

**GENDERED STRATEGIES AND ASPIRATIONS OF BLACK WOMEN
INHABITING BORDERLAND SPACES: A CASE STUDY OF MUSINA LOCAL
MUNICIPALITY**

Chido Anna Maria Muzanenhamo

(882192)



Supervisors

Professor Philip Harrison

Dr Margot Rubin

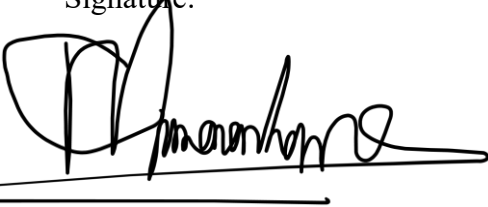
A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Urban and Regional Planning)

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation/thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for a Doctor of Philosophy Degree (Urban and Regional Planning). At no other university or institution has it been submitted as a requirement for a degree or any other qualification.

Signature:

Date: 30 September 2024

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'P. Mankwane', written over a horizontal line.

Acknowledgments

Ndi ko livhuwa vhathu vha Musina nga thuso yavho minihwanhi yothe. Ndi ko livhuwa dzinganea dze vha shera. Vho nyalusa nda vha mufumukadzi a ne nda vha ane amusi. Ndi do dzula ndi nwana wavho, vha do dzula vha mashaka nne.

I am grateful for the grace bestowed upon me by God and my ancestors, whom I have called on often during this doctoral journey. I appreciate your blessings and giving me the opportunity to do this PhD and feel incredibly humbled to be the first person in my lineage to pursue this academic path.

This work would not have been possible without the support of The South African Research Chair in Spatial Analysis and City Planning (SARChi) who funded my studies. Thank you to the Chair, Prof Phil Harrison and to Dr Margot Rubin who supervised me during this project. I am grateful for your belief in me, help, support, and encouragement. I will forever be indebted to you for the lessons I learnt and for allowing me to grow throughout this process. To Thammy Jezile, thank you for lending an ear, encouraging me, and being the go-to person for my never-ending questions. Dr Mncedisi Siteleki, thank you for my beautiful maps and teaching me so much about post-graduate life.

Andrew Mahakata, my love, and best mate, thank you.

“The whole idea of support and supporting is different than just helping. Supporting is caring. You are always that net that’s always there” – Viola Davis. To my “net”: Dr Rungano ‘Doc’ Dzikamunhenga, Mandy Maringa Mukwedeya, Lundi and Tony Gibbons, Tapi Nyoni, Erica and Remi Solanke, Moyra Mapeza, Thobekile Sithole, Emma Kwinjo, Amanda Chitamba, Linda Tatie Mahakata, Diane and Renee Stewart, Taku, Amy and Rocky, Ongeziwe Gabela, Funeka Manzi, Kamogelo Moloto, Moeketsi Koahela, Karabo Mphogo, Thembani Du Toit, Zimbali Ncube, Sedzani Malada and Mam Jo Mashaba – Thank You.

Thank you to the academics who have been instrumental in my growth and journey – Dr Ben Scully, Dr Obvious Katsaura, Dr Kezia Lewins, Prof Bridget Kenny, Prof Zimitri Erasmus, Dr Tsepang Leuta, Prof Srila Roy and most importantly, the late Dr Lindiwe Makhunga who was the first to make me even think of reaching such academic heights. I dedicate this work to you.

Dedication

Andrew Mustard you are the light and love of my life. I could only achieve this with your constant belief in me and support.

To me, myself, and I. For all the tears. All the hair you pulled out. The anxiety. The migraines. I am so proud of you. Well done.

This work is dedicated to Munashe Kamzimbi. A loving husband, father, uncle and brother who was instrumental in all my fieldwork and time in Musina. Thank you for everything and may your soul rest in Power.

Abstract

This research focuses on how black femininity is constructed and embodied in an African borderland at the intersections of rural-urban and transnational interfaces. Conducted in Musina local municipality, this study posits that a double borderland identity – an identity formed through the spatial overlaps of transnational, rural, and urban existence – shapes how black women are caught in-between idealized conceptualizations of black femininity and the processes of dislocation and adaptation that accompany pressures of assimilating into a borderland society.

Utilizing qualitative research methods, including a case study analysis, reflexive photography and journaling, and 43 semi-structured interviews, this study explored the concepts of intersectionality, liminality, and borderlands. The findings suggest that black femininity is an ideal constructed largely of three components: selfhood, wifehood, and motherhood. These ideas frequently mirror the perception that certain categories – like gender, geography, and nationality – are fixed and unrelated. However, the study shows that gender identity in the municipality is performatively intersectional, leading to diverse liminal experiences. Identities in an African borderland can be fluid, hybrid, invisible or visible depending on the context. This study provides a more nuanced understanding of identity formation in borderland spaces. The double borderland identity is particularly important because it subverts and transforms commonly perceived notions of black femininity, being the catalyst for the experiences and embodiment of intersectional identities, often leaving many women in a permanent state of in-betweenness.

Contents

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Dedication	iv
Abstract	v
Acronyms and Abbreviations (list of abbreviations)	x
List of Maps	xi
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER	1
1:1 INTRODUCTION	1
1:1.1 Brief history on Musina Local Municipality	2
1:1.2 Researching a home away from home	3
1:1.3 The problem and rationale concerning gender identity construction in borderlands	5
1:1.4 Contribution to knowledge	8
1:1.5 Research question(s)	9
1:1.6 Outline of the thesis and overview of key themes	10
CHAPTER 2: MUSINA LOCAL MUNICIPALITY: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT	14
2:2 INTRODUCTION	14
2:2.1 The VhaVenda – from Soutpansberg to the Venda Bantustan	17
2:2.2 1994 to present – VhaVenda since democracy	20
2:2.3 From Messina to Musina town	22
2:2.4 Gendered life under the pre-colonial, colonial, and apartheid rule	25
2:2.5 Migration	26
2:2.6 Gender and migration	32
2:2.7 The Beitbridge border crossing	37
2:2.8 The Special Economic Zone	38
2:2.9 Who lives in Musina Local Municipality and why?	39
2:2.9.1 Demography	39
2:2.10 CONCLUSION	47
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW PART 1 – INTERSECTIONALITY ...	50
3:1 INTRODUCTION	50
3:2 The sex and gender debate	51
3:3 Problematising the ideas of African femininity and African masculinity	55
3:4 Intersectional theory	60
3:5 Gendered geography	65

3:6 Intersectionality and its relationship with geography.....	68
3:7 CONCLUSION – A CASE FOR PERFORMATIVE INTERSECTIONALITY	71
CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW PART 2 – LIMINALITY AND BORDERLANDS	73
4:1 INTRODUCTION.....	73
4:2 LIMINALITY.....	74
4:2.1 Waiting and liminality	75
4:2.2 Temporal versus permanent liminality	77
4:2.3 Liminal spaces	78
4:3 BOUNDARIES, BORDERS, AND BORDERLANDS	81
4:3.1 From borders to borderlands.....	82
4:3.2 Transnationalism in borderlands.....	85
4:3.3 African borderlands and transnationality	86
4:4 The rural-urban interface as a borderland.....	89
4:4.1 Understanding planetary urbanisation	90
4:4.2 The rural-urban interface in Africa and South Africa	94
4:5 CONCLUSION – A CASE FOR INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES AND LIMINAL EXPERIENCES IN BORDERLANDS	96
CHAPTER 5: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH – A LABOUR OF AFFECT AND THE ART OF LOCKING UP EMOTIONS.....	98
5:1 INTRODUCTION.....	98
5:2 Overall methodological approach.....	98
5:3 The road to fieldwork.....	100
5:4 Choosing the case study.....	109
5:5 Data collection: the affective production involved in qualitative research.	111
5:6 Sampling, interviews, and rolling the snowball.	115
5:7 Surface acting and locked emotions: interview (processes) and data analysis	125
5:8 CONCLUSION	128
CHAPTER 6: DECONSTRUCTING THE <i>MUSADZI/MUKADZI</i> OF MUSINA LOCAL MUNICIPALITY	130
6:1 INTRODUCTION.....	130
6:1.1 Constructions of black womanhood in South Africa and Zimbabwe: A brief history	131
6:1.2 South African black womanhood.....	132
6:1.3 Zimbabwean black womanhood.....	134
6:2 Musina’s <i>Musadzi/Mukadzi</i> : A woman of respect	137
6:2.1 Selfhood	137
6:2.2 Respectable wifehood.....	142

6:2.3 Respectful motherhood	149
6:3 CONCLUSION	153
CHAPTER 7: PERFORMATIVE INTERSECTIONALITY	155
7:1 INTRODUCTION	155
7:2 Traditional subjects and municipal citizens.....	157
7:3 Access to economic and employment opportunities	160
7:4 Access to social services.....	164
7:4.1 Gendered differences to responses to GBV	164
7:4.2 Migrants varied experiences with social services	166
7:5 Performing poverty	170
7:6 “Life is harder for the rural woman”.	172
7:6.1 Lack of economic opportunities.....	172
7:6.2 Poor transportation.....	174
7:6.3 Lack of basic services	175
7:7 CONCLUSION	177
CHAPTER 8: MANAGING LIMINALITY	180
8:1 INTRODUCTION	180
8:2 Disruption: A precursor to the liminal experience.....	181
8:3 Gender (re)construction and liminality: Blessing’s story	182
8:3.1 Parental liminality and waiting.....	185
8:3.2 Integration and liminal spaces	189
8:4 Adaptation and liminality: Hybridisation and invisibility	191
8:4.1 ‘Here and there’: Jeremy’s story	191
8:4.2 ‘Neither here’ nor ‘there’: Tracy’s story	195
8:4.3 Invisibility and liminal positioning: Nelisiwe’s story.....	198
8:4.4 ‘There’ and ‘nowhere’: Kudzai’s story.....	200
8.5 CONCLUSION – LIFE IN-BETWEEN AND FINDING BELONGING	204
CHAPTER 9: DOUBLE BORDERLANDS.....	206
9:1 INTRODUCTION	206
9:2 Borderland identities	207
9:2.1 Migrant transnational borderland identities	207
9:2.2 The non-migrant borderland identity	215
9:3 “Rural but not so rural”– the rural-urban interface	221
9:3.1 The new Musina Local Municipality.....	221
9:3.2 Viewpoints on the urban.....	225
9:3.3 Viewpoints on rurality.....	232

9:4 CONCLUSION: A CASE FOR DOUBLE BORDERLAND IDENTITIES.....	240
CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION – BLACK WOMEN’S PERFORMATIVE INTERSECTIONALITY IN DOUBLE BORDERLANDS	243
10:1 INTRODUCTION.....	243
10:2 The triad of black womanhood: Self, wife, and mother	244
10:3 Black women’s performative intersectionality.....	246
10:4 From intersectional identity to liminal experiences	248
10:5 The double borderland identity	250
10:6 Qualitative research as an emotive process	254
10:7 Conclusion and recommendations for future research	255
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCE LIST	258
Appendices.....	300

Acronyms and Abbreviations (list of abbreviations)

ANC	African National Congress
BMA	Border Management Authority
BOT	Build Operate Transfer
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Women
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
EDD	Economic Development Department
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
GNLB	Government Native Labour Bureau
GBVF-NSP	The National Strategic Plan on Gender Based Violence and Femicide
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
JMCC	Johane Masowe Chishane Church
LEP	Lesotho Exemption Permit
LED	Local Economic Development
LGBTQIA	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MTD	Messina (Transvaal) Development Company Limited
MDB	Municipal Demarcation Board
PA	Patriotic Alliance
RDP	Government Subsidised Housing
RNLSC	Rhodesia Native Labour Supply Commission
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANRAL	South African National Roads Agency
SAPS	South African Police Service
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
TVET	Technical Vocational Education and Training
UNHRC	United Nations Refugee Agency
VNP	Venda National Party

WITS	University of the Witwatersrand
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
ZAR	Zuid-Afrikaanse Republic
ZEP	Zimbabwe Exemption Permits
ZSP	Zimbabwe Special Permit

List of Maps

Map 1 Musina Local Municipality. Data Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 2 Vhembe District. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 3 Vhembe District and its local municipalities. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 4 Venda bantustan in 1991. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), Census Districts.

Map 5 Musina and Mutale Local Municipalities before demarcation. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 6 Musina Local Municipality's New Boundaries. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 7 Areas under Traditional Authority in Musina Local Municipality. Source: Musina Spatial Development Framework (SDF).

Map 8 The Three International Border Crossings. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 9 Musina-Makhado SEZ Locality. Source: Vhembe Spatial Development Framework (SDF).

Map 10 National Roads from Musina to Johannesburg. (Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 11 Casper Avenue and Klaff Avenue. Data Source: open street maps (QGIS).

Map 12 Nancefield. Data Source: Google Earth.

Map 13 Madimbo, Maseha and Matshena. Data Source: Google Earth.

Map 14 Shell Ultra City Service Station Limpopo along the N1. Data Source: Google Earth.

Map 15 Limpopo Province with Polokwane, Tzaneen, and Musina. Data Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 16 Vhembe District Municipality Boundaries 2009. Data Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 17 Vhembe District Municipality Boundaries 2018. Data Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB).

Map 18 Musina Mall. Data Source: Google Earth.

List of Tables

Table 1 Messina Mine Employment Statistics 1910 –1943

Table 2 Distribution of population group, Musina Local Municipality, 2022.

Table 3 Musina local Municipality Population 2011

Table 4 Distribution of households by sex of household head and municipality, 2022.

Table 5 Number of outstanding land claims per municipality

Table 6 List of participants from study

Table 7 List of key informants

List of Figures

Figure 1 Distribution of population by province of usual residence and province of previous residence, Census 2011 and 2022.

Figure 2 Distribution of the population by province of birth and province of usual residence, Census 2022

Figure 3 Distribution of population born outside South Africa by age and sex, Census 2011 and 2022

Figure 4 Migration to Musina Local Municipality by Gender between 2011 and 2016

Figure 5 Distribution of Population by Geography Type, Musina Local Municipality, 2022

Figure 6 Distribution of Households in Musina by Type of Dwelling Comparison Between 2011 and 2022

Figure 7 Distribution of Energy Use per Household in Musina Municipality 2011 and 2022

Figure 1 Distribution per Household in Musina Municipality by Access to Water 2011 and 2022

Figure 9 Musina-Residents Stand Together Without Fear Facebook Group 2022. Sample image of posts of RDP houses to rent or for sale

Figure 10 Musina High School.

Figure 11 MGM Women's Shelter.

Figure 12 Malaichas sitting around the truck stops outside of the South African Beitbridge Border Post.

Figure 13 Musina Mall Greetings.

Figure 14 Modern designed home in Madimbo village

Figure 15 Maseha Spaza.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

1:1 INTRODUCTION

Women in South Africa face many challenges, not only because of their gender, but also other social factors such as race, class, ethnicity and their geographical location (Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), 2019). For example, although women comprise just over half of the South African population, they are less likely to be formally employed, earn higher wages, or have a larger share of household income than men (ibid.). The combination of these and other social factors creates barriers that make women in South Africa intersectional subjects. Intersectionality is the idea that interconnecting oppressions occur simultaneously and therefore it is not possible to consider the different components of social life in isolation (Brah and Phoenix, 2004).

Although scholars like Massey (1994) and Rose (2013) have examined the connection between gender and geography, little is currently known about borderlands in all of their varied facets or how they shape female identity. In Anzaldúa's (1987:3) important study on borderlands, a borderland is defined as "a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary". However, understanding the experiences of those living near geopolitical borders and other borders present in borderlands addresses a knowledge gap in gender studies, and border studies in general. This thesis uses qualitative research methods to investigate the perspectives and experiences of black women residing in Musina Local Municipality, utilising the concepts of 'intersectionality', 'liminality', and 'borderlands'. Methods included semi-structured interviews, reflexive photography, participant observation and a self-reflexive journal of my experiences as a researcher. Expanding knowledge about the intersections of gender identity formation in borderlands is crucial in both the rapidly growing field of borderland studies and gender studies. This thesis argues that black women living in the Musina municipality have double borderland identities. This new perspective on borderlands and their connections to identity shows that crossing social and physical boundaries leads to both transnational and rural-urban identity. This, in turn, often results in an adjustment and renegotiation of gender identities. In a society where idealised gender standards are often in conflict with life at the intersection of imaginary, physical, and social boundaries, the black women in the borderlands examined in this work demonstrate that femininity is

performed to achieve social acceptance. Musina’s municipality, situated near three international border crossings, offers intriguing insights into borderlands and intersectionality. The area is an important access point for South Africa to the rest of Africa and has a long history of migration. With its officially designated urban and traditional areas, the municipality offers an interesting history that allows one to explore how the mobility and status of black women in Musina society shape their identities. As a result, this thesis aims to further research on gender, intersectionality, and liminality in African borderlands by demonstrating how Musina local municipality is a unique context in which various facets of culture, personhood, morality, language, nationality and transnationality influence gender identity. My goal in presenting this thesis is to highlight the various aspects of black femininity, through the lived experiences of residents in the borderlands.

1:1.1 Brief history on Musina Local Municipality



Map 1 Musina Local Municipality. Data Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB). Map by M. Siteleki.

South Africa’s northernmost town, Musina, is situated in Limpopo Province near the Beitbridge border with Zimbabwe (shown in *Map 1*). Initially fueled by the region’s copper mining industry and regarded as a ‘white town’ during apartheid, Messina was renamed to Musina by the post-apartheid government (Lahiff, 2001; *News 24*, 2005). When the Municipal

Demarcation Board (MDB) decided to dissolve Mutale Local Municipality in 2016, the boundaries of Musina's municipality were altered (Letlape and Dube, 2020). Due to the new demarcation, large settlement areas under traditional authority were incorporated into a Musina municipality that consisted mainly of urban settlements. Overall, the municipality is a research location that illustrates two different ways of thinking about borderlands – as transnational and as rural-urban. Questions concerning the construction, performance and interpretations of identity are given a new perspective by the international border crossings that produce the municipality's transnational borderland. Furthermore, thinking about the municipality as a rural-urban borderland presents an opportunity to interrogate how boundary changes that merged its urban settlements with traditionally governed areas with significant blurring in practice between the urban and the rural, subvert gender norms and behaviours, as well as conventional notions of geographic identity.

Crossing international borders and engaging in related activities, like moving people, goods, and money across borders, define a transnational borderland way of life. People living in the borderland are directly and indirectly affected by transnational practices, which affects the way they understand their own gender, ethnicities, class, and national identities, as well as those of others. Furthermore, changes in the municipality's landscape and infrastructure development shape residents' viewpoints on rural and urban spaces, as well as their interpretation of their positionality in relation to their gender identity.

1:1.2 Researching a home away from home

As a Zimbabwean immigrant, I keep abreast with news and trends in my home country. In 2016, the Zimbabwean government published Statutory Instrument (SI/64/2016), a trade law that stoked my interest in borderlands. The media termed this law the “Zim government import ban” as, suddenly, those who wanted to import goods such as dairy products, mayonnaise, bottled water, peanut butter, cooking oil, as well as other items such as building materials and fertilisers, would now need to get import licences through the Ministry of Industry and Commerce (*The Periscope Report*, 2017; Gawe, 2021). Not only did this statute spark debates about violations of regional trade agreements and Southern African Development Community (SADC) trade protocols, it also motivated entrepreneurs relying on cross-border trade from Musina and Beitbridge border towns, to protests a law that would affect their livelihoods (Gande, 2016). The fact that a country's trade policies could be opposed by its own citizens and those in a country with which it trades, intrigued me. It was not so much the protests in

Beitbridge border town that surprised me, which I expected given Zimbabwe's economic situation; it was the protest action in Musina's border town that took me aback because the prevailing narrative has been Zimbabwe needed South Africa more than South Africa needed Zimbabwe. Even though aspects of SI/64/2016 were repealed, the dynamics and politics that provoked the protests remained and would inspire me to consider the region's socio-spatial dynamics.

Before conducting my postgraduate research in this area, the only time I spent in these borderlands was in transit to Zimbabwe. Since spending some time in Musina's municipality, I have discovered that the area in general was a strange place for me. Being a transnational migrant, offers contradictory experiences. When I am there, I am very conscious of my migrant identity because I know that it is not my home country. Yet, there are so many cross-border migrants in the town, especially coming from Zimbabwe; that it cannot help but feel like it is home. It is the way my muscles relax, and the tension dissipates as I walk around. Even if I am not familiar with some areas, I know the language and that I can get where I need to be. On my first research trip to Musina in 2017, I also learnt the power of language and communication. Because I am accustomed to living in Johannesburg, I unconsciously spoke isiZulu on a taxi bus. The mixed reactions from the driver and passengers were enough for me to know that I had committed a faux pas. Later, on subsequent trips to the area, I learnt that my native language "chiShona¹ is the language of money here. If you don't speak chiShona, you don't make money!"

As a black, married, middle-class transnational migrant woman, I often face the challenge of balancing my identity as an academic with the obligations associated with my gender. These responsibilities are further complicated by the social context in which I live. It is a different country where there is no social pressure from immediate and extended family. Although distance offers new freedoms and release from certain duties, it also brings with it new forms of insecurities, vulnerabilities and obligations that are also associated with African black femininity. For this reason, I decided to explore a deeper understanding of these parameters in the context of the construction and reconfiguration of gender identity in borderlands. The study looks at different dimensions of identity formation for black women who live in multiple and contradictory spaces and cultures at the same time.

¹ chiShona or Shona is a language of the MaShona people of Zimbabwe. It is a language part of the Bantu language group (Bernsten, 1994).

1:1.3 The problem and rationale concerning gender identity construction in borderlands.

The social and historical analysis of gendered life in the Musina area shows that although women did not experience social equality under pre-colonial rule, colonialism and apartheid significantly contributed to a shift towards greater control over black women's mobility, subordination and servility (Mulaudzi, 2000; Stayt, 2018; Mulaudzi and Kriel, 2021). However, white women's identities were elevated during the colonial and apartheid eras. Afrikaner women were particularly celebrated as stoic and selfless Anglo-Boer war heroines, and later as independent working-class women (McClintock, 1991). These different ideas and experiences of womanhood took place in separate, geographically defined areas – towns and former homelands – currently governed by the same local administration of Musina's municipality. There have been some positive changes in women's experiences in the post-apartheid period. These include freedom of movement and a constitution that guarantees women's equality before the law (Groenmeyer, 2011; Mubangizi and Tlale, 2023). Finally, there has also been an increase in the movement of women within South Africa, although migration in general is still dominated by men (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh, 2005).

An overview of the women and men in Musina local municipality who were interviewed for this study is summarised here. Using snowball sampling 40 main participants were selected and a total of 43 interviews were conducted along with three key informants. At the time of the study, the main participants were between 21 and 71 years old. Of the 24 individuals who were employed, a third had formal jobs in the retail, hospitality and higher education sectors. Many workers were employed informally as street vendors, porters and food market hawkers, all of which are part of the municipality's cross border trade. Sixteen participants reported being either full-time students, unemployed, or retired, and most of them lived in the municipality's areas under traditional authority. This study is centred on 25 women with different educational backgrounds, marital status, occupations and nationalities. I focused on black women living in Musina local municipality to investigate conceptions of gender expression and performance within the distinct framework of intersecting urban, rural, and transnational boundaries. I also considered how sociocultural and geopolitical structures influence and transform their daily lives and agency. A balanced perspective on gender construction and expression is enabled in large part by the 18 male participants who participated in this study. The men were also selected

through snowball sampling and had different marital, transnational, work and educational backgrounds.

Under this backdrop, this work is useful in providing an understanding of how gender identity is constructed and redefined by black women living at the interface between rural-urban and transnational space, and hopefully makes an important contribution to the study of borderland identities and gender relations. Black women's experiences are analysed in terms of their gendered performativity and aspirations. This research acknowledges how sociohistorical influences define black femininity, and how black women use their agency to reconstruct their womanhood while situating themselves in rural-urban and transnational spaces. The question of how gender identity is constructed and performed by people living in spaces that exist between rural-urban spaces, and between different cultures and nationalities is the area this thesis addresses, through the idea of a double borderland identity. I propose that black women in Musina's municipality are simultaneously rural-urban and transnational, and it is this overarching social framework within which they interpret and perform their gender identities.

In this study, the word 'borderland' refers to the unclear zone that exists between rural and urban areas, as well as a formal South African territory that is closely linked to a neighbouring country. Found only where they are enforced by people, borders are artificial because they are drawn to find the line between things, where they begin and where they end, thus distinguishing individuals from each other (Decker and Winchok, 2017). These processes of othering or distinguishing 'us' from 'them' have a bordering effect that leaves female migrants particularly vulnerable and likely to a heightened insecurity upon entry into host communities due to the stigma they face because of the barriers of formal employment and their increased likelihood to engage in sex work (Zulver and Idler, 2020). The experiences of borderland inhabitants are therefore important because there is a continuous renegotiation of their identities in which they are compelled to engage while living inside the borders that encircle them, which can prompt a feeling of not belonging (Fernández-García, 2020). Life in a borderland is a reminder of the social environment that some people have either left behind or are still connected to through family networks, because of the border's proximity and the continuous movement of people taking place there.

As opposed to being fixed and static, there is an instability about borderlands, as they are the space in the middle of spaces (Decker and Winchok, 2017). Rigid borders create a binary system that positions identity as one or the other, but the multiple subjectivities experienced by

inhabitants of borderlands give them the power to see past conventional norms while simultaneously urging those confined to the norms of these spaces to question them (Robertson, 2018). Because it allows the individual to strategically explore “monocultural biases and exclusionary practices” that are likely to develop “within isolated groups”, a borderland identity is a powerful shaping force, albeit often ambiguous (Decker and Winchcock, 2017:5). This is because a borderland identity is exposed to different viewpoints and then brings identities together through the artificial divisions formed between them, juxtaposing them and creating uncomfortable contestations (ibid.). It should be noted that in this thesis, borderland identity includes both transnational migrants living in the area and, non-migrants or those who have moved to Musina’s municipality from other parts of South Africa, as both groups are affected by identity construction in the borderland.

The South African municipality of Musina is not only close to a shared border post with Zimbabwe, making it a borderland, but also has commercial farms, mines, and settlements where rural and urban blend. Bennike, Rasmussen and Nielsen (2020) have argued that the degree of incorporation of rural areas into capitalist modes of production fundamentally shapes rural aspirations. In pre-capitalist African society, the domestic labour of women was a more central productive force, as the significance of the homestead prioritised women’s social standing by giving them authority over agricultural processes, fertility, and a measure of independence that was not appreciated in colonial society (Walker, 1990). However, ‘rurality’ in the present day consists of various forms of income, remittances, migration, non-agricultural activities, flexibility and the feminisation of rural work (Bennike, Rasmussen and Nielsen, 2020). In South Africa, government social grants are an additional source of income on which many poor households rely, which adds a different layer to the political economy of Musina’s municipality. By examining how black womanhood is categorised on a scale between two extremes, this work provides an opportunity to learn more about often contradictory phenomenological constructions of, and experiences with rurality. These experiences fuel black women’s struggles to find social acceptance and occasionally make their lives uncomfortable.

This thesis seeks to demonstrate the relationship between gender identity, geography and intersectionality connected with liminality and borderlands. According to Robertson (2018), the identities found in borderlands do not have the solidity that spurs a sense of belonging because these spaces are liminal. A border area can be considered a liminal space because it is

a territory that challenges customary boundaries through “this state of in-betweenness, with its subsequent emphasis on crossings, interactions, and exchanges between competing beliefs and multiple cultures” (Fernández-García, 2020: 96). Thus, liminality has a ‘cultural aspect’ that allows an analysis of the manners in which members of gender and sexual minority groups can envision a different society in which they are not marginalised (Mutua-Mambo, 2020). Understanding of identity making that includes non-migrants or areas within the municipality where the rural and urban blend has been sorely neglected and forms a key argument in this thesis.

To conclude this section, this thesis offers a better understanding of the ways that living in-between rural, urban, and transnational spaces influences gender, class, ethnic and national identity. The municipality of Musina therefore provides an opportunity to examine a double borderland that some women might encounter when living near the border and identifying as both rural and urban in their identities and practices. Living in the urban settlements of Musina, for instance, could be the first urban experience for someone whose life experiences were predominantly associated with a rural identity. On the other hand, it is possible that the individual in question might have only monocultural experiences before relocating to the Musina municipality. As a result, this person might experience a double borderland identity of rural versus urban, along with monocultural and multicultural experiences associated with a transnational setting.

1:1.4 Contribution to knowledge

This study is key to uncovering the ways in which black women in the Musina municipality construct and reconfigure their identities in terms of class, geography, and nationality in the context of life in a rural-urban and transnational borderland. I argue that by crossing social and physical boundaries through language, crossing-borders and in the multiple ways in which they perceive space, black women navigate feelings of in-betweenness and their sense of belonging. The thesis will show that internal conflict arises, firstly due to ideal constructions of black womanhood in southern Africa, which focus on three important aspects: selfhood, wifehood, and motherhood. I suggest that due to the material reality of life in the Musina borderlands, black women struggle with their own conflicting desires and beliefs about their black womanhood. This is because their experiences represent an intersection between gender, place, ethnicity, class, and nationality, as these identity categories are a crossing point that shapes their perspectives on rural, urban, and transnational spaces.

This thesis shows that living at the interface of rural, urban, and transnational spaces leads to a double borderland identity, by which I mean having both a rural-urban and transnational identity. The lives of black women in Musina's municipality are nuanced as they embody a plurality of gendered, nationalised, classed, and territorialised identities. I argue that in the Musina borderlands there are power structures between and across rural, urban, and transnational borders, which black women navigate daily by hybridising their identities, making them visible or invisible depending on the social context. However, I suggest that despite the fluidity and flexibility of identities that the intersection of transnationalism with the rural and urban spaces in Musina's municipality entails, the rural-urban binality is reified in the way gender identity is linked with place and national identity.

1:1.5 Research question(s)

The main research question that guides this study is:

What is the effect of the rural-urban and transnational interface in reshaping the nature of gender identity amongst black women who reside in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?

Together with this main research question, the study is guided by the following sub-questions.

1. What is the nature of the urban-rural interface in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?
2. What characterises the transnational interface in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?
3. What are the established or emerging contemporary ideas of black womanhood in Musina Local Municipality?
4. To what extent do the realities of the borderlands, that is, the urban-rural interface and the transnational interconnection, shape these identities?
5. How do these identities balance the cultural demands that are placed upon them across the different times, contexts, and spaces they encounter?
6. In what ways does the in-betweenness found in having a double borderland identity (simultaneously being rural and urban, as well as Zimbabwean and South African),

influence social relations with regards to the competition for economic resources, social services, and interpersonal relationships?

By answering these questions, this research aims to make a significant contribution to the way black womanhood is constructed and interpreted in southern Africa. By situating this study in Musina's municipality, this thesis represents a step toward a deeper understanding of gender identity formation and performance in borderland environments, particularly those that are both rural-urban and transnational. Offering a performative intersectionality approach to identity formation in the borderlands has implications for understanding how black women manage their intersectional identities as they overcome the structural barriers to place themselves in better social positions. A key element of this research lies in the fact that all residents, regardless of whether they come from the municipality or not, have the commonality of having a double borderland identity. Transnational borderland identities differ for transnational migrants and non-migrants, with the latter only shaped by the municipality as a transnational space. However, borderland identities for transnational migrants are a result of both abstract conceptualisations of the border as 'Joni'², and the transnational networks and practices, such as cross-border activities.

1:1.6 Outline of the thesis and overview of key themes

Chapter 2 offers a more detailed history of Musina's municipality, showing its geographical importance in migration, mining, and the construction of the Beitbridge border crossing, which connects South Africa to Zimbabwe via rail and road networks. I begin by tracing the origins of the name 'Messina' and highlighting its connections to the VhaVenda ethnic group and their movements in the Soutpansberg area. The discussion moves on to the Venda Bantustan and an analysis of the growth of Messina, first due to the 'discovery' of copper mining, then as a white settlement, and later to become what the municipality is today. Mining and migration are integral to the municipality, and the chapter discusses the importance of the Beitbridge border crossing, originally called Beit Bridge. The future economic importance of the municipality is discussed in reference to the Special Economic Zone (SEZ), and the chapter concludes with a discussion on the demographics of the territory.

² This word, which derives from the name Johannesburg and literally means "John", is commonly used by transnational migrants from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique to refer to all of South Africa (Johnson, 2017; Tracey, 2021; Machinya, 2022).

The study's theoretical frameworks are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. I begin Chapter 3 by examining feminist theories of sex and gender before turning to intersectionality. The importance of context is introduced through a discussion of gender research in Africa, and I explore various perspectives on how black gender identity is shaped through theories like African Feminisms, Womanisms, Intersectionality and Africana Womanisms. This chapter examines intersectionality in depth, particularly its usefulness in analysing gender as it intersects with other identity categories. A debate about the theory's applicability studying intersectional subjects is discussed, along with discussions of gender geography and the relationship between intersectionality and geography to highlight its usefulness in borderlands and transnational contexts.

Liminality and borderlands are the focus of Chapter 4. The idea of liminality is introduced first as it strengthens the arguments of intersectionality as it is used to examine situations in which people are caught between different social contexts and cultures. Furthermore, the relationship between liminality and waiting is covered, as is the way in which the liminal experience is usually seen as ephemeral but may possess a certain degree of permanence. Liminal space is also discussed as Anzaldúa's (1987) *nephantla* and Bhabha's (2004) 'Third Space' show how borderlands and transnational processes can create environments that contribute to the liminal experience. The next section of the chapter analyses the idea of borderlands, starting with the distinction between borders, borderland, and boundaries. I discuss the importance of transnationalism in borderlands and how it impacts the formation of borderlands. Debates about African borderlands and their functionality are included, as is the idea of borders as symbolic and social boundaries that promote social integration, assimilation, and interaction. The chapter also explores the rural-urban interface as a borderland and explores debates on planetary urbanisation and later those of extended urbanisation. It concludes with a discussion of how African rural and urban spaces are defined and how the rural-urban interface in South Africa has developed.

Chapter 5 discusses the use of qualitative research methods for the study. To capture the complexities of gender identity formation and reconstruction in the Musina borderlands, along with the internal struggles that emerge from managing these identities, various data collection methods were used. This included the case study, semi-structured interviews, participant observations and reflexive photographs, the latter of which were incorporated and analysed in the results. One of the research tools for this study was my own reflexive journaling in which I reflected on my positionality as a black married migrant from Zimbabwe and the emotional

processes that occurred during data collection and transcription. Ethics were applied for and approved, and data collection began with telephonic interviews in April 2021 due to COVID-19 travel restrictions. When the travel ban was lifted, I travelled to Musina municipality between October and November 2021, and conducted 43 interviews, including two with municipal officials. Most interviews were conducted with women, and the interviews took place in the municipality's urban settlements, and in areas under traditional authority.

Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 contain the results underlying my analysis and interpretation of the data. First, Chapter 6 identifies the black woman at the centre of the study. I begin with a preface to sociohistorical constructions of black femininity in South Africa and Zimbabwe, suggesting that these two countries are similar in that African chiefs, liberation propaganda, colonial administration, and Christian religious leaders were instrumental in the formation of these identities to project ideas of respect and respectability. This discussion also notes that despite the freedoms and constitutional changes granted to women in the post-colonial era, black women's bodies and identities remain policed and restricted in their movements. Against this background, the chapter argues that in Musina's municipality, there is an ideal construct of black womanhood, consisting of selfhood, wifehood, and motherhood based on Christian moral discourses.

Next is Chapter 7, which discusses how black women in the municipality perform their identities as intersectional and not just because of their gender. The chapter highlights the legacy of apartheid spatial planning that continues to marginalise some black women and shows how some can overcome the obstacles by embracing their intersectional identities. To this end, the perceived drawbacks of living in rural spaces, access to jobs and social services, and perceptions of migrants' identities are examined.

In Chapter 8, I focus on the narratives of five participants to show how intersectional identities can lead to liminal experiences. The discussion examines liminality as a gendered experience, parental liminality, and argues that the liminal condition is heterogenous. This is shown by experiences of waiting and, for many, staying in a state of permanent liminality. The chapter examines how language shapes a person's identity and sense of belonging. It also views the borderland as a liminal space that contains other liminal spaces.

Chapter 9 argues that all residents of Musina's municipality have double borderland identities that are transnational and rural-urban. It starts with a discussion of borderlands as an abstract concept of 'Joni' experienced by transnational migrants. The borderland is then discussed as a

transnational space that enables cross-border movements and other transnational practices to take place. These shape residents' borderland identities in many ways. The implications of the redrawing of municipality's boundary are also covered, with a focus on the expectations of residents living under traditional authority. The discussion then shifts to the different viewpoints on urban and rural spaces in the municipality and how most participants continue to view them as separate entities. Still, some point out that the rural and urban are becoming more imbued.

Finally, Chapter 10 summarises my arguments about the ideal constructions of black femininity in the municipality and the ways in which these identities are performed in the borderlands. I draw connections between residents' double borderland identities, and how they are performed and managed in the municipality. A major component of my thesis is that having double borderland identities highlight the ways in which gender, class, ethnicity, nationality, and geography intersect, making identities flexible, often resulting in liminality. Yet, most view rural and urban areas from a geographical lens that maintains a binary, based on how people construct and embody gender identity and associate it with location and nationality despite evidence of a rural-urban continuum.

CHAPTER 2: MUSINA LOCAL MUNICIPALITY: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

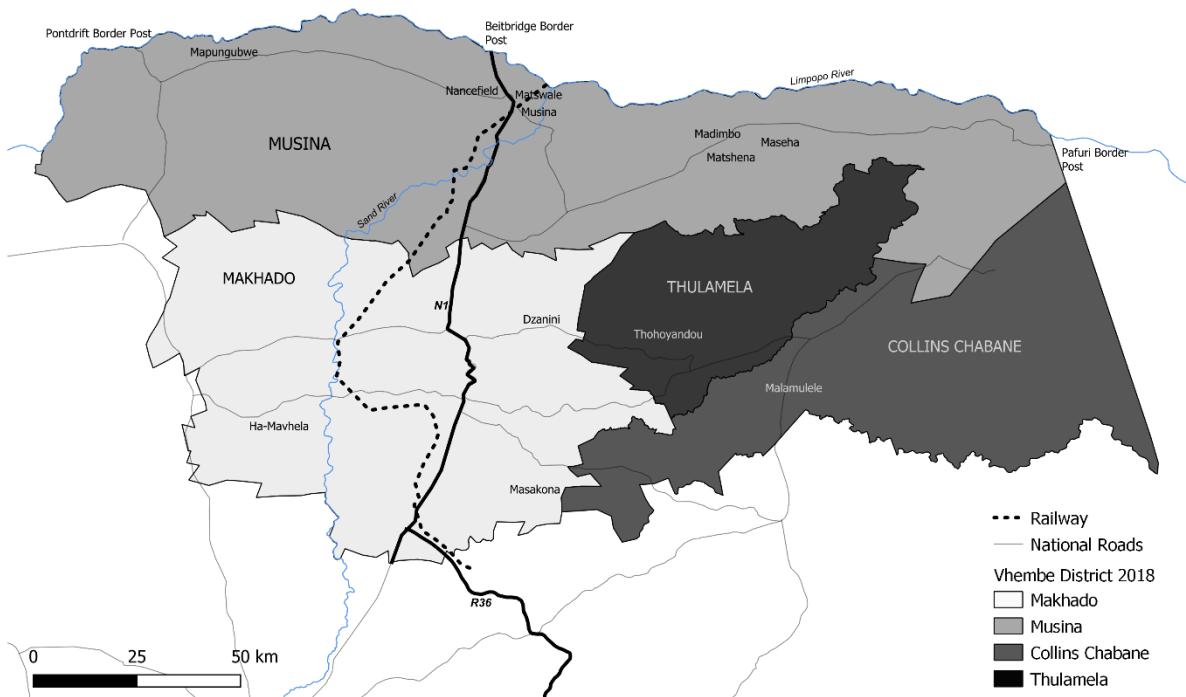
2:2 INTRODUCTION



Map 2 Vhembe District. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) 2018. Map by M. Siteleki.



Vhembe District Municipality Boundaries Demarcation 2018



Map 3 Vhembe District and its local municipalities. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), 2018. Map by M. Siteleki

The northernmost town in South Africa is called Musina and is located in the Vhembe District near the confluence of the Limpopo and Sand rivers, close to the border post with Zimbabwe (shown in Map 2). The local municipalities of Musina, Makhado, Thohoyandou, and Collins Chabane are the four municipalities that fall under Vhembe District Municipality (shown in Map 3). Aside from the town of Musina, the Musina Local Municipality also has commercial farmland, villages under traditional authority in the Venda homeland (previously part of the apartheid era), private mines, the northern parts of the Kruger National Park, and the Mapungubwe National Park under its jurisdiction. Before proceeding with the contextualisation of present-day Musina, it is necessary to discuss the area's history in relation to Mapungubwe and the Venda Kingdom.

Mapungubwe refers to “the place of the jackals” (Sebola, 2017). There is no oral history linking Mapungubwe to modern ethnic groups, although accounts of the kingdom's decline imply that its people may have migrated from Phalaborwa to Soutpansberg (Hanisch, 1974; Sebola, 2017). Numerous African groups lived in the region prior to the arrival of European settlers; some had lived there since the 15th century, and until the mid-nineteenth century, independent African

chiefdoms varied in size and political power (Mulaudzi, 2000). These groups included the Tsonga of southern Mozambique, and other migrants from numerous African communities who had escaped the direct effects of the *Difaqane* in the early 1800s, and settled among the Sotho and Venda chiefdoms in the area (ibid.).³

According to Stayt (2018), although Vele Lambeho, the chief, is said to have led the group across the Limpopo River, settled in Soutpansberg, and named the land Venda, it is not clear when the name was first used. Although the dates are unknown, stories of migration to the north and the social practices of intermarriage with indigenous people through oral history strengthen the cultural ties that exist between the Venda and Shona people (Schoettler, 1971). Some of these narratives also reference the migration of Venda ancestors further north, such as the Great Lake regions of East Africa (Lahiff, 1997). It is therefore not surprising that the East African Bantu language group, which includes Swahili, and the Kalanga (Shona) language groups are reminiscent of Tshivenda in their phonetics and grammatical structure (Stayt, 2018). This is important to note because this study focuses on identity construction in the present-day. The Tswana and Sotho have also influenced Venda social structures, such as the chieftaincy, language, male family descent, and endogamic marriages (Lahiff, 1997).

Venda society was influenced by migratory practices and the encounters of different Bantu-speaking groups. This is evident in how Musina received its name. Musina, or Messina as it was formerly known, is strongly linked to the region's copper mining history. The established narrative references the founding of Messina town on the basis of copper mining discoveries in the early 20th century by Colonel Joe Pascal Grenfell, who made the legal and financial arrangements to form the Messina (Transvaal) Development Company Ltd (MTD) (Matsaung, 2005; Phillips, 2022). Through oral traditions, much has been learnt about the people of the Musina region, especially their involvement in copper mining. According to one narrative, the area was named after Ndasalakufa Musina, who led his clan from the south to the Transvaal in the 18th century to settle near the Limpopo (Matsaung, 2005). Before settling in the region, the clan is said to have originated in the Lebombo Mountains and to have exploited the Phalaborwa ore deposit (Hanisch, 1974; University of Cape Town Centre for African Studies, 1979). What is crucial about these recorded narratives is that they dispel the notion that white settlers 'discovered' the area through mining and founded Messina, therefore naming it.

³ *Difaqane* or *Lifaqane* (Sesotho) or *Mfecane* (isiZulu) are the Nguni words commonly translated in English to refer to 'crushing' or 'time of troubles' and refers to the myriad wars, migrations and upheaval that took place in southern Africa between approximately the 1810s and 1840s (Epprecht, 1994).

However, there is another historical account that provides an alternative explanation for why this area is called Musina. In this version, the actual iron ore is extracted through the region's mining activities. Stayt's (2018) study of the Venda people or BaVenda/VhaVenda describes the role the BaLemba had in introducing crafts and trades, such as pottery, specialisation in iron smelting and the practice of copper work in the Venda kingdom. Although he referred to the BaLemba as "chief metallurgists" who claimed to have taught the BaVenda the craft of iron smelting, he considered the latter likely had prior knowledge of the skill (ibid.). However, what is significant regarding Musina, is the BaVenda probably called copper *mesina* and used the BaLemba term for copper, *musuku*, only to refer to the copper objects belonging to important chiefs (Stayt, 2018). According to Matsaung (2005:3) it was Ndasalakufa Musina and his followers who named the "red-brown metal" they extracted 'musina', which translates to "corrupter/rot/decayer". The reason for this name was due to the observation of how the presence of copper ore contaminated or 'spoiled' and reduced the quality of the iron ore produced (Cairncross, 1991; Killick, Miller, Thondhlana and Martinón-Torres, 2016).

2:2.1 The VhaVenda – from Soutpansberg to the Venda Bantustan

Returning to the history of the Venda in Soutpansberg, until 1898, the VhaVenda remained, in effect, an independent political institution, and a series of white settlement schemes were implemented between 1902 and 1945 to identify existing property rights and introduce new white settlers (Mulaudzi, 2000). The Soutpansberg district had the fewest European residents before the 1880s, but by 1890 there was a 12% increase in the white population, which then slowed due to the South African War of 1899–1902 (ibid.). The VhaVenda's precolonial identity was transformed through these and other developments under colonial rule, such as two key acts that defined the 'native reserves' to divide land into legally designated 'white' and 'black' areas, which were the Natives Lands Act of 1913 and later the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936.⁴ These laws were later proved to be very useful to the white minority under the Union government⁵ because by the early 20th century, parts of Soutpansberg had been declared a part of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR),⁶ yet not automatically under its control

⁴ On June 19, 1913, the 1913 Native Land Act came into effect, limiting African land ownership to 7%. Later, the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act of South Africa increased it to 13%. [Online]. Available from: <https://www.gov.za/1913-natives-land-act-centenary>.

⁵ In 1910, the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State were merged to form the Union of South Africa, a British colony (*The Union of South Africa 1910 | South African History Online*, no date).

⁶ The Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek was founded in 1839 by Boers who despised British rule, moved inland from the Cape Colony, and settled north of the Vaal River. To become free and able to rule themselves according to

(Mulaudzi, 2000). As for Messina, the development of mining, with the expansion of the railway in 1914, had some positive effects on the economy of Soutpansberg district (ibid.). The first white settlement north of Soutpansberg was established when Grenfell created MTD in 1905 as an official mining company, serving as an economic centre and a viable employment location for migrant workers (Mulaudzi, 2000). The demand for migrant workers in the mines would play a significant role in the socio-economic dynamics in the area, which will be discussed later. By 1950, about 10 000 people had settled in Grenfell camp, resulting in its proclamation in 1957 as Messina town (Joubert, Antonites and Ashley, 2021).

The National Party's victory in the 1948 general elections marked a turning point in South Africa's history and the beginning of 'grand apartheid'. The pre-apartheid state had been indecisive about the power and authority of their chiefs, so post-apartheid state officials concerned with strengthening ethnic identity began a slow and complex process to increase it (Phillips, 2022). The colonial and apartheid systems used, and often even exploited, traditional authority to become despots through codes, laws, and proclamations that limited precolonial roles, functions and responsibilities (Koenane, 2018; Kompi, 2021). The Black Administrative Act (1927)⁷ provided the foundation for tribal administration in the reserves; however, the Bantu Authorities Act (1951)⁸ and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (1959)⁹ significantly expanded on it (Lahiff, 1997). The previously mentioned land acts – 1913 Natives Land Act and 1936 Native Trust and Land Act – “‘fixed’ the boundaries of the bantustans or homelands before apartheid was enacted as an official policy, with the black population divided and classified into national units based on culture and language” (Khunou, 2009: 84-85).

their own customs, the Boers embarked on the Great Trek and established the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek, also known as the Transvaal, in 1858, along with the Orange Free State earlier in 1854 (Eybers, 1918).

⁷ The Black Administration Act 38 of 1927 aimed to improve the management and control of black people's affairs. [Online]. Available from:

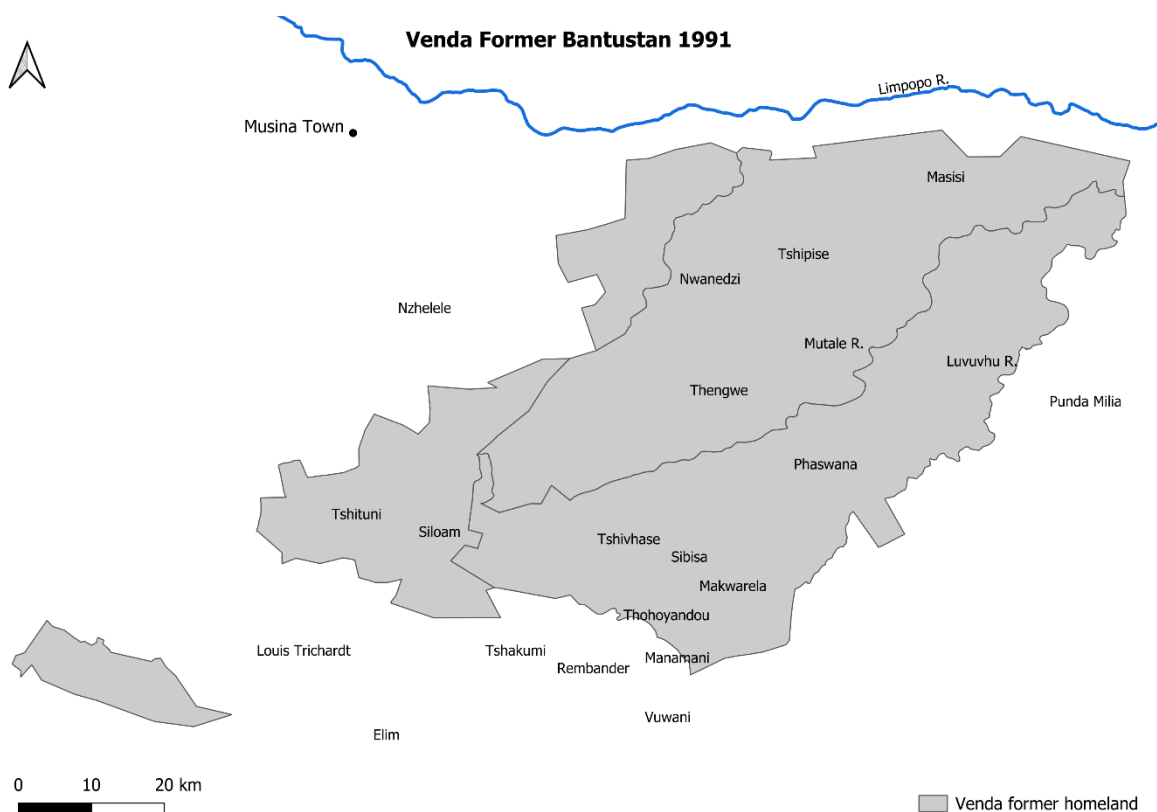
https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201505/act38of1927.pdf.

⁸ The Bantu Authorities Act (Act No. 68 of 1951). The Act was meant change the Native Affairs Act, 1920, and the Representation of Natives Act, 1936, establish specific Bantu authorities and define their functions, abolish the Natives Representative Council, and address various incidental issues. [Online]. Available from:

http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.leg19510615.028.020.068_final.pdf.

⁹ Promotion of Bantu Self-governing Act, Act No. 46 of 1959. With the passage of the Act, Bantu national units would be able to gradually become self-governing and would have direct access to the Government of the Union for consultation on issues pertaining to the interests. [Online]. Available from:

https://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.leg19590619.0afri28.020.046_final.pdf.



Map 4 Venda bantustan in 1991. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), *Census Districts, 1991*. Map by M. Siteleki.

One such self-governing homeland based on the tribal system was Venda (shown in *Map 4*) (ibid.). Legassick and Wolpe (1976) have argued that the importance of the bantustans¹⁰ was demonstrated in how they were designed to set up and regulate the movement of labour between the mines, industry, and capitalist farms from the native reserves. In 1979, Venda became the third homeland to achieve ‘independence’ under Chief Minister and later President, Patrick Mphahlele and his Venda National Party (VNP). Independence supposedly meant having legislative powers to become politically and economically self-governing and achieve the required level of self-development that would then enable the bantustan to join White South Africa, which served as the core and as guardian of the Black States (Tatz, 1962). For example, Rhodesia bordered the ‘independent’ Venda until it became the independent Zimbabwe in 1980,

¹⁰ “The term bantustan is used by critics of apartheid as a disparaging reference to the homelands that were formally designated under apartheid policy” (Janks, 1989).

when the apartheid government's change of the borderline formed a corridor of South African land between the two countries (Egerö, 1991).

In 1988, President Frank Ravele succeeded the late Mphephu as Venda Bantustan's president, but his rule was unstable because he took office at a time when there was growing demand for an end to apartheid and abandonment of the Bantustans (Siyongwana, 2009). In 1990, a peaceful coup led by Venda Defence Force Deputy Chief Col. Gabriel Ramushwana ended Ravele's reign (Reed, 2001). Shortly after his takeover, the Ramushwana military government ordered the Mushasha Commission of Inquiry, which determined that Venda should not have a king but rather a ruler or chief, a decision more favourable for the military ruler (Mulaudzi and Kriel, 2021).

2:2.2 1994 to present – VhaVenda since democracy

Discussions regarding the reintegration of the former Bantustans into South Africa took place during the transitional period to democracy, between December 1993 and May 1994. Tshimangadzo's installation as Chief Dimbanyika Thohoyandou Ramabulana II of the Venda Kingdom coincidentally came in 1994, when the Venda Bantustan was reintegrated into South Africa, an important event that ended the homelands self-governance and colonial identity (Mulaudzi and Kriel, 2021). At that time, the demarcation, and the renaming of the regions into provinces meant that the former Bantustan territories remained intact within the provinces into which they were incorporated (Matsaung, 2005). This spatial decision in practice meant that the new provinces adopted and retained apartheid-era linguistic and ethnic maps as the foundation of the spatial organisation of democratic South Africa (ibid.). However, since 1994, there have been ongoing disputes over kingship, and the controversies surrounding Venda's rule have been the subject of several commissions (Mulaudzi and Kriel, 2021). One of these commissions was the Nhlapo Commission, which recognised Venda kingship through the line of Mphephu Ramabulana and not through Tshivhase and Mphaphuli households, and these results were made public in 2010 by former president Jacob Zuma (South African Government, 2010). Disputes over the Venda kingship are ongoing, and go beyond genealogy and succession lines. For example, the opposition by some traditional leaders to the 2019 resolutions of the Limpopo House of Traditional Leaders and the National House of Traditional Leaders shows that Masindi Mphephu should be Queen of the VhaVenda, which is what Mulaudzi and Kriel (2021:61) suggest is overlooking the "historical precedents of female rulership, as well the principle of gender equality upheld by the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa."

This is important because this study focuses on gender perspectives and what influences attitudes towards women.

As of 21 October 2022, the Mphephu Ramabulana Royal House launched legal action asking the Limpopo Department of Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs (Coghsta) to appoint Vho-Mavhungu David Mphephu as interim leader after the former king Toni Mphephu was stripped of his title by the Supreme Court of Appeal in 2019 and lost his appeal to the Constitutional Court in 2021 (Tshikhudo and Van Zyl, 2022). Mulaudzi and Kriel (2021:95) go on to suggest that the kingship disputes have an impact on how Venda ethnic identity is reconstructed because it is still “ignored by the Limpopo Provincial government politicians and Vhembe district municipality”. The authors point to how other territories such as KwaZulu-Natal and Phokeng respectively advertise The Zulu Kingdom, and The Royal Bafokeng Tribe, yet in comparison, the N1 from Musina in Polokwane to Botlokwa does not have any signs or signage about entering a kingdom of Venda (ibid.). Overall, part of the universal and enduring legacy of the Bantustans has been the transformation of local elites and contentions over chieftaincy, which have proven crucial in understanding South Africa’s rural hinterland (Ally and Lissoni, 2012). This historical background gives constructions of Venda identity context and is significant given that some areas of Musina’s municipality today were once part of the Venda Bantustan. This context is crucial because it shapes the identity of black womanhood in the municipality.

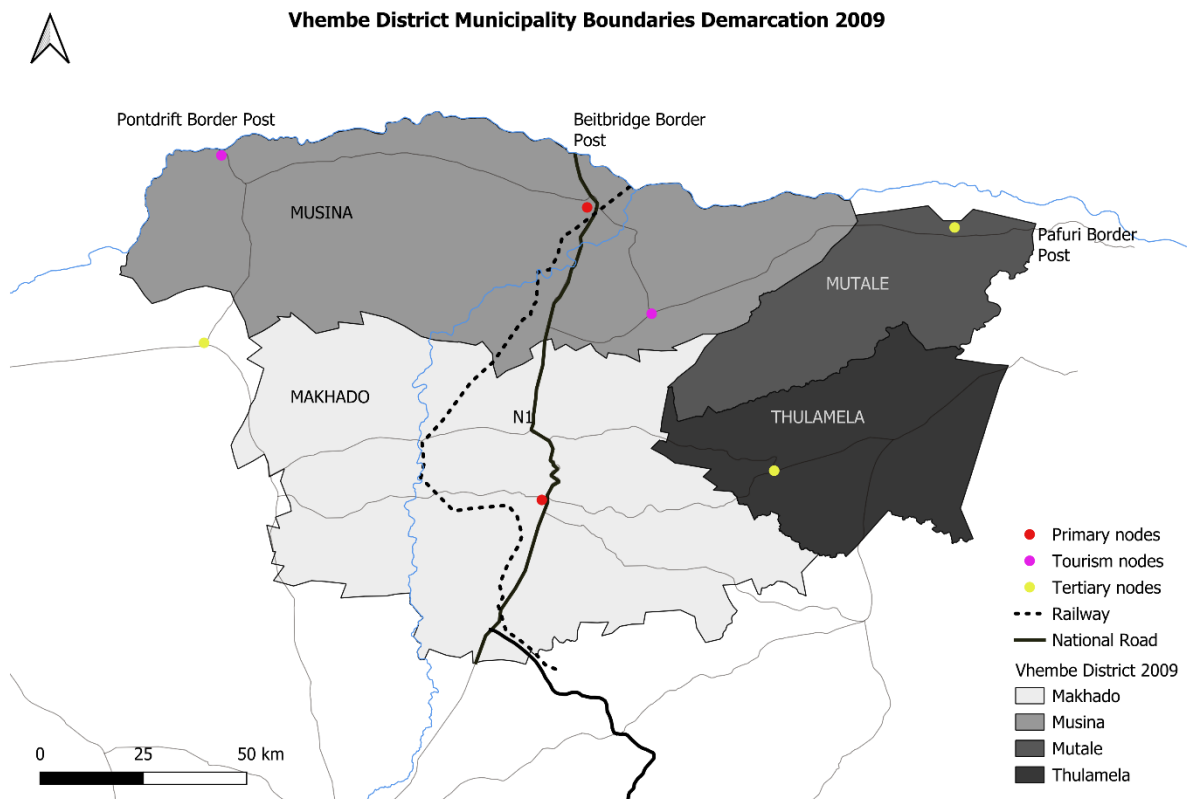
To conclude this section, there is a pre-colonial identity that has been used to construct a modern sense of identity for the VhaVhenda. During Venda’s ‘independence’, for example, the combination of a highly detested and autocratic government that lacked efficiency, along with structural and infrastructural violence and environmental injustice, led to poverty and underdevelopment (Abrams, 2022). The Venda Bantustan relied too heavily on South Africa for food security, fuel, and with a large proportion of its male workforce emigrating in search of jobs, and required millions in investment to make its independence “meaningful” (Khapoya, 1980:38). Furthermore, the Bantustans were the main source of migrant workers to the mines in the 1970s (Southall, 1982). The mining prospects that had largely contributed to the town’s growth gradually waned over the year and by the early 1990s operations were officially shut down (Joubert, Antonites and Ashley, 2021; Phillips, 2022). Currently, quarrying and mining in the local municipality are in decline, with the De Beers-owned Venetia Mine, and the MCMining Limited-owned Vele being the only two active mines in the area (Musina Local Municipality, 2022). Opened in 1992, the Venetia mine has been South Africa’s largest diamond

producer since 1995 and the flagship operation of De Beers Consolidated Mines (Mining Technology, 2013). However, commercial agriculture in the municipality contributes to about half of the jobs created in the agricultural sector of Vhembe District Municipality (ibid.). There are several game farms, resorts, conservancies, national reserves and national parks, including the international heritage site Mapungubwe National Park; these all contribute to the municipality's tourism (Musina Local Municipality, 2022).

2:2.3 From Messina to Musina town

The institutionalised racial segregation of apartheid ended in the early 1990s. This paved the way for a transitional government, and later, the country's first democratic elections in April 1994. During this period, the Messina Town Council, and the Local Authority Committee of Nancefield were merged to form the Greater Messina Transitional Local Council, which, after the December 2000 elections became the Messina Local Municipality (Rukema and Pophiwa, 2020). The towns name reverted to Musina from Messina as part of the post-apartheid government's name-changing processes that included the renaming of the Northern Province as well (*News 24*, 2005). A drastic name change was associated with high costs during consultations between local businesspeople and the local municipal council, and thus led to the decision of changing the name marginally to Musina (*Zoutnet News*, 2002).

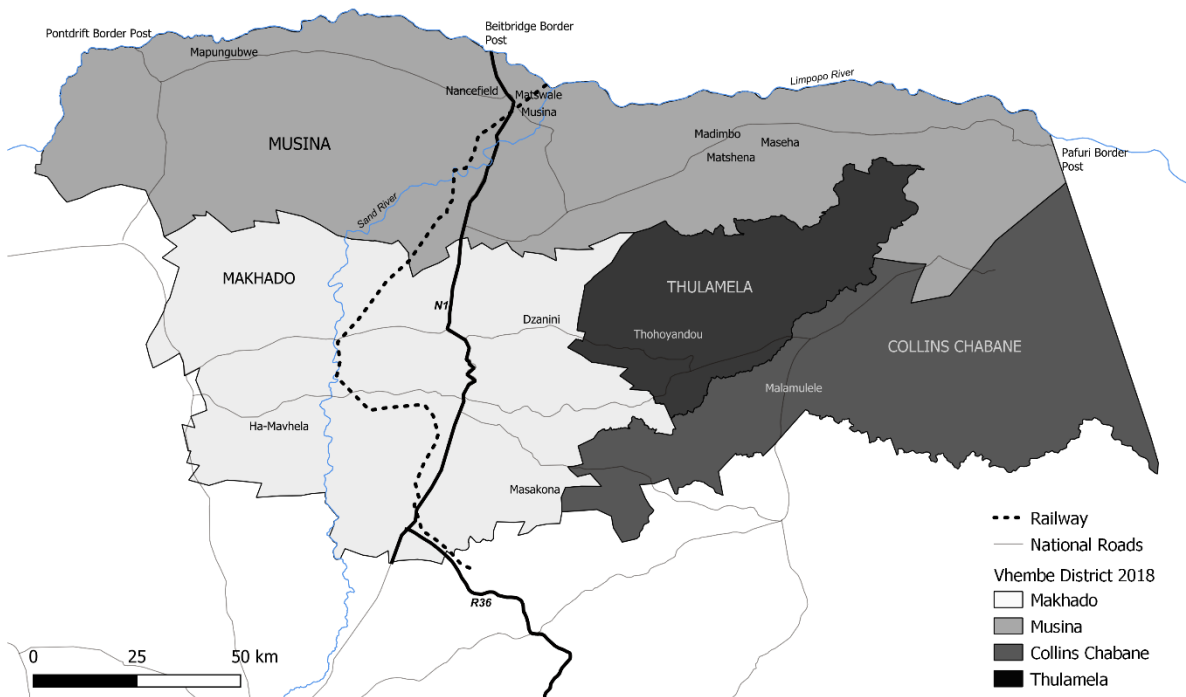
In 2016, the number of municipalities in Limpopo Province was reduced from 25 to 22 by the Municipal Demarcation Board (Statistics South Africa, 2016). The fundamental objective was to improve the financial performance of the municipalities belonging to the Vhembe District (Letlape and Dube, 2020). This had a direct impact on Musina's municipality because on 3 August 2016, the now-defunct Mutale Local Municipality was dissolved and its northern parts merged with Musina, as well as six of its wards with Thulamela Municipality under Section 21 of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act, 1998 (Municipal Demarcation Board, 2015). During apartheid, Mutale was one of the four districts of the Bantustan region, and Messina was considered a 'white' town (Lahiff, 2001). These changes are shown in *Maps 5* and *6* below.



Map 5 Musina and Mutale Local Municipalities before demarcation. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), 2009. Map by M. Siteleki.

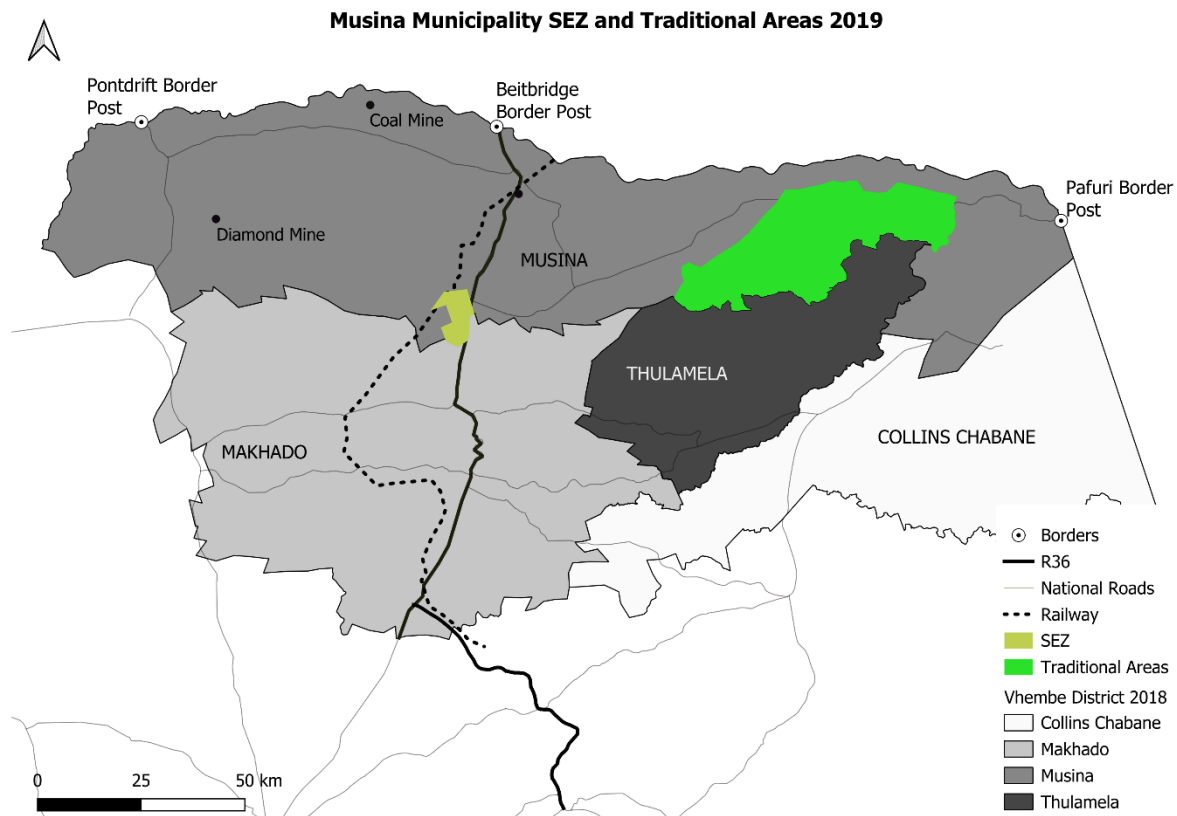


Vhembe District Municipality Boundaries Demarcation 2018



Map 6 Musina Local Municipality's New Boundaries. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), 2018. Map by M. Siteleki.

Wards 7–12 of Mutale Local Municipality were incorporated into Musina Local Municipality (Musina Local Municipality, 2019b). In a report assessing Musina's municipality's capacity, the Municipal Demarcation Board (2018) noted that Mutale's urbanisation level was only 3% before municipal amalgamation, as opposed to Musina's 59%. In assessing the extent of urbanisation, the report measured the percentage of built-up areas or "the area of high density, including in such areas greater than 500 persons per square kilometre" (Municipal Demarcation Board, 2018:103). During the 2011 Census, 85% of the population in the local municipality of Mutale lived under traditional authority (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). Map 7 below shows where areas under traditional authority are located in Musina's municipality.



Map 7 Areas under Traditional Authority in Musina Local Municipality. Source: Musina Spatial Development Framework (SDF), 2019. Map by M. Siteleki.

2:2.4 Gendered life under the pre-colonial, colonial, and apartheid rule

So far, this chapter has given an overview of the significant historical events that shaped today's Musina municipality. This section examines the lives of women living under precolonial, colonial, and apartheid rule, as these events impact black womanhood in the municipality. The earliest history of the VhaVenda recognised the ethnic group as highly advanced in terms of social organisation, particularly the high status accorded to women in religious rituals and social administration (Stayt, 2018). For example, daughters and sisters of the king held significant social and political positions, not only showing their authority over women in the community, but also sometimes being appointed village heads (Mulaudzi and Kriel, 2021). Stayt (2018) also draws attention to the ways in which women's clothing was used to distinguish them from royals, married women, older women, and girls undergoing initiation rites. He also shows social norms that allowed women to consume alcohol and that very older, very respected women could share alcohol with men (ibid.). This illustrates the shared social spaces and practices between men and women.

Mulaudzi's (2000) examines the role of women in the transformation of agriculture through an analysis of labour tenancy in (the-then) Zoutpansberg District until 1946. He suggests that the interplay between African and white patriarchies led to increasing feminisation of labour tenancy in the 1930s, as women were essential to preserving access to land (ibid.). This is because although women's labour was exchanged for their productive and reproductive potential through marriage, labour contracts were exclusively created by white farmers and African male household heads (Mulaudzi, 2000). As Stayt (2018) suggests, the gendered division of labour portrayed BaVenda women as more hardworking than men and having more demanding daily routines, often putting their families before themselves.

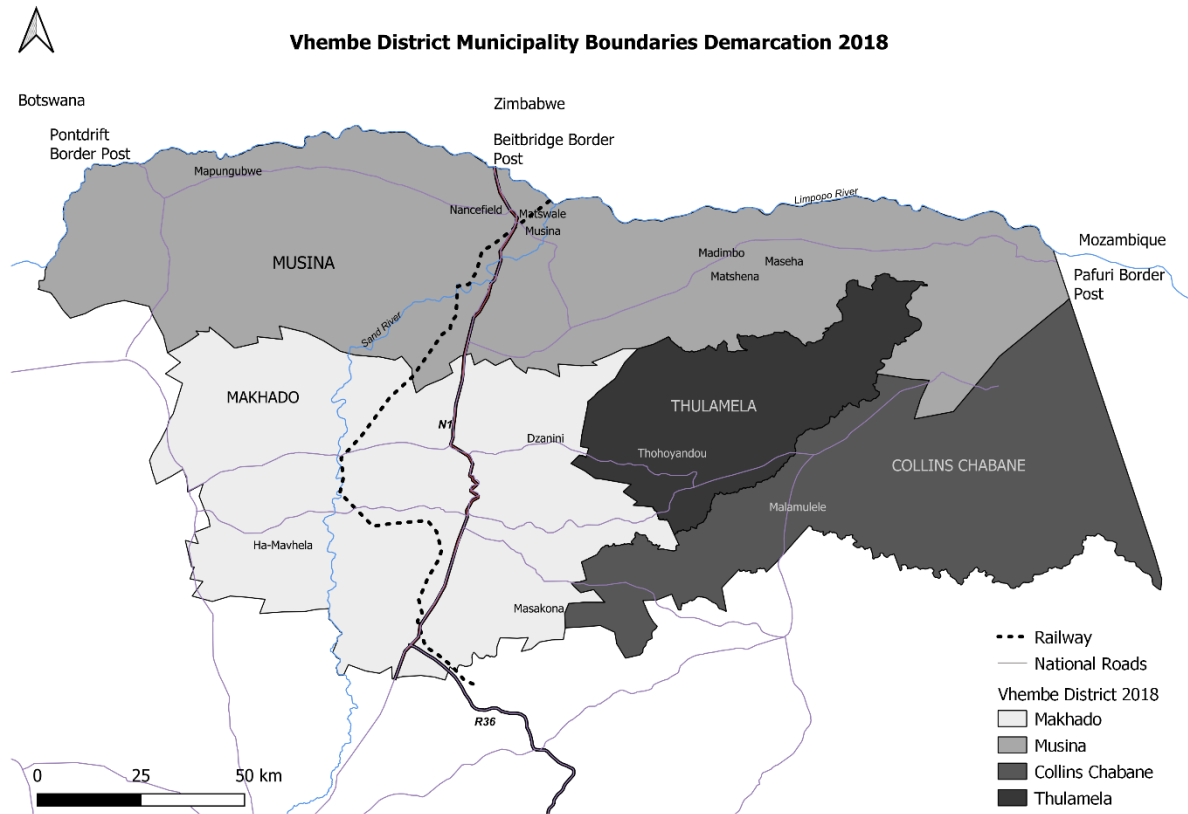
The historical marginalisation of rural black women is embedded in the bantustans' legacy, which has burdened gendered livelihood strategies (Oberhauser and Pratt, 2004). Most people who lived in bantustans were the sick, elderly and women, whose responsibility was to care for them and their own children while collecting water and firewood and being subsistence farmers (Drummond, 1991; Magidimisha and Chipungu, 2019). However, with men working in urban areas, the same women, often deemed unproductive and minors under customary law, were responsible for homestead maintenance (Luwaya, 2018).

Although gendered life under pre-colonial rule was not egalitarian, colonialism and apartheid further shifted the position of women, making them even more marginalised, subservient, and even undermining the appointment of women as chiefs, as discussed earlier in this chapter. These conceptions of black women over time are important considering that the inclusion of parts of Mutale, a predominantly rural municipality, into the more urbanised Musina not only adds the rural-urban interface aspect to the municipality, but also the resultant diverse gendered experiences.

2:2.5 Migration

Migration is an important aspect of Musina Local Municipality and can be attributed to the area's history and its geographical position related to its proximity to three international border crossings (shown in *Map 8*). Historical migration patterns have had an impact on the Mapungubwe and Soutpansberg regions, as was mentioned in the chapter's introduction. Oral traditions of the VhaVenda focus on migration. This includes the kingdom's own migration, and the way other ethnic groups migrated, either to settle in or pass-through Venda territory. These movements not only shaped the VhaVenda's history but also their ethnic identity. To

date, several studies have investigated the legacies of labour migration in South Africa by both internal and foreign migrants, their effects on the economy, on labour sending countries, rural economies, and the gendered nature of migration (Wolpe, 1972; Legassick and Wolpe, 1976; Jeeves, 1986; Crush and Williams, 2001; Crush and Dodson, 2007; Crush, 2011; Moyo, 2016, 2017, 2020b).



Map 8 The Three International Border Crossings. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), 2018. Map by M. Siteleki.

To understand migration in Musina, a return to the history of copper mining in the region is essential. As previously mentioned, the MTD was founded at the beginning of the 20th century, and with the expansion of its copper mining, significantly boosted both the economy of the Soutpansberg district and the number of people who settled in the area. The MTD, like other mining operations in South Africa, relied heavily on foreign workers, making it a key component in reducing labour costs (Malunga, 2000). Since the mid-19th century, the Kimberley diamond mines welcomed migrant workers from southern Africa, and the general pattern of migration shifted with the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). There were efforts by Kruger's Republic, the British government after the South African War, and the Union Government, to ensure that employers had enough black workers and control over them to stay profitable for a long time (Duncan, 1993). For example,

the Native Labour Bureau (GNLB) was established in 1911 as a sub-division of the Native Affairs Department by the first Union government to oversee the importation of bonded foreign labour from China and neighbouring countries cheaply, by passing laws and enforcing contracts to control the flow of labourers (ibid.).

After 1920, the South African Chamber of Mines used competitive strategies to penetrate labour basins due to the country's gold mining industry (Jeeves, 1986). The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA), its recruiting organisation in Mozambique, became the major vehicle for its renewed expansion, further embedding it in the migrant labour system because of its influence throughout southern Africa in the 1940s (ibid.). Although not a member of the Chamber of Mines, the Messina copper industry benefitted indirectly from the WNLA's recruitment efforts, as recruits travelling to the Witwatersrand for work travelled via Messina, learnt about the copper mines in the area, and occasionally took jobs there when gold mines made them redundant (Malunga, 2002). This is because, most foreign migrants initially came independently (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). Although labour recruiting organisations such as the WNLA and the Rhodesia Native Labour Supply Commission (RNLSC) were effective in regulating the control of migrant workers, there were similar attempts from labour-receiving and labour-sending countries. In South Africa, the first Immigration Regulation Act (1913) was passed to limit the movement of Asians, followed by the Immigration Quota Act (1930) and the Immigration Amendment Act (1937), which extended restrictions to Africans and Central and Eastern Europeans of Jewish ancestry. Additionally, the Natives Employment Ordinance in 1899 was used in Southern Rhodesia to stop the recruitment of Africans for work outside the colony (Daimon, 2018).

As permits and passes became a requirement for entry and employment in both colonies, foreigners also became creative by using fake passes to enter South Africa (ibid.). The fact that the state refused to comply with the demands of the northern governments, especially the Southern Rhodesian government, to enforce its laws and limit, or better yet stop illegal immigration is largely due to political pressure from the farming community that had an influence on the government's immigration policy during these years (Jeeves, 1986). Consequently, the Native Labour Department together with the Labour Bureau, attempted to regulate and direct immigration flows to ensure the supply of farmworkers to the border regions, while also committing to eliminate illegal immigration that had resurfaced again in the 1930s (ibid.).

Mozambique, Nyasaland (Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) were the primary labour-sending nations to South Africa during this period, and the migration was driven by various factors. For instance, Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa emerged as the most popular work locations, with higher wages and work opportunities, which was a shortage in Nyasaland, as it lacked mineral resources (Daimon, 2018). There was a demand for male labour not only in the mines of South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, but also on commercial farms and plantations (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). Working in Messina mines seemed the obvious choice for most Mozambicans from the Tete and Sena districts of Portuguese East Africa, mainly because the MTD's location allowed them to easily return to their nearby kraals (rural homesteads) (Malunga, 2002).

Year	1910	1915	1935	1943
Source of Mineworkers	Number Employed			
Transvaal	211	591	409	279
Southern Rhodesia (later Rhodesia, then Zimbabwe)	226	546	921	1 608
Portuguese East Africa (later Mozambique)	58	442	141	627
Nyasaland (later Malawi)	6	22	800	1 459
Northern Rhodesia (later Zambia)	-	-	832	258
Bechuanaland (later Botswana)	-	-	-	4
Tanganyika (later Tanzania)	-	-	-	31
Others	-	9	-	-

Total	501	1 610	3 103	4 255

Table 1 Messina Mine Employment Statistics 1910 –1943. Source: Author's adaptation from Malunga (2002)

Table 1 above shows how the MTD increasingly recruited foreign workers during the 20th century. What is most notable from the data is that Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) has historically been the largest supplier of migrant workers to the Messina mines. This was because most Southern Rhodesian mines were located in the country's rural areas, and job seekers from these communities had experience working on mines, an extremely valuable attribute of migrant mineworkers to the Messina Company (Malunga, 2002). It should not be a surprise then that by 1958, the African workforce at the Messina mining company comprised almost 95% of foreign migrants. A key aspect of colonial labour migration was its gendered nature, as historically, men were usually the internal and foreign labour migrants in South Africa because women were generally not allowed to migrate (Posel, 2004; Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). This control of women's movement was not in absence of indigenous patriarchal institutions of power. For instance Bozzoli (1981:7) uses the system of bride wealth to argue that its links with cattle, which is an important means of production in African societies, enabled the exchange, control and assimilation of women into new families. She further argues that it is because of its foundational significance in these societies that women could be controlled in this way (ibid).

Migration to South Africa in the latter half of the 20th century was influenced by geopolitical changes in the southern African region. As labour sending states attained independence from colonial governments in the 1960s and early 1970s, they began to reassess and express antagonism towards previous labour recruitment arrangements. Their complete withdrawal and subsequent renegotiation for decreased supplies of labour highlighted the strategic risk posed by an over-reliance on foreign labour (Jeeves, 1986; Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). South African industries responded by gradually relinquishing all or part of its dependence on foreign labour (ibid.). In the mid-1980s, the mining industry plunged into a deep recession as gold prices stagnated, affecting production and employment peaks experienced earlier that decade (Crush and Dodson, 2007). With 140 000 industry layoffs in 1992 alone, South African mines experienced a substantial decline in the 1990s, causing some social upheaval and an increase in financial distress in supply areas (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005; Crush and Dodson, 2007).

The 1990s are important because the general discourse shifted from migrant workers to immigration issues. Although immigration restrictions were not eased in the 1990s, it may have been anticipated that immigration into the ‘new South Africa’ would rise, particularly as economic and political conditions in neighbouring African nations deteriorated (Posel, 2004). For example, economic policies such as the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) and the closure of numerous industries during the economic meltdown since 2000, have contributed to Zimbabwe’s economic decline over the past two decades. According to Crush and Williams (2001) the Mozambican civil war, which occurred between 1977 and 1992, and its aftermath, contributed to an estimated 350 000 refugees to South Africa.¹¹ Based on the data from Census 2022, the top five countries from which immigrants came to South Africa were Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, and the United Kingdom (Lekabe, 2023). Although the precise number of new arrivals to South Africa is unknown, the country has seen a steady increase in the number of foreign migrants since 1990, which continues to cause fear and anxiety (Crush and Williams, 2001).

These views apply not only to illegal migrants but also to foreign nationals who have legal status in the country. One example is the response to the recent announcement on the extension of Zimbabwe Exemption Permits (ZEP). Under the Zimbabwe Dispensation Project (ZDP), the South African government issued exemption permit visas to Zimbabwean nationals. These visas were renewed in 2014 as Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP) and renamed ZEP in 2017. In 2021, it was announced that ZEP permits would not be renewed and Zimbabwean citizens could apply and qualify for other visas provided for in the Immigration Act until 31 December 2022 (Department of Home Affairs, 2022). Since then, the permits have been extended three times, allowing the ZEP and the Lesotho Exemption Permit (LEP) holders to lawfully remain in the country an additional two years until 29 November 2025 (Chirume, 2023). The extension announcements were not well received by some political parties such as Action SA and the Patriotic Alliance (PA), together with anti-migration group Operation Dudula (Banda, 2022; Rall, 2022). African migrants are frequently accused of engaging in criminal activities, taking employment opportunities, or being a burden on South Africa’s social services, which has resulted in negative attitudes and occasionally, violent attacks. Put South Africa First and Operation Dudula, as well as a senior government official, Dr Phophi Ramathuba, the Limpopo

¹¹ According to the United Nations Refugee Agency, the UNHCR, 32 010 of these Mozambican refugees in South Africa were repatriated back home between January 1994 and April 1995. [Online]. Available from: <https://www.unhcr.org/research/evalreports/3ae6bcf90/evaluation-unhcrs-repatriation-operation-mozambique.html>.

Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for Health, have been particularly vocal about these sentiments (Chinsamy, 2022; Maseko, 2022; Modise, 2022; Monama, 2022; Peralta, 2022; Ruiters, 2022; Wagiet, 2022).

South Africa's newly formed Border Management Authority (BMA) has deployed 200 fully equipped border guards at the Beitbridge border post since 15 July 2022 (Ndebele, 2022). Furthermore to access control, border guards are also responsible for other aspects, such as instructing people leaving the country to be fingerprinted and to collect demographic information if they do not have a permit (Department of Home Affairs, 2022). The number of deportees since South Africa attained democracy is reportedly 1.5 million, including those who have been deported multiple times. Enforcement generally targeted migrants from SADC, specifically, those from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, but refugees from the latter received legal status in 1996, so the number of deportees from that country began to decline. The SADC comprises 16 member states, including South Africa. Member states are exempt from producing visas at a port of entry into South Africa.¹² It is important to note that the estimated 3.6 million legal border crossings in 1996 indicate that legal entry into South Africa from neighbouring countries has increased significantly since 1990 (Crush and Williams, 2001). Part of this movement is due to the Southern African region's growing integration into formal and informal regional, continental, and transnational trading relationships. Crush, Williams and Peberdy (2005) suggest that cross-border and internal migration manifests in different ways such as through the emergence of circular migratory patterns, which suggests that although many people stay longer than they initially intended, their visits tend to become more frequent and are also temporary because they continue to maintain access to housing and land in their countries of origin.

2:2.6 Gender and migration

Gender migration patterns have changed over time. According to Posel (2004), the rise in female labour migration appears to have fuelled an increase in temporary labour migration within South Africa. Ending the apartheid 'influx control' law, increases in female-headed households that changed the family structure, women's limited access to male income, and the

¹² Member states include Angola, Botswana, Comoros, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Kingdom of Eswatini, the Kingdom of Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, the Seychelles, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Visa fees apply for eight of the countries on the list. The duration of visas varies between 30 and 90 days, with five member states limited to only 30 days. [Online]. Available from: <http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/immigration-services/exempt-countries>.

growth in female migration have all contributed to this rise (Mosomi, 2019). Furthermore, there is also indication that the number of skilled female migrant workers in Southern Africa is increasing (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). However, the bulk of formal regional labour migration was and is male (Crush and Dodson, 2007). Since 2011, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho and the United Kingdom have been the top sending countries to South Africa, and the rank and order has remained the same (Statistics South Africa, 2022). According to Census 2022, there were over 2.4 million foreign migrants, just over 3% of the population in South Africa and 86% of them were from the SADC region, with 45.5% of these coming from Zimbabwe, followed by Mozambique (18.7%) and Lesotho (10.2%) (ibid).

Let us now consider recent migration patterns within Musina Local Municipality. Unfortunately, the full 2022 Census data on migration trends at municipal level are yet to be released. However, according to Statistics South Africa (2022), Limpopo province recorded the largest negative net-migration, followed by the Eastern cape, with the provinces of Gauteng, Western Cape, North West, and Northern Cape registering positive net migration. *Figure 1* below presents an analysis of interprovincial migration between Census 2011 and 2022.

Province of previous residence	Province of usual residence									In-migration	Out-migration	Net-migration	Turn over
	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP				
WC	6 706 820	60 082	8 916	3 564	7 615	2 400	25 780	1 825	2 338	406 549	112 520	294 029	519 069
EC	124 225	6 792 242	2 823	8 051	38 941	10 226	54 323	5 153	3 100	184 213	246 842	-62 629	431 055
NC	11 098	2 751	1 272 160	3 738	1 046	5 198	6 576	897	978	44 376	32 282	12 094	76 658
FS	12 823	7 457	5 339	2 778 654	5 200	9 879	36 289	3 940	2 594	73 643	83 521	-9 878	157 164
KZN	25 730	21 091	1 358	6 337	11 793 136	3 835	100 052	17 505	3 342	169 183	179 250	-10 067	348 433
NW	8 344	4 935	9 249	6 478	2 578	3 522 544	56 780	3 184	7 439	146 262	98 987	47 275	245 249
GP	97 972	46 820	8 184	24 183	53 810	58 128	13 734 733	42 394	64 486	795 330	395 977	399 353	1 191 307
MP	8 176	3 922	1 325	3 956	9 154	5 796	70 811	4 852 153	16 669	132 459	119 809	12 650	252 268
LP	7 540	3 457	1 510	2 629	3 495	14 424	161 877	20 342	6 197 192	100 946	215 274	-114 328	316 220
Outside SA	110 641	33 698	5 672	14 707	47 344	36 376	282 842	37 219	50 411				

Note: This table excludes cases where the province was unspecified, not applicable and do not know. Information only obtained from household questionnaire.

Figure 2 : Distribution of population by province of usual residence and province of previous residence, Census 2011 and 2022. (Source: Census 2022. Statistics South Africa)

From the data presented, 215 274 people migrated out of the province of Limpopo in the period between the two censuses with most of them moving to Gauteng province. This is significant when analysing the lifetime migration statistics from the latest census data. According to Census 2022, the largest lifetime in-migration was recorded by Gauteng (5 188 286) with a significant portion of those moving to this province coming from Limpopo (1 378 304) and outside of South Africa (1 185 925) (Statistics South Africa, 2022). This is shown in *Figure 2* below.

Province of place of birth	Province of usual residence									In-migration	Out-migration	Net-migration	Turn over
	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP				
WC	5 163 398	115 102	28 411	12 319	25 617	7 634	98 519	9 309	6 326	2 043 626	303 237	1 740 389	2 346 863
EC	1 134 674	6 696 087	15 144	48 160	194 489	74 077	495 494	34 509	13 312	431 883	2 009 859	-1 577 976	2 441 742
NC	76 481	16 285	1 188 256	20 367	9 639	33 074	64 947	6 806	5 050	152 158	232 649	-80 491	384 807
FS	60 247	24 351	21 643	2 626 762	33 047	75 309	349 952	30 991	13 084	278 406	608 624	-330 218	887 030
KZN	89 660	56 258	4 837	24 709	11 626 610	19 457	738 399	86 222	12 509	603 265	1 032 051	-428 786	1 635 316
NW	26 411	8 567	33 906	21 574	12 321	3 086 960	375 556	18 863	24 034	647 671	521 232	126 439	1 168 903
GP	241 313	86 385	19 849	67 767	129 530	187 502	9 513 562	171 217	146 988	5 188 286	1 050 551	4 137 735	6 238 837
MP	24 395	7 635	3 061	10 986	27 604	29 011	501 190	4 434 841	68 381	648 017	672 263	-24 246	1 320 280
LP	21 591	6 489	3 517	8 080	7 722	87 141	1 378 304	149 109	6 046 238	459 831	1 661 953	-1 202 122	2 121 784
Outside SA	368 854	110 811	21 790	64 444	163 296	134 466	1 185 925	140 991	170 147				

Note: This table excludes cases where the province was unspecified, not applicable and do not know. Information only obtained from household questionnaire.

Figure 3 Distribution of the population by province of birth and province of usual residence, Census 2022 (Source: Census 2022. Statistics South Africa)

The data above shows that there are 170 147 people born outside of South Africa living in Limpopo province. This proportion of foreign residents has implications for the nature of citizenship within the province. This is important because immigrants bring unique social structures and ideas of identity to new territories that can influence the formation and entrenchment of social relations. The statistical information provided so far is not municipality specific but is still relevant to the study. This is because when considering the significant proportion of Limpopo's population migrating out of the province, this may impact Musina municipality in similar ways, thereby affecting views on governance in the municipality, social dynamics, as well as constructions of gender and cultural identities. A comparison of the distribution of population born outside of South Africa by age and sex for Census 2011 and Census 2022, is shown in *Figure 3* below.

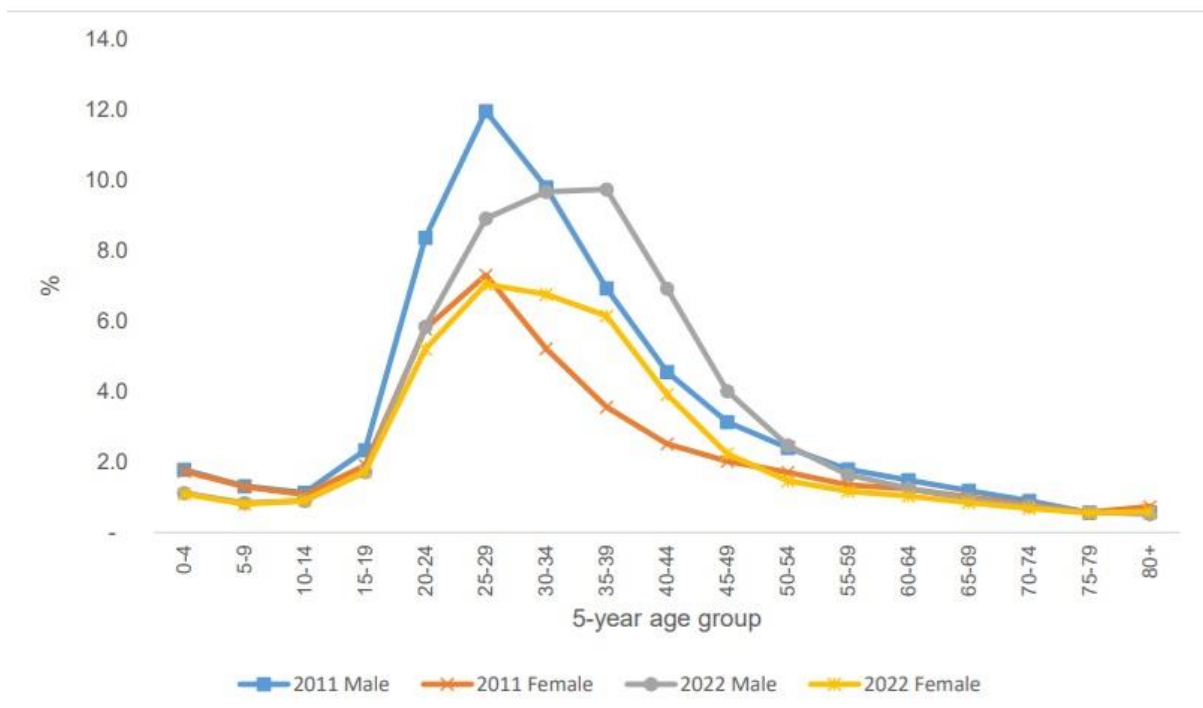


Figure 4 Distribution of population born outside South Africa by age and sex, Census 2011 and 2022 (Source: Census 2022, Statistics South Africa)

The reported data shows that young adults are more likely to migrate than older people and children, as the age range of migrants is between 20 and 44 years. Although there were more male than female immigrants, there is an increase in migration by both genders in the period between the two censuses. The largest group of male immigrants was reported in Census 2011 to be between the ages of 25 and 29, while the highest number in Census 2022 of male immigrants was between 30 and 34. In comparison, both the Census 2011 and Census 2022 reported the highest number of female immigrants are aged between 25 and 29 years old. As previously stated, the 2022 Census data on migration is not yet available at municipal level. To have an indication on gender migration trends, the 2016 Community Survey reported that between 2011 and 2016, there were 4.04% more male immigrants than female immigrants in Musina's municipality (see Figure 4 below).

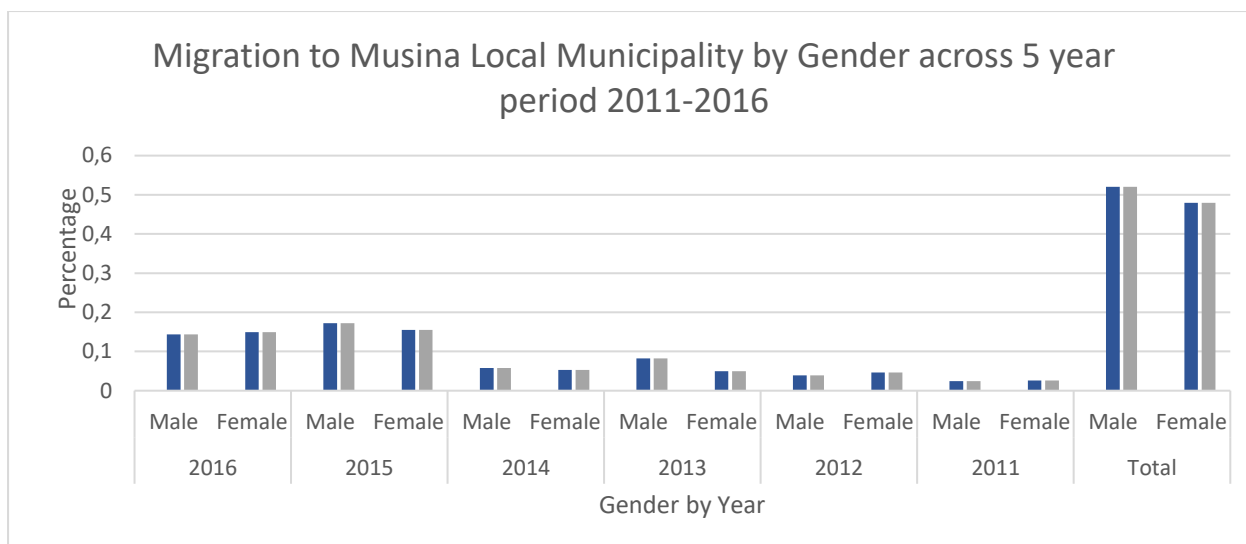


Figure 5 Migration to Musina Local Municipality by Gender between 2011 and 2016 (Source: 2016 Community Survey (CS), Statistics South Africa)

The data presented above reveals that there was a progressive increase in both male and female immigration to the area, particularly from 2012. Musina municipality experiences both internal and international migration. Although the 2016 Community Survey data showed that 79.99% of the population of Musina municipality was born in Limpopo Province, we cannot generalise how much of the population was born in or migrated to the municipality. In the same survey, it was also revealed that 16.90% of the municipality's population was born outside South Africa. Here as well is a correlation implied between place of birth and national identity. As previously mentioned, being born outside South Africa does not necessarily mean that one is a foreign migrant.

International migration issues have gained traction recently due to the public discourse surrounding migrants' use of social services like healthcare, despite the fact there are many reasons why people migrate. In 2022, the Minister of Home Affairs, Dr Aaron Motsoaledi made comments in a news interview on health services in Musina's municipality in relation to immigration:

Thembekile, we never stop anybody from coming to ask for decent medical care in Limpopo. If you go to Musina hospital now and go to the labour ward and I challenge you to do so, you'll find that 70% of the women who are delivering there are from Zimbabwe. Nobody stops them. And when we say we are going to look for border guards and when we say we arrest people, we are not arresting them for coming to South Africa. We are saying, they must come officially! We are saying they must come officially! Thembekile, I want to emphasise that! All we are saying is don't jump the border! Don't

go to the border line! Come to the border gate when you're coming officially. Especially the people from SADC, Thembekile. They don't need a visa to come to South Africa. All you need is a passport. Surely that cannot be demanding too much if you say, when you are coming to South Africa either to look for a job or for medical care or even to buy food – come with your passport. So, let's register you at the border. Let's record who came in and let's record who [goes] out. Surely that can't be asking for too much. – South African Minister of Home Affairs, Dr Aaron Motsoaledi (*Newzroom Afrika*, 2022).

The comments above encapsulate the concerns surrounding international migration to South Africa by the use of terms like 'borderline', 'border gate' and 'jumping the border'. This is partly fuelled discourse around fortifying South Africa's borders.

2:2.7 The Beitbridge border crossing

Musina municipality is positioned along the N1 Freeway Transitional Corridor; the main road is a freight route connecting South Africa with Zimbabwe by crossing the Limpopo River at the Beitbridge border post (Vhembe District Municipality, 2021). Beitbridge connects the Zimbabwean A6 highway with the South African N1 highway. The initial building contract for the bridge was awarded in 1928 (Brisbane Courier, 1928). The purpose of constructing a bridge across the Limpopo River from Messina was to bring Rhodesia, then a British colony, into direct communication with Delagoa Bay (Maputo Bay), an alternative port to Beira and to open a shorter route to the Transvaal and Natal (ibid.). When it was opened it was known as the Alfred Beit Road Bridge and comprising two decks, the upper section for rail and the lower section for motor vehicles (ibid.). To improve traffic on the bridge, the Zimbabwean government built the new Beit Bridge in 1995, which was officially opened by the presidents of South Africa and Zimbabwe (Mandela, 1995; Mugabe, 1995). Now known as the New Limpopo Bridge, the bridge had a 20-year BOT (Build Operate Transfer) concession, which expired in 2014 and returned to public ownership (Balaji, 2014). The Zimbabwean government has since claimed ownership and maintenance of the bridge (ibid.).

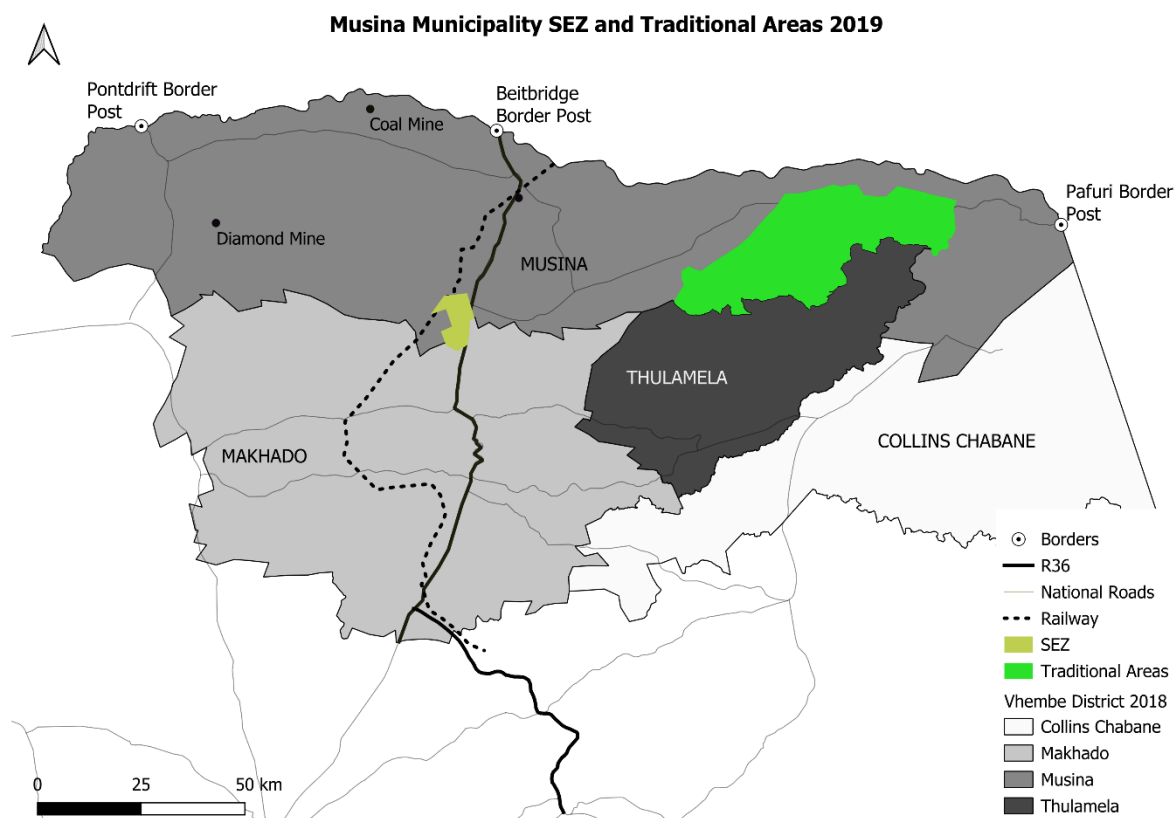
The Beitbridge border post is open 24 hours daily making it the busiest port of entry in Limpopo Province and it has freight movement (Limpopo Department of Transport, 2022). According to the South African National Roads Agency (SANRAL), an average of 500 trucks and 15 000 people pass through the Beitbridge border crossing every day (Jordaan, 2018). The Beitbridge border post is just 18 km from Musina town. According to the Musina Local Municipality

website, the official slogan of the municipality is to “be the vibrant, viable and sustainable gateway city to the rest of Africa”. SANRAL announced in 2014 that it would upgrade the Musina Ring Road to improve the flow of people, goods and services between South Africa and the rest of the continent (Mukwevho, 2014). On 1 September 2022, the Musina Ring Road project was officially opened, costing R640 million to complete and contributing to the creation of 250 permanent jobs (SAnews.gov.za, 2022). The Musina Ring Road is an 8 km single throughfare freeway that deviates from the existing N1 Section 29 alignment south of Musina and rejoins the existing route north of the town to form the western ring road surrounding Musina town (Review Observer Polokwane, 2022). Musina municipality lies at the intersection of four countries: South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Mozambique. Although there are other official border crossings such as Pontdrift in the north, with Botswana and Pafuri in the east with Mozambique, the municipality is a key site for illegal border-crossing (Vhembe District Municipality, 2021).

2:2.8 The Special Economic Zone

The presence of three international borders within Musina municipality has resulted in it being granted SEZ status with Makhado Local Municipality (Department of Trade, Industry and Competition (dtic), 2017). To entice domestic and foreign technologies and investments, economic development tools such as SEZ are implemented in geographically designated areas to stimulate economic growth and exports.¹³ The municipality views this status as a strategic opportunity to leverage its location and the provision of intermodal facilities to move goods and services throughout Africa (Musina Local Municipality, 2021b). Since the SEZ is located in Limpopo Province (shown in *Map 9*), the municipalities of Musina and Makhado are tasked with providing two townships with a combined area of 8 022 hectares, which will be future sites for coking and coal production plants (Vhembe District Municipality, 2021).

¹³ In an attempt to reposition itself in the global economy, the South African government introduced the Special Economic Zones (SEZ) programme, (a policy review of the Industrial Development Zones programme (IDZ)) (the-then Department of Trade and Industry, 2013).



Map 9 Musina-Makhado SEZ Locality. Source: Vhembe Spatial Development Framework (SDF). Map by M. Siteleki.

2:2.9 Who lives in Musina Local Municipality and why?

2:2.9.1 Demography

At the time of the 2011 Census, the population of Musina municipality was 68359, which has been since readjusted to 104 709 to account for the areas that under Mutale municipality prior to their 2016 merger with the former (Musina Local Municipality, 2017; Statistics South Africa, 2023b). The 2022 Census reports that the population has since increased to 130 899, which gives an average annual growth rate of 2.2% over the census period. With South Africa's average annual growth rate being 1.8%, and Limpopo's growth rate 1.9%, we can assume that there has been a moderate net gain of in-migration into the municipal area (Statistics South Africa, 2023b). The data in *Table 2* shows that the population of the local municipality is overwhelmingly black African, with 96.8% of the population black African compared to 2.3% white.

Population group		N
Black African	126 607	96.8 %
Coloured	369	0.3%
Indian/Asian	736	0.6%
White	2 991	2.3%
Other	42	0.0%
Total	130 745	100%
<i>Total excludes Unspecified (154)</i>		

Table 2 Distribution of population group, Musina Local Municipality, 2022. (Source: Census 2022: Statistics South Africa)

A comparison with the 2011 Census data shows a significant decline in the white population in Musina municipality (see *Table 3* below).

Population Group		N
Black African	62 285	94.0%
Coloured	229	0.3%
Indian/Asian	329	0.5%
White	3 284	4.8%
Other	231	0.3%
Total	68 359	100%

Table 3 Musina local Municipality Population 2011 (Source: Census 2011. Directly sourced from Statistics South Africa)

The adjusted 2011 Census figures indicated that there were 51 183 men living in Musina Local Municipality (48.9% of the total) with a female population of 53 526 (51.1%) (Statistics South Africa, 2023a). This slight female preponderance gave a sex ratio of 95:6. However, Census 2022 indicates 68 221 men (52.1%) and 62 678 women (47.9%), giving a sex ratio of 108:8 (Statistics South Africa, 2023a). This is in fact a significant shift in the demographics over the decade, with the preponderance on men in the municipality only exceeded in Limpopo by the mining municipality of Thabazimbi, and nationally also by the mining active West Rand in Gauteng. Unfortunately, the figures for Census 2022 are still only available at a municipal level, and so we cannot confirm whether this increase in the proportion of males in the municipality

is also mining related, but it is a reasonable expectation that this is so. Further analysis awaits the intra-municipal details of Census 2022.

The population survey list three types of geographical settlements: urban, traditional and farm, to represent the different geographical areas of municipal residence. The 2011 Census revealed that 62.4% of Musina’s municipal population lived in urban areas, 30.7% in the farm areas and only 6.9% in tribal or traditional areas (Statistics South Africa, 2011a). Attempts to obtain from Statistics South Africa details from Census 2011, covering the Musina municipality together with the Mutale municipality wards that now form Musina Local Municipality were unsuccessful. The adjusted figures from Census 2022 show that the population living in the municipality’s urban areas has since decreased to 49.2%, with those living in the traditional areas and farm areas increasing to 41. 5% and 9.3% respectively (see *Figure 5* below).

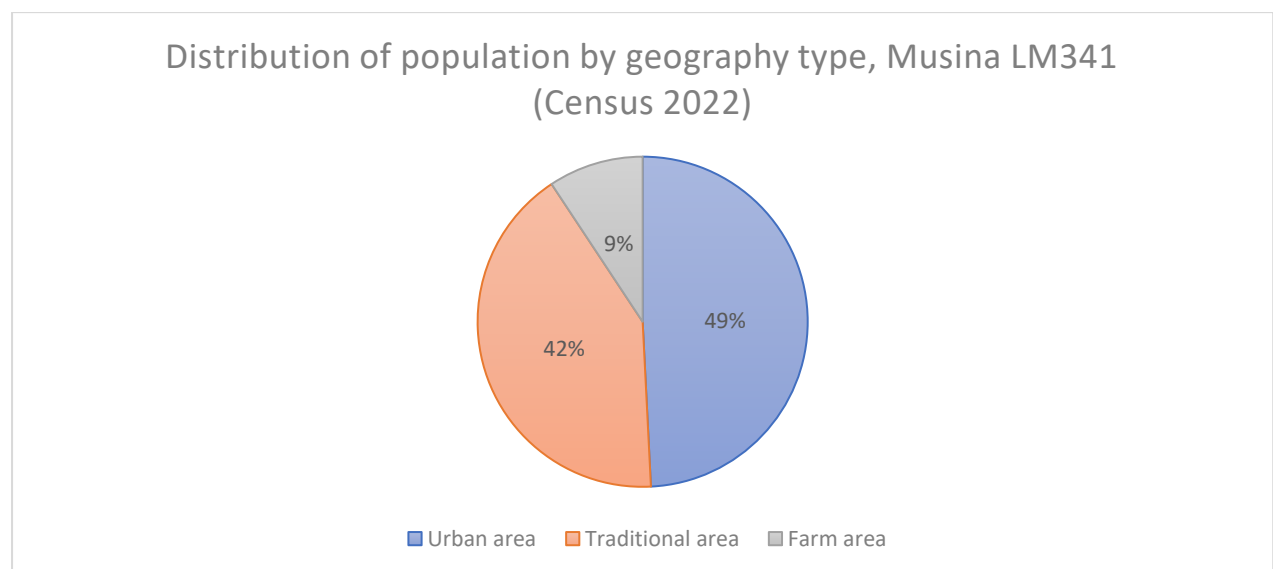


Figure 6 Distribution of Population by Geography Type, Musina Local Municipality, 2022 (Source: Census 2022, Statistics South Africa).

An analysis of the adjusted Census 2022 data on household headship by gender relative to geographical type reveals that although Musina municipality had more male-headed households overall (52%), there were more female-headed households in the municipality's areas under traditional authority (54%) (see *Table 4* below).

Geography Type	Sex	
	Male	Female

Urban Area	57%	43%
Traditional Area	46%	54%
Farm Area	53%	47%
Total	52%	48%

Table 4 Distribution of households by sex of household head and municipality, 2022. (Source: Census 2022: Directly sourced from Statistics South Africa)

It is noteworthy that there are more men living in ‘urban areas’. The definition of ‘urban area’ and whether or not these areas include places where mining is occurring is significant in this case. According to the Musina Spatial Development Framework, the town of Musina has the highest municipal population density, followed by the rural areas near the town, and the lowest in the traditional areas. The large proportion of women living in ‘traditional areas’ is also interesting, as this suggests a likelihood of different gendered experiences from women living in urban areas. These women, already considered a vulnerable group in society, are household heads in areas under traditional authority.

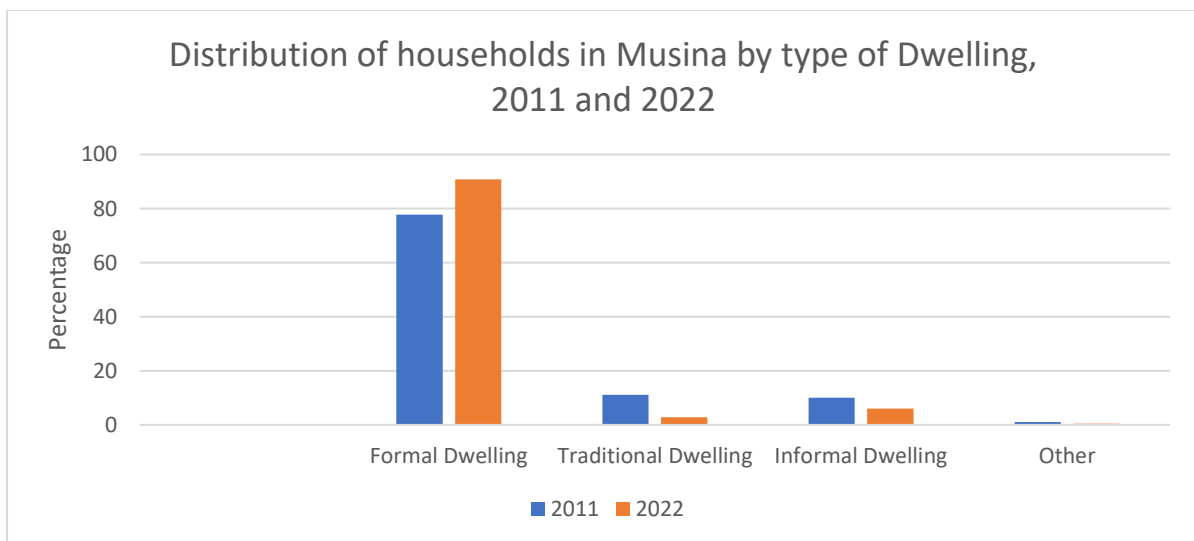


Figure 7 Distribution of Households in Musina by Type of Dwelling Comparison Between 2011 and 2022 (Source: Census 2011 and Census 2022, Statistics South Africa).

Figure 6 above shows a comparison of the Census 2011 and the adjusted Census 2022 data of population distribution in relation to the type of dwellings within Musina municipality. The data reveals the number of households living in formal housing has significantly increased, with a corresponding decrease in the number of households living in traditional dwellings. As discussed earlier, the population living in urban areas has decreased in the same period, making this an intriguing finding. Changes in boundary and definition may account for the decline, but more research is necessary to fully understand it. It is important to note however that in

Southern Africa, it is common for individuals to live in more than one household in a variety of formal and informal housing structures. These overlaps between categories of rural and urban areas are not included in the table. Therefore, it can be provisionally concluded that the increase in formal dwellings is taking place in the traditional areas. This, however, is consistent with census findings for most parts of South Africa.

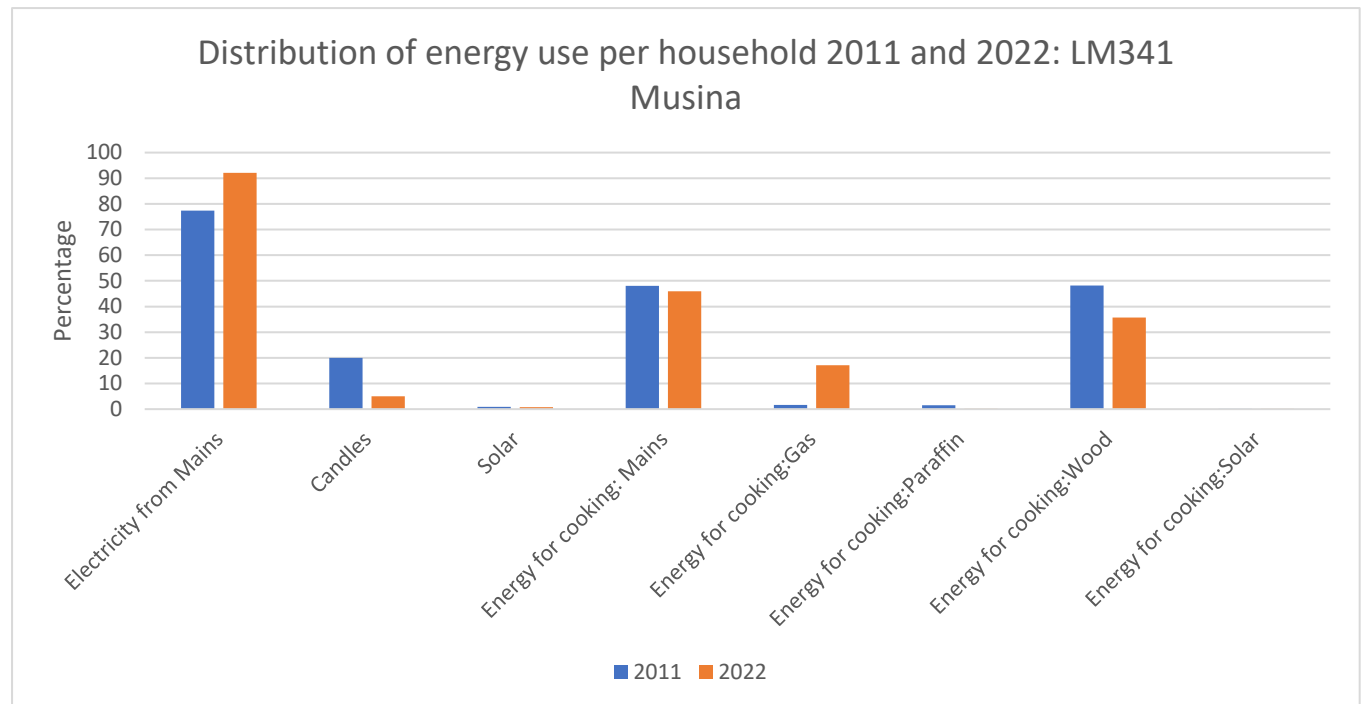


Figure 8 Distribution of Energy Use per Household in Musina Municipality 2011 and 2022 (Source: Census 2011 and Census 2022: Statistics South Africa).

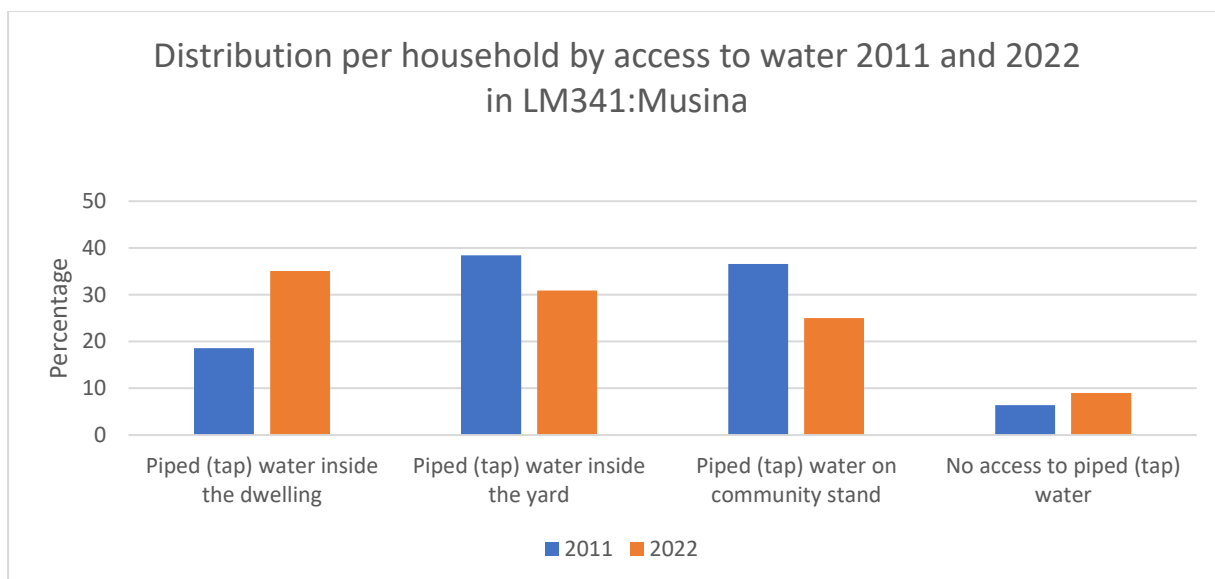


Figure 9 Distribution per Household in Musina Municipality by Access to Water 2011 and 2022 (Source: Census 2011 and Census 2022: Statistics South Africa).

Figures 7 and 8 show the distribution per household in the municipality of energy use and access to water respectively. Although the Census 2022 data shows improvements in the electrification and provision of running water to households, there is a significant proportion of households that still uses wood for cooking (35.7%). Although this may suggest improved servicing within rural areas, which seems to be the case in many parts of South Africa, it can also suggest that many households are becoming more self-reliant on solar and boreholes as a way to address electricity loadshedding or water rationing by the municipality.

In South Africa, housing delivery is currently carried out through the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy, through the Department of Human Settlements, which oversees all housing delivery programmes, including social housing and RDP (Khowa-Qhoai and Tyali, 2024). The 2016 Community Survey revealed RDP or government subsidised housing was the primary residence for 27.53% of Musina municipality's population. According to the Department of Human Settlements (2022), there are criteria for eligibility for an RDP house such as, e.g., having South African citizenship, being a first-time homeowner, earning less than R3 500.1 per month per household, being contractually capable, single people with financial dependants, married or in a civil partnership, and finally single military veterans without financial dependants. Despite these requirements, RDP houses in Musina Local Municipality are available for both rent and purchase, as shown by posts on social media sites, such as the closed Facebook group – 'Musina Residents Stand Together Without Fear'.

Figure 9 below shows a selection of some of the posts found in said social media group. These posts, like many others, are often bidirectional in interaction, with responses from other members of the group about the availability of RDP houses, areas where the homes can be purchased or rented, and sometimes the cost of the purchase or rent. Between 2021 and 22 October 2022, there were 20 posts on the group's page from individuals offering to buy and/or sell RDP houses.¹⁴ The social media posts offering the sale or purchase of government-subsidised houses, together with previously presented data on the population density of Musina town, indicate that there is a demand for housing and accommodation in the municipality. This is important when considering migration into and commercial interests within the municipality and how these shape perceptions of urbanity and rurality.

¹⁴ Since taking this sample on October 4, 2022, search results for Facebook Group posts are now limited to five per query. See also "*Facebook is restricting search results – is this taking transparency seriously?*" [Online]. Available from: "<https://theconversation.com/facebook-is-restricting-search-results-is-this-taking-transparency-seriously-94762>".

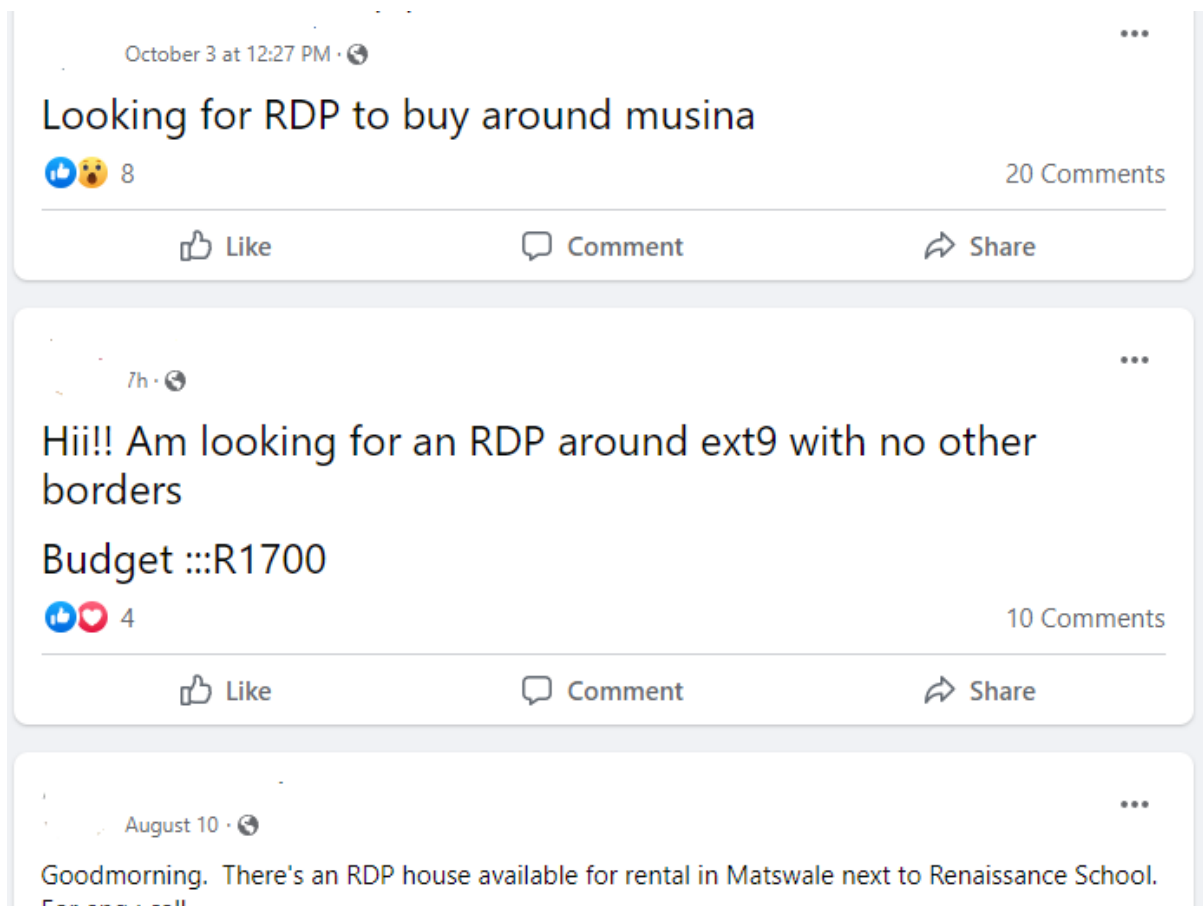


Figure 10 Musina-Residents Stand Together Without Fear Facebook Group 2022. Sample image of posts of RDP houses to rent or for sale. [Online]. Available from: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1194335387286920/search/?q=rdp>. [Accessed: 22 October 2022].

A brief note regarding RDP housing and gender identity. Ndinda (2006) has suggested that the status of women in South Africa with respect to housing access has evolved since the end of apartheid, as the transition to democracy attributed in large part to changes in the constitution and policies. The RDP housing programme made it clear that it aimed to address widespread gender disparities including, high rates of female unemployment and high rates female household headship in extremely impoverished settlements (Meth and Charlton, 2017). However, Adebayo, Ndinda and Ndhlovu (2022) have pointed out that even though women occasionally received subsidized housing, the urban exclusion of poor women was demonstrated by their unfulfilled housing rights as well as their continued social, economic, and spatial exclusion. There are similar issues regarding land claims for women in South Africa. Walker (2011) argues that the post-apartheid land reform program has not proven to be a successful tool for providing secure land rights or better livelihoods to women who require the most in terms of women's rights. She points out that in addition to loss and dispossession of land, the rise of new identities, classes, and concepts about land, property, and means of

subsistence among black and white people shift expectations around livelihoods (ibid). Still, Jacobs (2004) points out that there is a need for land by rural women in South Africa for not only housing, but also subsistence farming.

Outstanding land claims contribute significantly to the housing backlog in the municipality. As shown in *Table 5* below, land claims are prevalent.

Number of outstanding land claims per municipality	
Municipality	Number
Makhado	133
Thulamela	50
Musina	44
Collins Chabane	11
Total	238

Table 5 Number of outstanding land claims per municipality (Source: Vhembe District Municipality Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2021. Commission on Restitution of Land Rights (RLCC) 2020)

There are land claims for approximately 30.53% of the Vhembe District's total area (Musina Local Municipality, 2022). Within Musina municipality, the claimed area represents 36% of the municipality, thus making land claims a significant factor affecting future development as the municipality is unable to plan and build on claimed land (ibid.). Due to land claims, farmers are reluctant to make additional investments as a large part of land in Musina, Thulamela, and Makhado municipalities are predominantly claimed in the commercial farming areas adjacent to traditional areas (Vhembe District Municipality, 2021). The district's SDF further suggests that some of the claimed areas "appear to be encroaching on environmentally sensitive land" (ibid.). The international heritage site Mapungubwe National Park and the Venetia Limpopo Nature Reserve, both located in Musina municipality, are some of the areas referred to with this regard.

2:2.10 CONCLUSION

Musina Local Municipality is a transnational borderland with a migration history that goes back over a century. Southern Africans have migrated to the Soutpansberg region during its own history of military conflict and forced migration, and throughout South Africa's colonial history as employees of native labour recruitment and through their own agency in finding work on mines and farms. Despite colonial governments' attempts to control both internal and

international migration through pass laws and immigration acts, illegal migration continued. African labourers were motivated by the offer of higher wages and their own understandings of space, such as choosing to work in an area that was close to their kraals. Migration back then was gender specific. It was men who emigrated, and this had a lasting impact on those they left behind in their homelands and rural areas, and therefore on the development of these areas.

Little has changed in the post-apartheid era. Southern Africans are still migrating south, encouraged in part by the regional SADC bloc, which is easing visa restrictions and encouraging freedom of movement. The motivations remain the same – to improve their economic conditions or due to violent conflicts. Gender migration patterns have changed marginally, which is something new. With the decline of mining in the region, there is an abundance of available labour, the colonial restrictions have been lifted, and women are now participating in migration as shown by the migration trends between 2011 and 2016, although male migration is still dominant. The problem of illegal immigration, which was also part of South Africa's colonial past, has been at the heart of migration since the country achieved democracy. However, men are still dominating migration trends. Does this further reinforce patriarchal dominance in gender relations? What does the history of migration in the Musina region mean for the transnational identity of women? How do we evaluate integration and belonging in a region with so much migration history? Is transnationalism the collective memory and therefore the real identity of Southern Africans?

Musina Local Municipality is also a rural and urban borderland. In 2022, most female household heads resided in areas of the municipality under traditional leadership. The former Venda bantustan areas such as Mutale, have a rural legacy that is still evident today in the uneven spatial layout. The fact that a significant proportion of the population still lives in informal dwellings, the number of land claims and media reports of homelessness show that the municipality is under pressure to provide housing due to the town's growth and population density. However, while reporting in official municipal documents clearly distinguishes between rural and urban, there is an interface. Although an increase in the male population, who lead most households except in traditional areas, the data from Census 2022 demonstrates urbanisation processes are occurring in Musina's municipality through the increase of formal dwellings, the availability of electricity and tap water. The question then becomes how these developments are influencing the construction of and performance of black womanhood.

This contextual chapter on Musina Local Municipality shows how the intersection between national identity, place identity, gender and class play a role in the daily lives of municipal residents. The different power dynamics give the opportunity to think about belonging, time and in-betweenness. How do people find belonging in transitory spaces when they are constantly moving? And how do the constructions and reconstructions of black femininity established under colonial and apartheid rule define and position black women in Musina today?

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

PART 1 – INTERSECTIONALITY

3:1 INTRODUCTION

Gender identity – as it is understood and practised – is a key component of this study. More significant is its interpretation and experience in relation to other identities and geographical contexts. This is demonstrated by the study's primary research question (shown below).

What is the effect of the rural-urban and transnational interface in reshaping the nature of gender identity and relations amongst black women who reside in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?

The study resides within an African geopolitical context. This is examined, as well as key identifiers, such as nationality, ethnicity, class, and gender relations, to see how they created unique experiences for the research participants. By probing what these experiences mean for black women in the Musina Local Municipality, I seek to identify the inconsistent, contradictory processes that shape identity in borderlands. Evaluating these experiences provides room for considering how gender, location, and other identity categories converge depending on context, and either elevate or marginalise individuals. These gendered experiences can be complex, questioning how individuals interpret such experiences and exercise agency over multiple social identities. To examine these processes, the study adopted the theoretical concepts of 'intersectionality', 'liminality' and 'borderlands'. This chapter focuses on 'intersectionality' as a theoretical and analytical concept, arguing that the framework explains the relationships between identity categories and space, and how they relate to power and privilege.

Intersectionality's history is rooted in black feminist theory (Nash, 2018). Therefore, the ideological foundations of feminism, which focus on the separation of sex and gender, must be the foundation for any discussion of the analytical framework. Butler's (1986; 2009) work on gender performativity is crucial, as she broke tradition with challenging the sex deterministic view of gender identity, proposing that feminine and masculine identities are not homogeneous categories but vary and are based on culture, religion, and/or context. Black women in Musina Local Municipality are not a homogenous category; they differ in background, age, class, education levels, ethnicities, nationalities, etc., which may inform their views on who and what

is feminine. The chapter addresses criticisms of traditional feminism that came from black feminists, Third World feminists, and African feminists from both the continent and the diaspora. These critiques focus on the inequalities women face due to the historical, geopolitical, and sociocultural factors that influence the construction and reconstruction of gender identity (Mohanty, 1988; Crenshaw, 1991; Oyěwùmí, 2002). This allows the study to recognise how colonialism, post-colonialism, migration, cultural practices, and other factors influenced the formation and reshaping of gender identities in the Musina borderlands. By acknowledging that femininity is different for all women due to changes in their societal norms and values, together with the conceptualization of gender as performative, this forms the basis of discussions on intersectional theory.

Intersectionality both systematically identifies points at which identity categories are traversed to produce situations of privilege or exclusion, and analyses these processes (Crenshaw, 1991; Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013; Collins, 2015). This chapter also addresses the difficulties in defining intersectionality and its widespread use over time, which has contributed to disagreements about what it means, with critical stances on the theory held by conservatives and Black feminists (Collins, 2015; Nash, 2018; Coaston, 2019). I have adopted the academic perspective of intersectionality for this study, which analyses identity categories not as add-ons and as separate categories, but as inter-laced elements to create structural inequalities that place people in positions of power and privilege (Crenshaw, 1991; Nash, 2018).

Geography's role in gender identity and intersectional theory is examined in the remainder of this chapter. Geography scholars such as Massey (1994) and Rose (1995) have suggested that a gendered lens has been utilized within the field to ascribe the body to particular spaces, making the spatial instrumental in identity's construction and reconstruction. The final section builds on this foundation by discussing how geography, in addition to its impact on gender identity production and interpretation, has a relationship with intersectional theory. This relationship was substantiated in an influential study by Anzaldúa (1987) in *Borderlands/La Frontera*, whose work became well-known by scholars of intersectional theory for shaping future discourses on gender, class, race, and sexuality studies while depicting aspects of borderland life.

3:2 The sex and gender debate

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, any discussion on intersectionality must start from established, traditional feminist ideology. I begin with an important debate for feminist critique; differentiating sex from gender, challenging the notion that gender is biologically determined, and the widely accepted understanding that individuals are or should be, classified as either male or female based on reproductive differences (Butler, 1986; Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009). Biological differences impacted social actors by restricting the scope of social practices and behaviour, but feminist writers argued this is mainly because what is considered biologically male and female is used to differentiate men from women at birth, and individuals learn and are expected to self-identify with the sex category with which they were assigned (Connell, 2014; McCall, 2005; Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009). According to Scott (2018), the use of sex differences leads to presumptions that gender is ahistorical and that the human body is not subject to cultural or social factors but exists *a priori*. When gender is understood in this way, the world is framed in a binary, where men and women are inherently distinct groups, with different experiences and characteristics (Mohanty, 2003).

While focusing on masculinity, Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) emphasise differentiating sex from gender, as this perspective illustrates that ‘male’ and ‘men’ are not synonymous. Butler (1986) made a similar argument, proposing biology does not determine women’s social duties and norms, as there is a body before there is a gender. This means that before someone’s gender can be classified, it must exist first. That includes inanimate objects, such as sailors referring to ships as ‘her’ and ‘she’. Using binary gender categories requires the body be sexed as either male or female; the male body, with the behavioural traits related to social expectations of maleness, compels individuals to embody masculine gender identities (Zeiler and Wickström, 2009; Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009). This implies that other social actors, i.e., members of society, observe these acts and behaviours and use them to categorise an individual, and thus are key in the construction of gender identity. Gender identity is thus a performance collectively practised by the entire social world (Connell and Connell, 1995). The self-regulation and power dynamics occurring in certain situations show how feminine or masculine traits portrayed by the body are performances that are socially constructed (McDowell and Court, 1994). According to Butler (2011:140), there is an “illusion of an abiding gendered self”, through the way gender is constructed and conveyed by the body in everyday movements, gesticulation and other behaviours. Gender neutrality and the inability to categorise individuals as either masculine or feminine, Lorber and Martin (2011:254) argue, are from bodies being “socially constructed in deeply gendered societies”. For example, Zeiler and Wickström (2009) propose

that assignment surgery for intersex-born children is a decision made by both medical doctors and parents to address the ambiguity and place them in a sex category. This understanding of gender creates an intrinsic and essentialising connection between gender and sex.

Although gender is not determined by biology, it is still understood in terms of the social relationships that mediate how it is structured and practised (Connell, 2014). Thus, the body is already anchored in the social world and designed to absorb and interpret cultural norms and beliefs (Butler, 1986). This means that gender is more than the relations between sexes, and includes other social relationships, and therefore should not be reduced to sex differences (Scott, 2018). Gender can be linked to other social practices, such as child rearing (Connell, 2014). When addressing how and why gender relations are social, Scott (2018) argues that, beyond heteronormative relationships, links to history and current social practices should also be considered. This is because politics and the economy are equally involved in the construction of gender as the family. The performative aspect to gender allows social actors the opportunity to defer to a cultural context and the freedom to create a new one (Butler, 1986). In this way, gender is understood as something one becomes; gender is a verb because it can be reconstructed into new forms as gender relations change over time, bringing advantages or disadvantages to some groups in the process (Butler, 1986; Connell, 2014). This thesis uses Butler's (2004:161-162) definition of performativity – that “gender reality....is real only to the extent that it is performed” , and “is an ‘act’, broadly construed, which constructs the social fiction of its own psychological interiority.” This definition of performativity is used throughout this work to describe not only gender identity, but also other identities, to illustrate expected social practices and cultural markers that distinguish particular identities within the Musina borderlands.

What then is gender and how are masculine and feminine identities constructed? According to Scott (2018:42), “the perceived differences between the sexes” make gender fundamental to social relationships and key to demonstrating power relations. Masculine and feminine gender identities are established through everyday practices such as sport, exercise or manual work, which then reduce or overstate the parallels and distinctions between people (Lorber and Martin, 2011). For instance, in the family unit, being maternal and nurturing to other family members is often perceived as feminine, making it integral to understanding femininity, whereas masculinity is associated with providing financial support and protection (Barrett, 1988; Connell, 2014). This furthers the biological connections between sex and gender, whereby men are expected to be emotionally detached and strong, and women’s ability to bear

children and raise them is associated with their femininity. The way we dress also provides insight into what femininity means in specific cultural contexts, as the exterior of the body serves to outline social boundaries (Motsemme, 2003). Likewise, masculinity is also performed by not only social practices but also what those practices mean, which differ depending on context, the individual, and the people around them (Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009). Dominant forms of masculinity or femininity are those accepted as the normative standard (Connell, 2005). A possible explanation for this is offered by Ratele (2001), who points out that the creation of an ideal masculine gender identity indicates the existence of pre-established models of masculinity. These dominant forms are pervasive in society and hence influence the way femininity is constructed and understood.

Gender is a concept used in feminism to critique the ideal constructs of men and women by deconstructing the connection between sexed bodies (Wilcox, 2011). The social relations between genders and the physical body is acknowledged in feminism as important in the attempts to tackle “gender subordination” (ibid.). Everyone connects with the social world differently in their experiences, emotions, norms and values, and from the social spaces they find themselves (Collins, 2002). These heterogeneous experiences contrast with how Western feminism, in its gradual development, has adopted science to assert that the ideology should be accepted by all women globally, based on the principle of universality (Mangena, 2003). For Mohanty (2003), Western feminist scholarship’s analysis of gender relations is based on the notion of a monolithic patriarchal framework that reduces and homogenises the experiences of all women. These theories have been critiqued for focusing on the subordination of women, and do not illustrate other inequalities related to gender inequality (Scott, 2018).

Although there are varied forms of dominant masculinity that benefit mainly men and subordinate women, gender identity interacts with other social factors, creating differences within masculinity (Connell, 2005). The notion that masculinity has many and vague meanings that change according to the situation and over time has been considered by scholars (Thompson, 2001; Ratele, 2001; Connell, 2005; Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009). For instance, homosexual masculinities have been associated with femininity, placing gay men at the ‘lowest’ level of the gender pyramid amongst men, further illustrating that masculine gender identity is not exclusively about the male body and sexuality, but more broadly it is also about what it means to be female (Connell, 2005; Ratele, 2001). Heteronormativity – the supremacy placed on the heterosexual narrative and the nuclear family while making homosexuality and all its variations invisible or abhorrent – is closely connected to dominant gender stereotypes.

Furthermore, heterosexual hegemony highlights the types of patriarchal and gender ideologies that marginalise those in society external to these classifications (Lubbe, 2007). For example, women are expected to only partner (sexually and romantically) with men, in cultures and societies where heterosexuality is considered obligatory or standard. Furthermore, Morison and Reddy's (2013) study of South African print media and, the public and societal discourses about what makes a 'family', also shows how predominant heteronormative views about parenting moulds opinions on how gay parents are tolerated, provided their children are raised to be heterosexuals. Therefore, there is a stigma associated with sexual identities that do not conform to predominant social and cultural ideas, and this gendered performativity is linked to other social activities, such as relationships and parenting (Lubbe, 2007).

3:3 Problematising the ideas of African femininity and African masculinity

When gender is understood as a single analytical category, it is presumed men and women are already constituted 'homogenous' groups, with their own interests and experiences within political, economic, religious, legal and kinship structures (Mohanty, 2003). However, as previously noted, gender by its nature is a social construct, and because individuals experience a range of identities, social contexts, and experiences, they cannot be boxed into a single master category (McCall, 2005). Patriarchal theorisation in Western feminist discourse has been criticised for dismissing the multitudes of experiences and subjectivities of women in the Global South (Mohanty, 2003). African feminists for instance, focus on the creation and promotion of indigenous models that incorporate African ideological views and cultures (Nkealah, 2016). However, there is an epistemic bias: Mangena (2003) argues that because the West has sole authority over whether feminism is a science, African feminisms, because of their plural versions, are not given the same stature as Western feminism. As scholars who must publish to justify their intellectual endeavours, African feminists work within certain paradigms and theoretical frameworks, frequently built in a Western or Eurocentric context, either because they have been trained and accustomed to them and are repeatedly recognised in international journals, or because there may be a belief that working outside of them lowers the standards of their own work (Adomako Ampofo, 2010). As a result, African feminists recognise that their perceptions of the social world differ from their study subjects', and that Western rationality-based systems of training, instruction, and binary analysis are not always helpful in interpreting these views (Casimiro and Andrade, 2010).

Oyěwùmí (1997) pointed out some time ago that in Western feminist literature, patriarchy is perpetuated through undermining women's agency and power by implying that African society is controlled by men and is anti-women. However, this is not always the case. MacGaffey's (1988) historical analysis, for example, shows how the permeation of capitalism in colonial and post-colonial Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)) gave urban women more independence than rural women, influencing the organisation of family and kinship to reposition themselves in urban society. Similarly, Parpart's (1986, 1988, 1994) studies of gender relations in the Zambian Copperbelt from 1926 to 1966 found that despite patriarchal alliances between the colonial administration and local African officials to constrain women's freedom, some women seized the opportunity, becoming independent by relocating to the urban areas, engaging various survival strategies, and, at times, being instrumental in the collective labour action against mining capital through their gendered struggles. Nonetheless, Oyěwùmí (1997), like many other African scholars compelled to respond to the Western gaze on African women's studies, has criticised said studies for arguing that African women used prostitution as a survivalist strategy, claiming it continues the narrative that black women are hypersexual.

For this reason, as the primary foundation of sources of feminist concepts in gender research, the racialisation of European-based knowledge and Eurocentrism ought to be considered when attempting to make sense of the African experience (Oyěwùmí, 2002; Ampofo et al., 2004). Some criticisms of Western feminist ideology relate to interactions with men both publicly and privately, and to the difficulties African women face to protect "the cultural authenticity of their public and private spaces within national borders and as part of a continuously influential and invasive global community" (Goredema, 2010:38). Another case in point is the nuclear family, which, Oyěwùmí (2016) argues is an example of an Anglophone structure that was a prototype of Western gender relations. Oyěwùmí (2002) uses motherhood to suggest that the feminist idea of the nuclear family is based on this identity, which is linked to the patriarchal relationship between men and women. However, she proposes a rejection of "unwarranted universalism feminist gender discourses" by drawing on how kinship roles in Yoruba society are organised by seniority rather than gender, thereby suggesting that motherhood in African culture is defined through its collective identity; "mother by definition cannot be single", but it is the "gendering of the institution motherhood that leads to its patriarchization" (Oyěwùmí, 2002:5–8, 2016:214). This denunciation of Western categories by Oyěwùmí has been criticised as throwing the baby out with the bathwater. Bakare-Yusuf (2004), for instance, points out that

Oyěwùmí's stance is ironically eliminatory and antagonistic, adding that because of so many shared traditions, Africa and Europe are integral to each other and cannot be seen as separate identities. The author also proposes creating an open space in which theories for understanding and preserving indigenous knowledge of Africa can make use of many, even conflicting, frameworks and conceptual categories (ibid.). This perspective offers a more useful discussion of the role of Western feminist gender concepts and literature in studies of African women, recognising the functionality and limitations of traditional feminism while remaining aware of the various forms of African femininity found on the continent.

Yet, proponents of African feminism(s) suggest there is an exceptionalism that comes from being women from the African continent, and that African women should therefore be evaluated within these specific cultural contexts (Chigonda-Banda, 2015). Mangena (2003:98) argues that "when it comes to Africa, the demand for the plural form is made in the case of 'African feminisms'". This is due to Africa no longer being limited by its geographical location and includes transatlantic slave trade descendants, refugees, migrants, and international officials from around the world (Oyěwùmí, 2016). However, feminist theories about the African woman native to or descendent from the continent do not end with African feminism. There is Alice Walker's Womanism, the most widespread and contentious theory, which brings the feminist perspective into the black women's struggle against tradition, coloniality and other diverse forms of dominance that affect African women (Nkealah, 2016). Furthermore, Hudson-Weems (2001) invented the term "*Africana Womanism*", which, in her opinion is neither "*African Feminism*", "*Black Feminism*", nor "*Womanism*", but instead, proposes "*Africana Womanism*" is an ideology made and intended for all women of African descent, rooted in African culture, and focused on the unique subjectivities, fights, and needs of Africana women. 'Africanans' are defined as Africans from the continent and the diaspora, and the intention of Africana Womanism to right the wrongs of Womanism, Black feminism and African feminism (Hudson-Weems, 2001; Mekgwe, 2008). Because they centralise colonialism as the foundation of ongoing divisions, African feminisms are inextricably connected to Womanism and Africana Womanism, both of which African feminists adopt in their theorisations (Mekgwe, 2008).

However, the question of whether African feminisms in their plural form theoretically apply to all Africans living on the continent, or to Africans living in diaspora, or to both, still needs to be addressed (ibid.). First, Mangena (2003) contends that African diasporic women do not culturally identify as African, but are linked to women in Africa because of their similar experiences of oppression, marginalisation, humiliation, and alienation, which draw them

toward African feminisms and away from Western feminism. Next, on a temporal scale, African women's experiences and definitions of feminism differ from region to region within the continent due to political eras, which are Africa's pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods, and differ across nations owing to distinct histories of liberation struggles (Goredema, 2010a). Finally, race and gender are also at the heart of many debates about what differentiates African feminists, with white women in Africa and African men often not considered part of the movement (ibid.). Consequently, Blay (2008) suggests that Africana, Womanist, and Black feminist proponents continue to aspire to be leaders in gender-related issues within Africa and the African diaspora, because they each consider themselves most relevant. She additionally proposes that the three perspectives, like Western feminism, are paternalistic, giving precedence to a kind of realism that reflects their specific gender experiences, which are inherently influenced by the legacy and subjective realities of "being an African in America" (ibid.). So, while African feminisms are theorised within the relevant cultural contexts as a guide and are proof of the dynamic participation of African women in gender relations, in practice these feminisms tend to be somewhat inclusive of gender and at times race. Yet the cornerstone of their feminist politics is the heterosexual, white, middle-class woman, omitting those who are part of the LGBTQIA+ or working class communities, and women of colour (Goldenberg, 2007). The problems with the lack of inclusivity represent a major limitation of feminist theory and pave the way for the adoption of another, more useful theoretical framework.

The historical significance of the colonial government in the formation of gender identity on the African continent has already been demonstrated by previous discussions on the relevance of Western feminist literature and African feminism's theorisations in studying African women studies. Social identities play an important role in how identities are formed, and from a post-colonial standpoint, both place and history are influential in how these identities are shaped (Moolman, 2013). The African female body was constructed and disempowered through colonial discourses that sustain the post-colonial African anxieties over it (Coly, 2015). European sexual morals and strict values were largely established and ingrained through colonisation to regulate and control women's sexual desires and sexuality (Bawa and Adeniyi Ogunyankin, 2018). For instance, the idea of sexual deviance in relation to the black female body, along with colonial discourses of clothing, have worked together as metaphors to legitimise the colonial need to clothe the African female body (Coly, 2015). The colonial fascination with clothing the black body extended to include the need for clean clothing, as

clean clothing was closely associated with racial civility (Ally, 2013). Sometimes, as asserted by Parpart (1988) in the Zambian Copperbelt, the need to control women's sexual freedom was a response to negative effects of colonial interference with precolonial customs and traditions that safeguarded the regulation of women's productive and reproductive labour by male elders. Additionally, terms such as 'savage' or 'boy', used to describe the masculinity of African men during the colonial period, show how the continent's geopolitics and history contribute to the difficulties found in defining African masculinity (Moolman, 2013). Furthermore, the relationship between black bodies and sexual violence under colonialism was interesting in that black women were not only seen as hypersexualised beings, but were also dehumanised and viewed as incapable of being victims of any sexual crimes, while black men were typecast as most likely to sexually assault white women, a phenomenon that became known as the 'Black Peril' (Ally, 2013; Gqola, 2015).

To understand the role of gender in the colonial state, some feminists have pointed to the historical importance of 'native' traditions in creating patriarchal gender systems during this period and their continuation after (Dunne et al., 2020). Africa is also a product of colonial and post-colonial inventions and constructions that extend beyond its geographical boundaries (Pasura, 2008). The post-colonial discourse on civilising the barbaric and sexually uncivilised natives from their primitive nature still underpins the current trend of external interventions in women's body politics (Bawa and Adeniyi Ogunyankin, 2018). In South Africa, the collapse of apartheid and its prejudicial laws, such as the Sexual Offences Act (1957), have allowed the Constitution (1996) to underpin how sexual identities are redefined, but these social identities are also intricately connected to the past (Moolman, 2013). For example, Rudwick and Posel's (2015) study of the construction of Zulu femininities in the context of *ilobolo* (bride price) practices suggests that, as one of the most important and sacred African traditions, *ilobolo* directly produces varying aspects of femininity for women, such as the importance of virginity and marking the shift from girl to woman. The authors further argue that although marital roles in South Africa have evolved, Zulu women's value and social standing are linked to customary marriage practices within a patriarchal system (ibid.). Therefore, as Chigonda-Banda (2015) contends, proponents of African traditional practices cannot claim that these values were not affected by colonial rule, but should consider that they have ultimately changed.

Religious institutions, also introduced by colonial rule, are deeply entrenched in society and control the freedom that women can gain within existing structures of gender relations (ibid.). This is because post-colonial societies continuously struggle to regain patriarchal authority

over economically self-sufficient women (Bawa and Adeniyi Ogunyankin, 2018). In her study of how Zimbabwe's Pentecostal churches are seen as a refuge to the challenges of modernity, Mate (2002) points out that there is an anxiety surrounding post-colonial legislative changes made to advance the position of women in society, because these adjustments became noticeable in the private sphere. Among the women's organisations of the Pentecostal churches studied, it is clear that most women were confused by the idea of gender equality, a concept that was thought to be more relevant at work than home (ibid.). Therefore, Oyěwùmí (2002:8) argues that African gender theory should be critiqued and interpreted in Africa, by taking heed of particular cultural and local perspectives to avoid the unjustified "universalism of feminist gender discourse". The role of colonialism and, more broadly religion, in shaping African ideas of femininity and masculinity is an important backdrop to the study of black women in Musina municipality. This is because these ideas permeate and allow both Western and African feminism to be used to analyse gender social relations.

3:4 Intersectional theory

The next part of this section explores the concept of intersectionality by detailing the relationship between gender and geography through feminism. Landmarks in feminist politics have historically been termed 'waves', such as the first wave, which began in the late 19th century and centred on universal suffrage through obtaining civil and political rights. This wave ended once white women were guaranteed the vote (ibid.). One of the limitations of the first wave was that it overlooked how class, gender, and race were interlocked (Gordon, 2016). The term "second wave feminism", refers to the radical feminism of the women's liberation movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006). This movement "grew out of leftist movements in post-war Western societies, among them the student protests, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the lesbian and gay movements, and, in the United States, the civil rights and Black power movements" (ibid:8.). Despite its foundations, the second wave was heavily disparaged for its selective structure, as "white middle-class heterosexual women continued to dominate the narrative on the goals, ideologies, and strategies" of the movement (Lawrence, 2017:170). Further signs of fractures emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, when second-wave feminists of colour and those from developing countries began expressing their differences with other feminists within the movement (Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006). 'Gender' and 'women' were terms used by white feminists as singular and identical classifications to suggest what all women are, and feminists of colour pointed out the oversight of not

considering how gender and race overlapped to create a specific lived experience (McCall, 2005).

The term ‘intersectionality’ was first introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in her writings on African American women and the legal system as a method of encapsulating how social identities are so multifaceted (Yuval-Davis, 2007; Moolman, 2013). The well-known speech by Sojourner Truth (1851) titled ‘Ain’t I a Woman?’, showed that contemporary notions of femininity marginalised and disregarded her own experiences as an African American woman and former slave, demonstrating that the concept of multidimensional identities existed long before the term ‘intersectionality’ was created. For Crenshaw (1991), a stumbling block within identity politics is that it often coalesces or disregards intragroup differences. As discussed earlier in this chapter, there are many forms of feminism, such as Western feminism, African feminisms, and Third World feminism and because of these feminist differences and points of view, it is necessary to bring them together without forcing one feminism at the expense of another’s exclusion (Sylvester, 1995). Consequently, third wave feminism from the mid-1990s to 2008 was shaped by young men and women seeking to go beyond gender dichotomy, thus embracing many identities including sexual orientation, race and age (Lawrence, 2017). For example, feminist theory has helped queer studies by highlighting inter-corporeality and showing how social differences affect how bodies inhabit spaces with others (Ahmed, 2006). Generally, the current fourth wave is even more inclusive, because the advocacy and interaction methods of contemporary feminists have changed as a result of social media and technology (Lawrence, 2017).

According to (Collins, 2015), although there is general agreement on what intersectionality entails, defining the term remains difficult because intersectional scholarship is found outside of academia and across academic disciplines. As a result, interpretation of the term varies among academics, activists looking to address inequalities between groups, and conservative reactions to its use by activists (Coaston, 2019). Recognising that intersectionality is a major contribution to feminist ideology, some black feminists are wary and protective of the use of the term due to its prominence in mainstream discourses on identity and oppression (Dowe, 2020). For example, Nash (2018) argues that, beyond its political, theoretical, intellectual, and creative contributions, black feminism is also an emotional experience and thus an emotional project. She adds that intersectionality must be returned to the black feminist project, because it originated from and was owned by the project and needs to be protected from being misappropriated (ibid.). Smooth (2013) also adds that the resurgence and centralisation of

intersectionality in black feminist thought highlights the analytical position of intersectionality to explore how power and privilege contribute to the marginalisation of groups and individuals. When Crenshaw (1991) introduced the concept of intersectionality, she argued against attributing discriminatory experiences of black women to a uniaxial analytical framework that prioritises one aspect of inequality. Racism and sexism are typically portrayed as similar or equivalent phenomena in single-axis paradigms rather than as intersecting (Grzanka, 2018). Therefore, intersectional theorists prefer using multiple axes, because a single axis of analysis fails to fully capture the scope and variety of approaches that come from working with the framework (ibid.). The dynamics of difference under examination in the current study are gender, transnationality, ethnicity, class, and space/place to understand how power and oppression take place in the Musina borderlands.

Crenshaw (1991) proposed three forms of intersectionality: 1) *structural intersectionality*, which refers to how women of colour are marginalised in the social, economic, and political worlds because of their position; 2) *political intersectionality*, which refers to the subordination of women of colour as a result of their membership in two or more groups that typically pursue opposing political agendas, and 3) *cultural intersectionality*, in the manner in which predominant narratives about social difference combine to produce visual images that may negatively portray women of colour. To capture the complexities of black women in the Musina borderlands, this study will use structural intersectionality in its analysis. Intersectionality maintains a critical view of structural power because it stipulates that power, like identity construction, is dynamic and changing rather than fixed and constant (Smooth, 2013 ;Wilson 2013). Furthermore, a focus on the power structures that shape the individual in specific socio-political settings helps situate the intersecting dynamics in social space and time (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013). The complex connections between intersectionality and an analysis of power has led to criticism that it places more emphasis on identity categories than on inequality structures (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013). Grzanka (2018) disagrees with this assertion, calling it a false claim and suggesting that categories of social identity are products of the historically and socially generated structures of inequality established by extensive institutionalised systems.

According to Collins (2015), intersectionality is not only a field of research but also an analytical method and a critical practice; it participates in the relationships of power it investigates, which contributes to the difficulties in defining it. Furthermore, a major criticism of intersectionality has been that it does not have specific methods for analysis (Bastia, 2014).

In examining intersectionality, McCall (2005) argues that studying an individual with multiple social identities poses new methodological issues for the theory. Crenshaw (1991) had initially advised that it was more important to acknowledge that identity politics arises at the intersection of categories rather than to question their possibility. However, McCall (2005) suggested a three-way framework focused on categories consisting of a) the “anticategorical complexity”, which analyses and demolishes categories by focusing on historical contingency and arbitrariness; b) “intracategorical complexity”, which looks to discover unexplored complexities inside categories, specifically those that are defined by multiple dimensions of difference, and finally c) “intercategorical complexity”, which begins with observing existing unequal social relations and placing these relationships at the focus of analysis with the purpose of describing these connections by provisionally using categories. Later, Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013), asserted that intersectionality is best described as an “analytical sensibility” that takes an intersectional approach to issues of equality and difference and their relationship to power. Understanding categories as always permeated by other categories, making them flexible and changeable, and always produced and reproduced through the dynamics of power, emphasises what intersectionality does and is (ibid.).

The problem of scale, both in terms of who is considered intersectional and obscuring differences within groups, is another major criticism of intersectionality (Bastia, 2014). First, intersectionality has been challenged for implicitly favouring only black women, by concentrating on race and gender (Carbado, 2013). According to Geerts and Van der Tuin (2013), scholars from feminist post-humanism and critical race studies, oppose the exclusivism of intersectionality, arguing that black women are portrayed as the singular intersectional subject due to its epistemic bias. However, Carbado (2013) argues that this criticism echoes a comparable representational issue that Crenshaw proposed, whereby black women are too alike to be dissimilar, preventing them from explicitly naming themselves in a theory; at the same time they are too dissimilar to be alike, stopping them from serving as the context for the development and formulation of a framework that can be applied to all aspects of power and marginalisation. To be an effective tool against exclusion, intersectionality must address both privilege and marginalisation and how multiple categories interact equally with one another to produce both, since understanding one category requires understanding another (Bastia, 2014; Collins, 2020).

However, another obstacle to intersectionality is that it separates individuals into further divisions of oppressed groups, making it impossible for them to communicate or collaborate

with one another (Warner, Kurtiş, and Adya, 2020). Separating one of these identities for research overlooks how individuals with many sub-identities experience them, as a form of double jeopardy (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach, 2008). Yet, intersectionality does not posit that the intersectional subject will in every context be worse off than another (Carbado, 2013). Therefore, Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008:378) propose that individuals with multiple subordinate identities that do not conform to the models of their respective subordinate groups should be recognised as having “intersectional invisibility” and occasionally experience marginalisation, instead of enumerating which groups or persons are more marginalised. The other criticisms of intersectionality are that it does not provide a novel theory of power and that it centres on the subject and not on the structural influences that produce inequalities (Bastia, 2014). According to Collins (2020), intersectionality is the way that power systems reconfigure both disparate material outcomes and the unique social experiences that define people’s experiences within social rankings. This means intersectionality is reflected in its obligation to mark and map the genesis and contingencies of subjects and identities, and how the theory is hypothesised or activated affects the idea that intersectionality has peaked (Carbado, 2013).

Overall, intersectional analysis is therefore important to the current study as it allows for deeper insight into the ways in which the rural-urban interface and the transnational borderlands intersect with gender identity to shape experiences of privilege and oppression for black women in Musina municipality. Collins (2002) has suggested that many black women’s experience are defined by the ‘outsider-within’ standpoint, as they participate in social settings and border spaces that identify divisions between groups with different levels of power. The implication is that in the politics of difference our positioned perspectives, “differently-situated outsider-within locations”, relies on intersectional relationships (Broad, 2000:1158). As rural, urban, transnational, and gender identities intersect, this suggests that black women in the municipality may find themselves as insiders or outsiders in various social settings. Earlier, this chapter argued that gender identity is performative and when combined with intersectional differences, it becomes even more important to highlight the many positions that influence women’s daily lives (Muhanna-Matar, 2022). Therefore, Shields (2003) asserts that intersectionality is performative, as gender intersects with other social identities, exemplified by how subjects recognise themselves and each other through key cues and practices that convey socially accepted norms and behaviours.

Although various identity classifications are socially ranked by individuals, they are still linked and it is necessary to understand how these intersectional differences are performed (Norocel,

Saresma, Lähdesmäki, and Ruotsalainen, 2022). The performative understanding of subjectivity rather than identity or individuality makes a subject an abstract idea that describes the specific ways in which power can subjugate individuals and groups, and therefore cannot be condensed into an individual identity (Nightingale and Harcourt, 2021). As a result, performativity establishes a connection between a region's cultural practices by highlighting how customs and other historical identity markers are adopted and recreated as an intersectional identity or the pre-existing cultural identity (Shields, 2003). Performative intersectionality is relevant for the current study in shedding light on the structural inequalities in the Musina borderlands and how these social differences shape the subjectivities of black women living there.

3:5 Gendered geography

Professional geography has mostly been a man's story because men were the protagonists and authors, and this traditional, male-centred criterion is based on geography practices, theoretical concepts, research questions, methods, descriptions and interpretations of the results, and even the types of knowledge thought suitable for the discipline (Domosh, 1992). This has led to feminist geographers to promote another scholarship that decentres masculinist views by considering the perspectives of those who have been traditionally excluded (McDowell and Sharp, 2014). The production of geographical knowledge has been dominated by a masculine lens, which historically used a woman's body to describe the natural environment (Longhurst, 1995). Post-colonial writers, for example, suggested that a certain kind of white masculinity produced geographical knowledge, and whether they were travel writers, anthropologists, geographers, or explorers, they assumed that only rational white men were able to produce reliable scientific evidence about the world, while other kinds of people, like women or 'natives' could not (Gregson et al., 2014). The use of gender to narrate European progress in new territories, whether scientific, geographical or philosophical, is not extraordinary, as it is ingrained in the discourse of discovery, perceived as feminine and non-white, sexualising a sensual and treacherous approach to adventure and conquest (Sawyer and Agrawal, 2000).

Even when written by female authors, the historical analysis of Victorian travel literature shows spaces and objects were gendered to highlight the connection between place and nature, an undertaking in favour of actual or presumed control in a patriarchal ethos that subordinated both women and nature (Hansson, 2006). Examples include Ryan's (2006) critique of Lady Annie Brassey's (1878) *A Voyage in the Sunbeam: Our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months*,

where, like the sea, the ship was feminine and epitomised society or social status. Likewise, Morin's (1999) study of various works of Englishwomen's literature on a tour of the American West in the late 19th century suggests these works were embellished descriptions of the gallant Victorian tale of a male hero who was brave, strong, and tenacious, yet highlighted the complicated relationship between the gendered subjectivity of women overseas and British imperialism through the many individual interpretations of their national identities and class. This analysis suggests that intersections of gender, nationality, and class identity appeared with place in early writings by female travellers. For this reason, Domosh (1991) argued for the contributions of Victorian and post-Victorian women travellers to feminist geography and the history of geography as a whole, highlighting the differences in experiences between them and their male counterparts and how they overtly acknowledged the uncertainty that came with being outsiders in a foreign culture while helping to depict the richness of their travels.

While it is crucial to acknowledge that bodies are discursively produced, the materiality of bodies should also be recognised as it directly influences the "cartographies mapped into them" (Kesby, 1999:30). The rejection of the idea that sex biologically determines gender, which earlier informed feminist discourses, also influenced feminist geographers' view of the body and its relationship to geography (ibid.). The equation of femininity and "nature" was used to oppress women by suggesting that women themselves were more "natural" than men and went hand in hand with a masculinisation of "science", resulting in a particularly exploitative approach to the environment (Rose, Kinnaird, Morris, and Nash, 2014). Rose (2013) has pointed out the different ways spaces can be hostile for women, such as when rules are made to ignore or refuse the presence of female bodies in certain environments, or when women's mobility is restricted by associating their gender identity with specific roles. This discussion is informed by the idea of women as passive objects and without agency and is shaped by a heterosexual and erotic masculine gaze that can actively transform the geographical landscape (Massey, 2013; Rose, 2013). The gaze is, therefore, theorised to be intrinsically masculine, whether aesthetic or scientific, irrespective of the object or person looking, with women just as likely as men to portray locations as feminine that they espouse the "male gaze" (Hansson, 2006). A similar gaze has been used by geographers to interpret a specific relationship between society and land, as has the tourist gaze of visitors who explore unfamiliar destinations while experiencing places from a touristic perspective (Mathers and Hubbard, 2006; Fraser, 2012; Rose, 2013). Therefore, how we imagine geography and produce geographical knowledge is a

result of our subjective experiences, which we project onto places and spaces, filled with our wants, motivations and biases (Qian, Wei and Zhu, 2012).

The role of colonialism in African identity construction, while important, should not be viewed as deterministic, as both men and women on and from the continent, still have agency to define their own gender identities in relation to space and place (Bawa and Adeniyi Ogunyankin, 2018). For instance, Salo (2003) describes how the socio-economic context of the township of Manenberg in the Western Cape during apartheid elevated the position of adult coloured women to become not only an embodiment of femininity, but also subsequently responsible for defining the meaning of gender in this community. As an important part of the community's moral economy, adult women's duties as mothers extended beyond their own households, illustrating men's capacity to father children while making heterosexual relations compulsory (Salo, Ribas, Lopes, and Zamboni, 2010). Similarly, Radhakrishnan (2005) has argued that cultural divisions are articulated in clearly gendered language and that South African Indian women in Durban actively participate in defining cultural boundaries by conveying and representing what it means to be a woman. If the construction of African gender identities thus reflects the colonial lens, post-colonial nationalist ideologies, and individual's agency, it is important to understand the spatiality of gender relations within borderlands. In a place such as Musina municipality, where people with different cultural backgrounds meet and live, how are gender identities reproduced or constructed in new ways because of the transnational experience and does this make the borderland a liminal space?

Geography should then be understood as an active part of what gender identities are, for geography produces and forms an essential element of what gendered bodies are (Kesby, 1999). Rose (1995:546) has suggested that the complexities surrounding the body should certainly involve an examination of the spatial, not only with regards to the geographical site under study but "the intersection of embodiment and spatiality". Gendered geography is thus the examination of interconnected, important, and continual inequalities that affect the material conditions of women, while acknowledging the specific sociocultural, historical, economic and political environments in which they live in and how this creates diverse and distinct experiences (Bob and Musyoki, 2002). Qian, Wei, and Zhu (2012) add that although geographical imagination is subjective, it should be understood with the caveat that these experiences occur within a complex framework of social interactions between the gazer and the gazed, that is the act of dividing us from the other – which may carry the colonial legacy of othering. The Musina borderland may inspire perspectives and opinions shaped by how long

people have lived in the area and by the spatial-temporal mobility patterns that take place there. Social factors such as gender, class, and nationality are also important for understanding the social context under study.

3:6 Intersectionality and its relationship with geography

Although feminist geographers have increasingly acknowledged the theoretical and practical value of intersectionality, geography as a whole has been slow to incorporate it (Grzanka, 2018). Within feminist geography, the framework continues to epitomise a contested space of intellectual battle, with some scholars in the field considering and frequently campaigning to eliminate race from intersectionality approaches (Mollett and Faria, 2018). Feminist geography has already established the heteronormative relations between spatial divisions and gender, interrogating their supposed naturalness and the differential impact of space on the construction of gender identity, referring to the separation of public and private spheres as an obvious example (Aragon, 2020). On the other hand, other feminist geographers argue that because social differences are so complicated, there is a need to begin considering difference in new ways of making gender a category that feminist geographers should qualify and even review (Madge, Raghuram, Skelton, Willis, and Williams, 1997). Post-colonialism has not only driven feminist geographers to reintroduce the suppressed or “subaltern” into their studies and to consider the variety of intersectional experiences, but it has encouraged geographers to expose the ways in which the discipline is rooted in acts of colonisation and subjugation. Bringing feminist geography together with intersectional thought is therefore important, as it not only highlights how normative standards of racial privilege are based on spatial representations, but also shows how multiple subjectivities and dimensions of power are made visible (Mollett and Faria, 2018).

As intersectionality spreads across disciplines and into transnational discussions, the importance of geography in transforming relationships between and within categories has grown (Wilson, 2013). This is not surprising because when examined analytically and engaging with black feminist thought, intersectionality was “already a deeply spatial theoretical hypothesis, process and philosophy” (Mollett and Faria, 2018:566). Places become more meaningful through social interaction becoming more than just geographical locations but spaces, and as our environment adapts across generations and over time, a person’s privileges and oppressions, opportunities and obstacles also changes (Grzanka, 2018; Samuels and Ross-Sheriff, 2008). For instance, gender shifts within South African society are an active

compromise, challenging discourses of class and race that not only validate but also reconstruct social identity to transform a gendered landscape (Moolman, 2013). Thus, through continuous social spatialisation, place and identity become intersections where one's geographical identity is shaped by local and regional integration processes beyond the intersection (Shields, 2003; Binaisa, 2013).

To date, several studies have explored the relationship between intersectionality and geography. Examples include how the theory has practical implications for addressing socio-spatial inequalities and how this affects urban development and planning such as the environment (Singleton, Rask, Magnusdottir, and Kronsell, 2022) or prioritising service delivery such as sanitation, water, or energy (Castán Broto and Neves Alves, 2018). Intersectional analysis has also been used in studies of rural-urban links; Lui (2016) has shown how structural inequalities influence rural-urban intermarriage preferences and opportunities in urban China, while Leap's (2017) study in Sumner, Missouri illustrated the different meanings applied to rural and urban spaces, and how these intersect with other identities to construct masculinities and the inequalities associated with them. All the studies reviewed above provide insights into studying rural and urban spaces with an intersectional approach to understand how positions of inequality can contribute to problems in urban planning and to recognise their impact on identity construction and social relations. This study aims to contribute to this literature by using intersectional analysis and praxis to examine the rural-urban interface in an African context to identify various femininities and masculinities and uncover the conditions under which inequalities and marginalisation take place.

According to Patil (2013:863), by reframing the idea of intersectionality as multiple patriarchies developing from various local or global layers existing in relation to one another, the framework will move beyond "the specialities and temporalities of colonial modernity". Bourdieu (1982), as cited in Busch and Coupland (2010) suggested that delineating borders shows the interplay between particular worldviews and social practices, highlighting that this is connected to the creation, deconstruction, and recreation of social groups. Anzaldúa (1987) seminal work *Borderlands/La Frontera* is important in this regard because it emerged from her lived experience as a Chicana and as a lesbian feminist woman finding herself living in a patriarchal society and in different and sometimes conflicting sets of values. Her work is notable for framing studies of gender, race, sexuality, and class by showing how power is spatially reliant, identifying a geographical, emotional, cultural, and political environment that cannot be described through binary reasoning (Collins, 2015; Grzanka, 2018). Anzaldúa's text

has inspired similar work in queer theoretical scholarship, such as Acosta's (2018) critique of the discipline for not considering race as an identity category when studying the borderlands; Aragon's (2020) examination of two films, Angelina Maccarone's *Fremde Haute (Unveiled)* (2005) and Sebastien Lifshitz *Wild Side* (2004), uses intersectionality to show that the intersection between social categories and the concept of space is a dynamic and contradictory third space that goes beyond simplistic notions of marginality or sexuality to depict new or imagined communities. An important theme in these studies is that identity categories are overlapping social boundaries. Furthermore, due to their location, border or borderland spaces form an additional layer that contributes to the construction of these intersecting identities. This is important for a study of gender identity in the Musina municipality, as the area's location, history, economy, politics, and cultural dynamics contributes to its borderland character.

Intersectionality as a concept plays out in various regional, cultural and historical contexts, so it is particularly suitable for transnational spaces as these are highly gendered, and language and migrant status have an effect on social exclusion (Piller and Takahashi, 2011; Ngeh and Pelican, 2018). The literature on transnational social spaces integrates the concept of intersectionality into the analysis of the structural inequalities related to migration, balancing structure and agency without promoting cultural essentialism, interrogating the intrinsic cultural practices and preconceived ideas of inclusion and exclusion. Osirim (2008) uses intersectionality to question the transnational connections of migrant women and their contribution to supporting their home and host communities, suggesting that their experiences have contributed to the establishment of a new Pan-Africanism. Ammann and Staudacher (2021) argue that social spaces are significant because they help activate or deactivate specific gendered identities, sometimes across transnational spaces. They use intersectionality not only to question multiple masculinities in Africa, but also to examine how these gender identities emerge in trans local and transnational contexts (ibid.). Pasura and Christou (2018) conducted a similar investigation of African migrant men and women in London and found that previous discourse around African masculinities being in crisis had changed to how they are renegotiated in transnational settings to assert respectable masculinity. The authors claim that social subjects conduct and reshape hybrid, even hegemonic, but more importantly agentic masculinities, using an intersectional analysis of the encounters, contradictions, and behaviours of migrant participants (ibid.).

In another empirical study, Pasura (2008) investigates the performative gender identities among Zimbabweans and found that transnational settings enable many women to forge new gender

identities while challenging the fundamental norms of traditional gender functions and relations. The author asserts the reconfiguration of gender identity in transnational contexts produces a contemporaneous insertion in two social worlds (ibid.). The abovementioned studies show that the Musina borderland as a transnational space can be helpful in outlining how black women experience gendered subjectivities when analysed through an intersectional lens.

In view of all that has been mentioned so far, intersectional theory is recognised as an essential analytical tool in the study of gender in relation to other social identities. The geographical context in which these social identities are found is an additional layer that is equally important to understanding the ways in which identity categories interact to form positions of privilege and oppression. An intersectional analysis of how gender intersects with other identity categories simultaneously across the rural-urban interface and transnational borderland has not yet been identified. This suggests that there is a need to understand how these different spatial dimensions, along with the intersecting identity categories, empower and disempower black women in Musina municipality.

3:7 CONCLUSION – A CASE FOR PERFORMATIVE INTERSECTIONALITY

Collins (2020) uses a spatial metaphor for intersectionality to conjure the notion of looking at multiple possible paths from the position within an intersection. The individual is also confronted with deciding which pathway to take making the metaphor open and subjective to various interpretations (ibid.). When considering the relationship between gender, identity markers and geography, there are spatial overlaps. This is evident in how the legacy of global encounters such as colonialism and the continuous processes of migration interact with the local experiences of individuals and engage with the different cultures to which they belong. Since gender identity is a central concept of the study, the literature reviewed in this chapter has shown how complex identity construction is and how difficult it is for feminist theorists to grapple with the ideas of oppression and subjugated. The question of difference is a contentious topic that often leads to different positions within feminist ideology and later African feminisms.

The intersectional approach offers, not without limitations, a theoretical framework that does not replace one category with another, but rather evaluates multiple points of difference at the point where they meet. Therefore, identity categories and geographical context are equally

important. The positionality that emerges for individuals from these encounters is important to investigate as it sheds light on how and when they perform their intersectional identities and whether this depends on geography. Gender performativity and the other intersecting identities that influence an individual's social positioning are important backdrops for research. The next chapter explores how intersectional identities create outsiders within spaces and how living in border spaces contributes to the resulting marginality and oppression by discussing liminality and borderlands as theoretical frameworks.

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

PART 2 – LIMINALITY AND BORDERLANDS

4:1 INTRODUCTION

As shown previously, intersectionality can be utilised to investigate various dimensions of identity and their potential implications for identity (Stahl, 2020). Furthermore, the intersectional approach reveals the micro-mechanisms embedded in identity construction as it is shaped by multiple categories that intersect and position individuals to then experience completely altered or partially transient identities (Lui and Chan, 2020). Acknowledging that people have multiple, overlapping identities allows for the study of identity formation to consider the various temporal dimensions of social life and degrees of social transformation (Stahl, 2020). Anzaldúa's (1987) seminal work on the Chicana people living in the US-Mexico borderlands is also important, as it explores liminality by suggesting that intersectional identities become obscure and blurred, and how borderlands are liminal environments that contribute to this uncertainty. For this reason, this chapter argues that the concepts of 'liminality' and 'borderlands' are interrelated and relevant to this study. The chapter begins by exploring the idea of liminality, demonstrating how it has developed from the conception first put forward by Van Gennep (1909) in *Rites of Passage*, then by Turner (1979), and later by Bhabha (2013). The discussion about liminality will focus on temporal experiences (such as waiting) and spatial aspects (such as liminal spaces).

By examining liminality and liminal spaces, the context of transnationalism, rural and urban spaces, the chapter provides a fundamental basis for considering borderlands as the term encompasses myriad concepts. These ideas include the social and physical boundaries crossed by intersecting identities, and geographic boundaries of rural, urban, and transnational. In this section, I explore the ideas of planetary or extended urbanisation to demonstrate how the rural-urban as a borderland is an additional influence on identity. Furthermore, it concludes by arguing that the ideas of 'intersectionality', 'liminality' and 'borderlands' provide comprehensive, detailed accounts of how to contextualise the gendered experiences of black women in an African borderland. The concepts also help to capture the complexity of identity construction, reproduction and the inner strife that arises from living in borderlands.

4:2 LIMINALITY

In his initial conceptualisation of liminality, Van Gennep (1909) institutionalised the idea of using rituals to signify transitions in one's social life (Teodorescu and Calin, 2015). He speaks of a state of 'in-betweenness' in cultural and religious rites that, in short, are special ceremonial acts accompanying an individual's transition from one social group to another, and linked with different stages of life (Sharma, 2013). Using a tripartite framework, Van Gennep states that individuals in all societies undergo three stages of transition: separation, liminality, and incorporation (Stephenson, 2020). First, in the 'rites of separation', initiates experienced a symbolic 'death' in which their identity is stripped and they are isolated from their communities (Skjoldager-Nielsen and Edelman, 2014). The second state is the liminal experience brought by and receptive to this separation, which sees personal identity disintegrating, only to be rebuilt and moved toward new forms of socially accepted beliefs, norms, roles, and responsibilities (Stephenson, 2020). In the final phase of incorporation, the individual is reintegrated into society in a higher social status (Rana and Pandya, 2021:23).

The idea of liminality was popularised beyond religious and cultural studies by Victor Turner, who referred to the three stages as 'preliminal', 'liminal' and 'postliminal' (Skjoldager-Nielsen and Edelman, 2014). Turner (1979) focuses on the liminal or transitional phase and builds on Van Gennep's initial argument – that there was an ambiguity surrounding the liminal stage because of its structural invisibility, which allows individuals to produce new identities and statuses (Dam and Eyles, 2012). Turner (1979) describes this ambiguity as a liminal state in which individuals are "betwixt and between" due to the transformation in time and status that comes with separation and the concomitant failure to reintegrate into society (Howarth and Ibrahim, 2012; Lui and Chan, 2020). Liminality, which Turner (2017) compares with temporary transitions such as eclipses, or the boundary between two extreme states, is centred on his idea of *communitas*, which he argues is a transitional period when societies are structured or simply unstructured. For Turner, *communitas* is an effort to introduce individuals into the social and cultural practices of a society in the sense of an impersonal, unstructured, and very compelling union between the individual and the community involved, which then fosters social bonding and experience (Sharma, 2013; Rana and Pandya, 2021). Furthermore, Turner's idea of *communitas* or the liminal field was the anti-structure, as it goes beyond the structures of authority. An individual often finds themselves part of a social structure that represents power, status, or authority from the top down (Bigger, 2009). For, Turner, liminality is where

the individual transcends this structure by simultaneously experiencing an alternative group structure, where the overlap produces the antistructure (Kalua, 2009; Beichelt and Valentin, 2020). However, Stephenson (2020) points out that Turner understood that liminal rituals only help maintain social structures, and clarifies that liminality occurs where context plays a huge role.

For Turner, liminality is not identified only by form, but relies on context, the society in which a person is rooted, or the structure or system in which a person lives (ibid.). This is significant for the study as it allows an investigation of liminal experiences of borderland inhabitants in Musina municipality outside of religious and cultural rites, but dependent on the different social contexts in which they find themselves. Stephenson (2020) also criticised liminality for deviating from its original theoretical framework and lacking purpose. He further suggests that as a paradigm it often has limited influence on practice or discipline, as these receive little attention despite their important historical role in creating and sustaining the social world (ibid.). Nevertheless, liminality has been used in a variety of studies on the biopolitics of loneliness (Christou and Bloor, 2021); on border studies (Elías, 2023); nature conversation (Spierenburg, 2011); migration (Perez Murcia, 2019), and in identity construction (Lui and Chan, 2020; Goode, Radovic-Fanta and Bose, 2022). An important contribution to liminal theory is Anzaldúa's (1987) research on Chicanas living in the US-Mexico borderlands and their experiences as part of multiple cultures with typically conflicting messages. Anzaldúa (2012:100) suggests that belonging to two cultural groups and the ensuing internal conflict arising from divided allegiances, the *mestiza*, means a perpetual state of spiritual *nepantilism* – an Aztec term referring to “torn in-between ways” – as the *mestiza* consciousness is an acceptance of the uncertainty and multiplicity that comes with belonging to multiple, distinct cultures. Söderlund and Borg (2018) suggest that although rituals and ritualisation are significant in the lived experience of liminality, the focus of most academic research on liminality is on the experience itself, with a strong emphasis on the “performative turn”. The various definitions and meanings of liminality reflect a particular attention to temporal, spatial, and positional liminality, illustrating the theory's versatility (ibid.).

4:2.1 Waiting and liminality

Andrews (2012:163) suggests that there is an instability and ambiguity that results from being in a state of liminality as “its key aspect ... is the element of potential”. A liminal phase or state of limbo can be experienced by individuals who are in the vague period that combines two

distinct social statuses or positions (Bendixsen and Eriksen, 2018). This varies from the struggles cultural initiates experience in shedding old identities and then reintegrating new ones, to liminal experiences that have no predefined end result, such as migrants awaiting citizenship or patients who need an organ donation (Lahad, 2012; Bendixsen and Eriksen, 2018). There is an “existential insecurity” that describes the waiting period, as waiting is also a basis of uncertainty due to its liminal nature (Lahad, 2012; Haas, 2017). And for Mueller-Hirth and Oyola (2018), the distribution of power is linked to the distribution of waiting time: making people wait is a social declaration that one’s time and social value are less significant, and considering that waiting is tied with prosperity and power, it is frequently assigned to poor and powerless individuals, exacerbating inequalities.

In South Africa, there are some studies that link the concept of liminality to the processes of waiting as transformative and transitory. For instance, Human and Robins (2011) have suggested that waiting for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, itself a liminal event, contributed towards increased feelings of risk and liminality that was initially due to the xenophobic attacks in May and June 2008. According to a study of migrants’ queues in at DHA centres by Sutton, Vigneswaran and Wels (2011), certain bureaucratic procedures are rituals related to the regulation of immigration, where liminality is significant in that it always involves waiting. Waiting is part of liminal nature, and in this study waiting was important for obtaining asylum, where hope turns shared waiting into armour for the weak (ibid.). Furthermore, waiting was also key to the deportation process, with the experience varied from waiting to start over to waiting for the relief of inevitable expulsion. Similarly, Kihato’s (2013) work on *Migrant Women of Johannesburg: Everyday Life in an In-Between City* shows how a gap exists between law and reality, as being awarded refugee status under the Refugees Act (1998) should take six months, but asylum seekers wait years to qualify. While waiting for this legal limbo to be resolved, services such as banking, healthcare, education and leasing property are inaccessible to asylum seekers (ibid.). This anxiety found in waiting is, as Lahad (2012) argues, found in the time-related facets of social identity. The author’s investigation into social-temporal aspects of singlehood among women shows the transitory liminal stage that women of a certain age experience because of their desire to become wives and mothers, and how this contributes to a symbolic wait (ibid.). Mueller-Hirth’s (2018) study of victims and survivors of human rights violations during the apartheid era in South Africa also concluded that waiting and liminality are central concepts in which waiting – as recognition, reparation, or for change – is recognised as an important aspect of immobility, where one’s life comes to a standstill and is fixed in a

state of hope and belief. At the same time, waiting is not always connected to inactivity, fatigue and frustration, but is also expressed in terms of change and redistribution, with multiple temporalities of waiting and challenges to the dynamics between waiting and the power for which they wait (ibid.).

Because it lasts for an unknown length of time, for liminal beings there is immediate lack of purpose because their “hope is not fixed to a definite future moment”, therefore, “life is on hold” (Bendixsen and Eriksen, 2018:103). However, as the above studies show, while waiting may be considered a barrier that leads to inactivity, ineffectiveness and a sense of vulnerability, waiting also allows one to take advantage of an opportunity when it presents itself (ibid.). Symbolic waiting is a social representation interlaced with the desire to move beyond the liminal territory of vulnerability and ambiguity and into a non-liminal state (Lahad, 2012). This thesis therefore explores the different forms of liminality that participants experience as women, migrants, or rural residents in Musina municipality. Liminality encapsulates, through waiting, some levels of passiveness and activity, as well as some levels of hope and aspiration (Bendixsen and Eriksen, 2018).

4:2.2 Temporal versus permanent liminality

A different sort of waiting experience occurs when the end of one’s liminal status stays uncertain and ambiguous, consistently providing and maintaining socio-temporal power relations (Lahad, 2012). This is significant because the fundamental ambiguity of a long-term or persistent liminal status is different from other liminal phases (ibid.). In Van Gennep’s (1909) theorisation of liminality, the idea of a permanent state is absent, since the theory refers to a transitional state; a fluid intermediate phase that is inherently transformative, temporary and is there for some time in the given reality (Stephenson, 2020; Rana and Pandya, 2021). Even for Turner, liminality is a temporary condition, as it is a state in which rituals often place the initiate into obscurity, invisibility and neutrality (ibid.). Sharma (2013) suggests that the liminal phase should never be permanent as it can cause the fragmentation of identities and culture, and rather be perceived as a place of new opportunities to exist. On the other hand, Stephenson (2020) questions whether liminality is a situation in which norms are suspended, and what then happens when ‘normal’ social life itself is suspended. For this reason, Szokolczai (2014) argues for the idea of permanent liminality, a state that may possibly occur because a temporary situation can be protracted, and eventually become permanent. This is true even if the liminal context is defined as a temporary, transitory transition between two stable states (ibid.). “The

important distinction [is] between time limited liminality, and a sense of permanent betweenness, so that transitional liminality generates a sense of being *not-X-anymore-and-not-Y-yet*, so that transitional liminality creates an enduring sense of being *neither-X-nor-Y* or of being indeed *both X-and-Y*” (Bamber, Allen-Collinson and McCormack, 2017:1516). Therefore, perpetual liminars are less inclined to create their identities freely, temporally, and relationally (Ybema, Beech and Ellis, 2011). Alternatively, they use “self-other identity talk”, continuously altering their identities with various other people who they see as partners in one context and as competitors in others (ibid.). The concept of permanent liminality is important in the study when analysing notions of belonging in the Musina borderlands, especially regarding the time spent in the area by residents. It allows for an interrogation on how differences arise in liminal contexts and complex social relationships among borderland inhabitants.

4:2.3 Liminal spaces

According to Craveiro (2007), liminality is frequently utilised in an unstructured way without fully acknowledging the diverse features of the liminal space and the vastly different levels of oppression. In his initial theorisation attempts to distinguish liminal from liminoid, Turner (1974) referred to the latter in terms of spaces and settings, which he called the permanent liminoid realm, where all sorts of carefree, new perceptive behaviour, and types of symbolic acts similar to those found in tribal rituals, are experienced. He uses bars as an example of a space that people choose to visit because of the sense of freedom they offer, yet they differ from the liminal condition that demands obligatory rites of passage and membership from the individual (ibid.). Liminality, therefore, has a spatial dimension associated with particular areas, places, zones, thresholds and even countries, and borderlands can be understood to be liminal spaces (Thomassen, 2012). This is demonstrated by Bhabha (2004, 2013) in his discussions on the importance of cultural differences in post-colonial national states and how they have produced a national society that is a liminal space. Drawing on Turner’s idea of liminality, Bhabha expresses it as a disembodiment and flexible type of mark that comes from and is an outcome of colonial discourse or the post-colonial condition (Kalua, 2009). According to Bhabha (2004, 2013) nations are internally shaped by different histories, minority discourses and disputes between peoples, turning them into liminal spaces that allow individuals to distinguish cultural judgements and have multiple interpretations of culture. By proposing a liminal view of the nation, Bhabha (2013:1) suggests that the nation, once a marker of

modernity in which cultural differences were integrated, is now more noticeably a transitional social reality emerging from the nation's cultural temporalities. Bhabha is able to examine the delicate nature of the post-colonial condition and offer a contradistinction to identity matters, by establishing his account of post-colonialism on the basis of liminality or the 'Third Space' (Kalua, 2009). The historical and cultural aspects of the Third Space, which enable the negotiation of incomparable differences that generate tensions specific to border realities, are a prerequisite for the expression of cultural differences (Bhabha, 2004).

Anzaldúa (2018:121) presents a further addition to the idea of liminal space, through *nepantla*, as not only a psychosocial condition of being "suspended in limbo", but also a physical representation. Since *nepantla* is both the physical and the spiritual realm between knowledge and the unconscious, it is as Anzaldúa suggests, the performative and metaphorical setting where transformation takes place (Decker and Winchok, 2017). *Nepantla* is thus a space or time of confusion, dread, enduring and loss of control. Anzaldúa uses it to extend her previous theorisations on the new *mestiza* and their ethnic-sexual-identities by putting forward the idea of *la nepantleras*, a term alluding to people who live between worlds and spaces (Anzaldúa, 2013, 2015; Decker and Winchok, 2017). However, Abraham (2014) contends that by using terms such as "liminal space", "torn between ways", and "in-between state", Anzaldúa infers that *nepantla* is characterised by temporality, and that these descriptors are therefore problematic because being in a liminal space suggests that one is moving from a space of not knowing into another permanent state of belief. In her use of *nepantla*, Anzaldúa draws on Nahúatl narratives and personal mythologies (Decker and Winchok, 2017). When the concept is understood in this way, *nepantla* infers that one is always "in a state of ideological transition", which contradicts descriptions of liminal experiences as temporary, making *nepantla* a "permanent state of liminality" (Abraham, 2014: 6).

Still, both Anzaldua and Bhabha make important contributions to the spatial components of theorising liminality that can be examined in various social settings. For example, Binaisa, (2013) has suggested that the idea of 'betwixt and between' can represent symbolic and physical liminality, in which many undocumented migrants or asylum seekers may feel at home or in their new host community. In relation to the current study, liminality can serve as an example of how bordering practices establish their own third or liminal space by becoming the outcome and tool for understanding transnational processes (Beichelt and Valentin, 2020). Musina municipality is a geographical environment where transnational migration processes take place, which can shape everyday life in the borderland. Migrants are thus able to explore

or generate new gender identities owing to the transitional and liminal spaces that migration offers, as demonstrated by Acedera and Yeoh's (2020) study of the marriages of the Filipino women living in Singapore who left their husbands in their home country. Furthermore, Angouri, Paraskevaïdi and Zannoni (2020) argue that the liminal space allows for the exploration of multifaceted relationships between migration and language, challenging discourses of discrimination and analysing binaries of now/then, self/other/, us/them, and here/there. This is exemplified by Lui and Chan's (2020) study of the identity construction of what they term 'rural but not rural' people living in liminal spaces, which are also located at the intersections of gender, class and space. This is significant for this study as there are both urban and rural settlements in Musina's municipality and movement to the area is due to both internal and international migration.

Consequently, social boundaries and physical boundaries, such as borders (rural/urban or transnational), are examined as "liminal spaces, representing transitions and suspended 'spaces between' past and future, home and wandering, for those who feel compelled, without 'authorisation', to cross over a geographic border for survival" (McGuire Sr and Georges, 2003:185). For Elías (2023), the concept of the liminal best captures border life, with experiences varying from a strong barricade and impenetrable domain to temporary transit zones, perceived as variously flexible and promising spaces, and ambiguous and dangerous. Regarding the US/Mexico border, she also points out that the border is sometimes the background to everyday life, serving as a "place of settlement or transit", which allows one to live on one side and traversing the border daily for entertainment, school or work (ibid.). This is significant to the current study given the municipality's migration history, recent migration patterns to the area, and that Beitbridge border post is South Africa's busiest land port of entry. Residents may therefore have different perspectives on life in Musina municipality as a liminal space that may shape their gender experiences and social relations.

Liminal spaces emerge from the temporality and transient nature of migrants' experiences, which are closely linked to individuals' experiences of being detached from social structures when they are in the "transition from one stage of life to another" (Noussia and Lyons, 2009:619). The built environment influences our emotions, attitudes, identities and lives, encouraging or limiting our self-worth and creating conflicting feelings about the spaces in which we live (Jewkes and Laws, 2021). For example, migrants caught between hope and the desire to return home may be forced to readjust their personal identity and learn to understand their position as outsiders *and* insiders (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). However, a study of the

Wenzhou rural migrant community in Beijing by Zhang (2001) showed that immigrants who moved to cities had a vague structural status in society because they were physically dissociated from their rural domains, but continued to be positioned as outsiders by city authorities, becoming liminal and expanding their presence as a third entity outside of both rural and urban communities (Gullette, 2014). In the current study, an analysis of the type of liminal space created by living in a rural-urban and transnational borderland is imperative to demonstrating how nuanced everyday life is in Musina's municipality.

According to Young (1980), the body is the source and subject of spatial relationships that are dominant or subordinate depending on the social context, and actively shapes this social space. Turner's liminality is a concept that is resourceful enough to confront the intricate relationship between space, place and emotions, while focusing on those who are socially and geographically marginalised (ibid.). Beech (2011) proposed that liminality is a process that begins with a "triggering event", such as a migrant's decision to move from their country of origin, and how this creates their new identity of becoming a liminar. Since this study focuses on the cross-border movements of people in rural, urban, and transnational areas, the idea of migration processes prompting liminality is particularly relevant. Furthermore, in a liminal space where resistance, acceptance, adaptation and other human decisions are continually at play, gender and other social identities are seen as performative (Davis and Klobassa, 2017). When this happens, the facade and the person behind it become visible simultaneously, so that hidden loyalties to socially influenced pressures are replaced by human choices, awareness, and agency (ibid.). This is important for the current study to interrogate the dominant discourses of gender identity in the Musina borderlands and to understand how these liminal processes influence which aspects of personal identity are performed, negotiated, and adapted.

4:3 BOUNDARIES, BORDERS, AND BORDERLANDS

Throughout this thesis, I have used 'borderland' to refer to various spatial (transnational borderlands, rural-urban interface) and social (social boundaries that exclude/include group membership) configurations. To understand how Musina local municipality encompasses these multiple conceptualisations of 'borderlands', this section interrogates the notion of borders in relation to geographical and social boundaries. It begins by examining the importance of borders in the study of identity construction and othering. Against this backdrop, borderlands can be understood as the antithesis to the border, that is, as the actual site where movement is controlled (Latham, 2014). Instead, borderlands are thought to not only include this aspect, but

also consist of multiple levels that shape individuality and selfhood through placemaking, subjective experiences, resistance and cultural hybridisation (ibid.). Understanding borderlands in this way lays the foundation for interrogating whether Musina's municipality can be viewed as both a transnational borderland and a rural-urban borderland. It is argued that transnationalism structures power in borderlands, which is reflected in identity construction and feelings of belonging (Konrad and Everitt, 2011; Perales, 2013). Finally, the discussion suggests that the rural-urban interface can be understood as a borderland, using the concept of planetary urbanisation to explain the complexity of the distinction between 'urban' and 'rural', and how they are deeply permeated.

4:3.1 From borders to borderlands

Border studies have evolved into an interdisciplinary area of study that reflects the complex changes in global society as borders are understood socially and politically and are linked to other economic, cultural, technological and psychological processes that shape time, space and daily life (Scott, 2020). Attention in border studies has mainly been on borders, boundaries, and borderlands, with a recent shift from perceiving borders as points that limit or control movement, toward examining the intricate processes that make, keep, and break them (Iossifova, 2020). It is therefore important to question the functionality of borders and their conceptual link with boundaries and borderlands.

Traditionally, borders in geography were categorised according to their morphology, natural characteristics, delimitation, origin, age, history, and function (Iossifova, 2020). Little (2015) suggests that the traditional focus on borders as fixed boundaries of Weberian nation-states has turned into an untenable territorialist epistemology that relies on their fixed nature and places a greater emphasis on spatiality. This is because initial work on borders focused on how natural geographical boundaries, such as rivers or mountains differ from human-made ones, and how borders encourage unity or conflict between neighbouring nations (Brunet-Jailly, 2010). This early work by historians and geographers helped resolve political concerns that made it essential for different states to acknowledge the limits and regional delineation of sovereign states globally with the Treaty of Westphalia (of 1648), signifying the start of the era of the national state and nationalism (ibid.). For this reason, Newman (2006) argues that national borders serve as delineations not only between states and geographical regions, but also between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', 'us' and 'them', and 'here' and 'there'. He also notes that borders represent institutions that allow legitimacy, meaning, and control, producing a 'system

of order' in which control is exercised within the particular social or spatial compartments they delimit (ibid.). Another perspective on the border is offered by Novak (2017), who compares Marxist and post-colonial views on the functionality of borders. For Marxist geographers, borders serve an accumulation purpose as they recreate the conditions for the development of capitalism, are a product of it, and play a role in managing and dividing the global workforce (ibid.).

Post-colonial theory, on the other hand, argues that borders are vague, affective, reified and performed, suggesting that the cartography that delineates borders is a fictitious construction in which the West obtains political and scientific importance (Novak, 2017). A key premise of post-colonial theory is that the era of colonial subjugation and the colonial circumstances that prevailed in previously colonised regions “co-determine each other in the form of a continuum which has consequences today in the former colonies” (Moyo, 2020a:56). Therefore, traditional thinking about borders has made them an important indicator of territorial consolidation, particularly in the colonial and post-colonial so-called Third World, thereby making the boundaries between citizens and foreigners clearer (Baud and Van Schendel, 1997). Nevertheless, Laine (2020) suggests that the Westphalian regime's fixed conception of borders is arguably inaccurate and frequently ill-equipped to comprehend the rationales of many modern global processes that go beyond borders. While post-colonialism is a legitimate and valuable approach to studying borders, Moyo (2020a) goes beyond this in border studies and takes a multifaceted approach that considers the various levels at which borders work socio-economically and culturally.

Consequently, with the “multiplicity in approach”, contemporary borders studies have been able to challenge disciplinary categorisations and offer multidisciplinary perspectives by examining the shifting life and work dynamics of border residents, and the ever-changing facets of the global political economy (Wilson and Donnan, 2012:13). It is no wonder that contemporary perspectives on borders highlight the scale of borders through analysis at different geographical levels, from neighbourhood, local government to interregional and state levels (Newman, 2006b; Brunet-Jailly, 2010). By disregarding “linearity and functionality, contemporary border studies recognise the fluid and changing nature of borders, their increasing sophistication, and complexities of border-making processes by different agents” (Scott, 2020:9). Furthermore, traditional classifications of borders, such as superimposition, delimitation, antecedent, and demarcation, which concentrate on borders as static political outcomes, are therefore considered descriptive in nature (Newman, 2016). However, when

borders are viewed as variables representing both contributions and outcomes, they have contemporary relevance when applied to the domains of political, cultural, and social behaviour (ibid.). This means that borders and what they mean are highly dependent on context, because bordering involves economic, socio-political and cultural processes that challenge and redefine the traditional functionality of what borders should be (Herzog and Sohn, 2019). Because borders are produced by many different people through their daily activities, from state officials who regulate movement to the individuals who reside near or cross borders, it is better to understand borders as dynamic, fluid, ongoing, dispersed and with never-ending bordering processes (Novak, 2017). Such an interpretation of borders provides an opportunity to explore the different perspectives of Musina municipality residents regarding the three international border crossings within the municipality and their impact on social relations.

Many people who live in the areas neighbouring borders are affected by interactions with those who live next to the very same boundary line (Okumu, 2011). The interdisciplinary focus on border studies enables an interrogation of the power dynamics that are closely related to the “processes of inclusion and exclusion” that have become quite important in characterising borderland societies and personalities (Kurki, 2014). The term ‘borderlands’ typically refers to the part of a country significantly impacted by an international border, or the edge of districts or states where border contact is a central part of political and financial life (Baud and Van Schendel, 1997; African Borderlands UNDP, 2021). Rather than being centred on international relations between state governments like border studies, the study of borderlands concentrates on the communities found around the territorial boundaries (African Borderlands UNDP, 2021). The extent of how open or closed a border is influences what border areas look like and whether they can facilitate or hinder interaction between people on both sides (Newman, 2006a).

Kurki (2014) argues that the cultural aspect of borders includes minority cultures, subcultures, resistance, counterculture, and subcultures within and outside territorial borderlands. These produce, sustain, and critique the hegemonic expressions, ideas and interpretations of borders and borderlands (ibid.). Borderlands can therefore offer an environment that either facilitates adaptation and incorporation, or one that further strengthens ideas of difference and social boundaries (Newman, 2006b). It is important to interrogate an enabling or disabling environment within the Musina borderland for ideas about negotiating belonging and understanding identity politics.

4:3.2 Transnationalism in borderlands

According to Konrad and Everitt (2011), border identities include national identities and affinities to border territories, which also convey the enhanced security and inclusivity of border areas. This shows that the way identities are constructed in borderlands is a significant point of enquiry. Furthermore, current debates about how border regimes affect immigration patterns suggest that borders are not just a spatial issue, but also involve particular temporal dynamics that must be taken into account (Madsen and Van Naerssen, 2003; Pian, 2021). Konrad and Everitt (2011:298), further claim that this inclusivity demonstrates a connection to the borderlands and thus allows the coexistence of national and borderland identities, while border security not only conforms to the concept of national identity but also allows for the “continued articulation of a transnational borderland identity”. The rise of the idea of transnationalism was an endeavour to investigate how immigrants are embedded in multiple societies at the same time (Resurreccion, 2005; Pasura, 2012). Consequently, identity and transnationalism are terms that inevitably need to be compared, because from one perspective, many transnational networks are founded on the notion that they share some form of identity, often found on where they come from and in the language and cultural characteristics connected with it (Vertovec, 2001). Although on the face of it, modern “transnational cultural processes” and the movement of individuals, goods, ideas, and money disrupts borders and boundaries, transnationalism goes hand in hand with “a growing identity politics that celebrates the state” (Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995:48). However, Esteban-Guitart and Vila (2015) point out that the process of transnational identity formation is a cultural event that is reinforced by the growing experience generated through partaking in educational exercises and circumstances.

In a discussion of transnational social fields and spaces, Faist (2000) argued that the phrase ‘transnational’ is widely used in reference to connections that continue to cross borders. He proposes showing how the different ideas, beliefs and cultural confluences of immigrants contribute to trans-nationalisation and thereby expand social space across borders (ibid.). Although Kivisto (2003) agrees with this definition of transnational migrant communities as border-crossing social spaces, he suggests that when considering these communities one should take into account the dialectical relationship between space and place. The idea of transnational social spaces shows the structure and long-established networks of international migrants crossing time and space (Horstmann, 2002). Furthermore, Konrad (2020) suggests that crossing

borders has enabled new paths and forms of attribution, making borders a place of belonging in changing transnational contexts. The seminal work on borderlands and the “new *mestiza* consciousness” by Anzaldúa (2012), has been important for reconsidering borderlands as both geographical and symbolic spaces and for opening discourses on identity and belonging (Brooks and Simpson, 2012; Perales, 2013). Because one belongs to two cultural groups and the ensuing internal conflict arising from divided allegiances, Anzaldúa (2012) suggests that borderland inhabitants experience a dual consciousness. She argued that they then try to overcome this by creating a *mestiza* consciousness, which is an acceptance of the uncertainty and multiplicity that comes with being part of two or more distinct cultures (ibid.). Furthermore, Konrad (2020:113) cites Anzaldúa’s (2012) theory of *nepantla*, to argue that a transnational space provides an opportunity for contrasting identity narratives in borderland spaces to create an ambiguity that both frees and restricts the individual.

4:3.3 African borderlands and transnationality

In Chapter 2, I described the long migration history of the Musina borderlands and the three international border crossings within its jurisdiction. The debates about the de-colonisation of borders in Africa continue to take place within critical border studies. Proponents of decolonisation argue that removing borders would be the solution to problems of integration, identity and development, while anti-revisionists argue their retention is likely to be more beneficial for both African people and states, contrary to the belief that these boundaries lead to destructive outcomes (Ikome, 2012). These debates are important when considering the current discourse on migration and state policies on reinforcing border security in South Africa. Of the 109 international boundaries on the African continent, only 25% of them are properly defined, which is why these boundaries are characterised by poor border management and high levels of permeability (Okumu, 2011). South African borders are not excluded from this phenomenon, as they are vulnerable to various criminal activities, including the illegal importation and exportation of goods, drug smuggling, the movement of undocumented migrants, trafficking of school children, as well as car theft networks across its borders (Mamokhere and Chauke, 2020).

Previous research in Musina municipality, concerning migrants working on commercial farms in the area (Bolt, 2012, 2015); labour migration and cross-border mobility (Rukema and Pophiwa, 2020), and on citizenship and territoriality at the border and the decolonisation of borders (Moyo, 2016, 2020c), have referred to the region as either a borderland and/or its

transnational networks. Likewise, Jinnah's (2012, 2017) research on the working conditions of agricultural workers on commercial farms in the region refers to these farms as being in "border-lying areas", and she further suggests that there are certain sociological and legal circumstances between migrant labourers and farmers who are situated at the convergence of their social relations. The studies have also shown the invisibility of undocumented migrants, the high levels of cross-border mobility, and how transnational networks are facilitated by the movement of people, goods and remittances in the region (Bolt, 2012, 2015; Jinnah, 2012, 2017; Rukema and Popphiwa, 2020). Given this background, considering Musina's municipality as a transnational borderland the present study enables the examination of borderland identities that arise from life and migration within the region. Experiences are mediated by multiple intersecting identities such as gender, nationality, ethnicity, and class, which may shape ideas of belonging.

For instance, in the previous chapter, I argued that culture plays an important role in producing the rules and norms that shape gender identity. These "permeate their transnational social fields" and facilitate whether individuals can migrate and develop social relationships (Vertovec, 2001: 579). In examining how gender relations function in transnational environments, Mahler and Pessar (2001) suggest that these contexts may intensify hostilities between men and women, or allow some individuals the room to realign their position and kinship relations. This has been shown by Pasura and Christou (2018), who claim that transnational settings shape and rearrange African masculinities, which is beneficial for women, as men are far removed from accessing traditional systems of patriarchal control. The authors suggest that multiple forms of masculinity are produced by how men adjust and respond to disruptions in cultural standards caused by migration and that, under certain circumstances, a reconfiguration of an alternate dominant masculinity occurs (*ibid.*). Therefore, gender not only impacts decisions to migrate, as women's private and public spheres are also greatly affected by their migration experiences in different aspects such as marriage, religion, work, independence and self-confidence (Pedraza, 1991). By making gender key and taking on a more gendered strategy for migration processes, it not only connects the sending and receiving countries but also helps to explain why in all levels of the migration processes, gender experiences differ (Awumbila, 2015). For instance, changes in the work environments in the Global South, together with increased need for labour in jobs such as personal care and domestic work in developed countries, have increased the number of women migrating for work (Oso and Ribas-Mateos, 2013).

Likewise, women who participate in internal migration and move from rural areas to urban spaces for work are usually limited to low-skilled work or finding work in the informal sector (Awumbila, 2015). Therefore, it is important to note the close relationship between the body and geopolitics, as territory is created to some extent, through bodies (Smith, Swanson and Gökarıksel, 2016). Furthermore, bodies are susceptible to state bordering practices while simultaneously contesting and undermining the way these territories are being governed (ibid.). Pessar and Mahler (2003) question how existing gender beliefs and values are reinforced when gender is understood as seen and experienced across several social and spatial dimensions, particularly in transnational spaces. This is because the relationship between body, territory and borders can draw attention to their many connections and facilitate a deeper critique of these concepts (Smith, Swanson and Gökarıksel, 2016). Overall, through the construction and reconfiguration of their feminine identities, black women in transnational borderland spaces are a focus of interest in the current study.

Transnationalism in the borderlands was also the centre of Moyo's (2016) research on the formal recognition of border citizens at the Beitbridge border. In this study, he argued that the practice of adopting double identities by Tshivenda-speaking people from South African and Zimbabwean borderland areas on both sides of Limpopo demonstrated that dual identities exist outside of Venda, with the historical and linguistic affinities making it possible for people who are not even border citizens to illegally claim these identities (ibid.). These findings are important because the purpose of this study is to move beyond the specifics of border citizenship and develop a *de facto* notion that all border residents have a transnational identity. It is likely that more residents have some form of borderland identity whether they are transnational migrants or not. In the current study, the concept of double borderland identities will examine not only the transnational identity that arises from living in a transnational space, but also the rural-urban identities that Musina borderland residents possess because they live in a municipality that has both an urban and rural character. To achieve this, Bury's (1982) concept of biographical disruption can be used to examine how life events alter us and our life paths by considering how this can shape geographical imagination (Ridgway, 2021). Bury (1982) used Giddens' (1979) concept of 'critical situation' in the study of chronic illnesses to suggest that key social events in a person's life can cause a major reconfiguration of their biography and self-image, disrupting accepted presuppositions and behaviour. According to Esteban-Guitart and Vila (2015), migration can be classified as a biographical disruption

because it represents landmarks or watershed moments in one's life, when choices that have an overall impact on our lives must be made.

Before proceeding to the next section on the rural-urban interface as a borderland, a discussion of borders as social boundaries is warranted. There is a clear conceptual link between borders and boundaries, as the discussion of borderlands and transnationalism shows. The terms 'border', 'frontier' and 'boundaries' are often used interchangeably, showing that each term can be used to identify and define individuals and the spaces they occupy, while simultaneously confirming both (Novak, 2017). For this reason, it is necessary to clarify boundaries and their influence on social relations. According to Lamont and Molnár (2002), boundaries can be either symbolic or social, and both are similar in that they separate people into groups. Symbolic boundaries refer to the core differences that can be conveyed by a society's norms and values, such as cultural practices and beliefs or taboos, including space and time (Lamont, Pendergrass and Pachucki, 2001). As an important middle ground through which individuals attain social status and control resources, social boundaries are used to impose, control, regulate, or justify social difference and inequalities, such as race and gender (Lamont and Molnár, 2002).

Our relationships with other people reinforce social boundaries through the lens we see those we deem different from us, and the ways in which those other people perceive themselves in relation to us (Sbicca, 2015). Social boundaries differ in the way they are produced depending on the social context and are therefore diverse in their degree of permeability as these boundaries are shaped by a society's history, culture, and laws (Alba, 2005). Tilly's (2004) work on how social boundaries change is significant, as he argues that these changes occur either through processes of assimilation (through code switching, passing or conversion) or in social contexts where a boundary may be more important than another and through exclusionary practices such as ethnic cleansing. Because symbolic and social boundaries transform, shift, and blur through their interactions, multidimensional social identities are produced through various forms, from interracial and interethnic marriages to globalisation and other transnational processes (Alba, 2005; Pachucki, Pendergrass and Lamont, 2007). The Musina borderland is a multicultural space where assimilation takes place and identities shift. Social and symbolic boundaries are relevant to this study to examine performative identities, liminality, and inclusive and exclusive social practices.

4.4 The rural-urban interface as a borderland

Let us now consider the rural-urban interface and how it functions as a borderland. According to Bonnell (2014:xxvi), the phrase borderland denotes “not only an area ‘near the edge’, but also a place where things overlap, an indeterminate area between two conditions or categories that are difficult to define because it contains the features of both.” To further illustrate this concept, this section begins with a discussion of planetary or extended urbanisation to show how contemporary urban literature is complexifying the distinctions between ‘urban’ and ‘rural’, showing how they are deeply imbued. Finally, the discussion will centre on the rural-urban interface in Africa and South Africa and how conceptualisations of ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ are significant in shaping people’s geographical imaginations.

4:4.1 Understanding planetary urbanisation

Theoretically, there are several perspectives on how the urban interflows into the rural. The concept of planetary urbanisation proposed by Brenner (2018:575) attempts to reformulate intrinsic geographical dualisms such as, the urban or rural by shifting away from thinking of the “city as a bounded spatial unit” and analysing the spatial developments occurring internally within its urban neighbourhoods and built environments or outward to the metropolis and region. Planetary urbanisation is an urbanisation theory, whose foundation was laid in the writings of Henri Lefebvre in *The Urban Revolution* (1970). It was Lefebvre’s proposition, derived from his observations at the time, that society would be fully urbanised in the future, as the urbanisation process would no longer be driven solely by industrialisation (Gillen, Bunnell and Rigg, 2022; Ruddick, Peake, Tanyildiz and Patrick, 2018). Lefebvre theorised that this process transformed the way the reproduction of capitalist urbanisation historically depended on capitalist industrialisation, which also determined the relations between the pre-capitalist rural and the capitalist urban (Ruddick et al., 2018). Since capitalist industrialisation is not the only determinate of urban continuity, Lefebvre suggested that it is the urban that produces the rural, the former being the driving force of capitalism to rearrange socio-spatial relations (ibid.). Lefebvre has predicted this contradictory process with the term implosion-explosion, and anticipated it, along with the simultaneous expansion of infrastructural development in previously isolated areas, to be a predominant feature of this emerging urban society (Arboleda 2015).

On this basis, neo-Lefebvrian urban scholars have argued planetary urbanisation as a useful theory for contemporary forms of urbanisation. Using Lefebvre’s conceptual framework, Brenner and Schmid (2015), and later Brenner (2018), and also Schmid (2018), have argued

that urbanisation is now taking place on a planetary scale. These new patterns of planetary urbanisation are eroding, even disrupting, deeply held ideological and spatial dualisms, not just “between city and countryside, urban and rural, metropole and colony, society and nature, humans and nonhumans, but also the urban, regional, national, and global scales themselves” (Brenner, 2016:197). While Brenner and Schmid (2015) addressed the criticism that their argument lacked a basic understanding of urban history, they recognised how social relations and the global spatial division of labour have long been influenced by capitalism. Through their investigations of the many socio-spatial patterns that influence new forms of urbanisation, Brenner and Schmid address the ongoing role of capitalist urbanisation in transforming spatial processes (Ruddick et al., 2018).

Schmid (2018:601) proposes a “theory of urbanization [that is] a multidimensional process that detects its dynamics with reference to spatial practices, territorial regulation and everyday life.” For example, Arboleda’s (2015) study of the urban structure of the Huasco Valley explores how planetary urbanism creates a complicated connection between everyday financial and economic practices, while changing the built environment and landscape. Furthermore, Connolly (2019) argues that planetary urbanisation theory is necessary to understand the diverse everyday experiences of urban and non-urban individuals. The study of everyday urbanism emphasises the importation of urban practices into historically rural areas and how enduring rural practices appear in urbanised areas (ibid.). Notwithstanding, the planetary urbanism framework has received some criticism. One of the most contentious declarations by Brenner and Schmid (2014:21) on planetary urbanisation involves the proposal that the urban/rural dichotomy, which formed the foundation of the epistemology of urban concepts, has been greatly undermined and that there is “no longer an outside to the urban world”, a rationalisation that provoked criticisms from feminist and post-colonial urbanists as well as post-suburbanisation scholars (Gündoğan, 2021:47). According to Reddy (2018), this formulation reduces the rural or non-urban to a mostly passive surface affected by urbanization as the primary driver of socio-spatial change. Ultimately, it seems from Brenner and Schmid (2015b) claims that the “new epistemology of the urban” absorbs the rural, which is the binary’s inferior term, into the urban, which is its dominant term, rather than overturning the urban/rural paradigm (ibid.). Furthermore, feminist urban researchers’ criticism of planetary urbanization emerges from their argument that in the urban/rural dichotomy, profoundly “disabling gendered binaries” such as feminine/masculine, private/public, and production/reproduction are mapped (ibid.).

In the practice of difference and the likelihood of contention, numerous researchers see opportunities to challenge the theory of planetary urbanisation (Formanowicz, 2021). Ruddick et al. (2018:13) claim that planetary urbanisation recognises differences as a fundamental part of capitalism or acknowledge differences, “struggle over social ontology and the everyday as the seedbed of struggle”. However, according to Angelo and Goh (2021:742), the suggestion that the outside of the urban no longer exists due to planetary urbanisation is not a claim that there is no difference or that everything in the world can or should be explained within this framework: instead it is a claim that the pervasive political and economic impacts of urbanisation imbue most or all of the spaces we perceive, including spaces not commonly thought to be “embedded in structural conditions”. Extended urbanisation has been proposed as an alternative to planetary urbanisation, because it adopts a dialectical approach that does not abandon the ideas of centre and periphery and offers a “dynamic, processual, relational approach to the urban’s concrete totality” (Gündoğan, 2021:50). From the perspective of Monte-Mor (2014:1), who popularised extended urbanisation in his work on the Amazon frontier in Brazil, this concept is a way of “understanding the social organization of space in contemporary capitalism”.

From this point of view, the urban is an amalgamation of “the material and socio-spatial manifestation of contemporary urban-industrial society that extended virtually throughout the social space”, a third component in the urban/rural dialectic opposition, and the urban/rural dichotomy (Monte-Mór, 2005:945). According to Castriota and Tonucci (2018), extended urbanisation is the important explanation that integrates the principal characteristics of planetary urbanisation in a single effort; the realisation that society is moving towards a pervading total urbanisation, which necessitates the vital development of an ex-centric view in the field of urban studies. It redefines formerly rural spaces and integrates them into emerging systems of production and consumption in the diverse core areas of metropolitan agglomerations (Costa and Monte-Mór, 2015). Socio-spatial classifications are challenged in both peri-urban and border areas due to the blurring of urban and rural structures resulting from the combination of these different socio temporalities within extended urbanisation (ibid.). Therefore, contemporary urban theory must, subsequently, “aim for totality” while simultaneously concentrating on difference, on the variety of new opportunities inherent in “such an extended process or urbanization” (Monte-Mor and Castriota, 2018:343). The theoretical underpinnings of extended urbanisation are useful for the current study, as they enable an interrogation of the daily spatial practices and encounters of Musina municipality as

there are both urban and rural settlements in the area. By examining the uneven spatial geography of Musina's municipality, the current study attempts to examine everyday life at the rural-urban interface by viewing it as a borderland. This is because rural-urban borderlands do not exclude difference, but rather provide conditional and nuanced narratives of racialised gender subjectivity that shift with movement across time and space (Villalobos, 2023)

The crucial role that the rural has always played in shaping African's imagination and experience of urbanization – both historically and currently – needs to be taken into account in light of this discussion on planetary urbanization. Betterment planning, which is discussed, coerced people to relocate from their homes and settle villages, and people not living in the areas designated for villages to move (McAllister 1991). According to De Wet (1989) the growth of industrial areas in and around the bantustans, together with a complete reorganization of the rural areas was a necessary condition for the Betterment Planning program to have worked. This is evident in how some of the effects of the program were how old territorial divisions and subdivisions were usually rendered obsolete, and in rural areas, tribal authorities were teaming up with the state to have more authority over land distribution (McAllister, 1991). Consequently, there was a loss of individual identity, although political and social groups with the programs maintain their symbolic identities for many years (ibid). Furthermore Bank's (2002) study on how South African rural development has changed in the 1990s shows the programs adverse effects on rural households, including a negative impact on agriculture and an increased reliance on remittances from migrant workers which angered village residents and, on occasions, led to their rebellion against it. Although the apartheid government portrayed Betterment Planning as a development plan, yet, the linguistic division of the population into homogenous groups to promote the creation of bantustans was its true political purpose (Ramutsindela, 2007). The absence of the program in the restitution process meant that territory from the former bantustans was preserved, which represents one of the spatial legacies of this program (ibid). Furthermore, rural households became more reliant on state assistance as many migrant workers had stopped sending money or going home as often as before, choosing to establish themselves more permanently in the urban areas where new homes were being constructed for the working class (Bank, 2002). Given this context, this study attempts to examine how residents of view and experience urban areas in comparison to traditionally governed areas within the municipality and contemporary understandings of their spatial identities.

4:4.2 The rural-urban interface in Africa and South Africa

The process of defining urban and rural differs widely across the African continent as some countries use numerical definitions and population as indicators of which areas are eligible to be urban (Pillay, 2008). In sub-Saharan Africa, fast and spatially contradictory urbanisation under neoliberal contexts usually produces dynamic but extensive and continual transition zones that bridge rural and urban settings (Simon, 2008). Therefore, given rapid urbanisation, urban transformation and the various effects of globalisation, the straightforward traditional binary between rural and urban has been lacking for some time (Simon, McGregor and Nsiah-Gyabaah, 2004). For example, cities such as Lagos, Kinshasa, and Cairo have also experienced rapid growth, but have not seen significant industrialisation and therefore differ greatly in urban structure and in the way they accommodate new migrants and growing urban populations (Simon, 2008). Furthermore, peri-urban land is held under communal tenure or national ownership as is common in Africa where elders, chiefs, village councils, and other local officials typically oversee attempts to acquire land from outsiders (ibid.).

Urban and rural have also been particularly difficult to define in South Africa, as some scholars have queried whether areas were the product of “processes of resettlement from African freehold land, displacement from commercial farms in areas defined for white occupation, and ‘betterment planning’ in homeland areas” during apartheid, should even be considered as rural (Todes et al., 2010:333). Furthermore, most of these communities are more reliant on non-agricultural sources of income such as remittances, pensions and commuting income (ibid.). In addition, Nhlapo, Kasumba, and Ruhiiga (2011:47) suggest that “in the former homelands, the system of orderly urban growth through incorporation of high density peri-urban districts in the urban fringe is undermined by the legislative environment, which has entrenched communal ownership options that contradict formal interventions aimed at containing urban sprawl.” South Africa’s urbanisation is therefore inseparable from the country’s colonial history, the apartheid period up to 1994, and its post-apartheid developments thereafter (ibid.).

Varying income sources such as government grants, the lack of employment in the bigger cities and the accessibility of subsidised housing and social services in small towns have partially motivated the increase in internal migration, particularly from rural to rural areas in the post-apartheid era (Pillay, 2008). The same factors have also been attributed to be the reasons why some people choose to remain in areas deemed rural (Todes et al., 2010). Understanding how

urban and rural spaces in South Africa have been framed from a geohistorical context provides a basis for how local town planners and those living in these specific areas perceive them.

Masuda and Garvin (2008) contend that the rural-urban interface, previously understood as a specific space situated between the urban and the rural or, boundary between city and countryside, is now considered as a process where identity and place, site, and identification, are being disputed and reorganised. As the rural landscape transforms, both permanent and temporary inhabitants of these areas confront the diverse views on what life should be like in rural geographical environments (Soini, Vaarala and Pouta, 2012). The classifications of rural and urban produced through social construction and were used to give people meaning and identities informed by context, sociocultural norms and moral values (Woods, 2015). This is important in the current study because the spatial and administrative changes in the Musina borderland may result in different views on urban and rural experiences from the people living there. Furthermore, performances of rurality show how the material practices and actions of rural actors add to the creation and reproduction of rurality discourses (Woods, 2010).

While discussions have focused on how urban spaces are diverse from rural spaces, comparisons of rural spaces show that these environments are not identical in nature (Lawrence, 1997). For example, the creation of new hybrid socio-spatial patterns that blur the rural from the urban is a result of rural-urban interactions, ranging from city dwellers moving to the countryside to a large component of urbanity now being practiced in rural areas (Woods, 2009). Throughout the 20th century, the meaning and use of the term 'urban' changed, and it was the subject of ongoing academic discussion in literature (Moisio and Jonas, 2018). One of the most important elements in defining urbanisation in the social sciences is the social psychological consideration or acknowledgement of urbanisation, which basically points to those standards, beliefs, tastes and norms that are perceived to be distinctive of urban and contrary to rural inhabitants (Jaquinta and Drescher, 2000). However, urban functions such as sanitation and recreational services, have rendered disparities between some rural and urban spaces less visible following the same technological and socio-economic pathways (Dewaelheyns and Gulinck, 2008). Rural residents, whether living there part-time, as tourists or as prospective newcomers, have diverse outlooks on what the rural landscape should appear and its functions, particularly when confronted by any changes taking place there (Soini, Vaarala and Pouta, 2012). The Musina borderland has different types of residents, some of whom have migrated to the area and have different geographical backgrounds. Analysing

participants' perceptions of rural and urban landscapes is helpful in understanding their position in relation to any spatial changes occurring in the area.

4:5 CONCLUSION – A CASE FOR INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITIES AND LIMINAL EXPERIENCES IN BORDERLANDS

An overview of three theoretical frameworks, namely intersectional analysis, liminality, and borderlands, was presented to propose that these concepts are interrelated and critical to examining gendered experiences of black women in the Musina borderlands. Munshi (2023) argues that indigenous, ethnological, and post-colonial scholars have explored how difference itself is understood in migration through how it is controlled together with the relationships, experiences, affinities, and inclusionary practices it produces through transits and across borderlands. In addition, she proposes that intersectionality, in contrast may presuppose the relationship between minorities and the state within the bordered nation (ibid.). The extensive literature reviewed therefore explores the socio-political, economic, and cultural implications of borderlands both as transnational spaces and as rural-urban interfaces and how this shapes African womanhood.

The previous chapter discussed the relationship between gender, other categories of identity, and geography. Liminal theory builds on intersectionality and the multiple perspectives it offers on identity construction, enabling critical analysis of how social boundaries shape and define identity and how individuals negotiate and coalesce, transform, or reaffirm their identities. The state of in-betweenness proposed by liminal theory adds a different dynamic to gender performance and the way other intersecting identities influence an individual's social position. Liminality allows for an examination of the social context and factors that create liminal experiences. As in-between spaces, liminal spaces enable us to question of how both the liminal individual and the social context contribute to this state of in-betweenness by confronting the power structures that define identity and territory.

Research on borders shows how scholars have moved beyond outdated notions that focused solely on politics, international relations, and territorial delineations by emphasising everyday life in border areas. This puts the spotlight on borderlands as overlapping, in-between multidimensional spaces, with their own history, social processes, and multicultural contexts that require their own research. Work in this arena generally deals with borderlands as

transboundary spaces for international migration. However, considering intersectionality and liminal theory, borderlands can also be analysed as urban-rural interfaces, margins, and fringes. Theories of contemporary urban processes, such as planetary urbanisation and particularly extended urbanisation, enable for a reassessment not only of the urban-rural dichotomy as urban concepts, but also of how areas categorised as rural become more urban, and what this means for gender, place, and identity.

Taken together, these studies clearly demonstrate the relationship between intersectionality, liminality, and borderlands. From a methodological point of view, the literature examined appears to provide insights for the study of identity and difference, particularly in borderland spaces. Gloria Anzaldúa's famous work on intersectionality and liminality in the borderlands is important not only for inspiration but also for illustrating how these theories conceptually work together in these contexts. The current study considers that Musina municipality is an African borderland, a product of colonialism with a long history of migration. Today, the Musina borderland has both urban and rural spaces previously defined under apartheid spatial planning. Rural spaces as homelands shaped differences and identities and had their own regulations on movement and gender relations.

There are still relatively unknown aspects of borderland experiences. For instance, a key theme that emerges from the studies discussed is the important role that the rural-urban borderland can play in shaping intersectional transnational identities, liminal experiences, and daily life in the Musina borderland. The rural-urban borderland is especially important for defining and redefining spatial experiences by confronting spatial use or how gender is performed in particular geographical spaces.

CHAPTER 5: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH – A LABOUR OF AFFECT AND THE ART OF LOCKING UP EMOTIONS

5:1 INTRODUCTION

The experiences and feelings I have about the short periods of time I have spent in the Musina borderlands, have influenced my choice in research design. How best can I capture all the nuances of being a black woman, a migrant, living within a rural urban interface without reducing these meanings and experiences to a tick on the box of a survey? It would be obvious that my choice would be qualitative research design. However, I did not fully anticipate what my encounters would be as a qualitative researcher. That for the researcher, qualitative design methods are an ongoing, emotive process not only during fieldwork, but also when transcribing, coding, and immersing oneself in data analysis.

I recognise my positionality of being a doctoral student who identifies as female and a chiShona speaker from an urban middle-class background in Zimbabwe. My own personal experiences as a migrant who has lived in large metropolises, such as Harare, Johannesburg, and Cape Town, shapes my perspectives on gender social relations. My personal identity clearly traverses multiple social identities, which influences my personal views and biases as I investigate borders, borderlands, and how they create and shape the fluid and hybrid identities that inhabit those spaces. In the following pages, I will present the structure and functions of qualitative research, with particular emphasis on the use of case studies in urban studies research. By describing the procedures and methods used in this study, I will illustrate why the use of qualitative analysis to gain insights in interrogating the experiences of black women residing in the Musina borderlands was a labour of affect.

5:2 Overall methodological approach

Qualitative research differs from quantitative research in its epistemological basis, and the way quantitative research utilises measurements that involve a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research (Bryman, 2016). This includes, among other things, scientific models and positivist practices that portray social reality as an external, objective reality (ibid.). Deductive reasoning is the empirical notion that researchers operate within a set of rules and, if the notions and hypotheses regarding the social world are true, are validated by

the data generated (May, 2011). This approach involves gathering evidence to either support or refute explanations for phenomena and formulating research hypotheses based on theories (Wagner, Garner and Kawulich, 2012). It is problematic to think one can theorise about the social world without preconceptions, as the research is about a social world in which people already interpret and participate (May, 2011). This is because, there is a self-awareness about human beings that allows for them to consciously acknowledge their characters and feelings and gives their actions meaning and purpose (Giddens, 2006). This is what makes the study of events through scientific methods different from studying humans (ibid.).

Quantitative research focuses on accurately measuring variables and testing hypotheses, whereas qualitative research uses the language of cases, context, and cultural significance, which is a more interpretive approach (Neuman, 2014). The epistemological foundation of qualitative study is interpretivism. Interpretivism requires researchers to comprehend the subjective significance of social action, based on the view that the differences between the objects of science and people should be considered (Bryman, 2016). It is for this reason I chose a qualitative research design for this study. My inclination and preferences are towards qualitative methods because the aim of my research is to understand in detail the experiences of black women living in the urban, rural, and transnational interface of Musina municipality.

By using a variety of methodologies, thorough processes and well-established systems, qualitative research design works to uncover “the nuance and complexity of the social situation under study” (Janesick, 2000:391). Typically, qualitative research is a method of collecting and analysing data using many mediums, such as words, visual images, or actions rather than using numbers (Neuman, 2014). With this research, I chose to not only conduct the case study, but I also made use of several methods for data collection, which included interviews, participant observations, reflexive photography, discourse analysis, and keeping a research journal. In qualitative research, theory can be causal or noncausal and it is usually inductive because it is grounded in the data, because the hypothesis and theory frequently emerge from the observation-based processes of data collection and analysis (Neuman, 2014; Roberts, Sitas and Greenstein, 2003). Researchers make use of inductive theory to suggest the repercussions of their findings for the theory that inspired the entire study (Bryman, 2016). In this study, I am combining an inductive approach with rich concepts such as “intersectionality”, “liminality”, and “borderland”, by engaging with the details of context and building theory from ground up. Thus, deduction is part of my research process because my qualitative study methods were

influenced by the theoretical framework that came before data collection. Induction in this study will build and contribute to existing theory, towards the wider scholarship on rural-urban interfaces and borderlands.

Furthermore, the ontological orientation in qualitative research is constructivism. It follows therefore that the classifications used by people “to help them understand the natural and social world” are social constructs (Bryman, 2016:34). Constructivism encourages researchers to reflect on how social reality is a continuous product of social actors, and not external or wholly constraining of them, but something in a state of constant modification (ibid.). However, the data collected is not the only socially constructed aspect of qualitative research. Qualitative researchers have been generally mindful of different social constructs, such as gender identity, and how the investigator draws upon “conflicting and contradictory aspects of identity as resources of interaction” (Warren, 2002:94). My Zimbabwean background has influenced my choice of topic and study site, and I recognise the advantages this afforded me, as there were times when I was viewed as an insider, and this made it easier for me to conduct my fieldwork.

My positionality and experiences have shaped my assimilation into a new society. I recognise that the further I have been geographically and socially from my country of origin and certain aspects of its gender practices, the deeper I have confronted previous views on gender and sexual identity. Not only did my positionality produce a gaze from which perceptions impacted my access to participants, it shaped my field interactions. Angrosino and Mays de Perez (2000) have suggested that the rules dictating gender performance in the cultures under investigation, frequently compel women researchers to conform, even if this is diametric to their personal choices. Furthermore, Caretta and Jokinen (2017) have discussed the unique position in which female researchers find themselves because of their gender identity. This is because, depending on the context, there are conflicting views that women are generally powerless and immature members of society, juxtapositioned with the female researcher’s privilege of attaining higher education (ibid.). This will be illustrated in detail in this chapter. It is therefore important for the researcher to recognise, construct, evaluate and clarify their positionality, as introspection and a reflexive approach are both necessary and a part of a continuous process (Holmes, 2020). As I show later, I have embraced my emotive self in the research process. However, by recognising and surfacing my feelings, I have gained some distance from the subjects, which was necessary for the research to be conducted.

5:3 The road to fieldwork

Prior to embarking on the fieldwork, I applied for and received ethical approval from the University of the Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical). This is because participation in qualitative research should be voluntary, and because participants should be made aware of the risks associated with being part of the project. To begin with, taking part in social research interrupts the individual's routines, and participants may have fears that divulging personal information may humiliate them or put them in danger in their interpersonal relationships (Babbie, 2001). The information revealed in qualitative research may uncover behaviour considered aberrant, views not commonly shared or liked, unfavourable individual traits or, make respondents confront parts of themselves they don't normally do, which may have negative psychological effects (ibid.). During a fieldwork interview, the respondent tearfully recalled their experience of being human trafficked into South Africa as a child. Having not anticipated any participants to reveal traumatic events or express emotional distress, I immediately asked the participant whether we needed to stop the interview as I did not want to cause further psychological harm. The participant insisted they were happy to continue. Conducting this interview, transcribing, and analysing it, is one of the few examples of how the qualitative research process has been such an emotive process for me.

Furthermore, communication is always a delicate process, requiring endless assessment of how everyone imagines the other's role (Angrosino and Mays de Perez, 2000). Therefore, it is important that researchers audiotape their interviews to avoid misquoting participants (Johnson, 2011). However, before starting the interview, the researcher must obtain informed consent from the participant to conduct and record the interview. As a vital part of the research process, informed consent not only educates participants about the intended research and its process, but also gives individuals the opportunity to opt out of participation in the research at any time (Ogletree and Kawulich, 2012). For this study, consent forms were made available to prospective participants. These forms included two boxes to consent to voice recording and permission to use captured images as data. Most participants consented to have their interviews recorded, but very few agreed to take photographs for the reflexive photography. The reflexive photography method was a key element of the data collection process. All participants were asked to take photographs using their camera phones of locations in Musina local municipality that had personal or sentimental value to them. These images were then discussed in follow-up interviews. The majority of participants had previously stated that they did not want to take part in reflexive photography, a few citing that they did not have time between work and their entrepreneurial ventures. Only five of the participants who agreed to take part in the

autophotography, actually took photographs and sent them to the researcher via WhatsApp. During our follow up interviews, we spoke on the same platform, where I asked them questions about the location and the sentiments, they had about the places they chose. Although the people who had initially agreed to take photographs were reminded of this, they never sent them.

The data collected for this study is primarily from semi-structured interviews. Altogether, I conducted 43 interviews, including with two officials from Musina's municipality and one representative from a non-governmental organisation (NGO). Twenty-five of the participants were women while 18 of them were men.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Non-migrant/transnational status*</u>	<u>Residential location</u>
Amohelang	23	Female	Student	University Degree	Single	Non-migrant	Matshena
Babusi	27	Male	Porter	High School Certificate	Married	Transnational Migrant	Phase 4
Blessing	37	Female	Nail Technician	High School Certificate	Married	Transnational Migrant	Mshongoville Extension 2
Bontle	43	Female	Human Resources Officer	National Diploma	Married	Non-migrant	Nancefield
David	40	Male	Porter	Unknown	Single	Transnational Migrant	Matswale
Desmond	40	Male	Hairdresser	National Diploma	Married	Transnational Migrant	Mshongoville Extension 2
Dimpho	38	Female	Registrar	National Diploma	Married	Non-migrant	Nancefield

Gogo Aphane	58	Female	Street Vendor/Hawker	Unknown	Widow	Non-migrant	Nancefield
Gogo Hulisane	59	Female	Unemployed	Unknown	Unknown	Non-migrant	Maseha
Gogo Khangwelo	65	Female	Retired Principal	Teaching Diploma	Married	Non-migrant	Matshena
Gogo Nduvho	61	Female	Unemployed	Unknown	Married	Non-migrant	Maseha
Jeremy	46	Male	Guest House Manager	High school certificate	Married	Transnational Migrant	Nancefield
Katlego	28	Female	Student/Administrator	University Degree - Education	Married	Non-migrant	Madhimbo
Kudzai	23	Female	Student	National Certificate – Chemical Engineering	Single	Transnational Migrant	Mshongoville Extension 2
Lawrence	26	Male	Student	University degree- Social Work	Single	Non-migrant	Matshena
Mai Makoni	40	Female	Vegetable Market Vendor	High School Certificate	Married	Transnational Migrant	Mshongoville Extension 2
Mai Ruvimbo	38	Female	Food market vendor	Did not finish High school	Widow	Transnational Migrant	Matswale
Makomborero	41	Male	Lecturer	National Diploma	Married	Transnational Migrant	Mshongoville Extension 2
Matinetsa	23	Female	Street Vendor/Hawker	High School Certificate	Single	Transnational Migrant	Nancefield

Ndumiso	40	Male	Porter	High School Certificate	Married	Transnational Migrant	Mshongoville
Nelisiwe	24	Female	Street vendor/Hawker	High School Certificate	Single	Non-migrant	Matswale
Ngoni	41	Male	Unemployed	Unknown	Married	Transnational Migrant	Homeless/Displaced person
Ntsako	36	Male	Lecturer	National Diploma	Single	Non-migrant	Nancefield
Oabile	29	Male	Unemployed	National Diploma	Single	Non-migrant	Matshena
Olivia	42	Female	Street Vendor/Hawker	High School Certificate	Single	Non-migrant	Matswale
Patience	29	Female	Unemployed	University Degree	Married	Non-migrant	Mshongoville Extension 2
Phelokazi	26	Female	Unemployed	University Degree	Single	Non-migrant	Maseha
Phumudzo	30	Male	Unemployed	University Degree – Development Studies	Single	Non-migrant	Matshena
Puseletso	28	Female	Retail Till Operator	National Diploma	Single	Non-migrant	Nancefield
Samantha	20	Female	Unemployed	Unknown	Single	Transnational Migrant	Matswale
Tinswalo	36	Male	General Worker	High School Certificate	Single	Non-migrant	Matswale
Tonderai	27	Male	Unemployed	University Degree - Accounting	Single	Non-migrant	Mshongoville Extension 2

Tracy	38	Female	Street Vendor/Hawker	Did not complete school	Married	Transnational Migrant	Matswale
VhaChauke	63	Male	Retired	Unknown	Married	Non-migrant	Matshena
VhaDakalo	71	Male	Retired	National Diploma	Married	Non-migrant	Matshena
VhaHlonono	56	Male	Unemployed	National Diploma	Married	Non-migrant	Matshena
Virginia	22	Female	Street Vendor/Hawker	High School Certificate	Single	Transnational Migrant	Nancefield
Wendy	36	Female	Vegetable Market Vendor	Did not finish high school	Married	Transnational Migrant	Matswale
Zimi	21	Female	Street Vendor/Hawker	High School Certificate	Married	Transnational Migrant	Matswale Phase 2

Table 6 List of Participants from study

Table 6 above provides information about the main participants in this study. Participants were not asked to indicate whether they were non-migrants or transnational migrants, so an asterisk was added to the “transnational status” column. This status was disclosed in interviews, general conversations and by third parties. Men who worked in both formal and informal work environments and were either native or had immigrated to the municipality were selected for the study. They were recruited using the snowball sampling method, which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. The length of the interviews was between 40 and 90 minutes. Furthermore, as *Table 7* below shows, three key informant interviews were also conducted.

Name	Position
Mr I Dzebu	Acting LED Manager
Mr Masindi	Senior Town Planner
Miss Fumulani	Gender Empowerment Coordinator - Outreach

Table 7 List of Key Informants

The rationale for informed consent assumes the participant will comprehend the objective of the study as it is described by the letter of consent or as explained by the investigator and yet, there are still obstacles faced in the field when participants are apprehensive about signing written consent forms, which at times can be managed by moving to oral, tape-recorded consent (Warren, 2002). I was aware from previous experience that while some individuals may want to participate in the research study, they may not give written consent nor to be tape-recorded, for fear of identification by authorities. Before conducting any interview, I took time to explain to the objectives of the study and the research process. There were times where I had to explain this process in chiShona. This is because, taking part in interviews is intrinsically a difficult process, as participants would potentially not trust somebody with whom they are unacquainted outside the research setting (Angrosino and Mays de Perez, 2000). Participants were also given information letters to keep, with detailed contact information about the researcher and supervisors.

Research questions were based on the everyday experiences of respondents residing within Musina municipality. Although several questions focused on participants' backgrounds, I did not directly ask them about their migration status, although this information occasionally revealed itself during data collection. I chose this course of action as I was aware that these issues may create a sense of anxiety in individuals. Still, participants were informed that their confidentiality would be maintained through the anonymisation of data including changing names, using codes in fieldwork notes, and storing data in an encrypted folder on a computer that is not shared. Ensuring confidentiality means the investigator is aware of the participant's identity but protects their identity by using pseudonyms (Ogletree and Kawulich, 2012). Therefore, all the names of the participants in this study are anonymised.

Moving on to consider how the data collected was analysed after it was transcribed. To make sense of the data, I returned to the aim and theoretical framework of the research. The research questions, as guided by the main theoretical themes, of 'intersectionality', 'liminality' and 'borderlands', provided the framework to identify and analyse themes that were emerging from the data. This method is known as thematic analysis, and it is commonly used to identify themes from data patterns (Kawulich and Holland, 2012). In qualitative analysis, descriptive accounts are frequently used because they identify and classify important subject matter to provide the different facets and aspects of the study (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). The data analysis is time consuming and demanding, as it involves initially ordering the data, then getting a feel for it, to data exploration and labelling, to identifying key themes, and then sorting data themes

(Lewins, 2009). These processes are repeated as they are important and because this allows the researcher to identify their first impressions of the data and recognize key phrases, by making sense of what they did or did not expect from the themes that arose (ibid.).

During data analysis and coding, I made use of thematic network diagrams to link research questions to key themes that emerged from the data. The purpose of coding information is to group the pieces of coded material under a code header for additional examination (Roberts, Sitas and Greenstein, 2003). This helps deconstruct the information into significant parts, as coding and identifying themes often coexist in practice because themes frequently develop subthemes that call for analysis (ibid.). Using thematic analysis, researchers can answer different research questions, ranging from individuals' everyday experiences to their understanding of larger social phenomena (Kiger and Varpio, 2020). This analysis is particularly useful because it is flexible, not only in terms of theoretical aspects, but also in terms of research question, sample size and composition, data collection strategies, and clarifying findings (Clarke, Braun, and Hayfield, 2015). Because most of the data for this study is descriptive, I repeatedly read the transcribed data and coded it by using an index to refer to themes in a document and applying a hierarchy as key themes emerged. Coding and identifying are intertwined in practice, and as such, codes should not be considered final and fixed (Roberts, Sitas and Greenstein, 2003). The repetitive process of thematic analysis also contributes to the emotive aspect of qualitative research and will be discussed later.

One of the indicators of good research is whether it can be considered reliable as this contributes to its potential to generate knowledge (O'Leary, 2004). Given the researcher's positionality and the interpretive nature of the study, there were possible threats to the credibility of this study. In a qualitative study, the biggest threats to validity are reactivity and researcher bias (Maxwell, 1998). This is because validity aims at confirming whether the data collected and if the conclusions or insights drawn from it are accurate, as well as whether the research subject can be considered measurable (O'Leary, 2004). The term 'reactivity' is used to describe when an individual's responses change because they are aware of their participation in a research study (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). This questions whether participants' changing responses affects the veracity of the information they provide. To address the authenticity of information shared by participants in this study, I must reiterate that the aim of the research is to gather perspectives, meanings, and understandings of the lived experiences of black women in Musina local municipality. When interpreting the social world, there is no single version of events, and nor do qualitative researchers suggest this claim (Janesick, 2000).

The data collected, therefore, shows how participants perceive their own lives, experiences, and social relationships, and so these narratives shared by them are their own (Atkinson, 2011: Johnson, 2011).

In contrast to quantitative researchers (who can control or influence certain variables), it is impossible to exclude the researchers' actual influence in qualitative research (Maxwell, 1998). Addressing the issue of biases means acknowledging that research is value laden (Bryman, 2016). Consequently, another way a researcher may have an impact on the participants is confirmation bias, which is a key component of reactivity (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). Confirmation bias occurs by selectively gathering and interpreting data, theories, views, or arguments to support existing beliefs or hypotheses (Roulston and Shelton, 2015). Besides the audio recordings or interviews' notations, one of the strategies I used in this study, to mitigate confirmation bias, was maintaining communication with both old and newly made contacts to review and clarify information such as linguistic terms, places, and local jargon. Maxwell (1998) argues that a key method in reducing the likelihood of misunderstanding the views and actions of participants, is to ask them for comments on data collected and the subsequent findings. Furthermore, rich, comprehensive data helps reduce confirmation bias as it not only provides credibility to findings by supporting theory, but also allows testing of new theories (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007; Maxwell, 1998). The use of multiple qualitative research methods such as interviews, observations, reflexive photographs, and a research journal in this study allows for a contextually rich and detailed analysis.

The other form of bias that threatened the study was researcher bias. Researcher bias occurs when data is selectively recorded, collected, and interpreted, without the researcher demonstrating how their personal views and beliefs affected the research process (Hannes, Lockwood and Pearson, 2010; Bryman, 2016). In this study, the researcher's Zimbabwean identity and linguistic ability in chiShona provided access in the field to not only participants from that national community, but also to those who could speak the language. An insider has unique views into the research population when they share characteristics such as gender, language, race, or ethnicity (Giwa, 2015). When there are significant differences between the researcher and the subject under investigation, focusing on the insider perspective is especially important because these differences introduce potential obstacles and make it difficult for the researcher to comprehend and communicate as an insider (Roberts, Sitas and Greenstein, 2003). However, the insider positionality, like other aspects of the researcher's social identities,

has potential for bias. To address researcher bias, the researcher has declared her positionality in this chapter, and used reflexive journaling throughout the research process.

Data collection for qualitative research is an iterative process, and some researchers work in mutable settings that require unique instruments that cannot be replicated (Neuman, 2014). Conventional notions of generalisability therefore fail when research is based on interpretation and meaning (Janesick, 2000). O’Leary (2004) defines generalisability as the ability to directly apply sample results to larger populations. The researcher used the theoretical concepts of ‘intersectionality’, ‘liminality’, and ‘borderlands’ together with multiple research methods to address this limitation, even though generalisation to larger populations was not the primary focus of the current study. According to Roberts, Sitas and Greenstein (2003), using multiple theoretical perspectives – known as theory triangulation – and multiple research methods – known as methodological triangulation – helps improve the validity of results. However, Janesick (2000) has suggested moving from the idea of triangulation to that of crystallisation, which is a multi-disciplinary approach to multidimensional research design. This study brings together history, sociology, and urban planning to inform the investigative process and deepen our understanding of black women in Musina’s borderland.

According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), excessive reliance on readily available informants affects representativeness, which in turn affects the ability to generalise results. During the first few weeks of the research process, representativeness became a potential threat to the study. The specifics of this will be discussed later in the chapter. To address this issue, the researcher expanded her network and was able to recruit participants from both ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ settlements. These participants were of various ages, nationalities, ethnic groups, incomes, and living standards. Finally, researchers have argued that providing extremely detailed descriptions of the study backgrounds and research methods is a sign of transferability in terms of how applicable the findings are to other participants and settings (Roberts, Sitas and Greenstein, 2003; O’Leary, 2004). The study’s overall methods adequately address the concept of transferability.

5:4 Choosing the case study

The current study is multifaceted in that it addresses issues of gender, migration, and space. I chose Musina municipality as a case study, not only because of my previous experiences there, but because it has a unique history of gendered migration, unequal spatial geography, and it is

home to Beitbridge, the busiest border crossing in southern Africa. Case studies are a common approach in urban studies as a comparative method with many possible multidimensional outcomes (Robinson, 2011). These outcomes aim to answer questions that define urban public policy, urban decision-making, behaviour in different urban settings, and other goals relevant to the discipline (Birch, 2012). Results obtained in specific case studies are used to explain the original findings relevant to the geographic area studied (Robinson, 2011). This is because cases are defined by theory and data and are not pre-determined theoretical classifications or empirical units (Neuman, 2014). By using methods that emphasise cases rather than variables, case-based investigations often highlight the coincidence of many individual factors and events occurring simultaneously (ibid.).

Robinson, (2014) suggests that the term ‘case’ should be defined differently to avoid the limitation of comparing only relevant cities. Case studies deal with scientific studies of people working in different places and suggest new ways of theory building based on research fields (ibid.). The decision to adopt a single case study was consistent with my research goals. This is because the study of black women in Musina’s municipality considers the participants’ personal histories and how they have been influenced by living in this geographical area. At the same time, the social context under investigation has also been shaped by those who currently live there. The added dimension of the area’s history of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial migrations, and some of its parts being former bantustan allows for an in-depth examination of rich and detailed accounts in the holistic context in which these experiences occur

According to De Vaus and De Vaus (2001:247), “one of the strengths of case studies is that they attempt to understand the significance of particular factors within the context of the whole case rather than by screening out this context.” This is significant because the study context of Musina’s municipality, including its migration history, Bantustans, and growing urban settlements, is equally important as the black women under study, because their behaviour not only takes place within, but may also be a response to, the context. The second advantage of the case study includes utilising a theory building approach, which enables improving and refining the hypothesis, and a theory that suits the case under investigation (De Vaus and De Vaus, 2001). Studying cases usually leads to elaborate explanations of interpretations that take the form of narratives or plot sequences about particular people or particular events (Neuman, 2014). Its use is therefore not limited to testing and generating hypothesis.

However, one of the criticisms of single-case studies is based on generalisability. Frequently, a choice is made to either provide a persuasive theoretical explanation for a single case, but without the ability to generalise to the larger population, or, to generalise patterns about the population without solid theoretical explanations for those patterns (Campbell, 2003). Researchers can make analytical generalisations by analysing key elements of a single case and drawing conclusions to address generalisability (Birch, 2012). An analytical generalisation is the compilation of anecdotal empirical evidence to support, refute, or broaden a previously proposed theory (ibid.). Furthermore, like other qualitative research methods, case studies are perceived as subjective by confirming the bias of researchers (Flyvbjerg, 2006). A personal evaluation of the research is expected because case study researchers are encouraged to incorporate their personal perspectives and reflecting on their positionality (Stake, 1995). To reduce misinterpretation and invalidation of findings, researchers should be aware of conflicting evidence and use triangulation as it helps to understand cases by assessing how well statements help explain a narrative or clarify conflicting meanings (Yin, 2009; Stake, 1995).

5:5 Data collection: the affective production involved in qualitative research.

Since the individual is not only included in the study but also serves as its foundation, researchers in qualitative research act as a research instrument (Janesick, 2000). The researcher is the main instrument for collecting and analysing data because the process is direct, close-up, and requires a personal connection (Roberts, Sitas and Greenstein, 2003). South Africa was locked down for an extended period at the start of COVID-19. Travel restrictions were gradually eased in 2021. Due to the pandemic and subsequent restrictions, there were times I really worried about data collection. I was the researcher, the most important research instrument; I had opted for a qualitative research design with multiple research methods that require the researcher to act as a facilitator (in-depth interviews, reflexive photography), or, in the case of participant observation, sharing their physical presence and life experiences, learning social norms, behaviours, language use and non-verbal cues (Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor, 2013; Robson, 2016).

As my thoughts constantly vacillated between when the field research would commence and when I would receive my COVID-19 vaccinations, my supervisors suggested I start with telephonic interviews. Through these interviews, conducted between March and April 2021, I would begin to experience feelings of privilege and guilt in relation to my positionality as a female migrant researcher. I began to feel this when I interviewed another Zimbabwean

immigrant who belongs to the Ndebele ethnic identity. The participant's migrant experiences, detailed in later chapters, focused on efforts to preserve their Ndebele ethnic identity and customs while living in a transnational space. Because of my own MuShona ethnic identity, I understood the privilege of never thinking about preserving the chiShona language or customs, especially when spending time in the Musina borderland. Also, having grown up as a MuShona in a province where my ethnic group is the majority, I have never considered or experienced exclusion because of my ethnicity or native language. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it is *because* chiShona is spoken so prominently in Musina town, that the area feels like a second home. My ethnicity also contributed to feelings of guilt. The Ndebele ethnic group has historically felt marginalised politically and linguistically in post-independence Zimbabwe (Ndhlovu, 2008; Moji, 2015; Siziba, 2015). The fact that I could not speak isiNdebele and had to conduct the interview in chiShona, with everything that the participant had shared, added to my guilt.

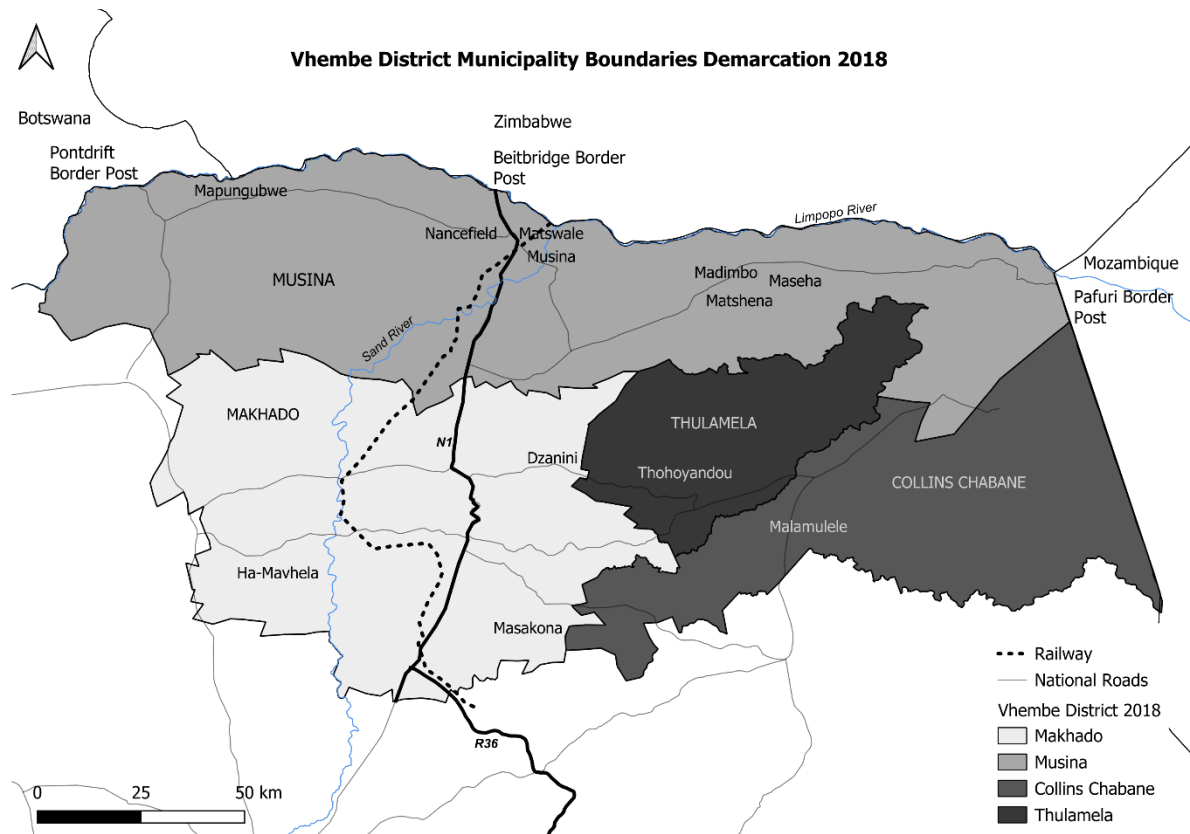
DeLuca and Maddox (2016) reflected on feelings of guilt and privilege emerging from their status as married, middle-class white American women, and noted that these experiences enabled them to publicly express their insecurities of acceptance, by recognising and writing them down, then incorporating them in “processes of knowledge production”. This interview motivated me to write my own feelings in a journal, as I began to realise how emotive this project was becoming. Ortlipp (2008) suggests that the objectives of reflexive journals are to recognise the values held by the researcher and not to try to control them by hypotheticals or methods. Researchers can use reflexive journalling to clarify personal beliefs and biases and, analyse individual assumptions and goals (ibid.). My first journal entry was about how this interview prompted discussions with my Ndebele friends about their experiences of marginalisation growing up. I was not ignorant about it, but it was not at the forefront of our conversations. Thanks to this interview, I not only started the discussion, but I apologised to them for their experiences and for losing from Mashona dominance. It is for this reason I argue that my experiences as a researcher during this study show how qualitative research is a form of emotional labour.

Empathy plays a role in qualitative research because it allows the investigator to have the ability to perceive and experience events through the eyes of another person (Roberts, Sitas and Greenstein, 2003). To describe how workplace practices generate affect, sociality, and collective subjectivity, Hardt (1999) came up with the term ‘affective labour’. The term ‘affect’ has multiple meanings, as it can be viewed as “a social passion, as pathos, sympathy and

empathy” (Athanasίου, Hantzaroula and Yannakopoulos, 2012:6). Affect is also used by Latimer and Miele, (2013:8) to describe “attachment” on the one hand and “movement” on the other, suggesting a departure from the traditional sense of feeling and emotions. An important aspect about Hardt’s (1999) affective labour is his suggestion that it centres on the creation and manipulation of emotions, and, the immersion of the body because it involves human contact and interaction. Latimer and Miele’s (2013:8) interpretation of affect also implies the idea that it can be “invoked” and can be both “embodied and relational”, contrasted from emotion, which they argue is “individuated”. However, when Hochschild (2012) first came up with the idea of emotional labour, she meant the process by which emotions are elicited or suppressed to maintain an outward attitude that provokes the correct state of mind in others – in this case, the feeling of being cared for in a welcoming and secure environment. The emotional experiences that come with not only being a doctoral student but also the research process of collecting, transcribing, and analysing data, made me realise the importance of emotion in this study. The production and management of my feelings during fieldwork will be elaborated in the remainder of this chapter.

After receiving my second vaccination a month prior, and with the travel restrictions lifted, I travelled to the Musina borderland during the summer months of October and November 2021. At that time of the year, the daily temperatures in the tropical region average around 38 degrees Celsius, which would be considered a heatwave in some parts of South Africa. Fieldwork began from the moment I boarded the long-distance taxis from Johannesburg’s Park Station to Musina, which is 517 km away. The journey is approximately six hours long when using the N1. However, the trips back usually take longer because of roadblocks, or, from trying to avoid them altogether. This is because traffic stops check driver violations and the vehicles’ road worthiness, but with long-distance taxis from Musina in particular, the provincial traffic police also check to see if there are any undocumented passengers on board. Before paying for the trip from Musina to Johannesburg or Pretoria, taxi drivers or marshalls always ask passengers whether they are documented or not, as the latter involves an extra charge. At the time of the research, a trip between Johannesburg and Musina cost ZAR300 per person, with extra costs for luggage, starting at ZAR30 depending on size. Undocumented migrants were charged an extra ZAR200, a cost intended to cover the driver’s risk for transporting them, as well as for bribing police officers en route. On one of my return trips in November, the journey took over eight hours. This was because, much to everyone’s dismay, the taxi driver decided to not use the usual route of travelling via the N1, and instead used back routes. After Louis Trichardt, he

turned left on to the R36 towards Tzaneen, then drove to Polokwane, but used the R101 to get to Johannesburg (see *Map 10* below). This is significant in that it shows the lengths taken by illegal migrants to move to South Africa for a better life, and the networks involved in achieving that objective.



Map 10 National Roads from Musina to Johannesburg. (Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB). Map by M. Siteleki

The general mood on journeys to and from Musina was telling. A cloud of dread and anxiety surrounded the trips from Musina to Johannesburg. Most of the time, it was because of the fear of running into the provincial traffic police en route. But there were times when it was because, for some passengers, it was their first time travelling to an unfamiliar destination in South Africa. In contrast, the trips to the borderland were generally filled with excitement and anticipation about returning home. The conversations centred on narratives, whether real or exaggerated, about life in South Africa. Passengers were constantly estimating when the taxi would arrive in Musina and how long it would take to cross the border and connect to other modes of transportation to get to their final destinations. Therefore, there were always murmurs of confusion when I was dropped off with my luggage at my booked lodging, because it is located 18 km away from the border, and everyone else was going home.

It is evident that the participant observation method, which is qualitative in nature, commenced at the beginning of my trip to Musina and concluded upon my return to Johannesburg. As I listened silently and carefully during these trips, I noticed different types of travellers, the dialogues about internal and international migration, and the way South Africa was described. The seasoned sojourners seemed assured in their ability to cross the official and unofficial boundaries between South Africa and Zimbabwe. In contrast, new arrivals in South Africa were filled with dread and fear, having left their homes for the first time, travelling to unfamiliar territories, some without documents, and often had limited resources to reach their destination. Some of us tried to help them achieve their goal through providing financial support and information. Participant observation in field involved being left in charge of a market stall and assisting street vendors in selling their wares while observing people walking up and down the street. Over time, I was able to distinguish those who had just arrived in cross-border taxis to do their bulk shopping from the pick pockets. I took note of the different forms of gender expression and observed the general attitudes and reactions evoked by murmurs, stares and snide comments while I sat there, and later when I was outside the spaza shop in Matshena, and even as I travelled around Musina town in local taxis. I would record these observations in my journal, and often reflecting on the different emotions I would experience in relation to what I had encountered.

5:6 Sampling, interviews, and rolling the snowball.

To get valid, reliable, and accurate findings it would be ideal to test everyone in a population, but this is not feasible and is why sampling is used (Acharya, Prakash, Saxena, and Nigam, 2013). As the study centred on issues regarding gender identity and space, I identified the main study population as black women. I also included male participants in interviews to get their perspectives on gender identity and how it is performed in the borderlands. In qualitative research designs, it is not often that researchers ascertain the sample size in advance, and as a result they are likely to use non-probability sampling (Neuman, 2014). A non-probability sample is one that involves the probability that subjects chosen for the study are unfamiliar to the researcher and therefore may result in selection bias (Acharya et al., 2013). One of the sampling techniques in non-probability sampling is snowball sampling (also known as chain referral, network, reputational, respondent driven, or chain sampling), a method of generating a sample through recommendations made among individuals who know of others who possess some traits of research interest (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). Through the snowballing

technique, the researcher is deeply involved in the creation, management, and development of the sample's origin and progress, and they strive to ensure the referral chain adheres to study-relevant limitations (Everitt-Penhale and Ratele, 2015). As the research progresses, control over the chain referrals becomes more specific and is based on practical considerations so that the sample contains a range of respondents that qualitatively reflect the general characteristics of the population (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981).

Prior to my arrival in the borderland, I would call my friends who live and work in Musina town to inform them of my impending arrival. These contacts were established during my previous visits to the area since 2017 to conduct my honours and master's research and I would rely on them to find participants for my project. I decided to use snowball sampling because it would be easier to start the initial chain process, since I had some knowledge of the population from which the sample would be taken. According to Biernacki and Waldorf (1981), respondents become research assistants by default as soon as the snowballing technique is implemented. By assuming this role, respondents should undergo some basic training on the research study (ibid.). I informed my contacts about the research criteria for the study – adults over the age of 21 who resided in the municipality – and that the questions would concern their experiences of living in Musina. One of the benefits of using the snowball sampling technique is that it is effective when there is no definitive list of the study population of interest, which can make it difficult to identify research participants to include in a sample (Sharma, 2017). Although the research subjects of this study were not an elusive demographic, the project was surrounded by some degree of sensitivity regarding identity. For instance, issues related to migration necessitate not only negotiated belonging, but also how some individuals actively hide their migration status.

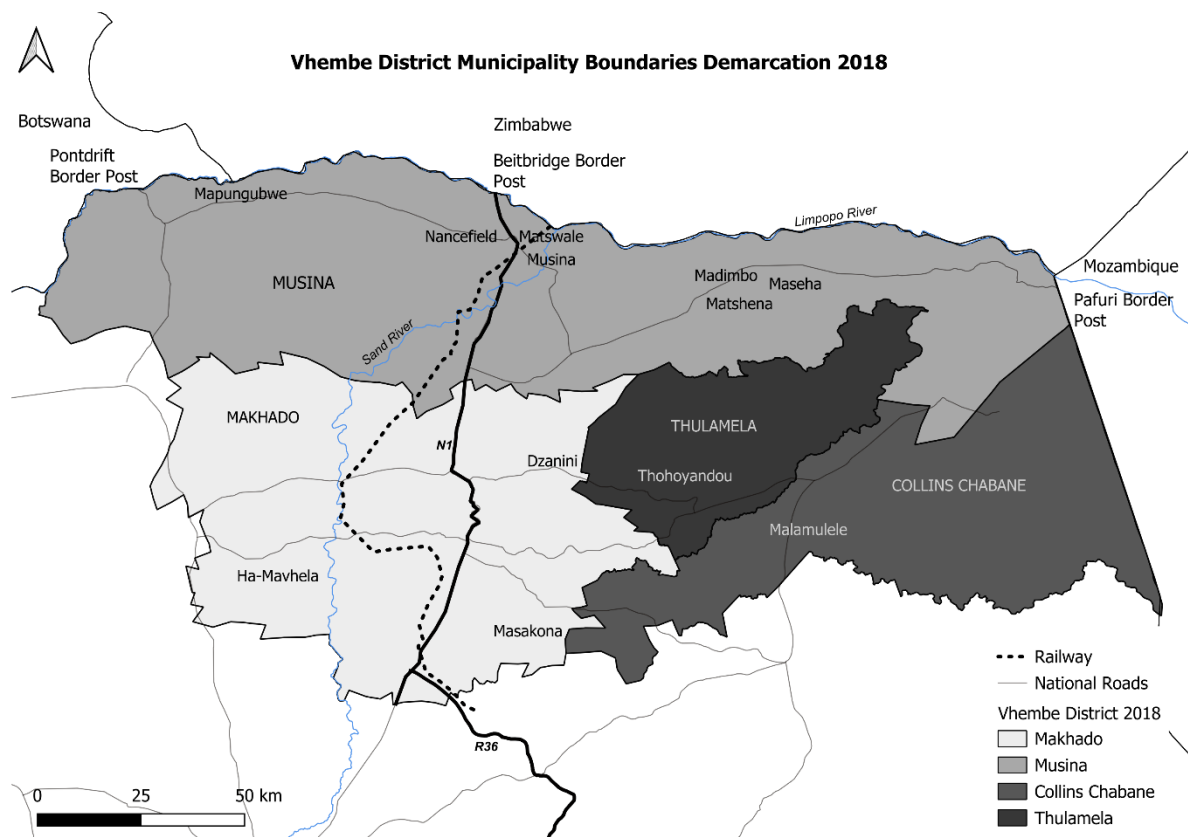
An additional factor that contributed to the study's sensitivity was gender identity and its associated vulnerabilities. Because some individuals are aware of the risks that come with self-disclosure, there are certain topics that are considered sensitive, which people may not want to discuss publicly (Bagheri and Saadati, 2015). The researcher's insider position as an immigrant woman from Zimbabwe was especially helpful for participants who talked about the sensitive subjects mentioned earlier. As an insider, establishing relationships with participants and sharing things in common is very helpful because it transforms the relationships between participants and researchers from a simple information exchange to a shared bond (Rubin, 2012). Nonetheless, Bagheri and Saadati (2015) suggest that researchers need to approach research subjects with more consideration as any topic can be sensitive.

Excited to be finally in the field and, because of my previous research experience in the area, I had high expectations and was keen to interview as many people as I could. However, this time, my first week felt unproductive. It was as if the snowball was not rolling because, despite notifying my network of the trip prior to my arrival, there were no interviewees available for me to interview. Although I didn't ask them about the lack of referrals, I eventually realised that spending time with my contacts outside of the fieldwork was a part of building relationships. I was quite frustrated about this initially, as I was looking to conduct 30 to 40 interviews in total with at least 30 women and 10 men across the municipality. Furthermore, I still had anxiety about the COVID-19 pandemic, that travel restrictions could be imposed again. As the week progressed, my time was spent catching up with part of my network at their homes, or informal businesses on the corner of Casper and Klaff Avenues (see *Map 11* below)



Map 11 Casper Avenue and Klaff Avenue. Data Source: open street maps (QGIS). Map by M. Siteleki

Due to their proximity to where cross-border minibus taxis collect and drop passengers; these streets are popular with hawkers and mobile street vendors. The high levels of foot traffic are preferred to the municipality-built food and market stall known as Railways, located at the Musina Taxi Rank next to the train station. Furthermore, located on Casper Avenue is Musina's largest fruit and vegetable market. As I observed informal trade and other social interactions on the street, I was informed about the changes to the area since my 2018 visit. These included the role of De Beers Venetia Mine in upgrading the town's roads, including Casper Avenue, and the opening of the Musina Campus for the Vhembe Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) College in 2019. The Musina Campus is known by locals as 'the College'.



Map 12 Nancefield. Data Source: Google Earth. Map M Siteleki

Things began to pick up in the second week, once I became reacquainted with old friends and let them know that I was available. I secured a few interviews within Musina town and in Nancefield, a settlement found to the west of the town (see Map 12 above). In contrast to most 'apartheid' towns, where the former 'black' residential areas were located a few kilometres from the 'white' residential areas and businesses, Musina and Nancefield are positioned directly next to each other and form an urban unit (Musina Local Municipality, 2022). During

these interviews, it became clear that the De Beers Venetia Mine plays an important role in the Musina community, as people approach the mine frequently seeking employment. From that point, I began making attempts to get in touch with the mine's publicist by phone and email to schedule an interview. I also took several trips to the mine's head office, the white office building commonly referred to by locals as the 'White House'. However, the mine did not respond to my requests for an interview.

Disappointed but undeterred, I went to visit one of my contacts, an employee of the Limpopo Provincial Government's Economic Development Department (EDD) but based at the Musina municipality, hoping for a contact at the mine's head office. They did not have one, but I still needed their help in other respects. To understand the town's planning processes and local government perspectives of how gender is constructed and reconstructed in the local municipality, I planned to interview representatives from Musina's municipality. The snowballing technique was effective here because, not only did my contact direct me to the relevant persons in the municipality, but they also directed me to a senior manager at the College. However, my contact also advised me that because the 2021 Municipal elections were going to be held in about two weeks (on 1 November), "*no one [from the municipality] would talk to you right now*". They went on to advise me to "*come back in the middle of November, after the votes had been counted,*" but to return before the start of the next month because "*we are government workers, and we don't work in December*". I had initially planned to stay throughout the month to continue to arrange interviews, but by the second week, I had not acclimatised to the borderland's summer conditions. More used to visiting the area during the winter months, I was suffering from heat fatigue, fighting monkeys off my room patio, and even the bugs seemed bigger than I remembered. I realised that I had not been well prepared for a trip to Musina during that time of the year and I needed to regroup.

After returning to Johannesburg for a few weeks, I returned to Musina in mid-November, determined to maximise my time there. I invested in gallons of water, bottles of repellent, and spoke to my hosts about tips on dealing with the heat and uninvited guests. They gave me a better room with a functioning air-conditioning system, so I could keep my doors and windows closed from the monkeys. To increase my potential interview pool, I reacquainted myself with old contacts from my 2018 trip. The snowball began rolling again! As explained earlier, snowball sampling initially relies on the researcher's own connections and resources. However, because potential participants come from the small number of initial contacts, the study was in danger of being biased early on (Parker, Scott and Geddes, 2020). I was concerned about

selection bias, as most of my respondents at this point were transnational migrants engaged in the informal economy, who resided in the urban settlements of the municipality. Very few people in my network were familiar with the rural areas of the municipality, and if they were, they did not have the means or time to take me there.

My focus turned to interviews with those formally employed in Musina. The obvious choice for me was employees at the College. It is an educational institution, and I am a student, so this would not be difficult because we are sharing knowledge, so I thought. What I would find out is that my positionality as a female migrant doctoral student would be received both negatively and positively. I first met with the Acting Head of campus; the person I had been referred to by my contact from the municipality. After presenting myself and giving details of my research, the Acting Head remarked, *"You are too smart. Its intimidating me ... I am trying to just start my masters, and you are coming in here with PhDs."* I was taken aback by the statement, mostly because I was not sure how to respond. After that, the Acting Head informed me that I needed permission from the Principal of the campus and asked an intern to help me. The intern, who was present when I presented myself to the Acting Head, expressed her admiration for me and my work as we made our way to the Principal's office because she *"was doing her BA teaching degree"* and I *"inspired her"*. *"I would like to be you one day,"* she continued. I was not sure why at that moment, her remarks made me so uncomfortable, but with self-reflection, it made sense later.

The intern and the Principal at the College would both become very important parts of my network and contributed significantly to my study. I will begin with the latter. The Principal was very helpful and equally excited about my study from our first meeting as he shared that he was busy with his master's degree. He went on to explain that I needed to provide him in writing with all the research information to interview the campus staff. A few days after acknowledging he had received my request, the Principal asked the intern to introduce me to the staff members during their tea break to talk about participating in the study. We went to the two staff rooms on the Musina campus, where my project was presented to the available lecturers. The only way to describe their responses is passive aggressive. *"Why do you want to talk to us? Go talk to the students."* And, *"We don't even live in Musina!"* one female lecturer yelled out, with a few of them murmuring in agreement. Some of them feigned interest and told me to come back at lunchtime, which I did after introducing myself to the non-teaching staff who gave me similar responses. Their answers were no different at lunch time. *"We will get back to you, we are busy right now. Come back next week."* As we left the staff room, the

intern said, *“So disappointing,”* as I turned to thank her for helping me. *“The way they were making faces when you were explaining yourself! It’s because most of them are sitting there, they don’t even have even a diploma!”* *“You really think that’s what it is?”* *“Yes”,* she replied. As soon as you said *“Wits University ... I was watching them”*.

In that moment, I realised how naïve I had been about my research process. I did not consider how I might have been perceived because I approached potential interviewees at the College as I do with all participants – as the experts and sources of information that I needed to tap into – which they were. I did not think about the power dynamics involved in being a doctoral student at one of the top ranked universities in Africa¹⁵ and how attempting to interview staff members of a TVET¹⁶ would be received negatively or threaten potential participants. At the same time, I did not think that someone would tell me they found me “inspiring”. Having a high level of education seemed to be both a gift and a curse, and I found myself battling with that internal conflict. According to Aitchison and Mowbray (2013), it takes considerable effort, especially for those doing research in their own communities, to control the strong emotions that arise from holding conflicting positions throughout fieldwork. My vision and focus remained on getting the data, and at that moment I was just a PhD student, struggling to do so, and frustrated with the process.

The following Tuesday, I returned to the college to try again, but I only interviewed one non-teaching staff member. Two days later, I went to the Principal’s office to express my disappointment and share my gratitude for being granted access to the staff. He was dissatisfied. *“No. I can’t let you go to Joburg with nothing. Our people must help you. Come with me.”* I did not say a word, simply following him as we went to different offices and staff rooms, as he told staff, *“Please! I am begging you. Please speak to this lady about her research. She is doing a PhD. Those who can, please talk to her.”* He proceeded to ask those who could speak to me,

¹⁵ The University of the Witwatersrand is ranked second in Africa after the University of Cape Town in the Academic Ranking of World Universities for 2022 published by the Shanghai Ranking Consultancy. <https://www.businessinsider.co.za/academic-ranking-of-world-universities-results-for-south-african-institutions-2022-8>.

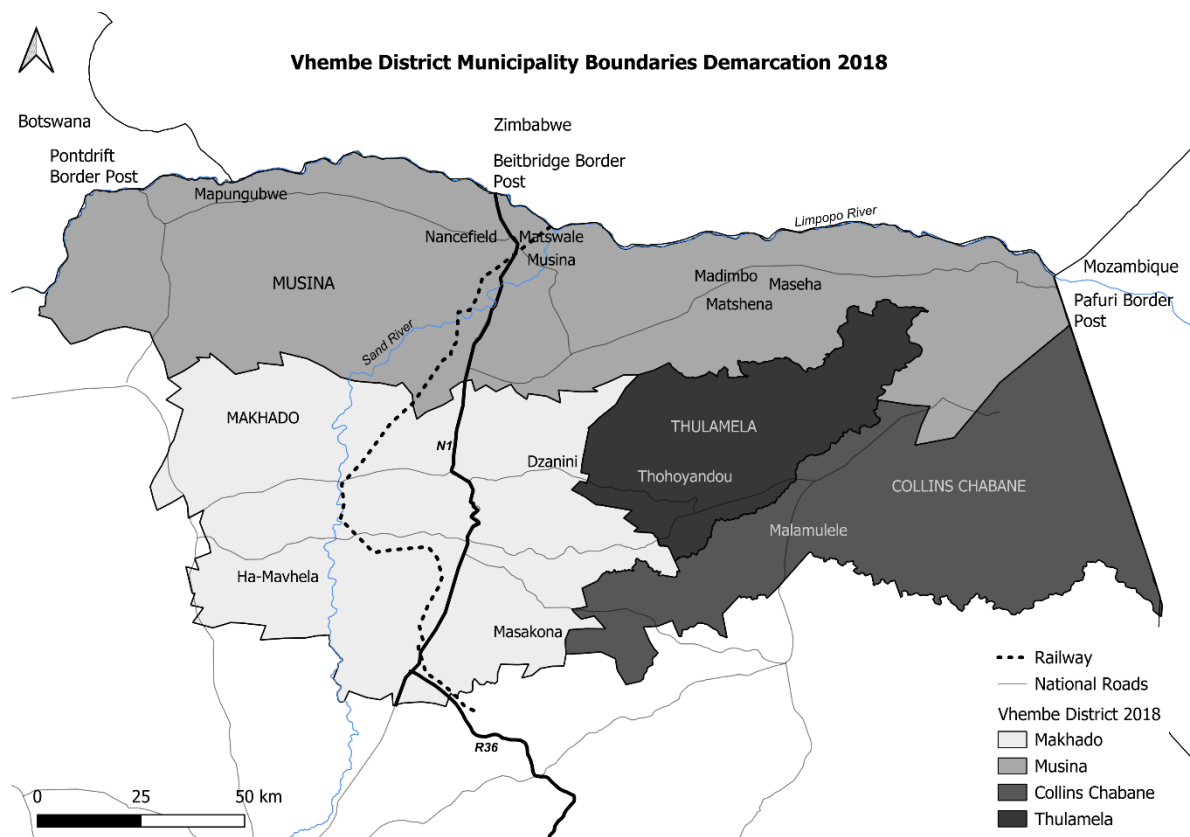
¹⁶ According to the Department of Higher Education (Dhet) the TVET subsystem suffers from image problems. Before 1994, most African students thought universities were the only place they could learn and grow because they were excluded from skills development programs and technical colleges. TVET colleges are frequently associated with low-performing students and are often considered less prestigious than universities. Although the government has tried to make TVET colleges the first choice for students, mostly only students who are not accepted (or are unlikely to be accepted) by universities enrol at TVET. <https://www.dhet.gov.za/Strategic%20Plans/Strategic%20Plans/Department%20of%20Higher%20Education%20and%20Training%20Revised%20Strategic%20Plan%202020-2025.pdf>

about dates and times that would be convenient for them and thanked them for agreeing to talk to me. With the strong encouragement of the Principal, five staff members consented to interviews. Bagheri and Saadati (2015) note that, a problem that occurs with the chain referral method is that peer recruiters can exercise social influence to encourage research participation. Because the campus Principal had asked staff to participate in the study, I understood the power dynamics at play. It is important to note that after I asked each participant in person a second time if they agreed to be interviewed, I asked them to sign participant consent forms, as I did with each referral through snowball sampling. After the interviews, I went back to the Principal to thank him for his efforts, to which he replied, “*No, no! It is an honour to have you here! You are doing a PhD*”. This again made me even feel more self-aware and uncomfortable. According to Bourke (2014), the identities of researchers and participants can have an impact on the research process because research is a shared space. This is because our expectations of how other people will perceive us also play a role in our identity, as our own predispositions shape the research processes (ibid.). I started to think about my relationships with black female academics and how inspired I was the first time I was taught by one through my reflections and journaling. I also realised that being a black female pursuing a doctoral degree is quite the norm in my current social circles in Johannesburg. I was able to comprehend why other people would be enamoured by my academic pursuits by reconciling my personal experiences with these comments regarding my PhD in the field.

I also found that my positionality came with expectations. In my attempts to secure more interviews with formally employed participants, I reached out to one of my acquaintances, a well-known vendor at the vegetable market. He was keen to help, and later connected me with a few participants, afterwards announcing to his colleagues that it was “*important to help [me]*” because “*one day, you’ll never know ... she will be asked by the UN or someone to write about us in Musina, and it will help us.*” I was thinking at the time that I was only here to complete my degree requirements rather than to influence policy. This reinforces the idea that academic researchers are in positions of power to influence policy, which is not always true.

My study population was still exclusively from the urban settlements of the municipality, I was getting quite worried about that. One of the criticisms to using snowball sampling is the selection bias that emerges from an entire sample being based on the initial referrals and may thus share similar traits (Bagheri and Saadati, 2015; Etikan and Bala, 2017). Unbeknownst to me, things were about to change because of a new friend. Biernacki and Waldorf (1981) note that a chain of referrals may be initiated by chance, and this is not pure coincidence but rather,

the researcher's level of preparedness to recognize an opportunity and make the most of it. The intern from college had agreed to be a participant, and during the interview, she mentioned that she was from a place she considered rural, a village south-east of Musina town within the municipality, called Madimbo. Immediately after, I asked if she could help me find participants and she obliged. The interviews would happen during the weekend because of her work schedule, and all I needed to do was arrange for someone to transport me to and from the village. I managed to get one of my friends to agree to drive me to Madimbo. However, the Friday before the scheduled trip, I received a call from the intern to let me know of her unavailability due to a family emergency. I was already stressed, because this trip and the interviews she had lined up needed to happen. I did not want the snowball to stop rolling. "Don't worry," she said. "I have a friend of mine who I have briefed on everything, and he is going to help you. I will send you his details." Sure enough, the snowball began rolling again. Plans were made with her contact, who would eventually become part of *my* network, and I travelled not only to Madimbo, but also to the surrounding villages of Matshena and Maseha where I conducted ten interviews (see Map 13 below)



Map 13 Madimbo, Maseha and Matshena. Data Source: Google Earth. Map by M Siteleki

Snowball sampling has some methodological limitations because it is a non-probability sampling method for qualitative research. The issue of selection bias has already been discussed in this section. Because recruitment is based on chain referrals, the method has been criticised for not being an effective tool for producing reliable estimates or generalisations to larger populations (Bagheri and Saadati, 2015; Sharma, 2017). Furthermore, Biernacki and Waldorf (1981) suggest that a problem that emerges when using the snowballing method is that the de facto research assistants who initiate the chains may become more representative of the project in the community, which can lead to inaccurate information or rumours about the study. While driving to Madimbo, my friend (who I first met in 2017), commented on the evolution of my journey as a researcher by mentioning, *“I remember when you first came here that time ... and when you left, some people said, ‘This girl is a scammer. How can you trust her?’ ...but now, they have been seeing you over the years, they believe you are really doing your schoolwork.”* My friend was an accounting student at the University of Venda when we initially met so we had bonded over our university experiences. Because of this he was able to advocate my academic pursuits after I had left.

5:7 Surface acting and locked emotions: interview (processes) and data analysis

The basis of qualitative interviewing has been using language, conversation, and communication for knowledge production (Brinkmann, 2014). A qualitative interview method of semi-structured interviews was chosen for the study. This is because semi-structured interviews provide the opportunity to address aspects of the research question while allowing participants to bring new meaning to the research, which provides flexibility (Galletta and Cross, 2013). Interview questions in this study related to issues of gender social relations, the impact of migration as participants or non-participants, and the everyday experiences of living in borderland. The open-ended nature of the questions allowed respondents to respond in their own way and provided them with a level of knowledge and comprehension of the issues that needed to be investigated (Bryman, 2016).

Conducting on-site interviews involved direct interaction with participants. In-person interviews allow additional information to be revealed through body language, gestures, and facial expressions in addition to the words that are being said (Brinkmann, 2014). Telephone interviews, on the other hand, are more constrained as they are shorter in length and do not provide access of visual cues, which are frequently loaded with meaning and helpful in communication (Galletta and Cross, 2013). In this study, I conducted four telephone interviews,

and it was a challenging process because at times participants struggled with cell network connectivity. It was part of the reason I wanted to conduct interviews face to face. However, unexpected situations can occur, particularly during in-person interviews (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003). Different interview situations arose during fieldwork where the information shared was sensitive. The first relates to the child trafficking experiences, discussed earlier in this chapter. This information was obtained innocuously by asking the participant whether they were born in South Africa and when they moved here. Not only was the response sensitive, but the participant also clearly broke down as they described their experiences. Not only was I surprised by the participant's revelations, but I was also deeply moved by her story and had to hold back my own tears as I was listening, and processing what had just transpired. I was not entirely sure, in the moment, how much emotion I was supposed to convey. At the same time, I knew to show empathy and to prioritise the participant's wellbeing by not causing further trauma with my questions and the rest of the interview. I searched my bag for facial tissues, handed them to her and touched her hand to convey that I understood how difficult this process was for her.

According to Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003), the researcher's role in the interview is to be an active facilitator, allowing respondents to share their thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and experiences, and to make sense of the research process. The authors also suggest that if participants evoke strong emotional responses in an interview, researchers should not show their emotions or concentrate on their own reactions until later (*ibid.*). It follows that qualitative study interviews are affective labour because the interactions and emotions between both participants and researchers must be managed and controlled by the latter. This points to Hochschild's (2012:18) reasoning about the "social patterns to the acts of emotion management" that involve "rules about feelings" and when and where they can be displayed in each setting. The relationship between context and personal feelings, moods, and behaviour makes emotions complicated social constructs that are "managed for public display according to social expectations" (Aitchison and Mowbray, 2013:862). Hochschild (2012) refers to hiding one's feelings or pretending to feel what one does not feel as surface acting. In the above-mentioned interview, I had to control my emotions and engage in surface acting by behaving as though the participant's story did not affect me as much as it did. Although not entirely superficial with my true feelings, the interview was still emotionally exhausting in that through journaling, I needed to consider whether I dealt with the circumstance well at the time. Was my professionalism sufficient, or did I appear stoic and distance myself from the participant?

In Bosco's (2021) discussion of emotional labour in anthropology, she argues that incorporating the emotional aspects of fieldwork can be an influential way to connect with people. However, Hochschild (2012:90) points out that managing one's emotions causes a form of "emotional dissonance" in which one feels disconnected from one's true feelings. This was relevant in another circumstance that arose during fieldwork. One of my contacts informed me about a potential interviewee, but also alerted me to take extra caution as the participant's husband "*had recently passed*". As soon as I heard this, for some reason my mind assumed the death was due to COVID-19, and although the participant was available for an interview at the time, I realised that I *was not* ready to interview her. I immediately told my contact that I needed to rest and rehydrate because of the heat and that I would return to him the next day. This was a risk I had to take because I knew that postponing an interview could change the minds of potential participants who may already be hesitant or anxious about participating.

After learning about her husband, I was already sad and emotional, so I had to return to my lodgings to mentally prepare for the interview. I spent the rest of the day convincing myself that I could get through the interview, and the next morning, I woke up and reassured myself that everything would go well. My biggest fear was how I would personally react if the topic came up during the interview. In her study of how feminist ideologies were used in male dominated workplaces, Ramsay (1996:137) found that she used what she called "impression management", or, working on her emotional state, to replicate what she thought were the best interview conditions and even acknowledged the resulting internal conflict. When I finally interviewed the participant, I learnt that her husband had not died, but that he had been convicted of a crime and was facing deportation. I was still heartbroken by this news, suspecting that the story about her husband's death may have been a way to cope with rumours of his absence or any humiliation caused by the crime. I had to remind myself again that I could conduct the interview professionally and that my emotions would not betray me. According to Hochschild (2012), surface acting is when visual gestures, facial expressions and body language appear staged and have an impact on the person with whom we are interacting. This contrasts with deep acting, where we attempt to deceive not only others but also ourselves by internalising our emotions (ibid.). However, the most important takeaway is that qualitative research is a labour of affect for the researcher, regardless of how distinct the acts of emotional management may be.

Emotional labour did not just take place during data collection. In this study, it was extended to data transcription and analysis. The increased focus on the unspoken and unconscious

aspects of the experience results in a reattachment to what was felt, remembered, perceived and what attended to (Blackman and Venn, 2010). Because I not only conducted the interviews, but also transcribed them, this was a very emotional process because not only did I have to relive the stories, but I also remembered the smells and scents from certain interactions. Different things triggered my memory; like the humidity when I was in Maseha, the fresh smell of vegetables being sold in the market, and both pleasant and unpleasant body odours. Olfaction, or the ability to smell, is powerful because it is “physiologically direct”, evokes emotions and memories through smells (Synnott, 1991:458). The emotional ties and memories associated with scents are highly personal and appear to be inseparable from individual experiences (Rodriguez-Gil, 2004). Positive and negative biological and mental responses can be elicited by odours associated with past events and autobiographical memories (Green, 2021). Even now, when I apply the scent I used in the field, it immediately takes me back to Musina.

5:8 CONCLUSION

People are not inanimate objects; rather, our experiences not only impact us but also others. During my time in the field, there were many instances where I observed and heard comments that disparaged my national identity or that I did not personally share. At that moment I told myself I was a neutral observer, and it was as if I was not even there. I reasoned that this means that the people around me feel comfortable enough to share their true thoughts on these topics. Since research studies are based on the production of knowledge, it seems as if everything we study needs to be measured. The role of the researcher in this study was crucial, and my choice of qualitative research designs allowed for flexibility in responding to changing circumstances. As a researcher, I was able to adapt to the challenges of the field and overcome any reliability issues. Qualitative research designs allowed me to position myself both within and outside of my research by reflecting on the procedures and data collected during fieldwork. To understand the case, the people I was studying, the location, and the purpose of my study, I had to reconcile various aspects of my personal identity. This made me realise that the journey was an emotional roller coaster where I had to show empathy, suppress my true feelings and deal with the situation where the participants became emotional. Furthermore, by considering my position, I was able to understand the numerous social boundaries that my own personal identity traverses and, the ways in which the social boundaries of the participants in the research shaped their perspectives not only of me but also of their day-to-day in the borderlands.

The next four chapters, which form basis for this study's key findings, discuss how these borderlands – urban, rural, and transnational – are structured and function together with their implications on the construction, understanding, and performance of black womanhood in Musina local municipality. In Chapter 6, I offer an analysis of historical and contemporary notions of black womanhood by explaining what Musadzi/Mukadzi is. It is important to synthesize and evaluate these constructions and meanings of black femininity as they form the basis of Chapter 7, which examines how this gender identity is expressed in the context of other identities that intersect with it, such as class, location and nationality. Using a narrative approach, Chapter 8 continues to interrogate how the intersection of gendered expectations and the realities of life in the borderlands can place black women in challenging and perplexing situations affecting their identities and social belonging. The final analysis is found in Chapter 9, which examines how the urban-rural borderlands and the transnational borderlands aspects of the municipality interact and shape double borderland identities among its citizens.

CHAPTER 6: DECONSTRUCTING THE *MUSADZI/MUKADZI* OF MUSINA LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

6:1 INTRODUCTION

The difficulties in conceptualising identity and therefore gender identity in the African context have been highlighted by African feminist theorists. Mama (2001), for example, argues that the term ‘identity’ linguistically denotes a single, individual subject with distinct ego limitations; yet a significant portion of Africa lacks a comprehensive conceptualisation of identity or concrete means of establishing the singularity such a concept requires. Furthermore, the author asserts that all identities are gendered, as evidenced by gender having been and remaining a fundamental organising principle of African societies throughout the continent’s history (ibid.). According to Mama (2001), there is also complexity between the creation of individual identities and the creation of communal identities, which remains difficult to grasp analytically. Similarly, Mekgwe (2008) describes the difficulty of defining ‘Africanness’ and African identity and suggests an analysis of African gender constructs that considers the precolonial, colonial and post-colonial aspects of contemporary African identities. African feminism therefore, posits that the understanding of gender in the context of African realities is fundamentally related to questions of social experience and cultural identity (Odiwa, 2009). This is accomplished by considering the existential elements inherent in the ordered philosophy of traditional African communities and how they reveal how gender functions and relationships are made and re-made (ibid.).

The analysis of what constitutes black womanhood in Musina’s municipality in the following chapter seeks to extend the argument that African gender construction is anchored in the creation of individual and communal identities. I suggest that these identities complement each other as they maintain gendered power relations in the region. African feminism has been preoccupied by how African gender identity is constituted from decades of colonial domination and racist ideologies that are systematically established through ideological, sociocultural, and religious boundaries (Odiwa, 2009). However, Musina municipality is also a transnational borderland making the understanding of what black womanhood is more complex and multidimensional. This chapter examines how black femininity is perceived and experienced in the Musina borderlands and argues that gender identity is based on the notions of respect and respectability fostered by Christian morality. To better understand the significant impact

these ideas have had on the construction of gender in the region, the first section of this chapter explores how black femininity in South Africa and Zimbabwe is linked to Christian moral discourses and African traditions. A socio-historical analysis of gender construction in South Africa and Zimbabwe is important because participants associated with one or both countries in terms of national identity.

A key focus of this research is the meaning in gender identity, expected roles, and experiences as a black woman in an African borderland. Perspectives on the lives of black women in Musina's municipality are significant as they provide a glimpse into everyday life in the borderlands. In the literature review, the discussion of gender identity highlighted its importance to traditional feminist theory, its performative nature, and demonstrated criticism of the assumption that womanhood is a universal identity in all cultural contexts (Mohanty, 1988; Crenshaw, 1991; Butler, 2011). In this chapter, I examine the construction and reconfiguration of black women's gender identities in the Musina borderlands by drawing on African feminist philosophy. I propose that in the Musina borderlands, the identities of 'wife' and 'mother' are two important components of black womanhood. An analysis of perceptions of wifehood and motherhood reveals that they are often viewed as ideal models of black femininity because they are also associated with notions of respect and respectability. This will help answer the third sub-question of the research, which is: *What are the established or emerging contemporary ideas of black womanhood in Musina Local Municipality?* The chapter also considers the implications of such gender constructions on black women's social identities, arguing that they shape gender relations not only between black women but also with black men. By examining how the material reality of life in the Musina municipality influences perceptions of black femininity, the findings raise intriguing questions about what constitutes black women's individual and collective identity.

6:1.1 Constructions of black womanhood in South Africa and Zimbabwe: A brief history

When describing socially constructed behaviours, it is important to consider the specific context and temporal aspects in which these behaviours occur (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). This has been the focus of African feminisms, which acknowledges that African societies are constantly changing and absorbing new ideas and cultures, giving the continent its plural, hybrid, and fluid character (Mekgwe, 2010). One of the primary goals of African feminisms is analysing how African gender is constructed, by considering the effects of both colonial and historical influences, and the renegotiation, reshaping and re-evaluation of these identities

today (ibid.). The black African women studied live in a South African municipality that has both urban and rural settlements and features. The municipality borders with Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Mozambique, and has a long history of migration. This analysis and background is important to better understand the established ideas of black womanhood in the municipality and address sub-question 3: *What are established or emerging contemporary ideas of black womanhood in Musina Local Municipality?* In South Africa, the end of apartheid increased freedom of movement and access to formerly prohibited areas, and while this may not be the same for African immigrants, their presence has fundamentally altered the sociolinguistic and cultural geography of the nation today (Hove and Mavengano, 2020). In South Africa, the end of apartheid increased freedom of movement and access to formerly prohibited areas, and while this may not be the same for African immigrants, their presence has fundamentally altered the sociolinguistic and cultural geography of the nation today (Hove and Mavengano, 2020). Therefore, a social constructivist approach to gender is pivotal. According to Brickell (2006), a social constructivist analysis of gender that considers how it has been historically framed is helpful because it allows for the examination of historical shifts and changes that may entail continuities and discontinuities in the social organisation of gendered relationships. Understanding black womanhood in the Musina borderlands therefore requires an analysis of the sociohistorical processes that may have influenced the construction of gender identity in this context.

6:1.2 South African black womanhood

What it means to be a black woman in South Africa has long been shaped by the country's colonial past, apartheid rule, and the post-democratic era. The well-known story of Sarah Baartman, a woman of Khoisan ethnicity, whose historical enslavement and numerous public displays in European exhibitions in the early 19th century was an example of how imperialist racial ideology had a lasting impact on the ridicule, objectification and dehumanisation of the black African female body on the continent and in the diaspora (Scully and Crais, 2008; Gamble, 2022). Baartman's experiences, based on theatrics and exhibitions of human fascination, have shaped certain historical notions of race, gender, and place, particularly Western depictions of black female sexuality (Qureshi, 2004). According to Imma (2011), her legacy has been instrumental in post-colonial and Africanist writings that show how scientific racism enables savage and violent acts against black bodies and how it leads to persistent and frequent structural violence against African bodies and its normalisation. Black women's

gender and sexual identities were thus influenced by Baartman's loss of dignity and othering, resulting in black womanhood being identified with deviance and sociocultural ideas of subordination as constructed through masculinist and colonial discourses (Goredema, 2010b; Gamble, 2022). For example, the Native Administration Act of 1927 legalised the lower position of African rural women under the guardianship of their father or husbands (Van Kessel and Oomen, 1997). Furthermore, male migration was enabled by this subordination of women since the precolonial era (Maloka, 2002).

Another facet of the South African black woman emerged during the period of British colonialism, which was characterised by ideas of chastity, respectability, modernity and domestic authority (Marks, 1989; Thomas, 2006; Healy-Clancy, 2014; Erlank, 2017). An analysis of gendered social relations in segregationist South Africa shows how black male leaders and Christian missionary education were influential in the emergence of the 'New African woman' in response to the inundation of poor white and African women in urban areas and social unrest by rural women in the interwar period (Thomas, 2006; Healy-Clancy, 2014). The colonial state also incorporated structures of traditional authority through indirect rule, which distorted traditional laws and customs to control the movement of women and punish them for acts such as adultery (Guy, 1979). In contrast, the *volksmoeder*¹⁷ mobilised the cultural authority over Afrikaner motherhood, playing a crucial role in the formation of Afrikaner identity specifically, and more broadly white identity (McClintock, 1991). Afrikaner women were elevated first by honouring female Anglo-Boer war victims, portraying them as stoic and selfless sufferers, and then as independent working-class women in large industries post-war (ibid.).

During the apartheid era, black female bodies were structured as both "consumer and consumable" as the obvious distinctions between coloniser and colonised were reinforced by a binary system with patriarchal underpinnings based on a racial classification system (Frenkel, 2008:2). Furthermore, the Group Areas Act of 1950, together with the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970, worked to coercively restrict and trap African women with the burden of social reproduction and restricted social mobility, making them both visible and invisible (Cock, 2019). Not only did the legislation create geographical barriers between racial groups, but the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 in particular resulted in political demarcations within the African population based on presumed linguistic and cultural affinities, resulting in the

¹⁷ 'Mother of the nation', as it is known in Afrikaans, refers to the idea that Afrikaner women should play a political role in addition to being head of the household and a central figure in Afrikanerdom (Brink, 2011).

construction of black womanhood within the symbolic framework of a specific ethnic identity (Nettleton, 1992; Radhakrishnan, 2005). Furthermore, during the struggle against apartheid, black women's bodies became important representatives of gender and nationalism, promoting women's political activism through the ideology of motherhood, which echoed profound support and shared commitment to male authority and leadership, as well as the patriarchal family setup (McClintock, 1991; Walker, 1995; Settler and Engh, 2015).

In contrast to the colonial experience, post-apartheid South Africa is dominated by narratives of progress and inclusion through the removal of all restrictions on movement. Mupotsa's (2015) study of the rituals of wedding photography, for example, found that wedding imagery was influenced by notions of romance, consumerism, and freedom – all symbols of success in the post-apartheid era – which transformed people's expectations of femininity and marital rituals. In a study by Rice (2017) on men's and elders' criticism of human rights in the rural Eastern Cape, she also argues that young men viewed women's rights and their own failure to fulfil their duties towards women and elders because of unemployment as a loss of dignity. Her study took place in the broader context of legal instruments, such as the highly liberal Constitution and the Bill of Rights, which promise to safeguard against discriminatory practices based on gender and race by ensuring universal human rights (*ibid.*). Other studies have shown that contemporary constructions of black womanhood are informed not only by the abovementioned colonial legacies, but also by engagement with the social realities of post-apartheid South Africa. For instance, in a study by Sennott and Mojola (2017), of the shift toward respectable womanhood in rural Mpumalanga, the authors suggest that girls in post-apartheid South Africa now have access to a variety of options to become women, including 'traditional' ones like marriage and motherhood and more 'modern' choices like consumerism and education. It can therefore be argued that what it means to be a black woman in South Africa has always been the result of political, historical, and social experiences.

6:1.3 Zimbabwean black womanhood

Much like the constructions of South African black womanhood, Zimbabwean femininity was shaped by colonial and post-colonial discourses of morality, respectability, and motherhood that utilised Christian religion, traditional customs and linked them to ethnic identity anchored in patriarchy (Schmidt, 1991; Barnes, 1992; Mate, 2002; Venganai, 2017). Similar to her South African counterpart, the black Zimbabwean woman during the colonial regime, lived under European and customary laws in which the colonial authorities aligned with traditional leaders

to control her movements between rural and urban areas (Schmidt, 1991; Hungwe, 2006). To criminalise adultery, the Native Adultery Punishment Ordinance Act (1916) was passed with the approval of religious leaders, and the Native Marriage Ordinance Act (1917) was also enacted to enforce marital practices that conveyed moral discourse and further constructed black female sexuality and conduct (Jeater, 1990; Schmidt, 1990). Therefore, the marital status and guardianship of each woman could be easily ascertained, and unmarried women or women whose marital status was not identified by colonial law could be found and driven back to the countryside (Schmidt, 1990). The result was a significant impact on gender relations, leading to the loss of status of black women and their economic and social marginalisation. As Phillips (2003) suggests, these laws not only confined and nullified black women, but also gave them a specific social position in which their sexual independence was criminalised. Black women were regarded as legal subjects who could be punished for adultery, but who had no subjective legal status when aggrieved by a man's adultery, and no legal authority independent of their male guardian (ibid.).

Towards the end of the colonial era, the country was embroiled in a war of liberation that further contradicted black femininity through gendered representations. First, Ranchod-Nilsson (2006) argues that male combatants were more likely to invoke the spirit medium Mbuya Nehanda,¹⁸ a symbol of resistance used in rural mobilisation sessions, than to use their female comrades as representatives of the war. Another important representation of black femininity during the struggle was the 'Mothers of the Revolution', or 'Mothers of Zimbabwe', ideological and symbolic phrases that mobilised rural women to act on behalf of the soldiers by clothing, sheltering, and feeding them (Rooney, 1991; Ranchod-Nilsson, 2006). Finally, some women joined the war as combatant instructors or fought alongside their male compatriots in guerrilla warfare (Ncube, 2020). According to Hungwe (2006:40), female combatants performed 'male roles' in the war with hope that this would solicit respect, yet this did little to bring about gender equality. This is because, alongside struggle mottos such as "Forward with the cooking stick!",

¹⁸ Nehanda's importance to Zimbabweans stems from the belief that she was an ancestor of the Mutapa dynasty. Her prominent position as coordinator of the Mazowe Uprising of 18 June 1896, together with her persecution and execution, also contributed to her national importance. She transformed into a *Mhondoro* spirit after her death, who could communicate through several mediums. The memory of 1896 continued to be linked to the theme of resistance in the liberation struggles against the Rhodesian state (Beach, 1998).

female soldiers oversaw domestic responsibilities, reinforcing their roles as caregivers and mothers throughout the war (Nhongo-Simbanegavi, 2000; Ranchod-Nilsson, 2006).

In post-independent Zimbabwe, laws improving the legal status of women in relation to work and property rights, as well as government policies on healthcare and education, appeared to indicate that a society undertaking significant transformation, but in reality were working within prior structures of gender relations (Seidman, 1984; Ranchod-Nilsson, 2006). This was shown by the realities of Zimbabwe in the post-colonial era, such as, economic downturns and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. For instance, in a study by Vambe (2007), of how the HIV/AIDS pandemic impacts the construction of Zimbabwean femininity as demonstrated in popular poems and songs, the author points to deep-rooted gender prejudices. In songs and poems, proper black women are identified as those reliable, trustworthy, and docile, with 'loose' or 'dangerous' black women as sources and transmitters of the deadly virus (ibid.). In a related study, Mungwini (2008) explores how the HIV/AIDS pandemic imposes new moral imperatives on the production and reproduction of Shona femininity, an identity ideally linked to wifehood and motherhood. The author argues that in the face of a deadly virus, unmarried women were relatively safer and more likely to choose to negotiate safer sex choices because they were not constrained by cultural norms like their married counterparts.

From the brief overview above, it is clear that the colonial construction of black femininity followed similar trajectories in South Africa and Zimbabwe. The post-colonial era offered black women new opportunities and, occasionally, new choices that involved drawing on the past or finding new avenues to understand their womanhood, but these were not without challenges. Mapuva's (2013:262) study of the feminist civil group Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) which focuses on demanding participation in government processes, respect for human rights and the rights of women and children as means of confronting patriarchy in Zimbabwe, highlights the difficulties movements face in encouraging women to join. This is because of a number of factors, such as age, domestic responsibilities, geographical location, legislation limiting women's participation in political activities, and the widespread belief that men belong in the public space and women belong in the private ones space (ibid). Additionally, Chitando, Chirongoma, and Nyakudya, (2023) have highlighted the cultural totem *Chihera*¹⁹, which has roots in the MaShona ancestry and is used in present-day Zimbabwe to empower women and challenge patriarchal notions of submissive and faithful women. However, the

¹⁹ The term "*Chihera*" in the ancient chiShona totemic system refers to women who descended from the Eland (Mhofu) clan (Chitando, Chirongoma and Nyakudya, 2023).

authors also argue that Chihera is vilified, especially on social media, as a dangerous, calculated, aggressive and anti-religious form of womanhood (ibid). Finally, the most significant impact that Chadambuka (2022) cites is that, although the number of female parliamentarians has increased significantly since Zimbabwe's 2013 constitution and through policies such as the National Gender Policy (NGP), the prevailing belief is that patriarchy and androcentrism are the main causes of women parliamentarians' influence and reach. These examples show how black women in the post-colonial era sometimes make difficult decisions that involve looking to the past to develop fresh perspectives on womanhood.

6:2 Musina's *Musadzi/Mukadzi*: A woman of respect

The deconstruction of the black woman in Musina municipality involves three interrelated aspects, namely selfhood, wifhood, and motherhood.

6:2.1 Selfhood

At the heart of notions of respectability are ideas of sexual morality and gender performance, and these were deeply embedded in constructions of race and class (Richardson, 2021). Exuding respect or being perceived as respectable are important markers of black womanhood in Musina municipality. This is because these descriptors are not only used by participants to differentiate idealised black womanhood from other femininities, but also act as a qualitative measurement of how women adapt to life in the borderlands. In the broadest sense, exuding respect refers to the ways in which black femininity is exhibited or projected, such as through choice of clothing or occupations, which could be perceived as either positive or negative. This is not to be confused with respectable black womanhood, a term for gender expression and behaviour that is accepted in society. First, the idea of respect and its connection to morality and restraint were integral to participants' upbringing.

Yes. I grew up in a family where my grandmother was there, my mom was there. And even my responsible father. There was this rule that a girl, if you are a girl, you don't have to come home late. You don't have to find yourself in a situation where you going to this thing of boyfriend and girlfriend you know? Yeah, I grew up in a very disciplined family where even my mother was so very like – when I am not at home – she would be like, “Where are you? Your father is looking for you”! – Katlego, Aged 28, Female.

I was told how to dress, to have respect for elders, to value yourself, to have self-control... To respect your body and not be too exposed to men, not to go out clubbing...
– Virginia, Aged 22, Female.

The above responses show the legacy of what Horn (2006) refers to as discourses of sexual morality that were successfully established by the European colonial project and based on a reproductive, monogamous sexuality that was essential to the gendering of Africa's geographies. Racism and the control of a person's sexuality were inextricably linked to 'modernity', as European colonial powers defined it, since a person's sexual practices indicated her level of morality and conferred the respectability required by modernity if they displayed restraint and control (Omer, 2017). This is further shown by how Wendy (36) recalled the importance of being chaste and self-disciplined.

Growing [up], I remember being told not to let [a] man touch my body. I was also told that you should only live with a man when you are married, and not to live with different men at a time.

Preoccupations about the female body and the role of women in the public sphere in the post-colonial era has maintained this colonial image of black women, insisting that they should appear respectful, self-aware, self-controlled and obedient (Vambe, 2007; Coly, 2015). While it is true that the colonial project, together with Christian religion and African tradition, had an influence on the development of black African gender identities, as discussed in Chapter 4, it is important to examine these interpretations carefully as they do not mention specific circumstances and modern struggles that black women face today that could potentially impact gendered socializations.

While I was in the town of Musina, I regularly observed women being catcalled by men for supposedly dressing inappropriately. These anxieties surrounding the way black women presented themselves in public were frequently also shared by female participants, who pointed out that wearing 'miniskirts' and clothing that exposed body parts was indecent.

Ahh behaviour these days is so bad. And the way they dress. They will be wearing miniskirts. And they have no respect. A 35-year-old woman talks to me with no respect. A man disrespecting you is better than a woman disrespecting you, because with a man you can say it's drugs or marijuana. But with a woman what it is the excuse? – Gogo Aphane, Aged 58, Female.

Knee-length dresses show that **munhu anehunhu** [a person has ubuntu].²⁰ This is what we were taught in the church and at home. – Matinetsa, Aged 23, Female.

Christian faith was often mentioned by participants as crucial to how they viewed themselves as black women, defining their roles in the family, and “*what it means to be a respectable woman*”. This again demonstrates the legacy of Christian teachings on religious morality that served as the foundation for colonial civilising missions, later motivated concepts of bourgeois respectability, and continue to inform the regulation of black women’s bodies in post-colonial states (Settler and Engh, 2015; Omer, 2017). Once more, this interpretation should be understood as external of other everyday realities and circumstances that may give rise to religious discourse being the basis for learning acceptable gendered behaviours in Musina society. Matinetsa’s comments about *hunhu* are particularly telling because they suggest there is an element of collective identity in black womanhood. The chiShona word *hunhu*, also known as *ubuntu* in isiZulu, refers to a set of beliefs and practices that black people of African or, African descent believe make people truly human. According to Gade (2011), although there is no consensus on what the term *ubuntu* means, there are conceptualisations that interpret the phrase through interconnection, or, the idea that a person becomes a person through other persons. As such, *ubuntu*’s ideas are centred on morality, which is usually interpreted in terms of “other-regarding or relational moral virtues” (Molefe 2019:102). Thus, Matinetsa’s references to *ubuntu* in relation to women’s public appearance demonstrate that black femininity in the Musina borderlands is a relationship of both selfhood and the collective identity based on African traditions. This point will be revisited later in this chapter.

6:2.1.1 *Respectability versus economic wellbeing*

So far, this chapter has focused on how the construction of black womanhood in Musina municipality is influenced by moral representation, a fundamental tenet of respectability. As participants reflect on the survival strategies used by women as economic actors in the Musina borderlands, these notions of respectability play an important role. Scholars have argued that the prevalence of sex work and substance abuse by sex workers in Musina is primarily due to

²⁰ The Nguni term ‘ubuntu’, meaning ‘personhood’ or ‘humanness’, is morphologically composed of the augment prefix ‘u-’, the abstract noun prefix ‘bu-’, and the noun stem ‘-ntu’, meaning ‘person’ in Bantu languages. Although not always referred to by the same name, the idea of Ubuntu is also found in a number of African languages (Kamwangamalu, 1999). According to Molefe (2019), there are competing moral ideas in ubuntu, including the belief that harmonious and communal relations are the highest good.

undocumented migrants (Scorgie et al., 2013; Oliveira, 2016; Svinurai and Makhubele, 2019). As a result, black women's clothing choices play a significant role in how their career choices are perceived.

Some people start criminal and prostitute behaviours here. Some also change the way they used to dress while they were back home; now they wear inappropriate clothes. – Wendy, Aged 36, Female.

Women's economic activities in the Musina borderlands were used to assess respect and respectability. Sex work is often portrayed by participants as “*selling one's body*”, “*prostitution*”, or “*being naughty*”, and is often frowned upon.

And it seems some of them don't want to go to work. So, around this time, 6 or 7 pm, they are getting ready to go to the guest houses, hotels and to go stand in town to look for money. – Jeremy, Aged 46, Male.

There [are] things that you are not supposed to do. It's like for example, to sell your body to make money. Those things you cannot do. A person is supposed to just work with their hands to get money. – Mai Ruvimbo, Aged 38, Female.

Truly speaking, when people move to Musina, they develop this lazy mentality where they will not want to work. Most women who move [here] become corrupted. I think [it's] because Musina is a busy place since it is close to the border. We hear many people saying that Musina is not an environment for your character. – Patience, Aged 29, Female.

The above references to work ethic and physical labour are examples of how industriousness is one of the principles of respectability that became so widespread and part of black working-class ideology in South Africa in the 1930s (Goodhew, 2000 as cited in Thomas, 2006). However, similar to Dooling's (2018) argument regarding Cape Town's black population in the early 20th century, it is reasonable to conclude that respectability, in this case industriousness and sexual restraint, is hindered by poverty and economic survival. Even if they find employment other than sex work, the company that employs them raises moral questions about the lengths black women are willing to go to survive in the borderlands.

Yes. Especially in town, there are **magura** [coolies].²¹ They then started having relations with women who work in their shops. When the women are asked to be in a relationship by their bosses, they will not refuse because they will gain extra benefits. These benefits help them because the R1 000 they get paid is not enough to pay rent and take care of your children back home. Some of them have kids with them, but their life does not go anywhere after that. – Patience, Aged 29, Female.

The power dynamic between Asian/East African entrepreneurs and their female workforce has given rise to African patriarchal apprehensions surrounding black women's employment and immorality. One participant shared how he dealt with his own anxieties when his wife expressed a desire to find a job.

She had initially said she wants to work with the **maguras**. Knowing very well what happens there [that] your boss is your husband. I didn't want to lose her because of money. We started fighting and I could see she wanted to do something. So, I suggested that she does nails. – Desmond, Aged 40, Male.

General concerns regarding the moral choices women make to earn a living in the Musina borderlands have heightened fears about the increasing mobility of black women. In the colonial period, these apprehensions were raised as black women migrated between rural and urban areas (Barnes, 1992; Benson and Chadya, 2005) and later about cross-border trade and its association with prostitution in the post-colonial context (Muzvidziwa, 1998; Hungwe, 2006). Still, some viewed the way black women in Musina municipality presented themselves in public sphere as a natural response to contemporary fashion or rising social status rather than as immorality.

In the olden days, they just wear **minwenda** [traditional VhaVenda attire for women] – [the] old, old thing. But when the fashion comes, they adopt it. There is no problem. But the behaviour is still the same – VhaHlonono, Aged 56, Male.

The new generation has changed. The fashion and freedom. These days its modern. You just see change in the dressing because people are earning money. Their skin starts

²¹Asian and East African shopkeepers and informal entrepreneurs are often referred to by Musina residents as *magura*, a term that is a Shona version of the derogatory word 'coolie'. This word is a racial slur originally used to refer to indentured migrant workers of mainly Indian and Chinese descent (Varma, 2016).

glowing from the lotion ... Some change their behaviour, and some don't. – Olivia, Aged 42, Female.

This section focused on how moral discourses of self-discipline and sexual restraint have been central to notions of respect and respectability and how this has influenced the way some women in Musina municipality construct their black femininity. These perceptions of black womanhood constitute a larger patriarchal discourse that classifies particular aspects of black femininity as respectful while simultaneously constructing the other as disrespectful or deviant and continues to denigrate, control and be restrictive of women's bodies and sexualities (Huysamen and Richter, 2020). The next section highlights the importance of heterosexual gender relations, particularly marriage, as a key element of black womanhood in the Musina borderland.

6:2.2 Respectable wifehood

African feminist theorists argued against the exclusive use of the nuclear family in gender conceptualisations of African womanhood, suggesting that traditional feminist theory disregards the different forms of marital practices, such as polygamy and polyandry, which take place on the continent (Oyěwùmí, 2002; Idahosa, 2021). Under South African legislation, three types of marriages are recognised, which are civil marriages,²² customary marriages²³ and civil unions²⁴ (Statistics South Africa, 2018). However, there are other different types of unions in the country in which people take part, which are understood as marital practice such as, polyandry and cohabitation, because of the various cultural interpretations as to what constitutes marriage (Budlender, Chobokoane and Simelane, 2004). In Musina's municipality, what it means to be married has different meanings, as one participant tried to explain.

Here, if you observe, most people here don't marry. The people here in Musina – the man will stay alone. The woman will stay alone with the children. The man will say "I have a wife," but they will not be living together. They stay separately, doing whatever they want there. The relations are casual. But what I have noticed happen in Musina, if

²² Civil marriages are governed by the Marriages Act 1961 (Act No. 25 of 1961) as amended, and its associated regulations.

²³ Customary marriages are governed by the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act 1998 (Act No. 120 of 1998), which came into effect on November 15, 2000.

²⁴ The Civil Union Act of 2006 (Act No. 17 of 2006), which came into operation on 30 November 2006, regulates civil unions (relationships between same-sex couples legally recognised by the state authority). The law accommodates people who unable or unwilling to enter into marriage under the Marriage Act 1961.

you go to places like Venda, there are people who have polygamous marriages. That's where my husband grew up. Because what I know is when you live with a woman, you marry her. But people from here, no. You will hear them say "This is my wife" but she isn't a "wife". And its common. But if you go to the rural areas, a person gets married there [with] the husband and wife living together. I am married ... Not this thing of [just living together] ... I am really, really married." – Mai Makoni, Aged 40, Female.

As Erlank (2022) points out, during the greater part of the 19th century, European missionaries went against *lobola*-marriage, viewing it as slavery, linking it closely with polygamy, and arguing that it was a motivation for buying and selling women. Associating polygamy with slavery led to proposals for moral laws to abolish traditional African marital practices and promote monogamous Christian marriage as a model of civilised gender relations (Martens, 2009). Erlank (2022) noted that this resulted in different interpretations of marriage, reflected in the Natives Administration Act (1927), which gave little or no legal status to African customary marriages and differentiated Christian marriages from civil marriages and customary unions in 1929. Furthermore, the sociohistorical conceptualisation of marriage and how it influenced the construction of black femininity can be found in Posel's (2006) review of the housing situation of African men and women on the Witwatersrand in the 1950s and 1960s. This study demonstrated that in South Africa, marriage remained a prerequisite for social and moral respectability, particularly for women, as it was used to control and instil discipline to address colonial presumptions of African hypersexuality (ibid.). Mai Makoni's comment that she is "*really, really married*" therefore suggests that her black womanhood in relation to marriage is different from that of women practising other forms of unions she has observed.

However, studies have shown that South African marriage patterns and family units have evolved since the apartheid era, with the establishment of the migrant labour regime (Posel and Rudwick, 2013). Post-apartheid attitudes toward marriage have changed due to the vastly improved status of women, significant economic constraints on the ability to pay bride wealth, and various cultural understandings of what constitutes a marriage (Budlender, Chobokoane and Simelane, 2004; Posel, 2004; Mupotsa, 2015; Posel and Casale, 2015). For example, cohabitation may be seen as a substitute for rather than a precursor to marriage (Palamuleni, 2010). Budlender, Chobokoane, and Simelane (2004) have also pointed out that in some South African languages the term 'wife' is the same as 'woman', leading to the interpretation that

women who live with their male partners are not formally married. The same linguistic similarities can be found in the chiShona and isiNdebele languages of Zimbabwe.

Regardless of the marital practices to which black women adhere, wifehood is expected to include roles and conduct that define black femininity in the public and private spheres. In his overview of European attempts to regulate African marriages in Natal in the mid-19th century, Martens (2009) highlights the evangelical domestic ideology held that a truly civilised society guaranteed the gendered division of private and public spheres. The domestic arrangements in African society were to be transformed to separate the public sphere for men and the private sphere and to make the foundation of the domestic home the domain for women (ibid.). This is evident through the participants' expectations of, and experiences as, black women.

We cannot both be at the bar, husband and wife. Culturally we grew up seeing the mother staying at home. – David, Aged 40, Male.

This one time when we had to visit his family. So, he said, “Where I am from, you must bow when you talk to elders, and you must go down on your knees when giving them food. You wake up very early in the morning before everyone, and you do this and do that.” But I am thinking, “Will the food not taste nice if I don’t kneel?” If you do not [do it], you are being disrespectful. – Puseletso, Aged 28, Female.

In the private sphere, black femininity was strongly linked with the ideas of domesticity through the wife. Colonialisation established a specific inferior and domestic model of femininity through racialised and gendered principles that defined the ideal, respectable womanhood (Mohlabane and Tshoaedi, 2022). It should be reiterated that the colonial project's contribution to the construction of African gender identity is understood as a collaborative effort between African leadership and Christianity. This should be interpreted as forming the foundation for the gendered socialization processes mentioned above, albeit independently, as they are important but not the definitive factors that contribute to the pressures and demands that black women in Musina may face today. In the public sphere, wifehood for the black woman is upheld by the aforementioned notions of respectability, informed by moral discourses.

Things like being disrespectful to their husbands and the way they dress. They dress inappropriately even though they are married. You can have money and still respect your

husband. It depends on your character. The man of the house is the man of the house, and you should talk to him properly. – Ndumiso, Aged 40, Male.

For me, I would not want a wife like that, or that smokes when I also smoke. The budget will not work out. I also do not want a wife that drinks beer when I drink beer also. It will not work with the little money we earn. – David, Aged 40, Male.

From the comments above it is clear that gendered expectations for black women in relation to wifehood set the parameters by which wives are bound in both private and public. As Hungwe (2006) suggests, women are considered respectable provided they occupy the spaces designated to them; however, once they begin to reimagine the boundaries between public and private space, they risk being shamed and deemed as disrespectful.

6:2.2.1 Finding a respectable wife

Nevertheless, within African feminisms there is an acknowledgement of the role that colonialism played in the development of a nuclear family system that promotes monogamous marriage and elevates personal identity (Coly, 2015; Dery and Bawa, 2019). The combination of the viewpoint that wifehood contributes to a respectable construction of black femininity together with the gendered expectations that come with being a wife, have contributed to notions of respect and respectability. These ideas influenced participants' observations and decisions regarding potential marriage partners, first by differentiating women as urban or rural to classify their black femininity as either respectable or disrespectful.

The dressing. And the women from the villages you can just see it from the approach. The women from the cities are into the fashion. The one from the villages they greet you and bow their heads when giving you food. The women from town come talk to you without even greeting. We don't have kinship this side". – Tinswalo, Aged 30, Male.

Tinswalo's remarks on "women from the cities", which refers to the women living in urban settlements in the Musina borderland, were similar to those made by other male participants. The so-called "town women" were described as dressed like or actual prostitutes because of their revealing clothing, their "*alcohol consumption*", and generally their "*lack of respect*". Therefore, in the urban areas of Musina's municipality, the material practices of some black women's bodies are perceived as promiscuous and disrespectful, rendering them unsuitable for potential marriage.

Having a respectable partner was also considered by single female participants, with some suggesting that men from rural settlements were significantly better potential partners than their urban counterparts.

But the guys from Venda are a bit more restrained than the ones from here. And when they drink also, they drink with a bit of order. They don't drink to be drunk, you see? And you will see them – he will be going to the tavern with his girlfriend. [Or] with his wife. They go together to drink alcohol – Nelisiwe, Aged 24, Female.

I would love to get married to a Venda or Sotho man. Men from the village respect their wives. They are also hard working. They want to marry someone who will care for them and their children. They will not disappoint you. The problem with a man from the town is I may know his history and all the girls he has been with. In addition, they will not respect me. – Kudzai, Aged 23, Female.

In the above, the Venda region refers to the areas under traditional authority in Musina municipality and Limpopo Province. The men and women of Venda are portrayed as reserved and even willing to rethink public perceptions of women when it comes to drinking alcohol. Additionally, Venda women have been depicted as submissive and tolerant to their male counterparts in sculpture work (Nettleton, 1992) and in a review of selected Venda novels (Mawela, 1994). As a result, they are regarded as respectable and most likely to marry or be good partners in marriage. Gender and geography acknowledge how political, economic, cultural, and social differences influence sense of place and how gender experiences relate to places and locations (Bob and Musyoki, 2002). According to Little (2002), gender identities and the social construction of masculinity and femininity in rural areas require an examination of how interpretations of rurality engage and reflect the physical embodiments of rural life. For instance, Kesby's (1999:40) study of the meaning of gender in present-day rural Zimbabwe found that many urban men believed that disruption from gendered geographies was taking place through urbanising women – through clothing and the embodiment of urbane ways – which they felt “posed a historic crisis in the reproduction of gendered identities”. In this study, differentiating women as either urban or rural was important for participants to locate black femininity as either respectable or disrespectable.

Yah, its different. The behaviour of those who are staying in town. It's not the same as this one who stays here at the village. Here they have respect. Those who are staying in town, no. Drinking beer and all that. Here, they are not like that side, no. They have respect. – VhaChauke, Aged 63, Male.

The woman who lives in Maseha? They have a little respect. At some point the woman from [the] township – you know we have got an unemployment crisis in South Africa, and at the township, some become prostitutes. They usually bring alcohol; they are found at the lodge wanting money for rent or to be given money. Wearing miniskirts. Yeah, you see that's the difference. But here, the women in the village they don't have to wear the miniskirts and whatever. And there are no prostitutes here. If they are prostitutes, they are hiding (laughs). But there in Musina [town] there are prostitutes. – Oabile, Aged 29, Male.

In the urban settlements of Musina municipality, the material practices of some black women are perceived as promiscuous and disrespectful, making them unsuitable for potential marriage. It is evident that colonial contemporary ideas of rurality, rural reserve and homelands have influenced the perspectives discussed thus far. However, these views also demonstrate that modern material conditions, such as the ways in which urban life generates feelings of fear, unease and vulnerability, influence a rural nostalgia and sentimentality. Consequently, both men and women express a desire for partners from rural areas who will meet their needs and provide continuity and stability to counteract the constant change and fluidity they experience in the borderlands. This is done either by retaining patriarchal authority, however limited, or by pursuing long-lasting relationships and stability preferably with people with rural backgrounds. In discussions about potential marital partners, most participants not only resorted to shaming women, but also engaged in stereotypes about men and women living in the Musina borderlands. Some female participants generalised South African men as “*playful*”, “*not serious*”, and non-committal when it came to formal marriage, which frustrated single women like Matinetsa, who remarked, “*We want to get married*”, and offended married women like Zimi, who opined “*To them, marriage is just a title*”. However, certain attitudes reflected a pattern of counter-stereotyping.

I used to meet many South African women, and we used to fight a lot. They used to say that Zimbabwean women treat their husbands like Gods, [that] they would never do that. They also do not believe in marriages. Most of them do not believe in marriage. They

just have boyfriends and kids. On the other hand, we believe in marriage. We do not believe that our husbands are Gods, but we respect our husbands. Them, hey, they want to do things 50/50. That is the major difference. They do not value having a husband. Even if they have a husband, it will be 50/50. This means I cooked yesterday so you have to cook today. For South African men, having a car is more important than having a house. That type of asset is important to them. When it comes to relationships, they do not commit. – Blessing, Aged 37, Female.

Yes, they [South African men] treat women better because they do not fight a lot like Zimbabwean men. If you go to the clinic, they will say, “People from Zimbabwe love fighting.” If your man beats you and you go for help, they say “I know you are from Zimbabwe.” – Kudzai, Aged 23, Female.

According to Tafira (2017:78), “stereotypes define the Otherness, either who they are supposed to be or suspected to be”. Stereotypes play a crucial but underappreciated role in social relationships because the results of such generalisations bring prejudices to the fore since either case does not have to be true (ibid.). A study by Lesetedi and Modie-Moroka (2007) of Zimbabweans living in Botswana demonstrates how some immigrants display reverse xenophobia by expressing contempt for locals, and describing them as ‘lazy’ and ‘stupid’. The comments above reflect a pattern of counter stereotyping that shaped some participants’ attitudes toward potential marital partners. In Mangezvo’s (2015) study of the gendered identities of Zimbabwean men living in Cape Town, he argued that by generalising South African black men as “violent” and “lazy”, Zimbabwean men differentiate themselves based on what they interpret black South African masculinities, but participate in reverse xenophobia. The same argument can be made here, as female participants used counter stereotyping to distance themselves from their own Zimbabwean identities (Kudzai) and from South African women (Blessing, Matinetsa and Zimi). What is clear here is that women who identify as Zimbabweans use respectable black femininity to distinguish themselves from South African women, by identifying as respectable women who not only want to get married, but also want to keep those marriages going by embracing notions of respect and domesticity.

For the male participants, the South African woman represented independence, disobedience, and a threat to masculinity, while the Zimbabwean woman symbolised respect and hard work.

Women from South Africa and Zimbabwe are different. Those from Zimbabwe know hard work. They know the mud. The women from the location if you take them to rural

areas, its abuse. And if they grew up in rural areas, they come here and they change. The women from here they don't have passports. So, if I break up with a South African woman, I don't get my child. But if I am with a woman from home, I will still have access to my child. – Babusi, Aged 27, Male.

But I think the difference is, I think, the rights. In South Africa they have rights and then [with] those rights they say, “50-50”. You see. And then when a man wants respect and then a woman in South Africa – they don't respect the man. Because they have rights, and the government is protecting them. – Oabile, Aged 29, Male.

The above shows that male participants want partners who do not threaten their masculinity and access to their children. Other male participants described Zimbabwean women as “*family oriented and [with] a culture of saving*” and “*having ubuntu*”. In contrast, South African women are believed to place more value on material possessions and consumerism than on the wellbeing of their families or partners. In the Musina borderlands, where black women are viewed as either respectable or unrespectable, these comparisons between South African and Zimbabwean nationals contribute to a polarised understanding of black femininity. In general, the use of biases and generalisations regarding wifehood reinforces geographical masculine and feminine identities as rural, urban, and national within Musina municipality. Wifehood confers respectable status on black women in the Musina borderlands in two ways; through the process of becoming a wife, which enables women to attain a respectable social status through formal marriage; and wife, a gender role in which women are expected to exude respect in both private and public spheres. Motherhood identity, the final important aspect of black womanhood in the municipality, will be the focus of the next section.

6:2.3 Respectful motherhood

Earlier, this chapter briefly discussed the relationship between collective identity and the making of black femininity in the Musina borderlands. This will be discussed in more detail in this section. In the context of black womanhood and respectability, participants' comments about motherhood demonstrated that this identity had communal significance. Puseletso's detailed account of the birth of a child out of wedlock reflects these attitudes.

So, what happened is that I had a child out of wedlock and people would say I'm very unholy and stuff. A lot of people expressed disappointment in me. I had my son at the age of 24/25. They had high expectations of me. Once you fail to live according to those

expectations, you are then labelled in a certain way. I also felt like my pastors and parents felt like this was not what they taught me. I then said to them, “Do not allow the community to put you under pressure and make you feel like you did not raise me well.”

– Puseletso, Aged 28, Female.

According to Nkealah (2022), African feminists have pointed out that African cultures tend to blend the terms ‘wife’ with ‘mother’, with women expected to have children, care for them, protect their families, and uphold family values. Due to the social importance of being a wife over being a mother, where a woman is expected to become a mother only within the confines of marriage instead of being misconstrued “as just a common girl”, wifehood and motherhood have become understood as one in the same (Dery and Bawa, 2019). This understanding of motherhood and wifehood experienced by Puseletso reinforces the moral discourses that Christianity has promoted through colonialism. Becker (2004) argues that Christianity’s anchoring of sexuality and motherhood within the framework of Christian monogamy gave rise to a new set of notions about what ‘legitimate’ sexuality meant. This is demonstrated in Richardson’s (2021) historical study of how working-class white and coloured unmarried mothers living in Cape Town in the mid-20th century were still seen as aberrant, a position that confirmed their place in a society that used respectability to mark social divisions. According to African feminism, this construction of motherhood reflects how it is interpreted in Western patriarchal systems, in which motherhood is connected to wifehood and the children of unmarried mothers referred to as ‘illegitimate’ (Arnfred, 2004). This is demonstrated by comments made by a male participant on unmarried motherhood.

So, if we start with the women from here [South Africa] – the system I noticed in fact [is] sort of cultural. They say, if someone makes them pregnant out of wedlock, they [will] just say “It’s not my husband.” She will say, “It’s a friend”. They can have seven children and will just be boyfriend and girlfriend. If you see the boyfriend [that] she has [the] seven kids out of wedlock with, and you say, “There is your man.” She will say, “That’s my boyfriend”. Which is, for us and where we come from [Zimbabwe] – we are not used to it. Because when a person is not married to someone [when they have a child], we still call them your husband – Jeremy, Aged 46, Male.

Walker (1995) has argued that single motherhood is becoming less stigmatised in post-apartheid South Africa and more women are choosing it over marriage. However, Jeremy’s comments above show that some men remain unhappy with unmarried motherhood, not only

shaming and casting South African women in a negative light, but also insisting that the child's father be referred to as husband, thereby defining motherhood in relation to wifehood. According to prevalent marriage discourse, the paternal family is not entitled to children outside of marriage until damages are paid, a significant practice amongst black South Africans, who follow the Customary Marriages Act (120 of 1998), which stipulates that someone who impregnates a (young) woman out of wedlock faces a fine (Seepamore, 2018). McClintock (1991) proposes that by emphasising motherhood, women find it extremely challenging to choose to remain single, come out as a lesbian or do not have children. Women are considered wives who are accountable to the nation in their service to men in the heterosexual family within the sanctity of marriage (ibid.).

6:2.3.1 Motherhood: A reflection of the collective

Marriage shapes women through wifehood and motherhood as the driving force that produces togetherness and unity in society (Nkealah, 2022). Because women are placed with this responsibility, African feminisms argue that in African culture, motherhood is usually created not as a relationship or antithesis to fatherhood, but as a right and a relationship to offspring, and a significant foundation for social cohesion (Oyěwùmí, 1997, 2002). Motherhood, in contrast to gender, is the dominant category necessary for the appropriation of African women's identity and represents a cultural institution and an experience associated with the social function and ranking of the female (Odiwa, 2009). In this it differs from the nuclear family system because the traditional African family system is built around a core of blood relations (ibid.). For this reason, participants made motherhood a collective identity that reflects the way mothers raised their children, making their behaviour an extension of their own behaviour.

When you find a child with respect – it's from the mother. Not the child's father. The father is never with the child – it's always the mother. – Mai Makoni, Aged 40, Female.

And even the lifestyle here, you find that as a parent, can allow my child to do things that are not – I can say – African. We grew up with every neighbour, every auntie in the neighbourhood as our mothers. – Dimpho, Aged 38, Female.

In addition, the way things work is by four or six o'clock evening, you should be at home. You would not have a boyfriend openly. You could not have a boyfriend and live with him and your mother. But here they do it openly. A 14-year-old child can stay with her mother and the boyfriend whilst the mother looks after them. Here in Musina, a 14-

year-old can tell her mom that she is going to a sleep over at her boyfriend. For Zimbabweans after Form Four [Grade 11], you cannot just bring a boyfriend at home, its taboo. You will be hiding in the streets if you are with your boyfriend. Here a 14-year-old will say, “I am going to my boyfriends for the weekend.” That is when you see we have a very big difference. – Blessing, Aged 37, Female.

African feminisms emphasize the importance of motherhood over wifehood, highlighting how being a wife minimizes the status and many identities that women have within their families (Presbey, 2013). A traditional role that women are expected to play is caring for and supporting immediate and extended family members, including those attained by marriage (Lowry, 2009; Nkealah, 2022). One participant noted the demands and responsibilities placed on her by her in-laws and the difficulties in balancing these duties with her work obligations.

Okay. I am staying where I am staying with my mother-in-law. So, she’s an old person who expects me to perform some of the things, and sometimes I am tired. They won’t understand, they are old. – Dimpho, Aged 38, Female.

Dimpho’s comments show how “motherhood brought people into a family and a mother is centre as the centre of the family”, organising “everything including caring for not only the children, but also the husband, his parents and the extended family” (Liamputtong and Benza, 2019:220). Because motherhood and mothering are instrumental in shaping the collective identity that constitutes black womanhood, one participant emphasised the importance of being addressed not by her first name, but in reference to her children or marital status.

You know, different homes do different things. There are some who speak to their parents while standing. For us, back home, we sit down when speaking, even kneeling when we give people food. Even when we greet people. In the beginning I thought they were just doing it because it’s me. Even a visitor – you will see children not even bothering to greet them. Plus, if it’s a daughter-in-law speaking while standing – in Zimbabwe we don’t call each other by first name. Like my name, is Tracy*. They call me Tracy*. But in Zimbabwe, people are called by their clan’s name, or in relation to their child, or Mrs so and so. I teach my children the ways that my mother taught me, that a visitor is greeted. Always greet a visitor. When they come back from school, they must greet everyone, because this is what my mother taught me. – Tracy, Aged 38, Female.

In a study by Liamputtong and Benza (2019) on Zimbabwean migrant women's attitudes towards having children in Australia, the authors argued that the majority of women spoke with pride about the respect they received from society as mothers and how satisfying it was to be called by their children's names. This is also reflected in Tracy's comments. Furthermore, Tracy's resistance to being referred to by her first name shows another example of how her perception of wifehood and motherhood are based on a collective identity, as both identities should be linked to the name of her clan or her child.

6:3 CONCLUSION

This chapter focuses on the deconstruction of the black woman living in Musina municipality, noting that being a black woman is equated with being a wife and a mother. The ideal embodiment of black womanhood is a woman/wife/mother who exudes respect. This current perception of black femininity within the municipality, which has been identified in the analysis presented on selfhood, wifehood and motherhood, addresses the third sub-question: "*What are established or emerging contemporary ideas of black womanhood in Musina Local Municipality?*" Some of these ideas can be traced back to the sociohistorical development of Southern Africa, some of which were continued in the post-colonial state. The perception of black women is constantly influenced by the multicultural background of municipality. When black femininity is defined in terms of selfhood, it is an individual identity that requires women to maintain a self-image based on respect and respectability. As a result, self-hood within black womanhood focuses on restraint and self-control. These are important characteristics that can be used to assess how women, when migrating to the area or experiencing economic hardship, make the right economic decisions that do not compromise their morals or respectability.

At the same time, this black womanhood is also defined by the collective identities of wifehood and motherhood. Marriage can improve one's public image, so being a wife brings with it gender-specific expectations for women's behaviour in both the private and public spheres. In the private sphere, women are obliged to follow moral discourses of domesticity, and in the public sphere they must demonstrate self-restraint, respectful conduct, and not stay in spaces that are traditionally considered as "men's spaces". Because marriage has been defined in this way, suitable partners are associated with geography and nationality, resulting in conflicting positions about which black women in the Musina borderland possess these qualities. This has given rise to stereotypes and counter-stereotypes about South Africans and Zimbabweans and their marital practices. Given the current living conditions in Musina local municipality, the

counter-stereotypes take on even greater significance. Although the moral lives of some participants influence their perceptions of nationality and transnationality, as will be shown in the coming chapters, these individuals are nonetheless caught between attempting to assimilate and redefine their gender identities and performances in order to adapt to living in the borderlands. Still, marriage practices in post-apartheid South Africa have changed, but these biases still stem from colonial legacies that link marital status to public image.

Motherhood is the final component of black womanhood in the Musina borderlands. This is all the more significant because it places a burden on women as custodians of family values and cultural traditions that must be passed on to the next generation. Not only are the children one bears an extension of their black womanhood, but motherhood is also the identity upon which the collective centres on the actions of black women. This is reflected in the anxiety surrounding women who are single mothers, and the need to portray these women as “married” to the fathers of their children. For this reason, motherhood is a black woman’s identity in which she must always show herself as respectable.

Therefore, ideal black womanhood in the Musina local municipality portrays self-restraint and discipline in which black women respect themselves, their partners, and the community as a whole. Against this background, the next chapter explores whether it is these shared and conflicting views of black femininity that predominantly influence the actual material reality of black women in the borderlands. The idea of intersectional performative identities – how black women in Musina local municipality enact and experience their identities – is discussed in the following section, which challenges the notion that gender identity is something that is performed or experienced independently of other identity categories

CHAPTER 7: PERFORMATIVE INTERSECTIONALITY

7:1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter demonstrated that black womanhood in the borderland is a gender identity performed within a framework emphasising respect and respectability. These ideas influence the construction and reconstruction of black femininity, both as an individual identity (selfhood) and a collective one (wifedom and motherhood). In the literature review, the discussion of gender identity highlighted its importance to traditional feminist theory, its performative nature, and demonstrated criticism of the assumption that femininity is a universal identity in all cultural contexts (Mohanty, 1988; Crenshaw, 1991; Butler, 2011). Against this backdrop, this chapter focuses on the structural factors that place black women in privileged and marginalised positions given the power relations within this rural-urban interface and transnational borderland. An analysis of black femininity in the Musina Local Municipality shows that it is not shaped solely by gender identity but also race, nationality, ethnicity, geography, and social class.

The focus of this chapter is on the structural obstacles faced by black women in Musina's municipality and the ways in which they overcome them. This is to answer the fourth research question: *To what extent do the realities of the borderlands, that is, the urban-rural interface and the transnational interconnection, shape these identities?* According to Crenshaw (1991:1 245), structural intersectionality is the “multi-layered and routinized forms of domination” that often intensifies the disempowerment of those already marginalised by other structures of power. This chapter examines structural factors that influence black women's access to land, economic opportunities, and social services. It argues that black women in the Musina borderland engage in performative intersectionality to overcome structural barriers that render them subordinate. In performative intersectionality, identity categories are constantly co-produced inside a labyrinth of subordination and power, as noted by Norocel, Saresma, Lähdesmäki and Ruotsalainen (2022). A study by Norocel (2015) on the relationship between marginalisation and privilege in representations of masculinity in Central and Eastern Europe uses intersectionality to uncover how masculinity performances were intertwined with other identity signifiers. For instance, religion was seen as an indicator for ethnic belonging, while marriage was understood as an indicator of heteronormativity (ibid.). Because intersectionality emphasises how different identity categories are hierarchically interrelated, it explains the

continuously shifting relationship between gender and other categories; this brings forth an imperative to understand the workings of intersectional differences as performative (Norocel et al., 2022). Keskitalo-Foley and Naskali (2018:16) argue for performative intersectionality, suggesting that it is “an understanding of intersectionality that does not view categories and differences as essential identities or characteristics of individuals but as complex and historical processes.” The authors also suggest that performative intersectionality draws attention to transcending the traditional boundaries between politics, structures, and representations (ibid.).

In this chapter, intersectionality is used as a tool to analyse how gender, ethnicity, nationality, language, place identity, and class interact, and performatively produce each other. To this end, this chapter examines how black women’s gender performances are linked to other identity markers. This is important for recognising how gender performativity is accentuated by intersectional distinctions particularly since the municipality is a rural-urban continuum, and some settlements are relatively more oriented to rural or urban, but all are hybridised in some way. The chapter examines how certain historical continuities, combined with the material realities of life in the Musina borderlands, are addressed through performative intersectionality. It is argued that black women use performative intersectionality to shift power dynamics that shape governance, representation, and the social framework in which they live. The overall structure of this chapter consists of five parts: rural subjects and municipal citizens; access to economic and employment opportunities; access to social services; performing poverty, and finally, a comparison of municipal spaces as either rural or urban. This analysis allows for an understanding of multiple intersectional identities and how they merge with social inequalities to create specific experiences for black women in the Musina borderland (Rabe, Holte, McDonald, Angell and Siirto, 2021). The chapter will demonstrate that nationality, class, geography and language play an important role in shaping black womanhood for women living in Musina local municipality by addressing the fourth question: *To what extent do the realities of the borderlands, that is, the urban-rural interface and the transnational interconnection, shape these identities?* It will be argued that black women perform their identities in response to societal demands, which in Musina local municipality, shift depending on the context and their own willingness to compromise.

7:2 Traditional subjects and municipal citizens

Most participants acknowledged that the South African government places a high priority on the wellbeing of women. Women were considered superior to men in terms of local political status, employment, economic opportunities, and legal protection due to the nationwide fight against gender-based violence (GBV). One participant stated that her land ownership was a result of the municipality's gender empowerment programme.

I also have a farm but there is no water at the farm. You can get a farm from the municipality. You just apply. It's not only for women. But it is on you to develop and demarcate the farm. So, some people I know are coming together to install a shared borehole. I have cleared the land and fenced it. Women who are working – their positions have changed. The municipality prioritises women as there are now more work opportunities for them. – Bontle, Aged 43, Female.

Although Bontle specifically points to the promotion of working women, her comments on land accessibility suggest that land ownership is an opportunity available to anyone who applies. However, another participant, Katlego, spoke about the difficulties of acquiring land as a black woman living in the municipality's traditional areas.

Yes. [it is more difficult for women to live in Musina than for men]. You can see it's not that easy. Because things here in Musina are hard. Sometimes, because, it is not easy as a woman to get a stand. You need a husband to co-sign. Yeah. Something like that you know. – Katlego, Aged 28, Female.

Although Bontle and Katlego are both black, married, South African women, their views on land accessibility differ within the municipality. Bontle is a local and has always lived in the municipality's urban settlements. On the other hand, Katlego migrated to Musina's municipality for marriage. Katlego also lives in a part of the municipality that is administered under traditional authority. These intersectional differences play a role in potentially affecting state and local government to improve the material conditions of women in South Africa. For example, a review of the municipality's Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) over the past six years²⁵ demonstrate that gender has been a key performance area for the local government,

²⁵This review included the following years, 2016/17, 2017/18, 2018/19, 2019/20, 2021/22 and the most recent version, 2022/2023.

with gender empowerment mentioned as a specific area to be addressed through the facilitation of workshops and seminars (Musina Local Municipality, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019a, 2021b, 2022). Although no specific figures are provided, it was reported in the IDPs that from 2019/20 and in subsequent years, gender empowerment workshops and seminars were facilitated (Musina Local Municipality, 2019a, 2021a, 2022). While the planned Integrated Local Economic Development (LED) programme, lists gender equality as a priority, municipal documents assume that women represent a homogeneous category. Gender is also prioritised in planning activities in the integrated phase of all the IDPs in the municipality (Musina Local Municipality, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019a, 2021a, 2022). This perception was further reinforced by the municipality's Acting Manager of the LED, who noted the challenges, and the commonalities that urban women and women living in traditional areas share within the municipality.

The challenges are the same in the rural and urban areas but only differ in terms of basic services like your supply of water. – Mr Itani Dzebu, Acting Manager – LED.

Through Bontle and Katlego's perspectives, an intersectional look at how black women are affected by spatial disparities within Musina's municipality reveals that black women face a variety of advantages and disadvantages that extend beyond service delivery. This is also because rural and urban spaces are often understood as separate entities by residents even though the distinction is often much blurrier (a point that will be expanded on later). The difficulties women face living in the former homelands within South Africa, in accessing and owning land, are well documented (Bekker and Boonzaaier, 2007; Murugani, Thamaga-Chitja, Kolanisi and Shimelis, 2014; Sepotokele, 2018; Khuzwayo, Chipungu, Magidimisha and Lewis, 2019; Ngomane and Sebola, 2022). A woman's access to land in a patrilineal rural marriage is through her husband, and although women have rights to land in their spouses' communities, these rights do not extend to full ownership of the land in the event of divorce or death, and land can only be passed down through male lineage (Khuzwayo et al., 2019). The privileged (Bontle) or subordinate (Katlego) position that black women in the municipality face in terms of land ownership are also notable when considering the statistical data of Musina municipality on household head by gender from the Census 2022. As discussed earlier in Chapter 2 the data indicates that there are more female headed households in the traditional areas of the municipality.

This suggests that women, already considered a vulnerable group in society, are household heads in areas under traditional authority, which are the least urbanised areas of the municipality. This is significant because it also means that almost half of the municipality's female household heads have experiences living under traditional authority within the borderland, which shapes their gender identity. In a study of rural land access and land use of women in Limpopo province, Murugani et al. (2014) argue that rural women make up a large percentage of the rural population and that women's rights to land and its use are largely secondary property rights, with women's birth and marital male relatives holding primary rights. This contrasts with male participants often commenting on how "*simple*" and inexpensive it was to acquire land in the municipality's villages. Thirty or forty square metre stands cost an average of ZAR4 000 to ZAR8 000 depending on which village they were purchased in, with the buyer only having to "*just put a fence to show it is someone's place*". When it comes to access to land in traditional areas, Katlego and many other women like her who live under customary law therefore have gendered, racialised and geographically determined identities that intersect with certain structural obstacles with which men or black women with urban identities may not be confronted. This is significant when considering the importance of land ownership to black women's intersectional identities. The large number of female household heads in the municipality demonstrates the resilience of patriarchal beliefs regarding land tenure and rights under customary law, as rural land ownership confers identity, power, belonging, and a way out of poverty (Murugani et al., 2014).

In agricultural communities, land is a central aspect of production, so property ownership and property rights are key factors in the transformative decisions and choices of farmers, particularly if they are women (Ngum and Bastiaensen, 2021). This is because, when women gain increased ownership and authority over their physical and financial properties, they become less financially dependent and have decision-making power on the income produced by these assets, which makes them gain more bargaining power within the household (Pradhan, Meinzen-Dick and Theis, 2019:26). Therefore, it is important to keep in mind how the oppression of women can be exacerbated or reinforced by factors such as geography, as these systems are fluid, dynamically changing and interwoven over time, as are the views of the women about their own identities and rights (Zhllima, Pojani, Merkaj and Imami, 2022). An intersectional analysis of women's access to land tenure shows that when considering the formation of black femininity in the municipality, there is an interplay between the subordinate position of women living in traditional areas and the perception of this womanhood as

respectable and submissive. Performative intersectionality demonstrates the relationship between black womanhood and the advantages it enjoys in terms of municipal policies, and geographical identity as a signifier of intersectional difference. As geographical identity may be shaped by long-established traditional practices, black women in urban settlements have different intersectional experiences where their gendered performativity in relation to land tenure gives space for and independence and challenges patriarchal power relations.

7:3 Access to economic and employment opportunities

Some participants shared how economic and employment opportunities have changed over time. On the one hand, one participant recalled that Musina's municipality used to have a comparatively lower threshold required for entry into the labour market, noting, *"It was very easy to get a job because when you had matric and a license, you were the most qualified person for anything and any job."* On the other hand, another participant recalled how during her upbringing she thought she had limited opportunities because, *"when I was in school, I thought I would be a domestic worker or work in the spaza shops because that was what was all around me."* As mentioned in the previous section, economic opportunities are now perceived primarily as an advantage for women.

The opportunities are now more for women than guys. So, I expect them to grab the opportunities they have. Things like funding for business for women, tenders are also targeting women. But now most of them are just busy squandering [the opportunities]. I would say that women are catching up because you will find out that municipal managers or the mayors are women. So, I can say women are being given a chance, and it seems like men have been having a lot of opportunities so now it is time for women. So, I can say opportunities for men [the opportunities] are being lessened bit by bit because even now, when we do job applications, they say women first. – Tonderai, Aged 27, Male.

According to the municipality's Acting Manager for LED, there were no gender disparities in unemployment in the region. However, he acknowledged the role of transnational migrants in the municipality's economy.

[There has been a] shift of businesses from local people to foreign nationals. Unemployment is affecting both males and female. Females are mostly affected by informal employment within the municipality [as] women mostly are the ones who do petty jobs and they [are] mostly under-paid. – Mr Itani Dzebu, Acting Manager – LED.

The above comments demonstrate what Alloatti and Matos de Oliveira (2023), refer to as inequalities rooted in the intersections of race, class, gender, family structure, and labour market participation that shape women's lives. Consequently, employability of black women in Musina municipality is also influenced by their national identity and whether the work is in the formal or informal sector. Furthermore, Delaney and Macdonald (2018), found that informal work – work that is not properly regulated in practice or law – contributes to the invisibility, gender and racial discrimination, and general vulnerabilities of migrants. As discussed in the previous chapter, black migrant women informally employed in the Asian/Muslim owned spaza shops experience these vulnerabilities as they engage in transactional sex with their employers to supplement their income.

Those seeking formal employment were not exempt from the vulnerabilities associated with their gender identity, as they indicated sexual harassment was the main barrier to finding work. Workplace sexual harassment can take a range of forms, such as quid pro quo harassment where a proprietor, boss, manager, management individual, or colleague takes on or tries to impact the course of hiring, career advancement, training, discipline, removal, pay increases or different advantages of a worker or occupation candidate in return for sexual favours (Prinsloo, 2006; Heymann, Moreno, Raub and Sprague, 2022). This was evident in participant observations.

And even a job. You may find that; you have applied, maybe. Come maybe like, HR is going to take advantage of you. They are going start proposing to you. "If you do this and this, I will give you a job, I am going to what what." You know? And sometimes you are going to find that you are really [in] need of something. And you felt quite helpless when you go to a man. That man is going to take advantage of you. He started to help you through his terms and conditions, you know? Yeah. That's how it gets. That's how it is. It's not easy for a woman to live in this place. – Katlego, Aged 28, Female.

Opportunities are few and still difficult or rather impossible to be considered. And when I say difficult or impossible it's not a matter of you don't reach the minimum requirements. Fraud and corruption are playing a part as well. This is disadvantaging us. You would apply for a job, and you would not get considered, not because you were not qualifying but simply because some HR guy wants to sleep with you so that you can get the job. – Puseletso, Aged 28, Female.

According to Grant (2005), because women, and black women particularly, continue to lack economic and social power, it is evident that sexual harassment occurs when a woman's gender overshadows her role in the workplace from a male perspective. The intersectionality of gender and race places black women in a position of marginalisation as they are subordinated to racial and sexual dominant practices in the workplace (Groenmeyer, 2011). In the Musina municipality, educated black women are placed in a similarly subordinate position to their informally employed migrant counterparts when asked for sexual favours in return for formal employment. An intersectional perspective enables an understanding of how eligibility to formal employment in the labour market gives some women the advantage to find work that offers protections and benefits not enjoyed by informal worker. However, access to formal employment can sometimes be overshadowed by sexual harassment. In a community where the broader discourse on black femininity revolves around notions of respect and respectability, this leaves all black women in Musina's municipality vulnerable and in subordinate positions when it comes to the labour market. Regarding formal employment, Patience expressed the view that the local labour market favours internal migrants over locals from the municipality.

Most people do not hire people from Musina. They hire kids from outside. I should stand a big chance of getting a job here because I am from Musina, I speak Venda and I am educated. The other thing is, I am more qualified than some people who are already there, which is becoming a disadvantage. Now I remove my honours degree on my CV because this might threaten the people that are already there. – Patience, Aged 29, Female.

Her presumptions appear to be reinforced by the fact that three participants expressed that they would not have internally migrated to the municipality if it were not for what they called "*promotional posts*". What is significant about Patience's observations is that she believes her tertiary qualifications marginalise her to the extent that she needs to deskill her resume. At first

glance, Patience seems to feel overlooked due to overqualification, but her reflexive interview reveals a more nuanced understanding of her intersectional identity.



Figure 11 Musina High School. (Source: Patience)

Patience (29) mentioned that she moved to South Africa at the age of 16 and had to learn the Tshivenda language, with which she was unfamiliar, and adjust to the environment. Patience took a photo of Musina High School (see *Figure 10*) and explained that it was important to her because it was where she learnt the language, developed a sense of community, and made decisions about her life.

Many relations were created during the years I spent at the school. Most of the people [who] are close to me are those I met at Musina High School. The school opened many doors in my life. I never dreamt of furthering my studies after matric but after being taught and advised by the educators there, I realised going to tertiary [school] was a good thing after all. What I can say is that Musina High School as a whole played a huge role [in where] I am today.

With regard to her career, Patience (29) decided to study to become a Tshivenda language teacher. This is the same language that she had to learn and become familiar with to fully

integrate into the community. However, due to the job market, Patience feels compelled to remove some of these qualifications from her resume.

At first, the language was difficult but now I can speak fluently. When I went to university, I majored in Venda. I started learning Venda in Grade 11, so when I went to university, they said they only had space to major in Venda and life orientation. At first, I wanted to work here, and every job application I did, they called me for an interview. I then later realised that when you are called for an interview and if the job is not yours, you are just accompanying the owner of the job. That whole process was demoralising because I never got a job.

According to Erdogan and Bauer (2021), over qualification is portrayed as a type of underemployment and an obstacle to employment because it depicts a work circumstance in which a representative's capabilities, such as training and experience, surpass work prerequisites and are not used at work. Patience's career as a Tshivenda language educator is very important, and the difficulty of finding work shows that her intersectional identity can make her an outsider in certain situations. Because of her gendered, educated, and transnational identity, she is forced to perform an intersectional insider identity through language in the larger context of life in the municipality. Yet, her skill level and high unemployment mean she remains an outsider and is forced to perform a less qualified identity in the hope of finding work.

7:4 Access to social services

The gender differences in responding to GBV and the different experiences migrants have in accessing police and health services are discussed in the following section.⁷

7:4.1 Gendered differences to responses to GBV

As previously mentioned, women were seen by some participants as the main focus of government policy at all national levels and this was attributed to the fight against GBV. Regardless, these views have implications for how gendered social relationships are perceived. For example, an older participant, Gogo Hulisane, believed that men are only “*pretending*” to respect women and that they are “*only doing it because of the law*” because “*the law is on our side*”. Furthermore, some male participants shared a disdain for this national focus on women, even concluding that women deliberately provoked men because they “*knew*” the law was on their side.

They are putting them first a lot. And then that thing it's wrong because – yeah, because the woman, sometimes. They think they must dictate [to] a man or a husband because of that power, you, see? And then the issue of gender-based violence, at some point, some women can come confront you and make you angry. Because they know if you beat them, they [can] go to the police, yeah. That's the problem. The women these days, cannot bow down and give you food. – Oabile, Aged 29, Male.

Government prioritises women. Even if you hit her, you get arrested. – Babusi, Aged 27, Male.

The above observations appear to confirm the comments of one participant who reiterated that the local South African Police Service (SAPS) prioritises women's safety and recalled an incident that highlights the gendered disparity in reporting intimate partner violence.

Oh! A woman is so precious. Woman. Child. Those are the most precious things here. Let a man phone and say a woman is doing this and that. Right now. Let a man say, "A woman did this to me"! [At] the police station [they] will look at him as if he is invisible. There was a day at the police station. I wanted to certify my photocopies. A man was there telling them sincerely, "I am not getting along well with my wife. My wife did this and that". They said to him "Why don't you start by going to take a bath first" (laughs). – Mai Makoni, Aged 40, Female.

In its commitment to address the needs and barriers faced by all citizens, especially women and their intersecting identities, the South African government has launched a strategic policy and programme framework, the GBVF-NSP, with the hope of promoting inclusivity and diversity (Department of Justice, 2019). However, there are different academic perspectives on the effectiveness of government interventions in combatting gender-based violence. For example, Govender (2015) found that despite legal, socio-political and economic reforms to promote women's empowerment, the SAPS response to domestic violence claims was considered as ineffective and unprofessional, usually leading to domestic violence crimes being under-reported. On the other hand, Ozoemena (2015) points out that GBV in South Africa is predominately experienced by women, and that although police and prosecutors are seen as incompetent, inferior and powerless, the system as a whole is not broken compared to those in other African countries: it is more functional. Still, participants' observations are significant in that they demonstrate the perceived gender advantage that women have over men when it

comes to how allegations of domestic violence are received by police. In a study of gender differences in danger of experiencing intimate partner violence in South Africa, Gass, Stein, Williams, and Seedat (2011), found that differences between violence committed by women against men and men who report being victims of violence could be viewed as under-reporting due to social desirability. In other words, the scholars argued that violence by women against their male partners is seen as unacceptable or shameful (ibid.). Barkhuizen (2015:301) has suggested that the social beliefs that reinforce male violence against women, such as patriarchy, also support the lack of acceptance of abused husbands.

7:4.2 Migrants varied experiences with social services

Although women may have a gender advantage in reporting intimate partner violence, transmigrant identity is presumed to make a difference in access to social services. The literature on xenophobia in South Africa is rich and extensive (Danso and McDonald, 2001; Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh, 2005; Charman and Piper, 2012; Crush and Tawodzera, 2014; Hunter-Adams and Rother, 2017; Zihindula, Meyer-Weitz and Akintola, 2017; Tafira, 2018; Vanyoro, 2019; Tarisayi and Manik, 2020). Scholars have argued that foreigners are more likely to be victims and are less likely to report crimes, because of their perceptions of the culture of the police and their attitudes toward foreigners (Danso and McDonald, 2001; Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh, 2005; Charman and Piper, 2012; Masuku, 2016). In the municipality, some migrants spoke about their negative experiences when reporting crimes.

Also, as a foreigner, it's more difficult to report rape cases especially if the person who assaulted you is South African. These police don't do much. The perpetrators are released early and there is an actual fear of retaliation. Even when they do something, the police take too long to react. They can come two hours after you call them. Like I said before, we go to the police, and nothing happens. Another person I know got robbed in Mshongoville. Then an Ethiopian also got robbed and there was no response. They target us foreigners and they know you have nowhere to turn. – Matinetsa, Aged 23, Female.

In clinics, they try to treat us well. Then when it comes to police, they look at where you come from. There are some South African people who try to disregard the issues that foreigners report to the police. However, if it is a South African, they help them. If a Zimbabwean person has done something wrong, they take it seriously, but they do not do the same when it comes to their own or other nationalities. – Ndumiso, Aged 40, Male.

Nevertheless, some participants had different opinions about the negative treatment of foreigners, suggesting that these experiences may be due to issues of legality.

They do help. I have never seen a police officer that discriminates if you are a foreigner. I have seen cases where they arrest border jumpers. I have never seen them chase someone away because they are a foreigner. – Wendy, Aged 36, Female.

As can be seen from the comments so far, there are different opinions among migrants about their treatment, particularly by the police. It is important to note that, unlike Wendy, who has a ZEP permit, Matinetsa's comments may reflect her own anxieties about being an undocumented foreigner living in Musina. However, given the several international treaties on the rights of foreigners that have been signed or ratified by South Africa, they should have similar experiences. These include the International Convention on the Protection of Migrant Workers, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.²⁶ According to the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) (1999), the processes of arrest and detention of undocumented migrants, which are often arbitrary, involve bribery and corruption, violates their rights, is usually inhumane and often humiliates them. When it comes to access to healthcare, there were also variegated responses regarding treatment of foreign nationals.

Everything is done well. There is no problem. It's the same, like, right now, if you were to have a problem ... getting sick. If you get sick, they will send a car and treat you nicely. All you have to do as a person is to have the right documentation with your papers. So that they can see if you are the person, you say that you are. Don't just be an unknown person. You know people are difficult. That time they have nothing at all, and they want to be healed. You know people are difficult. You should have all your things sorted. If you die, how are they supposed to identify you? – Mai Makoni, Aged 40, Female.

²⁶ The United Nations Treaty Body Database shows whether South Africa has signed the agreement but not officially ratified it. Any country that ratifies or accedes to a treaty is a party to that treaty and must abide by its rules. Countries that have signed but not yet ratified the agreement express their intention to do so in the future. In the meantime, they are obliged to refrain from doing anything that runs counter to the objectives of the treaty.

https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=162&Lang=EN

I do think the government is trying because I remember a time when I discovered a lump on my breast; they referred me to a hospital in Polokwane to get a mammogram to see if it was cancerous. As a foreigner I did not pay anything, but they called an ambulance, which took me to Polokwane, waited for me and came back with me. Went back for a check-up. And it was not cancer thank God. They did everything. – Blessing, Aged 37, Female.

If you go to the hospital, they assist you. But we now have to pay; we didn't before. I think it maybe because of the corona disease. The prices are different for Zimbabweans. If you have a passport with a permit, it will be similar to a local. It also depends on why you are going there. If you want a bed, they will charge you. – Wendy, Aged 36, Female.

Positive experiences with access to medical care are reflected in the responses above, along with some awareness and practical knowledge of the significance of being able to identify foreign nationals in the event of unfortunate circumstances. Nevertheless, there is additionally the issue of admission to essential medical care and help in general, and how the nature of medical services is influenced by medical xenophobia, which classifies patients by nationality, appearance and language and manages healthcare on this basis (Solomon and Kosaka, 2013; Crush and Tawodzera, 2014). One participant spoke about the prejudice that foreigners face when seeking medical services due to their nationality.

At the police station they do help. At the clinic they are rough these days. Especially if you are from outside the country, they will treat you like hell. They will make you wish you were never sick. If you do not have anyone that knows you at the clinic, it means you are in trouble. They also insult you. If you speak in English, they will give you one pill and say go to the pharmacy and use [your] money for medicine. We no longer get pills or injections at the clinic. If you are South African, they will give you a box of pills, but not Zimbabwean. The treatment is so obvious. – Kudzai, Aged 23, Female.

From the above, it is clear that gender, race, and national identity intersects and shapes black women's experiences with social services in the municipality. These experiences can also differ because of their immigration status. Another structural obstacle that contributes to access to social services and healthcare specifically, is the issue of language barriers.

We get good services from the hospitals although sometimes there are some issues with some nurses. When I first came here before I could speak in Venda, they would say,

“You should speak in Venda whether you know it, or you do not”. They do not like speaking in English. – Blessing, Aged 37, Female.

They will force you to speak Venda otherwise they won’t help you. The nurses will tell you, “We don’t speak English”. – Matinetsa, Aged 23, Female.

Vanyoro’s (2019) study of frontline healthcare delivery in a public health clinic in Musina municipality proposes a narrative against medical xenophobia in the area. He argues that there is no evidence that migrant patients have been discriminated against in terms of language, documentation, or referrals (ibid.). Instead, Vanyoro (2019) proposes that some health professionals have learnt enough ‘medical Shona’ to overcome language barriers due to the municipality’s geographical and cultural proximity to Zimbabwe, and further argues that undocumented migrants were not impeded from seeking medical attention. Yet, the results from this study seemingly contradict. For example, Kudzai described her strategy to address stigma towards Zimbabweans seeking treatment at Musina Hospital; this includes changing the power dynamics in her interactions with medical professionals.

If you speak in English, they will give you one pill and say, “Go to the pharmacy and use money for medicine. If we give you pills, you will sell them”. Yes. They do say that. At school I did Sepedi²⁷, so I know it very well. Venda, I know. So, at the clinic you just hear them saying, “Ahh that one, it’s Zimbabweans”. So, you must go and speak Sepedi before they talk to you and tune your tongue to speak Sepedi very well. So, when they go through the names, and they hear my Sepedi they say to me “Ohhh. Who taught you? Because you speak Sepedi very well!” And then they treat me nice. So, I am like that. – Kudzai, Aged 23, Female.

The negative experiences expressed by participants are similar to Hunter-Adams and Rother’s (2017) findings that participants’ experiences of prejudice outside the healthcare system were intensified by their perception that language was used as a tool to discriminate and further interpret it as an uncalled for imposition. Kudzai’s experiences are an example of performative

²⁷ Musina students have to learn Sepedi as their native language and this is one of the biggest obstacles for Zimbabwean students in the local education system (Levy, 2022). There are 12 official languages in South Africa, which are Ndebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Afrikaans, English, and Sign Language. The isiNdebele from Zimbabwe differs from South Africa’s Ndebele (*The Sunday News*, 2023).

intersectionality because, to overcome the perceived medical xenophobia that comes with her national identity, she goes above and beyond by communicating in Sepedi, even though she can speak Tshivenda. This allows Kudzai to shift the balance of power between herself and the healthcare professionals.

This section has demonstrated performativity in relation to social services in three ways that summarise Kudzai's identity. First, gender differences in reporting intimate partner violence suggest that women are more likely to receive a response from the police because they are rarely viewed as perpetrators. For some participants, this enables victimhood where men are overlooked as victims of GBV. Second, some migrants believe that by performing a legal immigration status and having proper documents leads to a positive experience in accessing social services. This is despite South Africa having signed and being party to UNHRC treaties and conventions, which provide that both documented and undocumented migrants are treated with human dignity. Finally, as shown above, there is the suggested linguistic performance of speaking in Tshivenda or Sepedi, which allows migrants better access to health services. Looking specifically at Kudzai, her performative intersectionality is ahead of other gendered, racialised, national, and transnational intersectional identities.

7:5 Performing poverty

According to Bastia, Datta, Hujo, Piper and Walsham (2022), studies of migration and gender tend to paint women from developing nations as uneducated and poor, suggesting that female migrants from poorer countries are victims or victimised. Parzer (2021) has further pointed out that regarding displaced people as vulnerable transients and passive individuals without agency implies that they are heavily reliant upon the host society's help. This can be both helpful and taxing, as the study of Liberian refugees living in New York by Ludwig (2016) shows. In his research, he pointed out that the term 'refugee' has a double meaning – it is beneficial as it provides access to material benefits, but is often disadvantageous in creating and reinforcing stereotypes (ibid.). Although migrants are ascribed essentialist identities, there is room for agency reflected in how they perceive these identities and how they can use them to their advantage. During a discussion on social cohesion in the municipality, one of the participants questioned the idea that Zimbabweans were in a worse economic situation and suggested that they were pretending to be poor.

But the thing about the Zimbabweans, they look poor begging for money and customers, but they are rich in Zimbabwe with their mansions. It's us South Africans – we spend our money eating take aways, but they will sit there and make sure they eat their bread because they have a goal to say by the end of the day “I must have that much money”. Zimbabwean people know how to work and how to budget. – Bontle, Aged 43, Female.

Bürkner (2012:192) has suggested that an intersectional lens on migrants' social inequality uses an “image of humanity with emancipatory potential”. This, he argues, allows migrants to be seen as full subjective individuals with their own rights. Bontle's observations show the role migrants play in shaping perceptions of their identities and how these beliefs can reinforce or destroy long-established stereotypes about them. For instance, Islam (2005) proposes that in the culture of poverty the poor come to acquire certain beliefs, standards and behavioural patterns that differ from the general culture. Therefore, pretending to be poor or lower class shows migrants' agency and raises questions about why they perform certain identities.

I am observant; I spoke to two women wearing long dresses and dirty sneakers. One of the managers was talking to them and he made a very offensive statement saying, “You with your dirty sneakers”. That girl was brave enough to respond and say, “You should come to my house where I am from. The reason why I am dressed like this, let me explain it to you. I've got more than R50 000 on me. You know you cannot cross the border wearing tight jeans, makeup, and earrings. We could get robbed. We are going to boost your economy. We are coming in to make your shop rich”. Then my manager started apologising. I realised then; you can't judge a book by its cover. – Puseletso, Aged 28, Female.

Taken together, Bontle and Puseletso's observations provide insights into the ways in which migrants use a performative strategy of pretending to be poor for two reasons: to gain sympathy from customers or to cross the South African-Zimbabwean border safely. In this way, migrants demonstrate their ability to act and are no longer excluded as mere competitors in the socio-economic system or as vulnerable people (Bürkner, 2012). Because there is a perception that Zimbabwean migrants are poor or lower class in the municipality, some women use the intersections of gender, race, class, and transnational identity as a structural advantage to perform poverty. Leighton's (2020) argument about performative informality is comparable to this kind of performance. By “performative” she emphasises the fact that informality is a standard remade with each act and brings to the fore how such acts are a “negotiation of power”

(ibid.). In this case, some migrants in the municipality use their intersectional identities to perform poverty and shift power dynamics. This is because the ideas of being poor or belonging to the lower classes are norms associated with their identity.

7:6 “Life is harder for the rural woman”.

7:6.1 Lack of economic opportunities

The final section on how black women in Musina’s municipality engage their performative intersectional identities focuses on the lives of black women living in the traditional areas of the borderland. Earlier, the chapter discussed how women living under traditional authority experience interlocked oppressions of gender, race, and place identities to subordinate them when accessing land. Another form of marginalisation regarding their geographical identity concerns their economic and employment opportunities.

There is a time when I used to go to [the] rural area, because I am an explorer. I went there and there was this 14-year-old girl working [at] a farm already. There was another one who looked like she was [younger] than 18 and she was also pregnant. It is just a different life over there. You find that their job is to plant seeds, and they may get R10 a line or bed. Therefore, because of that they are in a rush to plant as [many] seeds as they can to make more money. So, if they find a guy who can give them R100 they will feel like they found a good guy. Most of the people in rural areas are dropouts. They do not see school as a priority. – Tonderai, Aged 27, Male.

There is no opportunity for me. I studied microbiology and even with [the] COVID [pandemic], I went to all the clinics and hospitals, and they told me they had no space to hire me. – Phelokazi, Aged 26, Female.

According to Stull, Bell and Ncwadi (2016), South Africa’s rural areas intentionally marginalise racially defined groups, a legacy of the apartheid government and the homelands. These rural homelands were fragmented and within them new urban areas emerged, but they could not function as typical cities because they lacked economic infrastructure (ibid.). This is a spatial legacy that, according to Stull, Bell and Ncwadi (2016), is attributable to modern South Africa, as the majority of the population has been left economically reliant on and alienated from white capital. For instance, rural poverty in Limpopo is much higher than urban poverty, making it one of the poorest provinces in the country (Kongolo, 2009). These

observations paint a grim picture of life in the traditional areas of the municipality, where residents are trapped in a vicious poverty cycle and have had little or no work due to their geographical location. There was also the perception that those living in the municipality's urban areas had the advantage of proximity when it came to finding employment.

And they [the women in town] have opportunities because they are closer to town and because they are around the area. – Amohelang, Aged 23, Female.

There are no jobs. We are far away from town. This place is rural. There is no infrastructure. No jobs. There is no work. The only job here is to work on the farms there packing tomatoes. – VhaHlonono, Aged 56, Male.

If the above comments are true, black women living under traditional authority are again economically marginalised compared to their urban counterparts. The belief that urban areas have better prospects is not a new phenomenon, as under apartheid bantustan residents flocked to the towns and cities to improve their livelihoods (Stull, Bell and Ncwadi, 2016). According to Hall's (2014) analysis of the Natives Land Act of 1913, this law served as the foundation for homeland policies, influx control, pass laws, and the Group Areas Act (1950). An important legacy of the act is poverty and inequality in rural areas, because the homelands were sustained by a migrant labour system in which male migrants were employed in manufacturing, mining and other sectors, while women remained to work and farm and assume responsibility for social reproduction (ibid.). In post-apartheid South Africa, it has been noted that there is a high rate of outward migration from Limpopo to Gauteng and the Western Cape because of a lack of employment opportunities (Murugani et al., 2014). This male outward migration partly contributes to the high number of female-headed households whose food security is dependent on agriculture (ibid.). It is not possible to conclude from data in this study that gender identity is influenced by female household headship. Posel's (2001) research on female-headed headship in South Africa, however, provides evidence that female heads are responsible of both reproductive and productive decisions in homes where male adults are primality absent. This illustrates how female household headship in South Africa shapes gendered identity. Posel (2001) also points out that this is in contrast to women in male headed households, as they are assigned responsibility for reproductive sphere as per traditional gender division of labour, with their influence in this area growing as their income increases. Furthermore Rice (2020) argues that as women earn income and build homes, they challenge traditional gender conceptions because their life paths are perceived to closely resemble those of men. This emerges from her

study of working women in the Eastern Cape, where she suggests gender identity is viewed with uncertainty, reinforcing men's general resentment at the loss of power and privilege that comes with patriarchy at home (ibid).

Some participants agreed with the above remarks – traditional areas in Musina's municipality lacked economic and employment opportunities. Additionally, participants with tertiary qualifications suggested they would move to other provinces in South Africa if given the opportunity. Maluleke, Edoun and Pooe (2022), have argued that educational attainment is viewed as an important factor in the reduction of poverty in South Africa. However, the scholars have found that poor households in Limpopo suffer from low levels of education, poor welfare, “difficult and time-consuming tasks”, lack of transportation, poor access to medical services, and scarce employment opportunities (ibid.). This is important when considering the perspectives of educated participants living under traditional authority regarding migration in pursuit of economic opportunities and how out-migration from these areas further increases the economic burden and loss of human capital for these remaining women.

7:6.2 Poor transportation

Infrastructure plays a crucial role in economic development because it makes it easier for people to improve their quality of life, realise their individual human potential and grow their businesses (Makhura and Wasike, 2003). The lack of infrastructure and well-established transportation in villages under traditional authority not only contribute to the marginalisation of the women living there, but also exposes them to other vulnerabilities.

And when you want transport you wait, 30 minutes. 40 minutes without transport if you want to go anywhere. If you want to go to Musina now? You will have to hitchhike because there is no taxi. There is a lot of hiking and hiking it's not safe. It's very hard [for women]. That's very risky. She might be kidnapped or raped or whatsoever.” – Lawrence, Aged 26, Male.

Mahapa and Mashiri (2001) argue that the future economic vitality of Limpopo province is dependent on an effective, secure, and safe freight transport system, suggesting that the growth of rural freight transport and region development will lead to global economic growth. The researchers contend that communal land rights, a lack of agricultural mechanisation, access to business opportunities, and high input and transportation costs hinder rural economic development in Vhembe District (ibid.). Participants said the poor and inconsistent public

transport system between Musina and the towns of Madimbo, Maseha, and Matshena contributed to what they said were exorbitant transport costs. When the research was conducted in 2021, long-distance taxis from the villages charged ZAR50 per person for a one-way trip to Musina town. As a result, participants believed that this cost was the main reason villagers chose hitchhiking. However, Mamabolo (2016) notes that the development of high-quality road infrastructure should not only be viewed from an economic perspective; rather, it should be viewed in terms of public safety. Lawrence's observations point to both the economic and social impacts of poor public transportation systems in former homeland areas. Because of the inadequate transportation system in rural South Africa, women from these areas are less able to participate in the mainstream economy, which furthers their isolation (Mahapa and Mashiri, 2001).

7:6.3 Lack of basic services

Most participants living in the municipality's traditional areas acknowledged that the women there face greater difficulties due to the lack of basic services such as electricity and running water.

Women have more difficulties living here. Because [of the lack of] water. Where we go to get the water is far. – Gogo Nduvho, Aged 61, Female.

The other challenge is water. Water is a big challenge here. At some point you can spend two weeks without water. So, you might find out that we have to buy water. – Lawrence, Aged 26, Male.

Women because, women go and fetch water. Men go to the forest to fetch wood. – Gogo Hulisane, Aged 59, Female.

Some insights can be derived from the above observations. Women face two obstacles because of the lack of running water. First, travelling long distances to water sources is taxing and time consuming. In some cases, it is necessary to buy water, which is a financial constraint on poor communities in traditional areas. In a study by Nyahunda et al. (2021) on climate change interventions to reduce gender inequality in Vhembe District, the authors found that women from the villages performed more tasks than men, including looking for food, travelling long distances for firewood and water, and taking care of the elderly and children. Furthermore, their research demonstrated that, in comparison to men, these tasks prevented women from

participating in initiatives that generated income (ibid.). The gendered division, of labour evident in Gogo Hulisane's comments, provides another important insight. Due to the energy crisis and water challenges in the municipality's traditional areas, some men have found ways to earn money.

I think women have it harder because the men can have piece jobs. Maybe building, and then the wood. Like we fetch the wood in the bush to cook. Some people can say, "I've got a job here. Can you do this for me? I will pay you. How much do you want?" So, I must go to the bush and fetch the wood. Come and sell the wood, and say, "Give me R150". That's the job a woman cannot do because we have got donkeys. – Oabile, Aged 29, Male.

According to Hart (2010), a social analysis of gender roles in village households in Limpopo province reveals that men owned income-generating resources like donkeys that transported water, firewood and other materials. He argued that this further demonstrated the distinction between men's and women's productive roles (ibid.). Consequently, Oabile's statement that "*a woman cannot do it*" is not a reference to her physical abilities, but to the knowledge that men have the productive capital to generate this income, which places them at an advantage over women. In contrast to Masekoameng, Simalenga and Saidi's (2017) study of household energy needs in rural Giyani, Limpopo, where the authors asserted that women performed 80% of energy-related work, including procuring and processing fuel for the household, men perform the work in Musina municipality.

Yes. And when we came here, people were using firewood to cook food. As time goes on, they switched to the electricity. But because electricity is very expensive, they switched back to firewood. [We go fetch wood in] the bush. There are no wild animals, but we fear people because after three or six months we find that somebody has been killed there in the bush by those people who are doing cigarette smuggling. If they find you there, they can kill you. – Gogo Khangwelo, Aged 65, Female.

The observations above provide some insights. First, some villagers continue to use firewood as a source of energy despite having access to electricity. This is similar to a study by Masekela and Semenya (2021), who argued that due to the high cost of electricity, households in Ga-Malahlela village in Limpopo continued to use firewood as a low-cost alternative fuel solution because it was accessible and affordable. Gogo Khangwelo's remarks also highlight the vulnerability of women in the traditional parts of Musina's municipality due to the dangers

associated with gathering firewood in areas frequented by cigarette smugglers. According to Mamokhere and Chauke (2020), SAPS reports that cigarettes and drugs are one of the most frequently smuggled commodities on the banks of the Limpopo River and on the Zimbabwe borderline. This smuggling is often violent, with high-quality firearms used to steal cash and engage in illegal imports and exports between gangs (ibid.).

Taken together, an analysis of the lives of women residing in traditional areas of the Musina borderland reveals major differences from their urban counterparts. Gender, race, and geographical identity are intertwined, and women in traditional areas are subordinated in relation to their male counterparts and urban women in the municipality. Performative intersectionality is important here as it points to the complex historical processes that have contributed to the continued marginal positioning of black women living under traditional authority in the Musina borderlands. Black women in these areas are portrayed as submissive, docile, and the embodiment of respect and respectability. These representations of black femininity are linked with the political, spatial, structural, and economic legacies of apartheid in South Africa and shape the marginal position of women living in these parts of the municipality.

7:7 CONCLUSION

The concept of intersectionality emphasises that social structures not only disadvantage certain groups but also privilege other groups specific to particular gender, racial, and class groups (Weldon, 2008). This has addressed the fourth research question: *To what extent do the realities of the borderlands, that is, the urban-rural interface and the transnational interconnection, shape these identities?* by offering a critical perspective on the various ways that black women in the Musina borderlands find themselves in advantageous and disadvantageous positions based on their circumstances or demands of society. Black women in Musina Local Municipality often experience triple or even quadruple oppression based on gender, race, class, transnational, and geographical identities. There is a historical and ongoing subordination of black women that stems from patriarchal structures uniquely entrenched in the Musina borderlands. First, women living in traditional areas, whose identities intersect across gender, race, and geography, face specific structural obstacles that place them in a subordinate position to men living in the area. South Africa's legacy of apartheid spatial planning coupled with

traditional authority over land ownership puts women in a marginal position. This is because men in traditional areas are favoured in terms of communal land tenure and have the productive capital to deal to change their economic positions. For this reason, women from the municipality's urban settlements are in a privileged position as they can benefit from the municipality's gender empowerment programmes due to their gender, race, and geographical identity without beholden to traditional authority. Furthermore, urban women are believed to have more job and economic opportunities than women in traditional areas due to their proximity to Musina town.

But black women often find themselves in a complex position of privilege and oppression. For instance, all black women in the municipality are vulnerable to some form of sexual predatory behaviour. This could be an employee in an informal workplace; or when seeking formal employment, or because public transport is poor and unsafe. As a result, some of them have performed their intersectional identity to gain social advantages or to escape from situations that could disadvantage them. Therefore, intersectionality has a performative component. First, black women in urban settlements have different intersectional experiences as their gendered performativity in relation to land ownership gives them space for self-reliance and independence, challenging patriarchal power relations. This is because geographical identity may be shaped by long-established traditional practices. Second, a participant feels like both an insider and an outsider; language allows her to be part of the community, but due to high unemployment and over qualification, she remains an outsider, leading her to perform a less qualified intersectional identity to be more attractive in the labour market.

Thirdly, gender disparities in reports of intimate partner violence, and differences in the treatment of migrants, and access to social services based their ability to speak the local language, enable some migrants to perform intersectional identities that give them an advantage and differentiate them from other transnational residents. When black women living in Musina local municipality are undocumented and/or unable to fully acculturate through language, they feel instability about their gendered, racialized and transnational intersectional identities with to reporting crime or getting medical assistance. Fourthly, some transients perform intersectional identities that maintain belonging to a poor or lower class, an identity attributed to their migrant identity, to serve as a tool for survival or to enable safe crossing of the border. Finally, performative intersectionality is important in that it points to the complex historical processes that have contributed to the ongoing marginalisation of black women living under traditional authority the Musina borderland currently find themselves. This is the embodiment

of intersectional identities that enables some black women in the Musina borderland to become aware of the workings of the social categories that structure their identities and to use their agency to challenge power dynamics. Living these intersectional identities in the borderlands has consequences that will be further explored in the coming chapter. The focus of the next chapter is internal obstacles individuals face when weighing their moral lives and personhood against the material realities of living in Musina local municipality.

CHAPTER 8: MANAGING LIMINALITY

8:1 INTRODUCTION

Focusing primarily on the stories of five participants – Blessing, Jeremy, Tracy, Nelisiwe, and Kudzai – this chapter will focus on how liminal identities are created in the Musina borderland. It will focus on disruption, adaptation and integration to new and different cultural norms, behaviours, and languages by analysing how this leads to hybridisation of identities. A gendered lens to social boundary making and remaking within the borderland allows an exploration of the various aspects of liminality, such as the temporalities of waiting and their impact on immobility, and whether the degree of liminality is temporary or permanent. This chapter suggests that perceptions of belonging and social cohesion are important in explaining the heterogeneous and complex identities found in the municipality. The research question for this chapter is sub-question 5: *How do these identities balance the cultural demands that are placed upon them across the different times, contexts, and spaces they encounter?* This is done through a critical look at the conflicts that arise from the constructions of gender identity, morality and personal identity. Next it examines how these identities are performed as intersectional to determine participants' positionality as they relocate, adjust and acclimatize to living in the Musina borderlands. Furthermore, I will suggest liminal conditions are not always negative but can also provide opportunities to switch between visible and invisible identities. The borderland as a whole and the liminal spaces within the local municipality of Musina are the subject of a key discussion in this chapter. Hence, as a transnational borderland, Musina Local Municipality is argued to provide a social space that allows individuals to explore and experience a shift in their identities. It also examines the extent and processes that can lead to social exclusion, feelings of marginalisation, and how the liminal experience shapes gender subjectivity.

The point at which a situation in a person's life begins to change significantly can lead to liminality. The narratives central to this chapter demonstrate that life events such as job loss and migration were major turning points for some participants, leading them to experience liminality. In addition, it is argued for some participants, life in the Musina borderland remains one from an outsider's perspective despite their attempts to integrate into the municipality's society. The first stages of separation/preliminal, and the second stage of liminality, are used in this chapter to show that individuals became subjects of liminal experiences. The separation

phase forces the individual to break with previous routines and practices or to leave something behind (Van Gennep, 2004). However, in the next phase, the liminal phase, a transition takes place in which a level is passed and the individual experiences something in which their identity is no longer what it was, but it is not yet the complete new one (Turner, 2017). The previous chapter argued that gender intersects with other identity categories such as class, race, geography, ethnicity, and nationality to construct intersectional identities. Using the concept of liminality, this chapter suggests that intersecting identities can lead to internal conflict through processes of dislocation, adaptation, and the need to integrate into a borderland society.

8:2 Disruption: A precursor to the liminal experience

As a conceptual framework, liminality is useful for differentiating between identity and community affirmation rituals, conflict mediating rituals, and suggestive and fixed rituals (Bigger, 2009). Drawing on the concept for her study of migrant women living in Johannesburg, Kihato (2013) argues that Turner's liminality is appropriate for documenting their experiences. In her opinion, the concept is structured and anchored in the social rituals situated in a clearly defined stage in an individual's life course (ibid.). The first phase of the liminal transition draws attention to an initial detachment from normal processes, events and experiences (Jellema, Annemans and Heylighen, 2021). This separation suggests a detachment from others, leading to a loss of social status, which ultimately affects physical and psychological behaviour, producing uncertainty and ambiguity (Watson, 2011). For the liminal transition to take place there has to be a preceding event such as Bury's (1982) biographical disruption. According to Soklaridis, Cartmill and Cassidy (2011), biographical disruption combines a change in self-concept with a break in previous beliefs and practices. People reevaluate and rebuild their lives through marriage, divorce, childbirth, career change or unemployment and such major life events can be disruptive as they have profound effects on gender identity (ibid.). For example, one participant discussed how losing his job affected his masculine identity in terms of his familial relationships.

No. I am not working. I do think in the family when you are not working all family members can't respect you. How do they respect you [as a man] when you feed them with that grant? Child support grant? You can even call on your child [and ask] them [to do] some errands. She or he [would not be in a hurry to] run out to do that [errand]. –
VhaHlonono, Aged 56, Male.

In an analysis of Orhan Kemal's (2008) autobiographical novel *My Father's House – The Idle Years*, Günay-Erkol (2012:258), uses theories of masculinity to suggest that the author's discussion on the protagonist was an intersection of different elements of masculinity with religion, capitalism and patriarchy. This discussion of the protagonist was from the "perspective of a liminal subject who belonged to masculinity and is also excluded from it" (ibid.). VhaHlonono's masculine identity can be understood in a similar way. He is an unemployed teacher, non-migrant, living in the areas under traditional authority in the municipality. According to Firnhaber, Greenwood and Quayle (2019), many masculinities, especially conservative or traditional construction, exhibit traits of consistency, stability, and resistance to change, while asserting power and authority. However, a liminal masculine identity can emerge when specific masculine elements structured around self-stability are challenged (ibid.). This is reflected in VhaHlonono's comment above about what he sees as a shift in the position of unemployed men in society. He describes his unemployment, a disruptive event, and the resulting dependence on government assistance as a form of emasculation. VhaHlonono's liminal condition was triggered by losing his job, as he associates his identity as a man with being able to provide for his family through his own work. Because of his unemployment, he questions his own masculinity and, by extension, whether he is still respected by his family. Thus, VhaHlonono possesses a liminal masculinity that is influenced by his own interpretation of masculinity as it intersects with class, geography, nationality, and race.

8:3 Gender (re)construction and liminality: Blessing's story

A link between biographical disruption and the liminal experience of gender identity can also attributed to migration. The act of migrating involves leaving familiar places and disruption from predictable routines and ways of life (Gelderblom, 2006). Liminality conceptually intersects with ideas of space and mobility, and that it has been used to provide insight on spaces such as borderlands, where liminal experiences are connected to themes of migration (Jellema, Annemans and Heylighen (2021). Blessings' remarks below illustrate how the act of migrating had an impact on how she embodied her gender identity.

Because you as a person also have changes in your life, you end up adjusting. But obviously when people move here their behaviour changes. Just like me. I grew up

attending a church called Masowe²⁸. I never used to wear trousers. I was trying to fit in.
– Blessing, Aged 38, Female.

Liminality as an experience is characterised by the disruption of a person's sense of place within an existing social structure, and this disruption requires the individual to reposition and renegotiate themselves within a brand new social structure (Firnhaber, Greenwood and Quayle (2019). This is evident by how Blessing combined her own long-held desire to wear trousers with the need to integrate into a new host society.

Yes, you have to fit in. As a child I did want to wear trousers, but my parents did not allow [it]. When I came here, I had all the freedom. They [parents] know that I wear trousers now. In the beginning, they did complain saying I should not wear them in their house. But now I do not care anymore. I now wear trousers. A new place will definitely change you to fit in. You hear some people say that they can tell someone is from Zimbabwe by the way they dress. So, you try by all means to fit in. You observe the way they dress, and you do the same. So definitely, people change when they come to South Africa. – Blessing, Aged 38, Female.

Some important observations can be drawn from the above. First, the decision to wear trousers was symbolic for Blessing, as it symbolised her relinquishing previous way of expressing her gender identity by transitioning to something that is defined by new social norms and performing her femininity differently. This is reflected in her willingness to assimilate and interpret the role of immigrant identity in a new society. The embodiment of Zimbabwean migrant identity was highlighted in several responses in this study, with specific references to body odour, clothing style, fit and type of footwear. Recalling his own transition from an easily recognisable Zimbabwean immigrant to one who integrated into Musina borderland society, one participant remarked, “*I was once like that*”. This can be interpreted as contempt for a younger self and pride in becoming something different through the ability to separate oneself from the old identity. Moyo (2008) has argued that issues of body politics are important for migration in South Africa, where clothing is a major factor when it comes to the concerns surrounding the identity of migrants. According to Nyamnjoh (2006), in South Africa, people are often considered outsiders based on whether they are ‘too dark’ or ‘look too foreign’ to be South African. In addition, police are said to be ready to distinguish foreign Africans by their

²⁸ The Johane Masowe Chishanu Church (JMCC) is an African indigenous church in Zimbabwe. Congregations can be identified by their white robes and outdoor worship (Musoni and Gundani, 2019).

hairstyles, speech, style of clothing or, on in the case of Mozambicans, immunisations on their left forearms (ibid.).

Therefore, the need for Blessing to shed her identity as a Zimbabwean immigrant to integrate into the new host society is an expected ritual that demonstrates Van Gennep's second stage in liminal theory, the *limen* or 'margin', which means a "threshold". Hockey (2002) argues that in the liminal phase, symbolic deaths and resurrections often occur and these are analysed as organised and expected life events in which the old social position is cut off in preparation for a rebirth into the new.

Second, Blessing's account offers an insight into the spatial extent of liminality in spaces related to migration processes. In a study of tree planters in Ontario, Canada Sweeney (2009) attempts to illustrate the relationship between gender and liminality, suggesting that it intersects with other identity categories such as class and age. He argues that liminality represents a space in which men and women take part in a gender-based liminality, going beyond traditional contemporary gender roles to perform a variant of masculinity that, while often imagined, is commonly linked with iconic forestry workers (Sweeney, 2009). Blessing sees the migration to Musina as a change in people's behaviour, as if the change was determined by geography. But an analysis of the changes in Blessing's identity and adjustment to life in the municipality shows that her decision to wear trousers was a childhood desire that her parents and religion forbid. Considering liminal theory, the move to the municipality appears to be the liminal event that triggered Blessing's period of separation from the constraints of her religious and familial beliefs. The reconstruction of gender identity through clothing can not only be attributed to the struggle against stereotypes related to migrant identity but can also be linked to the Musina borderlands. It offers a spatial dimension that enables a liminal experience to take place. This can be seen in Blessing's statement that "*When I came here, I had all the freedom*". Social relationships and social roles will encourage individuals to reconsider their social status in the new time-space liminality period, and in these spaces people take on identities they might not otherwise give thought to, or they might exhibit deviant behaviour (Sweeney, 2009; Sang, 2017). The biographical disruption therefore only took place in the Musina borderlands, because the religious and family spaces to which Blessing was previously accustomed would not have allowed her.

Blessing's account also reveals the internal and social conflict that accompanies the readjustment of gender identity after migration. In her study of Argentine immigrants living in

Barcelona (Spain) and Miami (United States), and their guilt related to the immigration process, Vermot (2015) describes how immigrant women try to broaden opportunities for them to construct their own gender and gender roles. They do this by negotiating their feelings of guilt and their reactions to blame from their families back home (ibid.). This is also evidenced by Blessing's husband's perception of her changes in expressing her gender identity, and their reactions to how these changes were being received by family back home.

My wife did not wear trousers. The first time she came here, she asked me if she could wear trousers. And I said, "You are asking me something you want". There is a time when she put a [WhatsApp] status [picture] on her phone and her mother told her to remove it because she said it is not appropriate since she was wearing trousers. So, I said "That is your mom. I do not have power over your mom. You need to be careful what you put on social media." I do not have a problem with her putting on trousers. The only thing that I know can trouble her is if I'm going against what I see going around her to say, "Don't put [on] trousers." – Desmond, Aged 40, Male.

Not only did Blessing seek her husband's permission to wear trousers, but she also sought his support to validate her decision when he pointed out that social media acts as a panopticon and therefore, she needs to self-regulate. This is interesting because Blessing is negotiating her guilt and the reactions to how she has changed by balancing the supposed freedom that comes with living in Musina's borderlands with the environment in which she is part of a larger patriarchal society. Desmond explained that because he works in the beauty industry as a hairstylist and salon owner, he is "*surrounded by younger beautiful women*" wearing "*trousers and miniskirts*", which he understood and attributed to his wife's need to change how she embodied her gender identity. This is similar to Al-Rasheed's (1993) study of married Iraqi women living in exile in London and the difficulties they face in marriage and family life. The author points out that the liminal state caused by their exile brings insecurity and threatens the stability of relationships and family life, in which women define their marriages in contrast to their current experiences, that is, in relation security and safety (ibid.). Subsequently, Blessing's liminal experience of migration, disruption and attempts to adapt and integrate into a new society also manifests itself in relation to her marital experience in a new context and contributes in part to her desire to change the way she expresses her gender identity.

8:3.1 Parental liminality and waiting

According to Turner (2008), under the uncertain circumstances caused by temporary migration experiences, certain institutions, such as the family, come under strain and are often forced to change. This is again because the separation stage consists of what Turner (2017) proposes as symbolic behaviour, signifying the individual's detachment from a previous fixed point in the structure, society or the context of particular social groups, or both. Consequently, immigrants find themselves in an in-between state, a state of liminality with shared geographies, cultural identities, sociographies or a psychological space in which identity and belonging are questioned (Ip, 2011). For Blessing, the decision to live apart from her two children was a result of the cost of what she considered good quality education.

They [children] stay with their grandmother, my husband's mother. My heart is at peace because when we go there, they seem happy. Sometimes we do take them every holiday and sometimes they complain that it is boring here and they want to go back. The main reason why they had to go to Zimbabwe was mainly education. Whilst they were here, they did attend a private school. Their [schools] were expensive, but their quality of education was not impressive. I was not happy with it – they could speak English but could not write it. There is one good school, but at that time, it was difficult to find a place. So, we decided that since we cannot find a place at that school it was best, they go home. – Blessing, Aged 38, Female.

From the above, it is clear that the home and family ties are important support networks that act as barriers to the stressors associated with migration. The paternal grandmother's role as caregiver of Blessing's children while living in another country better illustrates the importance of motherhood to black femininity, as discussed in Chapter 6. According to Lima, (2001:91), as cited in Vertovec (2001), "the transnational family is buffered by its extensive social networks, allowing the transnational experiences to form a fluid continuum, rather than a radical divide compartmentalising life into two separated worlds." The importance of education is also clear from the comments above. Parreñas (2001) suggests that immigrant parents, who consistently valued their children's educational attainment, viewed education as a sign of material security. However, the decision to return one's children to the family to pursue an education contributed to a form of parental liminality was accompanied by feelings of guilt, in-betweenness, and waiting periods for permanent reconnection.

It is very painful. Sometimes I try – I think what else can I do? But unfortunately, the life in Zimbabwe will not allow us to live there. I have tried to think of what kind of business

I can do in Zim to stay with my children. [My feelings are] in the middle. When I am sleeping, I always think of what I can do back home to be able to stay close to my children. Last time we went to Beitbridge [town in Zimbabwe] and stayed there for a week. The life there seems better, so we are considering starting something there so that maybe beginning of next year, we will be staying there so that we can stay with the kids.
– Blessing, Aged 38, Female.

It is not easy. It is painful, but then there are things to consider. For them to be ok there, we are supposed to be working here. If we are to go home to stay with them, things will be bad for them. So sometimes, we [are] forced to adjust and say, “the kids are there”. I am sure the most difficult thing, is not about the kids, it is about the two partners living away from each other. – Desmond, Aged 40, Male.

Although it is clear that both face internal struggles as parents living apart from their children, greater importance is given to the ability to support their children financially. For Blessing, these experiences revolve around the expectation of being permanently reunited with her children, as she lies awake at night thinking about how she can make this happen. The COVID-19 lockdowns were particularly difficult for her – “*That was the longest we have ever stayed away from them*” – as she did not see her children for a year and a half. The sense of in-betweenness and anguish felt by Blessing and Desmond exemplify what Acedera and Yeoh (2018:267), call the impermanence and instability that characterises “the temporality of the transnational family in liminal times”. This experience was also shared by Wendy, who recalled her decision to send her children back to Zimbabwe.

When I was staying with them [children] here it was a situation where I could not send them home without money to my husband’s brother. My aunt then said I could send them home [to her]. Now I am in a much better position to provide for them because it was difficult when they were here. We stayed in one room, my husband and I with the four kids, including my eldest daughter which was not appropriate. It was good for me because I was also able to build a house at home. At first it was painful but then they are living a better life there than here. This is because at school [in South Africa] they would occasionally ask if foreigners had certificates or documents. If you have a passport it has to have a permit. If it does not, they would not let you in. Therefore, they would end up not going to school. So, I had to take them home so that they can learn there. – Wendy, Aged 38, Female.

Wendy's story, similar to Blessing's, shows what Bonizzoni (2015) suggests that the geographical dispersion of transnational families can be forced rather than strategic when families face economic hardship or restrictive migration policies leaving them separated for much longer than expected or desired. There are several studies on the liminal experiences of children left behind by their parents due to migration and these experiences mainly consist of waiting, effects on educational experience, and feelings of neglect (Kufakurinani, Pasura and McGregor, 2014; Tawodzera and Themane, 2019, 2021; Beazley and Ball, 2022, 2022). Thus, Blessing and Wendy's stories offer insights into the experiences of parental liminality. What is also striking about these findings are Desmond's comments on gender roles and family separation. For Desmond, it was more important for his wife to move with him than for her to stay at home with their children.

I am sure the most difficult thing, is not about the kids. It is about the two partners living away from each other. That is the only thing I told myself that this one I would not attempt. My wife staying at home to take care of the kids instead of me. She is supposed to be my keeper. We will take care of each other. She will be at home making sure the child has bathed and has gone to school, what about me? – Desmond, Aged 40, Male.

In Chapter 6, I argued that wifehood and motherhood were perceived as important components of black femininity in Musina's municipality. Desmond's comments show that he views wifehood as a more important aspect of his wife's gender identity than motherhood. Pessar and Mahler (2003) find that when families move together, husbands expect their wives to uphold gender norms, and this is usually the case even for women who work outside the home. Desmond initially migrated alone South Africa and later to Musina but returned home to marry and arranged for his wife to move with the expectation that she would fulfil these gendered roles. Although individuals may migrate to escape gender roles and norms, for example as breadwinners or caregivers, they also migrate to conform to the same cultural norms (Czaika and Reinprecht, 2022). Associational migration is considered a popular reason for female participants to move and settle in the Musina borderlands. Furthermore, Desmond believes that being away from their children brings them closer together and that their children could emigrate to South Africa to attain tertiary education. For Desmond, their physical absence was necessary to send remittances back home to raise their children. In addition, the extended family network in Zimbabwe

was important to him in caring for their children, instilling cultural discipline, shaping social expectations, and building a social fabric.

It actually helped us because we dry each other's tears. I tell her, "I know you love your kids but love me first. They came after me." I was the first person to be in her life and she was the first person to be in mine. The kids came after. In most social circumstances, the wife should be at home taking care of the kids. I did not see that work, seeing from people who have tried it. I want them [children] to get that basic, social, educational, and political experience there [in Zimbabwe] then they will come here for tertiary. –

Desmond, Aged 40, Male.

Kufakurinani, Pasura and McGregor (2014), argue that numerous migrants make positive decisions about leaving their children behind, not only because of the costs associated with raising them in a new host country but also because these destinations are perceived as not suitable for doing so. Parenting culture, children's rights and gender equality laws are often seen as going against 'African values' and parenting ideas that focus on the importance of parental authority and discipline (ibid.). Furthermore, by conceding that a more permanent reunification with the children will most likely not occur until they reach tertiary age, Desmond partakes in what Gray (2011:421), calls the experience of "waiting as an extended or suspended present, thus significantly shaping the lived life". For both Desmond and Blessing, waiting involves hoping that their circumstances will change and waiting for their children to grow up so that they can be reunited permanently.

8:3.2 Integration and liminal spaces

The liminal space, according to Arvanitis, Yelland and Kiprianos (2019:136), is typified by "disruptive in-betweenness and hybridity" due to the constant reconfiguration of cultural boundaries and cultural meaning. Drawing upon Anzaldúa's *nepantla*, Marey-Sarwan, Roer-Strier and Strier (2021) propose that it is in-between, unfamiliar, unpredictable and a borderland space in which spiritual, material, psychic and social transformations occur. Therefore, the *nepantla* signifies a liminal space in which change can take place (Keating, 1993). In terms of gender identity and liminal spaces, the Musina borderlands are considered the place where a shift in masculinity will occur.

That happens a lot, especially when it comes to gay individuals. Most people who are gay are from Zimbabwe because they cannot do that in Zimbabwe. There are a lot of them. Even people who are not gay but have just changed their behaviours as well. They come here openly, something they cannot do in Zimbabwe. At church, ZCC [Zion Christian Church] gay people attend. That is the world we are living in. – Blessing, Aged 36, Female.

And the salon is open for everyone, gay, lesbian, Christian, thief, prostitutes. They are always our candidates when it comes to salons. Two days ago, we were doing nails for this other gay guy from Zim originally, but now he is South African by registration. He was doing his nails as a man which is rare for a man to do his nails in Zimbabwe. He paid and even gave his tip. – Desmond, Aged 40, Male.

Gardner (2017) points out that liminal spaces such as dance parties and nightclubs have been identified in sexuality studies as spaces in which different forms of masculinities can be performed. Furthermore, Meiu (2015) suggests that despite what many believe, in small towns and villages, gay identities are quite noticeable in public spaces such as churches and hair salons. This is important considering in such environments being gay means being feminine, wearing women's clothing, applying make-up, and partaking in behaviour and roles considered effeminate (ibid.). One day during my fieldwork, I observed a popular gay foreign exchange trader named John walking down one of the busy streets in Musina. Although John wore jeans and a vest, he also had long, manicured acrylic fingernails and false eyelashes. As John passed, conversations seemed to die down, voices grew quieter and there were scattered murmurs. As I looked around, I noticed that at that moment it seemed as if everyone had stopped what they were doing to stare at him.

In interviews, many participants shared Blessing's opinion that people "*changed*" after moving to the municipality, citing the environment as a cause of broken relationships, divorce, and the departure from ideal forms of black femininity. Essentially, the Musina borderlands was seen as a setting that gave people "*too much freedom*". As Andrews and Roberts (2012) argue, it is in the liminal spaces, the ambiguous spaces that exist between the private and the public in which ideas can be shaped, reshaped and redefined without the need for societal conventions. Thus, the liminal space offers a different understanding of social reality, in which cultural, social, political, and artistic concepts are always in continuous fluctuation and contention (ibid.).

This section explained why migration is a major life event that causes biographical disruption and how this can trigger liminal experiences that impact how a person constructs their gender identity. Blessing's story is significant in that it sheds light on how migration processes shape black femininity by creating a gendered liminal experience. This gender liminal experience has influenced her personal gender identity as well as the way she experiences motherhood through her parental liminality and her husband's expectations of her as his wife. Also important is the discussion about liminal space within a liminal space, that is, the role of the salons in the Musina borderlands. This is because hair and beauty salons are the places where transformations about how gender should be embodied occur and can be seen as a microcosm of the larger narratives that borderlands are changing gender identities. The following section examines adaptation after disruption and the liminal experiences that emerge from it.

8:4 Adaptation and liminality: Hybridisation and invisibility

In his conceptualising of *communitas*, Turner (2017) argued that while it occurs where no social structure exists, it is only made apparent or available through comparison or hybridisation with parts of the social structure. Bigger (2009) suggests that Turner views *communitas* as a positive liminal state of mind in which liminality lies between statuses, between reality and fiction, and an in-between state of mind. This is important because when people migrate to new places where they experience unequal treatment from the dominant society, national and ethnic identities tend to deepen (Lee and Park, 2008). The construction of hybrid identities crosses borders, with the global and the local connecting to produce new identities that are distinct while challenging existing political, ethnic and social boundaries (Iyall Smith, 2008). Indeed, hybridity includes partial, multi-role and pluralistic identities, as people living in hybrid spaces gain from an understanding of both global cosmopolitanism and local knowledge (ibid.). To show cultural hybridity and how it shapes gendered liminal identities, this section focuses on three participants, Jeremy, Tracy, and Nelisiwe, by examining their adaptation and negotiation of life in the Musina borderlands.

8:4.1 'Here and there': Jeremy's story

De Luca Picione and Valsiner (2017) argue that new narratives are constructed based on differences such as 'here or there', 'before or after' and 'me or not me' in the psychological zone that is the transitional liminal space. However, they also noted that liminality has strange properties and "the most characteristic mid-liminal symbolism is that of paradox or being both

this and that.” In other words, while liminality can result in an in-betweenness because of disruption, as Blessing’s story shows, a sense of hybridity can also emerge from being both one and the other. Jeremy reflects this as a migrant who has worked in Musina municipality for more than 25 years while affirming his Zimbabwean national identity.

I feel that I am part of Musina, that this is where I stay. This is where my work is, but what I don’t forget is Zim. I’ve got a home which is Zim. I have country. Yes, this is my place of work, but I am part of the community. Whatever is happening here, I participate. Which means there are things I have a hand in and that I am part of the community of Musina, assisting with the things that are needed in this place. – Jeremy, Aged 46, Male.

Yuval-Davis, Vieten, and Kannabiran (2006) suggest that because it includes and relates to both citizenship and identity, the politics of belonging have an additional emotional aspect key to the ideas of having a sense of place. This is important because the immigrants’ conceptions of ‘home’, the ways in which they view their ‘new’ host society both locally and nationally, and their recollections of their homeland, are important aspects of transnational experiences (Dunn, 2005). The above remarks demonstrate how Jeremy feels a sense of belonging in both collectives: to Musina municipality, as an active community member, and in Zimbabwe, through his national identity and citizenship. However, he is also careful to differentiate Musina’s municipality, where he works, from Zimbabwe, which he considers his home. Two important lessons can be drawn from this. First, the embeddedness that Jeremy feels in the Musina borderlands can be attributed to what Sonn (2002) suggests are the hopes for a better future, security and safety for individuals and groups that may emerge from the processes of migration adaptation. Migrating to Musina municipality in 1996 at the age of 21, Jeremy’s belongingness shows that he has integrated into and crossed social boundaries. The topic of social boundaries is discussed in detail in the next chapter. Next, affirming his national identity and discussion of his sense of belonging to Musina municipality further demonstrates the importance of differentiating work and home for transnational migrants.

I go home almost every month and my family also come this side. It’s close – something like more than 200 km away. Yeah, it’s almost five or six hours away. My wife also comes here. She was here three weeks ago, and she’s never wanted to move here [permanently]. It seems as if she likes staying back home. I want to see them every day, but because of work, because of the border, I can’t. And that’s why I always go there. I

have been here for 25 years, and my oldest is 22 years' [old]. They have always known that this is where I work. – Jeremy, Aged 46, Male.

Migrants can be categorised as temporary or permanent where the former is a member of a household who is away for most of the time but retains an important connection to their base household (Ginsburg, Collinson, Iturralde, Van Tonder, Gómez-Olivé, Kahn, and Tollman, 2016). A study by Vildaitė's (2014) on Lithuanian migrants' perceptions of home and belonging found that family-home ties were frequently used to define participants' interpretation of home. Jeremy's remark that "*they have always known that this is where I work*" is intended to highlight the stark differences between Zimbabwe, the homeland that links family ties, and Musina municipality, his workplace. Similarly, participants also interpreted their place of origin as their homeland and the Musina borderland as their workplace. For example, one participant explained that when she returned home, she kept thinking about not missing Musina saying, "*I missed the money! I kept thinking of the money I could have been making*".

Furthermore, the relationship between family and homeland is very important to Jeremy as he believes that Zimbabwe has stronger social values than those in Musina municipality, which also influences his emotional ties to home. This is similar to a study of Zimbabwean professionals living in the UK and adjusting their lives to a transnational context, in which McGregor (2008) found that most participants viewed Britain as a temporary home. She further argues that migrants' feelings of belonging, and identity are largely shaped by the circumstances in which they were able to raise their children with African values and morals, regardless of whether they remained with them in Britain. A possible explanation of Jeremy's emotional attachment to his homeland can also be offered from a gendered lens. According to Mungai and Pease (2009), despite the multiplicity of masculinities, contemporary African manhood confers on men specific obligations towards themselves and their family, clan, community and nation. For instance, the traditional practice of many African ethnic groups is that after marriage, girls have to leave home and therefore boys are always part of the family (ibid.). One could argue that Jeremy's understanding of home is related to his own gender subjectivity and the roles specific to his masculine identity.

Jeremy viewed Musina municipality as his temporary work residence and stated that he preferred his children to receive education in the country, only moving to South Africa if

they have “*a profession – but to come here to work on farms, I don’t feel good about it*”. Because he has an affinity for Musina and is aware of his active involvement in the community, but also has an emotional attachment to his native Zimbabwe, Jeremy experiences an intertwined life in which his liminal experience consists of being ‘here’ and ‘there’ at the same time.

I feel that and wish that this place [Musina] would grow. I used to want to live here and have someone stay at my house back home. But when I saw the xenophobia taking place and the life that happens here – the people here can have this spirit in them – I always think a foreigner is always a foreigner even if you stay here for so long. But that – I don’t know what to say – maybe it’s a demon even. It gets into people’s heart. Otherwise, I would lose all the things I came here for, than it [happening] back home. – Jeremy, Aged 46, Male.

As Kelly (2008:336) asserts, to be in an in-between state “on the threshold of between here and there” is to be in liminality. She further argues that “without social-cultural classification or a medical diagnosis of where ‘there’ is, will be, or if ritual subjects ever be there”, one remains in a state of in betweenness (ibid.:336). Jeremy’s observations that “*a foreigner is a foreigner even if you stay here for long*” show the liminal condition and the uncertainty about when these feelings will ever end. This is because of what Moyo and Mpofu (2020:viii) propose is the way the foreign ‘other’ is systematically structured to receive hostility from every nation-state, as they generally will be at the “bottom of the pyramid of being and belonging”. As Saleh (2015:301) points out, an alienation debate about integration causes migrants to lose their host identity and their role in the host society, thereby distorting their shared sense of belonging to South Africa. Therefore, Jeremy’s liminality in relation to Musina’s municipality is a state of limbo in that despite having spent most of his adult life in the borderlands and his commitment to the community, he always feels both an insider and outsider because of his national identity. This is also an example of what Bamber, Allen-Collinson and McCormack (2017), consider permanent liminality as it produces a more lasting sense of being both ‘here’ and ‘there’ or ‘this’ and ‘that’. Permanent liminality will be discussed in more detail later in the next section. The sense of belonging is also, as Staeheli and Nagel (2006) suggest, the realisation of multiple residences for individuals that may overlap at various scales such as home, community, culture, region or nation. For Jeremy, by being simultaneously ‘here’ and ‘there’, home is the residence

for work in Musina's municipality, and a link between family relationships and homeland in Zimbabwe. The liminal condition and sense of belonging to two collectives also creates a hybrid identity.

8:4.2 'Neither here' nor 'there': Tracy's story

When Turner (1967:93) took into account some sociocultural characteristics of the liminal period, he proposed viewing society as a "structure of positions" in which the marginal or liminal period is an interstructural context. Turner (2017) described this *communitas* as when human interrelationships are contrasted and interspersed between a structured society and the anti-structure that emerges during the liminal period. A key form of biographical disruption associated with migration is the role of language in integration into a new area. This is because language is a deeply embedded factor associated with immigration-related loss, since the difficulties of learning a new language can lead to frustration and push migrants to cling to the past, dismiss the new cultures and temporarily withdraw from them (Mirsky, 1991). In the Musina borderlands, language plays an important role in promoting a sense of belonging and feelings of in-betweenness in different contexts.

I started in Botswana then I went to Tzaneen. When I came here it felt like home. Language wise everywhere they speak Shona. Unlike Tzaneen its Venda. Venda and Shona are similar. I understand Venda but I don't speak it. – Makomborero, Aged 41, Male.

Despite their diverse backgrounds and belongings, people who share a liminal experience typically form strong bonds, resulting in the creation of *communitas* (Tagliaventi, 2020). It is therefore possible that Makomborero's comment that his move to the Musina borderland "*felt like home*" was due to the sense of community he felt when he found that his native chiShona language was widely spoken in the municipality's urban settlements. For some, however, adapting to linguistic disruptions and learning new languages creates a liminal experience that leaves them neither here nor there and, between and betwixt, as Tracy's story shows.

I try to speak [Venda]. A little. When I meet someone for the first time, and I can hear that they don't speak Venda, I will introduce myself as a native of Musina. Because the way the VhaVenda speak their language is different from the way I speak the language. Even now – your Shona, as a native speaker is better than my Shona. So, the VhaVenda

they will listen and recognise that this person is not a MuVenda. Because my mother tongue is not originally Venda. – Tracy, Aged 38, Female.

According to Brumfit (2006), there are thresholds, not only between languages but also within languages, and liminality is a feature of its modern usage. Moreover, in a multilingual world, language is by definition liminal, as each act of speaking involves a nuanced dialect, crossing more thresholds the further we go (ibid.). Tracy's remarks show how the subtle difference in the pronunciation of words not only causes her anxiety, but also reminds her of her outsider position in the VhaVenda and Mashona communities. In a discussion of shifting between another's language and one's own, Rampton (1995) argued that language switching appears to be at the intersection of two competing concepts of group membership. Tracy is a migrant from the Ndebele speaking community of Zimbabwe, which makes her migration experiences different from those of Makomborero's. Rampton (1995:299) goes on to suggest that shifting between languages represents a cultural dynamic and "it seemed to be this tension that generated the feeling of anomaly in language crossing, pressing it into liminal margins of everyday interactional practice."

My first child knows how to speak isiNdebele. The young one, I will teach her when she is a bit older. Recently, I was told, since she is now going to crèche – they actually called me over to tell me that, "Your mother tongue is disrupting her when we teach her Venda". Isn't it she will be speaking a mixture of Tshivenda and isiNdebele? But the oldest I already taught her. The younger one, I will eventually teach her. The present situation is that her father speaks Venda. But they didn't tell me in a stern way. They called me and told me politely and said, "If you want your children to pass Tshivenda". [So, the father] said, "I grew up with a home speaking one language". – Tracy, Aged 38, Female.

The above comment is compelling considering the importance of motherhood to black femininity in the Musina borderlands. As discussed in Chapter 6, motherhood is an important component of black womanhood, in part because a mother serves as a primary source of socialisation in the community, and her children are often viewed as an extension of her identity. Therefore, Tracy's liminal condition is being neither here nor there. First, there is an inner conflict that arises from her attempts to negotiate and pass on her cultural identity to her daughter. This is an important role as part of her motherhood identity and her black womanhood, and her inability to do so places her in a gendered liminal condition.

Because the term ‘mother tongue’ suggests an important relationship – that of the mother and child. The child understands their surroundings through the language heard from the mother before birth and throughout their life (Nishanthi, 2020). Furthermore, it is likely that the constant fear of being othered also creates an internal conflict in which Tracy is forced to adhere to not speaking in or teaching IsiNdebele to her child. As Granger (2004:62) suggests, “the self, suspended between languages is a liminal self, living unsteadily in two languages and therefore living fully in neither, for whom silence might be not only a symptom of its liminality, but also at least a partial answer to the questions about where that self belongs.”

Next, there is the need for her child to learn her father’s dialect. This situation is exacerbated by her husband’s demands to raise their daughter monoculturally, even though their home and the community in which they live is multicultural. This decision demonstrates that Tracy’s liminal position is neither here nor there, as her own Ndebele identity is marginalised in her home and in the transnational community in which she lives. Not only is she neither MuVenda nor MuShona but, because she is prevented from raising her child Ndebele, she no longer expresses her cultural identity. Tracy thus has a hybridised identity and experiences permanent liminality. Johnsen and Sørensen (2015) have used the term ‘inescapable’ to describe permanent liminality arguing that it was a continuous threshold and was not stable before and following this period. In addition, Szokolczai (2014) suggests that permanent liminality is essentially negative, leaving those experiencing it emotionally exhausted. Tracy’s liminal experiences are constant as she moves ‘in’ and ‘out’ of ambiguous and uncertain contexts due to her hybridised identity. Through her use of chiShona and Tshivenda, she constantly crosses the threshold of liminality linguistically, but is unable to comfortably be part of either community.

Kihato’s (2013) study of immigrant women living in Johannesburg suggested that language and illustrations have been used by women to make sense of their migration, further demonstrating that migration is embedded in societal values and expectations, and at times, is an important rite of passage. Learning a language means learning to use both a personal and a social voice, and a ‘third place’ arises from the interface between the user’s culture and the new culture they are learning (Kramsch, 1993). This ‘third place’ idea is similar to Bhabha’s (2004:53) reasoning on “Third Space”, where he argued that it signifies both the linguistic context and the specific meaning of speech in performative

and institutional strategies. Tracy's narrative reveals that she lives in a 'Third Space' where she cannot fully integrate into the VhaVenda and VaShona communities, and her own cultural identity is marginalised, but she has a hybrid identity. Therefore, language and its relation to culture and identity must be understood "not as a priori defined categories", but as flexible, liminal, and arising in the context of communication (Baker, 2009:9).

8:4.3 Invisibility and liminal positioning: Nelisiwe's story

Bandia (2014) argues that although some migrants have attained an acute ability to adapt to different environments by blending into or through invisibility, most migrants are still visible because factors such as their appearance reveal their connections to particular cultural beliefs and practices. According to Turner (1979:95), the individual going through the ritual transition will be "structurally if not physically 'invisible'" in the liminal stage. He further suggests that once we learn our cultural classifications and definitions, "most of us see only what we expect to see, and what we are conditioned to see" (ibid.:95). During the interviews, participants were not asked about their national identity or citizenship status. However, after initially expressing the need for stricter border controls, some participants revealed midway through the interview process that they were Zimbabwean by birth or descended through their parents or grandparents. Kihato (2013) points out that cross-border women who live in Johannesburg and continue to be displaced lead a paradoxical life in which they are officially invisible but visible in the discourse of others. A similar argument can be made here, with the caveat that Zimbabweans are both socially visible and invisible when living in the Musina municipality.

Yes [it happens that people are treated differently because of their nationality]. But I want to tell you the truth – Musina is full of people from Zimbabwe. So, when there is [xenophobic] trouble, for a person to just go around and tell so and so that "I come from Zimbabwe"? When they now have SA citizenship? To keep telling people that you are Zimbabwean – it just won't work, you see. Because some of them they don't even go back to Zimbabwe anymore because their entire families migrated here with them. In Zimbabwe, only few family members remain. So, for a person to just walk around and say it, it just won't work. – Nelisiwe, Aged 24, Female.

O'Reilly (2018:823) argues that the concept of 'ontological liminality' which she proposes is a way of conveying feelings of invisibility, insecurity, fear, and "a highly controlled

existence are lived and internalized”. The fear of being victimised as a foreigner, evident in Nelisiwe’s observations, contributes to a position of liminality. I had initially met Nelisiwe in 2017, when she informed me in our previous conversations that she was a Mosotho South African. It was only through interviews for this study that she revealed that her Basotho heritage came from her mother and that she was born and raised in Zimbabwe.

To tell you the truth my sister, it’s because I didn’t know you then. It really depends on who is asking me. People ask me sometimes, “What nationality are you?” Because I can speak chiShona, isiNdebele I can speak, Tshivenda I can speak, and my own Sesotho I speak. So, they will be asking to try and really understand, “What really is your nationality because we don’t know – you speak all the languages?” So, I tell them, “I am Mosotho”. When it’s time to speak in Shona – I pray with Mashona. And here in town when I am working, I work with Mashona. – Nelisiwe, Aged 24, Female.

Nelisiwe’s remarks above show that although she is visible in her transnational identity, she remains discreet about her Zimbabwean origins. Siegenthaler and Bublatzky (2021) propose that being invisible or visible assumes that there is a dominant gaze that can differentiate what is ‘invisible’ or ‘visible’ to the public, audience or even to the human eye in general. Furthermore, those who are ‘invisible’ to the dominant gaze continue to be ‘non-existent’ (ibid:285).

The thing is people don’t want to be discriminated. The older people, they know that this person is from this family [back home]. For instance, if you see, this Spar over there. Even the manager come from Zimbabwe. But he can’t be going around telling everyone that. For him to tell me it was because we both come from Gwanda [Zimbabwe]. – Nelisiwe, Aged 24, Female.

The management of one’s national identity as described by Nelisiwe enables an understanding of how migrants use their agency to construct their identity and integrate into the new host communities. Nelisiwe hides and makes her identity visible depending on who she talks to. The role of language is again important in this process, similar to Tracy’s experiences with language identity and liminality discussed in the previous section. As Král (2014) suggests, there are different reasons and methods of migrant invisibility such as, the convenience that comes with it, or to be political or socially visible. For example, safety is a reason to manage migrants’ identities, so the decision to be visible/invisible can be tactical. Furthermore, since

they continue to be part of at least two cultures or worlds in contradictory ways, migrants always stay migrants or “(double-) exiles” somewhat, whether they choose to or not (Bandia, 2014:275). The decision to be intentionally invisible often causes a drawn-out undesired invisibility as the migrants find themselves trapped in an endless loop of marginalised inferior citizenship who are forced to exist on the edges of society (Král, 2014:53). This may result in a permanent liminal condition where a temporary disruption to the normal, everyday mundane becomes permanent, resulting in a utopian or unrealistic daily life (Szokolczai, 2014). Thus, an immigrant’s identity is innately mixed or diverse in background composition, as it is shaped and reliant on various social frameworks due to the fact they originate from somewhere else (Bandia, 2014). It is also about the aggression and potential violence of the host community.

8:4.4 ‘There’ and ‘nowhere’: Kudzai’s story

Refugee children, especially unaccompanied minors, are believed to rarely make the decision to leave their home countries on their own, which contributes to this group being viewed as vulnerable, and is exacerbated by their separation from their parent (Vervliet, Vanobbergen, Broekaert and Derluyn, 2015). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2020) refers to children and minors as ‘unaccompanied minors’ when they travel unaccompanied or separated from their parents and other relatives, and are not cared for by an adult required to do so by law or custom. When Kudzai first arrived in South Africa at the age of 10, she was considered an unaccompanied minor because the adult woman accompanying her failed to present her travel documents when questioned by the SAPS. Kudzai was born in Mozambique and separated from her father and family when her mother moved to Zimbabwe with her and her siblings. However, after her mother’s death, she was separated from her siblings because of their orphanhood.

That woman did not come back. Then the police called the Save the Children organisation here in South Africa and told them the whole story of what happened. Then they started asking me where I come from and what had happened, and I told them that she was trafficking me. Then they said they are taking me to the shelter, which is where I stayed. When you [are] at the shelter, they will wait for a relative to come and fetch you. But if you do not have anyone, you stay there. – Kudzai, Aged 23, Female.

According to Eide, Lidén, Haugland, Fladstad and Hauge (2020), resettlement can be perceived as a state of liminality as it offers a hypothetical viewpoint on the uncertainty

frequently connected with unaccompanied refugee minors. Furthermore, Kaukko and Wernesjö (2017) emphasise that the children involved must construct their identity by going through several liminal stages. These include migration from one country to the next, the transition from adolescence to adulthood and the confrontation with the social realities of belonging and identity demanded in the new social contexts (ibid.). From a young age, Kudzai was forced to start life in a new country, leaving behind everything familiar and adapting to a new environment, a new home, and a new education system. One of the other liminal events Kudzai experienced was when she was expelled from school as a teenager because her status as an illegal immigrant. She had to return to Zimbabwe to try to get a passport without an official birth certificate or identity card. To achieve this, she had difficulty trusting strangers and facing her fear of being kidnapped again. Travelling to her mother's homeland meant dealing with an unfamiliar culture and ways getting things done, while she was expected for her to already know these customs simply because she had a chiShona name and surname.

When I was in Zim to get my documents, I got very slim because I was not used to the food. It was something I had never eaten before. I was not used to the Shona language. I would forget that that I was in Zim, then I would greet them in Shona. I get confused when I speak in Shona. Even at Home Affairs [in Zim], they would say I am not from here. They also said my tone shows that I am not from here and it means I want to steal someone's documents. It was very tough. They would also ask me about the village chief, and I did not know so they chased me away saying I was not from Zim. I was in Zim for three weeks, but I came back before the passport came out. Then when coming back, I was wearing a uniform and told them I am late for school, which is how I passed the border without a passport. – Kudzai, Aged 24, Female.

Kudzai described her time in Zimbabwe as “*tough*”. These included losing weight because she “*was not used to the food ... it was something I had never eaten before*”, to the experiences she describes in the comment above, where she was mocked for speaking in a Tshivenda accent, and the difficulties she faced in proving her identity and establishing her citizenship at the Zimbabwe's Ministry of Home Affairs registration offices. These experiences had a lasting, negative effect on her. Eide, Lidén, Haugland, Fladstad and Hauge (2020:556) suggested that the state of living between two societies but attempting to resettle poses similar struggles for minors beyond personal or cultural differences as

they must think about things such as “what they value in life and how they will relate to others”. For Kudzai, the Musina borderlands is her home and Zimbabwe is a place of uncertainty, a liminal space.



Figure 12 MGM Women's Shelter. Source: Kudzai

This is despite the fact that Kudzai has been living in a women's shelter since her initial stay in South Africa (see *Figure*). Elphick and Amit (2012:8), point out that “many of Musina's migrants, including unaccompanied minors and survivors of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), stay in one of four shelters open to migrants, two of which house children.” Furthermore, these shelters, especially those for children, are resource-constrained, have inadequate facilities, lack trained staff, and rely heavily for support and funding from independent donors, the UNHCR, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Department of Social Development (DSD) (ibid.). The shelter

where Kudzai lives supports women with more long-term needs and difficult situations, but residents are usually allowed to stay for a month ((Elphick and Amit, 2012). In her reflexive interview, Kudzai spoke about the importance of the shelter and the security it provides her.

This is the place I call home. A place where I have been taken good care of. A place I call home – because I am so happy. It means a lot to me. As a child who doesn't have a place to call home. This is the place where I started going to school, because in Zimbabwe I didn't go to school. I came here naked. I had nothing and they gave me food. They gave me clothes. And we have security here. They look after us. I am so happy here. – Kudzai, Aged 23, Female.

In his study of internally displaced people in Columbia, Perez Murcia (2019) proposes that liminality has an existential aspect comprising the more emotional and symbolic thresholds that displaced people must cross when transforming a place of refuge into a meaningful home. Although she was supposed to have already moved out of the shelter, Kudzai explained: *“as long as you are going to school, you must be there, with the children”*. At the time of the interview, Kudzai was a student at the local tertiary college. By calling the shelter home, it gives Kudzai a form of permanence in her life. This contrasts with Vanyoro's (2022) argument about the experiences of Zimbabwean migrant men living in shelters in Musina municipality. He suggests that time and duration inevitably influence the day-to-day politics of shelter life, especially the “carceral effect” that long-term shelter inhabitants have on life in those spaces (ibid.). Therefore, liminality can be decisive in how displaced individuals conceptualise and locate home because it can be experienced as a normal state, becoming a “permanent stage between ‘there’ and ‘nowhere’” (Perez Murcia, 2019:1 523). With this in mind, Kudzai appears to be in a ‘Third Space’, suggesting “confusion and paradox, or liminality, within the context of (post)colonialism” as hypothesized by Bhabha (Kalua, 2009). However, based on her own remarks, Kudzai finds herself confidently positioned within her multiple social identities. Her understanding and interactions with her social world, particularly her thoughts about her identity as a Zimbabwean woman who has lived most of her life in South Africa demonstrate her resoluteness in accepting her identity and sense of belonging as a shelter residence.

8.5 CONCLUSION – LIFE IN-BETWEEN AND FINDING BELONGING

“To survive the Borderlands, you must live *sin fronteras*,²⁹ be a crossroads”. – (Anzaldúa, 1987)

The poem above is the conclusion of a poem from *Borderlands: La Frontera* by Gloria Anzaldúa (1987:195). According to Jiroutová Kynčlová (2017:164), the end of the poem seems specifically to offer a verdict and synthesis of the “hybrid, borderland ambiguity in the very idea of crossroads: furthermore, the idea also reveals the removal from the border’s othering and discriminatory effect.” However, the participants’ liminal experiences, which were the focus of this chapter, demonstrated that the constant life in-between and shifting of identities is a place of security from the discrimination and otherness that living in the Musina borderlands comes with. In doing so, this chapter has focused on the research sub-question 5: *How do these identities balance the cultural demands that are placed upon them across the different times, contexts, and spaces they encounter?* By focusing on the notion of biographical disruption in life as a cause of the liminal condition, this chapter gave a critical analysis of processes of migration, adaptation, assimilation as well as acculturation. It also highlighted the importance of how gender identity is viewed and the role that language plays in producing different types of liminal conditions.

Liminal experiences are gendered and can transform the way someone understands, performs, and embodies their masculinity or femininity. The various processes of disruption, adaptation, and integration create different liminal conditions that can be either temporary or permanent. Liminal conditions are not homogenous, and although all participants experienced varying degrees of states of in-betweenness and uncertainty, being liminal meant something different. Whether it was feelings of ‘here’ and ‘there’, ‘neither’ here ‘nor’ there’ or ‘there’ and ‘nowhere’, there were varying degrees of social belonging that participants encountered. In particular, Tracy and Neliswe’s narratives were two different sides of the same coin, highlighting the difference between visibility and invisibility and the benefits that both can bring. The idea of liminal space, like Anzaldúa’s *nepantla*, and Bhabha’s ‘Third Space’, is important in showing that borderlands are environments that promote fluidity, hybridity and the invisibility of border inhabitants, despite attempts within these regions to establish fixed categories that strengthen nationality, ethnicity and gender.

²⁹ According to Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) in *Borderland: La Frontera*, ‘*sin fronteras*’ refers to without borders.

But liminality as a condition is not so clear cut. The opening story of this chapter by VhaHlonono shows that liminality can undermine a person's gendered social status. This is particularly true for men who have lost a major component of their identity that was integral in socially defined roles of what it means to be a man. VhaHlonono's continues to support his family, albeit with government assistance, but his unemployment exacerbates his feeling of insecurity. This could mean, that cultural conceptions of gender identity, roles and specific social relations are influenced by liminality. Furthermore, Kudzai, who lives in a temporary women's shelter, is comfortable with the intersections of her gender, race, and transnational identity and how she embodies them. She view the shelter as a welcoming, safe, socially acceptable and inclusive environment. Even though this kind of housing is liminal – that is transitory and temporary - Kudzai finds permanence there. This suggests there is more to liminal space in that it doesn't not necessarily determine a liminal condition. In the chapter that follows, two significant spatial elements that influence identity formation in Musina local municipality are examined: the transnational borderland and the rural-urban borderland. This gives a thorough contextual foundation for the material conditions that influence the narratives that have been discussed in this thesis so far.

CHAPTER 9: DOUBLE BORDERLANDS

9:1 INTRODUCTION

According to (Newman, 2006b:8), “borders are mainly perceived as institutional mechanisms aimed at protecting what is inside, by excluding whatever originates from outside.” The purpose of borders conventionally, is to hinder rather than facilitate movement (ibid.). Borders therefore mark territory, differentiate, and categorise identities through their presence, but a *borderland* is different because it is a zone or territory rather than a line. Within the borderland, borders are crossed, cultures coalesce, and borderland experiences construct particular identities. Borderlands do, however, differ in their character, depending on how open or closed the actual border is, as this is partly the degree to which people and their identities segregate, integrate or hybridise (Newman, 2006a).

This section of thesis addresses three out of the six research sub-questions: question 1. *What is the nature of the urban-rural interface in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?*; question 2. *What characterises the transnational interface in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?*; and 6. *In what ways does the in-betweenness found in having a double borderland identity (simultaneously being rural and urban, as well as Zimbabwean and South African), influence social relations with regards to the competition for economic resources, social services, and interpersonal relationships?* In this chapter, I argue that Musina Local Municipality is a transnational and rural-urban borderland due to the three international border crossings surrounding it, together with the urban settlements and areas under traditional authority. This is done by exploring borderlands from two perspectives: transnational and rural-urban. The transnational brings together the idea of border and borderland, but the rural-urban concept is more complex. In post-apartheid South Africa, there are no official rural-urban borders; municipalities are deliberately constructed as rural *and* urban. However, as previously mentioned, phenomenologically, there is a rural-urban binary, whereby individuals carry a sense of which areas are rural and which are urban.

The first section offers a critical analysis of the transnational borderland and its role in the formation and reconfiguration of borderland identities. I argue that all residents of the municipality have a borderland identity, regardless of nationality or origin. These identities are instrumental in the everyday practices of borderland life and particularly shape the liminal

experiences discussed in the previous chapter, such as the politics of invisibility, sense of belonging, and fear of othering. The second and final part explores how urbanity and rurality are understood within the municipality. Interpretations of urban and rural spaces differ between transnational migrants and non-migrants. This chapter argues that although there are variations in the meaning of urbanity, rurality is seen as the opposite, and that this is the maintenance of the rural-urban binary; despite this, there is evidence of extended urbanisation or at least rural-urban hybridisation in the municipality that one can speak of a rural-urban borderland. The transnational and rural-urban borderland processes therefore align in shaping interpretations of ideal black womanhood and intersectional identities that emerge from life in the Musina borderlands.

9:2 Borderland identities

The following section examines borderland identities as either migrant transnational borderland identities or non-migrant borderland identities. It addresses research sub-question 2. *What characterises the transnational interface in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?*

9:2.1 Migrant transnational borderland identities

Two concepts can be used to understand the borderland identity of transnational migrants residing in Musina municipality: the abstract idea of ‘Joni’ and the cross-border movement of people and goods.

9:2.1.1 “They call it Joni”: Constructions of borderlands.

The term ‘Joni’ is often used by transnational migrants to represent South Africa as a whole (Agadjanian, 2005; Machinya, 2022). This has been shown in several studies on migrants from Malawi (Johnson, 2017), Mozambique (Agadjanian, 2005; Tracey, 2021), and Zimbabwe (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009; Ranga, 2018; Machinya, 2022). The moniker literally translates to John and, in this case, is often used in reference to the city of Johannesburg, as it is generally accepted as the intended destination of all who migrate to South Africa for work (as shown in the responses below) (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009).

We were not going to Musina. We were just going to Joni. That’s what we knew. – Mai Makoni, Aged 40, Female.

I thought of Joni. I even thought of Botswana, but I have relatives here. – Matinetsa, Aged 23, Female.

Mbembé and Nuttall (2004) have proposed that Johannesburg symbolises a borderland, that it is de-territorialised, and crosses borders through its global connections of capital, labour, finance, and technology. Furthermore, they claim that the city has never had a clear centre, and that, due to its history as a polycentric and global city, its boundaries have become so geographically porous they lack both fixed elements and a cohesive whole (ibid.).

Ahh, everywhere. It's just called Joni. – Matinetsa, Aged 23, Female.

Here in Musina as a whole – even right here – what do they call it? They call it Joni. That is – it's an umbrella name. – Mai Makoni, Aged 40, Female.

The observations above are important because they highlight the historical significance of migration in the SADC region and the correlation between Johannesburg city and the aspirations and goals of migrants. According to Mbembé and Nuttall (2004), from its origins, Johannesburg has been a city that represents exuberance, novelty, adventure and, to a large extent, the possibility of freedom. As a result, it has become the focal point of aspirations in the region and beyond (Sanders, 2010). Despite the nature of work changing significantly, South Africa is still regarded as a regional labour destination, which reinforces the synecdoche's ongoing use.

The salient feature of 'Joni' is its contribution to the transnational borderland identity of migrants and by being instrumental in creating the liminal condition. The way that transnational migrants conceptualise borderlands, that is 'Joni' as places where they can fulfil their dreams and hopes for a new life is where this all starts. This association affects the perspective through which transnational migrants locate themselves in the Musina borderland, since these social meanings are still relevant today.

But here [Musina] is work. And no matter how bad it is, Zimbabwe is home. – Babusi, Aged 27, Male.

My heart is in Zimbabwe. We are here [in Musina] to look for money and solve the problems we have at home. – Ndumiso, Aged 40, Male.

The above comments were echoed by most transnational migrants in their descriptions of Musina's municipality as a "*place for work*". The distinction between the Musina borderlands and their countries of origin is important because it not only constructs the two spaces as separate, but also shows how place identities are experienced in relation to feelings of belonging. Given that perceptions and experiences of social integration can give rise to a sense of in-betweenness, it can be assumed that the transnational borderland identity of migrants' experiences liminality in a manner akin to that highlighted in Chapter 8. This can be attributed to Musina as 'Joni', as it reinforces old ideas of possibility and hope associated with the latter, thus bringing perspectives of the former as a place from which to work. The transnational ties and social connections with the municipality add another layer to the multifaceted nature of events occurring in the borderlands. Most of the transnational migrants interviewed said that their relatives, friends and, in the case of married women, their husbands, were the primary reasons for relocating to the municipality. Furthermore, some migrants and a few non-migrants with familial ties to Zimbabwe reported regularly returning or remitting money to that country. Consequently, 'Joni' and the transnational networks and practices occurring create a nuanced transnational borderland identity by contributing to the liminal conditions of migrants.

9:2.1.2 Cross-border mobility and identity-making

An important aspect of the transnational borderland identity is the cross-border movement of people and goods. By interpreting Musina as 'Joni', that is, something other than home, the movement of people, money and goods across the border becomes part of the daily reality in the borderlands. This contributes to how transnational migrants understand their identity. Previous research by Jinnah (2012, 2017) and Bolt (2010, 2012, 2015) has established the importance of cross-border mobility for commercial farms in Limpopo Province and demonstrated that this labour demand is likely the cause of the border's continued porosity, and the irregular and risky methods used to go between South Africa and Zimbabwe.



Map 14 Shell Ultra City Service Station Limpopo along the N1. Data Source: Google Earth Map by M Siteleki.

Due to the perception that the municipality's borders are permeable, cross-border migrants often cross them. I noticed this on two occasions. First, one of my field contacts drove us to the Shell service station, about 250 metres from the South African border post (shown in *Map 14* above). There we met a large group of around 50 people standing on either side of the N1. Some of them started shouting as the car approached. We stopped to speak to a man who asked if we needed help crossing the border. The man was a *malaicha*, an isiNdebele term that means transportation of goods. Informally, this word refers to cross-border drivers of minibuses and vans who transport goods between Zimbabwe and South Africa (Mathe, 2019). The *malaicha* informed me that for R400 he could help me pass through the official border posts of South Africa and Zimbabwe without contact with border agents. He added that he would leave me “on the Zimbabwean side to connect to the public transport” I would need to continue my journey (see *Figure 12* below).



Figure 13 Malaichas sitting around the truck stops outside of the South African Beitbridge Border Post. Source: Author's own.

On the next occasion, I spent the day with another field contact who works as a street hawker selling children's clothes in the town of Musina. At around 10am, an associate of my contact arrived at the stall and told us that *"things are moving well at the border"*. By the time we met that day, he had already made four trips to *"help people"* cross the border through the bush. From a border security perspective, it can therefore be assumed that the idea that South Africa's borders with Zimbabwe are porous is reinforced by the accessibility of *malaicha* who provide various opportunities for illegal border crossing and do so frequently. For transnational migrants in the municipality, the ability to travel or send goods between the two countries contributes to a borderland identity aligns with ideas of citizenship, place identity and how territory is understood.

Yes, I cross the border and relied on a *malaicha* that I trust. It was a man I already knew. It's really about trust. I paid US\$20 to cross to the Zimbabwean side and US\$20 to cross

back into South Africa and we went to the lower banks of the (Limpopo) river. There were two other guys and one other girl with me when we crossed as well as the guide (*malaicha*). It was scary but like I said it's all about trust. – Virginia, Aged 22, Female.

According to Konrad and Everitt (2011), security and integration in the borderlands are inextricably linked, as they are tied to the construction of an elusive and permeating identity. This is because a borderland identity includes national identity and borderland affinity and it serves as an arbiter between integration and improved security in the borderlands (ibid.). Therefore, for transnational migrants who regularly cross the border with *malaichas*, the experience of illegal border crossing is often anxiety ridden, risky and dangerous, and can be a constant reminder of one's citizenship and national identity. Furthermore, the transnational borderland identity for black women is fraught with experiences like Virginia's, further highlighting the vulnerability that comes with having an identity that intersects gender, class, and nationality.

The borderland identity that some transnational migrants experience is also based on the community identity of border populations across the Limpopo River. In Moyo's (2016) research on Tshivenda-speaking people living on the South African-Zimbabwe border, he argued that borderland residents have a dual borderland identity, evident in movement of families and communities sharing the same language and culture. Some migrants reported crossing the border frequently for similar reasons. One said, "*I have a lot of relatives here and in Zimbabwe. I also cross the border to Zim for me to go to Church*". These borderland identities not only ignore the functionalist role of the borders that separate the two countries, but they also overlook ideas of citizenship and lean towards ideas of belonging to a community. Although these migrants are not VhaVenda as in Moyo's (2016) study, they show that life in the borderland provides the opportunity to cross the borderline for social activities, reinforcing symbolic cultural and social boundaries on both sides.

9:2.1.3 Mobility of goods: Across and beyond border territories

In Musina's municipality, transnational borderland identity is shaped not only by the cross-border movement of migrants, but also by the cross-border exchanges between communities that are not necessarily close to or along the actual border. The ability to do this frequently and inexpensively has been reported as one of benefits of living in the borderlands.

Staying here there is an advantage for sure for sending things directly to my place. Musina is close to home, so I managed to send building materials to build at home. And the prices are cheaper. In Tzaneen it was difficult because I had to send things to Polokwane first in order to send them home. Musina met my expectations. In terms of remuneration wise nothing changed, but I am now close to home. And that makes everything much quicker and cheaper to send things. My quality of life did improve, from last year until now. There were things I couldn't do in Tzaneen, but I can now in Musina, like sending building materials. – Makomborero, Aged 41, Male.

Tomorrow is Saturday, isn't it? The cars that go straight home are available every Saturday. A lot of the times, I don't wait to be told what to do. I just think to myself, "When I buy something like this, then I should do this and that" and go do the shopping. Every Saturday, there are vehicles that go straight home. All of them – for my uncle my father's brother, and for my other uncle married to my mother's sister – they are all here. So, like the cars that go to my father's home, the bread I bought for them will arrive either Sunday or Monday. I would have sent it on Saturday, and everything arrives fresh. – Mai Makoni, Aged 40, Female.

Goldberg (2006:275), suggests how theoretically the conceptualisation of borders and boundaries can take place socially and culturally far away from the actual physical border. Makomborero's hometown is Marondera, Zimbabwe and is over 600 km away from Musina town. Similarly, Mai Makoni's hometown of Guruve, Zimbabwe is more than 700 km from the border town, making her comments about weekly deliveries of necessities to her parents and extended family even more intriguing. This is because the conveniences of life in Musina's municipality contribute to a positive borderland identity for transnational migrants, while shifting constructions of borderland territoriality in relation to cross-border trade regions.

For some families' dependent on goods and who often source their basic necessities from South Africa, the reach of cross-border trade extends beyond the border communities near the border post. This interesting finding further explains how life in the borderland complements the idea of the Musina borderland as 'Joni'. The challenges Makomborero faced when trying to send goods from Tzaneen to his homeland further show the importance of Musina's municipality's location is situated for transnational migrants. For

comparison, Tzaneen (see *Map 15* below) is approximately 213 km from Musina town, and Polokwane is approximately another 95 km from Tzaneen. Therefore, the municipality offers more frequent, affordable, and accessible strategies for sending goods, possibly through *malaichas*. For those living in the migrants' homeland, knowing only that the goods received are from 'Joni', this again contributes to abstract conceptualisations of the borderland.



Map 15 Limpopo Province with Polokwane, Tzaneen, and Musina. Data Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB). 2023. Map by M. Siteleki.

To conclude this section, transnational migrants' borderland identities can evoke feelings of belonging and non-belonging, as the daily experiences in Musina's municipality are shaped by the intersections of gender, race, class, and nationality. Firstly, this is due to the interpretation of the Musina borderland as 'Joni', which gives transnational migrants a reason to move and settle in the area. The municipality is considered a place of work, so home is viewed as something other than 'Joni', usually the country of origin. Transnational networks and practices in the Musina borderlands facilitate the cross-border movement of people, goods, and money and are also an important aspect of the borderland identity of transnational migrants. It is this relationship between 'Joni' and the experience of cross-

border mobility that creates the complexity found in transnational migrant borderland identity.

9:2.2 The non-migrant borderland identity

So far, this chapter has focused on how transnational migrants navigate the Musina borderland and how their borderland identities are constructed from these experiences. Yet, another important group moves within the same borderland spaces and is affected by transnational practices: non-migrants. In this study, non-migrants are individuals who reported having lived in Musina's municipality from birth. This definition is also extended to those who migrated to the region from other parts of South Africa due to marriage or work opportunities. As the previous section demonstrated, a fundamental aspect of the transnational migrant borderland identity is the cross-border movement of goods and people. The borderland identity of non-migrants differs from that of transnational migrants because unlike the latter, the former reported not participating in crossing the border. Although the municipality is surrounded by three international border crossings, non-migrants unanimously referred to the Beitbridge crossing with Zimbabwe as "the border".

The border doesn't affect me in any way. I am at work most of the time. Weekends in Musina are fast paced. During the week I am here at college. But weekends in town, most of the activities are happening like trading because we are closer to the border. – Ntsako, Aged 36, Male.

I can't say anything about the border. I don't know about the border. [But the people moving here] there is no problem with that. Some are friendly. It's just that there are some who are bad. Some, they used to steal things from us. But some they help us; they even come and ask for jobs for less price. – Phelokazi, Aged 26, Female.

Some conclusions can be drawn from the above. First, a lack of knowledge about borders, or inferences that they have no effect, can be interpreted as a lack of physical engagement in crossing an actual border. This does not mean that non-migrants do not have a borderland identity. As Paasi (1996:254) cited in Prokkola (2009), "The knowledge and concern of the borderland's issues, regional intelligibility (gut feeling about local ways of life, communication and language for example), habitual everyday practices, border (non)crossing practices and people's articulations of their emotional attachments within

places and regions can be all be an expression of borderland identity.” This is evident in how Ntsako and Phelokazi acknowledge, albeit unintentionally, that the presence of the border or life in the borderland shapes their everyday. Non-migrants’ perceptions of life in the borderland are shaped by their awareness that the presence of an international border crossing nearby can change the atmosphere of a town, alter the dynamics of the labour market and increase transnational crime. Phelokazi’s observations are interesting in that they show how life in borderlands can be both beneficial and disadvantageous for non-migrants. For instance, some participants spoke about the benefits of living in close to “the border”.

For me, there is no advantage. But, for those who staying at Musina [town] there is an advantage because they go and sell everything there at border. People buy. – Phumudzo, Aged 30, Male.

There are also advantages and disadvantages. The advantages of staying close to the border – it’s just that might be illegal. If I have got a bakkie, I would be transporting people, to go for fishing there, at the [Limpopo] river. Sometime its illegal because you must have a permit. And then sometimes, you will take refugees, the people from outside -Zimbabwe – illegally and bring them here. There is opportunity but then, there is disadvantages. You can be arrested. – Oabile, Aged 29, Male.

Previous chapters of this thesis have discussed in detail how the demand for cheap labour for large-scale industries, such as mining and later commercial agriculture, formed the basis of historical labour migration to South Africa. The political and economic crises in neighbouring Zimbabwe have also spurred undocumented movements of people from that country. However, Phelokazi and Oabile’s observations suggest that non-migrants not only benefit directly from immigrants’ cheap labour, but also from the permeability that facilitates the supply of this labour. It is important to note that this suggests that non-migrant borderland identities are therefore not assigned simply because individuals live in borderlands but are based on their experiences and those of the transnational migrants they interact with while living in transnational spaces.

9:2.2.1 “Us” versus “them”: The negatives in transnational borderlands

Some encounters in the Musina borderland can leave a negative perception of borders and migration, as was the case for most non-migrants, especially those from the municipality’s rural settlements near the frontier.

I am not happy about staying near a border because people from other countries come here to steal and then they go away without [us] being able to track them. – Gogo Hulisane, Aged 59, Female.

They steal our property and cross the border. How will you follow them? – VhaDakalo, Aged 71, Male.

It’s a disadvantage to stay there [near the border]. People what they are doing there you know, it’s very wrong. It’s very dangerous [the smuggling]. – VhaChauke, Aged 63, Male.

The participants’ observations above show that the unease that transnational crime creates borderland life reinforces the ideas about citizenship and nationality. This also leads to a dialogue about whether one is a citizen or not, constructions of the ‘other’ and the assignment of bias or prejudice. The previous chapter discussed that some people living in the Musina borderlands experience liminality and a sense of in-betweenness because borderland environments enable the flexibility, hybridisation, invisibility, and visibility of certain identities. These identity ambiguities that come with living in a borderland shape certain perceptions of how crime is committed in a transnational space.

And then another problem is border control. Because someone can jump the border to come here without proper papers. Then he or she can commit [a] crime. Go back to wherever they came from. There is no coming from wherever, its Zimbabweans! Even the local people here, they just commit crime. There is disguising with the Zimbabweans. If the crime is committed here, even if the locals can commit crime here, the people can say, “Hey Zimbabweans, hey Zimbabweans”. The Zimbabweans are always trouble. It’s a problem of border controlling. There is crime here. – VhaHlonono, Aged 56, Male.

It is not safe, because there is crime. And when we check you find that, most of crimes are people coming from Zimbabwe. Because there is no border control. They come and steal our things, and they are not traceable. – Gogo Khangwelo, Aged 65, Female.

Because here, they can speak Shona if they want to, imitating others. Although they will be from here and speaking Venda. It's so confusing. – Jeremy, Aged 46. Male.

The above remarks from both non-migrants and transnational migrants living in the municipality highlight the difficulties that living in the borderland poses in terms of crime. The calls for stricter border controls, including from non-migrants of Zimbabwean descent, assume that the South Africa-Zimbabwe border and boundary lines do not function adequately to delineate and define citizenship and identity. However, it is the borderland, transnationalism and multiculturalism within the municipality, which allow cultures and languages to be shared and that identities to become visible, invisible, or creolised. A non-migrant who grew up in Thohoyandou described how multicultural the municipality was, saying; “*Musina, I feel like it is mixed up. If I can put it that way because there is so, so, much [diversity]. There is so much. There is Xitsonga, Xhosas, Pedi, Shona. And there at Thohoyandou you can only find Vendas.*” However, since non-migrants reported not participating in cross-border activities, this together with crime and its transnational element, lead to always differentiating people based on their nationality and citizenship.

Yah. That's why I am saying, I don't like that. We like Zimbabwe, but we hate what they are doing. [It's] the wrong thing that – [what] they are doing. It's what we don't want. We like them, we are all brothers. – VhaChauke, Aged 63, Male.

So, you can see that there are people who are coming from out [side]. We don't know whether it is Zim or Zambia or Malawi. They are committing [high] level of crimes. Others we are staying with them where we are renting. They are not working. They are not doing anything. Their job is to steal, which is not even a secret. They steal every day. When we check the fingerprints— they are not there. When we trace them, they are not from South Africa. So, it gives us that mentality that, all those who are committing crime they are not from here. – Dimpho, Aged 38, Female.

The separation between ‘us’ and ‘them’, expressed in the comments above reinforces the nationality and citizenship of non-migrants as South Africans. This is because the borderland identity of non-migrants differs from the identity of those who cross borders or commit crimes and are presumably transnational migrants. Therefore, it seemed more important for non-

migrants to improve their lives as South African nationals and municipality residents. This is captured through Bontle's feelings about life in the Musina borderland.

Growing up, I never planned to work and stay in Musina. I was very happy in Cape Town. If it wasn't for my mother getting sick, I wouldn't be back. Now it's not in my mind [but] my husband doesn't want to be in Musina though. He is an artist and has been to Mozambique. He feels trapped in Musina. He likes to be in places with more economic opportunities. People from that side [Zimbabwe], from across the border are the ones advantage of the growth of the town. People from Venda either come here or go to Johannesburg. – Bontle, Aged 46, Female.

Most non-migrant participants echoed Bontle's sentiments in the interviews and were particularly critical of their lives in the Musina borderland. In addition to views on crime and border permeability, economic opportunities in the municipality were perceived to be more satisfactory for transnational migrants. Many non-migrants expressed that the municipality lacked opportunities and infrastructural development and that they would migrate to other parts of South Africa if the opportunity arose. Overall, non-migrant borderland identity is defined by othering. Although non-migrants are aware of the transnational practices within the municipality, they use these experiences to separate their identities from the other: the transnational migrant, who crosses the border often and illegally, selling their labour cheaply, takes the opportunity to trade in the town, or commits crimes and often cannot be traced. By differentiating these identities, non-migrants' experiences in the Musina borderlands focus on citizenship as South Africans and as municipal residents. The border and borderlines are intended to be important functions that demarcate and define who should enter and leave.

Thus far, this chapter has argued that borderland identities in Musina municipality determine whether one is a non-migrant or a transnational migrant. This is because the borderland experience for all residents of the municipality is based on the ideas of nationality and citizenship that not only define one's identity but also that of others. For transnational migrants, their borderland identity begins with 'Joni', an abstract concept that refers to any place in South Africa and is a term used to refer to Musina. Because 'Joni' has been historically linked with promise and ambition, these social meanings are still valid. The Musina borderland as 'Joni' is the workplace and separate from the home country. This is the first reminder of the transnational migrant's nationality and citizenship. Zimbabwe as "home" and South Africa as "Joni" as suggested in this chapter, are ideas

that allows for a consideration of the use of “national” categories by people to make sense of their local experiences with continuously crossing the boundaries between the two countries. This broad perspective on how they view their daily lives in South Africa is important as influences conceptualisations of gender, geography and nationality. This, in turn, shapes transnational migrants’ perspectives on black femininity and transnationality – as shown in their previous narratives – as well as on urbanity and rurality, as this chapter will show later.

The life of transnational migrants in the Musina borderland focuses on cross-border activities. Transnational migrants either cross the border or ship goods across it, and this is usually risky, treacherous, and anxiety ridden. Through these processes they are again reminded that they are foreigners. This contrasts with non-migrants who do not need to cross the border because their focus is on how best their local and national governments best serve them. South Africa is still the most popular destination for migrants due to its political stability and dominance as a regional economic centre, an area that has attracted black migrant entrepreneurs from across the continent (Nshimbi and Moyo, 2017; Tevera, 2020). Thus, non-migrants are aware of the opportunities that the borderland offers, particularly for transnational migrants. The experiences of non-migrants in the borderland are determined by the transnational practices that take place in the borderland. These experiences may or may not be beneficial to them. Still, non-migrants in the borderland define their identity by recognising that, unlike the other, they do not have to cross the border for their dreams and aspirations to be fulfilled.

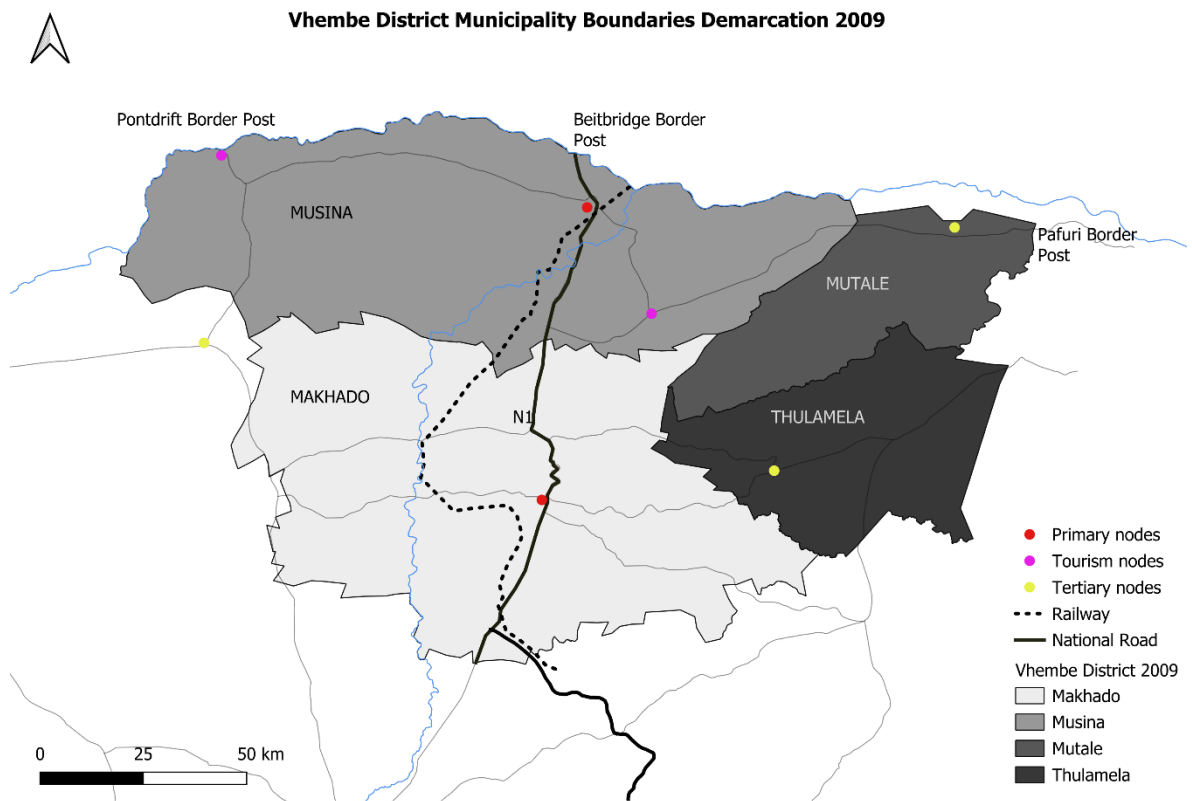
Both borderland identities therefore shape each other, as the anxieties that life in the Musina borderland entails for non-migrants reinforces the constructions of the other, and of biases against foreigners. On the other hand, while their own transnational borderland identities lead to liminal experiences and make them question their place identity, transnational migrants’ interactions with non-migrants in the borderland shape the way they perform their intersectional identities. These relationships are also instrumental in when and how some transnational migrants manage the visibility or invisibility of their identities, resulting in liminal experiences.

9:3 “Rural but not so rural” – the rural-urban interface

This section examines the relationship between urban and traditional areas within Musina’s municipality by evaluating the importance of the location of these spaces within the transnational borderland in shaping place identity. It also addresses research sub-question 1. *What is the nature of the urban-rural interface in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?* First, it begins with an overview of Musina’s municipality since its boundaries were redrawn because these boundaries form the basis for the analysis of spatial representation and experience of urban and traditional areas. Next, I argue that there are different perspectives on urbanity in the municipality. Of particular interest is the role of Thohoyandou as an urban centre in comparison to Musina town for residents residing in traditional areas. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion on rurality. I suggest that, like urban spaces, there are different views on rurality, largely reinforcing the rural-urban dichotomy. However, there is evidence also showing that rural and urban becoming more imbued, which has implications for how gender identity is constructed, reconfigured, and performed in the Musina borderlands.

9:3.1 The new Musina Local Municipality

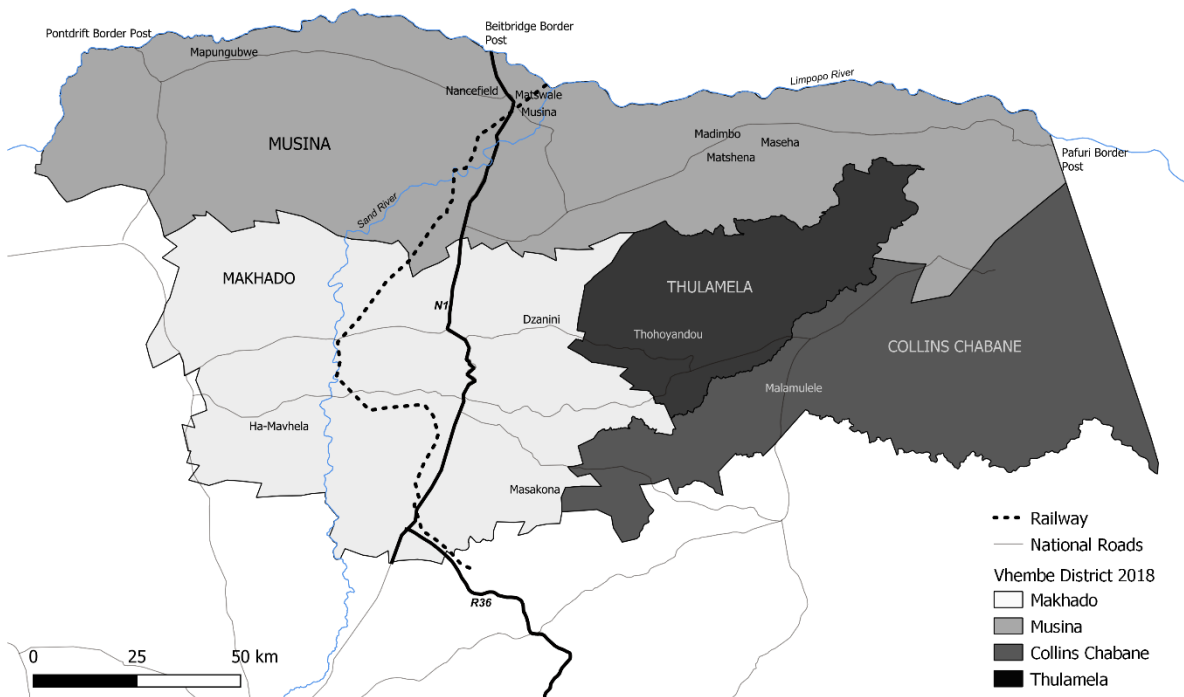
As outlined earlier in this work, the boundaries of the municipality were redrawn in 2016 to include parts of the dissolved Mutale municipality, as shown in *Maps 16 and 17*. The redetermination of Makhado, Musina and Thulamela Local Municipalities was accomplished through the dissolution of Mutale municipality, which was requested by the then Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA) Pravin Gordhan. The fundamental objective was to improve the financial performance of the municipalities belonging to the Vhembe district (Letlape and Dube, 2020).



Map 16 Vhembe District Municipality Boundaries 2009. Data Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB). Map by M. Siteleki.



Vhembe District Municipality Boundaries Demarcation 2018



Map 17 Vhembe District Municipality Boundaries 2018. Data Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB). Map by M. Siteleki.

Historically, Mutale was one of the four districts of the bantustan region during apartheid and as of the 2011 Census, 85% of its population lived under traditional authority (Lahiff, 2001; Statistics South Africa, 2011b). Before the merger, the urbanisation level of Mutale was 3% (Municipal Demarcation Board, 2015). This is in contrast to Musina, which was considered a ‘white’ town and had an urbanisation level of 59% before amalgamation (Lahiff, 2001; Municipal Demarcation Board, 2015). One resident of an area formerly part of Mutale and now part of Musina’s municipality recalled their initial joy at the merger of the two municipalities.

Before, we were Mutale. We wanted to be in Musina because we saw Musina is a smaller [municipality] which means if we are not many, the municipality will cover us all. But now that we are in Musina, we find that there is no difference. – Gogo Khangwelo, Aged 65, Female.

Cameron (2006:76) argues that integration of poor, more obviously rural regions into even poorer local administrations tends to result in lower service quality, while integration into wealthier administrations, which are generally more urban in character, can result in

improved provision of services. The redefinition of municipal boundaries after 1994 was initially intended to address the spatial legacies of apartheid, which merged poor, predominately black municipalities with wealthier, mostly white ones to achieve equity and redistribution (Letlape and Dube, 2020). Much like with Gogo Khangwelo, many people were happy gathering to discuss the border redrawing in Vhembe District; attended by a thousand people, 37 of the 48 speakers were in favour of the proposal to dissolve Mutale municipality (Letlape and Dube, 2020). Additionally, challenges affecting service delivery in Makhado and Thulamela municipalities were also mentioned, with some proposing merging the entire municipality of Mutale with Musina (ibid.). Expectations of improved service delivery and quality of life increased with the merger of the two municipalities, even though only six wards from Mutale were merged into Musina.

There is no difference. But if you can check, this municipality, it has many villages. Madimbo, Matshelo - but there is a councillor here who is staying in Matshelo. If you go to Madimbo, you can see that there is a difference between Madimbo and Matshelo just because the councillor is staying there. – Phumudzo, Aged 30, Male.

[Thulamela municipality] that one it's a bit [better]. [This place] that's it. It was Mutale. It's the same thing. Because we are still dealing with the same people with the same party. – VhaHlonono, Aged 56, Male.

All participants living in the rural settlements of Musina municipality had a feeling of marginalisation as they felt that the incorporation of the former Mutale areas did not bring any improvements. Some people shared VhaHlonono's sentiments and expressed that the lack of change was due to corruption and the re-election of previous councillors from the Mutale administration. This is particularly interesting as all the interviews I conducted in these areas took place a few weeks after the 2021 local government elections, in which the African National Congress (ANC) was re-elected in these areas. However, an administration official also noted the challenges posed by the merger of the two municipalities.

Some of the challenges have been in areas that were part of the de-established Mutale rural municipality that are now part of Musina municipality. We have capacity issues as

we are understaffed to cover all the villages. I have to do all the site inspections in a very large area, and there is not enough staff. – Mr Masindi, Senior Town Planner.

As previously mentioned, Mutale municipality included areas that were part of the bantustan or Homelands during apartheid. Although Musina's municipality is unable to service the region efficiently due to legacy issues, the region is administratively considered as either urban or rural, both with their unique challenges.

Yes. In the villages, the challenges are [that] there are constant disputes regarding boundaries and zoning between and amongst the tradition chiefs. The chiefs sell land under their custodianship without consulting us. So, you will find that maybe they sell land that comes with environmental issues such as, conservation. – Mr Masindi, Senior Town Planner.

This section provides an overview of how changes in the boundaries to Musina's municipality were accompanied by expectations for residents under traditional authority. The local government perspective is also significant in showing how traditional authority is now more involved in economic and social processes related to urbanisation. As a wealthier, more urbanised municipality, any presumptions accompanying the merger are important because they shed light on how residents would view life in Musina's municipality and how it shapes their identity.

9:3.2 Viewpoints on the urban

Chapter 7 argued that participants from rural settlements in the municipality expressed that there were clear differences from urban settlements in terms of opportunities, infrastructure, and access to land. However, according to Bank and Kenyon (2020:262), “the topography of wealth and regimes of value in the countryside are changing significantly as the protective cultural binary between town and countryside in terms of perceptions about consumption is collapsing with the spread of urbanism.” In Musina's municipality, urban and rural areas are perceived by participants as distinct binaries, but there were differences within these perceptions. First, the urban perspectives on the urban areas of the municipality.

Musina is a small town. I lived in a big city in Pretoria. It's not like Joburg or Pretoria. Pretoria is a big city and its fast paced all the time so when you compare things, here things happen slowly. When I compare with where I am from, I would say this place is rural. – Ntsako, Aged 36, Male.

I come from the location (township back in Zimbabwe). It's still the same. – Virginia, Aged 22, Female.

According to Marcus (2010), urbanity is a socio-spatial category that emerges from the relationship between urban life and urban form. More specifically, potential variations in urbanity are created through urban design, which influences urban life in ways that reinforce, constrain and organise urban form (ibid.). The above observations differ in their view on urban settlements in the municipality based on their previous experiences with urbanity in large African metropolises. For Ntsako, it was the difference in density, infrastructure, and pace that he experienced while living in South Africa's administrative capital, which he compared to Musina town. At the same time, Virginia's views were shared by Matinetsa, who also grew up in a high-density township in Harare, Zimbabwe. Matinetsa, in particular, claimed: "*The places are the same, it's just the people who are different*". Both women live in parts of Nancefield township, an urban area of Musina municipality. For Agergaard, Tacoli, Steel, and Ørtenblad (2019), an analysis of urbanism integrates research on social practices related to what the urban environment offers and how these practices are socially and materially communicated. Recent developments in the town of Musina are helping to change the way the municipality's urban landscape is viewed and experienced.

Us who were left here, this place is called *Magura*.³⁰ Town is now where the mall is. That's where the banks are – everything is now there. Here where we are in the middle of nowhere. Because that road up there where the banks used to be? The one you left at the corner there. It's no longer there. There is nothing there. If you want an ATM, you can find it in a shop. Otherwise, if you want to conduct banking services, you have to go to the mall. – Mai Makoni, Aged 40, Female.

³⁰ Asiatic and East African shop owners and informal entrepreneurs are often referred to as *magura* by Musina residents, a term which is a Shona version of the derogatory word 'coolie'. This word is a racial slur originally used to refer to indentured migrant labour of mainly Indian and Chinese descent (Varma, 2016).

Map 18 Musina Mall. Data Source: Google Earth. Map by M Siteleki.



Map 18 above, shows the location of Musina Mall and its distance from Casper Avenue, where Mai Makoni operates as a fruit and vegetable hawker. The area she described as the “*middle of nowhere*” is circled on the map. By identifying the town as the site of specific social activities, such as banking, Mai Makoni’s interpretation of urbanity means that the spaces she occupies in the urban areas of Musina are now the ‘old town’. In her interview she pointed out that by remaining in the ‘old town’ she felt like part of the “*riffraff*” and disregarded. At the time of the fieldwork, Casper Avenue had recently received new paving, a job attributed to the De Beers Venetia Diamond Mine. Agergaard et al. (2019) suggest that the important material aspects of urbanism, such as how it is planned and aspired to, exemplified by infrastructural developments in transportation, buildings, and religious constructions. There are several planned urban development projects involving the municipality, which also inspire the local government to be conferred a higher administrative status.

There has been lots of development like the Musina Mall, the Ring Road, the N1 bypass that we are currently busy with. The Department of Transport is developing it, but they speak to the municipality before they do anything. There is also the Makhado-Musina SEZ, Altonville Farm Phase 1, Phase 2, and the Baobab Plaza. The Mine (Venetia Diamond) is also helping us build the new Traffic Department pre-testing centre (near China Mall). The municipality aspires to gain city status. Musina is moving towards city status. In my opinion, it’s a very rich area, and with the plans for development of the Eco Industrial Park township near the border, and the Phase 1 and Phase 2 I mentioned earlier. Musina is supposed to be the capital city of Limpopo. Because there are old shafts of mines, commercial farms. In the next ten to fifteen years, it will be a city. – Mr Masindi, Senior Town Planner.

Growth not only in services such as electricity, but also in shopping malls and commercial centres, sites of rapidly shifting consumer patterns and aspirations, has been seen in many formal rural settlements since the end of apartheid (Peters and Woodhouse, 2019). For example, the improved road infrastructure was reportedly received with great positivity by cross-border truck drivers, business leaders, and a local taxi association chairperson who described the construction as “*looking like Gauteng or Durban when it comes to road infrastructure*” (Futshane, 2022). Although the road improvements may lead to aspirations to become larger metropolises in the country, the addition of developments such as the Musina Mall and the role of Musina town is leading to polarising opinions among the

municipality's rural residents. Comparisons have constantly been made between Musina town, and Thohoyandou,³¹ the administrative capital of Thulamela municipality.

Thohoyandou ³² [is closer than Musina town]. [The] SASSA grant, they come [here]. They come [here because] there is a post office. But even that R350 or the SASSA [grant]; you must go to Thohoyandou or Musina [to spend it]. You can't just take the money. To buy what? I prefer Thohoyandou because its big. Everything is big – more, more shops. More government offices, everything. When you go there, you go there for many things. – VhaHlonono, Aged 56, Male.

The lack of shopping centres and proper road infrastructure in rural settlements means that people travel to urban areas to access banks, retail outlets or grocery shopping. For most rural residents in the municipality, the term 'town' was used in reference to Thohoyandou. There are a few possible explanations for this. In the comment above, Thohoyandou is viewed as a larger town that offers more services than Musina town especially government offices. On one hand, this could be due to Thohoyandou's history as the administrative capital of the Venda Bantustan during apartheid. This legacy is particularly important when considering the older black population of the rural settlements within the municipality, and how Musina town was a 'white' town at that time. In addition, Thohoyandou is now not only the administrative capital of Thulamela municipality but also the administrative capital of Vhembe District and therefore has more government offices. Musina town was often viewed as unimportant, particularly by the younger participants.

For me, Musina is only important because it's an urban area where I can go and fetch groceries. That's all. But when it comes to as you have said, jobs, we are so disadvantaged. Yeah, [we are] very much disadvantaged. – Lawrence, Aged 26, Male

Some participants indicated that they preferred Thohoyandou town due to their previous experiences at higher education institutions located there, particularly the University of Venda. Furthermore, there were suggestions that the road infrastructure from the villages

³¹ See Map 17 on Vhembe district municipality and its local municipalities.

around Madimbo to the town of Musina was a determinant in favouring Thohoyandou town instead.

Our nearest town is Musina. But because the road is well, not [road worthy]. All of them are not tarred. [The] road, that's the problem due to the road stop signs, the traffic. So, Thohoyandou? [We go there for] shopping because it's the town. – VhaDakalo, Aged 71, Male.

Musina is not congested, like Thohoyandou. Like where if somebody is going to Thohoyandou and somebody is going to Musina, I will reach Musina first. The one who is going to Thohoyandou will reach later because [of] the roads. – Gogo Khangwelo, Aged 65, Female.

The congestion and long travel time to Thohoyandou town as stated in the above observations can be attributed to its popularity among the rural residents of Madimbo, Maseha and Matshena. According to Tittle and Grasmick (2001:316), one of “the causes of interlocale variation of urbanity”, is the “dominance of a population of strangers, or the public world, that forces individuals to accommodate to impersonality through bifurcation”. Some rural residents believe that they exist between two localities: Musina’s municipality and Thulamela’s municipality. Another significant aspect of Musina’s urban areas, particularly Musina Mall, is that they are linked to cross-border trade. The welcome messages in the mall are in English, Afrikaans, Tshivenda, Sepedi, Xitsonga, isiNdebele (Northern Ndebele or Zimbabwean Ndebele) and in chiShona (shown below in *Figure 13*). Although the Musina Mall is a private establishment, the welcome signage suggests recognition of the migrants who come to the mall to shop and thus contribute financially through cross-border trade.



Figure 14 Musina Mall Greetings. Source: Author's Own.

Todes, Kok, Wentzel, Van Zyl and Cross (2010) suggested that the primary focal point of migration in the post-apartheid period have been some of the fast-growing secondary cities and the large metropolitan regions. The same applies to the contribution of migration and cross-boundary movements to the urbanisation processes in Musina municipality.

In the areas around Musina town, the challenges we face include illegal land use and land invasions. We love our brothers and sisters from the other side (of the border) but we have challenges with the nationalities. Musina is xenophobic free; we hear about the xenophobia further South. But illegal immigrants are a big problem with the crime, high mobility and it becomes a strain on services. The illegal accommodation being built in town - we are at full capacity with electricity and that's why we always have municipal load shedding. The sewers are packed. With regards to housing, the migrants are a pull factor, so there is a housing shortage because there is a lot of people who want RDPs but [they want] them to lease out to the immigrants. It becomes difficult to assess those in real need of housing. – Mr Masindi, Senior Town Planner.

For Costa and Monte-Mór (2015), small- and medium-sized cities, and urban agglomerations can be built within a particular and specific image of urbanisation due to informal processes of occupation, squatter settlement and migration. As discussed in Chapter 2, demand for housing in the municipality has led to a thriving market for RDP houses. This is also shown by recent reports from managers of shelters in Musina about their struggles in accommodating homeless

people (Chiguvare, 2022, 2023). The demand for sheltered housing has now nearly doubled in some shelters, and the number of people living in the streets has increased as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic (ibid.).

This section explained that urban areas in Musina's municipality are seen and experienced in different ways by residents. Musina town is generally considered urban, although residents who have lived in larger metropolises may consider it partially rural. The changes in the town such as Musina Mall, result in some of its residents becoming alienated in their urban spatial identity. For rural residents, Musina town is urban, but faces greater competition from Thohoyandou due to the town's history, and importance as an administrative centre. As a result, rural residents live between two urban centres.

9:3.3 Viewpoints on rurality

The discussion of performative intersectionality in Chapter 7 demonstrated how clear distinctions are made between urban and traditional areas in Musina municipality based on infrastructure, transportation, service delivery, traditional authority, and employment opportunities shaped the lives of black women. Distance from urban areas and general population density are some of the different reasons why rural regions exhibit some degree of isolation and why the deconstruction of rurality important (Doan and Hubbard, 2019:340). This is because rural regions are associated with imperceptibility and disadvantage, in contrast to how urban regions are perceived as visible and advantageous (ibid.). For transnational migrants from rural regions, rural settlements in Musina municipality represent forms of modernity often associated with the urban.

They are different. The rural areas here they have electricity and water. At home [Gwanda, Zimbabwe], you have to get water from a well. Moreover, there is electricity only at the shops but not in homes – Ndumiso, Aged 40, Male.

Yes, they are different. They are different this side because they have electricity, and they are built up beautifully. The houses this side, are proper, proper houses. Those who don't have get RDPs. A person who is living in poverty in the rural [areas] does not have a different life from a person in poverty in town. I am talking about the people in the rural areas this side [Musina municipality] who receive SASSA grants. So, their lives are not different as their stands are in the rural settlements. – Tracy, Aged 38, Female.

Their rural setup and our rural set up are two different things. In South Africa [when] we are talking about advancement in technology - here they are advanced. That is one thing for sure; we cannot run away from that. We have provision for electricity in the rural areas, networking and even their settlements are totally different. There in Zim, we have what we call, haphazard settlement whereby you build where you want. Here in rural areas, they plan in each settlement, so that if there is chance of having water it will be easy because it is a planned thing or electricity. Then in Zim people build here and there - someone in the north, then west and south, [it] would be difficult to plan. Today we have a dollar to give you electricity; it will be a post here and there for another household. I have experienced rural life in South Africa; it is very good because it is planned. Even if it is a headman or a chief, there is a system where you are supposed to be reporting to the chief whatever development you [are] talking about. Be it electricity or politically. It is just well organised. – Desmond, Aged 40, Male.

The comments above show the provision of modern services such as electricity and water, formal planning structures and the architectural design of houses in traditional areas were used as characteristics to distinguish rural Zimbabwe from rural South Africa. This is despite the areas of South Africa described by the participants here being considered rural. Understanding urbanity and rurality can be attributed to coloniality. The chiShona and isiNdebele terms for home are “*kumusha*” or “*ekhaya*” respectively and are used by participants to refer to their country of origin. However, the rural areas are called “*ruzevha*”, a term derived from the Native Reserves established by the colonial administration and represent the traditional homes created for black people that were and are still associated with hardship and misery (Naidoo and Pfukwa, 2009; Hungwe, 2020; Muranda, Chimbudzi and Maguraushe, 2022).



Figure 15 Modern designed home in Madimbo village. Source: Author's own.

Some participants shared with me that most of the modern architecturally designed homes in rural settlements in the municipality (see *Figure 14*, above), belonged to white collar government employees who commuted daily from Madimbo and Matshena to Musina town for work. Bank (2020) similarly argues that suburban homes built in rural Transkei have become a main concern for migrants who have money or networks to fund rural construction projects that do not replace traditional dwellings and domestic architectural models. The difference, however, is that in Musina municipality, new construction replaces traditional architectural designs. Yet rural homes remain living spaces that urban homes will never be because of their role as cultural and social anchors of family identity and valuable sites of production (Bank and Kenyon, 2020). This is despite shifts in consumption patterns and the revaluation of goods and materials (*ibid.*). One example is how the constructions of black womanhood in the municipality covered in Chapter 6 attribute particular gender behaviours to place identity, thus perpetuating the rural-urban divide. Black women in urban areas are perceived as obstinate, disrespectful, and a threat to male authority because respectful black femininity is associated with living in traditional areas. This reinforces the idea that urban and rural areas are different places. Therefore, the availability of certain services and the modernisation of housing design

did not alter the perception of rurality among participants from urban and rural/or traditional backgrounds regarding traditional areas within the municipality.

Because urban is still urban. There is difference between urban and rural. Because you cannot compare Musina and Madimbo. But they have two or three things in common; water is provided, and electricity is there. They give RDPs there in the rural areas and in the urban. Unlike in Zim whereby you need to pay for it. Be it rural, you bid for yourself, be it urban. It is even worse in terms of expenses. – Desmond, Aged 40, Male.

This is a rural place. There is no service delivery. That is why. – Phumudzo, Aged 30, Male.

No. There is no shops here. This place is rural. – VhaDakalo, Aged 71, Male.

Because there are a number of facilities that are still not accessible, like malls and ATMs. If they want to do their shopping, they have to come here [Musina Town]. – Tonderai, Aged 27, Male.

Ndofirepi and Maringe (2020) suggest that spatial conditions, such as a geographical region characterised by traditional culture, arrangements, and infrastructure, are a key conceptualisation of what rurality is. Since urban spaces are characterised by populated spaces, modernity, innovation, road networks, industries, communication facilities and accessible commodities, they differ from rural spaces (ibid.). Similar to the observations above, the lack of amenities common in urban areas is an indicator that rural residents use to compare their rural settlements with urban settlements in the municipality. The colonial constructions of rural and urban used by transnational migrants to compare Zimbabwean and South African rural spaces also inform how South African rural spaces are contrasted to urban spaces. For instance, *Figure 15* below shows the Maseha spaza shop, the only such retail facility in the village, which was taken³³ by Oabile to demonstrate why he considers the area rural.

Yah. It is a rural area. Because even the population. We don't have a hall. We don't have recreational libraries; we don't have that thing. Then the stadium. The stadium you see, we have a stadium at Madimbo, but that stadium is not in a good condition. I think it was

³³ Image taken and supplied by participants from their mobile phone camera.

built but then, it's not finished yet. Or the maintenance because now it is not in good condition where you can say it's a proper stadium. It's not a good stadium anymore. Here at the village, there is no library. You see if there was a tar road here, I could start my own work to sell and cook. But now there is no proper road or tar road. I cannot cook food there, because of the dust you see. But if there was a road it would be better –
Oabile, Aged 29, Male.



Figure 16 Maseha Spaza. Source : Oabile.

According to Ngorora and Mago (2016), spaza stores deliver groceries at convenient distances for rural residents because larger retailers and supermarkets typically avoid rural regions,

perhaps because these markets are small. During apartheid, spaza stores became well-known and were important in meeting the basic needs of black communities in rural areas (Kativhu, 2022). These are small home-based retail stores that typically sell staples such as cigarettes, groceries, and other daily necessities to nearby residents (ibid.). Regarding the Maseha spaza shop above, Oabile's views on the retail experiences and consumption patterns in the area were shared by other residents who lived nearby.

[It's] just only the spaza shop. Most of them are spaza shops this side. There are no banks. When we just want to withdraw [money] here, they charge us R10 for R100. Yeah, R10 for every R100. They charge us. Because this place is so rural and [there are] no jobs. Even those tomatoes I said they would work [on the farms for], there is no tomatoes now. You know the lady, this lady, working here? She went to look for tomatoes [throughout] the whole village just thinking that she can get them at [one place or] another one. There is no tomatoes. – VhaHlonono, Aged 56, Male.

I think it's really rural because if we want something, we can't find it here. Like the other day my little sister wanted to use chutney. We [went] to all the shops here for chutney - there was no chutney. We had to go to Musina to get that chutney. – Phelokazi, Aged 26, Female.

The above observations show that spazas in rural areas can be viewed as an extension of urban life. The capitalist relations that take place in the rural settlements the municipality add credence to the idea that the area is a rural-urban borderland. However, while the presence of spazas ensures food security in rural areas, their nature is simultaneously problematic and a reminder of the disadvantages of being a rural resident. The food sold in these stores sometimes does not meet standards and is already expired, or in the case of Phelokazi, simply unavailable (Masuku, 2016). In attempts to describe the differences between rural and urban areas within the municipality, some responses highlighted how difficult it is to categorise these spaces and how they are becoming increasingly blurred.

It's the difference that here [Musina] its urban lives then there [in Gwanda, Zimbabwe] its rural lives, you see. – Samantha, Aged 20, Female.

There is no rural areas in Musina. We have villages. – Tinswalo, Aged 36, Male.

It is a rural area close to a town, where they have water and electricity. Therefore, for people here that is their rural homes. They do have them [mud huts], but they modernise them now – instead of straws, they can use tiles. – Patience, Aged 29, Female.

It's rural but not rural. It's semi-rural. Yes, there is electricity, there is water, there is clinic. Yeah. – Katlego, Aged 28, Female.

Here too, the above comments show how the socio-spatial changes taking place in rural settlements of the municipality shape the perception of rurality and urbanity. These interpretations can again be traced back to colonialism such as, Tintswalo's insistence that Musina municipality did not have rural areas but villages. According to De Wet (1989) under the Betterment Planning scheme, villages were represented as administrative areas that were political centred around a government recognised headman and his council, which provided all the decisions on behalf of the community. Still, the recognition of peripheral urban areas, together with descriptions that allude to the permeability of urban praxis and lifestyles in rural areas demonstrate how urbanisation has extended upon social space (Barbieri, Monte-Mór and Bilsborrow, 2009). Descriptions such as “*semi-rural*” show that there for some participants the rural-urban dichotomy is breaking. Their understanding of the urban, that is, in service delivery and architectural designs has permeated rural spaces to such an extent that it brings to question what makes the rural *rural*?

To conclude this section, Musina municipality can be considered a rural-urban borderland as there is evidence that extended urbanisation taking place. This is illustrated through capitalist practices in spaza shops, the availability of electricity and water, and the replacement and modernisation of traditional houses with urban architectural designs. Although some participants noted this hybridisation between rural and urban, most still view these spaces as separate. Zimbabwe's rurality is not the same as South Africa's rurality. Musina's rural spaces are not the same as its urban spaces. These differences are why the rural and urban binary is maintained, as shown by the ideal constructions of black womanhood discussed in Chapter 6, which categorise gender in relation to geography and national identity.

9:4 CONCLUSION: A CASE FOR DOUBLE BORDERLAND IDENTITIES

Whether they are of South African or Zimbabwean descent and whether they cross the border regularly or not, all residents are affected by the borderland characteristics of the Musina municipality. The Musina borderland is transnational in terms of trade, security social interactions, all of which add another cultural and social dimension to living in the municipality. What is important about these borderland identities is that they reinforce citizenship and national identity. For migrants, the liminal condition is constructed by the borderland, both as an abstract and as a place where transnational connections and activities occur. Transnational migrants negotiate politics of invisibility, sense of belonging, and the fear of othering. The Musina borderland simultaneously brings people together while separating them, and while many people call it home, for some it is a liminal space. It allows the flexibility, hybridity, and visibility of particular identities. This is what creates the struggles with belonging and feelings of in-betweenness that those with a migrant transnational borderland identity experience. Consequently, it is such liminal experiences that dictate the interactions between transnational migrants' and non-migrants in the borderland through performative intersectionality. As this chapter has shown, not everyone embraces the cultural hybridity of the Musina borderland, and this is what informs the demands placed upon transnational migrants to perform an intersectional identity to overcome the structural barriers that come with their linguistic, national, or migrant identities.

The research sub-question 6: *In what ways does the in-betweenness found in having a double borderland identity (simultaneously being rural and urban, as well as Zimbabwean and South African), influence social relations with regards to the competition for economic resources, social services, and interpersonal relationships?* has been addressed in this chapter. All residents have a rural-urban borderland identity. However, this identity is complex because of its many variations. Zimbabweans with an urban identity view Musina's urbanity as similar to their experiences. The urban identity of South Africans differs though because they view Musina town as partly rural or its urban development through Musina Mall as marginalising. When it comes to the municipality's residents in traditional areas, Musina has urban areas, but their preference for the town of Thohoyandou demonstrates how its history, provision of collegial experiences and wider range of government services shifts the meanings of urbanity. Populations east of the municipality find themselves caught between the two localities of Musina and Thohoyandou in terms of their urban experiences.

However, rural spaces are considered the opposite of urban spaces in that they are not modern, have poor road infrastructure, and are not close to amenities. Zimbabweans with a rural identity find Musina's rural settlements to be more urbanised due to the settlement pattern, providing services such as electricity and water, and construction of houses with modern architecture. Despite these amenities, most residents still consider the rural areas of Musina as rural. These ideas are rooted in coloniality in which urban space is associated with modernity and rural space is associated with lack and deprivation and are instrumental in shaping ideal constructions of black womanhood. Understanding what it means to a black woman in Musina municipality also highlighted the significance of attributing specific gender behaviours to place identity. Colonial constructions of rurality not only defined urban from rural developmentally but in practice as black urban women are often perceived as less than the women residing in the municipality's traditional areas. This is because gender identity is linked with place because women in traditional areas are seen as having respectable behaviour, conduct and practice. Not only does this reinforce the respondents' perceptions of the rural-urban divide but also raises questions about how linking practice and place will keep the binary in place.

Thus, the intersection of transnationality, rurality and urbanity does draw different connections to gender identity, even though all residents may have a double borderland identity, and it is because of geographic spaces are primarily viewed. This is true for those who simultaneously suggest that their homes in Zimbabwe are rural and consider the Musina local municipality to be urban or its areas under traditional authority to be modernized. Urbanity here is viewed paradoxically as a space of freedom, crime, transience – places where black femininity and other gender identities are fleeting and always vulnerable to urban vices and immorality. This is one view of the transnational and rural-urban character of Musina local municipality. In the same vein, this maintains the rural-urban divide: gender identities and roles that are strongly influenced by the idea of rurality, their appeal and high esteem are used as a buffer from the undesirable material conditions brought about by the transnational and urban aspects of Musina.

Although the boundary between urban and rural is maintained by the municipality's town planning and most participants, there is still evidence that these categories are blurring. Some residents described how town and country blended. This, combined with different interpretations of rural and urban space, makes Musina municipality a rural-urban borderland. Therefore, it can be argued that more residents some form of double borderland identity whether they are transnational migrants or not. They have borderland identities from living in

a transnational space, and they have rural-urban borderland identities from how they construct and experience their spatial identities. The paradox is that despite the apparent hybridity, invisibility, and fluidity of social boundaries and identities noted in previous chapters, together with the blending of rural and urban areas, residents seem at odds with these transformations. This is shown by how gender, place, and national binaries continue to be reinforced and used to separate ‘us’ from ‘them’ in the Musina borderlands.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION – BLACK WOMEN’S PERFORMATIVE INTERSECTIONALITY IN DOUBLE BORDERLANDS

10:1 INTRODUCTION

With this research, I aimed to understand how black women living in Musina municipality perceive and experience their gender identity. The main conclusions and contributions of this work are drawn together and presented in this chapter to address the main research question, which is: *What is the effect of the rural-urban and transnational interface in reshaping the nature of gender identity amongst black women who reside in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?* First, the deconstruction of black femininity in the municipality adds to the growing body of research on African feminism, especially the sociohistorical impact on the formation of gender identities and the contemporary status of black women in society. Idealised conceptions of black womanhood reflect the ways in which categories such as gender, place, and nationality are seen as fixed and unrelated, although this is at odds with practice. This is significant because the second key discovery indicates that gender identity is performatively intersectional within the municipality. Stated differently, women residing in Musina municipality are expected to fulfil a range of gender expectations. I argue that the societal demands black women face, which are shaped by structural factors like migration and customary practice, establish the framework within which they must constantly modify the gendered, racialised, geographical, and transnational aspects of their identity.

Black women integrate cultural norms and values into the performance of their identities, often considering their social context. This leads to the third finding, where I argue that many people in the municipality are in a perpetual state of liminality due to the processes of compromise and cooperation that go into their identity formation and performance. When it comes to making decisions about changing one’s behaviour, dress, demeanour and even parenting, black women and men in the municipality often facing conflicting beliefs, attitudes, and thoughts about their gender identity. This is because Musina’s borderlands are both transnational and rural-urban, the fourth major contribution to this study. I suggest that the double borderland identities held by municipal residents regardless of their place of origin, influence the construction and reconstruction of gender identities. Through the exchange of ideas, culture, and language, borderlands can bring people together and promote fluidity and creolisation of identity. However, they can also draw distinctions by emphasising the differences that exist

between people, such as nationality, geography, and gender. This is the environment in which black femininity is defined and redefined in Musina, often causing difficulties and periods of discomfort for women and their families. The final contribution to this study is regarding the qualitative design methods used. This research offers a novel perspective on the role of the researcher as a research instrument and how qualitative research techniques require the control of emotions. Furthermore, it demonstrates how important it is for black female researchers to manage their own social and personal identities in qualitative research.

10:2 The triad of black womanhood: Self, wife, and mother

In Musina society, black womanhood is defined primarily by respectability. Idealised constructions of black womanhood are based on a triad: respectable self, respectable wifehood, and respectable motherhood. These identities draw from African culture, Christian moral discourse, and colonial normative constructions by combining aspects of the individual and the collective. The foundation for this idealised form of black womanhood is the introduction of self-control, chastity and sexual restraint for a respectable self. Although these interpretations lay the groundwork for how gender identity is socialized within the municipality, they can also be seen as a response to fears and vulnerabilities towards the realities of life in the borderlands. These views are important in that the construction of a respectful black womanhood simultaneously constructs its opposite, a disrespectful black womanhood. The discussion and analysis provided in Chapter 6 thus provides an answer to research sub-question 3. *What are established or emerging contemporary ideas of black womanhood in Musina Local Municipality?*

The collective identity that embodies respectable black womanhood includes the roles of respectable wifehood and motherhood. Because marital practices vary from cohabitation to traditional to Christian unions, marriage was found to have different meanings in the municipality. While many women took great pride in their status as wives, and many aspired to be such, there were some who were quick to highlight the distinctions between Christian marriage and other marital customs. In terms of black femininity, motherhood is considered an important part of black femininity that has communal significance. Mothers are not only responsible for their own children but are viewed as custodians of family values and cultural traditions that must be passed to the next generation. This study found that black women's social identities are extended to their children through motherhood. This perception leads to

patriarchal concerns about single motherhood, making it necessary for some men to refer to the fathers of children of single mothers as the women's 'husbands'.

Both respectable wifedom and respectable motherhood also bring with them the expected roles and behaviours in the public and private spheres, thereby defining black women's social identities. Consequently, idealised constructions of black womanhood influence perspectives and choices regarding potential marriage partners, giving rise to stereotypes and counter-stereotypes about South Africans and Zimbabweans, their marriage practices, and their parenting abilities. The way some people view their national identity and navigate transnational space is influenced by their self-identity and morals. What underlies these stereotypes as the basis of their understanding of gender identity is the perception of Musina local municipality as urban by those who regard Zimbabwe as their rural homeland. Respectability is then used to define one country and contrast it with the other. The relationship between gender identity-making and geography, and how it operates in an environment where different cultures meet, is demonstrated by this significant research finding.

In the municipality, black femininity is constructed and performed in ways, which support several theories. First, as Butler (2009) theorised, gender is a habitual performance shaped by culture and context. Next, colonial administrations and African patriarchy played an instrumental role in defining the respectable African woman in southern Africa, a legacy that has continued in the post-colonial era, has been highlighted by scholars like Hungwe (2006), and Erlank (2022). This is reflected in the triad of black womanhood I offer here. The thesis also shows that there is a strong sense of rural nostalgia as the stories depict the material circumstances of the present and the fear of impermanence. Men express a desire for a respectable rural life to maintain their patriarchal authority and to be with women who are not "tarnished" by urban evils. Similar sentiments were expressed by women who in seeking some form of permanence in a borderland context of constant fluidity and mobility, desire traditional men and see them as partners who offer this stability. Furthermore, by stressing the significance of context and moving away from the use of the nuclear family to define African womanhood, African feminists such as Mama (2001) and Oyěwùmí (2002) have focused on how the African woman's experience differs from that of traditional feminist theory.

This research has shown that black womanhood is defined by the intersection of ideas from traditional feminism and African feminisms. Black femininity is multifaceted, much like the different ways to define masculinity. The most significant aspect about black womanhood in

Musina's municipality is that it shows how black women in Southern Africa encounter various forms of patriarchy in different contexts. Although traditional customs and Christian morality are the main methods of exerting patriarchal control, some women challenge these frameworks. They do this by redefining black femininity, drinking in taverns, and questioning their roles in the home, and are therefore deemed to be deviant. This is a reminder of the powerful role that dominant patriarchal institutions play in defining what is outside the accepted boundaries when it comes to gender identity.

In summary, Chapter 6 offers a comprehensive answer to the third research question: *What are the established or emerging contemporary ideas of black womanhood in Musina Local Municipality?* First, it presents a sociohistorical background to ideas surrounding the construction of African femininity in South Africa and Zimbabwe, highlighting commonalities in both countries. As this thesis shows, some of these principles – such as, respectability and industriousness – are still relevant and are fundamental to ideas about self, wifehood, and motherhood. Therefore, the colonial project, African customs and the Christian religion have an influence in creating the framework for the socialization of these principles. This thesis addresses the second part of the research question and shows that the everyday realities of life in the borderlands, particularly urban living, influences emerging contemporary ideas of black womanhood. There is concern, fear and a feeling of being at risk from perceived urban evils and vices, the continuous movement and changes that life in the borderlands brings with it. These factors shape the idealization and socialization of black femininity, evident in decisions about potential life partners, perceptions of gender roles, and the ways in which gender is expressed in private and public spaces.

10:3 Black women's performative intersectionality

Gender identity is not something that is performed or experienced in a vacuum. This study set out to investigate the extent to which these identities are shaped by the realities of the Musina borderlands. As my thesis shows, Musina municipality is a transnational setting with an uneven spatial geography. This is important as it demonstrates that black women's experiences should not only be analysed in gender terms, but should also take ethnicity, nationality, class, and geography into account.

Understanding identity as intersectional is revealed by a critical examination of the ways in which black women's identities function in Musina's municipality. This means that while all black women are held to a certain criterion regarding womanhood, their experiences are not the same. These standards, seem elusive and mostly relate to people's origins and present geographical location. Although there is evidence of a confluence of urban and rural areas, nuances in the day-to-day dynamics of Musina society still separate the experiences of black women living in the more urban environments from those living in areas under traditional authority. Women in traditional areas encounter difficulties related to their gender, race, class, and place identities, in addition to poverty, and other stressors like sporadic water and electricity supplies. These difficulties include the inability to own communal land. Similarly, for some women, the intersections of gender, race, language, nationality, and transnationality make it difficult for them to find work, develop a positive social identity, or receive fair treatment when utilising social services like the police and healthcare. For this reason, I argue that black women embody their intersectional identities through their performance. Identity is performed to change the balance of power, whether this through 'performing poverty' to benefit from their ascribed migrant identity, or through using multilingualism to get a better experience at a healthcare provider.

Intersectionality as an analytical tool is relevant in the study of black women as shown in this study. Crenshaw's (1991) theoretical framework suggests that the gendered experiences of black women are defined by the intersection of multiple identity categories. This research shows that nationality, class, geography, and language also play a role in shaping black womanhood for women living in African borderlands. This is because the Musina borderland is a transnational space and also has an uneven spatial geography, where some women live in urban areas and others in areas under traditional authority. Norocel et al. (2022) performative intersectionality argument is pertinent here because it shows how historical legacies sustain the subordination of black women and how social inequalities combine with multiple intersectional identities to shape their unique experiences.

This thesis demonstrates how gender identity is contextual and flexible rather than rigid and static. Black women in Musina municipality must not only constantly redefine and reinterpret their womanhood considering the idealised, respectable definition of femininity, but they must also frequently alter their behaviour to gain acceptance in society. Their womanhood is therefore defined in relation to a geography, nationality, or migrant identity. This study shows that these identity categories are essential to how black women experience and embody

femininity. For this reason, I argue that intersectionality is instrumental in demonstrating the performative interactions and influences between gender, ethnicity, language, nationality, place identity and class. The material realities of life in the Musina borderland show how the structural barriers women encounter result in their oppression and subordination due to a confluence of their identity categories.

In Musina local municipality, the construction and socialization of black women considers various social factors that influence daily life in the borderland. These factors that shape gender identity in various ways include geography, nationality and class. In Chapter 7, the fourth research question is posed: *To what extent do the realities of the borderlands, that is, the urban-rural interface and the transnational interconnection, shape these identities?* This thesis has shown that material conditions in the borderlands enable nationality, gender, class, urban and rural geographies to place black women in positions of advantage and disadvantage in different contexts. Because of these intersections, black women perform their identities to advance socially, improve their economic status, and access essential services. Furthermore, this thesis suggests that being a black woman in Musina local municipality is a performative intersectional identity in which the multiple layers to one's social identity together influence every aspect of life in the borderlands.

10:4 From intersectional identity to liminal experiences

There are connections between the problems of gender identity formation, the geographical context in which these identities are located, how they are intersectional performed and the liminal experiences that emerge from this. Social boundaries are crossed when identities intersect. However, processes of dislocation, adaptation, and the need to fit in with a borderland society can result in intersecting identities giving rise to an inner struggle between what an individual wants and what they must do. This thesis has shown that liminality has multiple components by taking a gendered look at the construction and remaking of social boundaries in the borderlands. Moving to the municipality meant that for some participants, a shift in how they perceived, expressed, and lived out their gender identity. Blessing's story, as told in Chapter 8, is an example of black women in the municipality experiencing gender liminality and how it affects her sense of self as a woman and a parent.

The narratives of Jeremy, Nelisiwe and Tracy in the same chapter, demonstrated how different liminal conditions can be from one another in terms of structure, as each of them experienced varied degrees of uncertainty and in-betweenness. Managing one's visibility, being 'here and there', and 'neither here, nor there', all involve the challenge of striking a balance between feelings of belonging and non-belonging. This again highlights the complexities of identity making and performance in borderland contexts. The liminal experiences show how the constant life in-between and identity switching provided refuge from the discrimination and othering that come with being a borderland resident. However, Kudzai's story challenges the idea of liminality as her 'there and nowhere' experiences illustrate how she has found stability and permanence in her intersectional identity. Her thoughts about her nationality and the transnational experiences she had during her stay in temporary housing did not locate her in a "Third Space", but rather consolidated her self-identity and sense of belonging. Furthermore, VhaHlonono's brief story in the beginning of Chapter 8 illustrates how liminality can undermine gendered social standing. When someone loses their social status – in this case the loss of employment as a teacher compromising patriarchal authority in the home – there are feelings of insecurity and insignificance. This suggests that liminality affects how cultures conceptualize gender identity, roles, and particular social relationships.

Since border spaces are porous, most women experience uncomfortable and difficult circumstances when elements from elsewhere seep in and are adapted. The thesis has demonstrated how idealised conceptions of black womanhood are at the nexus of Christian moral discourses and traditional customs. In actuality, black femininity embodies a performative intersectionality in which women continuously use every facet of their identities to overcome structural obstacles and gain social advantage. The result is that they frequently find themselves torn between the need to adapt in a new environment and the expectations of from the societies they are members of. Many of the people who live in Musina municipality are in a state of liminality as a result of their experiences there. Bury's (1982) argument regarding biographical disruption demonstrates the impact of a major, unexpected or series of events can fundamentally alter a person's life course. For many of the municipality's residents, moving there was the catalyst for the disruptive process. Both Van Gennep (2004), and later Turner (2017) theorisations on liminality reference to rites of passage, suggesting that if an individual is unable to make the transition, it would then result in their liminal condition. This thesis has shown that, in addition to being a disruptive process, migration is also seen as an expected rite of passage. Immigrants are expected to learn the language or exhibit particular

behaviour as part of their integration into the host society. There are still anxieties about adapting, a sense of being torn between, and pressure to manage one's identity in certain contexts. The Musina borderlands are liminal spaces, and their permeability may allow their inhabitants the freedom to change, evolve and become new version of themselves. Living in the borderlands, however, often serves as a constant reminder that one is at a crossroads and being compressed between two worlds.

The use of language and gender expression as tools for social inclusion and identity management in various contexts was demonstrated in Chapter 8. Because of the intersectionality of identities, the ways in which they are embodied can either conform to or defy social norms. This addresses the fifth research question: *How do these identities balance the cultural demands that are placed upon them across the different times, contexts, and spaces they encounter?* The thesis suggests that some residents of Musina local municipality experience prolonged liminality when a biographical disruption such as unemployment or migration occurs in their lives. In contrast to the ritual liminal process, the subsequent disaggregation is more permanent because it is unknown when re-aggregation will occur. First, some of narratives described different contexts and times in which intersectional identities are managed. Identity construction is a liminal process that can result in people's identities becoming visible or invisible depending on how familiar they are with social relationships. However, the thesis also demonstrates that while some residents comply with social pressures to acculturate, others reject the idea of liminality completely by finding permanence despite these demands or challenging notions of waiting by achieving success in other spheres of their lives such as in marriage, earning wages, or home building.

10:5 The double borderland identity

One of the most significant findings to emerge from this study is that most residents of Musina municipality have a double borderland identity. This research aimed to explore the characteristics of the transnational and rural-urban interfaces in the municipality. First, the transnational interface of Musina municipality is an all-encompassing borderland that affects both migrants and non-migrants in their daily lives. 'Joni' serves as the foundation for a transnational borderland identity for migrants. This is the term used informally to refer to South Africa and is thus an abstract conceptualisation of the borderland. As this thesis has shown, the

separation of ‘Joni’ from one’s own homeland shapes ideas of belonging and non-belonging. Therefore, the inclination to not to fully integrate into the new society is most likely where a migrant’s transnational identity begins. “Joni” is also significant because it demonstrates the different levels at which some residents interpret and narrate their lived experiences of gender identity and performance, urban-rural divide, as well as modernity and tradition. This leads to the second aspect of the transnational borderland identity: the movement of goods and services and frequent journeys back home. Crossing borders, especially when it is done illegally, reinforces differences between Musina municipality – where they work, and their home countries, serving as a reminder of their foreign identities. Legality is important here because it validates the ways in which migrants view their place in Musina’s society.

In contrast, non-migrant with a transnational borderland identity is not defined by crossing borders. Rather, the expectation is that the South African government and the municipality will give non-migrants economic opportunities and a good life. Because of this, borderland territories are viewed differently by non-migrants and transnational migrants. For the latter, it is the transnational networks and practices that facilitate the quick, affordable, and easy movement of people and goods that make living in the Musina borderlands advantageous. While non-migrants acknowledged that there are transnational aspects of life in the municipality, some did not give the border much thought.

The history of the VhaVenda, discussed in detail in Chapter 2, should be considered with regard to the concept of double borderland identities. In summary, numerous Bantu speaking groups shaped Venda society through its experiences with migration. Both the colonial project and the apartheid government transformed the precolonial identity of the VhaVenda through land regulations and laws that established the Venda Bantustan and its “independence”. Despite these insular policies, the history of the VhaVenda shows that this region has never had “fixed” identities, but much like the modern borderland identity argued here, they were also products of mobility, transition, and the cultural mixing of people.

What is important about living in the Musina borderlands is that every resident, regardless of their place of origin, has a transnational borderland identity. Attempts to assimilate or reframe their intersectional identities to improve social status, access healthcare, serve as an economic survival strategy, manage their visibility or invisibility, or to simply fit in together shape ideas of belonging and non-belonging. In this way, people locate themselves as residents of the municipality or as citizens of their country, thereby defining the other – those who are not from

their community or nation. The study supports Anzaldúa's (1987) conceptualisation on borderlands as penetrable, sieve-like environments where people stand at the crossroads of various cultures, languages and ideas that interact to shape people's identities. Living in the borderland brings people together but also separates them, leading to a transnational borderland identity that can also be liminal. For example, transnational migrants' linguistic aptitude helps their integration into Musina society, a useful skill that some women have used to navigate social obstacles faced in accessing healthcare. However, living in a multicultural society that encourages identity fluidity and hybridisation has resulted in multilingualism being exploited, frequently for transnational crimes. Here, language serves as a tool for social cohesion but also for social discord, illustrating how the transnational borderland can shape identity formation and result in liminal condition. Furthermore, living in a transnational borderland puts pressure on black women to construct and embody their gender identity in idealised ways, despite the environment's acceptance of identity fluidity and ambiguity.

The rural-urban borderland identity is the second component of the double borderland identity. This rural-urban identity takes many forms. First, there is a colonial legacy that contributes to the perception of urban and rural spaces as separate. Modernity is linked to the urban, and the undeveloped and 'pre-modern' to the rural. As a result, participants evaluated Musina's urbanity based on the town's urban growth, development, and conveniences introduced with the opening of Musina Mall, in addition to comparisons to major cities like Pretoria and Harare. Furthermore, normative associations of rural and urban areas are used to map these concepts to ideas of black womanhood, thereby linking gender identity to place. Therefore, the municipality's urban areas are viewed as where deviant, insubordinate and unrespectable black women reside and conversely, the rural is linked to virtue and respectability.

Residents throughout the municipality felt estranged from its urban areas. Because of the relocation of banks and other amenities to the mall, certain urban spaces are perceived as more refined than others, which has alienated a few urban residents. Then, residents living under traditional authority have a choice between two urban centres: Musina town and Thohoyandou town. Musina town was often regarded a remote location but challenging to reach due to high transportation costs, poor road condition, and lengthy travel times. Yet, Thohoyandou town, the alternative, is about the same distance and cost to get to. Thohoyandou was the administrative centre of the Venda Bantustan, is now the administrative capital of Vhembe District Municipality and is also where the University of Venda is located, giving both older

and younger residents in traditional areas a reason to be its preferred choice between the two towns.

Due to of the provision of running water, electricity and modernly built houses, certain areas in the municipality's traditional areas are viewed as having urban features. The diverse perspectives on rurality also contribute to a rural-urban identity. First, there are signs of ongoing extended urbanisation that the municipality can be regarded as a rural-urban borderland. The capitalist practices found in spaza shops, the accessibility of running water and electricity, and the modernisation and replacement of traditional homes with urban architectural designs serve as examples of this. Furthermore, this is also evident in the way certain identity in combinations that are evolving in terms of how people perceive what constitutes urban and rural space, such as '*urban South African*' to '*urban Musina*', '*urban Zimbabwean*' to '*urban Musina*', '*rural Zimbabwean*' to '*rural Musina*'.

However, the colonial notions that associate rural with poverty and underdevelopment are still very much in place. Most people living in traditional areas viewed these settlements as rural due to the lack of amenities, poor road infrastructure and distance from urban centres. In addition, gender identity serves to reinforce these distinctions between urban and rural spaces, notwithstanding the continual interplay between rural and urban, since women from traditional areas are often used as an example of ideal black womanhood. This is because women living under traditional authority are perceived as respectable, obedient, and submissive thereby linking gender identity to geography.

By showing how black femininity functions in specific spaces, this in-depth analysis broadens our understanding of how gender identity and geography connects with intersectionality, liminality, and borderlands. Most participants continue to see rural and urban areas as distinct, despite some pointing out the hybridisation. South Africa and Zimbabwe have different levels of rurality. The traditional and urban areas of Musina are not the same. These differences are the reason why the rural/urban binary is maintained in terms of identity. The rural-urban borderlands are products of capitalist relations, globalisation, migratory processes, and changes in consumption patterns and design architecture for in traditional areas. Intersections of identity and the rural-urban space construct a rural-urban borderland identity. Rural-urban hybridity emerges with different orientations because of how space is perceived.

Three of the six research questions in this study, are addressed in Chapter 9, along with a detailed analysis of the argument on double borderland identities. To argue both components

meet and interact in shaping these identities, the transnational and rural-urban aspects of the municipality need to be defined respectively. The transnational dimension is interrogated by the second research question: *What is the nature of the urban-rural interface in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?* This thesis suggests that transnationality in the municipality is pervasive, affecting the material conditions of non-migrants and transnational migrants. The constant mobility and fluidity that comes with living near border crossings impacts the way nationality and transnationality is understood by transnational migrants through South Africa as “Joni” and Zimbabwe as “home”. The effects of transnational migration on the local economy, language use and levels of criminality are some of impacts they have on the lives of non-migrants.

The first research question, *What is the nature of the urban-rural interface in the borderland of Musina Local Municipality?*, is concerned with the rural-urban component of the municipality. This can be understood in different ways, starting with obvious administrative changes that have made it possible for governance of urban areas with areas under traditional authority to be under one single local government administration. Then there are the constructions of urbanity associated with development, modernity and convenience, and how these are used as a general measure of what living in an urban environment mean and should mean to residents. The same can be said about how the rural is defined and linked with underdevelopment, tradition, lack and poverty – all of which are antithetical to the urban. However, the way identities experience urban and rural life is constantly changing, which creates the rural-urban borderland identity. This is because identities are embodied as intersectional, and the Musina local municipality represents a unique context. The final research question: *In what ways does the in-betweenness found in having a double borderland identity (simultaneously being rural and urban, as well as Zimbabwean and South African), influence social relations with regards to the competition for economic resources, social services, and interpersonal relationships?*, addresses this. The thesis argues that there are different levels of what urbanity and rurality means to identity. This is evident in how people define their places of origin and the spaces in which they currently inhabit. How gender is constructed and performed, and the impact on social relations, is thus a result of the different levels of understanding of one’s moral standing, personal identity and geography.

10:6 Qualitative research as an emotive process

For me, the significance of the study lies not only in the substantive insights it brings to the area under investigation, but also in its methodological findings and contributions. The work of Caretta and Jokinen (2017) has highlighted the challenges that female researchers face in qualitative research, such as often being undermined and perceived as helpless. This study expands on these findings, arguing a significant disadvantage of qualitative research is that it is intensely emotional in nature. Based upon the extensive arguments made by Hardt (1999) and Hochschild (2012) regarding the emotional intelligence required for specific types of work, this thesis demonstrates how, as a black female researcher, I was frequently required to manage not only my own feelings but also the feelings of the subjects I was researching. Much of this study resonated with me as a married Zimbabwean migrant woman. At various contexts during fieldwork, I found myself positioned as either an insider (a woman, a MuShona, a Zimbabwean, a migrant) or an outsider (a woman, a university student, a young person, a non-South African). Managing my feelings meant showing compassion for others or acting nonchalant when disparaging remarks were made about my nationality. Understanding that qualitative research involves emotional labour helps contextualise the challenges encountered by black female researchers, particularly those who study gender relations on the African continent. Qualitative research and gender-related studies can be particularly sensitive. There is a great deal of protocol, tradition and customs involved as well. This means that black female researchers are tasked with managing the emotions associated with having to set personal boundaries, their safety and movement in public spaces, and conforming to patriarchal authority. Furthermore, they are obligated to deal with intersectional prejudices and consistently performing different gender identities in different spaces.

10:7 Conclusion and recommendations for future research

My hope is that this thesis contributes to the study of African gender construction, with the research assisting in an understanding of how black womanhood is constructed, performed, and reconfigured in southern Africa, and in African borderlands more specifically. West African, Caribbean, and African American feminists have dominated research on black gender identity making, and it is my hopes that this thesis adds to this body of work. Beyond the African customs, Christian moral principles and colonial project, all of which have shaped gender identity in some form, this work aims to make an important contribution by highlighting the contemporary material conditions that influence rural nostalgia and therefore gender identity in Musina local municipality. This is important given the increasing influence that both

urban and rural areas have on the formation, socialization and embodiment of gender identity as well as the resulting impact on social relationships. Furthermore, I have made a key and novel contribution to studies of nationality and transnationality, through the lived experiences presented in this study, and how gendered narratives of respectability appear to influence perceptions of one's country and ways of understanding other countries.

Considering how people employ "national" categories to account for local experiences in constantly crossing the boundaries between South Africa-Zimbabwe is one of my key contributions to the canon of African urbanism. The discussion about South Africa being "Joni" and Zimbabwe being "home" is important. It shows that transnational migrants carry with them a base experience of their places of origin, which they call home. From then on, it serves as a comparison to the new host community, known colloquially as "Joni", but geographically known as Musina. The participants' observations of the differences between "home" and "Joni" reinforce lessons learned about gender identity, the rural-urban divide, and modernity. They also broaden their understanding of "Joni" by highlighting its attractions, vices and diverse economic opportunities. This is also important because it helps us understand how immigrants locate themselves in host communities and how this shapes their experiences of social belonging.

My thesis argument is that borderland inhabitants are individuals who find themselves located at the intersectionality of the rural, urban and the transnational. This results in the creation of borderland identities that differ for transnational migrants and non-migrants. These borderland identities demonstrate the intersections that exist in a person's spatial identity and represent abstract conceptualisations, physical crossings, and contrasting perspectives on urbanity and rurality. However, there are constructions of black womanhood that reify fixed identities and are based on an ideal. To overcome the structural obstacles posed by power structures both within and outside of borderlands, black women must engage in performative intersectionality. This is the result of these opposing perspectives on gender construction in the borderlands: the ideal and the actual. For some, the result is experiences of permanent liminality in which they must manage overlapping identities in an environment that not only promotes fluidity, but also has prejudices and processes of othering.

Through its literary focus, this work seeks to explain how Musina local municipality illuminates the concepts of intersectionality, liminality and borderlands. Specifically, it shows how the locals value and sometimes demand immigrants to make efforts in acculturating.

Language is an important strategy for social integration and can help manage the visibility and invisibility of identities. However, it can also create a “Third Space” where one is not wholly immersed in a particular cultural group. In the Musina borderlands, multilingualism facilitates both insider and outsider perspectives on one’s own gender identity and that of other people. It also allows one to move between social identities without being tied to a specific, fixed identity. It is certain that the unique circumstances of Musina local municipality allow this and that some residents have a double borderland identity that is both transnational and rural-urban. This borderland identity challenges constructions and performances of gender, and even ideas of nationhood and national identities.

In future work, it may be useful to study the ideal constructions of black womanhood in southern African contexts outside of double borderland settings. This is necessary to explore how these ideal constructions in themselves create liminal experiences and identities for black women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCE LIST

Abraham, S. (2014) 'A nepantla pedagogy: Comparing Anzaldua's and Bakhtin's ideas for pedagogical and social change', *Critical Education*, 5(5), pp. 1–20.

Abrams, A. (2022) "'We just saw the fence': infrastructural violence, fencing and the legacy of South Africa's bantustan', in M. Ramutsindela, F. Matose, and T. Mushonga (eds) *The Violence of Conservation in Africa: State, Militarization and Alternatives*. Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 113–133.

Acedera, K. and Yeoh, B. (2019) "'Making time": Long-distance marriages and the temporalities of the transnational family', *Current Sociology*, 67(2), pp. 250–272. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392118792927>.

Acedera, K.A. and Yeoh, B.S. (2020) "'Until death do us part"? Migrant wives, left-behind husbands, and the negotiation of intimacy in transnational marriages', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(16), pp. 3508–3525.

Acosta, K.L. (2018) 'Queering family scholarship: Theorizing from the borderlands', *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 10(2), pp. 406–418.

Adebayo, P., Ndinda, C. and Ndhlovu, T. (2022) 'South African cities, housing precarity and women's inclusion during COVID-19', *Agenda*, 36(2), pp. 16–28.

Adomako Ampofo, A. (2010) 'One Who has Truth – She has Strength: The Feminist Activist Inside and Outside the Academy in Ghana', in S. Arnfred and A. Adomako Ampofo (eds) *African feminist politics of knowledge: Tensions, challenges, possibilities*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

African Borderlands UNDP (2021) *Borderlands in Africa | Literature Overview and Key Terms*. Available at: <https://www.africa.undp.org/content/rba/en/home/library/outreach-material/borderlands-in-africa-literature-overview-and-key-terms.html> (Accessed: 6 January 2022).

Agadjanian, V. (2005) 'Men Doing "Women's Work": Masculinity and Gender Relations Among Street Vendors in Maputo, Mozambique', in L. Ouzgane and R. Morrell (eds) *African Masculinities: Men in Africa from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, pp. 257–269. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403979605_16.

Agergaard, J. et al. (2019) 'Revisiting Rural–Urban Transformations and Small Town Development in Sub-Saharan Africa', *The European Journal of Development Research*, 31(1), pp. 2–11. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-018-0182-z>.

Ahmed, S. (2006) 'Orientations: Toward a queer phenomenology', *GLQ: A journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 12(4), pp. 543–574.

Alba, R. (2005) 'Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States', *Ethnic and racial studies*, 28(1), pp. 20–49.

Alloatti, M.N. and Matos de Oliveira, A.L. (2023) 'Deepening and widening the gap: The impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on gender and racial inequalities in Brazil', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 30(1), pp. 329–344.

- Ally, S. (2013) ‘“Ooh, eh eh ... Just One Small Cap is Enough!” Servants, Detergents, and their Prosthetic Significance’, *African Studies*, 72(3), pp. 321–352. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2013.851464>.
- Ally, S. and Lissoni, A. (2012) ‘Let’s talk about bantustans’, *South African Historical Journal*, 64(1), pp. 1–4.
- Al-Rasheed, M. (1993) ‘The Meaning of Marriage and Status in Exile: The Experience of Iraqi Women’, *Journal of refugee studies*, 6(2), pp. 89–104. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/6.2.89>.
- Ammann, C. and Staudacher, S. (2021) ‘Masculinities in Africa beyond crisis: complexity, fluidity, and intersectionality’, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 28(6), pp. 759–768.
- Ampofo, A.A. *et al.* (2004) ‘Women’s and gender studies in English-speaking sub-Saharan Africa: A review of research in the social sciences’, *Gender & Society*, 18(6), pp. 685–714.
- Andrews, H. (2012) ‘Another place or just another space? Liminality and Crosby beach’, in *Liminal Landscapes: Travel, Experience and Spaces In-between*. Oxon: Routledge (Contemporary geographies of leisure, tourism and mobility), pp. 152–165.
- Andrews, H. and Roberts, L. (2012) *Liminal Landscapes: Travel, Experience and Spaces In-between*. London: Routledge.
- Angelo, H. and Goh, K. (2021) ‘OUT IN SPACE: Difference and Abstraction in Planetary Urbanization’, *International journal of urban and regional research*, 45(4), pp. 732–744. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12911>.
- Angouri, J., Paraskevaïdi, M. and Zannoni, F. (2020) ‘Moving for a better life: negotiating fitting in and belonging in modern diasporas’, in M. Rheindorf and R. Wodak (eds) *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Migration Control: Language Policy, Identity and Belonging. Volume 5 of Language, Mobility and Institutions*. Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Multilingual Matters, pp. 86–115.
- Angrosino, M.V. and Mays de Perez, K.A. (2000) ‘Rethinking Observation: From Method to Context’, in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds) *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, pp. 673–702.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1987) *Borderlands/la frontera*. San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute.
- Anzaldúa, G. (2012) *Borderlands: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
- Anzaldúa, G. (2015) *Light in the dark/Luz en lo oscuro: Rewriting identity, spirituality, reality*. North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Anzaldúa, G. (2018) ‘Let us be the healing of the wound: The Coyolxauhqui imperative—la sombra y el sueño’, *Voices of Mexico*, pp. 1–3.
- Anzaldúa, G.E. (2013) ‘Now let us shift... the path of conocimiento... inner work, public acts’, in G.E. Anzaldúa and A. Keating (eds) *This bridge we call home: Radical Visions for Transformation*. New York: Routledge, pp. 554–592.

- Aragon, A. (2020) 'Queering Spaces and Borders: Resignifying a Third Space in Angela Maccarone's *Fremde Haute (Unveiled)* (2005) and Sebestien Lifshitz's *Wild Side* (2004)', in S. Clisby (ed.) *Gender, Sexuality and Identities of the Borderlands*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 1–11.
- Arboleda, M. (2015) 'Financialization, totality and planetary urbanization in the Chilean Andes', *Geoforum*, 67, pp. 4–13.
- Arnfred, S. (2004) 'Re-thinking sexualities in Africa: Introduction', in *Re-thinking sexualities in Africa*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 7–29.
- Arvanitis, E., Yelland, N.J. and Kiprianos, P. (2019) 'Liminal spaces of temporary dwellings: Transitioning to new lives in times of crisis', *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 33(1), pp. 134–144.
- Awumbila, M. (2015) 'Women moving within borders: Gender and internal migration dynamics in Ghana', *Ghana Journal of Geography*, 7(2), pp. 132–145.
- Babbie, R. (2001) *The practice of social research*. 9th edn. Belmont: Wadsworth Thomson Learning.
- Babbie, R. et al. (2001) *The Practice of Social Research*. Oxford University Press. Available at: <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=vdOgQgAACAAJ>.
- Bakare-yusuf, B. (2004) "'Yorubas Don't Do Gender": A Critical Review of Oyeronke Oyewumi's 'The Invention of Women: Making An African Sense of Western Gender Discourses'", in S. Arnfred (ed.) *African Gender Scholarship Concepts, Methodologies, and Paradigms*. University of California: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, pp. 61–81.
- Baker, W. (2009) 'Language, culture and identity through English as a lingua franca in Asia: Notes from the field', *The Linguistics Journal*, 4(September), pp. 8–35.
- Balaji, S. (2014) 'Zimbabwe to own and operate New Limpopo Bridge', *African Review*, 8 July. Available at: <http://www.africanreview.com/transport-a-logistics/logistics/zimbabwe-to-own-and-operate-new-limpopo-bridge> (Accessed: 9 November 2022).
- Bamber, M., Allen-Collinson, J. and McCormack, J. (2017) 'Occupational limbo, transitional liminality and permanent liminality: New conceptual distinctions', *Human Relations*, 70(12), pp. 1514–1537.
- Banda, M. (2022) 'ANTI-MIGRANT CALL: Patriotic Alliance and Dudula hate ZEP extension, while Zimbabweans are relieved', *Daily Maverick*, 7 September. Available at: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2022-09-07-patriotic-alliance-and-dudula-hate-zep-extension-while-zimbabweans-are-relieved/> (Accessed: 15 November 2022).
- Bandia, P.F. (2014) 'Translocation: translation, migration, and the relocation of cultures', in S. Bermann and C. Porter (eds) *A Companion to Translation Studies*. 1st edn. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 271–284.
- Bank, L. (2002) 'Beyond red and school: Gender, tradition and identity in the rural Eastern Cape', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28(3), pp. 631–649.
- Bank, Leslie J. and Kenyon, M. (2020) 'Cattle after migrant labour: emerging markets and changing regimes of value in rural South Africa', in L.J. Bank, D. Posel, and F. Wilson (eds) *Migrant labour after apartheid: the inside story*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Bank, L.J. (2020) 'Displaced urbanism: city shack life and the citizenship of the suburban house in the rural Transkei', in L.J. Bank, D. Posel, and F. Wilson (eds) *Migrant labour after apartheid: the inside story*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, pp. 304–324.

Barbieri, A.F., Monte-Mór, R.L. and Bilsborrow, R.E. (2009) 'Towns in the jungle: exploring linkages between rural-urban mobility, urbanization and development in the Amazon', *Urban Population-Environment Dynamics in the Developing World: Case Studies and Lessons Learned*, pp. 247–279.

Barkhuizen, M. (2015) 'Police reaction to the male victim of domestic violence in South Africa: case study analysis', *Police practice and research*, 16(4), pp. 291–302.

Barnes, T.A. (1992) 'The fight for control of African women's mobility in colonial Zimbabwe, 1900–1939', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 17(3), pp. 586–608.

Barrett, M. (1988) *Women's Oppression Today: The Marxist/feminist Encounter*. 2nd edn. London: Verso.

Bastia, T. (2014) 'Intersectionality, migration and development', *Progress in development studies*, 14(3), pp. 237–248.

Bastia, T. et al. (2022) 'Reflections on intersectionality: a journey through the worlds of migration research, policy and advocacy', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 30(3), pp. 460–483.

Baud, M. and Van Schendel, W. (1997) 'Toward a comparative history of borderlands', *Journal of World History*, 8(2), pp. 211–242.

Bawa, S. and Adeniyi Ogunyankin, G. (2018) '(Un)African women: identity, class and moral geographies in postcolonial times', *African Identities*, 16(4), pp. 444–459. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2018.1474340>.

Beach, D.N. (1998) 'An Innocent Woman, Unjustly Accused? Charwe, Medium of the Nehanda Mhondoro Spirit, and the 1896–97 Central Shona Rising in Zimbabwe', *History in Africa*, 25, pp. 27–54. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3172179>.

Beazley, H. and Ball, J. (2022) "'I Can't Do Anything but Wait": The Lived Experiences of Children of Transnational Migrants in Lombok, Indonesia', *positions: Asia critique*, 30(2), pp. 277–300. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1215/10679847-9573344>.

Becker, H. (2004) 'Efundula: Women's Initiation, Gender and Sexual Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Northern Namibia', in S. Arnfred (ed.) *Re-thinking sexualities in Africa*. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 1–35.

Beech, N. (2011) 'Liminality and the practices of identity reconstruction', *Human relations*, 64(2), pp. 285–302.

Beichelt, T. and Valentin, L. (2020) 'Liminality and Transnationalism. Two Forces upon Shifting Borders in Contemporary Europe', (7), pp. 1–17. Available at: <https://doi.org/doi:10.11584/B-ORDERS.7>.

Bekker, J. and Boonzaaier, C. (2007) 'How Equal is Equal-A Legal-Anthropological Note on the Status of African Women in South Africa', *De Jure*, 40, pp. 277–289.

- Bendixsen, S. and Eriksen, T.H. (2018) 'Time and the other: Waiting and hope among irregular migrants', in M.K. Janeja and A. Bandak (eds) *Ethnographies of waiting: Doubt, hope and uncertainty*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 87–112.
- Bennike, R., Rasmussen, M. and Nielsen, K. (2020) 'Agrarian crossroads: rural aspirations and capitalist transformation', *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue canadienne d'études du développement*, pp. 1–17. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02255189.2020.1710116>.
- Benson, K. and Chadya, J.M. (2005) 'Ukubhinya: Gender and sexual violence in Bulawayo, colonial Zimbabwe, 1946–1956', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(3), pp. 587–610.
- Bernsten, J. (1994) 'English and Shona in Zimbabwe', *World Englishes*, 13(3), pp. 411–418.
- Bhabha, H.K. (2004) *The Location of Culture*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H.K. (2013) *Nation and narration*. New York: Routledge.
- Bigger, S. (2009) 'Victor Turner, liminality, and cultural performance', *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, 30(2), pp. 209–212. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13617670903175238>.
- Binaisa, N. (2013) 'Ugandans in Britain making "new" homes: Transnationalism, place and identity within narratives of integration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(6), pp. 885–902.
- Blay, Y.A. (2008) 'All the 'Africans' are Men, all the "Sistas" are "American," but Some of Us Resist: Realizing African Feminism (s) as an Africological Research Methodology', *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2(2), pp. 58–73.
- Bob, U. and Musyoki, A. (2002) 'Gender geography in South Africa: facing challenges and exploring opportunities', *South African Geographical Journal*, 84(1), pp. 98–106. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.2002.9713760>.
- Bolt, M. (2010) 'Camaraderie and its discontents: class consciousness, ethnicity and divergent masculinities among Zimbabwean migrant farmworkers in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(2), pp. 377–393.
- Bolt, M. (2012) 'Waged entrepreneurs, policed informality: work, the regulation of space and the economy of the Zimbabwean-South African Border', *Africa*, 82(1), pp. 111–130. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972011000751>.
- Bolt, M. (2015) *Zimbabwe's Migrants and South Africa's Border Farms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bonizzoni, P. (2015) 'Here or there? Shifting meanings and practices in mother–child relationships across time and space', *International Migration*, 53(6), pp. 166–182.
- Bonnell, J.L. (2014) *Reclaiming the Don: An Environmental History of Toronto's Don River Valley*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1982) *Ce que parler veut dire: l'économie des échanges linguistiques*. Paris: Fayard.
- Bozzoli, B. (1981) 'Feminist interpretations and South African studies: some suggested avenues for exploration'.

- Brah, A. and Phoenix, A. (2004) 'Ain't I a Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 5(3), pp. 75–86.
- Brassey, A. (2023) *A voyage in the Sunbeam: our home on the ocean for eleven months*. BoD – Books on Demand.
- Brenner, N. (2016) *Critique of urbanization: Selected essays*. Berlin, Boston: Birkhäuser.
- Brenner, N. (2018) 'Debating planetary urbanization: For an engaged pluralism', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3), pp. 570–590. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775818757510>.
- Brenner, N. and Schmid, C. (2014) 'The "urban age" in question', *International journal of urban and regional research*, 38(3), pp. 731–755.
- Brenner, N. and Schmid, C. (2015a) 'Combat, caricature & critique in the study of planetary urbanization', *Urban Theory Lab, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University. Recuperado em*, 10, pp. 1–11.
- Brenner, N. and Schmid, C. (2015b) 'Towards a new epistemology of the urban?', *City*, 19(2–3), pp. 151–182.
- Brickell, C. (2006) 'The sociological construction of gender and sexuality', *The Sociological review (Keele)*, 54(1), pp. 87–113. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2006.00603.x>.
- Brink, E. (2011) 'The "volksmoeder"—A figurine as figurehead', in A. Grundlingh and S. Huigen (eds) *Reshaping Remembrance: Critical Essays on Afrikaans Places of Memory*. Ams: Rozenberg Publishers, pp. 5–14.
- Brisbane Courier* (1928) 'Bridging the Limpopo.', 18 June. Available at: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article21298065> (Accessed: 27 October 2022).
- Broad, K.L. (2000) 'Critical Borderlands & (and) Interdisciplinary, Intersectional Coalitions', *Denv. UL Rev.*, 78(4), pp. 1141–1159.
- Brooks, A. and Simpson, R. (2012) *Emotions in Transmigration: Transformation, movement and identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brumfit, C. (2006) 'A European perspective on language as liminality', *Language ideologies, policies and practices: Language and the future of Europe*, pp. 28–43.
- Brunet-Jailly, E. (2010) 'The state of borders and borderlands studies 2009: A historical view and a view from the Journal of Borderlands Studies', *Eurasia Border Review*, 1(1), pp. 1–15.
- Bryman, A. (2016) *Social Research Methods*. 5th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Budlender, D., Chobokoane, N. and Simelane, S. (2004) 'Marriage patterns in South Africa: methodological and substantive issues', *Southern African Journal of Demography*, pp. 1–25.
- Bürkner, H. (2012) 'Intersectionality: How gender studies might inspire the analysis of social inequality among migrants', *Population, space and place*, 18(2), pp. 181–195.

- Bury, M. (1982) 'Chronic illness as biographical disruption', *Sociology of health & illness*, 4(2), pp. 167–182.
- Busch, B. and Coupland, N. (2010) 'New national languages in Eastern Europe', in *The handbook of language and globalization*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 182–200.
- Butler, J. (1986) 'Sex and gender in Simone de Beauvoir's Second Sex', *Yale French Studies*, (72), pp. 35–49.
- Butler, J. (2004) 'Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory', in H. Bial (ed.) *The Performance Studies Reader*. Routledge. Available at: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=9_EWvlnrxp0C.
- Butler, J. (2009) 'Performativity, Precarity and Sexual Politics', *AIBR. Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana*, 4(3), p. I–XIII. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.11156/aibr.040303e>.
- Butler, J. (2011) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis.
- Cairncross, B. (1991) 'The Messina mining district, South Africa', *Mineralogical Record*, 22(3), pp. 187–199.
- Cameron, R. (2006) 'Local government boundary reorganization', *Democracy and delivery: urban policy in South Africa*, pp. 76–106.
- Canadian Press Cable (1929) 'New Alfred Beit Bridge', *The Montreal Gazette*, 2 September. Available at: <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1946&dat=19290902&id=Z3ItAAAAIBAJ&sjid=SlwFAAAIBAJ&pg=3714,62900> (Accessed: 9 November 2022).
- Carbado, D.W. (2013) 'Colorblind intersectionality', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), pp. 811–845.
- Caretta, M.A. and Jokinen, J.C. (2017) 'Conflating privilege and vulnerability: A reflexive analysis of emotions and positionality in postgraduate fieldwork', *The Professional Geographer*, 69(2), pp. 275–283.
- Casimiro, I.M. and Andrade, X. (2010) 'Critical Feminism in Mozambique: Situated in the Context of our Experience as Women, Academics and Activists', in S. Arnfred and A. Adomako Ampofo (eds) *African feminist politics of knowledge: Tensions, challenges, possibilities*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Castán Broto, V. and Neves Alves, S. (2018) 'Intersectionality challenges for the co-production of urban services: notes for a theoretical and methodological agenda', *Environment and Urbanization*, 30(2), pp. 367–386.
- Castriota, R. and Tonucci, J. (2018) 'Extended urbanization in and from Brazil', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3), pp. 512–528.
- Chadambuka, P. (2022) 'Feminist scholarship, femocracy and the glass ceiling in Zimbabwean politics', *Journal of Higher Education in Africa/Revue de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique*, 20(1), pp. 43–66.
- Charman, A. and Piper, L. (2012) 'Xenophobia, criminality and violent entrepreneurship: violence against Somali shopkeepers in Delft South, Cape Town, South Africa', *South African Review of Sociology*, 43(3), pp. 81–105.

- Chigonda-Banda, R. (2015) 'Duplicitous Double Binds: The Search for Womanhood in Zimbabwe.', *Thinking Gender 2014* [Preprint], (2014).
- Chiguvare, B. (2022) 'Homeless: Shelters in Musina not coping with increase of people on the streets', *GroundUp News*, 21 October. Available at: <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/shelters-in-musina-inundated-with-desperate-pleas-to-help/> (Accessed: 22 October 2022).
- Chiguvare, B.B. (2023) 'Panashe, four months old, lives in a ditch with his mother', *GroundUp News*, 28 April. Available at: <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/panashe-4-months-old-lives-in-a-ditch-with-his-mother/> (Accessed: 21 September 2023).
- Chinsamy, T. (2022) 'Vulnerable migrants denied maternal and child healthcare services at Gauteng hospitals', *The Mail & Guardian*, 7 September. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/opinion/2022-09-07-vulnerable-migrants-denied-maternal-and-child-healthcare-services-at-gauteng-hospitals/> (Accessed: 14 November 2022).
- Chirume, J. (2023) 'Two-year extension for Zimbabwe and Lesotho permit holders', *GroundUp News*, 1 December. Available at: <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/zimbabwewan-permits-extended-till-29-november-2025/> (Accessed: 5 January 2024).
- Chitando, E., Chirongoma, S. and Nyakudya, M. (2023) 'Introducing a Radical African Indigenous Feminist Principle: Chihera in Zimbabwe', in E. Chitando, S. Chirongoma, and M. Nyakudya (eds) *Chihera in Zimbabwe: A Radical African Feminist Principle*. Springer, pp. 1–31.
- Cho, S., Crenshaw, K.W. and McCall, L. (2013) 'Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis', *Signs*, 38(4), pp. 785–810. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/669608>.
- Christou, A. and Bloor, K. (2021) 'The liminality of loneliness: negotiating feminist ethics and intersectional affectivity', *Journal of Cultural Analysis and Social Change*, 6(1), pp. 1–18.
- Coaston, J. (2019) 'The intersectionality wars', in G. Kennedy (ed.) *In/search re/search: imagining scenarios through art and design*. Amsterdam: Sandberg Instituut.
- Cock, J. (2019) 'Trapped workers: The case of domestic servants in South Africa', in *Patriarchy And Class. African Women In The Home And The Workforce*. 1st edn. New York: Routledge, pp. 205–219.
- Collins, P.H. (2002) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, P.H. (2015) 'Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas', *Annual review of sociology*, 41(1), pp. 1–20.
- Collins, P.H. (2020) 'Intersectionality as critical inquiry', in N.A. Naples (ed.) *Companion to feminist studies*. Newark: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 105–128.
- Coly, A.A. (2015) 'Un/clothing African womanhood: colonial statements and postcolonial discourses of the African female body', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 33(1), pp. 12–26. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2015.1021209>.
- Connell, R. (2014) *Gender and power : society, the person, and sexual politics*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

- Connell, R.W. (2005) 'Relations among masculinities: Hegemony, subordination, complicity, marginalization', in *Masculinities*. London: Polity Press, pp. 76–81.
- Connell, R.W. and Connell, R. (1995) *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press (Masculinities). Available at: <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=44JHYPOy8aEC>.
- Connolly, C. (2019) 'Urban political ecology beyond methodological cityism', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 43(1), pp. 63–75.
- Costa, H.S. and Monte-Mór, R.L. (2015) 'Urbanization & Environment: trends and patterns in contemporary Brazil', *Livros*, pp. 125–146.
- Craveiro, M.J. (2007) 'Writing in the borderlands: Gloria Anzaldúa, The 'Chicana'', in Department de Estudos Ingleses e Norte-Americanos Instituto de Letras Ciências Humanas Universidade do Minho (ed.) *Intertextual Dialogues Travels & Routes*, p. 263.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991) 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), pp. 1241–1299. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>.
- Crush, J. (2011) *Complex movements, confused responses: Labour migration in South Africa*. SAMP Policy Brief No 25. Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP).
- Crush, J. and Dodson, B. (2007) 'Another Lost Decade: The Failures of South Africa's post-apartheid Migration Policy', *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 98(4), pp. 436–454.
- Crush, J. and Tawodzera, G. (2014) 'Medical xenophobia and Zimbabwean migrant access to public health services in South Africa', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(4), pp. 655–670.
- Crush, J. and Williams, V. (eds) (2001) 'Making up the numbers: Measuring "illegal immigration" to South Africa', *Southern African Migration Programme. SAMP*, Migration Policy Brief No. 3.
- Crush, J., Williams, V. and Peberdy, S. (2005) 'Migration in southern Africa', *Policy analysis and research programme of the Global Commission on International Migration* [Preprint].
- Czaika, M. and Reinprecht, C. (2022) 'Migration drivers: why do people migrate', in P. Scholten (ed.) *Introduction to Migration Studies: An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity*. Cham: Springer, pp. 49–82.
- Daimon, A. (2018) *Settling in motion: Nyasa clandestine migration through Southern Rhodesia into the Union of South Africa: 1920s-1950s*. WIDER Working Paper.
- Dam, H. and Eyles, J. (2012) 'Journeys to home and liminal spaces among former refugees: exploring identity and belonging among Vietnamese-Canadians', *socialspacejournal.eu*, 3(1), pp. 73–101.
- Danso, R. and McDonald, D.A. (2001) 'Writing xenophobia: Immigration and the print media in post-apartheid South Africa', *Africa today*, 48(3), pp. 115–137.
- Davis, T. and Klobassa, V. (2017) 'Honoring the "face behind the mask": Interrogating masculine performatives as counter-hegemonic action', in P.L. Eddy, K. Ward, and T. Khwaja (eds) *Critical approaches to women and gender in higher education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 299–322.

- De Luca Picione, R. and Valsiner, J. (2017) 'Psychological Functions of Semiotic Borders in Sense-Making: Liminality of Narrative Processes', *Europe's journal of psychology*, 13(3), pp. 532–547. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.5964/ejop.v13i3.1136>.
- De Vaus, D.A. and De Vaus, P.D. (2001) *Research Design in Social Research*. London: Sage.
- De Wet, C. (1989) 'Betterment planning in a rural village in Keiskammahoek, Ciskei', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15(2), pp. 326–345.
- Decker, J.E. and Winchock, D. (eds) (2017) *Borderlands and Liminal Subjects: Transgressing the Limits in Philosophy and Literature*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Delaney, A. and Macdonald, F. (2018) 'Thinking about informality: gender (in) equality (in) decent work across geographic and economic boundaries', *Labour & Industry: a journal of the social and economic relations of work*, 28(2), pp. 99–114.
- DeLuca, J.R. and Maddox, C.B. (2016) 'Tales from the ethnographic field: navigating feelings of guilt and privilege in the research process', *Field Methods*, 28(3), pp. 284–299.
- Department of Home Affairs (2022) *The Department of Home Affairs dismisses reports that Border Guards are turning back Zimbabweans who want to go back home through Beitbridge Border Post*. Available at: <http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/statements-speeches/1604-the-department-of-home-affairs-dismisses-reports-that-border-guards-are-turning-back-zimbabweans-who-want-to-go-back-home-through-beitbridge-border-post> (Accessed: 15 November 2022).
- Department of Home Affairs - (2022) *Minister's Immigration Directive No 01 of 2021 - Extension of ZEP for a period of 12 months*. Available at: <http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/notices/1506-minister-s-immigration-directive-no-01-of-2022-extension-of-zep-for-a-period-of-12-months> (Accessed: 15 November 2022).
- Department of Human Settlements (2022) *What is the difference between RDP and Government Subsidised Housing?* Available at: [http://www.dhs.gov.za/content/faq#:~:text=Reconstruction%20and%20Development%20Programme%20\(RDP,Housing](http://www.dhs.gov.za/content/faq#:~:text=Reconstruction%20and%20Development%20Programme%20(RDP,Housing) (Accessed: 19 October 2022).
- Department of Justice (2019) 'The Gender-based Violence and Femicide National Strategic Plan (GBVF-NSP)'. Available at: <https://www.justice.gov.za/vg/gbv/NSP-GBVF-FINAL-DOC-04-05.pdf> (Accessed: 1 September 2020).
- Department of Trade and Industry (2013) *Republic of South Africa: Special Economic Zones Bill (B3-13)*. Available at: https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/b3-2013-130305a.pdf (Accessed: 14 October 2022).
- Department of Trade, Industry and Competition (dtic) (2017) *Musina-Makhado Special Economic Zone (South Africa Energy and Metallurgical Zone, Gazette No. 41287*. Available at: https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201712/41287gon1324.pdf (Accessed: 14 October 2022).
- Dery, I. and Bawa, S. (2019) 'Agency, social status and performing marriage in postcolonial societies', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 54(7), pp. 980–994.
- Dewaelheyns, V. and Gulinck, H. (2008) 'Rurality near the city', in, pp. 1–16.

- Doan, P.L. and Hubbard, D.P. (2019) 'Queerying rural planning', in M.J. Scott, N. Gallent, and M. Gkartzios (eds) *The Routledge Companion to Rural Planning*. London: Routledge, pp. 336–344.
- Domosh, M. (1992) 'Toward a feminist historiography of geography', in Institute of British Geographers (ed.) *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. London: Institute of British Geographers, pp. 95–104.
- Dooling, W. (2018) 'Poverty and respectability in early twentieth-century Cape Town', *The Journal of African History*, 59(3), pp. 411–435.
- Dowe, P.K. (2020) 'Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality. By Jennifer C. Nash. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019. 184 pp. 89.95 (hardback)', *Politics & Gender*, 16(1).
- Drummond, J. (1991) 'Reincorporating the Bantustans into South Africa: the question of Bophuthatswana', *Geography*, 76(4), pp. 369–373.
- Duncan, D. (1993) 'The regulation of working conditions for Africans in South Africa, 1918–1948', *African Studies*, 52(1), pp. 1–25. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00020189308707764>.
- Dunn, K.M. (2005) 'A paradigm of transnationalism for migration studies', *New Zealand Population Review*, 31(2), pp. 15–31.
- Dunne, M. et al. (2020) 'Gender symbolism and the expression of post-colonial national and religious identities', *Social Identities*, 26(3), pp. 376–387. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2020.1765765>.
- Egerö, B. (1991) *South Africa's bantustans: from dumping grounds to battlefronts*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.
- Eide, K. et al. (2020) 'Trajectories of ambivalence and trust: Experiences of unaccompanied refugee minors resettling in Norway', *European Journal of Social Work*, 23(4), pp. 554–565.
- Elías, M.V. (2023) 'The US-Mexico border as liminal space: implications for policy and administration', *Critical Policy Studies*, 17(1), pp. 63–81.
- Elphick, R. and Amit, R. (2012) 'Border justice. Migration, access to justice and the experiences of unaccompanied minors and survivors of sexual and gender-based violence in Musina', *Johannesburg: ACMS, University of the Witwatersrand, Research Report* [Preprint].
- Epprecht, M. (1994) 'The Mfecane as Teaching Aid: History, Politics and Pedagogy in Southern Africa', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 7(2), pp. 113–130. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6443.1994.tb00164.x>.
- Erdogan, B. and Bauer, T.N. (2021) 'Overqualification at work: A review and synthesis of the literature', *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 8, pp. 259–283.
- Erlank, N. (2017) '"Brought into Manhood": Christianity and Male Initiation in South Africa in the Early 20th Century', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43(2), pp. 251–265.
- Erlank, N. (2022) *Convening Black Intimacy: Christianity, Gender, and Tradition in Early Twentieth-century South Africa*. Ohio University Press.

Esteban-Guitart, M. and Vila, I. (2015) 'The voices of newcomers. A qualitative analysis of the construction of transnational identity', *Psychosocial Intervention*, 24(1), pp. 17–25. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psi.2015.01.002>.

Eybers, G. von W. (ed.) (1918) *Select constitutional documents illustrating South African history, 1795-1910*. London: George Routledge & Sons.

Faist, T. (2000) 'Transnationalization in international migration: implications for the study of citizenship and culture', *Ethnic and racial studies*, 23(2), pp. 189–222.

Fernández-García, Andrea (2020) 'Life on the Mexico-US Border: Femininity, Transborderism, and the Reinscription of Boundaries in Norma E. Cantú's Canícula: Snapshots of a Girlhood en la Frontera', in A Fernández-García (ed.) *Geographies of Girlhood in US Latina Writing: Decolonizing Spaces and Identities*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 87–126. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-20107-4_4.

Firnhaber, J., Greenwood, R.M. and Quayle, M. (2019) 'Continuity in the face of change: Identifying three strategies for constructing stable masculinity in liminality', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 58(2), pp. 435–451. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12274>.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) 'Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12, pp. 219–245. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363>.

Formanowicz, D.T. (2021) 'Immigrants and Cities: Conceptualizing Urban Informality Within Planetary Urbanization', in.

Fraser, E. (2012) 'Urban Exploration as Adventure Tourism', in H. Andrews and L. Roberts (eds) *Liminal Landscapes: Travel, Experience and Spaces In-between*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis. Available at: <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=Su44F1hWMSoC>.

Frenkel, R. (2008) 'Feminism and Contemporary Culture in South Africa', *African Studies*, 67(1), pp. 1–10. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00020180801943065>.

Futshane, S. (2022) 'New Musina Ring Road breathes life into border town', *SANRAL Stop Over*, 31 August. Available at: <https://stop-over.co.za/author/sizwesethu-futshane/> (Accessed: 17 September 2023).

Gade, C.B. (2011) 'The historical development of the written discourses on ubuntu', *South African Journal of Philosophy= Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Wysbegeerte*, 30(3), pp. 303–329.

Galletta, A. and Cross, W.E. (2013) *Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond: From Research Design to Analysis and Publication*. New York: NYU Press (Qualitative studies in psychology). Available at: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=KcBp_CsZBGgC.

Gamble, M. (2022) 'The Historical Legacy of Sara Baartman', *Footnotes*, 15. Available at: <https://journal.lib.uoguelph.ca/index.php/footnotes/article/view/6813> (Accessed: 28 March 2023).

Gande, C. (2016) 'Violent Riots Rock Beitbridge As Protesters Demand Reversal of Import Ban', *VOA*, 1 July. Available at: <https://www.voazimbabwe.com/a/violent-riots-rock-beitbridge-as-preotesters-demand-reversal-of-import-ban/3400881.html> (Accessed: 19 November 2022).

- Gardner, C.J. (2017) “‘Created this way’: liminality, rhetorical agency, and the transformative power of constraint among gay Christian college students’, *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 14(1), pp. 31–47.
- Gass, J.D. et al. (2011) ‘Gender differences in risk for intimate partner violence among South African adults’, *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 26(14), pp. 2764–2789.
- Gawe, P. (2021) ‘An Evaluation of the SADC Free Trade Area: A Case Study of Zimbabwe’s Integration Efforts’, *Open Access Library Journal*, 8(10), pp. 1–17.
- Geerts, E. and Van der Tuin, I. (2013) ‘From intersectionality to interference: Feminist onto-epistemological reflections on the politics of representation’, in. *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Elsevier, pp. 171–178.
- Gelderblom, Derik (2006) ‘A synthetic model of migration’, in P. Kok et al. (eds) *Migration in South and Southern Africa. Dynamics and determinants*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, pp. 268–364.
- Giddens, A. (1979) *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure, and contradiction in social analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gillen, J., Bunnell, T. and Rigg, J. (2022) ‘Geographies of ruralization’, *Dialogues in Human Geography*, 0(0), pp. 1–18.
- Ginsburg, C. et al. (2016) ‘Migration and settlement change in South Africa: triangulating census 2011 with longitudinal data from the Agincourt health and demographic surveillance system in the rural north-east’, *Southern African Journal of Demography*, 17(1), pp. 133–198.
- Goldberg, A.J. (2006) ‘Company Town, Border Town, Small Town: Transforming Place and Identities on the U.S.-Mexico Border’, *Journal of the Southwest*, 48(3), pp. 275–306.
- Goldenberg, M.J. (2007) ‘The problem of exclusion in Feminist Theory and Politics: A metaphysical investigation into constructing a category of “woman”’, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 16(2), pp. 139–153.
- Goode, J.R., Radovic-Fanta, J. and Bose, S. (2022) ‘Intersectionality and the emerging majority student: negotiating identity in the liminalities of the university environment’, *Communication Education*, 71(1), pp. 21–39.
- Goodhew, D. (2000) ‘Working-class respectability: the example of the western areas of Johannesburg, 1930–55’, *The Journal of African History*, 41(2), pp. 241–266.
- Gordon, L. (2016) “‘Intersectionality”, Socialist Feminism and Contemporary Activism: Musings by a Second-Wave Socialist Feminist’, *Gender & History*, 28(2), pp. 340–357. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0424.12211>.
- Goredema, R. (2010a) ‘African feminism: the African woman’s struggle for identity’, *African Yearbook of Rhetoric*, 1(1), pp. 33–41.
- Goredema, R. (2010b) ‘African feminism: the African woman’s struggle for identity’, *AfricaRhetoric Publishing*, 1(1).
- Govender, D. (2015) ‘Is domestic violence being policed in South Africa?’, *Acta criminologica (Criminological Society of Southern Africa)*, 28(2), pp. 32–46.

- Gqola, P.D. (2015) *Rape: A South African Nightmare*. Johannesburg: MF Books Joburg.
- Granger, C.A. (2004) *Silence in second language learning: A psychoanalytic reading*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Gray, B. (2011) 'Becoming non-migrant: Lives worth waiting for', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 18(3), pp. 417–432.
- Gregson, N. et al. (2014) 'Gender in feminist geography', in Women and Geography Study Group (ed.) *Feminist geographies*. Routledge, pp. 49–85.
- Groenmeyer, S. (2011) 'Intersectionality in Apartheid and Post-apartheid South Africa: Unpacking the Narratives of Two Working Women', *Gender, Technology and Development*, 15(2), pp. 249–274. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/097185241101500204>.
- Grzanka, P.R. (2018) *Intersectionality: A foundations and frontiers reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Gullette, G.S. (2014) 'Rural–urban hierarchies, status boundaries, and labour mobilities in Thailand', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(8), pp. 1254–1274.
- Günay-Erkol, Ç. (2012) 'Post-imperial crises and liminal masculinity in Orhan Kemal's My Father's House–The Idle Years', *Journal of European Studies*, 42(3), pp. 245–260.
- Gündoğan, A.Z. (2021) 'Rethinking centrality: Extended urbanization in Istanbul', *City*, 25(1–2), pp. 46–66.
- Guy, J. (1979) *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: The Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884*. London: Longman.
- Haas, B.M. (2017) 'Citizens-in-waiting, deportees-in-waiting: Power, temporality, and suffering in the US asylum system', *Ethos*, 45(1), pp. 75–97.
- Hall, R. (2014) 'The legacies of the Natives Land Act of 1913', *Scriptura: Journal for Contextual Hermeneutics in Southern Africa*, 113(1), pp. 1–13.
- Hanisch, E.O.M. (1974a) 'Copper working in the Messina district', *Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy*, 74(6), pp. 250–253.
- Hanisch, E.O.M. (1974b) 'working in the Messina district', *JOURNAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF MINING AND METALLURGY*, p. 4.
- Hannes, K., Lockwood, C. and Pearson, A. (2010) 'A comparative analysis of three online appraisal instruments' ability to assess validity in qualitative research', *Qualitative health research*, 20(12), pp. 1736–1743.
- Hansson, H. (2006) 'Bayard Taylor's Northern Travel and the Genders of the North', *Edda*, 93(1), pp. 18–32.
- Hardt, M. (1999) 'Affective Labor', *Boundary 2*, Volume 26(Number 2), pp. 89–100.
- Hart, T. (2010) 'Some considerations for supporting household food production in South Africa', *Agenda*, 24(86), pp. 78–93.

Healy-Clancy, M. (2014) 'The Politics of New African Marriage in Segregationist South Africa', *African studies review*, 57(2), pp. 7–28. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/asr.2014.45>.

Herzog, L.A. and Sohn, C. (2019) 'The co-mingling of bordering dynamics in the San Diego–Tijuana cross-border metropolis', *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 7(2), pp. 177–199.

Heymann, J. *et al.* (2022) 'Progress Towards Ending Sexual Harassment at Work? A Comparison of Sexual Harassment Policy in 192 Countries', *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 25(2), pp. 172–193.

Hochschild, A.R. (2012) *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hockey, J. (2002) 'The importance of being intuitive: Arnold Van Gennep's the rites of passage', *Mortality*, 7(2), pp. 210–217.

Horn, J. (2006) 'Re-righting the sexual body', *Feminist Africa*, (6), pp. 7–19.

Horstmann, A. (2002) 'Incorporation and resistance: Borderlands, transnational communities and social change in Southeast Asia', in: *[Working Paper Transnational Communities 02-04]*, Research Institute of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Howarth, A. and Ibrahim, Y. (2012) 'Threat and Suffering: The Liminal Space and of "The Jungle"', in H. Andrews and L. Roberts (eds) *Liminal Landscapes: Travel, Experience and Spaces In-between*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis.

Hudson-Weems, C. (2001) 'Africana womanism: The flip side of a coin', *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 25(3), p. 137.

Human, O. and Robins, S. (2011) 'FIFA 2010 and the elusive spirit of communitas: A return to Victor Turner (with some differences)', *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 34(1–2), pp. 38–50.

Hungwe, C. (2006) 'Putting them in their place: "respectable" and "unrespectable" women in Zimbabwean gender struggles', *Feminist Africa 6: Subaltern Sexualities* [Preprint], (6).

Hungwe, J.P. (2020) 'The Ruzevha/Ekhaya Coloniality Neologisms and Access to Higher Education in Zimbabwean Universities', *Rurality, Social Justice and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa Volume II: Theory and Practice in Higher Education*, pp. 55–75.

Hunter-Adams, J. and Rother, H.-A. (2017) 'A Qualitative study of language barriers between South African health care providers and cross-border migrants', *BMC health services research*, 17(1), pp. 97–97. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-017-2042-5>.

Huysamen, M. and Richter, M. (2020) *Towards harm reduction programmes with sex worker clients in South Africa*. Sonke Gender Justice.

Iaquinta, D.L. and Drescher, A.W. (2000) 'Defining the peri-urban: rural-urban linkages and institutional connections.', *Land Reform, Land Settlement and Cooperatives*, (2), pp. 8–26.

Idahosa, G.E. (2021) 'Decolonizing the Curriculum on African Women and Gender Studies', in *The Palgrave Handbook of African Women's Studies*. Springer, pp. 87–104.

Ikome, F.N. (2012) 'Africa's international borders as potential sources of conflict and future threats to peace and security', *Institute for Security Studies Papers*, (233), pp. 1–16.

Imma, Z. (2011) 'Just Ask the Scientists': Troubling the "Hottentot" and Scientific Racism in Bessie Head's Maru and Ama Ata Aidoo's Our Sister Killjoy', in N. Gordon-Chipembere (ed.) *Representation and Black Womanhood The Legacy of Sarah Baartman*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Iossifova, D. (2020) 'Reading borders in the everyday: bordering as practice', in J.W. Scott (ed.) *A Research Agenda for Border Studies*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 91–108.

Ip, D. (2011) *anmigration and the new Chinese: Theories and practices from the New Zealand experience*. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Hong Kong.

Islam, S. (2005) 'Sociology of Poverty: Quest for a New Horizon', *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, 2(1).

Iyall Smith, K.E. (2008) 'Hybrid Identities: Theoretical and Empirical Examinations.', in K.E. Iyall Smith and P. Leavy (eds) *Hybrid Identities: Theoretical and Empirical Examinations. Volume 12 of Studies in Critical Social Sciences*. Leiden;Boston; Brill.

Jacobs, S. (2004) 'Livelihoods, security and needs: Gender relations and land reform in South Africa', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 6(1), pp. 1–19.

Janesick, V.J. (2000) 'The Choreography of Qualitative Research Design; Minuets, Improvisations, and Crystallization', in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds) *SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Janks, H. (1989) 'Critical Linguistics: A Starting Point for Oppositional Reading.'

Jeater, D. (1990) *Marriage, perversion & power: the construction of moral discourse in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), 1890-1930*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jeeves, A. (1986) 'Migrant labour and South African expansion, 1920–1950', *South African Historical Journal*, 18(1), pp. 73–92.

Jellema, P., Annemans, M. and Heylighen, A. (2021) 'Re-grounding the concept of liminality by foregrounding spatial aspects in experiences of cancer care', *Health & Place*, 70, p. 102582.

Jewkes, Y. and Laws, B. (2021) 'Liminality revisited: Mapping the emotional adaptations of women in carceral space', *Punishment & Society*, 23(3), pp. 394–412.

Jinnah, Z. (2012) "'We have to go into the bush". Understanding the responses of NGOs and government in addressing conditions faced by cross border migrant workers in Musina', *ACMS Research report*, pp. 7–57.

Jinnah, Z. (2017) 'Silence and Invisibility: Exploring Labour Strategies of Zimbabwean Farmworkers in Musina, South Africa', *South African Review of Sociology*, 48(3), pp. 46–63. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2017.1327822>.

Jiroutová Kynčlová, T. (2017) 'Queering and Gendering Aztlán: Anzaldúa's Feminist Reshaping of the Chicana/o Nation in the US–Mexico Borderlands', in J.E. Decker and D. Winchok (eds) *Borderlands*

and Liminal Subjects: Transgressing the Limits in Philosophy and Literature. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 145–166.

Johnsen, C. and Sørensen, B. (2015) “‘It’s capitalism on coke!’: From temporary to permanent liminality in organization studies”, *Culture and Organization*, 21(4), pp. 321–337. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14759551.2014.901326>.

Johnson, J.A. (2017) ‘After the mines: the changing social and economic landscape of Malawi–South Africa migration’, *Review of African Political Economy*, 44(152), pp. 237–251.

Johnson, J.M. (2011) ‘Indepth Interviewing’, in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, pp. 103–116.

Jordaan, N. (2018) “‘Facelift and toll road for Beitbridge border post’”, *Timeslive*, 26 July. Available at: <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-07-26-facelift-and-toll-road-0for-beitbridge-border-post/> (Accessed: 19 May 2020).

Joubert, M., Antonites, A. and Ashley, C.Z. (2021) ‘Berkenrode: Archaeological insights on the history of a 20th century artisanal mine in the Limpopo Valley’, *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 35(2), pp. 148–167.

Kalua, F. (2009) ‘Homi Bhabha’s third space and African identity’, *Journal of African cultural studies*, 21(1), pp. 23–32.

Kamwangamalu, N.M. (1999) ‘Ubuntu in South Africa: a sociolinguistic perspective to a pan-African concept’, *Critical arts*, 13(2), pp. 24–41. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02560049985310111>.

Kativhu, S. (2022) ‘Success Factors of Youth-owned Spaza Shops in Rural Communities of Thulamela Municipality, South Africa’, *African Journal of Development Studies*, 12(3), p. 125. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.31920/2634-3649/2022/v12n3a7>.

Kaukko, M. and Wernesjö, U. (2017) ‘Belonging and participation in liminality: Unaccompanied children in Finland and Sweden’, *Childhood*, 24(1), pp. 7–20.

Kawulich, B.B. and Holland, L. (2012) ‘Qualitative Data Analysis’, in C. Wagner, B. Kawulich, and M. Garner (eds) *Doing Social Research: A Global Context*. McGraw-Hill Higher Education, pp. 224–245. Available at: <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=u351MAEACAAJ>.

Keating, A. (1993) ‘Myth Smashers, Myth Makers: (Re) Visionary Techniques in the Works of Paula Gunn Allen, Gloria Anzaldúa, and Audre Lorde’, *Journal of homosexuality*, 26(2–3), pp. 73–96.

Kelly, A. (2008) ‘Living loss: an exploration of the internal space of liminality’, *Mortality*, 13(4), pp. 335–350.

Kemal, O. (2008) *The Idle Years*. London: Peter Owen Publishers.

Kesby, M. (1999) ‘Locating and Dislocating Gender in Rural Zimbabwe: The making of space and the texturing of bodies’, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 6(1), pp. 27–47. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663699925132>.

Keskitalo-Foley, S. and Naskali, P. (2018) ‘Intersectionality in Finnish adult education research: Insights from the journal Aikuiskasvatus 2010–2016’, *European journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 9(1), pp. 13–27.

- Khapoya, V.B. (1980) 'Bantustans in South Africa: the role of the multinational corporations', *Journal of Eastern African Research & Development*, 10(1/2), pp. 28–49.
- Khowa-Qhoai, T. and Tyali, N. (2024) 'Breaking New Ground: Perceptions of RDP house beneficiaries of the Mavuso settlement in Alice, South Africa', *Africa's Public Service Delivery and Performance Review*, 12(1). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4102/apsdpr.v12i1.790>.
- Khuzwayo, N. *et al.* (2019) 'Examining women's access to rural land in UMnini Trust traditional area of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa', *Town and Regional Planning*, 75, pp. 31–43.
- Kihato, C. (2013) *Migrant Women of Johannesburg: Everyday Life in an In-Between City*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kivisto, P. (2003) 'Social spaces, transnational immigrant communities, and the politics of incorporation', *Ethnicities*, 3(1), pp. 5–28.
- Koenane, M.L.J. (2018) 'The role and significance of traditional leadership in the governance of modern democratic South Africa', *Africa Review*, 10(1), pp. 58–71.
- Kompi, B. (2021) 'A review of traditional leadership in a post-apartheid South Africa from the lenses of FJD Lugard's indirect rule strategy', *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 35(2), pp. 43–67.
- Kongolo, M. (2009) 'Women in Poverty: Experience from Limpopo Province, South Africa', *African research review*, 3(1). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4314/afrrrev.v3i1.43571>.
- Konrad, V. (2020) 'Belongingness and Borders', in J.W. Scott (ed.) *A research agenda for border studies*. Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
- Konrad, V. and Everitt, J. (2011) 'Borders and "Belongers": Transnational Identities, Border Security, and Cross-Border Socio-Economic Integration in the United States Borderlands with Canada and the British Virgin Islands', *Comparative American Studies An International Journal*, 9(4), pp. 288–308. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1179/147757011X13045212814448>.
- Král, F. (2014) *Social Invisibility and Diasporas in Anglophone Literature and Culture: The Fractal Gaze*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kramsch, C. (1993) *Context and Culture in Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Krollokke, C. and Sorensen, A.S. (2006) 'Three waves of feminism: From suffragettes to grrls', in *Contemporary Gender Communication Theories & Analyses: From Silence to Performance*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, pp. 1–25.
- Kufakurinani, U., Pasura, D. and McGregor, J. (2014) 'Transnational Parenting and the Emergence of "Diaspora Orphans" in Zimbabwe', *African Diaspora*, 7(1), pp. 114–138. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1163/18725465-00701006>.
- Kurki, T. (2014) 'Borders from the cultural point of view: An introduction to writing at borders', *Culture unbound*, 6(6), pp. 1055–1070.
- Lahad, K. (2012) 'Singlehood, waiting, and the sociology of time', *Sociological Forum*, 27(1), pp. 163–186.

- Lahiff, E. (2001) *An Apartheid Oasis?: Agriculture and Rural Livelihoods in Venda*. 1st edn. London: Routledge.
- Laine, J.P. (2020) 'Exploring links between borders and ethics', in J.W. Scott (ed.) *A Research Agenda for Border Studies*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 163–182.
- Lamont, M. and Molnár, V. (2002) 'The study of boundaries in the social sciences', *Annual review of sociology*, 28(1), pp. 167–195.
- Lamont, M., Pendergrass, S. and Pachucki, M. (2001) 'Symbolic boundaries', *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, 23, pp. 15341–47.
- Landau, L.B., Ramjathan-Keogh, K. and Singh, G. (2005) *Xenophobia in South Africa and problems related to it*. Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg.
- Latham, R. (2014) 'The Governance of Visibility: Bodies, Information, and the Politics of Anonymity across the US-Mexico Borderlands', *Alternatives*, 39(1), pp. 17–36. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0304375414560279>.
- Lawrence, A. (2017) 'The Power of Intersectionality to Transcend National Identity in the United States', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 17(2), pp. 168–176. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/sena.12235>.
- Lawrence, M. (1997) 'Heartlands or neglected geographies? Liminality, power, and the hyperreal rural', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 13(1), pp. 1–17. Available at: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0743-0167\(97\)83748-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0743-0167(97)83748-5).
- Leap, B. (2017) 'Survival narratives: Constructing an intersectional masculinity through stories of the rural/urban divide', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 55, pp. 12–21. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.07.010>.
- Leclerc-Madlala, S. (2003) 'Transactional sex and the pursuit of modernity', *Social dynamics*, 29(2), pp. 213–233.
- Lee, Y. and Park, K. (2008) 'Negotiating hybridity: Transnational reconstruction of migrant subjectivity in Koreatown, Los Angeles', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 25(3), pp. 245–262.
- Lefebvre, H. (1970) *La révolution urbaine*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Legassick, M. and Wolpe, H. (1976) 'The Bantustans and capital accumulation in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 3(7), pp. 87–107.
- Leighton, M. (2020) 'Myths of meritocracy, friendship, and fun work: Class and gender in North American academic communities', *American Anthropologist*, 122(3), pp. 444–458.
- Lekabe, T. (2023) 'Census 2022: Population growth, internal migration highlight need for economic reforms', *City Press*, 11 October. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/census-2022-population-growth-internal-migration-highlight-need-for-economic-reforms-20231011> (Accessed: 5 January 2024).
- Lesetedi, G.N. and Modie-Moroka, T. (2007) 'Reverse Xenophobia: Immigrants attitudes towards citizens in Botswana', in *African Migrations Workshop: Understanding Migration Dynamics in the Continent*, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon-Accra, Ghana.

Letlape, B. and Dube, G. (2020) *The analysis of underlying causes in several requests received by the Municipal Demarcation Board*. Research Unit Municipal Demarcation Board.

Levy, N. (2022) 'From dependence to conviviality: unaccompanied youth and host communities at the Zimbabwean–South African borderland', *The Journal of modern African studies*, 60(2), pp. 175–195. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X22000040>.

Lewins, K. (2009) 'Notes on Qualitative Analysis (Unpublished)'. Johannesburg.

Liamputtong, P. and Benza, S. (2019) "'Being able to bear a child": insights from Zimbabwean women in Melbourne', *Women and Birth*, 32(2), pp. e216–e222.

Lima, F.H. (2001) '¿Cómo alojarse en Nueva York si no se cuenta con reservación en El Plaza?', *El cotidiano*, 18(108), pp. 38–47.

Limpopo Department of Transport (2022) *Border Posts/Port of Entry*. Available at: <http://www.ldot.gov.za/LPFDB/cross-border-border-posts.html> (Accessed: 13 October 2022).

Little, A. (2015) 'The complex temporality of borders: Contingency and normativity', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 14(4), pp. 429–447. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885115584831>.

Little, J. (2002) 'Rural geography: rural gender identity and the performance of masculinity and femininity in the countryside', *Progress in Human Geography*, 26(5), pp. 665–670. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132502ph394pr>.

Longhurst, R. (1995) 'VIEWPOINT The Body and Geography', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 2(1), pp. 97–106. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663699550022134>.

Lorber, J. and Martin, P.Y. (2011) 'The socially constructed body: Insights from feminist theory', in P. Kivisto (ed.) *Illuminating social life: Classical and contemporary theory revisited*. Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press.

Lowry, P. (2009) 'Exploring caring', *Thinking: The Journal of Philosophy for Children*, 19(2/3), pp. 32–41.

Lubbe, C. (2007) 'Mothers, fathers or parents: Same-gendered families in South Africa', *South African Journal of Psychology*, 37(2), pp. 260–283.

Ludwig, B. (2016) "'Wiping the Refugee Dust from My Feet": Advantages and Burdens of Refugee Status and the Refugee Label', *International migration*, 54(1), pp. 5–18. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12111>.

Lui, L. (2016) 'Gender, Rural-Urban Inequality, and Intermarriage in China', *Social forces*, 95(2), pp. 639–662. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sow076>.

Lui, L. and Chan, K.W. (2020) "'Rural but not rural": gendered and classed moral identities in liminal spaces in Guangdong, China', *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 63(2), pp. 239–258.

Luwaya, N. (2018) 'Land, status and security—a burden borne by women', *Agenda*, 32(4), pp. 103–110.

MacGaffey, J. (1988) 'Evading Male Control: Women in the Second Economy in Zaire', in S.B. Stichter and J.L. Parpart (eds) *Patriarchy and Class: African Women in the Home and the Workforce*. New York: Routledge, pp. 61–80.

Machinya, J. (2022) "'We maZimba... There Is Nothing That We Cannot Do": The Work Ethic of Undocumented Zimbabwean Day Labourers in eMalahleni, South Africa', in P. Rugunanan and N. Xulu-Gama (eds) *Migration in Southern Africa: IMISCOE Regional Reader*. Cham: Springer International Publishing Cham, pp. 231–245.

Madge, C. et al. (1997) 'Methods and methodologies in feminist geographies: politics, practice and power', in *Feminist Geographies: Explorations in Diversity and Place*. Harlow: Longman.

Madsen, K.D. and Van Naerssen, T. (2003) 'Migration, identity, and belonging', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 18(1), pp. 61–75.

Magidimisha, H.H. and Chipungu, L. (2019) 'The Impact of Island City in the post-apartheid South Africa: Focus on Bantustans', in *Urban Form and Social Context: from traditions to newest demands*, pp. 118–128.

Mahapa, S.M. and Mashiri, M. (2001) 'Social exclusion and rural transport: Gender aspects of a road improvement project in Tshitwe, Northern Province', *Development Southern Africa*, 18(3), pp. 365–376. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03768350120070026>.

Mahler, S.J. and Pessar, P.R. (2001) 'Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces', *Identities*, 7(4), pp. 441–459. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2001.9962675>.

Makhura, M.N. and Wasike, W.S. (2003) 'Patterns of access to rural service infrastructure: the case of farming households in Limpopo Province', *Agrekon*, 42(2), pp. 129–143.

Maloka, T. (2002) 'Mines and Labour Migrants in Southern Africa', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 10, pp. 213–224. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6443.00037>.

Maluleke, A., Edoun, E.I. and Pooe, S. (2022) 'Education as an analysis of Poverty Status of Households in Limpopo, South Africa', *International Journal of Economic Behavior (IJEB)*, 12(1), pp. 83–100.

Malunga, F. (2000) 'Sports and ethnicism: instruments of labour control at the Messina Copper Mines, 1920-1960', *Historia*, 45(2), pp. 454–464.

Malunga, F. (2002) 'Foreign African migrant labour at the Messina Copper Mines, 1905-1960', *Historia*, 47(1), pp. 270–290.

Mama, A. (2001) 'Challenging subjects: Gender and power in African contexts', *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 5(2), pp. 63–73.

Mamabolo, M.A. (2016) 'Provision of quality roads infrastructure in South Africa: rural villagers' perceptions, Polokwane municipality in Limpopo province', *Journal of Public Administration and Development Alternatives (JPADA)*, 1(2), pp. 28–44.

Mamokhere, J. and Chauke, K.R. (2020) 'The multiplicity of challenges faced by South African borders: A case of Limpopo Province', *Journal of Public Affairs*, 20(3), p. e2123.

- Mandela, N. (1995) *Address by President Nelson Mandela at opening of new bridge over Limpopo River at Beit Bridge*. Available at: http://www.mandela.gov.za/mandela_speeches/1995/951124_beitbridge.htm (Accessed: 9 November 2011).
- Mangena, O. (2003) 'Feminism (Singular), African Feminisms (Plural) and the African Diaspora', *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, 17(58), pp. 98–100.
- Mangezvo, P.L. (2015) *Xenophobic exclusion and masculinities among Zimbabwean male migrants: the case of Cape Town and Stellenbosch*. Stellenbosch University. Available at: <https://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/96485>.
- Mapuva, J. (2013) 'The feminist discourse and the development of a civic virtue in Zimbabwe: Case of Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA)', *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 5(8), pp. 261–270.
- Marcus, L. (2010) 'Spatial capital', *Journal of Space Syntax*, 1(1).
- Marey-Sarwan, I., Roer-Strier, D. and Strier, R. (2021) 'Blurring the borders with Anzaldúa in context-informed, anti-oppressive research: The case of Bedouin women', *The British Journal of Social Work*, 51(8), pp. 2892–2909.
- Marks, S. (1989) 'Patriotism, patriarchy and purity: Natal and the politics of Zulu ethnic consciousness', *The creation of tribalism in Southern Africa*, pp. 215–240.
- Martens, J. (2009) "'Civilised domesticity", race and European attempts to regulate African marriage practices in colonial Natal, 1868–1875', *The history of the family*, 14(4), pp. 340–355. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hisfam.2009.08.005>.
- Masekela, M.E. and Semanya, K. (2021) 'Factors influencing the use of firewood post-electrification in rural South Africa: The case of Ga-Malahlela village', *Journal of Energy in Southern Africa*, 32(3), pp. 24–40.
- Maseko, N. (2022) 'Migrants targeted in South Africa after gang rape outrage', *BBC News*, 4 August. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-62423899> (Accessed: 14 November 2022).
- Masekoameng, K., Simalenga, T. and Saidi, T. (2017) 'Household energy needs and utilization patterns in the Giyani rural communities of Limpopo Province, South Africa', *Journal of energy in Southern Africa*, 16(3), pp. 4–9. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3051/2005/v16i3a3108>.
- Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis: Wiley.
- Massey, D. (2013) *Space, Place and Gender*. Wiley. Available at: <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=cequBgAAQBAJ>.
- Masuda, J.R. and Garvin, T. (2008) 'Whose Heartland?: The politics of place in a rural–urban interface', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 24(1), pp. 112–123. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2007.08.003>.
- Masuku, T. (2016) 'TARGETING FOREIGNERS: Xenophobia among Johannesburg's police', *SA crime quarterly* [Preprint], (15). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2006/v0i15a1000>.

- Mate, R. (2002) 'Wombs as God's Laboratories: Pentecostal Discourses of Femininity in Zimbabwe', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 72(4), pp. 549–568. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3556701>.
- Mathe, T. (2019) 'Malaicha trade goes digital', *The Mail & Guardian*, 8 November. Available at: <https://mg.co.za/article/2019-11-08-00-malaicha-trade-goes-digital/> (Accessed: 22 October 2023).
- Mathers, K. and Hubbard, L. (2006) 'Doing Africa: Travelers, Adventurers, and American Conquest of Africa', in L.A. Vivanco and R.J. Gordon (eds) *Tarzan was an Eco-tourist....: and other tales in the anthropology of adventure*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 197–213.
- Matsaung, L.E. (2005) 'De-Colonising History: On being a church on the borders of South Africa', *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, XXXI(2), pp. 427–442.
- Mawela, A. (1994) *The depiction of women characters in selected Venda novels*. Unpublished. University of South Africa.
- Mbembé, J.-A. and Nuttall, S. (2004) 'Writing the world from an African metropolis', *Public culture*, 16(3), pp. 347–372.
- McAllister, P.A. (1991) 'Reversing the effects of 'betterment planning' in South Africa's black rural areas', *Africa Insight*, 21(2), pp. 116–119.
- McCall, L. (2005) 'The Complexity of Intersectionality', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 30(3), pp. 1771–1800. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/426800>.
- McClintock, A. (1991) "'No longer in a future heaven": women and nationalism in South Africa', *Transition*, (51), pp. 104–123.
- McDowell, L. and Court, G. (1994) 'Performing Work: Bodily Representations in Merchant Banks', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 12(6), pp. 727–750. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1068/d120727>.
- McDowell, L. and Sharp, J. (2014) *A feminist glossary of human geography*. London: Routledge.
- McGregor, J. (2008) 'Children and "African values": Zimbabwean professionals in Britain reconfiguring family life', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 40(3), pp. 596–614.
- McGuire Sr, S. and Georges, J. (2003) 'Undocumentedness and liminality as health variables', *Advances in Nursing Science*, 26(3), pp. 185–195.
- Meiu, G.P. (2015) 'How to be a real gay: gay identities in small-town South Africa', 38(1–2), pp. 147–149.
- Mekgwe, P. (2008) 'Theorizing African feminism (s)', *African feminisms*, XX, pp. 11–22.
- Mekgwe, P. (2010) 'Post Africa (n) feminism?', *Third Text*, 24(2), pp. 189–194.
- Meth, P. and Charlton, S. (2017) 'Men's experiences of state sponsored housing in South Africa: emerging issues and key questions', *Housing Studies*, 32(4), pp. 470–490.
- Mining Technology (2013) 'Venetia Diamond Mine'. Available at: https://www.mining-technology.com/projects/de_beers/ (Accessed: 2 December 2022).

- Mirsky, J. (1991) 'Language in migration: Separation individuation conflicts in relation to the mother tongue and the new language.', *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 28(4), p. 618.
- Modise, K. (2022) 'MEC Ramathuba blames migrants for Limpopo hospitals' surgical backlogs', 24 August. Available at: <https://ewn.co.za/2022/08/24/mec-ramathuba-blames-migrants-for-limpopo-hospitals-surgical-backlogs> (Accessed: 14 November 2022).
- Mohanty, C. (1988) 'Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses', *Feminist review*, 30(1), pp. 61–88.
- Mohanty, C.T. (2003) "'Under Western Eyes" Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles', *Signs*, 28(2), pp. 499–535. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1086/342914>.
- Mohlabane, N. and Tshoaedi, M. (2022) 'What Is a Woman? A Decolonial African Feminist Analysis of Womanhoods in Lesotho', *South African Review of Sociology*, 52(1), pp. 40–57. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2021.2015716>.
- Moisio, S. and Jonas, A.E.G. (2018) 'City-regions and city-regionalism', in A. Paasi, J. Harrison, and M. Jones (eds) *Handbook on the Geographies of Regions and Territories*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Moji, P.B. (2015) 'New names, translational subjectivities:(dis) location and (re) naming in NoViolet Bulawayo's *We need new names*', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 27(2), pp. 181–190.
- Molefe, M. (2019) 'Ubuntu and development: An African conception of development', *Africa Today*, 66(1), pp. 97–115.
- Mollett, S. and Faria, C. (2018) 'The spatialities of intersectional thinking: fashioning feminist geographic futures', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 25(4), pp. 565–577. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1454404>.
- Monama, T. (2022) "'Xenophobic tendencies must be rejected": Healthcare groups say migrants have right to treatment in SA', *News24*, 27 August. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/xenophobic-tendencies-must-be-rejected-healthcare-groups-say-migrants-have-right-to-treatment-in-sa-20220827> (Accessed: 14 November 2022).
- Monte-Mor, R. and Castriota, R. (2018) 'Extended Urbanization: Implications for urban and regional theory', in A. Paasi, J. Harrison, and M. Jones (eds) *Handbook on the Geographies of Regions and Territories*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 332–345.
- Monte-Mór, R.L. (2005) 'What is the urban in the contemporary world?', *Cadernos de Saúde Pública*, 21, pp. 942–948.
- Monte-Mor, R.L. (2014) 'Extended urbanization and settlement patterns in Brazil: an environmental approach', *Implosions/explosions: towards a study of planetary urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis, pp. 109–120.
- Moolman, B. (2013) 'Rethinking "masculinities in transition" in South Africa considering the "intersectionality" of race, class, and sexuality with gender', *African Identities*, 11(1), pp. 93–105. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2013.775843>.

- Moore, E. and Govender, R. (2013) 'Marriage and cohabitation in South Africa: An enriching explanation?', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 44(5), pp. 623–639.
- Morin, K.M. (1999) 'Peak practices: Englishwomen's "heroic" adventures in the nineteenth-century American west', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 89(3), pp. 489–514.
- Morison, T. and Reddy, V. (2013) 'Familiar claims: Representations of same-gendered families in South African mainstream news media', *C. Lubbe & J. Marnell (Eds.)*, pp. 21–49.
- Mosomi, J. (2019) 'An empirical analysis of trends in female labour force participation and the gender wage gap in South Africa', *Agenda*, 33(4), pp. 29–43.
- Motsemme, N. (2003) 'Distinguishing beauty, creating distinctions: the politics and poetics of dress among young Black women', *Agenda*, 17(57), pp. 12–19. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2003.9674463>.
- Moyo, A.L. (2008) 'Negotiating migrant identities: foreign bodies, symbolic journeys and (sub) liminal landscapes in Composition Z—The House of Stone', *South African Theatre Journal*, 22(1), pp. 84–101.
- Moyo, D. and Mpofu, S. (eds) (2020) *Mediating xenophobia in Africa: unpacking discourses of migration, belonging and othering*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moyo, I. (2016) 'The Beitbridge–Mussina interface: Towards flexible citizenship, sovereignty and territoriality at the border', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 31(4), pp. 427–440.
- Moyo, I. (2020a) 'Beyond postcoloniality in border studies', in J.W. Scott (ed.) *A Research Agenda for Border Studies*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 55–70.
- Moyo, I. (2020b) 'On borders and the liminality of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa', *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 18(1), pp. 60–74.
- Moyo, I. (2020c) 'On decolonising borders and regional integration in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region', *Social Sciences*, 9(4), p. 32.
- Moyo, L. (2017) 'Rethinking the information society: A decolonial and border gnosis of the digital divide in Africa and the Global South', in *Theorizing digital divides*. Routledge, pp. 133–145.
- Mubangizi, J.C. and Tlale, M.T. (2023) 'How gender-based cultural practices violate women's property rights and inhibit property ownership: A South African perspective', in *Women's Studies International Forum*. Elsevier, p. 102678.
- Mueller-Hirth, N. (2018) 'Still waiting: Victim policies, social change and fixed liminality', in *Time and temporality in transitional and post-conflict societies*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 102–121.
- Mueller-Hirth, N. and Oyola, S.R. (eds) (2018) *Time and Temporality in Transitional and Post-Conflict Societies*. 1st edn. Oxon: Routledge.
- Mugabe, R. (1995) *Address by President at the official opening of the new bridge over the Limpopo River at Beit Bridge Beit Bridge*,. Available at: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/address-president-official-opening-new-bridge-over-limpopo-river-beit-bridge-beit-bridge-24> (Accessed: 29 October 2022).

Muhanna-Matar, A. (2022) 'The emerging intersectional performative gender of displaced Syrian women in southeast Turkey', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 29(6), pp. 772–792. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2021.1887091>.

Mukwevho, T. (2014) 'SANRAL commits to improving local roads', *Zoutnet*. Available at: <https://www.zoutnet.co.za/articles/news/27662/2014-10-31/sanral-commits-to-improving-local-roads> (Accessed: 22 October 2022).

Mulaudzi, L.J. and Kriel, L. (2021) 'Gendered Ruptures and Continuities in the Venda Traditional Leadership From C. 1990 to 2020', *Southern Journal for Contemporary History*, 46(2), pp. 89–112.

Mulaudzi, M. (2000) '*U shuma bulasi*': *Agrarian transformation in the Zoutpansberg District of South Africa, up to 1946*, *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*. Ph.D. University of Minnesota. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/u-shuma-bulasi-agrarian-transformation/docview/304614734/se-2?accountid=15083>.

Mungai, N. and Pease, Bob (2009) 'Rethinking masculinities in the African diaspora', in M. Donaldson et al. (eds) *Migrant Men: Critical Studies of Masculinities and the Migration Experience*. New York: Routledge, pp. 96–114. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203875315>.

Municipal Demarcation Board (2015) *Re-determination of Municipal Boundaries*. Available at: http://www.demarcation.org.za/site/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Media-release_Section-21-3July15.pdf (Accessed: 19 May 2020).

Municipal Demarcation Board (2018) *Municipal Capacity Assessment 2018 : Musina LIM341*. Available at: <http://www.demarcation.org.za/site/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/MusinaLIM341-1.docx> (Accessed: 10 October 2020).

Munshi, S. (2023) 'The grid and the map Intersectionality in migration', in J. Nash and S. Pinto (eds) *The Routledge Companion to Intersectionalities*. Oxon: Routledge, p. Chapter 25.

Mupotsa, D. (2015) 'The promise of happiness: Desire, attachment and freedom in post/apartheid South Africa', *Critical Arts*, 29(2), pp. 183–198.

Muranda, R., Chimbudzi, W. and Maguraushe, W. (2022) *Thomas" Mukanya" Mapfumo and Songs of Protest in Colonial and Post-independence Zimbabwe*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Murugani, V.G. et al. (2014) 'The role of property rights on rural women's land use security and household food security for improved livelihood in Limpopo Province', *Journal of Human Ecology*, 46(2), pp. 205–221.

Musina Local Municipality (2016) *Consolidated Integrated Development Plan 2016/17-2021*. Available at: <https://musina.gov.za/document/musina-local-municipality-draft-idp-2017-18-2021-22-pdf/> (Accessed: 21 October 2021).

Musina Local Municipality (2017) *Draft IDP 2017/18-2021/2022*. Available at: <https://musina.gov.za/document/musina-local-municipality-draft-idp-2017-18-2021-22-pdf/> (Accessed: 21 October 2022).

Musina Local Municipality (2018) *Final Integrated Development Plan 2018/19*. Available at: <https://musina.gov.za/document/musina-local-municipality-idp-2018-19-2021-22-pdf/> (Accessed: 21 October 2022).

Musina Local Municipality (2019a) *Final Intergrated Development Plan 2019/20*. Available at: https://musina.gov.za/document/musina-local-municipality-idp-2019_2020-pdf/ (Accessed: 21 October 2022).

Musina Local Municipality (2019b) *Musina Spatial Development Framework*. Available at: <https://musina.gov.za/document/musina-spatial-development-framework-2019-pdf/> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Musina Local Municipality (2021a) *Final Integrated Development Plan 2021/2022*. Available at: <https://musina.gov.za/document/musina-local-municipality-idp-2021-22-pdf/> (Accessed: 21 October 2022).

Musina Local Municipality (2021b) *Musina Local Municipality 2020/2021 Annual Report*. Available at: [file:///C:/Users/Chido/Downloads/2020%202021%20Musina%20Local%20Municipality%20Annual%20Report%20%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/Chido/Downloads/2020%202021%20Musina%20Local%20Municipality%20Annual%20Report%20%20(1).pdf) (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Musina Local Municipality (2022) 'Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2022/2023 -2026/2027'. Available at: https://musina.gov.za/document/final-idp-2022-23-2026-2027-compressed_compressed-pdf/ (Accessed: 4 October 2022).

Musoni, P. and Gundani, P.H. (2019) 'Open Space Worship: A Religious Identity of the Johane Masowe Chishanu Church in Zimbabwe', *Journal for the study of religion*, 32(2), pp. 1–13. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3027/2019/v32n2a4>.

Mutua-Mambo, C.N. (2020) 'Living in a Liminal Space: Feminist and LGBT Alliances in Kenya', *Women's Studies in Communication*, 43(2), pp. 125–130. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07491409.2020.1745598>.

Muzvidziwa, V.N. (1998) 'Cross-border trade: A strategy for climbing out of poverty in Masvingo, Zimbabwe', *Zambezia*, 25(1), pp. 29–58.

Naidoo, S. and Pfukwa, C. (2009) 'Representations of women in Zimbabwean contemporary music', *Muziki*, 6(2), pp. 145–153.

Nash, J.C. (2018) 'Black feminism reimagined', in *Black Feminism Reimagined*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Ncube, L. (2020) 'Misogyny, Sexism and Hegemonic Masculinity in Zimbabwe's Operation Restore Legacy', in S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and P. Ruhanya (eds) *The History and Political Transition of Zimbabwe: From Mugabe to Mnangagwa*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 331–357. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-47733-2_14.

Ndebele, L. (2022) 'SA deploys 200 specially trained border control officers at Beitbridge', *News24*, 15 July. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/news24/africa/news/sa-deploys-200-specially-trained-border-control-officers-at-beitbridge-20220715> (Accessed: 15 November 2022).

Ndhlovu, F. (2008) 'The politics of language and nationality in Zimbabwe: Nation building or empire building?', *South African Journal of African Languages*, 28(1), pp. 1–10. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2008.10587297>.

Ndinda, C. (2006) 'Large and small houses in Luganda: housing construction and gender in South Africa', *Development Southern Africa*, 23(3), pp. 401–416.

Ndlovu, T. (2010) 'Where is my home? Rethinking person, family, ethnicity and home under increased transnational migration by Zimbabweans', *African Identities*, 8(2), pp. 117–130. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725841003629575>.

Ndofirepi, E.S. and Maringe, F. (2020) 'Relational Spaces: A Possibility for Enhancing First Year Undergraduate Rural Student Experiences on Campus', *Rurality, Social Justice and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa Volume II: Theory and Practice in Higher Education*, pp. 23–54.

Nettleton, A. (1992) 'Ethnic and gender identities in Venda Domba statues', *African Studies*, 51(2), pp. 203–230.

Neuman, W.L. (2014) *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches: Pearson New International Edition*. 7th edn. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Newman, D. (2006a) 'Borders and bordering: Towards an interdisciplinary dialogue', *European journal of social theory*, 9(2), pp. 171–186.

Newman, D. (2006b) 'The lines that continue to separate us: borders in our "borderless" world', *Progress in Human geography*, 30(2), pp. 143–161.

Newman, D. (2016) 'Contemporary research agendas in border studies: An overview', in D. Wastl-Walter (ed.) *The Routledge Research Companion to Border Studies*. London: Taylor & Francis, pp. 55–70.

News 24 (2005) 'All but 2 Limpopo towns renamed', 28 June. Available at: <https://www.news24.com/News24/All-but-2-Limpopo-towns-renamed-20050628> (Accessed: 9 October 2022).

Ngeh, J. and Pelican, M. (2018) 'Intersectionality and the Labour Market in the United Arab Emirates', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, (H. 2), pp. 171–194.

Ngomane, T.S. and Sebola, M.P. (2022) 'Land Rights: Mpumalanga Communities' Attitudes Towards Women's Land Ownership', *Public Administration and Development Alternatives (IPADA)*, pp. 56–65.

Ngorora, G.P. and Mago, S. (2016) 'Rural entrepreneurship and welfare in South Africa: a case of nkonkobe municipal area in the eastern cape province', *Journal of Economics*, 7(2–3), pp. 169–178.

Ngum, F. and Bastiaensen, J. (2021) 'Intersectional perspective of strengthening climate change adaptation of Agrarian women in Cameroon', in W.L. Filho et al. (eds) *African handbook of climate change adaptation*. Cham: Springer, pp. 2169–2191.

Nhlapo, M.S., Kasumba, H. and Ruhiiga, T.M. (2011) 'Growth Challenges of Homeland Towns in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Social Sciences*, 29(1), pp. 47–56. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09718923.2011.11892954>.

Nhongo-Simbanegavi, J. (2000) *For better or worse?: women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle*. Avondale, Harare;Oxford; Weaver Press.

Nightingale, A.J. and Harcourt, W. (2021) 'Gender, Nature, Body', in A.H. Akram-Lodhi et al. (eds) *Handbook of Critical Agrarian Studies*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Nishanthi, R. (2020) 'Understanding of the Importance of Mother Tongue Learning', *International Journal of Trend in Scientific Research and Development (IJTSRD)*, 5(1), pp. 77–80.

Nkealah, N. (2016) '(West) African Feminisms and Their Challenges', *Journal of Literary Studies*, 32(2), pp. 61–74. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02564718.2016.1198156>.

Nkealah, N. (2022) 'People just Didn't Respect Women who Were not Married': Revisiting the Question of why Abused Wives Stay in Marriage in Reneilwe Malatji's Short Story "Love Interrupted", *Gender Questions*, 10(2), pp. 19-pages.

Norocel, O.C. (2015) 'The panoptic performance of masculinity for the Romanian ethno-nationalist project: Disciplinary intersections in populist radical right print media', *DiGeSt. Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies*, 2(1–2), pp. 143–156.

Norocel, O.C. et al. (2022) 'Performing "us" and "other": Intersectional analyses of right-wing populist media', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(3), pp. 897–915.

Noussia, A. and Lyons, M. (2009) 'Inhabiting Spaces of Liminality: Migrants in Omonia, Athens', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(4), pp. 601–624. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830902765186>.

Novak, P. (2017) 'Back to borders', *Critical Sociology*, 43(6), pp. 847–864.

Nshimbi, C. and Moyo, I. (eds) (2017) *History, Trends and Dynamics of Cross-Border Movements and Trade in the SADC Region*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55399-3_1.

Nyahunda, L. et al. (2021) 'Vulnerabilities and Inequalities Experienced by Women in the Climate Change Discourse in South Africa's Rural Communities: Implications for Social Work', *The British journal of social work*, 51(7), pp. 2536–2553. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcaa118>.

Nyamnjoh, F.B. (2006) *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa*. New York: Zed Books.

Oberhauser, A.M. and Pratt, A. (2004) 'Women's collective economic strategies and political transformation in rural South Africa', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 11(2), pp. 209–228.

Odiwa, R. (2009) 'Some Notions About African feminism', *Thinking: The Journal of Philosophy for Children*, 19(2/3), pp. 50–56.

Ogletree, T. and Kawulich, B.B. (2012) 'Ethical Considerations in Conducting Research', in C. Wagner, B. Kawulich, and M. Garner (eds) *Doing Social Research: A Global Context*. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Okumu, W. (2011) 'Border management and security in Africa', *Concordis Briefing*, 4(4), pp. 1–18.

Oliveira, E. (2016) 'Empowering, invasive or a little bit of both? A reflection on the use of visual and narrative methods in research with migrant sex workers in South Africa', *Visual studies*, 31(3), pp. 260–278.

Omer, R. (2017) 'The Modern and the Traditional African Women and Colonial Morality', *Anthropology*, 9(10), pp. 1–2.

O'Reilly, Z. (2018) "'Living Liminality": everyday experiences of asylum seekers in the 'Direct Provision' system in Ireland', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 25(6), pp. 821–842.

- Osirim, M.J. (2008) 'African women in the new diaspora: Transnationalism and the (re) creation of home', *African and Asian Studies*, 7(4), pp. 367–394.
- Oso, L. and Ribas-Mateos, N. (eds) (2013) *The international handbook on gender, migration and transnationalism : global and development perspectives*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Oyěwùmí, O. (ed.) (1997) *African women and feminism: Reflecting on the politics of sisterhood*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press.
- Oyěwùmí, O. (2002) 'Conceptualising Gender: Eurocentric Foundations of Feminist Concepts and the Challenge of African Epistemologies', *Jenda*, 2.
- Oyěwùmí, O. (2016a) *African gender studies: A reader*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Oyěwùmí, O. (2016b) *What gender is motherhood?: Changing Yoruba ideals of power, procreation, and identity in the age of modernity*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ozoemena, R.N. (2015) 'Crimes Against Women in South Africa', *Sexualized Violence in the National Debate*, 18(4), p. 47.
- Paasi, A. (1996) *Territories, boundaries and consciousness: the changing geographies of the Finnish-Russian border*. Chichester: John Wiley (Book, Whole). Available at: <https://go.exlibris.link/1pJF71z4>.
- Pachucki, M.A., Pendergrass, S. and Lamont, M. (2007) 'Boundary processes: Recent theoretical developments and new contributions', *Poetics*, 35(6), pp. 331–351.
- Palamuleni, M.E. (2010) 'Recent Marriage patterns in South Africa 1996-2007.', *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, 7(1).
- Parker, C., Scott, S. and Geddes, A. (2020) 'Snowball sampling', in P. Atkinson et al. (eds) *SAGE research methods foundations*. London: SAGE Publications Limited.
- Parpart, J.L. (1986) 'The household and the mine shaft: gender and class struggles on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1926–64', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13(1), pp. 36–56.
- Parpart, J.L. (1988) 'Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt: 1926-1964', in S.B. Stichter and J.L. Parpart (eds) *Patriarchy and Class: African Women in the Home and the Workforce*. New York: Routledge.
- Parpart, J.L. (1994) "'Where Is Your Mother?": Gender, Urban Marriage, and Colonial Discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945', *The International journal of African historical studies*, 27(2), pp. 241–271.
- Parreñas, R.S. (2001) 'Mothering from a distance: Emotions, gender, and intergenerational relations in Filipino transnational families', *Feminist studies*, 27(2), pp. 361–390.
- Pasura, D. (2008) 'Gendering the Diaspora: Zimbabwean Migrants in Britain La question du genre dans la diaspora: les migrants zimbabwéens en Grande-Bretagne', *African Diaspora*, 1(1–2), pp. 86–109.
- Pasura, D. (2012) 'A Fractured Transnational Diaspora: The Case of Zimbabweans in Britain', *International Migration*, 50(1), pp. 143–161. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00675.x>.

- Pasura, D. and Christou, A. (2018) 'Theorizing Black (African) Transnational Masculinities', *Men and Masculinities*, 21(4), pp. 521–546. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17694992>.
- Patil, V. (2013) 'From patriarchy to intersectionality: A transnational feminist assessment of how far we've really come', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), pp. 847–867.
- Pedraza, S. (1991) 'Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17, pp. 303–325.
- Perales, M. (2013) 'On Borderlands/La Frontera: Gloria Anzaldúa and twenty-five years of research on gender in the Borderlands', *Journal of Women's History*, 25(4), pp. 163–173.
- Peralta, E. (2022) 'A movement gains force to "put South Africans first," and to drive migrants out', *NPR*, 14 June. Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/07/1103445432/south-africa-anti-immigrant-operation-dudula> (Accessed: 14 November 2022).
- Perez Murcia, L.E. (2019) "'The sweet memories of home have gone": displaced people searching for home in a liminal space', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(9), pp. 1515–1531. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1491299>.
- Pessar, P.R. and Mahler, S.J. (2003) 'Transnational Migration: Bringing Gender in', *The International Migration Review*, 37(3), pp. 812–846.
- Peters, R. and Woodhouse, P. (2019) 'Reform and Regression: Discourses of Water Reallocation in Mpumalanga, South Africa.', *Water Alternatives*, 12(3).
- Phillips, L.H. (2022) 'Below the Land Deals: The Making of Mineral Property in Ga-Mphahlele, South Africa, 1880–1994', *The Journal of African History*, 63(1), pp. 4–18.
- Phillips, O. (2003) '(Dis) Continuities of custom in Zimbabwe and South Africa: the implications for gendered and sexual rights', *Health & Hum. Rts.*, 7, p. 82.
- Pian, A. (2021) 'Senegalese Migrants in Morocco: Rethinking the Temporalities and Spatiality of Borders at Europe's Margins', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 38(3), pp. 361–376. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2021.1888146>.
- Pillay, U. (2008) 'Urban Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Context, Evolution and Future Directions', *Urban Forum*, 19(2), pp. 109–132. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-008-9038-5>.
- Piller, I. and Takahashi, K. (2011) 'At the Intersection of Gender, Language, and Transnationalism', in N. Coupland (ed.) *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Posel, D. (2004) 'Have migration patterns in post-apartheid South Africa changed?', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics*, 15(3–4), pp. 277–292.
- Posel, D. (2006) 'Marriage at the drop of a hat: Housing and partnership in South Africa's urban African townships, 1920s–1960s', *History workshop journal*, 61(1), pp. 57–76.
- Posel, D. and Casale, D. (2015) 'Differences in subjective well-being within households. An analysis of married and cohabiting couples in South Africa', *African Review of Economics and Finance*, 7(1), pp. 32–52.

- Posel, D. and Rudwick, S. (2013) 'Changing patterns of marriage and cohabitation in South Africa', *Acta Juridica*, 2013(1), pp. 169–180.
- Posel, D.R. (2001) 'Who are the heads of household, what do they do, and is the concept of headship useful? An analysis of headship in South Africa', *Development Southern Africa*, 18(5), pp. 651–670.
- Pradhan, R., Meinzen-Dick, R. and Theis, S. (2019) 'Property rights, intersectionality, and women's empowerment in Nepal', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 70, pp. 26–35.
- Presbey, G.M. (2013) 'Women's empowerment: the insights of Wangari Maathai', *Journal of Global Ethics*, 9(3), pp. 277–292.
- Prinsloo, S. (2006) 'Sexual harassment and violence in South African schools', *South African journal of education*, 26(2), pp. 305–318.
- Prokkola, E. (2009) 'Unfixing borderland identity: Border performances and narratives in the construction of self', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 24(3), pp. 21–38. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2009.9695737>.
- Purdie-Vaughns, V. and Eibach, R.P. (2008) 'Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate-group identities', *Sex roles*, 59(5), pp. 377–391.
- Qian, J., Wei, L. and Zhu, H. (2012) 'Consuming the tourist gaze: imaginative geographies and the reproduction of sexuality in Iugu lake', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 94(2), pp. 107–124. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0467.2012.00399.x>.
- Qureshi, S. (2004) 'Displaying Sara Baartman, the "Hottentot Venus"', *History of Science*, 42(2), pp. 233–257.
- Rabe, Marlize *et al.* (2022) 'Youth at the margins: Reflections on diversities and similarities using intersectionality as a lens.', in I. Swart *et al.* (eds) *Stuck in the Margins? Young people and faith-based organisations in South African and Nordic localities*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Radhakrishnan, S. (2005) "'Time to Show Our True Colors" The Gendered Politics of "Indianness" in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Gender & society*, 19(2), pp. 262–281.
- Raftopoulos, B. and Mlambo, A.S. (eds) (2009) *Becoming Zimbabwe: A history from the pre-colonial period to 2007*. Avondale, Harare: Weaver Press.
- Rall, S.-A. (2022) 'Operation Dudula heads to court to challenge Zimbabwe exemption permit extension', 7 September. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/operation-dudula-heads-to-court-to-challenge-zimbabwe-exemption-permit-extension-114044f7-8e45-4534-9e4a-62ae1aeb9944> (Accessed: 15 November 2022).
- Ralph, D. and Staeheli, L.A. (2011) 'Home and Migration: Mobilities, Belongings and Identities', *Geography Compass*, 5(7), pp. 517–530. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2011.00434.x>.
- Rampton, B. (1995) 'Language crossing and the problematisation of ethnicity and socialisation', *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPrA)*, 5(4), pp. 485–513.

- Ramutsindela, M. (2007) 'Resilient geographies: land, boundaries and the consolidation of the former bantustans in post-1994 South Africa', *Geographical journal*, 173(1), pp. 43–55.
- Rana, S. and Pandya, D. (2021) 'Liminality: A Close Study of Historical Roots and Theoretical Structure', *Language in India*, 21(10), pp. 21–43.
- Ranchod-Nilsson, S. (2006) 'Gender politics and the pendulum of political and social transformation in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(1), pp. 49–67.
- Ranga, D. (2018) 'Age Selectivity among Labour Migrants (Majoni Joni) From South-Eastern Zimbabwe to South Africa during a Prolonged Crisis', *African Human Mobility Review*, 4(No 2), pp. 1255–1284.
- Ratele, K. (2001) "'Between 'Oens': Everyday Makings of Black Masculinity'", in R. Morrell (ed.) *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal: Zed Books (Changing Men in Southern Africa), pp. 239–253. Available at: <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=O4kEAQAAIAAJ>.
- Reddy, R.N. (2018) 'The urban under erasure: Towards a postcolonial critique of planetary urbanization', *Environment and planning. D, Society & space*, 36(3), pp. 529–539. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775817744220>.
- Reed, P.Y.A. (2001) 'Africana womanism and African feminism: A philosophical, literary, and cosmological dialectic on family', *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 25(3), p. 168.
- Resurreccion, B.P. (2005) 'Women In-between: Gender, Transnational and Rural–Urban Mobility in the Mekong Region', *Gender, Technology and Development*, 9(1), pp. 31–56. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/097185240500900103>.
- Review Observer Polokwane (2022) 'SANRAL to open Musina Ring Road on Friday'. Available at: <https://reviewonline.co.za/?p=547348> (Accessed: 22 October 2022).
- Rice, K. (2020) 'Working Women in Rural South Africa', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 93(3), pp. 351–376.
- Richardson, L. (2021) "'Too Unsavoury for Our Fastidious Tastes": Unmarried Motherhood in South Africa's Mother City, Cape Town, 1910–1948', *South African Historical Journal*, 73(2), pp. 381–405.
- Ridgway, A. (2021) 'From paradise to prison: The disrupted spatial imaginaries of victimised female British migrants in Australia', *Population, space and place*, 27(6), p. e2430.
- Ritchie, Jane, Spencer, L. and O'Connor, W. (2013) 'Carrying out Qualitative Analysis', in J. Ritchie et al. (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. SAGE Publications, pp. 219–262. Available at: <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=hYLDagAAQBAJ>.
- Roberts, B., Sitas, A. and Greenstein, R. (2003) 'Qualitative Research Methodology (Unpublished)'. Edited by R. Greenstein.
- Robertson, N. (2018) 'The Power and Subjection of Liminality and Borderlands of Non-Binary Folx', *Gender Forum*, (19), pp. p45-59.

- Robinson, J. (2011) 'Cities in a World of Cities: The Comparative Gesture', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(1), pp. 1–23. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00982.x>.
- Robinson, J. (2014) 'New Geographies of Theorizing the Urban: Putting comparison to work for global urban studies', in S. Parnell and S. Oldfield (eds) *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*. 4th edn. London: Routledge Press.
- Robson, C. (2016) 'Observational Methods', in C. Robson and K. McCartan (eds) *Real World Research (Fourth Edition)*. 4th edn. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Rose, G. (1995) 'Geography and gender, cartographies and corporealities', *Progress in Human Geography*, 19(4), pp. 544–548. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/030913259501900407>.
- Rose, G. (2013) *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Rose, G. et al. (2014) 'Feminist geographies of environment, nature and landscape', in Women and Geography Study Group (ed.) *Feminist geographies: Explorations in Diversity and Difference*. London: Routledge, pp. 146–190.
- Ruddick, S. et al. (2018) 'Planetary urbanization: An urban theory for our time?', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3), pp. 387–404.
- Rudwick, S. and Posel, D. (2015) 'Zulu bridewealth (ilobolo) and womanhood in South Africa', *Social Dynamics*, 41(2), pp. 289–306.
- Ruiters, T.-L. (2022) 'Operation Dudula calls on Cape Town not to hire illegal immigrants', 9 October. Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/news/operation-dudula-calls-on-cape-town-not-to-hire-illegal-immigrants-ed48d91a-e6c1-40ea-a628-a56724b4fb3f> (Accessed: 14 November 2022).
- Rukema, R.J. and Pophiwa, N. (2020) 'Cross-border mobility between South Africa and Zimbabwe: historical and contemporary trajectories of development in Musina, South Africa.', *Mankind Quarterly*, 61(2).
- Ryan, J.R. (2006) '"Our home on the ocean": Lady Brassey and the voyages of the Sunbeam, 1874–1887', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32(3), pp. 579–604.
- Saleh, I. (2015) 'Is it really xenophobia in South Africa or an intentional act of prejudice?', *Global Media Journal-African Edition*, 9(2), pp. 298–313.
- Salo, E. (2003) 'Negotiating gender and personhood in the new South Africa: Adolescent women and gangsters in Manenberg township on the Cape Flats', *European journal of cultural studies*, 6(3), pp. 345–365.
- Salo, E. et al. (2010) 'Living our lives on the edge: Power, space and sexual orientation in Cape Town townships, South Africa', *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 7(4), pp. 298–309.
- Samuels, G.M. and Ross-Sheriff, F. (2008) 'Identity, oppression, and power: Feminisms and intersectionality theory', *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work*, 23(1).
- Sanders, M. (2010) 'Entanglement: Literary and Cultural Reflections on Post-Apartheid', by Sarah Nuttall', *English Academy Review*, 27(1).

SAnews.gov.za (2022) 'Completion of Musina Ring Road to facilitate economic activity', *South African Government News Agency*. Available at: <https://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/completion-musina-ring-road-facilitate-economic-activity> (Accessed: 22 October 2022).

Sang, S. (2017) 'A Study on the Pre-socialization of College Interns from the Perspective of Liminality', *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 159, pp. 60–67.

Sawyer, S. and Agrawal, A. (2000) 'Environmental orientalism', *Cultural Critique*, (45), pp. 71–108.

Sbicca, J. (2015) 'Farming while confronting the other: The production and maintenance of boundaries in the borderlands', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 39, pp. 1–10.

Schiller, N.G., Basch, L. and Blanc, C.S. (1995) 'From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration', *Anthropological quarterly*, 68(1), pp. 48–63.

Schmid, C. (2018) 'Journeys through planetary urbanization: Decentering perspectives on the urban', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(3), pp. 591–610. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775818765476>.

Schmidt, E. (1990) 'Negotiated spaces and contested terrain: Men, women, and the law in colonial Zimbabwe, 1890–1939', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16(4), pp. 622–648.

Schmidt, E. (1991) 'Patriarchy, capitalism, and the colonial state in Zimbabwe', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 16(4), pp. 732–756.

Schrock, D. and Schwalbe, M. (2009) 'Men, masculinity, and manhood acts', *Annual review of sociology*, 35, pp. 277–295.

Scorgie, F. et al. (2013) "'We are despised in the hospitals": sex workers' experiences of accessing health care in four African countries', *Culture, health & sexuality*, 15(4), pp. 450–465.

Scott, J.W. (2018) *Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press (Gender and Culture Series).

Scott, J.W. (2020) *A Research Agenda for Border Studies*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Scully, P. and Crais, C. (2008) 'Race and Erasure: Sara Baartman and Hendrik Cesars in Cape Town and London', *Journal of British Studies*, 47(2), pp. 301–323.

Sebola, M.P. (2017) 'The Mapungubwe Story and Land Claims: The Battle for the Soul of the Dead, Greed, and Deception', *Anthropos*, (H. 2), pp. 596–601.

Sebola, M.P. (2020) 'Land claims in South Africa: Uniqueness, historical distortions and injustices on the copper miners of Musina', *New Contree*, 85.

Seepamore, B. (2018) 'Between and Betwixt—Positioning Nannies as Mothers: Perspectives from Durban, South Africa', in T. Taylor and K. Bloch (eds) *Marginalized Mothers, Mothering from the Margins*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing Limited, pp. 141–155.

Seidman, G.W. (1984) 'Women in Zimbabwe: Postindependence Struggles', *Feminist Studies*, 10(3), pp. 419–440.

- Sepotokele, T. (2018) 'Women's struggle for land rights in the former homelands: Aninka claassens speaks to tsholofelo sepotokele', *Agenda*, 32(4), pp. 96–102.
- Settler, F. and Engh, M.H. (2015) 'The black body in colonial and postcolonial public discourse in South Africa', *Alternation Special Edition*, (14), pp. 126–148.
- Sharma, M. (2013) 'The liminality of contemporary culture', *Bodhi: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 6, pp. 109–119.
- Shields, R. (2003) 'Intersections in cultural policy: geographic, socioeconomic and other markers of identity', *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 35(3), pp. 150–164.
- Siegenthaler, F. and Bublatzky, C. (2021) '(Un) Sighted Archives of Migration—Spaces of Encounter and Resistance: An Introduction', *Visual Anthropology*, 34(4), pp. 283–295.
- Simon, D. (2008) 'Urban environments: issues on the peri-urban fringe', *Annual review of environment and resources*, 33, pp. 167–185.
- Simon, D., McGregor, D. and Nsiah-Gyabaah, K. (2004) 'The changing urban-rural interface of African cities: definitional issues and an application to Kumasi, Ghana', *Environment and Urbanization*, 16(2), pp. 235–248. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/095624780401600214>.
- Singleton, B.E. et al. (2022) 'Intersectionality and climate policy-making: The inclusion of social difference by three Swedish government agencies', *Environment and planning. C, Politics and space*, 40(1), pp. 180–200. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/23996544211005778>.
- Siyongwana, P.Q. (2009) 'The impact of political transformation on employment in the Transkei bureaucracy and civil service in Umtata, South Africa since 1994', *GeoJournal*, 74(4), pp. 293–310.
- Siziba, G. (2015) "'Cross-identification": identity games and the performance of South Africanness by Ndebele-speaking migrants in Johannesburg', *African Identities*, 13(4), pp. 262–278.
- Skjoldager-Nielsen, K. and Edelman, J. (2014) 'Liminality', *Ecumenica*, 7(1–2), pp. 33–40.
- Smith, S., Swanson, N.W. and Gökarıksel, B. (2016) 'Territory, bodies and borders', *Area*, 48(3), pp. 258–261.
- Smooth, W.G. (2013) 'Intersectionality from Theoretical Framework to Policy Intervention', in A.R. Wilson (ed.) *Situating intersectionality: Politics, policy, and power*. 1st edn. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Söderlund, J. and Borg, E. (2018) 'Liminality in management and organization studies: Process, position and place', *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 20(4), pp. 880–902.
- Soini, K., Vaarala, H. and Pouta, E. (2012) 'Residents' sense of place and landscape perceptions at the rural–urban interface', *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 104(1), pp. 124–134. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2011.10.002>.
- Soklaridis, S., Cartmill, C. and Cassidy, D. (2011) 'Biographical disruption of injured workers in chronic pain', *Disability and rehabilitation*, 33(22–23), pp. 2372–2380.
- Solomon, H. and Kosaka, H. (2013) 'Xenophobia in South Africa: Reflections, narratives and recommendations', *Southern African peace and security studies*, 2(2), pp. 5–30.

Sonn, C.C. (2002) 'Immigrant adaptation', *Psychological sense of community: Research, applications, and implications*, pp. 205–222.

South African Government, 2010 (2010) "*Determinations of the Position of the Paramount Chiefs.*" Commission. Available at: <https://static.pmg.org.za/docs/100729determination-chiefs.pdf> (Accessed: 8 November 2022).

South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) (1999) *Report into the Arrest and Detention of suspected migrants*. Available at: <https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/Reports/Report%20into%20the%20Arrest%20and%20Detention%20of%20suspected%20migrants19.pdf> (Accessed: 18 June 2023).

Southall, R.J. (1982) 'Botha reformism, the Bantustan strategy and the marginalization of the South African periphery', *Labour, Capital and Society/Travail, capital et société*, 15(2), pp. 6–39.

Spierenburg, M. (2011) 'The politics of the liminal and the liminoid in transfrontier conservation in southern Africa', *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 34(1–2), pp. 81–88.

Staeheli, L.A. and Nagel, C.R. (2006) 'Topographies of home and citizenship: Arab-American activists in the United States', *Environment and Planning A*, 38(9), pp. 1599–1614.

Stahl, G. (2020) "'My little beautiful mess": a longitudinal study of working-class masculinity in transition', *NORMA*, 15(2), pp. 145–161.

Statistics South Africa (2011a) *Musina Local Municipality 2011 Statistics*. Available at: https://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=musina-municipality (Accessed: 18 October 2022).

Statistics South Africa (2011b) *Mutale Statistics*. Available at: http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993&id=mutale-municipality (Accessed: 19 May 2020).

Statistics South Africa (2016) *Provincial Profile: Limpopo Community Survey. Report Number 03-01-15*. Available at: <http://cs2016.statssa.gov.za> (Accessed: 19 May 2020).

Statistics South Africa (2018) 'STATISTICAL RELEASE P0307 Marriages and divorces', *Statistics South Africa* [Preprint]. Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0307/P03072018.pdf> (Accessed: 11 April 2023).

Statistics South Africa (2019) *Inequality Trends in South Africa: A multidimensional diagnostic of inequality*. Pretoria. Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-10-19/Report-03-10-192017.pdf>.

Statistics South Africa (2022) *STATISTICAL RELEASE P0301.4 : Census 2022*. Available at: https://census.statssa.gov.za/assets/documents/2022/P03014_Census_2022_Statistical_Release.pdf (Accessed: 29 August 2024).

Statistics South Africa (2023a) *Census 2022 Provinces at a glance*. 03-01–43.

Statistics South Africa (2023b) *Census Dissemination*. Available at: <https://census.statssa.gov.za/#/province/9/2> (Accessed: 7 January 2024).

Stayt, H.A. (2018) *The Bavenda*. Oxford: Routledge.

- Stephenson, B. (2020) 'The Limits of Liminality: A Critique of Transformationism', *Liminalities*, 16(4), pp. 1–23.
- Stull, V., Bell, M. and Ncwadi, M. (2016) 'Environmental apartheid: Eco-health and rural marginalization in South Africa', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 47(Part A). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2016.04.004>.
- Sutton, R., Vigneswaran, D. and Wels, H. (2011) 'Waiting in liminal space: Migrants' queuing for Home Affairs in South Africa', *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 34(1–2), pp. 30–37. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23323256.2011.11500006>.
- Svinurai, A. and Makhubele, J.C. (2019) 'Substance Abuse and Sex Work: Protracting the Potential of Risky Sexual Behaviours among Commercial sex workers in Musina, Limpopo Province of South Africa', *Trames: A Journal of the Humanities & Social Sciences*, 23(1).
- Sweeney, B. (2009) 'Producing liminal space: gender, age and class in northern Ontario's tree planting industry', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 16(5), pp. 569–586.
- Sylvester, C. (1995) 'African and Western Feminisms: World-Traveling the Tendencies and Possibilities', *Signs: Journal of women and society*, 20(4), pp. 941–969.
- Szokolczai, A. (2014) 'Living permanent liminality: The recent transition experience in Ireland', *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 22(1), pp. 28–50.
- Tafira, H.K. (2018) *Xenophobia in South Africa: A history*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tagliaventi, M.R. (2020) *Liminality in organization studies: theory and method*. New York: Routledge.
- Tarisyai, K.S. and Manik, S. (2020) 'An unabating challenge: Media portrayal of xenophobia in South Africa', *Cogent arts & humanities*. Edited by N. Ribeiro, 7(1), p. 1859074. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2020.1859074>.
- Tatz, C.M. (1962) 'Dr. Verwoerd's "Bantustan" Policy', *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 8(1), pp. 7–26.
- Tawodzera, M.C. and Themane, M. (2019) 'Schooling experiences of children left behind in Zimbabwe by emigrating parents: Implications for inclusive education', *South African Journal of Education*, 39(Supplement 1), pp. s1–s13.
- Tawodzera, M.C. and Themane, M. (2021) 'Experiences of teachers and learners who are left-behind in Zimbabwe by emigrating parents: an inclusive education perspective', *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, pp. 1–17.
- Teodorescu, B. and Calin, R.A. (2015) 'The base articulations of the liminality concept', *Review of European Studies*, 7(12), p. 97.
- Tevera, D. (2020) 'Imagining borders, borderlands, migration and integration in africa: The search for connections and disjunctures', in C. Nshimbi and I. Moyo (eds) *Borders, Mobility, Regional Integration and Development: Issues, Dynamics and Perspectives in West, Eastern and Southern Africa*. 1st edn. Switzerland: Springer, pp. 15–23.
- The Periscope Report (2017) 'Zimbabwe's SI 64 of 2016 Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) that will leave you very enlightened', *The Periscope Report*, 20 April.

The Sunday News (2023) 'How isiNdebele in Zim differs from isiNdebele in SA', *The Sunday News*, 16 April. Available at: <https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/how-isindebele-in-zim-differs-from-isindebele-in-sa/> (Accessed: 27 November 2023).

The Union of South Africa 1910 | *South African History Online* (no date). Available at: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/union-south-africa-1910> (Accessed: 4 January 2024).

Thomas, L.M. (2006) 'The modern girl and racial respectability in 1930s South Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 47(3), pp. 461–490.

Thomassen, B. (2012) 'Revisiting Liminality: The Danger of Empty Spaces', in H. Andrews and L. Roberts (eds) *Liminal Landscapes: Travel, Experience and Spaces In-between*. Oxon: Routledge.

Thompson, G. (2001) "'Making Waves, Making Men: The Emergence of a Professional Surfing Masculinity in South Africa during the late 1970s'", in R. Morrell (ed.) *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal: Zed Books (Changing Men in Southern Africa), pp. 91–104. Available at: <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=O4kEAQAIAAJ>.

Tilly, C. (2004) 'Social Boundary Mechanisms', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 34(2), pp. 211–236. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0048393103262551>.

Tittle, C.R. and Grasmick, H.G. (2001) 'Urbanity: Influences of Urbanness, Structure, and Culture', *Social science research*, 30(2), pp. 313–335. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1006/ssre.2001.0700>.

Todes, A. et al. (2010) 'Contemporary South African urbanization dynamics', *Urban forum*, 21(3), pp. 331–348.

Tracey, A. (2021) 'The mbira of the Ndau: Mozambique and Zimbabwe in 1972', *African Music: Journal of the International Library of African Music*, 11(3), pp. 1–32.

Truth, S. (1851) *Ain't I A Woman?* Available at: <https://www.nps.gov/articles/sojourner-truth.htm> (Accessed: 21 December 2022).

Tshikhudo, E. and van Zyl, A. (2022) 'Royal battle again heading for court', *Zoutnet News*, 21 October. Available at: <https://www.zoutnet.co.za/articles/news/56817/2022-10-21/royal-battle-again-heading-for-court> (Accessed: 8 November 2022).

Turner, S. (2008) 'Studying the tensions of transnational engagement: From the nuclear family to the World-Wide Web', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(7), pp. 1049–1056.

Turner, V. (1974) 'Liminal to liminoid, in play, flow, and ritual: An essay in comparative symbology', *Rice Institute Pamphlet-Rice University Studies*, 60(3).

Turner, V. (1979) 'Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 6(4), pp. 465–499.

Turner, V.W. (1967) *The forest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu ritual*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Turner, V.W. (2017) 'Liminality and communitas', in *Ritual*. 1st edn. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 169–187.

UNHCR (2020) *Explainer: Relocation of unaccompanied children from Greece to other EU countries*, UNHCR India. Available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/in/publications/explainer-relocation-unaccompanied-children-greece-other-eu-countries> (Accessed: 13 July 2023).

University of Cape Town Centre for African Studies (1979) *Perspectives On The Southern African Past*. Cape Town: University Of Cape Town, Centre For African Studies. Available at: <https://go.exlibris.link/m0LsbYhG>.

Vambe, M.T. (2007) 'The depiction of black women in popular songs and some poems on AIDS in post-independence Zimbabwe', *Muziki*, 4(2), pp. 224–236. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18125980802298633>.

Van Gennep, A. (2004) *The Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge.

Van Kessel, I. and Oomen, B. (1997) "'One chief, one vote": The revival of traditional authorities in post-apartheid South Africa', *African Affairs*, 96(385), pp. 561–585.

Vanyoro, K. (2022) "'This place is a bus stop": Temporalities of Zimbabwean migrant men waiting at a Zimbabwe-South Africa border transit shelter', *Incarceration*, 3(1), p. 26326663221084581.

Vanyoro, K.P. (2019) "'When they come, we don't send them back": counter-narratives of "medical xenophobia" in South Africa's public health care system', *Palgrave communications*, 5(1), pp. 101–101. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-019-0309-7>.

Varma, N. (2016) *Coolies of Capitalism: Assam Tea and the Making of Coolie Labour*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter (Book, Whole). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110463170>.

Venganai, H. (2017) 'Negotiating identities through the 'cultural practice' of labia elongation among urban Shona women and men in contemporary Zimbabwe', *Culture unbound: Journal of current cultural research*, 8(3), pp. 306–324.

Vermot, C. (2015) 'Guilt: A gendered bond within the transnational family', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 16(2), pp. 138–146.

Vertovec, S. (2001) 'Transnationalism and identity', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(4), pp. 573–582. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830120090386>.

Vervliet, M. *et al.* (2015) 'The aspirations of Afghan unaccompanied refugee minors before departure and on arrival in the host country', *Childhood*, 22(3), pp. 330–345.

Vhembe District Municipality (2021) *Vhembe Spatial Development Framework 2019-2025*. Available at: http://www.vhembe.gov.za/media/content/documents/2022/9/o_1geevq0hikg6pkd1hpa7l61mnu8.pdf?filename=VHEMBE%20SPATIAL%20DEVELOPMENT%2024%20June%202021.pdf (Accessed: 11 October 2022).

Vildaitė, D. (2014) 'Negotiating notions of home and belonging among young Lithuanian migrants in Ireland', *Etniškumo studijos*, (2), pp. 48–66.

Villalobos, R. (2023) '22 Reimagining intersectionality via the rural–urban borderlands', in J. Nash and S. Pinto (eds) *The Routledge Companion to Intersectionalities*. Oxon: Routledge.

- Wagiet, R. (2022) 'Why immigrants can't be blamed for the social and economic problems in SA', 15 September. Available at: <https://ewn.co.za/2022/09/15/why-immigrants-can-t-be-blamed-for-the-social-and-economic-problems-in-sa> (Accessed: 14 November 2022).
- Wagner, C., Garner, M. and Kawulich, B. (eds) (2012) *Doing Social Research: A Global Context*. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
- Walker, C. (1990) *Women and gender in southern Africa to 1945*. Cape Town: D. Philip ; J. Currey.
- Walker, C. (1995) 'Conceptualising motherhood in twentieth century South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(3), pp. 417–437.
- Walker, C. (2011) 'Women's land rights, agrarian change and gender transformation in post-apartheid South Africa', *Du grain à moudre. Genre, développement rural et alimentation*, pp. 247–267.
- Warner, L., Kurtiş, T. and Adya, A. (2020) 'Navigating criticisms of intersectional approaches: Reclaiming intersectionality for global social justice and well-being', *Women & Therapy*, 43(3–4), pp. 262–277.
- Warren, C.A.B. (2011) 'Qualitative Interviewing', in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications, pp. 83–99. Available at: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=qEiC-_ELYgIC.
- Warren, C.B.A. (2002) 'Qualitative Interviewing', in J.F.G.J.A. Holstein, J.F. Gubrium, and J.A. Holstein (eds) *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method: A Sage reference title*. 4th edn. London: SAGE Publications.
- Watson, G. (2011) 'Parental liminality: a way of understanding the early experiences of parents who have a very preterm infant', *Journal of clinical nursing*, 20(9–10), pp. 1462–1471.
- Weldon, S.L. (2008) 'Intersectionality', in G. Goertz and Amy.G. Mazur (eds) *Politics, gender, and concepts: Theory and methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 193–218.
- Wilcox, L. (2011) 'Beyond sex/gender: The feminist body of security', *Politics & Gender*, 7(4), pp. 595–600.
- Wilson, A.R. (2013) *Situating intersectionality: Politics, policy, and power*. 1st edn. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wilson, T.M. and Donnan, H. (eds) (2012) *A Companion to Border Studies*. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Wolpe, H. (1972) 'Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid', *Economy and society*, 1(4), pp. 425–456.
- Woods, M. (2009) 'Rural geography: blurring boundaries and making connections', *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(6), pp. 849–858. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132508105001>.
- Woods, M. (2010) 'Performing rurality and practising rural geography', *Progress in Human Geography*, 34(6), pp. 835–846. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132509357356>.
- Woods, M. (2015) 'Conceptualizing rural areas in metropolitan society: A rural view', in. *Workshop on Rationalizing Rural Area Classifications, April, National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and*

Medicine, Washington. Available at: http://sites.nationalacademies.org/DBASSE/CNSTAT/DBASSE_160632.

Ybema, S., Beech, N. and Ellis, N. (2011) 'Transitional and perpetual liminality: An identity practice perspective', *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 34(1–2), pp. 21–29.

Young, I.M. (1980) 'Throwing like a girl: A phenomenology of feminine body comportment motility and spatiality', *Human studies*, 3(1), pp. 137–156.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2007) 'Intersectionality, Citizenship and Contemporary Politics of Belonging', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 10(4), pp. 561–574. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230701660220>.

Yuval-Davis, N., Vieten, U. and Kannabiran, K. (2006) *The situated politics of belonging*. London: Sage.

Zeiler, K. and Wickström, A. (2009) 'Why do 'we' perform surgery on newborn intersexed children? The phenomenology of the parental experience of having a child with intersex anatomies', *Feminist theory*, 10(3), pp. 359–377.

Zhang, L. (2001) *Strangers in the city: Reconfigurations of space, power, and social networks within China's floating population*. California: Stanford University Press.

Zhllima, E. et al. (2022) 'Unlanded Class: Albania's Gender Gaps in Land Ownership and Inheritance', *Feminist Economics*, 29(2), pp. 1–32.

Zihindula, G., Meyer-Weitz, A. and Akintola, O. (2017) 'Lived Experiences of Democratic Republic of Congo Refugees facing Medical Xenophobia in Durban, South Africa', *Journal of Asian and African studies (Leiden)*, 52(4), pp. 458–470. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909615595990>.

Zoutnet News (2002) 'Messina's name to stay the same', 15 February. Available at: <https://www.zoutnet.co.za/articles/news/2575/2002-02-15/messinas-name-to-stay-the-same> (Accessed: 4 October 2022).

Zulver, J. and Idler, A. (2020) 'Gendering the border effect: the double impact of Colombian insecurity and the Venezuelan refugee crisis', *Third World Quarterly*, 41(7), pp. 1122–1140. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1744130>.

Appendices

Appendix A: Summary of Fieldwork Activities

Research tool	Frequency	Activity
Semi-structured interviews	Conducted 43 interviews	Interviews were conducted with 25 women and 18 men. Interviews were with the municipality's residents who live in Nancefield, Matswale, Mchongoville, Madimbo, Maseha and Matshena. Interviews also included two with officials who work in Musina Municipality
Participant observation	5 times a week	This involved time spent with street hawkers at their stalls in Musina town where I would interact with other street vendors as well as their customers
Reflexive photography and follow up interviews	Received photographs from and conducted interviews with 4 participants	Participants took photographs with cameras from their cell phones and sent images to me via Whatsapp where I would also follow up on why they chose that setting to photograph
Reflexing Journaling	2 – 3 times a week	This involved writing down my thoughts and experiences about the research process.

Appendix B: List of Respondents

Name	Age	Gender
Amohelang	23	Female
Babusi	27	Male
Blessing	37	Female
Bontle	43	Female
David	40	Male
Desmond	40	Male
Dimpho	38	Female
Gogo Aphané	58	Female
Gogo Hulisane	59	Female
Gogo Khangwelo	65	Female
Gogo Nduvho	61	Female
Jeremy	46	Male
Katlego	28	Female
Kudzai	23	Female
Lawrence	26	Male
Mai Makoni	40	Female
Mai Ruvimbo	38	Female
Makomborero	41	Male
Matinetsa	23	Female
Ndumiso	40	Male
Nelisiwe	24	Female
Ngoni	41	Male
Ntsako	36	Male
Oabile	29	Male
Olivia	42	Female
Patience	29	Female
Phelokazi	26	Female
Phumudzo	30	Male
Puseletso	28	Female

Samantha	20	Female
Tinswalo	36	Male
Tonderai	27	Male
Tracy	38	Female
VhaChauke	63	Male
VhaDakalo	71	Male
VhaHlonono	56	Male
Virginia	22	Female
Wendy	36	Female
Zimi	21	Female

Mr I Dzebu	Acting LED Manager
Mr Masindi	Senior Town Planner
Miss Fumulani	Gender Empowerment Coordinator - Outreach

Appendix C: Consent Form



Title of Project: Gendered Strategies and Aspirations of Black Women Inhabiting Borderland Spaces: A Case Study of Musina Local Municipality

Name of Researcher: Chido Muzanhenamo

I hereby confirm that:

I, ... agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous, and I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.	YES	NO

I understand that participation involves my taking part in an interview and capturing of photography that will be used for academic purposes	YES	NO

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO

I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind

YES NO

I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me in writing and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study

YES NO

I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.

YES NO

I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained.

YES NO

I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

YES NO

Signed by _____ on _____ (date) at _____

(Participant's Signature)

(Researcher's Signature)

