, if you look at Hillbrow there are very few Shona Zimbabweans, but if you go to places like Randburg, Fourways, East Gate, they buy houses those people. They do not rent like us and they support each other. (FGD2, Johannesburg 26/03/2016)

While, these perceptions are difficult to verify rigorously, they explain the data on first place of arrival by participant ethnicity, which show a higher percentage of Shona participants (28%) who arrive in suburban areas compared to 19% for Ndebele participants (see tables, 6.9 and 6.10). Nonetheless, suburban areas show a prominence previously not well engaged in the literature on Zimbabwean migration, and the South African literature on migrants' reception areas has largely recognised the importance of the inner city and the role of the informal settlements on the fringes of Johannesburg. For example, Landau (2014) has argued that the fringes of the city, particularly the peri-urban areas serve as "estuarial zones" or entry points that receive first time migrants into the city as

well as those that leave the core or inner centres of the city in search of more affordable accommodation. Other writers however at varying times have emphasized the role of the inner city of Johannesburg in receiving both domestic and foreign migrants (Dinath 2014; Landau 2005; Murray 2003; Murray 2011). Murray (2011) has argued that, the Johannesburg inner city is a gateway due to the availability of cheap accommodation options for new arrivals, while Dinath (2014) notes that, the Johannesburg inner city has always been an area of flows with continual flux as people come and go. Landau (2005) argued that, the increased mobility during the post-apartheid period have resulted in a greater significance of South Africa's inner cities as areas of foreign migrants' settlement. Thus, the inner city suburbs of Hillbrow, Berea and the Johannesburg CBD and the inner ring suburbs such as Rosettenville, Turffontein, Yeoville, Bertrams and Bezuidenhout Valley have become sites of migrants' concentration where first time migrants to the city arrive. For example, Harrison and Zack (2014) allude to the availability of good rental accommodation in the southern suburbs due to white flight as a magnate for migrants' selection and clustering, while Dodd and Kurgan (2013: 346) argue that, Yeoville, on the eastern edge of the Johannesburg inner city, "has always been a foothold for new migrants to the city…". Harrison and Zack (2014) and Moyo and Cossa (2015) have shown the importance of already existing language networks in the case of Mozambican migrants settling in the suburbs of La Rochelle and the greater Rosettenville areas. As such, these areas and other inner city and inner ring suburbs continue to attract newly arrived migrants because of the already existing networks of foreign migrants. In this regard, the findings of this research correspond to those of other academic writers who have highlighted the importance of the inner city and inner ring areas of Johannesburg as spaces of arrival for first time immigrants to the city. While the decision by newly arrived migrants to go to the inner city and inner ring areas is a response to the presence of kin and friends already residing there, it is important to note that such networks do not only exist in these areas but are increasingly developing in the suburban areas as well.

6.5 Participants intra and inter neighbourhood movements in Johannesburg

Having discussed the places where the participants first arrive in Johannesburg and highlighting the role of destination contacts in their choices, I will now turn attention to the places where they choose to reside on their second and subsequent residential movements. I draw on data from the survey undertaken as part of this research wherein, I asked participants to share the history of their residential movements since arriving in Johannesburg. I have done this up to the fifth residential change for purposes of analysis, though there are some participants who have changed residential places up to ten times since arriving in Johannesburg. As such, the data in tables 6.10, 6.11, 6.12 and 6.13 respectively show the changes in residence, type of dwelling, number of rooms occupied per dwelling and the length of stay at each place of residence.

Table 6.10: Participants' inter and intra neighbourhood movements

Place of residence	First residence Freq.	First residence Percentage	Second residence Freq.	Second residence Percentage	Third residence Freq.	Third residence Percentage	Fourth residence Freq.	Fourth residence Percentage	Fifth residence Freq.	Fifth residence Percentage
Inner city	48	32.2	34	26.2	29	30.9	18	26.9	8	20.0
Suburbs	35	23.5	35	26.9	29	30.9	26	38.8	17	42.5
Inner Ring	46	30.9	36	27.7	22	23.4	16	23.9	11	27.5
Townships	17	11.4	20	15.4	11	11.7	4	6.0	3	7.5
Outside Joburg	3	2.0	5	3.8	3	3.2	3	4.5	1	2.5
Total	149	100.0	130	100.0	94	100.0	67	100.0	40	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.11: Participants' type of dwelling

Type of dwelling	First residence Frequency	First residence Percentage	Second residence Frequency	Second residence Percentage	Third residence Frequency	Third residence Percentage	Fourth residence Frequency	Fourth residence Percentage	Fifth residence Frequency	Fifth residence Percentage
Flat or apartment in a block of flats	77	51.7	61	46.9	46	48.9	36	53.7	22	55.0
Townhouse	10	6.7	10	7.7	9	9.6	5	7.5	5	12.5
Detached house	38	25.5	31	23.8	22	23.4	18	26.9	12	30.0
Semi-detached house	1	.7	1	.8	0	0	1	1.5	0	0
House/room/flat in backyard	7	4.7	11	8.5	10	10.6	3	4.5	0	0
Shack in backyard	5	3.4	9	6.9	2	2.1	1	1.5	1	2.5
Shack in informal settlement)	3	2.0	1	.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Servants' quarters/granny flat	1	.7	3	2.3	4	4.3	3	4.5	0	0
Caravan/Tent	7	4.7	3	2.3	1	1.1	0	0	0	0
Total	149	100.0	130	100.0	94	100.0	67	100.0	40	100

Table 6.12: Participants' number of rooms occupied per dwelling

Accommodation	First residence Frequency	First residence Percentage	Second residence Frequency	Second residence Percentage	Third residence Frequency	Third residence Percentage	Fourth residence Frequency	Fourth residence Percentage	Fifth residence Frequency	Fifth residence Percentage
One room	73	49.0	68	52.3	53	56.4	31	46.3	15	37.5
Full house/flat with 2 or more bedrooms	56	37.6	44	33.8	26	27.7	23	34.3	16	40.0
Half a room	7	4.7	8	6.2	7	7.4	2	3.0	0	0
One and a half room	4	2.7	3	2.3	2	2.1	6	9.0	1	2.5
Full bachelor flat	4	2.7	5	3.8	5	5.3	5	7.5	2	5.0
Full one-bedroom flat/house/cottage	2	1.3	2	1.5	1	1.1	0	0	6	15.0
Not applicable	3	2.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	149	100.0	130	100.0	94	100.0	67	100.0	40	100.0

Source: author's survey data

The data in table 6.10 shows a higher proportion of intra-place movement rather than inter-place movement as most of the participants move within the same neighbourhoods and pockets of preference in specific areas. For instance, some participants move from one inner city suburb to another or remain within the same neighbourhood rather than move from the inner city to the lower density suburbs or inner ring areas. In other words, many participants remain within the same areas where they arrive in the first instance. The data in table 6.11 shows a higher proportion of participants that live in flats, which is the dominant housing stock in inner city areas of Johannesburg. Single rooms are the most common form of accommodation for the participants, with the majority living in single rooms on arrival in Johannesburg and in subsequent movements. The figures for participants living in full flats or houses are also relatively high and consistent throughout the subsequent movements (see table 6.12).

6.5.1 Participants' length of stay at each residence and reasons for leaving

While participants do not have much control over the choice of the first place of residence as this depends on availability of reliable destination contacts, they do however have a measure of control over the length of their stay and the location of the subsequent residences. The study results show that the length of stay at the first place of residence tends to be much shorter, with 39% of the participants staying for less than 6 months, 57.8% for less than a year and 73.9% staying for less than two years (see table 6.14). More significant however, is the consistently high percentage (more than 50%) of participants that stay for less than one year in the second, third, fourth and fifth movements. For those that changed residences in the fifth instance, 65% stayed for less than a year.

In terms of the data from this research (see table 6.14), there are numerous social and economic reasons for leaving each residence, with 18.1% of participants indicating that they particularly leave the first place of residence to find their own place. However, finding own place becomes less important in the subsequent

residential movements as the percentage of those that move from the second place of residence due to this reason decline from 18.1% to 6.9%. Amongst those that leave for this reason at the first instance, the common indication given is that the intra-household dynamics make it difficult to continue living with relatives. The high number of participants that live alone at the second (22.3%) and third (21.3%) place of residence corroborates this indication.

Another important consideration for changing residence is the location of places of employment as 14.1% of participants leave the first place of residence to be closer to place of employment. This segment of participants remains consistent for the subsequent movements, at 13.1% and 13.8% for the second and third movements respectively. Finding employment in Johannesburg allows the participants to access the financial resources necessary to pay their own rent without depending on their destination contacts as is common when participants first arrive in the city. Another important segment of the participants consists of students who consider proximity to places of education when making decisions regarding accommodation. For instance, one focus group participant indicated that:

> I think another reason, in my case I moved to Berea to be closer to school. I realised that if I stayed where I was, transport would be too expensive, because I was spending close to 50 rands a day to and from school. So I had to find a place which was closer to school where I could walk from home to school. (FGD 1 participant, Johannesburg, 03/10/2015)

Thus, the desire to break away from relatives for some, and to be close to places of employment or education for others, combined with the ease of finding alternative accommodation emerge as important factors in decisions to move from one residence to the other.

Table 6.13: Length of stay at each residence

Length of stay at each residence	First Residence percentage	Second Residence percentage	Third residence percentage	Fourth Residence percentage	Fifth Residence percentage
1 month or less	9.4	4.6	3.2	0	7.5
2 to 3 months	16.8	13.1	11.7	16.4	12.5
4 to 6 months	12.8	5.4	10.6	14.9	22.5
7 to 9 months	8.1	13.8	10.6	7.5	10.0
10 to 12 months	10.7	15.4	17.0	13.4	12.5
13 to 15 months	6.7	7.7	7.4	3.0	2.5
16 to 18 months	1.3	2.3	6.4	1.5	7.5
19 to 24 months	8.1	10.0	12.8	11.9	10.0
25 to 36 months	12.1	10.0	10.6	16.4	7.5
37 to 48 months	6.0	5.4	5.3	3.0	5.0
49 to 60 months	2.7	.8	2.1	3.0	2.5
More than 60 months	5.4	11.5	2.1	9.0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
N =	149	130	94	67	40

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.14: Reasons for leaving each place of residence

Reasons for leaving place of residence	First -Res Freq.	First-Res Percent	Second- Res Freq.	Second-Res Percent	Third-Res Freq.	Third-Res Percent	Fourth-Res Freq.	Fourth-Res Percent	Fifth-Res Freq.	Fifth-Res Percent
Not Applicable	19	12.8	35	26.9	27	28.7	27	40.3	11	28.9
To find own place	27	18.1	9	6.9	8	8.5	2	3.0	0	0
Conflict with landlord or housemates	10	6.7	8	6.2	2	2.1	1	1.5	2	5.3
To be closer to place of employment	21	14.1	17	13.1	13	13.8	4	6.0	4	10.5
Place was overcrowded	9	6.0	7	5.4	6	6.4	1	1.5	2	5.3
Rent was expensive	8	5.4	10	7.7	10	10.6	8	11.9	6	15.8
Got married and moved in with spouse	7	4.7	5	3.8	5	5.3	2	3.0	0	0
Moved in with relatives	11	7.4	3	2.3	2	2.1	1	1.5	1	2.6
Property sold	2	1.3	3	2.3	3	3.2	5	7.5	2	5.3
Lease not renewed	4	2.7	5	3.8	2	2.1	2	3.0	2	5.3
Found bigger place/ place was small	11	7.4	11	8.5	7	7.4	4	6.0	4	10.5
Other	20	13.4	16	12.3	9	9.6	10	14.9	4	10.5
Place was dirty	0	0	1	0.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	149	100	130	100	94	100	67	100	40	100

I have so far outlined the residential movements of the participants in terms of the places where they reside in the first instance up to the fifth instance, the type of accommodation and the number of rooms occupied in each instance, and the frequency and the reasons for the changes. What emerges from the data is that there is a high frequency of residential changes across Johannesburg, though it is difficult to test these against the figures for other population groups such as South African citizens and migrants of a different nationality for example. Apart from moving within the same areas where they first arrive in Johannesburg, many participants also move into the same types of accommodation as in the first instance. For example, there are consistently high numbers of participants that live in single room accommodation from the first instance up to the fifth instance of movement (see table 6.12). This happens in the context of academic discussions that acknowledge the emergence of new forms of petty landlordism in Johannesburg, which include multi-layered subletting practices as immigrants respond to the high cost of rental accommodation (Mayson 2014; Peberdy, Crush and Msibi 2004). Typically, these practices exist beneath the formal layers of lease holding as the lessees or main tenants add an extra layer of sub tenants to help with the payment of rent and services. During my residence, at varying times, in the inner city suburbs of Hillbrow and Berea (between 2008 and 2009) and the inner ring suburbs of Yeoville (between 2009 and 2011) and Rosettenville (from 2011 to 2016), I have been in positions to observe the operation of these dynamic tenancy relationships and the sub dividing of living spaces. For example, an apartment consisting of two bedrooms could be divided into different households who occupy each bedroom; and the bedrooms are further partitioned to create space for extra households. The smallest unit of shared accommodation in many instances is the "sharing of a bed", which adds another layer of income generation by the main tenant or *mastanda*.[12]

[12] Mastanda is a common term used to refer to someone who collects rent from the tenants. At the centre of the mastanda enterprise is the collection of money, hence my simplistic definition that draws from the participants' perceptions and construction of what defines a mastanda. This could be a rental agency, property owner or another tenant who is subletting the property. The practice of subletting and dividing living spaces to accommodate sub-tenants is particularly common in the Johannesburg inner city.

During the initial survey, participants were not asked probing questions as to why they changed residences as frequently as they did; instead, the questions were limited to getting information on where they had moved and the reasons why they had moved. I partially addressed this gap through focus group discussions where I asked specific questions regarding the frequency of the residential changes. Focus group participants identified economic reasons as the main issue behind the frequency of movement. For example, one focus group participant noted that,

> Those that move every month; it is because of rental increases. Now that we are approaching winter, it is already rising, which forces a person to move to places like the township or to another flat, which has cheaper rent (FGD2 participant, 26/03/2016).

Another focus group participant who had been living in Johannesburg for a year at the time of the interview indicated that she had changed places of residence three times and described her reasons in the following terms:

> Three times, yeah I am still looking for a better flat, with better facilities, for example, a flat with lifts. The flat where I first stayed did not have a lift and I stayed on the eighth floor. The other thing is the rent; I am looking for a place with better rents. You will find that, a flat like where I used to stay has expensive rates yet there are no lifts. I also want to be close to amenities such as shops and transport; not living in a place where I would have to walk for over 30 minutes to get to the shops and over an hour to get to work. [FGD1 participant, Johannesburg, 03/10/2015]

These movements, as indicated by the participants of this study respond primarily to expensive rentals and to the conditions of living in the flats. The motive is mainly economic and the intention is always to find a better place than the previous one, at a comparable or cheaper cost. Another focus group participant supported the economic motive, but emphasised the alienation that migrants feel from the South African socio-economic environment, which he described as “not home”. He explained the frequent residential movements in the following terms:

> It means that, this place is not home. It does not mean that we want to always move from one residence to another, because, even household property gets

broken because of frequent residence changes (FGD2 participant, Johannesburg, 26/03/2016).

6.5.2 Living in single rooms, half rooms and spaces as a tactic in the city

While the preference for single room accommodation and sharing with friends and family in the first instance is understandable and responds to the participants' general lack of funds when they arrive in Johannesburg, the continuance of this type of preference in the second and third movements is particularly important from the perspective of a de Certolian approach. Mayson (2014) has discussed the emergence of the rooms and spaces typologies in his research and notes that people living in these types of spaces sacrifice pertinent considerations such as privacy and security in favour of affordability and convenient location in the central parts of the city. These spaces, according to Mayson, gain commodity status on the informal rental housing markets, which are accessible to immigrants, and have no restriction of entry and no requirement for individuals to possess legal documentation granting leave to reside in the Republic of South Africa. Such requirements and the added cost of deposit payments as well as proof of income, bank statements and payslips are common practice in the formal rental housing market. The absence of these requirements in the informal housing market, which typically functions through advertisements in notice boards affixed to supermarket walls ensure the ease of functionality and flexibility favoured by many undocumented immigrants (see Figure 6.8 - 6.11 for wall advertisements). Thus, where formal procedures and cost considerations exclude participants from accessing housing, the circumventive informal housing market provides the answers and is the migrants' response to the laid down procedures of the city and the formal rental housing market.

Within the informal housing market, there is also a tacit set of rules governing the selection of potential tenants. This speaks to a procedure by which people operate and navigate the informal housing market. Specific knowledges about the terrain

are required to make competent decisions regarding which room, space or sub space to choose for the prospective tenants, and which type of tenant to choose for the prospective landlords/mastanda. These specific knowledges perhaps constitute forms of capital in the Bourdieusian sense and are situated within a specific social field, which is navigated by individuals possessing particular knowledges and habitus that enable them to operate in accordance with the requirements. I will draw on my experiences as a Zimbabwean migrant with family in Johannesburg and one particular incident stands out, and I describe it in figure 6.7.

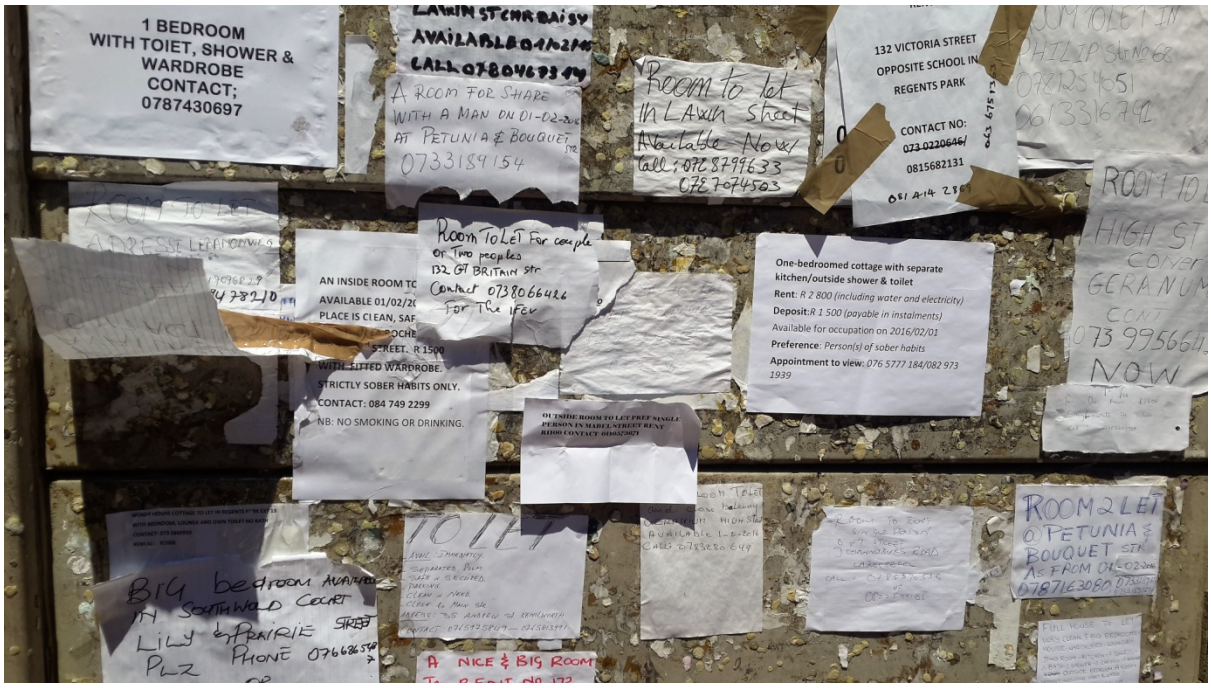
Figure 6.7: Tenant selection vignette

I remember sometime in 2009, my uncle placed an advertisement on the Telkom tower wall in Hillbrow (Figure 6.11) for a subtenant to occupy a room in a flat that he was renting in Hillbrow. He made the point of writing his name and surname next to his mobile number, which for many people did not seem necessary. I was curious to know why he would do such a thing, especially when no other advertiser seemed to be doing so. He reasoned that, "he did not want random tenants but 'abantu basekhaya' [people from home]." These *people from home* did not only refer to people from Zimbabwe but specifically Ndebele speaking Zimbabweans. Effectively he selected tenants with this simple act on his advert. He explained that, "if I put my name and surname on this advert, I know that only Ndebele speaking people are going to phone me because my surname is easily identifiable as Ndebele."

While the preceding vignette speaks to one particular instance, the tenant selection practices described are common in the inner city. Landlords however do not always display their names on public notice boards, instead preferring to stand by the notice board areas looking for potential tenants. When they identify someone who suits their own preferred criteria searching for accommodation, they approach them with a proposition. They do this to avoid wasting time on tenants that do not fit specific criteria of cleanliness and similar language.[13]

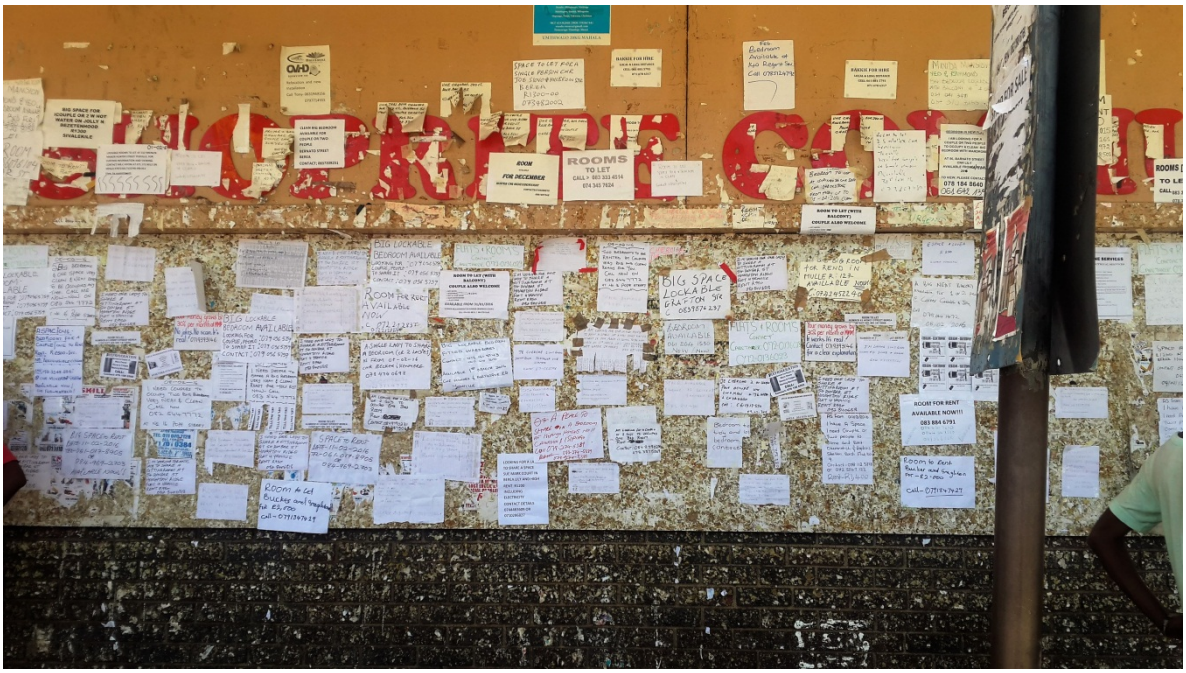
[13] Having lived in the inner city and inner ring areas of Johannesburg, I have experienced the operation of these mechanisms first hand. I have been in positions where I have sought accommodation in the community notice boards affixed to store walls and have held informal conversations regarding the operation of the informal housing markets. As such, I draw some of these observations from my own lived experiences.

Figure 6.8: Accommodation adverts on school perimeter wall in Rosettenville, Johannesburg



Source: author's fieldwork photograph, 30/01/2016

Figure 6.9: Accommodation advertisements on supermarket wall in Yeoville, Johannesburg



Source: author's fieldwork photograph, 12/02/2016

Figure 6.10: Accommodation adverts on supermarket wall in Yeoville, Johannesburg



Source: author's fieldwork photograph, 12/02/2016

Figure 6.11: Accommodation adverts on Telkom tower wall in Hillbrow, Johannesburg



Source: author's fieldwork photograph, 12/02/2016

6.5.3 The interpersonal power dynamics between sub-tenants and *mastandas*

When participants seek accommodation or trade accommodation on the informal housing market, they are operating within the realm of tactics and circumventing the existing formal structures that govern the leasing of rental properties. Perhaps, the first recognisable layer of strategy in this regard would be property owners and rental agents. These structures do not make provision for the informal leasing of apartments and the partitioning of room spaces. Apart from these recognisable structures that set rules for the occupancy of flats and other accommodation, the participants contend with another authority in the form of *mastanda*. The mastanda as defined earlier (section 6.5.1) is usually the main tenant who is the direct authority to the sub tenants and in a position to exercise strategy over the sub tenants. The position of the mastanda, who in many instances is also a Zimbabwean migrant, speaks to the positioning of this research's participants within the Johannesburg social field and their access to different forms of power and capital. The position of the mastanda is a complex one, as he/she also operates within the realm of tactics in relation to the property owner or in some instances, the rental agency. For instance, the rental agencies have specific guidelines on the number of occupants per apartment yet the mastandas circumvent these by adding layers of other tenants, effectively creating overcrowding. Such tactical positioning is crucial to the operation of the informal housing market that provides access to the different forms of spaces, such as single rooms and half rooms.

The exercise of strategy by the mastanda is also an important determination of the length of stay of the migrants in particular buildings. They make rules that govern tenancy at the sub scale, while also conforming to or circumventing rules made by the property owners who are also required to comply with the City of Johannesburg's by laws governing housing and sanitary conditions. The mastandas constitute a crucible of role players in enabling mobility in the inner city through providing affordable accommodation options and generating movement through their interpersonal relationships with sub tenants. For example, one focus group participant complained about the rules instituted by his mastanda:

> *Amageyser kalayithwa. Ubona njani nxa ubona indoda enjengami isigeza ngamagedlela ayi two, ngapha ngiyakhokha irenti?* [Geysers are not switched on. How can a man like me be bathing using water from two kettles yet I pay rent?], (FGD1 participant, Johannesburg, 03/10/2015).

In simple terms, the participant complains that, the mastanda does not allow sub-tenants to switch on the geyser and as a result, tenants use kettles to heat water for bathing. The situation is untenable for this particular tenant as the mastanda insists on no more than two kettles of boiling water per person. Thus, movement within the city is sometimes a response to the mastandas who exercise power over the sub tenants. The mastandas in many instances are portrayed as unreasonable "money grabbers" interested in minimising the cost of the rent for themselves rather than offering value for money. While this exists within the nexus of interlocking relationships, it latently enables a Bourdieusian network of relations and behavioural repertoire of practice amongst the participants from which they draw capital when seeking accommodation in the city. I use Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus to engage and discuss the extent of social relationships and the embeddedness of participants within the Johannesburg socio-economic environment in chapter seven.

6.6 Migrants weekly mobilities in the city of Johannesburg

While the temporary residential movements that participants undertake at varying frequencies constitute a significant proportion in terms of relationships to place and overall spatial mobility, the weekly and daily movements provide additional texture and meaning to the spaces that participants navigate in the city. To uncover the complexities of these movements, the starting point is to consider the purposes, patterns and frequencies of the journeys (cf. Daniels and Warnes 1980). The weekly movements comprise, going to places of worship, places of entertainment, visiting friends, visiting relatives and grocery shopping (see Tables B2, B3, B4, B6 and B7 in the appendices). The direction of these movements is important as an illustration of the broader situatedness of the participants within the places where they live. Importantly, the destinations, modes of travel and purposes of weekly movements align to the broader selection of residential moves discussed in earlier sections of this chapter. Weekly movements however cannot be analysed in separation from the tactically considered decisions regarding place of residence as the data shows that most participants do their weekly shopping, worship, entertainment and visits to friends and relatives within walking radius of where they reside in the city. Walking and mini-bus taxis are the most preferred mode of transport for weekly trips, especially in the inner city and inner ring areas of Johannesburg (see Tables, 6.18 - 6.22).

Table 6.15: Places where participants go for entertainment

Place of residence		Inner city	Suburbs	Inner ring	Township	I do not go	Total
Inner city	Frequency	12	9	0	1	25	47
	Percentage	25.5	19.1	0.0	2.1	53.2	100
Suburbs	Frequency	4	14	1	0	19	38
	Percentage	10.5	36.8	2.6	0.0	50.0	100
Inner ring	Frequency	4	12	3	0	25	44
	Percentage	9.1	27.3	6.8	0.0	56.8	100
Township	Frequency	0	4	0	3	10	17
	Percentage	0.0	23.5	0.0	17.6	58.8	100
Total	Frequency	20	39	4	4	79	146
	Percentage	13.7	26.7	2.7	2.7	54.1	100

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.16: Places where participants go for shopping

Place of residence		Inner city	Suburbs	Inner ring	Township	I do not go	Total
Inner city	Frequency	27	15	5	0	0	47
	Percentage	57.4	31.9	10.6	0.0	0.0	100
Suburbs	Frequency	3	35	0	0	0	38
	Percentage	7.9	92.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
Inner ring	Frequency	7	23	13	0	1	44
	Percentage	15.9	52.3	29.5	0.0	2.3	100
Township	Frequency	3	8	1	5	0	17
	Percentage	17.6	47.1	5.9	29.4	0.0	100
Total	Frequency	40	81	19	5	1	146
	Percentage	27.4	55.5	13.0	3.4	0.7	100

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.17: Places where participants go for worship services

Place of residence		Inner city	Suburbs	Inner ring	Township	I do not go	Total
Inner city	Frequency	19	9	6	3	10	47
	Percentage	40.4	19.1	12.8	6.4	21.3	100
Suburbs	Frequency	10	22	2	1	3	38
	Percentage	26.3	57.9	5.3	2.6	7.9	100
Inner ring	Frequency	8	11	19	2	4	44
	Percentage	18.2	25.0	43.2	4.5	9.1	100
Township	Frequency	1	2	0	9	5	17
	Percentage	5.9	11.8	0.0	52.9	29.4	100
Total	Frequency	38	44	27	15	22	146
	Percentage	26.0	30.1	18.5	10.3	15.1	100

Source: author's survey data

The data (Tables 6.15, 6.16 and 6.17) shows that, participants worship within walking distance of where they live, do their major shopping predominantly in the suburban malls, find entertainment, mainly in the suburbs and the inner city. In addition to malls having a wide range of products in one place, they are also spaces of comfort for participants, especially the undocumented or irregular migrants, which is tactical insofar as participants avoid places such as the Johannesburg CBD because of fear of arrest and harassment by the police.[14] The suburbs are also preferred for entertainment because of safety reasons and fear of violence in places such as townships and crime in the inner city. However, the inner city also attracts some people because of the high number of nightclubs and liquor places. For instance, one focus group participant cited the proximity of clubs and bars as the reason for relocating to Hillbrow:

[14] I discuss spaces of identity comfort, especially where participants feel comfortable identifying as Zimbabweans in chapter 8.

> Mina, my main reason yokumover from Berea, yikuthi when I want to drink, I have to come to Hillbrow ngoba yikho okungani kulefire. Then kuyabe sekumele ngibuyele back ngabo 12, ngabo 1am and that place idangerous. So i had to look for place close to bars... [For me, the main reason for moving from Berea was that, if I want to drink I had to go to Hillbrow because that is where there is vibrancy. Thus, I have to go back home around 12 am and 1 am, and that place is dangerous. So I had to look for a place close to bars…] (FGD1 participant, Johannesburg, 03/10/2015)

Places where people go for entertainment are therefore an important consideration for some participants when choosing place of residence. For example, the focus group participant quoted above places emphasis on the vibrancy of an area and the presence of bars and nightclubs. He is pragmatic about his preference as he is aware of the high levels of crime in the inner city and as such, he makes a tactical decision to relocate to a building that is closest to bars because of convenience and fear of crime.

Table 6.18: Participants' mode of transport to place of shopping

		Walk	Metrobus	Mini-bus taxi	Gautrain	Own private car	Someone else's car	Not applicable	Other	Total
Inner city	Frequency	26	0	12	0	6	2	1	0	47
	Percentage	55.3	0.0	25.5	0.0	12.8	4.3	2.1	0.0	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	7	0	9	2	13	6	0	1	38
	Percentage	18.4	0.0	23.7	5.3	34.2	15.8	0.0	2.6	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	20	3	11	0	5	4	1	0	44
	Percentage	45.5	6.8	25.0	0.0	11.4	9.1	2.3	0.0	100.0
Townships	Frequency	4	0	11	0	1	1	0	0	17
	Percentage	23.5	0.0	64.7	0.0	5.9	5.9	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	Frequency	57	3	43	2	25	13	2	1	146
	Percentage	39.0	2.1	29.5	1.4	17.1	8.9	1.4	0.7	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.19: Participants' mode of transport to places of entertainment

		Walk	Metrobus	Mini-bus taxi	Gautrain	Metro-rail	Own private car	Someone else's car	Not applicable	Other	Total
Inner city	Frequency	11	0	4	1	0	3	3	24	1	47
	Percentage	23.4	0.0	8.5	2.1	0.0	6.4	6.4	51.1	2.1	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	1	0	4	0	0	9	3	19	2	38
	Percentage	2.6	0.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	23.7	7.9	50.0	5.3	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	6	1	4	0	1	4	2	25	0	43
	Percentage	14.0	2.3	9.3	0.0	2.3	9.3	4.7	58.1	0.0	100.0
Townships	Frequency	3	0	3	0	0	1	0	10	0	17
	Percentage	17.6	0.0	17.6	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	58.8	0.0	100.0
Total	Frequency	21	1	15	1	1	17	8	78	3	145
	Percentage	14.5	0.7	10.3	0.7	0.7	11.7	5.5	53.8	2.1	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.20: Participants' mode of transport to place of worship

		Walk	Metrobus	Mini-bus taxi	Gautrain	Own private car	Someone else's car	Not applicable	Total
Inner city	Frequency	22	0	8	0	4	2	11	47
	Percentage	46.8	0.0	17.0	0.0	8.5	4.3	23.4	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	4	0	7	2	14	8	3	38
	Percentage	10.5	0.0	18.4	5.3	36.8	21.1	7.9	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	22	1	11	0	4	2	4	44
	Percentage	50.0	2.3	25.0	0.0	9.1	4.5	9.1	100.0
Townships	Frequency	8	0	3	0	1	0	5	17
	Percentage	47.1	0.0	17.6	0.0	5.9	0.0	29.4	100.0
Total	Frequency	56	1	29	2	23	12	23	146
	Percentage	38.4	0.7	19.9	1.4	15.8	8.2	15.8	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.21: Participants' mode of transport to friends' places of residence

		How do you get to your friends' places							Total
		Walk	Mini-bus taxi	Gautrain	Metro-rail	Own private car	Someone else's private car	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	23	11	0	1	6	1	5	47
	Percentage	48.9	23.4	0.0	2.1	12.8	2.1	10.6	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	3	14	1	0	13	4	3	38
	Percentage	7.9	36.8	2.6	0.0	34.2	10.5	7.9	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	18	13	0	0	4	2	7	44
	Percentage	40.9	29.5	0.0	0.0	9.1	4.5	15.9	100.0
Townships	Frequency	6	7	0	0	2	0	2	17
	Percentage	35.3	41.2	0.0	0.0	11.8	0.0	11.8	100.0
Total	Frequency	50	45	1	1	25	7	17	146
	Percentage	34.2	30.8	0.7	0.7	17.1	4.8	11.6	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.22: Participants' mode of transport to relatives' place of residence

		How do you get to your relatives' places								Total
		Walk	Metrobus	Mini-bus taxi	Gautrain	Metro-rail	Own private car	Someone else's car	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	8	0	24	0	1	5	2	7	47
	Percentage	17.0	0.0	51.1	0.0	2.1	10.6	4.3	14.9	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	1	1	14	1	0	13	3	5	38
	Percentage	2.6	2.6	36.8	2.6	0.0	34.2	7.9	13.2	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	9	0	19	0	0	5	3	8	44
	Percentage	20.5	0.0	43.2	0.0	0.0	11.4	6.8	18.2	100.0
Townships	Frequency	4	0	7	0	0	2	0	4	17
	Percentage	23.5	0.0	41.2	0.0	0.0	11.8	0.0	23.5	100.0
Total	Frequency	22	1	64	1	1	25	8	24	146
	Percentage	15.1	0.7	43.8	0.7	0.7	17.1	5.5	16.4	100.0

Source: author's survey data

6.7 Migrants' daily mobilities in the city of Johannesburg

In his essay on walking in the city, de Certeau spoke about how the act of walking by ordinary people reflects broader manners of consumption by which individuals manipulate the walkways and invent their own order, which is at odds with what the city's regulatory platforms formulate. Adams (1969) spoke about "spatial vocabularies" of city dwellers and underscored the importance of intra urban movement, highlighting how people carry cognitive imagery of the city in their minds. The structuring of the city, according to Adams (1969) necessitated mobility by urban dwellers in order to access different services and engage in daily transactions. Daily mobilities in this study include movements to and from places of employment and places of education (see tables, 23 and 24). While daily mobilities are often discussed as standalone phenomena in the literature, in this study I connect them to the residential and weekly movements as they are directly influenced by the decisions involving where participants choose to reside in the city. Walking is the preferred mode of travel in the city and perhaps speaks to the decisions pertaining to place of residence and proximity to places where participants go (see Table 6.25 and 6.26). Tables B9-B16 in the appendices show the travel times to different places where participants move on day to day and on an ad-hoc basis.

Table 6.23: Places where participants go for employment

Place of residence		Inner city	Suburbs	Inner ring	Township	Not working	Outside Joburg	Total
Inner city	Frequency	13	24	0	0	9	0	46
	Percentage	28.3	52.2	0.0	0.0	19.6	0.0	100
Suburbs	Frequency	1	26	0	0	10	1	38
	Percentage	2.6	68.4	0.0	0.0	26.3	2.6	100
Inner ring	Frequency	4	13	5	0	22	0	44
	Percentage	9.1	29.5	11.4	0.0	50.0	0.0	100
Township	Frequency	1	7	1	2	4	2	17
	Percentage	5.9	41.2	5.9	11.8	23.5	11.8	100
Total	Frequency	19	70	6	2	45	3	145
	Percentage	13.1	48.3	4.1	1.4	31.0	2.1	100

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.24: Places where participants go for education

Place of residence		Inner city	Suburbs	Inner ring	Township	Not Studying	Outside Joburg	Total
Inner city	Frequency	11	4	1	0	29	2	47
	Percentage	23.4	8.5	2.1	0.0	61.7	4.3	100
Suburbs	Frequency	5	21	1	0	10	1	38
	Percentage	13.2	55.3	2.6	0.0	26.3	2.6	100
Inner ring	Frequency	2	19	2	0	21	0	44
	Percentage	4.5	43.2	4.5	0.0	47.7	0.0	100
Township	Frequency	1	2	0	1	11	2	17
	Percentage	5.9	11.8	0.0	5.9	64.7	11.8	100
Total	Frequency	19	46	4	1	71	5	146
	Percentage	13.0	31.5	2.7	0.7	48.6	3.4	100

Daily and weekly movements are generally structured and purposeful. It is important however to note that in the act of moving, rather than enunciating the spatial regimen of city planning authorities as intimated by de Certeau, the participants of this study enunciate a different order that is governed by spaces of fear and avoidance of the police and criminals in the city. It is an act of tactical navigation, which is informed by the levels of identity comfort in the city as the places where participants go for their weekly activities such as entertainment correspond to the overall feeling about place. I discuss identity comfort and belonging as well as feelings about place in the following chapters.

Table 6.25: Participants' mode of transport to places of employment

		Walk	Metrobus	Bus Rapid Transit	Mini-bus taxi	Metro-rail	Own private car	Someone else's car	Not applicable	Other	Total
Inner city	Frequency	12	4	0	10	1	6	3	9	2	47
	Percentage	25.5	8.5	0.0	21.3	2.1	12.8	6.4	19.1	4.3	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	4	1	0	10	1	9	3	10	0	38
	Percentage	10.5	2.6	0.0	26.3	2.6	23.7	7.9	26.3	0.0	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	6	3	1	5	0	4	2	23	0	44
	Percentage	13.6	6.8	2.3	11.4	0.0	9.1	4.5	52.3	0.0	100.0
Townships	Frequency	2	0	0	8	0	1	1	4	0	16
	Percentage	12.5	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	6.3	6.3	25.0	0.0	100.0
Total	Frequency	24	8	1	33	2	20	9	46	2	145
	Percentage	16.6	5.5	0.7	22.8	1.4	13.8	6.2	31.7	1.4	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table 6.26: Participants' mode of transport to places of education

		How do you get to your place of education								Total
		Walk	Metrobus	Mini-bus taxi	Metro-rail	Own private car	Someone else's car	Not applicable	Other	
Inner city	Frequency	11	0	5	0	1	0	28	2	47
	Percentage	23.4	0.0	10.6	0.0	2.1	0.0	59.6	4.3	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	2	1	12	1	9	3	10	0	38
	Percentage	5.3	2.6	31.6	2.6	23.7	7.9	26.3	0.0	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	10	5	4	0	3	1	21	0	44
	Percentage	22.7	11.4	9.1	0.0	6.8	2.3	47.7	0.0	100.0
Townships	Frequency	2	0	4	0	0	0	11	0	17
	Percentage	11.8	0.0	23.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	64.7	0.0	100.0
Total	Frequency	25	6	25	1	13	4	70	2	146
	Percentage	17.1	4.1	17.1	0.7	8.9	2.7	47.9	1.4	100.0

Source: author's survey data

6.8 Conclusion

In the foregoing discussions, I have engaged the nature of migrants' mobility in Johannesburg, particularly, the transnational cross border movements, the temporal residential changes, the weekly and monthly movements as well as the daily movements. The main argument is that, while changes in residence are common, it is the frequency of the movements that need further analysis and interrogation of the reasons, beyond those stated by the participants. Such frequent movements take place within the context of a Johannesburg that has been described in academic scholarship as a city in continual flux (Dinath 2014), in-between or liminal (Kihato 2013) and breeding transience and non-permanence (Landau 2006). Some factors, within this enabling or facilitative context include the availability of single room accommodation and the accessible informal markets for the trading of such accommodation. While traditionally, urban scholarship discussed intra-urban movements with an inclination towards the perspective that immigrants intended to settle permanently in the destination countries, in this research I have shifted the dimensions and engaged intra urban movements in the context of a permanent migrants' settlement that is not fixed in place but in motion and transient. Importantly such movement requires or takes place within an enabling environment, within a social field which structures and is structured by a Bourdieusian transnational habitus. I look at such transnational habitus and social field as cautionary instruments for this research and the academy in general as the description of migrants as tactically responding to strategic entities may be misleading if not adequately theorised. The point here is that, in spite of the agency that migrants possess, they do not necessarily sit down and construct a response to the strategic entities within their socio-economic environment but such response happens in the course of their long-term and day-to-day activities.

7 Chapter Seven: Sociability and the City

7.1 Introducing the chapter

This chapter focuses on the participants' communication with relatives and friends in Zimbabwe and the maintenance of networks of friendship in South Africa. I argue that, the cultivation of links with people back home is tactical and by so doing, immigrants place themselves in a voluntary state of non-belonging and permanent temporariness in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. As such, by cultivating networks in both Johannesburg and the home country, they keep their options open should a permanent or temporary return to Zimbabwe be necessary. In chapter six of this thesis, I discussed the intensity of suburban movement, and argued that, the participants of this study are highly mobile and such mobility is a tactical resource that they employ when responding to the socio-economic environments in South Africa and Zimbabwe. The theme of mobility, which I discussed in detail in chapter six, connects to this chapter insofar as I engage the depth of participants' transnational connections with home. In this regard, connections with home are part of the immigrants' everyday life and "home" in Zimbabwe becomes a site of belonging and a backup option that supports the lack of total commitment to permanency in the Johannesburg. Part of the discussion in this chapter is about the intensity of the communication with home as well as the role that social networking platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp play in aiding and intensifying this communication. The chapter also discusses the nature and strengths of participants' existing networks in Johannesburg, arguing that such networks have a role in the decisions to move place in the city as well as create zones of identity comfort for the immigrants (I discuss issues of identity comfort in detail, in chapter eight). While feelings of non-attachment and non-belonging to Johannesburg persist, at least in sentimental terms, there is still recognition that social networking and the cultivation of enduring connections with South African citizens and other migrants constitutes an important part of existence in the city.

As such, a significant proportion of participants maintain friendships and interactions with South Africans, other Zimbabweans and migrants from other countries within the city.

Pursuant to the preceding discussion, I further engage migrants' transnational connections to Johannesburg, the texture of their relationships and social interactions with the city in its physical and networked form as well as the diverse South African populations and migrant groups. I discuss and deploy Bourdieusian thinking tools of *habitus* and *social field*, arguing that, for participants of this study to manage and operate within the socio-economic networks that they have created in South Africa and in Zimbabwe, they undergo certain processes that condition their lives in the city and create degrees of fit with the socio-economic environment.

7.2 The transnational habitus and the embeddedness of migrants in Johannesburg and Zimbabwean contexts

Dahinden (2010: 52) alludes to the existence of a dialectical relationship between mobility and locality, arguing that "…in order to be able to stay mobile it is necessary for migrants to develop some local ties and to be embedded in specific localities." Thus, local anchorage is as important as mobility when it comes to the brand of transnationalism that the participants of this study engage in within the South African and Zimbabwean socio-economic environments. Dahinden (2010) posits four ideal types of transnationalism, which have implications for this study. The first is the localised diasporic transnational formations, which has "low physical mobility and high degree of local ties" and the second, is the localised mobile transnational formations, which combines high physical mobility and a high degree of local ties. The third is the transnational mobiles, which has high mobility but low degree of local anchorage and the fourth, is the transnational outsiders, which combines low mobility and low degree of local anchorage (ibid: 53). While Zimbabweans are too diverse to fall neatly into one of the ideal type models posited by Dahinden, many of the participants fall somewhat within the

second ideal type, which emphasises strong ties in both the destination and origin countries as well as high mobility between the two. As such, I will highlight the main structures of local anchorage in both South Africa and Zimbabwe, as well as the forms of mobility and transnational connections.

It is important to highlight that, other participants identify with the transnational outsider ideal type whose space is that of the "other" who faces exclusion in both the destination and country of origin. Transnational outsiders, according to Dahinden (2010) find it difficult to gain capital through back and forth movements between the destination and origin countries, especially if undocumented or in some instances on asylum seeker permits, which do not allow movement back to the country of origin. This is particularly pertinent because of the large number of Zimbabweans using asylum seeker permits in South Africa and a high proportion of participants (17.3%) who have not returned to Zimbabwe since arriving in South Africa. In section 3.4.5 of this thesis, I discuss the emergence of transnational migrant spaces in the city of Johannesburg, particularly as a hyphenated and in-between space for migrants who may not find common ground in both the home country and the South African socio-economic environments. This outer space pertains to what Landau and Fremantle (2010) have described as tactical cosmopolitanism where migrants access the benefits of partial membership in South African society while remaining non-committal and in perpetual states of voluntary and involuntary outsidership. A different but complementary interpretation of the behaviour described by Landau and Fremantle could be more revealing. The point I am making here is that, foreign migrants may not be positioning themselves solely out of their own freewill and against the exclusionary mirror of South African citizens' claim to autochthony as argued by Landau (2006), but other circumstances and processes that need further exploration could be at work. Landau (2006) and Landau and Freemantle (2010) make important points regarding the emergence of *transience* as an outer space captured and occupied by foreign migrants in the inner city of Johannesburg. While transience does not equate to transnationalism, I argue that, for many foreign migrants, the perception that one is in transit may be alluring and lead to the negation of other contextual factors that enable that transience in the first

place. Thus, I extend the analysis of transnationalism by connecting it to the concept of transnational habitus as described by Kelly and Lusis (2006) and argue that, the genesis of this particular habitus draws from the participants' intersections with different conditions in both Zimbabwe and South Africa. Such intersections position migrants, not only as transient but also as transnational and in need of contextual re-engineering. This contextual re-engineering creates within the migrants a habitus that is pre-disposed to function as a Bourdieusian structuring structure, also structured to be in accord with the socio-economic environment from where it emerges.

As discussed in chapter six, mobility itself is emerging as a migrant space without particular locus and no permanent physical fixity. As such, it is important to understand the genesis of the transnational habitus as a habitus of mobility and temporariness, sustained by the socio-economic environment in both South Africa and Zimbabwe, yet not reducible to one specific context because of its hybridity. The migrants, who exist within a social field that is transnational rather than specific and fixed in one particular locale, carry this habitus of mobility. Conversing about the concept of social field, Bourdieu states that:

> I could twist Hegel's famous formula and say that *the real is the relational:* what exist in the social world are relations—not interactions between agents or intersubjective ties between individuals, but objective relations, which exist "independently of individual consciousness and will," as Marx said. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97)

What Bourdieu underlines in this particular passage is the existence of the social field in relation to human agents, in the context of this study, in relation to *migrants.* He draws attention to the conditions and relations that are external to individual consciousness and structured not only by the individual but also by the "collective". In chapter four of this thesis, I referred to Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the *social field* and its relationship to *habitus* as that of mutual beneficence wherein, the social field generates habitus, which in turn contributes to the structuring of the social field. Following on the discussion of the habitus and social field in chapter four, I note that, the socio-economic

environment in Johannesburg constitutes a social field in which migrants navigate and embed themselves yet arrive with a specific habitus from the home country, which may or may not be congruent to this destination specific social field. I take into consideration, Erel's (2010) discussion and criticism of what she calls "rucksack" approaches to migrant settlement in destination cities, which do not take into account migrants' participation in the active production and consumption of new forms of capital that are specific to the destination contexts.

The transnational habitus captures the sense of simultaneous embeddedness that characterises the different forms of existence by Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. In this context, transnationalism is capital that is available to Zimbabwean migrants in varying proportions and in accordance with the diverse spectrum of their composition. Many participants spend the greater part of their working lives in South Africa and draw on a gamut of practices contained within what approximates a transnational habitus. In other words, the transnational habitus applies as a good 'fit' to immigrants who have a simultaneous embeddedness in both the destination and the home country. Within this gamut of practices that constitute the transnational habitus are issues such as street comfort, instrumental networks of friendship, avoidance of xenophobic flash points and other modes of behaviour in the city.[15] More importantly, the transnational habitus as a repertoire of behaviours and activities is governed by mobility and has an intrinsic boundary setting mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. For instance, different groups of Zimbabweans could share some practices that are inaccessible to South African nationals, yet they share the same social reality and intersecting social fields. For example, Zulu language competence is easier to acquire for Ndebele speaking Zimbabweans than Shona speaking Zimbabweans and its conversion to capital largely excludes participants that speak Shona only.

I have defined and engaged the discourse of transnationalism in chapter three and briefly engaged it again in chapter six in relation to the movements of participants back and forth between Zimbabwe and South Africa. I will now turn attention to

[15] I discuss issues of street comfort and avoidance or fear of xenophobia in greater depth in chapter eight of this thesis. I have referred to them here to aid the discussion rather than to engage in detail.

the key activities of participants that constitute acts of transnationalism such as the cultivation of networks with relatives and friends back in Zimbabwe as well as the remitting of material and social remittances. According to Dahinden (2010: 53), "…the mobility – or better, circulation – of representations, ideas, goods and services across and within national boundaries is of great importance for the production and reproduction of transnational spaces." Notwithstanding the variation in depth and nature of transnationalism that best describes the participants of this study, one aspect that is undeniable is that relationships analogous to local anchorage in the destination country exist and also there is enough back and forth movements between South Africa and Zimbabwe to merit further discussion. To this end, I outline the nature of relationships that the participants have with different sets of groups in Johannesburg, which are an indication of an embeddedness of sorts in South Africa.

7.2.1 The intensity of migrants' communication with home as tactical transnationalism

Communication with family and other contacts based in Zimbabwe is one of the key indicators of an enduring link with the home country amongst immigrants. Such immigrant communication has been in existence for many years and most notably, transnational migration scholars have considered the frequency and intensity of the communication in defining the key tenets of migrant transnationalism (Crush and McDonald 2000; Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992). Communication is critical in the migrants' simultaneous maintenance of presence in both the destination and home countries. For the purposes of this research, I have disaggregated the communication in terms of the contacts, the frequency and the medium through which the communication happens (see Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1).

Table 7.1: Frequency of communication with people in Zimbabwe

Communication Frequency	Immediate family		Extended family		Friends	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Once a day	47	35.1	9	10.5	34	41.5
Once a week	58	43.3	35	40.7	24	29.3
Once every 2 weeks	3	2.2	9	10.5	6	7.3
Once a month	23	17.2	29	33.7	17	20.7
Once a year	3	2.2	4	4.6	1	1.2
Total	134	100	86	100	82	100

Source: author's survey data

7.2.1.1 *Social media platforms as a game-changer in communication with people back home*

Previous studies on foreign migrants in South Africa have identified phone calls as the common medium through which they communicate with contacts back home. Before the widespread use of social media platforms, landline and later, mobile phone calls were the most commonly cited medium of transnational migrant communication. In 2004, Vertovec (2004: 219) recognised the importance of phone calls, arguing that, cheap phone calls were emerging as the "social glue of migrant transnationalism". However, for participants of this study, the advent of social media platforms such as WhatsApp and Facebook and access to cheap smartphones has increased both the intensity and frequency of the communication with people in Zimbabwe as well as elsewhere in the world. This speaks to emerging trends worldwide where discourses of "co-presence" and "peripheral awareness" are beginning to find expression in academic literature (see for instance, Madianou 2016). According to Madianou (2016), advanced communication technologies facilitate co-presence and peripheral awareness, especially amongst transnational families and create an awareness of what happens in distant places. Focusing on Filipino transnational migrants in the

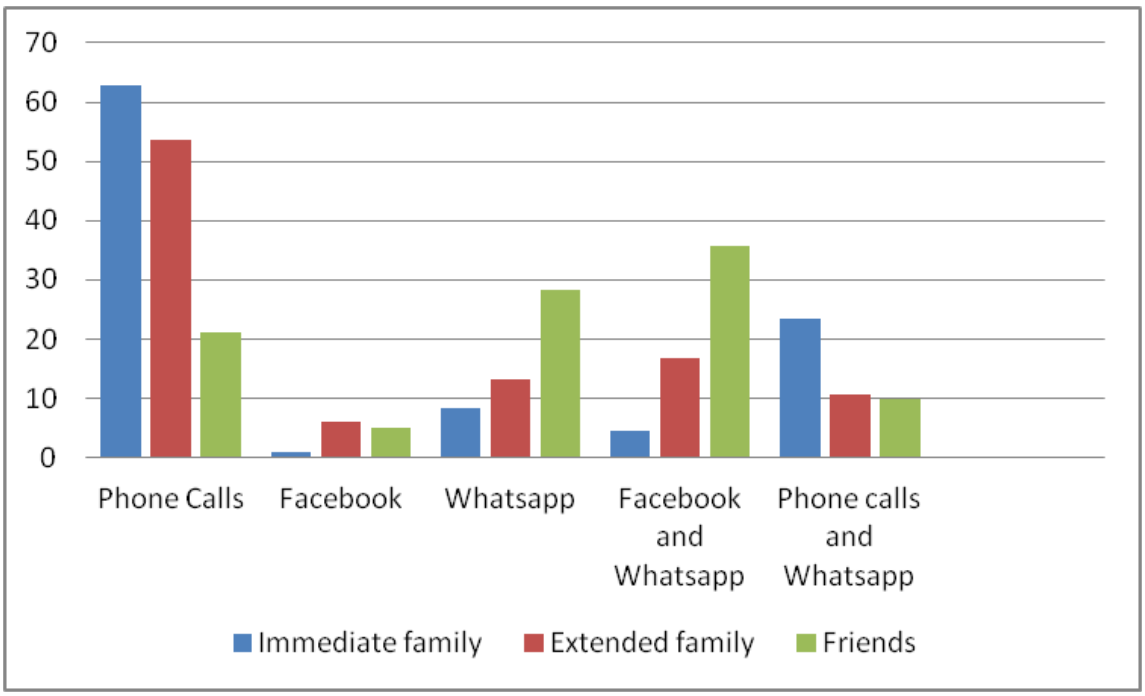
United Kingdom, Madianou (2016: 6) alludes to the development of an "always on" (online) phenomenon where people leave their facebook and Skype profiles open throughout the day and night in order to receive communication from their friends and connections at any given time. The practice of being always on allows people to be in conversation with multiple individuals in geographically disparate parts of the world.

Amongst participants of this study, there is an increasing utilisation of social group functions in social media platforms such as WhatsApp. Family members, friends and sometimes people from the same village or town of origin in Zimbabwe, create social groups that resemble online chat rooms where they share news about each other, their communities and local gossip. For example, news of deaths and other stories from villages or townships of origin quickly spread through the WhatsApp messaging platforms. The new features create co-presence where people engage in instantaneous conversation while in geographically disparate places. An extract from a focus group discussion held with some participants of this research highlights the impact of social networks:

> Respondent 5: WhatsApp makes it very easy; I can chat with my mum (mother) anytime
>
> Respondent 2: I think when you look at technology; it creates a different world for people. You can live in this world but practically exist in another
>
> Respondent 7: I can take a photograph and send it to Zimbabwe now while sitting here
>
> Respondent 2: you can stop communicating with all these people here and have people that you communicate with on your phone, and it does not affect you. You can be here physically but live in Zimbabwe on your phone
>
> Respondent 3: We are now living part of our daily lives in Zimbabwe.
>
> (Selected responses to a question on the impact of social networks, FGD 2, Johannesburg, 26/03/2016)

The statements by the focus group participants highlighted in the preceding passage speak to the transformative nature of communication technology. Social media platforms and other social technologies have created synergies between the social fields in Zimbabwe and the social field in Johannesburg, especially with the management of co-presence where people can be physically in Johannesburg but communicating across social fields or rather existentially in Zimbabwe. While social network platforms dominate communication with friends, phone calls are still the most preferred channel for communication with immediate and extended family, accounting for 62.9% and 53.6% respectively. Such communication reflects the generational divide between the younger migrants and the elderly family members that remain in the home country. According to some of the participants, the elderly family members are less technologically adept, and thus prefer contact through voice calls.

Figure 7.1: Participants' medium of communication with people in Zimbabwe (percentage)



Source: author's survey data

7.2.2 The intensity of travel to and from home as tactical transnationalism

In chapter six of this thesis I highlighted that, travel to and from Zimbabwe by the participants of this study is the first instance of mobility as a tactical response to the socio-economic environments in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. Over 80% of the participants go back to Zimbabwe at least once a year and the presence of family and other relatives back home influences the frequency of such visits. This indicates a strong link with the home country and a desire amongst the interviewed Zimbabweans to maintain an active connection with home. However, a significant percentage (17.3) of the participants has never gone back to Zimbabwe since arriving in South Africa. Reasons given for not going back include, lack of funds and the absence of relatives and family in the home country, with some participants indicating that their entire families are based in South Africa. Some migrants do not attach importance to going back to Zimbabwe, as they do not feel the need to do so, especially when they communicate with people in Zimbabwe on a daily basis and are aware of things that happen at home without having to be physically there. As I note in the following section, migrants instantaneously communicate important decision with people back home and seek their opinions.

Table 7.2: Participants' frequency of travel back to Zimbabwe

Frequency of travel	Frequency	Percentage
Every month	2	1.3
Once every 3 months	12	8.0
Once every 6 months	43	28.7
Once a year	65	43.3
Never gone back	26	17.3
Other	2	1.3
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

Table 7.3: Explanations of participants' travel frequency

Reasons for frequency of travel	Frequency	Percentage
Visit family	67	44.7
University vacation	4	2.7
Holidays	5	3.3
No money to travel	41	27.3
Other	33	22.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

7.2.2.1 *Participants' involvement in family decision-making*

In terms of family decision-making, there is a two-way consultation process between immigrants and the people back home, with 65.3% of the participants consulting people back home when making important decisions pertaining to marriage and child support. A significant proportion (70.7%) are consulted by family back home when decisions are made and the figure is higher for male

participants as opposed to female participants who are less likely to be consulted when important family matters are discussed. Some participants put this down to the patriarchal nature of their families where females are treated with less respect compared to their male counterparts.

7.2.3 Material and social remittances as currency ($)

The linkages with home extend beyond communication frequency and include support for those that remain in Zimbabwe with 76% of the participants sending money back home (see Table 7.4) and 65.8% doing so every month. Sana (2005) argues that, remittances constitute a transnational practice and those that wish to return to their countries of origin feel obligated to remit in order to safeguard their positions in the home country. To the participants of this study, remittances are made to relatives in Zimbabwe as a way of helping out and a livelihood option for those that remain back home. Most participants send amounts ranging from one thousand rands to ten thousand rands per annum (see Table 7.5). The advent of advanced financial technologies also enables migrants to send money to Zimbabwe instantly and safely. For example, one focus group participant indicated that,

> In the past, you would send money using registered mail, but now it is different because you can do an Electronic Funds Transfer (EFT) using money transfer agencies. You can also use your phone to transfer money instantly and they get it same time in Zimbabwe (FGD2, Johannesburg, 26/03/2016).

Table 7.4: Frequency of participants' remittances to Zimbabwe

Frequency of remittances	Frequency	Percentage
Every month	75	65.8
Once in three months	29	25.4
Once in six months	10	8.8
Total	**114**	**100**

Source: author's survey data

Table 7.5: Amount of money participants send to Zimbabwe per year (in South African Rands)

Amount sent per year	Frequency	Percentage
1000-10000	64	57.1
11000-20000	25	22.3
21000-30000	13	11.6
31000-40000	2	1.8
41000-50000	3	2.7
50000 or more	5	4.5
Total	**112**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

7.3 Cultivating networks in Johannesburg as tactical transnationalism

Many studies have focused on the role of migrants as transnational agents and actively cultivating connections with the country of origin. What is often lacking in these accounts of migrant transnationalism is the nature and form of connections and linkages that the participants cultivate in the destination country. In this section, I highlight the different forms of embeddedness within South

African society for the participants of this study. This builds on the preceding discussions of the connections and cultivation of backward linkage networks with the home country. Essentially, the time spent in the home country, prior to migration and on periodic visits is important as the basis and primary locus of sentimental connection to Zimbabwe. Regarding connections to South Africa, I particularly focus on the levels of integration within the Johannesburg context, for example, the nationalities of family members, friends, close friends and casual acquaintances of the participants. I also discuss social connections within Johannesburg in the context of a socio-cultural field that is different to the socio-cultural field to which the migrants as carriers of a specific habitus are socialised in Zimbabwe. It is important to state the composition of the Johannesburg social field and the tenets that make it transnational within the context of this research. As I have noted in my discussion of de Certeau's strategies and tactics, the South African citizens in their diversity possess flexible forms of strategy in relation to foreign migrants. These may not be immediately identifiable or thought as representing strategy; however, as I argue in chapter eight, the fear of xenophobic discrimination is an important structural component that informs specific decisions by migrants. In this sense, South African citizens may not need to directly interact with foreign migrants to exert fear of xenophobic violence but the association of xenophobic sentiment with South African citizens is enough strategic power to influence tactical circumnavigation by Zimbabwean migrants. Perhaps, South African citizens are the first significant composition of the stakeholders in the Johannesburg transnational social field. The transnational social field is also composed of other Zimbabweans of the same ethnicity and of different ethnicities to those of the participants. There are also foreign migrants from other nationalities, predominantly from other African countries. I will limit the composition of this particular social field to the above-mentioned stakeholders, though there are many other stakeholders who occupy varying positions and engage in different forms of contestation over the stakes available. In the following sections, I will outline the different types of relationships that the participants have within the Johannesburg context as an iterative component of the suite of relationships involving the home country, which I have discussed in

the preceding sections. Notably, I will highlight the presence of family members and friends from Zimbabwe and the friendships formed with South Africans and other migrants in the city.

7.3.1 Family and friends as part of the transnational social field in Johannesburg

As noted in the preceding section, friends and family members of the participants constitute stakeholders within the Johannesburg transnational social field (see, Table 7.6 and Table 7.7). The data points to a greater Zimbabwean presence in Johannesburg, with 94.7% of the participants indicating that they have relatives of the same ethnicity in Johannesburg while 51.3% reveal that they have relatives of a different ethnicity and 40% have black South African relatives. The familial relationships with black South Africans, as indicated by some participants, derive from sexual liaisons, cohabitation and inter-marriages, some dating back to the early migration of male Zimbabweans to the South African mines. Others however are more recent and speak to the development of areas of convergence and acceptance of long-term residence in Johannesburg. The development of these relationships enmeshes participants into inextricable associations with Johannesburg and biological relationships that they cannot control, especially where children resulting from intermarriages and other sexual relations begin to find their own identities as key actors within the transnational social field. These children increasingly defy conventional forms of allocating identity and belonging to states as they have dual claim to both Zimbabwe and South Africa, and in some instances place their parents in situations of ambivalent and conflicted loyalties. For example, one such parent stated that,

> My children are South African because they were born here. As a parent, I come from Zimbabwe but my children belong here, they have South African citizenship and as such, they cannot be called Zimbabweans (FGD2, Johannesburg, 26/03/2016).

Apart from trying to find and maintain their own identities as Zimbabwean, these parents begin to contend with the presence of children that may never see Zimbabwe as home.[16] The contestation over belonging to South Africa versus belonging to Zimbabwe and being caught in an in-between space finds expression even closer to them as they have to live with a cognate family member who is South African. In other words, what they have been experiencing from a distance and on the street or other outside space is now experienced in the home space, in close and inalienable spaces. I argue that, such relationships impose an additional layer of complexity to the Zimbabwean migrant livelihoods and the manner in which the Johannesburg transnational social field is structured.

In addition to shaping the experiences and relationship of participants with the city, personal relationships leave an indelible mark on the habitus of the participants as they adjust to the new environment. As argued in other parts of this thesis, this new habitus exists within a field that is not reducible to either the Zimbabwean context or the Johannesburg context but embodies the milieu of both contexts. The indication is that there is a greater sense of integration of Zimbabweans in South Africa and more space for interaction and contact with the South African population. Thus, the results for the spoken languages as well as the friendships formed attest to the greater contact between Zimbabweans and different residents of the city of Johannesburg.

Table 7.6: Participants with family in Johannesburg

Family Members	Frequency	Percentage
Same ethnicity	142	94.7
Different ethnicity	77	51.3
Black South African	60	40
SADC nationals	17	11.3

Source: author's survey data

[16] Perhaps to add clarity here, this particular Zimbabwean parent is using a South African identity document and her children gain South African citizenship at birth.

Table 7.7: participants with friends in Johannesburg

Friends	Frequency	Percentage
Same ethnicity	143	95.3
Different ethnicity	115	76.7
Black South African	119	79.3
SADC nationals	84	56
White South African	73	48.7
Coloured South African	42	28
Other	21	14

Source: author's survey data

Greater numbers of participants have friends across the different groups of people in Johannesburg, with 95.3% of the participants having friends of the same ethnicity (Shona and Ndebele) while 76.7% have Zimbabwean friends of a different ethnic background. There are also strong links of friendship with South Africans as 79.3% of the participants indicate that they have black South African friends, and significant proportions have friends from other racial groups such as White South Africans, Indians and Coloureds. The implication here is that, while there is a higher proportion of friendships with same ethnics and people from the same country, there are a correspondingly high number of friendships with people that have no cognate relationship with the participants. Friendships also indicate areas of common interest with other elements of the Johannesburg transnational social field, as they are not strictly limited to shared ethnicity and citizenship. This also indicates a greater entrenchment of the Zimbabwean presence in South Africa as friendships are often built over time and form out of familiarity between participants and the people surrounding them. The figures for close friendships with South Africans (see Table 7.8) are slightly lower than for general friendships but indicate a similar trend in terms of the diversity of such connections with people of different backgrounds.

Taking into account the nature of these social relationships and the levels of interaction within the Johannesburg context, I argue that, these relationships are not always altruistic but are often instrumental and constitute the migrants' response to the demands of the Johannesburg socio-economic environment. The evidence of work relationships (see Table 7.9) across different groups as well as other social relationships outside of friendship such as belonging to the same religious faith (see Table 7.11) is indicative of the depth of shared spaces between the participants of this study and other population groups in Johannesburg.

Table 7.8: Participants with close friends in Johannesburg

Close Friends	Frequency	Percentage
Same ethnicity	137	91.3
Different ethnicity	101	67.3
Black South African	86	57.3
SADC nationals	49	32.7
White South African	42	28
Coloured South African	22	14.7
Other	07	4.7

Source: author's survey data

Table 7.9: Participants with work associates in Johannesburg

Work Associates	Frequency	Percentage
Same ethnicity	93	62
Different ethnicity	79	52.7
Black South African	96	64
SADC nationals	65	43.3
White South African	81	54
Coloured South African	48	32
Other	16	10.7

Source: author's survey data

Table 7.10: Participants with drinking mates in Johannesburg

Drinking Mates	Frequency	Percentage
Same ethnicity	41	27.3
Different ethnicity	32	21.3
Black South African	33	22
SADC nationals	18	12
White South African	14	9.3
Coloured South African	08	5.3
Other	03	2

Source: author's survey data

Table 7.11: Participants with church mates in Johannesburg

Church Mates	Frequency	Percentage
Same ethnicity	117	78
Different ethnicity	93	62
Black South African	97	64.7
SADC nationals	55	36.7
White South African	41	27.3
Coloured South African	33	22
Other	11	7.3

Source: author's survey data

7.3.2 Language competency as capital in the transnational social field

Table 7.12: Languages spoken with different population groups in the city

Languages spoken	Same ethnicity	Different ethnicity	Black South Africans	White South Africans	Coloured South Africans	SADC nationals	Other
Ndebele	68	12	10	0	0	0	0
Shona	40	21	0	0	0	0	0
Shona and Ndebele	3	25	0	0	0	0	0
Ndebele and English	11	18	4	0	0	0	0
Shona and English	22	16	0	0	0	0	0
English	1	37	39	104	79	95	30
Zulu	0	0	40	0	0	3	0
Zulu and English	0	1	29	0	0	2	0
Other SA Languages	0	0	13	0	0	0	0

Source: author's survey data

The languages spoken by migrants in Johannesburg demonstrate the operation of a different order and a new set of relationships that is not entirely reducible to the home environment in Zimbabwe or to the new environment in Johannesburg. While amongst the Shona speaking participants, it is common to speak English as a second language when in Zimbabwe, the socio-economic environment of Johannesburg demands that, they replace Shona with English as the first language. For instance, speaking in English is better and safer for some participants as it does not immediately reveal one's identity as a Zimbabwean. If you speak in English, you may not be readily identifiable as a Zimbabwean and one has to go further beyond the English speaking subject to uncover the real identity. It is better to speak in English; "you cannot go about speaking in Shona, using words like *sadza* (thick porridge), *muriwo or maveggie* (vegetables)" (FGD2 participant, 26/03/2016). Such language, which immediately distinguishes one as a foreign national exacerbates the risks of xenophobic violence. As such, there are changes

in the mindset, in the habitus of a Shona Zimbabwean due to the requirements of the new social field. For the Shona Zimbabweans, for example, English becomes a dominant language in primary interactions with South Africans and other migrants, including the Ndebele speaking Zimbabweans.

Bourdieu refers to different forms of capital or stakes in the field and notes that, within the social field, there are contestations for capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In this case, the contestations may not be obvious but the possession of South African language competencies places one in a better position to access specific resources within the Johannesburg context. Such language competencies also assist in the negotiation of relationships and cultivation of social networks with South African citizens and the way that Zimbabwean migrants experience the city. One focus group participant felt uncomfortable in some parts of the city and used the example of Pretoria to illustrate her point that:

> South Africans have certain perceptions, for example, when I am in Pretoria, there is a perception that Pretoria is for Pedi people and when you meet people on the street, they just say, "ahe" assuming that you speak Sepedi. That makes me feel that, this is not my place. Sometimes when you go to a clinic and you find that all the nurses are Pedi and when you try to speak to them in English, they just speak in Sepedi, yet we do not understand and it is very frustrating. They would tell you to speak in their own language. (Female focus group participant, FGD2, Johannesburg, 26/03/2016)

Within the pool of languages, Ndebele and Shona languages dominate interactions with co-ethnics and a combination of Shona and English and Ndebele and English, and English are significant, especially with people of different ethnicity. Interaction with black South Africans mainly happens in Zulu, English and a combination of Zulu and English. A few participants speak other South African languages other than Zulu when interacting with black South Africans while interaction with white South Africans and coloured South Africans happens exclusively in English. The same applies to immigrants from other countries outside of the pre-determined categories. Interaction with immigrants from the SADC region other than Zimbabwe and South Africa also happens mainly in English, with a few speaking Zulu and a combination of Zulu and English.

7.4 Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has highlighted the different dimensions of migrants' relationships in both the destination and country of origin contexts. While transnationalism is a vital frame through which the activities of the participants can be understood, it is however important to emphasize the tactical nature of its deployment in the everyday lives of the participants. The embeddedness of the participants within both the Johannesburg and the Zimbabwean environments is evident yet there is no acceptance of Johannesburg and South Africa as a permanent home. In this regard, Zimbabwe is considered the legitimate permanent home where participants seek to return. As noted in the preceding sections, such return sometimes does not materialise. It is possible however that we have moved beyond the transnational moment as we know it and perhaps digital communication has put paid to our general understanding of what transnational migration means. In his writing on the Philippines women working in the United Kingdom, Madianou documents systems of co-presence where the use of social media networks such as Skype and Facebook have narrowed the distance and it is possible for people to have endless conversations as well as carry out many relationship functions via the online platforms. The co-presence created and mediated by social media platforms contributes to the development and strengthening of transnational social fields. In this chapter, I have discussed the operation of a transnational habitus, which develops from simultaneous exposure to both the Zimbabwean and South African socio-economic contexts. I have also discussed the operation of a transnational social field, which operates with the transnational habitus of migrants. This partly responds to the ambivalence of Southern African migration studies regarding the status of migrants who have moved from their countries of origin. Owing to the many years of migrant labour to the South African mines, migrants from the neighbouring countries were predominantly characterised as circulating rather than settling permanently in the destination cities. Such perspectives have dominated latter approaches to migration, with many studies leaning towards the notions of migrant temporality and circulation. This stands opposite the notions of migrant assimilation and

processes of ethnic enclave formation discussed within the contexts of Western Europe and North American cities. Thus, the habitus and social field in this context take into cognisance, the need to understand the quasi-permanency of migrants in Johannesburg and the circumstances that allow such flexible forms of permanency to develop as well as the conditions that are needed for the migrants to survive and find comfort in their experiences of the city. I argue that, while the migrants' cultivation of networks in Johannesburg is instrumental, purposive, and geared towards achieving specific and immediate goals, it latently leads to the development of flexible forms of permanency. At the same time, while the participants seldom express an interest in settling permanently in South Africa, they are cognisant of the limitations that such decisions could face, as there are limited legal avenues available for permanent settlement in South Africa.

8 Chapter Eight: Migrants belonging, attachment and identity in the city

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses migrants' sense of attachment to place in the form of the dwelling, neighbourhood and city where they live, and migrants' expression of Zimbabwean identity in Johannesburg. The discussion on the attachment to place takes place within the context of international migration, where the majority of participants' cognate families reside in Zimbabwe and there is active cultivation of transnational connections with the home country. Situating attachment to place within the context of high intra neighbourhood mobility discussed in chapter six of this thesis, presents a complex picture, especially with migration research suggesting that, "…the probability of migration declines with a person's tenure in the region, presumably because social attachment grows with time" (Goldstein 1964, cited in Dahl and Sorenson 2010: 637). Looking at the participants of this study, I ask questions about the kind of attachment that best captures their state of being in the city of Johannesburg. Firstly, Johannesburg is a foreign land to them and attachment to it exists in contention with the land of birth in Zimbabwe. Secondly, many participants exited Zimbabwe due to a compulsive socio-economic environment and in search of better opportunities in South Africa. Thirdly, belonging to Johannesburg is contentious due to a climate of xenophobic sentiment, which occasionally manifests in violent attacks on foreign nationals. These questions create a broad array of implications for any research that seeks to understand attachment to place, especially in the context of such attachment being analysed in relation to residential movement in the city.

In this chapter, I consider attachment to place within a differentiated spatial range, namely, the symbolic and largely sentimental attachment to country, attachment to city, to neighbourhood and down to the specific dwelling where participants

reside. I engage these variegated spatial regimes through de Certeau's conception of strategies and tactics, and argue that, the different modalities and depths of attachment at varying scales are tactical responses by migrants. In this regard, the first level of attachment pertains to the nation specific identification as Zimbabwean and the consideration of Zimbabwe as home in contrast to South Africa, which participants consider as foreign land. This happens within the context of a tactical transnational existence as discussed in chapter six of this thesis, where mobility itself is a way by which participants respond to regulatory platforms within the city of Johannesburg. In this instance, I argue that, attachment or non-attachment to either South Africa or Zimbabwe is tactical and a response to both the South African and the Zimbabwean socio-economic environments.

The second level of attachment pertains to the sentimental value attached to the city of Johannesburg. The third level of attachment relates to the suburb or neighbourhood where the participants reside. The fourth layer pertains to the specific dwelling where the participants live. To this end, I have asked the question; whether attachment to local place is an important consideration for participants and also, whether such attachment has any particular relevance to their daily lives and what it means in a transnational existence. The following sections present the results of this exercise in understanding the influences that perceptions and experiences of place have on the decisions that the migrants make on a daily basis concerning where they live in the city of Johannesburg. I asked participants to choose a response that best described their feelings from pre-set categories, namely, strongly attached, attached, slightly attached, not attached and strongly unattached. I asked further probing questions in order to elicit explanatory responses from participants regarding the reasons why they felt the way they did about specific places. The differing modalities of attachment at these levels reveal an instrumental and utilitarian notion of what it means to reside in specific parts of the city for the participants of this study.

In addition, the discussion engages the levels of identity comfort in the city of Johannesburg, specifically highlighting the places where participants feel

comfortable identifying and expressing their Zimbabwean identity. I argue that, at the centre of one's decision-making and settlement in the city is the sense of comfort and ease in their surroundings. Such ease obtains in the existence of circumstances that make it possible for individuals to create spaces of comfort and identify with the spaces that they produce. As such, I argue that the nature, form and routes of movements as well as the nature, form and modalities of Zimbabwean identity expression are tactical and respond to the South African environment, for example, some participants do not identify as Zimbabwean in minibus taxis due to fear of xenophobia.

8.2 Attachment to dwelling, neighbourhood and city of Johannesburg

The question of attachment to place is particularly a pertinent one when considering the observation made by Wilbur Zelinsky as early as the 1970s that, "Greater mobility means shallower local attachment…" (1971: 225). Inversely, some authors argue that mobility declines with social attachment and the presence of family and friends in a specific area has implications on whether an individual moves or not (Dahl and Sorenson 2010). Other academic writers argue that, identifying with and connection to place as well as *place-belongingness* is an important aspect pertaining to migrants' attachment to specific locales (Ma and Xiang 1998: 550). While there is no singular definition of place attachment, some authors have described it, "as both the process of attaching oneself to a place and a product of this process" (Giuliani (2002), cited in Devine-Wright 2009: 427). As product, it connotes emotional connection or affective link between people and specific neighbourhoods or localities (Devine-Wright 2009; Hernández, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace and Hess 2007; Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001). In his seminal work on place and placelessness, Edward Relph equates the relationship that individuals have with place to the relationships that they have with other human beings, and argues that places are directly experienced phenomena with meanings and "…are important sources of individual and community identity" (Relph 1976: 147).

According to Zygmunt Bauman (1992: 695), "The urge of mobility, built into the structure of contemporary life, prevents the arousal of strong affections for any of the places; places we occupy are no more than temporary stations." In the context of international migration and mobility, it is difficult to engage the concept of place attachment, especially within a population that has moved from place to place and as observed in chapter six of this thesis, increasingly finds permanence in mobility. Thus, where mobility is a resource and individuals tactically deploy it to respond to the city's regulatory platforms, the host population and other migrants; it is difficult to talk about sentimental attachment to place in the strict and affective sense described by geographers and other scholars of place. What

emerges from the following passages is an idea of place attachment that is largely instrumental rather than sentimental, and accompanied by rationalised explanations of what it means to the participants. As such, from the perspective of participants, the attachment is tactical, and does not appear as a natural process of attaching oneself to place but a deliberate choice of action based on what a specific place offers to them. With this tactical deployment of attachment by the participants in mind, dividing the objects of attachment into the personal space in the form of dwelling, neighbourhood and the city of Johannesburg as a whole help somewhat in eliciting the different sets of thinking that relate to different spaces occupied by participants.

8.2.1 Participants' attachment to current residence

Sentiment regarding current residence amongst participants of this study indicates a greater appreciation of where Zimbabweans live and the close relationship that they have with personal spaces (see Table 8.1). There is greater importance placed on human relationships, i.e. the relationship with proprietors (mastanda), fellow tenants and sub-tenants as well as security guards for those living in buildings monitored by security personnel. Such relationships have a direct influence on the length of stay at a particular residence and together with the rental amount mediate the feelings of attachment to place and the strength of the personal relationship with a specific space. Length of stay in itself is a function of the good relations and the perception of comfort by the participants. For some participants however, the current place of residence is temporary and as such, they do not see any reason for feelings of attachment as they can move to another place whenever that particular residence ceases to meet their expectations in terms of affordability, cleanliness, comfort and value for money.

Table 8.1: Participants' attachment to current residence

Attachment to place	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Strongly attached	42	28.0
Attached	44	29.3
Slightly attached	29	19.3
Not attached	27	18.0
Strongly unattached	8	5.3
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

Table 8.2: Attachment to current residence by participants' area of residence

Place of residence	Frequency & percentage	Strongly attached	Attached	Slightly attached	Not attached	Strongly unattached	Total
Inner city	Frequency	11	17	11	8	0	47
	Percentage	23.4	36.2	23.4	17.0	0.0	100
Suburbs	Frequency	12	11	9	5	3	40
	Percentage	30.0	27.5	22.5	12.5	7.5	100
Inner ring	Frequency	16	11	3	13	3	46
	Percentage	34.8	23.9	6.5	28.3	6.5	100
Townships	Frequency	3	5	6	1	2	17
	Percentage	17.6	29.4	35.3	5.9	11.8	100
Total	Frequency	42	44	29	27	8	150
	Percentage	28.0	29.3	19.3	18.0	5.3	100

Source: author's survey data

It is important to highlight that, attachment to current residence depends on numerous factors for the participants. The full range of attachment to current residence, which includes slight attachment, attachment and strong attachment, is

highest across the inner city, townships and suburban areas (above 80%) and lowest in the inner ring areas (65.2%). Those who express attachment to the current dwelling in the suburban areas emphasise sense of ownership as important where they either own the properties or in some instances rent the full property. For instance, one suburban participant highlighted that:

> I feel strongly attached because I am comfortable, there is no landlord or owner to put rules, I am free to do whatever I like at anytime. In addition, the sense of ownership means everything, I can do anything, I can change, I can extend. If tomorrow I wake up and I want flowers outside, I can do anything without any problem (Survey participant, ID055, 08/09/2013).

In this instance, the ownership of place, which is a rarity amongst the participants of this study, provides a different dimension to the affective relationships with place. This particular participant feels a strong sense of attachment to current residence because she owns the place. While ownership of property is an important factor, others emphasise the length of stay in a particular dwelling as important for the development of affective bonds. For example, one inner ring resident indicated that, "I am strongly attached to current residence; it will be difficult to move elsewhere because I have lived here for a long time" (Survey participant, ID006, Turffontein, 17/09/2013). Length of time in a particular residence transcends specific areas of the city as it emerges as an important consideration regardless of where individuals live.

In parts of the inner city such as Hillbrow and Berea where single room accommodation is the norm, participants refer to issues such as overcrowding, lack of cleanliness and poor interpersonal relationships as important factors for both attachment and non-attachment. Some express the reasons for their attachment in the following terms:

> I am strongly attached to current residence because I have freedom, no one controls me here (Survey participant, ID012, Hillbrow, 19/09/2013).

> I am strongly attached to current residence because the rent is affordable and the flat is big (Survey participant, ID007, Berea, 18/09/2013).

> I am strongly attached to current residence; it is cleaner than my previous flat (Survey participant, ID001, Berea, 11/09/2013).

> I am strongly attached to current residence because the owner is free and understanding, he does not give us any problems (Survey participant, ID008, Turffontein, 18/09/2013).

While the preceding excerpts from interviews highlight some of the reasons for attachment, other people express no attachment to their current dwelling. Describing reasons for non-attachment to current residence, some inner city residents shared the following sentiments:

> *Angiyithandisisi, ngiyahlala nje, ngiphoqwa yisimo*. [I do not really like it; I just stay because of the situation] It is a one room and I have children, so it is crowded. The biggest problem is that I do not have money and cannot afford a bigger and better place. There are also too many people within this dwelling (Survey participant, ID047, Ebony Park, 28/09/2013).

> I am not attached to current residence, it is not comfortable, I am sharing one room with my brother and his wife and I feel that I am intruding on their space, as they are not free to do whatever they want to do (Survey participant, ID002, Yeoville, 11/09/2013).

Those that express feelings of non-attachment to current residence point to overcrowding as part of the reasons and allude to an aspiration for better places of residence, which they do not afford because of their current financial positions. The figures for attachment in the inner ring areas are conspicuously low in comparison with other areas of the city. This is in spite of similar expressions in terms of reasons for feeling attached or not attached to place. For instance, one inner ring resident indicated that:

> I am not attached to current flat because I can move to another place anytime, for example, if I am not happy with the rent I can move to a cheaper place. The other reason is that, I do not like this place because for me it is too quiet. (Survey participant, ID010, Turffontein, 18/09/2013)

Sentiments of non-permanence to place due to one not owning the residency that they occupy pervades the different sections of the city. As such, it is not peculiar to the inner ring suburbs. However, as shown in the preceding quotation, some participants describe the inner ring areas as too quiet in comparison with the inner city areas.

8.2.2 Participants' attachment to current neighbourhood

Appreciation of current neighbourhood (Table 8.3) differs from appreciation for current residence due to the different criteria that operate in the evaluation of what a specific neighbourhood offers to the participants. While participants consider interpersonal relationships with co-occupants, cleanliness of dwelling as well as the rental amount for residence attachment, neighbourhood attachment exists in relation to the street environment, safety, and proximity to amenities as well as length of residence in a particular area.

Table 8.3: Participants' attachment to Current Suburb/Township

Attachment to place	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly attached	33	22.0
Attached	53	35.3
Slightly attached	24	16.0
Not attached	31	20.7
Strongly unattached	9	6.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

Table 8.4: Attachment to current suburb/township by place of residence

Place of residence	Frequency & Percentage	Strongly Attached	Attached	Slightly Attached	Not Attached	Strongly Unattached	Total
Inner city	Frequency	12	9	10	10	6	47
	Percentage	25.5	19.1	21.3	21.3	12.8	100
Suburbs	Frequency	8	18	3	10	1	40
	Percentage	20.0%	45.0	7.5	25.0	2.5	100
Inner ring	Frequency	10	20	7	8	1	46
	Percentage	21.7%	43.5	15.2	17.4	2.2	100
Townships	Frequency	3	6	4	3	1	17
	Percentage	17.6	35.3	23.5	17.6	5.9	100
Total	Frequency	33	53	24	31	9	150
	Percentage	22.0	35.3	16.0	20.7	6.0	100

Source: author's survey data

The strongest feeling of attachment to neighbourhood is highest in the inner city, which for all its problems of crime and police harassment, is seen by participants as a place with less xenophobic sentiment. Later in this chapter, I discuss the spaces of comfort for the participants and the areas where they feel most comfortable identifying as Zimbabwean. One of the determinants of comfort for the participants is the fear of xenophobia and the inner city is preferred because there are more foreigners who provide a sense of solidarity against a perceived xenophobic South African public. As highlighted earlier, the inner city fulfils the need to be closer to major transport routes and the Johannesburg CBD. For instance, one participant explained the advantages that the inner city provides in the following terms:

> On my side, things are very easy when I am in Berea; you see here I am close to town. If I stay in the township and I get 50 rands and want to buy a blouse, I will have to take a taxi and it is 15 rands to get to town, which means I will use 30 rands for transport and I will be left with 20 rands. So when I get here, I won't be

> able to buy the blouse I want but when I am staying here and I get that 50 rands I will just walk into town (Survey participant, ID004, Berea, 13/09/2013).

For this particular participant, the inner city is convenient and such convenience influences her decision on where to live in the city and feeling towards place. It is a pragmatic calculation of the transport costs involved and the proximity to major shopping areas for her. While this may not be the only consideration, it is an example of some practical decisions that migrants make on a daily basis in the city. Others however place emphasis on the quietness of place, for example, one participant highlighted that, "I have attachment to Turffontein because I have not lived anywhere else other than Turffontein; I do not wish to live anywhere else. Turffontein for me is quiet and not noisy" (Survey participant, ID005, Turffontein, 17/09/2013). In this instance, the participant sees Turffontein (an inner ring suburb in the south of Johannesburg) as a quiet place and has no plans to live anywhere else. Such sentiment is common especially amongst participants from the inner ring and suburban areas who opine that, the streets are not crowded and there is less likelihood of harassment by the police. Another participant from a suburban neighbourhood expressed contentment with current residence in the following terms, "I like this suburb because the place is beautiful and clean unlike Hillbrow, which is dirty and smelling" (Survey participant, ID037, Berea, 26/09/2013).

The participants contrast the inner ring and suburban areas with the bustling, crowded and noisy image of the inner city areas. Some residents of the inner city illustrate this contrast in the following terms:

> Once I am outside this building, there is nothing that I like out there; I am not attached. There is too much crime on the streets; I was in a situation where I had to help a woman who was being mugged and I just think that there is no order, there is too much activity and chaos on the streets. The cars just park on the streets, I just do not like that (Survey participant, ID034, Berea, 25/09/2013).

The preceding excerpt portrays an image of the inner city that is dirty, unlikable, crowded and riddled with crime. Amongst the participants that feel strongly about crime and lack of safety in the inner city, the corresponding attachment is

predictably on the lower end of the scale. However, most of the negative sentiment (as shown in the preceding paragraphs) pertaining to the inner city emanates from people that live in the quieter inner ring and low density suburban neighbourhoods. It is therefore important to note that in evaluating participants' preferences, I take into account that the inner city is not a ubiquitously noisy and dirty place. There are sections of the inner city that are appreciated by the participants, seen as quiet, clean and duly contrasted with Hillbrow, which is seen as representing the worst characteristics of the inner city.

While there is a greater sense of attachment to suburban and inner ring areas because of low density and quietness and the inner city because of proximity to amenities and transport routes, the township areas have cheaper accommodation options as an advantage. However, the lack of job opportunities influences some participants' sense of non-attachment. For instance, one participant indicated that:

> angingeke ngithi ngiyayithanda lendawo ngoba ayingijabulisi…akula msebenzi ongawuthola lapha elokishini, kumele uyedinga kwezinye indawo [I cannot say I like this place because it does not make me happy, there is no job you can get here in the township, you have to search in other places] (Survey participant, ID040, Ebony Park, 28/09/2013).

The perceptions of the township as an area with little economic prospects is dissuasive to people that consider it as a cheaper alternative to other sections of the city. While frequent changes of residence are the main factor in the lack of attachment to current residence, in the township they are also an ascription of foreignness. For instance, one participant indicated that, "It happens when you are moving because they know that people that move are foreigners, it is terrible to live there, and the people are erratic" (Survey participant, ID 019, Alexandra, 06/09/2013). This speaks to a set of norms and behaviours that easily differentiate foreigners from South Africans in the townships. There is a lower likelihood of South African nationals moving from one house to the next and continually seeking rental accommodation in the townships. Many South Africans that live in

the township have Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)[17] houses and do not pay rent; instead, they earn income through renting out rooms to foreign nationals. Others live in shacks in the informal settlements and they seldom move from one shack to the next or from one house to the next, which makes it easy to identify and isolate people that do so as foreign nationals. When someone is seen transferring property from one house to the other, they become a target of insults and xenophobic remarks.

8.2.3 Fortune and criminality: participants ' attachment to the city of Johannesburg

Appreciation for the city of Johannesburg as a whole shows little variation across the surveyed suburbs of the city with 70.1% of the inner city participants, 71.7% inner ring participants and 70.5% township participants indicating some form of attachment to the city (see Table 8.5). The suburban participants have shown the highest appreciation for the city of Johannesburg, with a significantly higher percentage of 80%. The overall percentage of people with some form of attachment to the city of Johannesburg stands at 73.4% while the figures for those with attachment to current neighbourhood stand at 73.3% and those with attachment to current residence stands at 76.6%. Appreciation for the city of Johannesburg stems from a sense that the city has given the participants more opportunities for employment than any other city, especially contrasted with the situation in Zimbabwe. It is an instrumental appreciation of what the city offers rather than a deep feeling of closeness and affection for Johannesburg.

[17] RDP housing refers to houses built under the Reconstruction and Development Programme initiated by the first democratic government of South Africa in 1994. The houses are, "developed by government and allocated to beneficiaries with a household income of less than R3, 500. Beneficiaries of this subsidy receive a once off grant for land, basic services (water and sanitation) and the house (top structure)." Landman, K. & Napier, M. (2010). Waiting for a house or building your own? Reconsidering state provision, aided and unaided self-help in South Africa. *Habitat International,* 34 (3) 299-305.

Table 8.5: Participants' attachment to City of Johannesburg

Participants attachment	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Strongly attached	33	22.0
Attached	52	34.7
Slightly attached	25	16.7
Not attached	34	22.7
Strongly unattached	6	4.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**

Source: author's survey data

Table 8.6: Attachment to the city of Johannesburg by place of residence

Place of residence	Frequency & Percentage	Strongly attached	Attached	Slightly attached	Not attached	Strongly unattached	Total
Inner city	Frequency	12	16	5	10	4	47
	Percentage	25.5	34.0	10.6	21.3	8.5	100
Suburbs	Frequency	9	18	5	8	0	40
	Percentage	22.5	45.0	12.5	20.0	0.0	100
Inner ring	Frequency	8	14	11	12	1	46
	Percentage	17.4	30.4	23.9	26.1	2.2	100
Townships	Frequency	4	4	4	4	1	17
	Percentage	23.5	23.5	23.5	23.5	5.9	100
Total	Frequency	33	52	25	34	6	150
	Percentage	22.0	34.7	16.7	22.7	4.0	100

Source: author's survey data

Table 8.7: Attachment to city of Johannesburg by participants' ethnicity

Ethnicity	Frequency & percentage	Strongly attached	Attached	Slightly attached	Not attached	Strongly unattached	Total
Ndebele	Frequency	15	34	14	18	2	83
	Percentage	18.1	41.0	16.9	21.7	2.4	100
Shona	Frequency	18	18	11	16	4	67
	Percentage	26.9	26.9	16.4	23.9	6.0	100
Total	Frequency	33	52	25	34	6	150
	Percentage	22.0	34.7	16.7	22.7	4.0	100

Source: author's survey data

As discussed in the opening sections of this research, economic reasons dominate the considerations made for migrating to Johannesburg amongst Zimbabwean migrants and the data discussed here indicates a significantly higher attachment of sorts to Johannesburg based on the economic opportunities that the city offers to the immigrants. On closer analysis, however such levels are not necessarily an indication of the sense of attachment as an emotional connection but a function of an economic rationality that favours Johannesburg because of its better economy compared to other proximate areas where migrants could go. The feeling of attachment to place and the urge to identify with a specific locale emerges strongly in the data and ranges from individuals who appreciate Johannesburg to those that look at it with utter disgust. The emerging trend is that, the nature and form of such attachment draws from the participants' assessment of whether the place meets expectations of cleanliness, security, safety and other considerations. For example, some participants shared that:

> I am strongly unattached to the city of Johannesburg because it disgusts me, when you move around, you stumble upon dead people on the street and some bad characters, and I do not like this city (Survey participant, ID001, Berea, 11/09/2013).

> I am slightly attached to the city of Johannesburg because it is a dirty place and not a nice place to raise children (Survey participant, ID002, Yeoville, 11/09/2013).

> I have no attachment to the city of Johannesburg because there are too many thieves (Survey participant, ID004, Berea, 13/09/2013).

While it is not an everyday occurrence for people to stumble upon dead bodies on the streets, the first excerpt underscores the extent of criminal activities that have alienated the residents of the city who loathe it and formulate representations of a city that is disgusting and revolting. In the words of another participant, "Johannesburg is a city that gathers people from all over the world, it gathers good people and bad people, and it gathers pastors and criminals alike. It is both a good and bad city" (Survey participant, ID091, Midrand, 12/01/2014). The image of Johannesburg as a mixed city is much closer to reality than the portrayal of it as a big bad city; it is a city of many different fractures, which have to be understood through the lens of those that live in it and have experienced it firsthand. Some of the participants however are quick to put emotions aside and speak directly about what brought them to Johannesburg in the first place, indicating that, "*siphanda imali, kulapha engisebenzela khona* ['we hustle for money', it is where I work]" (Survey participant, ID003, Berea, 12/09/2013). "Siphanda imali" literally translates to "we dig for money" which is fitting in the context of Johannesburg as the city of gold mining. Another participant expressed a similar point, indicating that,

> I am strongly attached to the city of Johannesburg because it is fast and that is where you get money, *imisebenzi iseJozi. Yonk' into itholakala eJozi, nabantwana, kuyafiwa lapha eGoli, lengculaza yonk'into.* [Employment is in Johannesburg. Everything is found in Johannesburg, and women, people die here in Johannesburg, and even HIV/AIDS, everything] (Survey participant, ID059, Hillbrow, 10/09/2013).

While many participants express an attachment to Johannesburg because of the opportunities and the lifestyle it offers, others have developed affective bonds due

to longer stays and inter-generational presence in the city. It is important to highlight here that attachment to the city of Johannesburg is strongest amongst Zimbabweans of Ndebele ethnic origin as the data shows that 76% have some form of attachment to Johannesburg compared to 60% for the Shona. Some Ndebele participants expressed feelings of attachment to Johannesburg in the following terms:

> I am strongly attached to Johannesburg as a city, I love Johannesburg. I do not know why I feel this way, but I have spent a lot of my life this side and there are a lot of relatives and friends who are here. That makes me feel attached as compared to my hometown (Survey participant, ID057, Honeydew, 08/09/2013).

> I am strongly attached to the city of Johannesburg; the first reason is the economic prospects. It is also the nerve-centre for the family; that is where many of our family members and people from home live. It is like home as the whole family from our grandfathers have come here and not gone anywhere else, so I feel strongly attached to Johannesburg because it is like my second home (Survey participant, ID051, Berea, 10/09/2013).

> I am strongly attached to the city of Johannesburg because even if I say I am going back to Zimbabwe, I know that my life is here in Johannesburg. In Zimbabwe, I have no work, no house, nothing but here I have all my small things and that is where I belong (Survey participant, ID045, Ebony Park, 28/09/2013).

The strong attachment to Johannesburg by the Ndebele happens in the context of historical ethnic dynamics between the Shona and the Ndebele in Zimbabwe. In chapter five of this thesis, I discussed the different waves of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa, particularly the role that the Zimbabwean state played in the killing and displacing of thousands of ethnic Ndebele people during the post independence period. As such, South Africa provided a place where historically, the Ndebele could belong and find opportunities for work that were unavailable in Zimbabwe.

Even though Johannesburg is highly appreciated from an economic and affective standpoint across the different areas of the city, some individuals are unequivocal in describing it as foreign land. For instance, one participant expressed slight attachment to Johannesburg but explained that it is not his home,

> …we love Johannesburg, but home is home you know. You can never be attached to Johannesburg because every corner they talk badly about foreigners. I think it is only this country where they do not like foreigners… (Survey participant, ID054, Honeydew, 10/09/2013)

Apart from the economic consideration and an instrumental expression of attachment to Johannesburg, some participants are mindful that they do not quite belong to the city and they have homes in Zimbabwe. This speaks to the tactical transnational presence that I have discussed in detail in chapter seven of this thesis. While there is an acceptance of what Johannesburg offers, there are also barriers to achieving full membership and belonging to the city. The biggest obstacle as expressed in the preceding excerpt is the xenophobic sentiment from some sections of the South African population. Thus, some participants adopt positions of partial belonging to Johannesburg yet still maintain contact and investments in their home country because they find it difficult to achieve full belonging.

8.3 Identity, belonging and street comfort in the city

In the preceding sections, I have engaged the notion of attachment to place by looking at the different hierarchies of space that Zimbabweans occupy in the city of Johannesburg. Attachment to current residence engaged the personal space of the participants and focused on the interpersonal relationships with key stakeholders in the places where the participants reside. Attachment to neighbourhood extended the range of stakeholders and sought a general outlook in terms of the different suburbs where the participants live and capture the levels of appreciation of the bigger neighbourhood spaces. Attachment to the city of

Johannesburg extended the range of stakeholders even further, focusing on the city as a whole rather than the spatially proximate personal and neighbourhood spaces. While the hierarchy in terms of appreciation of place speaks broadly to both sentimental feel and the general instrumental and utilitarian notions of identity and belonging, in this section I ask questions that are specific to areas where the participants walk, and the spaces that they interact with in the city of Johannesburg. This is aimed at understanding the politics of identity among the participants as they navigate the city and highlight the different parts of the city where they feel most comfortable identifying as Zimbabwean and the areas where they feel least comfortable doing so. In engaging with issues of identity and street comfort, I draw on De Certeau's concepts of strategy and tactics, and argue that, the assumption of different identities by the participants is for the most part, a way of *making do* and constitutes a series of contingencies that are constructed daily. Such constructions echo the sentiments of Zygmunt Bauman's nomads who,

> …like the pilgrims, were all along busy constructing their identities; but theirs were 'momentary' identities, identities 'for today', until-further-notice identities. Nomads do not bind time/space, they move through it; and so they move *through* identities (1992: 694).

One participant noted that, "identity is not fixed; it is a hat that one wears depending on the circumstances" (Survey participant, ID055, Ruimsig, 08/09/2013). As such, there is an acknowledgement by most participants that, identity is fluid and any particular identity is only useful insofar as it can give an individual the requisite capital. When asked whether they identify as Zimbabweans or do not identify as Zimbabweans, most participants do not answer, Yes or No, but go on to provide explanations for their choices, which further indicates the weight attached to one's choice of identity in a given situation. The identities referred to here, are those within the control of the participants and those that they can manipulate to achieve beneficial ends. These include and at times differ, from perceptive identities ascribed to them, for instance by the South African public.

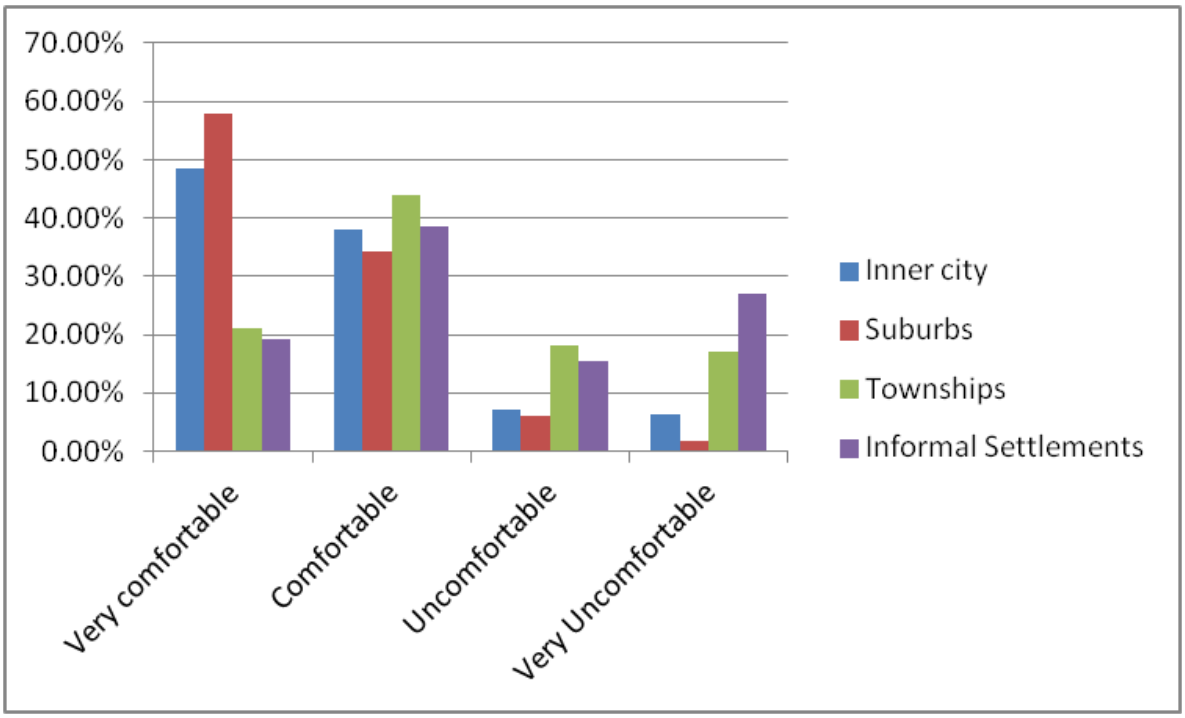
8.3.1 Understanding the social field and habitus where identities manifest

In his thesis on the habitus, Pierre Bourdieu argued for a greater appreciation of the concept of social field that enables and structures habit in mutually reinforcing cycles (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). The participants of this study make particular spatial decisions in response to the socio-economic environment of the city and its constituent population, which together comprise the social field described by Bourdieu. The constituent population that I refer to here is the South African public in its different forms, foreigners from other countries as well as migrants from Zimbabwe. I include the category of Zimbabweans in light of the argument I made in the opening chapter of this thesis and in chapter seven, that Zimbabweans in South Africa are not a united entity, but are diverse and divided along racial, ethnic and class lines. I have also kept in mind the point raised by Harrison, Moyo and Yang (2012) in their critique of de Certeau's strategies and tactics, that, migrants do not only react or adopt tactical positions against statist entities but also against fellow migrants. Likewise, identity is not a fixed position that applies only in relation to one particular entity but different identities operate in intersection with different sets of the constituent populations in Johannesburg. Focusing on the city of Johannesburg as a social field replete with different forces that shape and transform the identities of migrants, I argue that, based on the data from this study, participants adopt numerous identities depending on specific situations and in relation to particular circumstances. The biggest influence on the expression and non-expression of Zimbabwean identity in the city is the fear of xenophobia and crime. This happens in the context of a South African public that increasingly expresses autochthonous ideals and at times violently impose them on foreign nationals perceived as allochthons (cf. Mathers and Landau 2007). Thus, the participants of this study have different feelings of comfort in relation to specific areas of the city of Johannesburg and population groups.

8.3.2 Areas of Zimbabwean identity comfort in the city

Participants of this study go to different areas of the city to work, shop and visit friends and relatives. In order to gauge the perceptions and further understand how the participants construct their realities in Johannesburg, I asked the participants to identify areas where they feel comfortable expressing Zimbabwean identity. The idea was to understand how participants feel about identifying as Zimbabwean in the different areas of the city and whether there are instances where they feel differently about being Zimbabwean or alternatively adopt different identities other than their real identities.

Figure 8.1: Participants' areas of identity comfort in the city



Source: author's survey data

The data shows high levels of comfort in suburban areas and the inner city while the townships and informal settlement areas have considerable levels of fear and lack of comfort for the participants of this study (Figure 8.1). There is also a significant fear of the inner city though not as pronounced as the fear of the informal settlements and townships.

8.3.2.1 *The suburb, inner ring and inner city as areas of Zimbabwean identity comfort*

The majority of participants that go to the suburban areas of Johannesburg perceive them as a safe zone for Zimbabweans and rate them as very comfortable spaces for openly identifying as Zimbabwean in terms of speaking distinctly Zimbabwean languages such as Shona. The participants indicate that South Africans living in the suburbs are least likely to attack a person for being a foreigner and they would not ask you to identify yourself to them, hence they feel most comfortable in that space. Similar levels of comfort are experienced in the inner city areas of the city as the participants feel that the cosmopolitan nature of the inner city and the presence of many foreign nationals rids it of xenophobic sentiment and fosters a great deal of tolerance amongst those living in it.

8.3.2.2 *The township and informal settlements as areas of least comfort*

"*elokishini baba uyangena amanzi, the moment bebona ukuthi ungumZimbabwe bayakuthuka*" [In the location/township you get into trouble, the moment they see that you are a Zimbabwean they insult you] (Survey participant, ID019, Alexandra, 06/09/2013).

Among the participants of this study, there is a fear of the township and informal settlements for their perceived propensity for violent attacks on foreign nationals and widespread xenophobia. The above excerpt sums up the fear of identifying as Zimbabwean amongst some of the participants who feel that it is safer to keep

their identity ambiguous rather than openly identify as Zimbabwean as such practices earn insults from South African neighbours. The expression used, *uyangena amanzi* directly translates to "being flooded in water" or to "drown", which implies extreme trouble for whoever finds themselves in such a situation. The Shona equivalent is *unonyura,* which also refers to drowning, and Zimbabweans commonly use it to describe difficult circumstances or trouble.

For some, being Zimbabwean in the informal settlements is a badge of shame and something they do not want to be associated with, for example, one participant had the following to say about why he hides his Zimbabwean identity in the informal settlements:

> I cannot go about parading myself as Zimbabwean. I do not identify as Zimbabwean in the informal settlements because informal settlements are filled with Zimbabweans, so I cannot identify myself as Zimbabwean there. People that live in the shacks are Zimbabweans; it is people that are riddled with poverty, so I do not want to be associated with such people. I do not want to be seen as a Zimbabwean, I am uncomfortable because of the place, and it is not alright (Survey participant, ID 001, Berea, 11/09/2013).

While many participants do not identify as Zimbabwean in the informal settlements because of fear of xenophobia, the preceding excerpt shows a different dimension and different set of reasons for not identifying as a Zimbabwean. In this instance, the participant is uncomfortable because there are too many Zimbabweans in the informal settlements living in shacks and feels that it is beneath him to be associated with people that live in shacks. For him, living in a shack represents a sense of failure and poverty, which he does not want to associate with and feels that the national category of Zimbabwean is coterminous with being poor.

8.3.2.3 *The tactical deployment of Zimbabwean identity in the city*

While there is some sentiment of pride in identifying as Zimbabwean amongst certain sections of the participants, this is not uniform across all areas of the city. As argued in the previous sections, participants do not only change identities in relation to the South African population and statist institutions but also change identities when interacting with other Zimbabweans of different ethnicity. Instances of identity shifting depend on the gains one accrues by using a specific identity. For example, the commonly used identity option is that of casting oneself as a South African citizen when interacting with the South African public, employers, the police and other service providing entities. The resources or the ability to adopt such identity is also limited to specific segments of the Zimbabwean population as well; that is, those that can speak Zulu and/or other South African languages. For instance, those that cannot speak Zulu or any other South African languages do not have the leeway to adopt South African identity when interacting with South Africans and fellow migrants. The ability to speak Zulu is commonly deployed by participants that speak Ndebele, which is a Zulu dialect predominantly spoken by people from the south and western parts of Zimbabwe. Many Shona participants who cannot speak Ndebele find it difficult to adopt South African identities when interacting with statist institutions and the South African public.

When engaging the complexity of the identity question, it is important to put into context the real struggles of the migrants, especially those who are irregular. One focus group participant argued that, "one's identity is defined by their legal status first" (FGD2 participant, 26/03/2016). He further argued that,

> Depending on what legal status you have, you can have certain privileges in terms of what you can access. What you can access also defines the way you perceive yourself. For example, if I have a residential permit, I can consider myself a South African because it allows me to buy a house and certain privileges. But if I do not have any of that status, I can consider myself stateless because I am economically and financially excluded from where I am living. I am

> also excluded here because I am an imposter[18] in everything that I do. You are employed, not because of who you are but because you present yourself as someone that you are not, which gives you a different identity (FGD2 participant, 26/03/2016).

While the question of exclusion from services because of lack of legal identity documents is a particularly pertinent one, I have to highlight here, based on the indication given by the same focus group participant, that it does not spell the end or limit to the possibilities of accessing the city and its institutions. The only concern, for this particular participant is that, he feels like an imposter in everything that he does and in order to gain employment, people in his position use another person's identity document or at times a fraudulently acquired South African identity document. The South African state, through the Department of Home Affairs has set the legal avenues to residency and citizenship, but for those that do not meet them and are not governed by them, there are possibilities available to them to achieve the same ends as those that are in the country legally. Such avenues or means to an end operate within a transnational social field that enables their production and utility for Zimbabweans and other nationalities in similar situations. In other words, the availability of these extralegal means that operate outside of the Department of Home Affairs' systems provides recourse and identity status to irregular migrants who ordinarily would not be able to navigate South African systems. This highlights the strategic and often variegated nature of *identity performance* where Zimbabwean migrants have three possibilities open to them. The first involves, presenting oneself as South African with identity documents to prove it, the second involves passing oneself as South African without South African identification as proof. A third instance involves shifting identity between the first two depending on circumstances. I engage issues of identity shifting further, in the following sections and highlight the different instances where participants change their identities to gain advantages associated with specific identities.

[18] By using the term, "imposter", this focus group participant refers to irregular migrants who fraudulently acquire South African identity documents and present themselves as South African citizens.

8.3.2.4 *Job market situations*

A number of participants hide Zimbabwean identity when seeking employment in order to increase their chances of being hired. In such instances, participants adopt South African identities or avoid identifying themselves at all, and carry on with such identity performance during the period of employment. Some participants expressed this point in the following terms:

> Yes, *abantu balapha abasithandi* [South Africans do not like us], they do not like foreigners. You can find yourself in trouble sometimes *ngendaba zokuziveza ukuthi ungoweZimbabwe* [by identifying yourself as a Zimbabwean]. If asked, I hide my identity at work when asked where I come from. I have to hide myself to work well with South Africans (Survey participant, ID059, Hillbrow, 10/09/2013).

> When looking for a job, most of the time I do not tell them that I am from Zimbabwe because I use a permanent residence permit. Usually I tell them that I am a South African because I know that the employment opportunities are not the same. First preference is given to South Africans, so I want to get first preference (Survey participant, ID056, Honeydew, 08/09/2013).

Others deliberately avoid identification in order to remain within a space of ambiguity where their South African colleagues or students (in cases of educators) are never sure of their nationality. For instance, one participant shared that:

> Sometimes, with the job that I do, students relate better when they think you are a South African like them. The moment they know that you are a Zimbabwean, they will start comparing and assuming that you do certain things because you are a Zimbabwean (Survey participant, ID060, Rosettenville, 09/10/2013).

Such individuals do not reject Zimbabwean identity in a wholesome manner but are tactical in the way that they identify as Zimbabweans or choose to remain in a space of ambiguity. However, there are instances where individuals derive capital from Zimbabwean identity through the perception that Zimbabweans are hard workers, particularly in the restaurants and domestic services. In such cases, they are eager to be identified as Zimbabweans and in their words; the likelihood of

employment is enhanced. For example, one participant who identifies as a Zimbabwean amongst white South Africans highlighted that:

> I have no problem because they know that Zimbabweans are very hard working and they appreciate us because they know that we are here because of the problems in Zimbabwe. Some that are a little bit older came from Zimbabwe, so they relate with our situation very well and do not judge that you are here to take this and that (Survey participant, ID051, Berea, 10/09/2013).

Others also find it easier to identify as Zimbabwean when they have documentation that gives them leave to remain in South Africa legally, especially with the instituting of the Zimbabwean Special Permits (ZSP)[19] by the South African department of Home Affairs. In some instances, participants who previously could not identify as Zimbabwean are now able to do so without fear of arrest and deportation:

> I proudly identify as Zimbabwean now because I have a work permit and I am not afraid of arrest. But before I was afraid to say I am a Zimbabwean because people at work could go and sell you out to the managers (Survey participant, ID005, Turffontein, 17/09/2013).

The different scenarios of Zimbabwean identity expression or non-expression show a group of people that has agency and is aware of what identifying as Zimbabwean means in specific situations. Such awareness is largely a response to the circumstances and socio-economic environment in which the participants live in the city of Johannesburg and is informed by a transnational social field that requires specific forms of behaviour for one to survive and find flexible forms of identity expression within the city.

[19] "The Zimbabwean Special Dispensation permit (ZSP) is the successor to a permit issued as part of the Home Affairs Department's Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project (DZP), which was implemented between 1 September 2010 to 31 December 2010." (http://www.vfsglobal.com/zsp/southafrica/zimbabwean_special_dispensation_permit.html, Accessed 18/05/2016)

8.3.2.5 *Fear of the police*

A significant proportion of the participants indicate that they hide their Zimbabwean identity or adopt South African identity when interacting with the police in order to avoid arrest. Expressing this point, some participants shared that:

> If you show the police your passport, they will start saying you have overstayed and we will arrest you or you should give us 500 rands. You end up not knowing what to do. Do we show them our passports or just give them money? If we give them passports, they complain and start talking about days and why stamps on the passport are stamped a certain way. If you show them asylum seeker permits, it is the same thing, they say they are fake, we do not know what to do, we are afraid of them. After that, they demand one thousand rands or *imali owabuya ngayo eSouth Africa* [or money that you used for bus fare to South Africa] (Survey participant, ID058, Honeydew, 07/09/2013).

> There was a certain day in which I was not carrying my form of identification, then the South African Police Service (SAPS) came and wanted to see our forms of identification. I pretended to be a South African because I knew that if I tell them that I am from Zimbabwe using a permanent residence permit they could start demanding many things. So I decided to be a South African so that they would not discuss anything with me and let me go (Survey participant, ID056, Honeydew, 08/09/2013).

> In the streets of the Johannesburg CBD, I do not identify as Zimbabwean because there are police volunteers who arrest people. In suburban areas, I freely identify as Zimbabwean because there are no volunteers who arrest people there. No one will ask for a passport (Survey participant, ID004, Berea, 13/09/2013).

Many participants indicate that they change their identities when they encounter the police in order to evade arrest if they are not documented or just to avoid harassment even when they have documentation. The identity performance is not fixed but variable and depends on the assessment of the situation. Sometimes, stating that one is South African is enough for the police to leave you, yet in some instances, they demand to see proof of identity. In cases of irregular migrants, the

police often demand bribes. In some cases, the police do not give people the opportunity to produce documentation that proves that they are legally resident in South Africa. I experienced a similar situation in the Johannesburg CBD on 5th September 2009, and figure 8.2 shows a photograph of the police charge sheet for loitering.

Figure 8.2: Photograph of police charge sheet on day of arrest



SERIAL NUMBER Q1679408

English

NOTICE OF RIGHTS IN TERMS OF THE CONSTITUTION

(SECTION 35 OF ACT NO. 108 OF 1996)

(1) You are being detained for the following reason:

LOITTERING

(2) As a person who is detained you have the following rights:

(a) you have the right to consult with a legal practitioner of your choice or, should you so prefer, to apply to the Legal Aid Board to be provided by the state with the services of a legal practitioner;

(b) you have the right to challenge the lawfulness of your detention in person before a court of law and to be released if such detention is unlawful;

(c) you have the right to be detained under conditions consonant with human dignity, which shall include at least the provision of adequate accommodation, nutrition, reading material and medical treatment at state expense; and

(d) you have the right to be given the opportunity to communicate with; and be visited by; your spouse or partner, next-of-kin, religious counselor and a medical practitioner of your choice.

(3) As a person arrested for the alleged commission of an offence, you have the following rights:

(a) you have the right to remain silent and anything you say may be recorded and may be used as evidence against you;

(b) you are not compelled to make a confession or admission which could be used in evidence against you;

(c) you have the right to be brought before a court as soon as reasonably possible but not later than 48 hours after your arrest or the end of the first court day after the expiry of the 48 hours, if the 48 hours expire outside ordinary court hours or on a day which is not an ordinary court day;

(d) You have the right, at the first court appearance after your arrest, to be informed of the reason for your continued detention, or to be released ; and

(e) You have the right to be released from detention if the interests of justice permit, subject to reasonable conditions.

(4) **You can exercise all the abovementioned rights at any stage during your detention.**

CERTIFICATE BY DETAINEE

I KHANGELANI MOYO (name of detainee) hereby certify that I have been informed in English (state language) of my rights in terms of the Constitution as set out above by CST LW Ramuthi (name of person who informed the detainee) and that I understand the contents thereof.

DATE: 2009/09/05 (Informed) TIME: 16H 56 (Informed) PLACE: JHB CENTRAL (Informed)

SIGNATURE/THUMBPRINT OF DETAINEE

SIGNATURE OF PERSON WHO INFORMED THE DETAINEE

CERTIFICATE BY THIRD PERSON AS WITNESS (if required)

I _____ (name of member) hereby certify that _____ (name of detainee) has been informed in my presence in _____ (state language) of his/her rights in terms of the Constitution as set out above by _____ (name of person who informed the detainee) and that the contents thereof has been explained to him/her but that he/she refuses to sign the above certificate.

DATE: _____ (Informed) TIME: _____ (Informed) PLACE: _____ (Informed)

SIGNATURE OF THIRD PERSON

Source: author's photograph, 05/09/2009

8.3.2.6 *Fear of xenophobia*

While many Zimbabweans hide their identity in Johannesburg to evade arrest and to access employment, others do so because of fear of xenophobic violence, especially in minibus taxis. Some participants expressed their fear in the following terms:

> In some places, I do identify as a Zimbabwean, especially when I am with my friends. I would not identify as a Zimbabwean everywhere because you never know, some of these people are xenophobic. Of all countries in Africa, I think it is the only country that is full of xenophobia, for example, this week I was stopped by a traffic cop and he say I must go back to Zimbabwe. I almost insulted him but I had to let it go (Survey participant, ID054, Honeydew, 10/09/2013).

> I can identify as a Zimbabwean with those that I know, but if I do not know them, it becomes a problem because you would not know what they are thinking. Some are very xenophobic and do not like foreigners, so you cannot just stand up and identify as a Zimbabwean amongst people that you do not know. However, for those that I know, they know that I am a Zimbabwean and that is why they are my friends because they know who I am and where I come from. I am not ashamed, but for those I do not know, I do not identify myself due to xenophobic tendencies (Survey participant, ID051, Berea, 10/09/2013).

> There are some situations where you can reveal your identity and others where it is not right to reveal your identity. For example, if you are amongst local people, you have to try to live like them and know how they carry themselves around. You have to try to learn about people first before you can tell them that you are a Zimbabwean (Survey participant, ID050, Hillbrow, 06/09/2013).

While many identify as South African or avoid talking about their national identity altogether, others prefer to be identified as citizens of any country other than Zimbabwe. For example, one participant shared that:

> I am not comfortable identifying as a Zimbabwean amongst black South Africans because they are so fussy about where people come from and if you are a foreigner, there is that immediate hatred, discrimination, things like that. So they would rather not know that you are a Zimbabwean, for example if you say you

> are from Sudan or Malawi it is not a problem but if you say you are from Zimbabwe then there is a problem (Survey participant, ID055, Ruimsig, 08/09/2013).

Thus, the different identities adopted by participants depend on the circumstances and the given situation. As highlighted, these range from South African identity, Zimbabwean identity, non-identity and a random selection of nationalities other than Zimbabwean. The decision not to identify as a Zimbabwean is therefore informed by knowledge of context and the requirements for one to navigate such context. There is indication that, many participants acknowledge that they come from Zimbabwe and they cannot change that fact, yet they are aware of the true value of being a Zimbabwean and the situations where it is a liability and can at times be a cause for violent assault.

8.3.2.7 *Ndebele Zimbabweans who seek to differentiate themselves from Shona Zimbabweans*

I have so far discussed situations where Zimbabwean participants tactically employ different identities in their encounters with the police, employers and some xenophobic elements in the South African public. I will turn attention to another aspect that involves the ethnic dynamics amongst Zimbabweans themselves where some Ndebele participants assume South African identities in relation to their Shona counterparts. Some Ndebele participants described these instances in the following terms:

> I do not identify as Zimbabwean amongst Shona Zimbabweans because I do not speak their language and I do not associate with them. If I start to associate with them, they will speak in their language, which I do not understand. Once you tell them that you are from Zimbabwe, they will say, there is no Zimbabwean who does not understand Shona. So they will rather know me as a South African so that they will not speak to me in their language, we just communicate in English (Survey participant, ID056, Honeydew, 08/09/2013).

> At times, I do not identify as Zimbabwean because of tribal politics from back home. Sometimes they think that I am Zulu because of the language similarities. Wena (referring to the interviewer), you can tell that I am not Zulu when we talk, you can tell that, this is not Zulu, it is Ndebele but some of my workmates it takes them up to 3 months to know that I am not South African (Survey participant, ID060, Rosettenville, 09/10/2013).

> When with Shona people from Zimbabwe I do not identify as Zimbabwean because I do not want to be seen as a Shona or Khalanga, I don't like that… when I am with Ndebele Zimbabweans I do not mind being identified as Zimbabwean but when I am with Shona people, No! (Survey participant, ID004, Berea, 13/09/2013).

Within the Zimbabwean population, there is a differentiation along ethnic lines, with the most common being the distinction between the Ndebele and the Shona, which constitute the dominant ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. The relationship between the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups is characterised by a history of war and animosity, but as discussed by some of the participants, there is a general understanding that, notwithstanding the differences, when in a foreign land, the overarching Zimbabwean identity is important. One Shona participant put it in the following terms,

> We have our own issues as Ndebele and Shona Zimbabweans, but when confronted by the spectre of xenophobia, we stick together as Zimbabweans and forget our differences to fight a common enemy, which is the South African public. After the fight, we go back to our own squabbling just like siblings (Survey participant, ID099, Bedfordview, 03/12/2013).

This is an important aspect to this relationship, which is constructed at both national and individual levels as participants recognise the need to stand behind the category of Zimbabwean nationality when facing common threats and at the same time remind themselves of the fallibility of such a fragile and time or problem specific alliance. Ndebele Zimbabweans however feel more aggrieved in relation to Shona speaking Zimbabweans as they attribute the economic problems

in Zimbabwe to the Shona led government of Robert Mugabe and often indicate that Shona Zimbabweans are the reason why there is xenophobic violence in South Africa.

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have engaged migrants' sense of attachment to place and the nature of relationships that they have with the different spaces where they live. These spaces include the particular dwelling where the participant lives, the neighbourhood and the city of Johannesburg in general. The attachment to place of residence is mediated by participants' relationships with other tenants, property owners and mastandas in the household dwellings while issues such as safety, proximity to amenities and cleanliness, inform attachment to neighbourhood. In discussing attachment to the city of Johannesburg, I have argued that, participants of this study often occupy a hyphenated space of ambivalence and conflicted loyalties to place insofar as they recognise the importance of the city as the source of employment yet rejecting attachment to it in sentimental terms. Apart from contestation over belonging and attachment to place, participants also contend with their own identities in relation to the city of Johannesburg. In the context of frequent residential movements and the necessity of walking and minibus taxis as a mode of travel in the city, the participants of this study are circumspect in how and where they identify as Zimbabweans. I have argued here that, such choice of place and identity occasions is tactical and is a response to the prevailing climate of xenophobic sentiment, especially in job market situations and in minibus taxis. While participants often hide Zimbabwean identity in the minibus taxis and when looking for lower end jobs that require South African nationals, there are instances where it is eagerly put forward to capitalise on perceptions that Zimbabweans are hard workers, especially in domestic work.

The deployment of specific identities also happens in particular areas of the city and speaks to specific feelings of comfort, which are not uniform. For example, participants feel more comfortable identifying as Zimbabwean in suburban, inner ring and inner city areas of the city compared to the townships and informal settlements. Such relationship to place and variable notions of place comfort speak to a specific and acquired form of practice in the city. The discussion on identity implored participants to reflect on "being Zimbabwean" in the city of

Johannesburg and how nation specific identities affect their experiences and spatial relationship with the city. Thus, the expression of Zimbabwean identity is not inherently negative and the ability to shift from one form of identity to another does not come naturally, but it is learned behaviour, which is consistent with a specific socio-economic environment. For example, such identity shifting is not always required when participants go back to their home villages or towns, but is an important aspect that relates to the Johannesburg transnational social field.

9 Chapter Nine: Space, Mobility and Spatial Identities

9.1 Introducing the chapter

In this research, I engaged Zimbabwean migrant spatial decision-making as an avenue to understanding the broader issues of migrant lives in Johannesburg and the tactics they employ in navigating the city. Deploying Michel de Certeau's concepts of strategy and tactics, and Pierre Bourdieu's conception of habitus and social field, I have argued that, Zimbabwean migrants create and negotiate space in the city in accordance with the structure of relationships that they help produce and continually cultivate in Johannesburg. There are four main arguments that I would like to reaffirm in this chapter. Firstly, I have followed Lefebvre's notion of spatial production and argued that, Zimbabwean migrants produce, shape and navigate space. Secondly, I have used data on Zimbabwean migrants' movement in the city to argue and advocate a consideration of migrant space beyond the physical and perhaps an acceptance that mobility itself is a migrant space. In addition, I have used data on Zimbabwean migrant transnationalism to argue that, transnationalist survival in the city could constitute another migrant space that does not rely on physical fixity. Thirdly, I argue that, Zimbabwean migrants need specific sets of characteristics and habitus to function in a new environment (Johannesburg) that is different to the environment in the home country. The fourth argument that I have made in this work is that, pursuant to the third argument, participants have specific cognitive maps that structure their lives in Johannesburg and in many ways influence how they behave and how they shape and exercise their identities in the city.

I expand these arguments in the following sections, but perhaps more importantly is the overall recognisance and argument of this thesis, which lies in the realisation and affirmation that, the initial step taken by migrants to leave the

home country, predisposes them to a system of mobility practices. The movement to a foreign land, voluntary or forced, enables the genesis of a Bourdieusian transnational habitus predisposed to the appreciation of mobility as a space of *domicilum* and as observed in this research, the majority of participants frequently change residences in the city, remain transient and maintain transnational presence in a survivalist manner. As such, movement, which begins with the initial crossing of the border from Zimbabwe to South Africa, continues throughout the participants' lives in Johannesburg. In many instances, this movement is forethought as ending with a return to Zimbabwe in retirement or for burial in the case of those who die in Johannesburg, relocation to a third country in search of better opportunities or in the unlikeliest of possibilities, a permanent settlement in South Africa. The continued instability and lack of permanence and fixity however never ends and for many participants, transience and mobility becomes the new address and space of existence in Johannesburg. When referring to this mobility however, it does not imply a simple act of repositioning from one place to the next, it is an existential space. It is not just an in-between or liminal space; it goes beyond this and takes account of both the agency of the migrants and the nature of the socio-economic environment where they live. Mobility and the state of being mobile help account for the different forms of migrants' entanglements in Johannesburg and speak to the diverse spatial decisions they make. As such, this complex and nascent spatial presence of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg merited more robust and deeply engaging thinking tools such as those of Bourdieu and de Certeau.

9.2 The spatial is relational and subject to production

The opening discussion of this thesis engaged notions of space as relational and fluid rather than fixed in physical place. I employed the analysis of de Certeau who attributes structuring properties to space and is credited with the bifurcation between space and place in conceptual terms. Perhaps, more important is the concept of spatial production introduced by Henri Lefebvre, who argued that

space itself is a product and is produced by capitalist forces of production (Lefebvre 1991). He noted that the concept of production, "…does not become fully concrete or take on a true content until replies have been given to the questions that it makes possible: 'Who produces?', 'What?', ' How?', 'Why and for whom?'" (Lefebvre 1991: 69). Space in Lefebvre's terms is more than its appearance as product but is a representation of itself as well as the processes underlying its production. As such, space is not fixed or an empty container existing prior to what ends up filling it. It is not a given but it is produced by the interlocking social relationships that speak to a particular socio-economic environment. I have argued that Southern African migration studies still have not really drawn on the ideas of Bourdieu's *social field* and *habitus.* Often, when and where space is understood, it is still understood in the old Cartesian way yet Zimbabweans in Johannesburg are not constructing a particular space per se but are contributing to the construction of space overall in the city. Perhaps, this is part of the Zimbabwean migrants' contribution to the construction of space, I note that, in the context of Johannesburg, especially in relation to sub question four, and five of this thesis, this research has not found particular enclave spaces that distinctly speak to a Zimbabwean ethnic imprint.

It has been commonplace to point to specific areas of the city where migrants can be found, for example, Mozambicans in La Rochelle (Moyo and Cossa 2015), Chinese in Cyrildene, Chinatown and Crown city (Harrison *et al.* 2012), Somalis in Fordsburg and Mayfair (Jinnah 2010; Sadouni 2009; Sadouni 2014b) and Ethiopians in the Ethiopian quarter in Johannesburg CBD (Le Roux 2014; Zack 2014). Yet, Zimbabweans do not fit into the ethnic enclave narrative, as they have no known enclave spaces in Johannesburg. The only emblematic space that resembled an ethnic enclave was the Central Methodist Church in the Johannesburg CBD, which came about following the xenophobic violence of May 2008 (see for example, Beremauro 2013; Bompani 2013; Kuljian 2011). For a number of years, it constituted the only identifiable space where one could find Zimbabweans. Therefore, Zimbabweans are generally not forming ethnic enclaves or perhaps they are not finding them useful.

As such, perspectives that seek to define migrant space in relation to the physical space and to geographically bounded entities that can be isolated and named, often symmetrically with the nationality of the migrants have limitations. More so, when taking into consideration that, mobility itself is a space and as highlighted in this research, many Zimbabweans are increasingly finding it as a convenient and functional way of surviving in a fast paced and ever changing city like Johannesburg. However, mobility cannot exist as a separate space from the physical. It retains its connections to the genitor, which is the physical space and for migrants to inhabit or occupy this space, they should possess certain characteristics, which lead to a coalescing of interests within the socio-economic environment where they live. In other words, not every Zimbabwean finds place in mobility and deploys mobility as a tactical resource, but such deployment works with a specific habitus that is transnational. Ordinarily, the availability of mobility as a resource is subject to production by the migrants themselves and the socio-economic environment, which constitutes the social field as argued by Bourdieu. The point here is that, for mobility to be what it is in the context of Zimbabweans that deploy it as a resource there has to be an enabling environment. Such environment is what I have called the transnational social field and I have argued that, for migrants to survive and live within this transnational social field, they ought to be in possession of a transnational habitus. This particular hybrid habitus owes its genesis to a hybrid social field that is produced by environments that are physically disparate yet coalescing. Importantly, however, is the assertion by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) that, the transnational social field does not exist prior to the transnational habitus or the other way around. They are simultaneously generated and structured in such a way that they exist alongside each other and in the case of Zimbabweans, such generation is never complete, but is continually adjusted to changes in the South African legislation, the performance of the South African economy and other, social, political and economic variables in both Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The transnational social field is an important component in the genesis of the transnational habitus and constitutes the enabling structure that connects two physical but diverse contexts in the form of the countries of origin and destination. Such social field and habitus exist in both physical space and transnationally. More importantly, as argued in this research, migrants' existence in Johannesburg is characterised by a paradoxical denial of belonging yet there is instrumental and purposive acceptance of economic and social embeddedness. Thus, in chapter seven I discussed the different dimensions of migrants' relationships in both the destination and country of origin contexts especially in view of migrants considering Zimbabwe as the legitimate permanent home where they seek to return. The connections between Johannesburg and home in Zimbabwe extend beyond periodic home visits and frequent communication. New forms of contact and co-presence created and mediated by social media platforms contribute to the development and strengthening of transnational social fields.

9.3 "Identity is not fixed; it is a hat that one wears depending on the circumstances"

Central to migrants' livelihoods in Johannesburg is the possession of cognitive maps of the city terrain through which they traverse on a daily basis and the daily contestation with their own identities in relation to the city of Johannesburg. Participants of this study are circumspect in how and where they identify as Zimbabweans in the city. They admit that such circumspection is due to fear of xenophobic violence, especially in the minibus taxis and specific parts of the city such as the townships and the informal settlements. They also hide their Zimbabwean identity in order to evade arrest and harassment by police and when applying for employment opportunities that stipulate South African citizenship as a pre-condition. I have argued here that, such changes and shifts in forms of identification is tactical and responds to founded fears of xenophobic violence and access to employment that would ordinarily be inaccessible without affirmation of South African citizenship. Migrants learn and internalise the ability to shift

identities to suit specific circumstances and such learning is contingent on the existence of an enabling environment for the acquisition of beneficial lessons and capital.

I found De Certeau's analogy of strategy and tactics and Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field particularly important in understanding how different identities and identity shifting latently leads to the construction and negotiation of particular migrant spaces in Johannesburg. The deployment of Zimbabwean identity is dynamic and flexible insofar as participants do not only hide it when convenient but are also aware of its capital, especially in instances where they look for employment as domestic servants where they eagerly identify as Zimbabwean to capitalise on perceptions that Zimbabweans are hard workers. The deployment of specific identities also happens in particular areas of the city and speaks to specific feelings of comfort, which are not uniform. For example, participants of this research indicated that they feel more comfortable identifying as Zimbabwean in suburban, inner ring and inner city areas of the city compared to the townships and informal settlements. Such relationship to place, as argued in chapter eight of this thesis, speaks to a specific socio-economic environment and acquired form of practice in the city.

9.4 The promises and pitfalls of strategy, tactics, habitus and social field in migration thinking

In chapter two of this thesis, I argued for the adoption of a "mixed methods approach", specifically advocating the making of methodological decisions at the methodological, rather than at the epistemological level. I restate here that, epistemological and ontological positions entreat us into specific worldviews and beliefs about the nature of the world and construction of knowledge which when adhered to as suggested by methodological purists can be obstacles to doing things that are practical and useful at particular moments. I have dealt with the choices and justification for the mixed methods approach for this research in chapter two and in this section, I will reflect on the choice of de Certolian and

Bourdieusian thinking tools within the lens derived from methodological pluralism and pragmatism. I do this as a way of concluding this research and turning the gaze on to my own experiences with these thinking tools. I took into account the strengths and shortcomings of the strategy and tactics analogy and, adopted Bourdieu's notion of the habitus and social field as complementary. Through the habitus, I sought to bring together the strategy and tactics into a single framework that looks at both the individual migrants' decision-making and the circumstances and context surrounding the decisions. This helped somewhat in my quest to make sense of the decisions that Zimbabweans make regarding their everyday lives in Johannesburg and set off a process of thinking about what it means for the migrants to be in the city and how they relate with the Johannesburg urban space.

However, theorising southern African migration problems using European or in this case, French generated thinking tools proved challenging. Firstly, these theories are context specific, even though they find utility beyond the problems that they initially sought to theorise. Michel de Certeau wrote primarily within the context of Europe and North America and Pierre Bourdieu wrote within the context of France though he uses some examples from his fieldwork in Algeria. In the absence of overarching South African specific and African specific theories that are generated within the African context and respond to African problems, it is difficult to escape the trap of using European and North American generated theories and ways of thinking in engaging African migration. For example, in thinking about Zimbabwean migration to South Africa, one cannot limit their theorisation to an assimilationist discourse or an ethnic enclave approach, as Zimbabweans do not conform to these approaches. Taking into account Zimbabwean migration history and the context of Zimbabweans' movement is important in order to understand the nature, dimensions and changes over time. The challenge therefore, is not only to extract concepts from the large corpus of de Certeau and Bourdieu's work but also to transplant these concepts to the South African context and make them speak to the issues of Zimbabweans in South Africa. The risk here is to generate a body of knowledge without the rich texture that makes it sensible within the Zimbabwe-South Africa context while at the

same time overstretching European and North American specific thinking tools and forcing them to make statements about circumstances to which they have no physical relationship or connection.

Employing European produced and centred theories in the study of African problems does not however imply that, there are no theoretical contributions from African based scholars. As noted in chapter three and chapter four of this thesis, there have been theoretical contributions to the study of migration from South Africa, namely, the concept of liminality and the concept of transience. While these concepts are useful in engaging the migration practices in the southern African context, they however respond to specific groups of migrant populations, for example, female African migrants in the case of Kihato's use of liminality and inner city-based African migrants in the case of Landau's (2006) use of transience and Landau and Freemantle's (2010) use of tactical cosmopolitanism. These conceptions build resources for further engagement and contribution to the ongoing global discourses on migrant settlement but they are not as fluid as Bourdieu's habitus and social field for example or de Certeau's strategy and tactics, and the remit of the mobilities paradigm for instance.

As such, I have endeavoured to engage and work with the thinking tools of Bourdieu and de Certeau, and extending their utility in the field of South African migration studies. More specifically as I have argued in this thesis that, mobility is emerging as an important migrant space in Johannesburg. The existence of a Bourdieusian transnational habitus and a transnational social field holds together and enables this emergent migrant space. The transnational habitus and the transnational social fields also enable the deployment of de Certolian strategies and tactics by Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg as they interact with other stakeholders such as South African citizens and other migrants.

9.5 Openings for Further Research

It is difficult for any social science research to arrive at a point where it is complete. As such, there are always openings for further research, either to engage and test the findings of a research already done or to stretch it and add further impetus. There are a number of issues that I could not cover in this research due to time and the limits of keeping the project within manageable proportions. For instance, I focused on Zimbabwean migrants only and sought to understand their positionality and entanglements in relation to multiple stakeholders within Johannesburg. It could have been desirable to focus on the different stakeholders that constitute the Johannesburg social fields, like South African citizens for example. However, such an exercise requires a new process, which adds to the data already gained in this research and creates balance between the perspectives we gain from migrants and from South African citizens. For instance, when engaging de Certeau's strategy and tactics, a more complete assessment would include South African citizens who interact with Zimbabweans and other migrants. Such interest, which this research could not cover, could form a new research focus that investigates the perspectives of South African citizens who are in direct contact with migrants. This would elicit data on the voices and strategies of South Africans who employ strategy in relation to migrants and tactics in relation to the state rather than gaining such insight from the experiences of migrants only.

The other avenue that requires further inquiry relates to the need for southern African academic scholarship to generate more ideas for understanding the shifts in migrant behaviour and their movement across both physical and non-physical spaces. Thus far, scholarly engagement with African migrants in South Africa has disproportionately focused on their presence as temporary rather than permanent settlers. Perhaps, the pertinent observation form the current research is the need for a shift towards a conception of migrants as permanent rather than temporary. Such focus will help academic research understand the dimensions and forms of migrant permanency and policy makers to come to accept the fact that migrants populate certain spaces in Johannesburg and regardless of high levels of transience, they remain migrant areas.

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11 Thesis Appendices

A- Research Instruments
B- Additional Tables for chapter 6

A1: Questionnaire

NAME OF THE INTERVIEWER:	
LANGUAGE OF THE INTERVIEW: English, Shona or Ndebele	
DATE OF INTERVIEW: **START TIME:** **END TIME:** **TOTAL MINUTES SPENT ON INTERVIEW:**	
INDIVIDUAL SELECTED BY THE SAMPLING PROCEDURE	
SUBURB: **DWELLING** (address/description): …….....	
DETAILS OF SUBSTITUTED HOUSEHOLD	
SUBURB: **DWELLING** (address/description): …….....	
REASON FOR SUBSTITUTION:	
1 = Refused to be interviewed 2 = Never at home 3 = Deaf/ Spoke only a foreign language 4= Ineligible – only children at home (under 18) or child headed household (under 16) Other: **SPECIFY**	

***Read to all before beginning interview*:**

Good Day My name is _____. I am from the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) in Johannesburg and I am working on a PhD project to understand the spatial decision making of Zimbabwean migrants in the city of Johannesburg. The spatial decisions referred to include decisions about where the migrants live in the city; the first point of arrival, the different places where the migrants have moved since arriving in Johannesburg. The main point is to understand the meanings that migrants attach to particular spaces as well as to the process of movement itself. The principal investigator for this survey is Mr Khangelani Moyo who is a PhD student at the University of the Witwatersrand. The data gathered in this exercise will be processed anonymously, and the information used for the writing of a PhD thesis. For this reason, there are no monetary or material rewards for participating in this survey, except our appreciation. You are under no obligation to participate, and are free to not answer any question and stop the interview at any time. We will keep what you say confidential and it will not be given to the government or any other person other than the principal investigator and his academic supervisors. Your name will never appear in our research. We will not write your name on this interview form. The interview should take about 30 to 45 minutes.

Confirm verbal Consent: Interviewer to sign below

Yes	**No**

SECTION A: PARTICIPANT PROFILING

1. Participant's sex

Male	1
Female	2
Other	3

2. Marital Status

Married	1
Single	2
Divorced	3
Co-habiting	4
Other (specify)	5

3. Place of birth (city/town)	
4. Year of Birth	
5. Ethnic Group	

6. Immigration Status

Work permit	1
Special Dispensation	1a

Study permit Special dispensation	2 2a
Permanent residence permit	3
Refugee permit	4
Asylum seeker permit	5
Other: Specify	6
South African ID	7

SECTION B: CROSS BORDER MIGRATION PROFILE

7. Tell me about your reasons for migrating to South Africa

Instruction to interviewer: Do not read out the responses, allow multiple replies and circle the applicable answers.

For economic reasons (to get a job, improved standard living, etc)	1
To escape political oppression/persecution	2
To escape religious persecution/discrimination	3
To escape ethnic/tribal persecution/discrimination, ethnic intolerance	4
To escape gender/sexual discrimination	5
For educational opportunities	6
To be reunited with relatives	7
Other (specify):	98

8. When did you move to South Africa? *(write down year and month)*	

9. What was your first place of residence in South Africa?	

If the answer to the above question is a place in Johannesburg - Skip to Question: 11

10. Could you please tell me about your journey to Johannesburg? (Record response)

SECTION C: HOUSEHOLD DYNAMICS AND RESIDENCE IN JOHANNESBURG

11. How many people are in your household?	

12. Whom do you live with? (circle answer and allow multiple responses)

Alone	1
Wife Husband Partner Children Siblings	2a 2b 2c 2d 2e
Other relatives (specify)	3
Zimbabwean Friends	4
South African Friends	5
Friends from other nationalities (Specify)	6

13. If living with people other than family; what is the nature of the living arrangement?

We Share rent and bills (water, electricity)	1
They are hosting me for free	2
I am hosting them for free	3
Share food	4
Other (specify)	98

14. Type of dwelling occupied by your household

Flat or apartment in a block of flats	1
Cluster house in complex/Townhouse	2
Detached house	3
Semi-detached house	4
House/room/flat in backyard	5
Informal dwelling (shack in backyard)	6
Informal dwelling (shack in informal settlement)	7
Room/flatlet on a property or a larger dwelling/servants' quarters/granny flat	8
Caravan/Tent	9
Other (specify)	

15. Tenure status

Owned	1
Fully paid off	1a
Paying bond	1b
Rented	2
Occupied rent free	3
Other (Specify)	4

16. If rented, how many rooms do your household use?

Half a room	1
1 room	2
1 and a half room	2a
2 rooms or more	2b
Full house Full flat How many rooms do the flat or house have?	3 3a

17. If rented, whom do you rent from?

Rent from owner	1
Rent from another tenant	2
Rent from agency	3
Other (specify)	4

18. Could you please tell me about your living arrangement s since you came to Johannesburg, where you have lived, how you have lived, with who and your experiences of the living arrangements? Record response (Complete Annex A with participant: Start with the first place where they stayed up to their current residence)

19. Who makes the decisions about moving from one residence/township to the next? Probe to establish if decisions are individual or collective. (Write down responses)

20. Please indicate below how you feel about your current residence, township, suburb, city (mark with an X)

	Current Residence (house/flat/shack)	Township/suburb	City (Johannesburg)
Strongly attached			
Attached			
Slightly attached			
Not attached			
Strongly unattached			

21. Could you please explain why you feel the way you do? (record the response)

SECTION D: ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND EDUCATION

22. What was your highest educational qualification in Zimbabwe?

ZJC grade 7	1
ZJC form 2	2
GCE O level	3
GCE A level	4
National Certificate	5
National Diploma	6
Higher National Diploma	7
Postgraduate Diploma	8
Bachelor Degree	9
Honours Degree	10
Masters Degree	11
PhD	12

23. Were you employed in Zimbabwe before coming to South Africa?

Yes	1
No	2

24. If so, what type of job were you doing and are you doing the same job here?

25. Have you studied further since arriving in South Africa?

Yes	1
No (Go to Q27)	2

26. If so, please tell me what you have studied.

Matric	1
National Certificate	2
National Diploma	3
Higher National Diploma	4
Postgraduate Diploma	5
Bachelor Degree	6
Honours Degree	7
Masters Degree	8
PhD	9
Other (specify)	10

27. **How would you define your current employment status?** *(Do not read out. Allow multiple answers)*

Unemployed	1
Retired	2
Casual employment	3
Working part-time in formal sector	4
Working part-time in informal sector	5
Working full-time in formal sector	6
Working full-time in informal sector	7
Voluntary worker	8
Housewife/homemaker	9
University/tecknikon/correspondence student	10
Self employed (specify trade)	11
Other(specify)	98
RA	97

28. Could you please tell me about your employment history since you arrived in South Africa? What was your first job? Where was it? (Please record response). Complete annex B with participant: start with first job in South Africa and end with current job.

28 (b). Approximately, how much does your household earn per month?

SECTION E: RELATIONSHIPS &EXPRESSION OF ZIMBABWEAN IDENTITY

29. Please indicate complete the matrix in Annex C with the participant (Record response on the participant's relationship with the listed people) Also, ask which language the participant speaks with the listed groups.

30. Do you feel comfortable identifying as a Zimbabwean amongst the following groups of people? Explain.

Population Group	Yes/No	Explain:
Zimbabweans (same ethnicity)		
Zimbabweans (different ethnicity)		
Black South Africans		
White South Africans		
Indian South Africans		
Coloured South Africans		
SADC immigrants		
Other (specify)		

31. In which areas of Johannesburg do you feel comfortable identifying as a Zimbabwean?

Area	Do you go to these areas in Joburg?		What do you do in the area	Do you identify as Zimbabwean in these areas	How comfortable do you feel? (Use codes below)
	Yes	No			
Inner city					
Suburbs					
Informal settlements					
Townships					

Codes

very comfortable	1
Comfortable	2
Uncomfortable	3
Very uncomfortable	4

32. Are there instances/situations where you hide your Zimbabwean identity in Johannesburg?

Yes	1
No	2
Never	3
Sometimes	4
All the time	5

33. Could you please elaborate on the circumstances that have made you hide your Zimbabwean identity and what other identities have you taken up other than what or who you are?

SECTION F: INTERACTION WITH THE STATE AND OTHER SERVICE PROVIDERS

34. When accessing the following services, do you openly identify as Zimbabwean? Which language do you speak with them?

Service Providers	Do you access them		How often	Do you identify as Zimbabwean		Please Explain (record response)
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
Home Affairs						
SAPS						
Public Health Services						
Private Health Services						
Metro police						
Banks						
Education Facilities						
Other (specify)						

SECTION G: MOVEMENT IN THE CITY

35. Complete Matrix in Annex D with the participant

SECTION H: TRANSNATIONAL PRESENCE & COMMUNICATION

36. Are you in contact with family or friends in Zimbabwe?

Yes	1
No	2
RA	97

37. If yes, please answer the following questions

	Immediate family	Extended family	Friends	Other
Who				
How often do you communicate?				
How do you communicate? 1=I call from my cell 2=They call me on my cell 3=Email 4=Facebook 5=SMS 6=Other (specify) 7=WhatsApp				

38. How often do you go to Zimbabwe?	
a) Are there any particular reasons why you go home as often as you do? Or do not go at all?	
39. Do you send money home?	
a) If yes, how often do you send?	
b) In addition, how much do you send in a year?	

40. When people back home make decisions, do they ever consult you?	
a) And do you consult them?	

Comments and Observations

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~End of Interview: Thank the participant~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Annex A: Complete with Question 18

	Street & suburb name	Type of dwelling	Whom did you live with?	Number of rooms occupied	Length of stay: year and month		Reasons for leaving	Code
					From	To		
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								

Annex B: Complete with Question 28

	Type of Job	**From**	**To**	**Where was it located (suburb & city)**	**Where were you staying (suburb & city)**	**Reasons for leaving**	**Code**
		Year & month					
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							

Annex C: Complete with Question 29

	Family	Friends	Close Friends	Work Associates	Drinking Mates	Church Members	Language you speak with them	Other (specify)
Zimbabweans (same ethnic group)								
Zimbabweans (diff ethnic group)								
Black South Africans								
White South Africans								
Coloured South Africans								
SADC Migrants								
Other (Specify)								

Annex D: Complete with Question 35

	Where: Suburb & city/town	How often	How do you get there (Enter codes given below)	How long does it take to get there (enter estimated time)	Reasons for going there
Employment (place of economic activity-where participant makes a living)					
Education (university, schools)					
Shopping (malls, supermarkets, etc)					
Entertainment Areas (bars, clubs, etc)					
Place of Worship (church, mosque, etc)					
Health Facility (clinic, hospital, etc)					
Friends					
Relatives /family					
Other (specify)					

Mode of transport codes for annex D

Walk	1
Cycle	2
Bus Metro-bus PUTCO BRT	3 A B C
Taxi Mini-Bus Meter Taxi	4 A B
Train Metro rail	5 A

Gautrain	B
Lift Club	6
Private motor vehicle Own vehicle Someone else's Car	7 A B
Other, Specify	98

A2: Ethics Clearance Certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON MEDICAL)
H111013 Moyo

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H11/10/13 (EXTENSION)**
PROJECT TITLE	Space and Belonging: A Multi-Sited Ethnography of Migrant Spaces in the City of Johannesburg
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr K Moyo
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Architecture and Planning
DATE CONSIDERED	15 October 2013
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	14 October 2015
DATE 15 October 2013	**CHAIRPERSON** (Professor TM Milani)

cc: Professor P Harrison (Supervisor)

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10005, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

A3- Focus Group Discussion Guide

Brief overview of the study and invitation to participate in focus group discussion

Good Day

My name is Khangelani Moyo. I am from the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) in Johannesburg and I am working on a PhD project to understand the spatial decision making of Zimbabwean migrants in the city of Johannesburg. The spatial decisions referred to include decisions about where the migrants currently live in the city and the different places where they have moved since arriving in Johannesburg. The main point is to understand the meanings that people attach to particular spaces as well as to the process of movement itself. The data gathered in this exercise will be processed anonymously, and the information used for the writing of a PhD thesis. For this reason, there are no monetary or material rewards for participating in this survey, except our appreciation.

I am inviting you to be part of a focus group discussion with nine other Zimbabweans to discuss information pertaining to the scope of my PhD research as highlighted above. The focus group discussion will be held at a place that is convenient for you and the other participants, and transport to the venue will be arranged if needed. Regarding the procedure for the focus group, the intention is to have a lively discussion guided by myself as the facilitator and in the language that you understand. You are under no obligation to participate, and are free not to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. I will keep what you say confidential and will not pass any information to any other person other than my academic supervisors. Your name will not appear in our research records. We will not write your name on this interview form. The focus group discussion should take about 45 minutes to an hour.

Thank you for agreeing to participate

FGD Questions

There is an indication of attachment to Johannesburg but most of you do not regard South Africa as home. Why is that so?

There is a relatively small number of people that admit to going to entertainment areas, e.g. clubs, bars, e.t.c, why is that so, why are people reluctant to talk about entertainment activities?

There is a high number of people who go to church, are Zimbabweans so religious? Why do so many people go to church?

How has social media platforms changed or affected your communication practices with people back home and people in South Africa? For example, WhatsApp and facebook groups, instant messaging

Has there been a shift from phone calls to these platforms?

Why is there a trend of more Shona Zimbabweans arriving in suburban areas compared to Ndebele Zimbabweans who predominantly arrive in the inner city and inner ring areas of Johannesburg?

Why are women dominating the numbers of people that arrive in suburban areas?

When you arrived in Johannesburg for the first time, what was your impression of the city and how different or similar to your previous place of residence in Zimbabwe?

People change residences often here in Johannesburg; does the same thing happen in Zimbabwean cities?

Does moving from one place to the other mean anything to you?

Generally, how would you describe your experiences in South Africa compared to your experiences in Zimbabwe? For example, employment, social, political and economic environment

Many of you speak English with South Africans, and others speak some South African languages such as isiZulu and Sotho, how has that affected your experience of the Johannesburg environment in comparison with your experiences in Zimbabwe?

Friendships, what are the determinants for friendship with specific groups of people?

B- Additional Tables for chapter six

Table B1: Frequency of participants' visits to places of education

		How often do you go to your place of education								Total
		At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a fortnight	At least once a month	At least once in 3 months	At least once in 6 months	At least once a year	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	5	3	2	5	1	1	0	29	46
	Percentage	10.9	6.5	4.3	10.9	2.2	2.2	0.0	63.0	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	15	8	0	1	1	2	0	10	37
	Percentage	40.5	21.6	0.0	2.7	2.7	5.4	0.0	27.0	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	15	2	0	3	1	0	2	21	44
	Percentage	34.1	4.5	0.0	6.8	2.3	0.0	4.5	47.7	100.0
Townships	Frequency	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	11	17
	Percentage	5.9	17.6	0.0	5.9	5.9	0.0	0.0	64.7	100.0
Total	Frequency	36	16	2	10	4	3	2	71	144
	Percentage	25.0	11.1	1.4	6.9	2.8	2.1	1.4	49.3	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B2: Frequency of participants' visits to places of shopping

		How often do you go to your place of shopping							Total
		At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a fortnight	At least once a month	At least once in 3 months	At least once in 6 months	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	6	12	1	27	1	0	0	47
	Percentage	12.8	25.5	2.1	57.4	2.1	0.0	0.0	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	0	22	5	10	1	0	0	38
	Percentage	0.0	57.9	13.2	26.3	2.6	0.0	0.0	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	3	10	5	22	2	1	1	44
	Percentage	6.8	22.7	11.4	50.0	4.5	2.3	2.3	100.0
Townships	Frequency	1	2	6	8	0	0	0	17
	Percentage	5.9	11.8	35.3	47.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	Frequency	10	46	17	67	4	1	1	146
	Percentage	6.8	31.5	11.6	45.9	2.7	0.7	0.7	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B3: Frequency of participants' visits to places of entertainment

		How often do you go to your place of entertainment						Total
		At least once a week	At least once a fortnight	At least once a month	At least once in 3 months	At least once in 6 months	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	9	1	9	3	0	25	47
	Percentage	19.1	2.1	19.1	6.4	0.0	53.2	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	7	4	6	2	0	19	38
	Percentage	18.4	10.5	15.8	5.3	0.0	50.0	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	12	2	3	0	1	25	43
	Percentage	27.9	4.7	7.0	0.0	2.3	58.1	100.0
Townships	Frequency	2	2	2	0	1	10	17
	Percentage	11.8	11.8	11.8	0.0	5.9	58.8	100.0
Total	Frequency	30	9	20	5	2	79	145
	Percentage	20.7	6.2	13.8	3.4	1.4	54.5	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B4: Frequency of participants' visits to places of worship

		How often do you go to your place of worship								Total
		At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a fortnight	At least once a month	At least once in 3 months	At least once in 6 months	Not applicable	Other	
Inner city	Frequency	0	31	1	2	2	1	9	1	47
	Percentage	0.0	66.0	2.1	4.3	4.3	2.1	19.1	2.1	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	0	25	0	8	2	0	3	0	38
	Percentage	0.0	65.8	0.0	21.1	5.3	0.0	7.9	0.0	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	0	32	2	5	1	0	4	0	44
	Percentage	0.0	72.7	4.5	11.4	2.3	0.0	9.1	0.0	100.0
Townships	Frequency	1	11	0	0	0	0	5	0	17
	Percentage	5.9	64.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.4	0.0	100.0
Total	Frequency	1	99	3	15	5	1	21	1	146
	Percentage	0.7	67.8	2.1	10.3	3.4	0.7	14.4	0.7	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B5: Frequency of participants' visits to places of health services

		How often do you go to your place of health services								Total
		At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a fortnight	At least once a month	At least once in 3 months	At least once in 6 months	At least once a year	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	1	3	1	6	6	12	6	12	47
	Percentage	2.1	6.4	2.1	12.8	12.8	25.5	12.8	25.5	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	0	1	1	6	3	6	10	11	38
	Percentage	0.0	2.6	2.6	15.8	7.9	15.8	26.3	28.9	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	0	0	0	6	6	7	12	13	44
	Percentage	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.6	13.6	15.9	27.3	29.5	100.0
Townships	Frequency	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	8	16
	Percentage	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	12.5	25.0	50.0	100.0
Total	Frequency	1	4	2	18	17	27	32	44	145
	Percentage	0.7	2.8	1.4	12.4	11.7	18.6	22.1	30.3	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B6: Frequency of participants' visits to friends' places

		How often do you visit your friends								Total
		At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a fortnight	At least once a month	At least once in 3 months	At least once in 6 months	At least once a year	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	1	16	5	14	3	2	1	5	47
	Percentage	2.1	34.0	10.6	29.8	6.4	4.3	2.1	10.6	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	1	13	5	11	3	2	0	3	38
	Percentage	2.6	34.2	13.2	28.9	7.9	5.3	0.0	7.9	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	2	21	4	4	4	1	1	7	44
	Percentage	4.5	47.7	9.1	9.1	9.1	2.3	2.3	15.9	100.0
Townships	Frequency	1	7	1	4	1	0	1	2	17
	Percentage	5.9	41.2	5.9	23.5	5.9	0.0	5.9	11.8	100.0
Total	Frequency	5	57	15	33	11	5	3	17	146
	Percentage	3.4	39.0	10.3	22.6	7.5	3.4	2.1	11.6	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B7: Frequency of participants' visits to relatives' places

		How often do you visit your relatives								Total
		At least once a day	At least once a week	At least once a fortnight	At least once a month	At least once in 3 months	At least once in 6 months	At least once a year	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	0	12	3	20	5	0	0	7	47
	Percentage	0.0	25.5	6.4	42.6	10.6	0.0	0.0	14.9	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	0	9	5	12	4	0	3	5	38
	Percentage	0.0	23.7	13.2	31.6	10.5	0.0	7.9	13.2	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	2	7	3	16	6	1	1	8	44
	Percentage	4.5	15.9	6.8	36.4	13.6	2.3	2.3	18.2	100.0
Townships	Frequency	0	4	3	3	3	0	0	4	17
	Percentage	0.0	23.5	17.6	17.6	17.6	0.0	0.0	23.5	100.0
Total	Frequency	2	32	14	51	18	1	4	24	146
	Percentage	1.4	21.9	9.6	34.9	12.3	0.7	2.7	16.4	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B8: Participants' mode of transport to place of health services

		How do you get to your place of health services							Total
		Walk	Metrobus	mini-bus taxi	Metro-rail	own private car	someone else's private car	not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	16	0	8	1	4	5	13	47
	Percentage	34.0	0.0	17.0	2.1	8.5	10.6	27.7	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	2	0	9	1	10	5	11	38
	Percentage	5.3	0.0	23.7	2.6	26.3	13.2	28.9	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	18	2	5	0	5	1	13	44
	Percentage	40.9	4.5	11.4	0.0	11.4	2.3	29.5	100.0
Townships	Frequency	2	0	6	0	0	0	9	17
	Percentage	11.8	0.0	35.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	52.9	100.0
Total	Frequency	38	2	28	2	19	11	46	146
	Percentage	26.0	1.4	19.2	1.4	13.0	7.5	31.5	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B9: Participants' estimated travel time to place of employment

		How long does it take to get to your place of employment?							Total
		0-10 minutes	11-20 minutes	21-30 minutes	31-45 minutes	46-60 minutes	More than an hour	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	9	10	8	7	2	0	9	45
	Percentage	20.0	22.2	17.8	15.6	4.4	0.0	20.0	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	6	8	5	4	4	0	10	37
	Percentage	16.2	21.6	13.5	10.8	10.8	0.0	27.0	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	10	1	3	3	3	1	23	44
	Percentage	22.7	2.3	6.8	6.8	6.8	2.3	52.3	100.0
Townships	Frequency	0	3	4	1	3	1	4	16
	Percentage	0.0	18.8	25.0	6.3	18.8	6.3	25.0	100.0
Total	Frequency	25	22	20	15	12	2	46	142
	Percentage	17.6	15.5	14.1	10.6	8.5	1.4	32.4	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B10: participants estimated travel time to place of education

		How long does it take to get to your place of education							Total
		0-10 minutes	11-20 minutes	21-30 minutes	31-45 minutes	46-60 minutes	More than an hour	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	7	5	1	1	2	2	29	47
	Percentage	14.9	10.6	2.1	2.1	4.3	4.3	61.7	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	4	5	9	6	4	0	10	38
	Percentage	10.5	13.2	23.7	15.8	10.5	0.0	26.3	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	9	5	6	0	2	1	21	44
	Percentage	20.5	11.4	13.6	0.0	4.5	2.3	47.7	100.0
Townships	Frequency	0	2	2	2	0	0	11	17
	Percentage	0.0	11.8	11.8	11.8	0.0	0.0	64.7	100.0
Total	Frequency	20	17	18	9	8	3	71	146
	Percentage	13.7	11.6	12.3	6.2	5.5	2.1	48.6	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B11: Participants estimated travel time to places of shopping

		How long does it take to get to your place of shopping							Total
		0-10 minutes	11-20 minutes	21-30 minutes	31-45 minutes	46-60 minutes	More than an hour	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	21	13	9	2	2	0	0	47
	Percentage	44.7	27.7	19.1	4.3	4.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	21	13	3	0	1	0	0	38
	Percentage	55.3	34.2	7.9	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	18	12	11	1	0	1	1	44
	Percentage	40.9	27.3	25.0	2.3	0.0	2.3	2.3	100.0
Townships	Frequency	3	7	5	1	0	1	0	17
	Percentage	17.6	41.2	29.4	5.9	0.0	5.9	0.0	100.0
Total	Frequency	63	45	28	4	3	2	1	146
	Percentage	43.2	30.8	19.2	2.7	2.1	1.4	0.7	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B12: Participants estimated travel time to places of entertainment

		How long does it take to get to your place of entertainment							Total
		0-10 minutes	11-20 minutes	21-30 minutes	31-45 minutes	46-60 minutes	More than an hour	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	7	6	5	3	0	0	25	46
	Percentage	15.2	13.0	10.9	6.5	0.0	0.0	54.3	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	5	5	4	2	2	0	19	37
	Percentage	13.5	13.5	10.8	5.4	5.4	0.0	51.4	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	5	7	4	0	1	1	25	43
	Percentage	11.6	16.3	9.3	0.0	2.3	2.3	58.1	100.0
Townships	Frequency	3	1	3	0	0	0	10	17
	Percentage	17.6	5.9	17.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	58.8	100.0
Total	Frequency	20	19	16	5	3	1	79	143
	Percentage	14.0	13.3	11.2	3.5	2.1	0.7	55.2	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B13: Participants' estimated travel time to place of worship

		How long does it take to get to your place of worship							Total
		0-10 minutes	11-20 minutes	21-30 minutes	31-45 minutes	46-60 minutes	More than an hour	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	18	11	4	1	2	1	10	47
	Percentage	38.3	23.4	8.5	2.1	4.3	2.1	21.3	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	12	13	3	5	2	0	3	38
	Percentage	31.6	34.2	7.9	13.2	5.3	0.0	7.9	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	13	13	7	2	5	0	4	44
	Percentage	29.5	29.5	15.9	4.5	11.4	0.0	9.1	100.0
Townships	Frequency	6	2	2	1	1	0	5	17
	Percentage	35.3	11.8	11.8	5.9	5.9	0.0	29.4	100.0
Total	Frequency	49	39	16	9	10	1	22	146
	Percentage	33.6	26.7	11.0	6.2	6.8	0.7	15.1	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B14: Participants' estimated travel time to place of health services

		How long does it take to get to your place of health services							Total
		0-10 minutes	11-20 minutes	21-30 minutes	31-45 minutes	46-60 minutes	More than an hour	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	18	10	5	1	0	1	12	47
	Percentage	38.3	21.3	10.6	2.1	0.0	2.1	25.5	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	15	4	4	2	1	1	11	38
	Percentage	39.5	10.5	10.5	5.3	2.6	2.6	28.9	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	10	6	10	4	0	1	13	44
	Percentage	22.7	13.6	22.7	9.1	0.0	2.3	29.5	100.0
Townships	Frequency	2	5	1	0	0	0	9	17
	Percentage	11.8	29.4	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	52.9	100.0
Total	Frequency	45	25	20	7	1	3	45	146
	Percentage	30.8	17.1	13.7	4.8	0.7	2.1	30.8	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B15: Participants' estimated travel time to friends' place of residences

		How long does it take to get to your friends' place							Total
		0-10 minutes	11-20 minutes	21-30 minutes	31-45 minutes	46-60 minutes	More than an hour	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	14	10	9	4	3	1	6	47
	Percentage	29.8	21.3	19.1	8.5	6.4	2.1	12.8	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	8	3	9	10	2	3	3	38
	Percentage	21.1	7.9	23.7	26.3	5.3	7.9	7.9	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	15	10	6	3	1	2	7	44
	Percentage	34.1	22.7	13.6	6.8	2.3	4.5	15.9	100.0
Townships	Frequency	7	1	2	1	4	0	2	17
	Percentage	41.2	5.9	11.8	5.9	23.5	0.0	11.8	100.0
Total	Frequency	44	24	26	18	10	6	18	146
	Percentage	30.1	16.4	17.8	12.3	6.8	4.1	12.3	100.0

Source: author's survey data

Table B16: Participants' estimated travel time to place of employment

		How long does it take to get to your relatives' place							Total
		0-10 minutes	11-20 minutes	21-30 minutes	31-45 minutes	46-60 minutes	More than an hour	Not applicable	
Inner city	Frequency	5	9	8	5	10	2	7	46
	Percentage	10.9	19.6	17.4	10.9	21.7	4.3	15.2	100.0
Suburbs	Frequency	2	6	6	9	6	4	5	38
	Percentage	5.3	15.8	15.8	23.7	15.8	10.5	13.2	100.0
Inner ring	Frequency	5	11	8	3	7	2	8	44
	Percentage	11.4	25.0	18.2	6.8	15.9	4.5	18.2	100.0
Townships	Frequency	3	2	2	1	2	3	4	17
	Percentage	17.6	11.8	11.8	5.9	11.8	17.6	23.5	100.0
Total	Frequency	15	28	24	18	25	11	24	145
	Percentage	10.3	19.3	16.6	12.4	17.2	7.6	16.6	100.0

Source: author's survey data