Migration, and Identity Construction in Africa: Implications for Policy and Practice

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*Alter*nation African Scholarship Book Series, Volume #17

*Alter*nation African Scholarship Book Series (AASBS)

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Migration, and Identity Construction in Africa: Implications for Policy and Practice

Editors

Hosea Olayiwola Patrick
&
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2024

CSSALL
Durban

Published in 2024 in South Africa

CSSALL Publishers (Pty) Ltd
c/o POSTNET SUITE 158
Private Bag X9118
Pietermaritzburg
KwaZulu-Natal
3200

Email: cssall123@gmail.com
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*Alter*nation African Scholarship Book Series Volume #17
© CSSALL Publishers (Pty) Ltd

Title: *Migration, and Identity Construction in Africa: Implications for Policy and Practice*
Editors: Hosea Olayiwola Patrick & Nene Ernest Khalema

ISBN: 978-0-9869937-8-7
DOI number: https://doi.org/10.29086/978-0-9869937-8-7/2024/AASBS17
BOOK URL: http://alternation.ukzn.ac.za/books/series/17-Migration-Identity-Construction-and-Integrati.aspx

Cover design: Personal and online photos.

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Printed and bound by Print Connection, Tel (031) 202-7766

Preface

How do migrants in foreign countries in Africa, construct their identities, how do they keep and affirm their links to their countries of origin, and what are the dynamics involved in processes of migrant integration in their new countries of adoption? These are just three of the seminal questions *Alter*nation African Scholarship Book Series (AASBS) volumes 17 and 18 raise.

As they are engaged, the topic-related relevant data also provides the opportunity to trace migration dynamics and complexities, related to the questions articulated with identity construction. Questions are raised that are pertinent to processes of movement, settlement and integration, but also development paradigms, and ideas on human rights, and development and environmental issues, in the specific contexts of the research.

The implicit or explicit approach shared by all studies, is that migration discourse registers the continuing impacts of the historical realities of colonisation on migration, in various forms, while simultaneously integrating global knowledge perspectives in local knowledge productions among and about migrants and their identities, as well as their forms of integration in their new communities of belonging. Generically, decolonial history and theory provide the parameters within which the research questions were raised, the research conducted, and reviewed and written up.

AASBS #17 principally engages migrant identity formation. Acknowledging that it is stratified and multidimensional and fluid, the main focuses are on,

- The articulation of migration and identity construction with public policy research and development, as well as policy implementation and evaluation;
- The identity construction significance of names and naming, as evident in Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa naming practices;
- The role of music for migrants, that represent both cultural links with countries of origin as well as countries of adoption, and the diversity and unifying aspects of the continental sharing of religious music;
- Negotiated identities as impacted by modern cultural influences and the articulation with religion and cultural tourism;
- The COVID-19 impacts on xenophobia; and

AASBS #17 (2024) DOI: https://doi.org/10.29086/978-0-9869937-8-7/2024/AASBS17
Preface DOI: https://doi.org/10.29086/978-0-9869937-8-7/2024/AASBS17/0 pp. v – vi

- The relevance of the intersectional study of the nature of gender-based rights, and especially women's rights, articulated with refugee and asylum seeking migrants, for refugee law and public policy reform.

Following the first volume's study of a sample of aspects of both personal and social contexts of migrants' identity construction practices, AASBS #18, focuses more directly on the matter of migrant integration in host countries. It is ssumed that much of the concerns raised about the presence and lives and activities of migrants in host countries in Africa do not only derive from forms of personal and social misunderstandings of the nature and dynamics of migration, but also the dearth of systems and practices that invite and allow migrants to integate in host country communities. Some of the seminal topcis addressed are,

- The role of social media in cultural identity formation, and social integration, e.g. Twitter/ X;
- Security and legal protection concerning the integration of migrants in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic;
- Zimbabwean sources for the mitigation of forms of xenophobia;
- The structural dynamics impacting migrants in South Africa;
- The role of gender in migratory realities in foreign countries;
- The articulation of refugee rights with development policies in SADC;
- Mobility poverty as obstacle to social integration;
- The impacts of climate change on inter-state migration and conflicts in West-Africa; and
- Peace-building challenges and opportunities in the context of migrant conflicts in Nigeria.

In addition to the excellent research and publications led by the late Katie Mutula and Stephen Mutula, in *The Diasporean I: The Southern African Perspectives (AASBS #15);* and *The Diasporean II: Perspectives from Beyond Southern Africa (AASBS #16),* these volumes by H. Patrick and E. Khalema, on identity construction and host country integration, significantly add to the AASBS scholarship on migration. We strongly recommend these 4 volumes to our scholars, our South African government, SADC, and further afield.

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CHAPTER 1 - Editorial
Migration and Identity Construction in Africa: Implications for Policy and Practice

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Abstract
The discourse on African identities, mobilities and migrations has, in the past, lost its memories due to the violence created by both colonial and contemporary world systems. This special issue flips the narrative to develop ways to fuse knowledge about identity and migration in Africa and epistemological norms to meet the needs of Africa in the 21st century. The core argument is for an identity and migration dialogue that is aware of colonial impositions and can borrow from global knowledge. Bearing in mind the multiplicity of cultures in Africa, it becomes pertinent to explore the socio-economic and political implications of migration for and within Africa. Several research and opinion pieces have resonated on the migration discourse and its aftermath for migrants and host communities. More conversation is required on the identity constructed by migrants of themselves and their views/perceptions of their host community. This special issue addresses these concerns.

Keywords: Africa, identity construction, othering, integration, migration

Introduction

In Africa, the discourse on identity construction in terms of how individuals and groups understand themselves as well as their positionality in the world, are influenced by the complex interplay of migration, ethnicity, nationalism, and globalization influences. Within this proposition, several research and opinion pieces have resonated on the migration discourse and its aftermath for the migrants and the host community (Blanquart *et al.* 2012; Emmenegger & Careja 2012; Chi & Marcouiller 2013). The central argument is premised on the fact that migration experiences (either forced or voluntary migration) can lead to the reconfiguration of both individual and collective identities. While migration is said to propel social changes over time, the act in itself produces different forms of social stratification. As typical in the migration - resource allocation discourse, the aftermath of a movement of people produces a culture of othering in the competition and preservation of culture and resources for the host community as well as the migrants within the same geopolitical spaces (Patrick et al. 2021). In this instance, migration evokes some sense of cultural solidarity and identity among the same groups while arousing a culture of othering. For instance, the complexities encountered by rural migrants (in a rural - urban migration scenario), in their navigation of cultural landscapes in their new community may lead to the adaptation and uptake of new identities that incorporate urban norms and a mix of their original regional, ethnic, and national identities. This is also evident in the development of transnational and diasporic identities in inter and intra continental migration experiences.

While the debate on African migration focuses largely on the intercontinental migration of Africans transiting outside Africa, there has been a growing discourse on the implications of intra-African migration in recent years. It is important to note that migration presents both opportunities and challenges for identity construction in Africa. For example, within the South African context, the issue of xenophobia, among other issues, has mostly been argued from the premise of fear/hatred of migrants by the host community (Neocosmos 2010; Charman & Piper 2012; Adjai & Lazaridis 2013; Hickel 2014). However, the literature is relatively silent on the identity constructed by migrants of themselves and their views/ perceptions of the host community.

This special issue focuses on the debates around migration from several dimensions: from identity and identity construction to local integration, development paradigms, human rights, and environmental issues. The subject of migration remains complex and complicated, but nonetheless, it needs to be

extensively studied since it is an important phenomenon of population change. This special issue therefore critically examines the nature of migration, identity construction, and integration in relation to Africa.

Papers in this volume interrogate issues of indigenous knowledge systems and how to carefully calibrate mobilities and movements of people in order to generate a corrective feature in the discourse that responds to the imperative nature of identity, indigeneity, and knowledge production. The chapters collectively advocate for a deliberative fusion as opposed to pursuing the imposition and reproduction of epistemological knowledge imported from elsewhere to Africa. The core argument is for an identity and migration discourse that is aware of colonial impositions and can borrow from global knowledge. The fact that the discourse on African identities, mobilities and migrations has, in the past, lost its memories due to the violence created by both the colonial and contemporary world systems is not overlooked. This issue flips the narrative to develop ways to fuse knowledge about identity and migration in Africa and epistemological norms to meet the needs of Africa in the 21st century.

The Contributions in this Special Issue

Mandende, Rakgogo, and Cekiso's paper discussed the pragmatic impact of names in Africa using the Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa naming practices in South Africa as a point in focus. The paper, using speech act theory (SAT), brings to bear the idea around the communication process and understanding in the case of what a speaker implies and what is being decoded by the listener based on factors such as situational context, preceding dialogues, individual mental state among others. The paper argues that names are communicative and act as forms of identity formation. This contribution is important as African personal naming processes and patterns form communicative points and aid identity formation. This formation is aided in the alignment of meaning and places to names which carries with it a sense of history, culture, and identity of people spanning time and spaces. Hence, names are reflective of the beliefs and cultural systems of the people, which are passed on different messages to the communities at large.

Patrick and Teer-Tomaselli's paper brings to bear another discourse on identity with a focus on the integrative dynamics of migrants within host communities. The paper explores how social constructs such as culture, religion, and the media interact to define and influence human lives resulting in identity formation and [re]construction. It argues that responses to otherness and diasporic presence are mostly polarized and often attributed to cultural differentia-

tion, which widened disparity and unappreciation of otherness. This accounts for the hostilities found between migrants and host communities in various African settings. The paper investigates how music represents self or collective identity within diverse religious contexts. In this sense, music is seen as communicative and a medium for preserving culture and identity. Within the African setting, it is also a medium for group inclusivity and exclusivity based on shared or divergent characteristics. The paper concludes that through the medium of Christian music, the diasporic group has sustained its cultural heritage in the face of globalization and has become exposed to the heritages of others. These practices can be advantageous in facilitating interactions that promote cultural diversity to mitigate clashes and xenophobic attacks between the 'self' and the 'other'.

Umejei's paper assessed another aspect of identity in terms of the impact of modernization on migrants' identity negotiation. This contribution's key focus is to link migration, identity, modernization, cultural preservation, and tourism development/ preservation in Africa. The paper focuses on modernization's increasingly significant impact on traditional religious practices in Africa in terms of the preservation and sustainability of traditional spiritual practices. It explores migrants' identity negotiation and religious affinity to cultural heritage practices from their origin, using Nigeria's Osun festival as a prism for analysis. The paper argues that while some diasporic community members found reintegration of the 'self' quite easy, others had to negotiate their transnational identity to fit in and 'feel among' people of their kin. Although the yearning to stay connected to one's roots may be identical, the diaspora tourism experiences may differ because of different migration histories or national origins. Again, while some diaspora tourists always feel a sense of belonging when they return to their birth country, others may not, which eventually leads to them being more alienated from their immigrant origins and heritage. The connection between 'diaspora tourism' and 'immigrants' emotional attachment' to their country of origin may not always be positive. In conclusion, Umejei posits that while the idea of and sense of belongingness remains a fundamental component of identity formation and construction, understanding migrants' identity formation should include a consideration of the host or community locations, migration guidelines, cultural identifiers, the value system of the host countries, and the migrants' country of origin.

Gordon's paper provides an interesting quantitative dimension in assessing whether the COVID-19 pandemic increased migrant – host community hostilities in South Africa. Bearing on the need to understand human psy-

chology in the face of vulnerabilities to mass disease-related threats, the paper investigates whether the pandemic increased the welfare chauvinism of the adult populace as well as levels of anti-immigrant violence. The study focused on three different forms of antipathy: i) zero-sum beliefs about immigration; ii) welfare chauvinism; and iii) anti-immigrant violence. It also discusses the 'economic competition' thesis as prevalent among policymaking circles in South Africa, whereby materialistic motives are seen as occupying a superordinate role in the study of intergroup relations. It also considers the zero-sum thinking around resource availability and migrants emanating from this thesis. It argues that the early pandemic period worsened anti-immigrant sentiments in South Africa. It concludes with the need to develop a mechanism to monitor anti-immigrant attitudes, considering the unknown long-term effects of the pandemic on public attitudes toward foreign nationals. The implication of this contribution to policymaking for and with migrant and host communities for social cohesion, conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and development is paramount.

John-Langba's paper on women, gender-related refugees and asylum seekers explores intersectionality as an analytical tool for refugee law and policy reforms. The paper maintains that women remain relatively invisible in refugee law and policy despite constituting approximately 60% of Africa's population on average. It argues for the need for law and policy, geared towards addressing women's needs. The paper provides an overview of the theory of intersectionality and its importance in analyzing women and gender in refugee law, policy, and practice. It further discusses the emergence of women and gender as subjects of analysis within refugee law, the important notion of vulnerability, and why these need to be questioned. It concludes with an analysis of the asylum regime in South Africa and provides reflections on implications for policy and practice.

Furthering and concluding the identity discourse, Masengwe and Dube's contribution examines the implications of labelling on migrant policy and practices in South Africa. Their paper debates the implications of these policies in emitting xenophobic tendencies against migrant individuals in South Africa.

Conclusion

The contributors in this special address issues around identity and identity construction, local integration, development, human rights, and environmental

issues arising from intra-African migration. The underlying position here is the multifaceted nature of migration in Africa and its influences on identity construction within the continent. The reoccurring summation is that Africa's diverse identities will continue to be redefined and reimagined in the light of the migration discourse. This reality holds significant weighting in future policy development for and within Africa.

We register our profound appreciation and acknowledgment to the authors who have contributed to this special issue. Your willingness to share your research and thoughts on making this project successful is highly appreciated. Thanks goes to the anonymous reviewers for their immeasurable assistance and willingness to share ideas and strengthen each contribution. We also extend our heartfelt appreciation to the journal's Editor-in-Chief, Professor Johannes A. Smit, for the opportunity to use this platform for this very special volume in the *Alter*nation African Scholarship Book Series, and the assistance of the support staff and the publisher's generous support.

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Chapter 2 - The Pragmatic Impact of Names in Africa: A Case Study of the Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa Naming Practices

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Abstract
Personal naming, particularly the naming of babies, has attracted the attention of many onomasticians in the last three decades. However, these studies fail to approach this phenomenon from a pragmatic point of view, where personal names bestowed to babies are viewed from a speech act position, even though some of the babies' names carry some force of action. This is, therefore, the major force and reason behind this study initiative. Subsequently, this study, viewed through the Speech Act Theory, aims to explore the pragmatic effect behind the personal names bestowed to Balobedu and Vhavenḓa babies from Limpopo province, Mopani and Vhembe districts, respectively. The paper was qualitative and employed a face-to-face semi-structured interview to understand the meaning behind the babies' names from the participants' positions and social settings. Data was collected from three (3) Khelobedu speakers and four (4) Tshivenḓa speakers, ranging between 30 and 78 years old. Snowball sampling technique was used in the study to gain access to the Tshivenda and Khelobedu participants who could shed light on their naming practices. The findings revealed that Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa's naming practices used aspects of

Speech Act Theory in their names, such as commands, requests, expressive and commissives. The Speech Act Theory, a subsection of pragmatics, reveals itself in the personal names analysed in this paper. The audience can extract true meaning from these personal names, as the meaning contained in them comes directly from the name-giver with clear intentions of why they were chosen. The paper concludes that the Speech Act Theory aspect, such as commands, requests, expressions, and commissives, are found in Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa baby naming.

Keywords: Speech Acts, Khelobedu, Tshivenḓa, personal names, pragmatics

Introduction

Anthroponym has been explored from different angles by different scholars. For example, there are several studies on the communicative functions of personal names (Agyekum 2006; Sengani 2015; Mensah & Mekamgoum 2017; Mandende, Cekiso & Rwodzi 2019; Mahwasane & Tshifaro 2019; Zungu 2019; Mkhize & Muthuki 2019; Mamvura 2021). Many scholars have explored African personal naming processes and patterns from the communicative point and identity formation. Some scholars (Babane 2015; Mamvura 2021) and polygynous marriages (Zungu 2019; 2021) went further to explore death-related personal names. However, very few studies on onomastics, especially anthroponyms, focused on the linguistic aspect of naming, such as the speech act (Ekanjume-Ilongo, Adesanmi & Kolobe 2020; Hadiati 2019; Perianova 2015), despite the general agreement by onomastic scholars that African names serve different functions, i.e., being pointers and identifiers, and that they further carry the communicative function in the main.

Therefore, in this paper, we focus on the Speech Act Theory (SAT) as a lens through which we aim to explore the personal naming practice between Balobedu and Vhavenḓa of South Africa. Personal naming as part of the language and culture also serves as a communication tool, so the pragmatic[1] importance carried by personal names cannot be ignored.

[1] Pragmatics is a field of linguistics concerned with what a speaker implies and a listener infers based on contributing factors like the situational context, the individual's mental states, the preceding dialogue, and other elements.

Furthermore, if African personal names communicate the values and socio-cultural beliefs of African society, we then believe that they do so because of their communicative force. After navigating through the plethora of literature on this phenomenon, we understood that these personal names performed certain actions and were deemed illocutionary when bestowed to their bearer, either directly on the bearer, on the name-giver or to the family and society at large. As a result of its nature, SAT is appropriate for this paper as it enhanced the comprehension of the illocutionary forces that personal names present when bestowed on an individual or an entity.

A truism that African personal names are deemed communicative is supported by several studies that probed the communicative functions of the different types of names. For example, names of people, buildings, streets, towns, rivers, schools, names of languages, and attire (Agyekum 2006; Sengani 2015; Mandende, Cekiso & Rwodzi 2019; Mensah 2019; Mahwasane & Tshifaro 2019; Mphela & Mogoboya 2019; Babane 2017; Boluwadura 2019; Zungu 2019 2021; Rakgogo & Zungu 2021) among others reported on the communicate functions of the African personal names.

Furthermore, other scholars also explored the linguistic aspects of these names, such as their morphological and syntactic formation, i.e., their morphemes and lexical components (Koopman 1979; 1986; Mandende 2009; Mashiri, Chabata & Mukaro 2015; Mphasha, Mphela & Mogoboya 2021). Again, none of these studies scrutinized personal naming from a pragmatic point of view using SAT as a theory to explore the illocutionary forces brought about by these names within their specific cultures and societies. Therefore, this paper aims to contribute to the existing, albeit limited, the body of knowledge on onomastic about the illocutionary effect personal naming brings to studying anthroponyms. Therefore, it is against this backdrop that we want to close this gap.

Discussing communication and linguistic forms, Kaburise (2004:1) avers that 'creating linguistic meaning or achieving communication between language participants is a dynamic process involving units, such as the form, context and function of the utterance'. African personal names are created out of the knowledge of a particular language. They are created from the linguistic aspects of such languages, i.e., verbs, nouns, and the combination of these lexical items, to achieve their communicative function. Kaburise (2012:36) supports this view by positing that 'Meaning is created when speakers' intentions are communicated to hearers, in other words, when a hearer accurately interprets a speaker's speech act or speech function'.

Therefore, language, communication and meanings are intertwined. In a communication act, speakers exchange utterances that make them act in one way or another. In this regard, Hadiati (2019:700) quotes Austin (1962) when he states, 'The felicity condition was initially postulated by Austin, where he stated that an utterance was not merely an utterance; 'a speaker does something through the utterance. By uttering it, a speaker acts something as well; and it is widely known as a speech act'. For example, when speakers utter a sentence, making a promise, that would be an apt statement of 'promise.' As African personal names behave like statements, they can act as felicitous statements (Hadiati 2019). Therefore, this paper aims to explore this phenomenon by analyzing Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa's names.

In tandem with the above view, Uwaezuoke, Obianika and Alo (2016:71), in their study of the language used in personal naming by Oraifite Igbo of Nigeria, found a strong relationship with what the Speech Act Theory postulates, and they found that 'illocutionary forces and perlocutionary effects exist in Oraifite Igbo child naming ceremony'. Uwaezuoke *et al.* (2016:65) claim that in Oraifite Igbo, '… the action of the child naming in Igbo contains the four different speech acts classes which are Commissives, Directives, Expressives and Representative'. Uwaezuoke *et al.* (ibid) further posit, 'From the natural language processing perspective, the action of child naming is an interesting hybrid of the semantic genre and the pragmatic genre'. Information such as commissives, promises, commands, and requests could be extracted from the personal names in general.

Thus, interestingly, a study by Uwaezuoke *et al.* (2016) does not capture personal naming per se but focuses on the language used during the personal naming process. This is why we deemed it important to explore this phenomenon among the Balobedu and Vhavenḓa from the Limpopo province of South Africa.

Our paper explores the use of speech acts when bestowing African personal names by Balobedu and Vhavenḓa from Limpopo Province. Suppose onomasticians generally agree, as indicated above, that names perform a communicative function. In that case, there seems to be no doubt that communicative function is carried out through the so-called speech acts proposed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1989). Concomitantly, this phenomenon needs to be thoroughly investigated from the onomastic point of view, as the study of naming cannot be separated from the study of language and culture.

Against this background, we intend to explore the intended action and appropriateness of the statement from the personal naming from

Tshivenḓa and Khelobedu perspectives. The choice of these two groups is motivated by the fact that these languages share some linguistic and cultural characteristics, and two of the authors are familiar with the languages, as they are the mother tongue speakers of these languages. Against this backdrop, we deem them to be relevant when comparing them while studying the speech act phenomenon in the African personal naming phenomenon. These languages are rich in socio-cultural aspects imbued in their naming systems. Balobedu and Vhavenḓa, like most African cultures, use their naming systems to communicate their lives' experiences, wishes, hopes, endearment, love of God, ancestors, unhappiness, and other emotions through the names of features, such as fauna and flora, human beings as well as buildings and attires. For these societies, personal naming is seen as a panacea for speaking the unspeakable within their respective cultures. Interestingly, only a handful of studies on African personal naming pay attention to this phenomenon, i.e., naming as a speech act.

Speech Act as a Conceptual Framework

A speech act is a subsection of pragmatics. Pragmatics focuses on the study of the meanings of utterances. Consequently, Yule (2017:141) defines pragmatics as '… the study of what speakers mean of 'speaker meaning' where (cultural) contexts determine the meanings of these utterances.

Moreover, Yule (2017:142) further avers, '… pragmatics is the study of 'invisible' meaning, or how we recognize what is meant even when it is not said or written'. This simply means an utterance or a statement has a message encoded in it, which is determined by the social context. Kaburise (2012: 38) concurs, and she says, 'Speech act theory is partly taxonomic and partly explanatory as it is not only an attempt to break down, scientifically and philosophically, the procedures involved in making an utterance but is also an attempt to classify systematically the reasons for the linguistic acts we make'. Consequently, the multiplicity of meanings from these personal names would be classified and explained according to the speech acts they produce.

Similarly, Xafizovna (2022:125) reports that social linguists 'shifted the study of the language from the structure into the language use in a specific social context'. Wittily, Dynel (2011:2) avows that 'Pragmatics is a field addressing communicative process (or language as deployed by its users) and its relation to language form, coupled with the cognitive and socio-cultural

study of language use'. This is possible if the participants in a conversation are both competent in this medium of interaction. Speech acts are intrinsic elements of pragmatics.

Linguistically, competent interlocutors must decode such messages and carry out the action that accompanies them. When people engage in a conversation, they do so to induce an action that needs to be carried out, directly or indirectly. Interestingly, the paper focuses on speech acts performed through the names bestowed on the Vhavenḓa and Balobedu children. Thus, a brief background about pragmatics cannot be ignored, as Speech Acts and pragmatics are so interwoven. A speaker would want a listener to carry out different actions in a conversation. These actions are declaratives, representatives, expressives, directives/commands, and commissives. This paper focuses on these actions when we analyze the names given to the children in the Balobedu and Vhavenḓa cultural settings.

While speech act refers to any utterance that evokes action between the interlocutors, it is also part of the broader communication process. Yule (2014:133) asserts that a speech act is '… the action performed by a speaker with an utterance ... an action performed via utterances'. Language users do so because they are competent in those languages and because effective communication in any language would reflect a speaker's competence in such a language and culture.

Regarding communicative competence, Kaburise advances that 'Communicative competence involves knowing not only the language codes, but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately, in any given situation' (Kaburise 2004:4). Proper communication takes place when the speaker understands both the language and the culture within which the communication is taking place. Speakers competent in a language would manipulate the pragmatic strategies to their advantage in any communication event. Kaburise (ibid) bolsters this point by positing that communication embraces the knowledge of '… structural, social, cultural as well as functional knowledge that is required in verbal interactions'. This means that one cannot communicate effectively if one does not understand the culture of that society. In other words, communication is not just about language competence alone, as a language does not exist in a vacuum. This implies that language and culture are interwoven; one informs the other, culture informs how language needs to be used, while language articulates what is culturally correct and acceptable. When interlocutors speak, they reflect what conforms to their socio-cultural values. In support of this view, Kramsch

(2014) states that 'language directs one into the social realities of society. The people's worldview is built unconsciously on the language habits of the group. Rightly, as social beings, language users communicate and use it on society's premises; society controls their access to linguistic and communicative means'. This supports the view that meaning cannot be determined without context, i.e., society's premises. This view is in tandem with what pragmatics is all about.

For a statement to carry any meaning, there should be verbs, without which the sentence or statement is meaningless. The verbs that we focus on in this paper are performative verbs. Performatives are verbs that carry actions in a statement. Subsequently, Searle (1989:535) postulates, 'Performative utterances are just statements with truth values like any other statements …'. This means that these statements are felicitous. Searle (ibid) further contends that performative verbs…explain how the speaker can intend and the hearer can understand a second speech act from the making of the first speech act, the statement. The communication purpose is achieved when there is a common understanding between interlocutors. Common understanding can only be achieved if the interlocutors understand the language and culture of the medium of communication and conversation.

Then, SAT is pertinent for this paper, as for the name-givers to arrive at a relevant and acceptable communication through naming requires them to have mastered the language and culture of their communities. Personal names are communicative; therefore, like other linguists, name-givers benefit from their language and culture by successfully employing the SAT through their competence in the language and culture of the society to which they belong. In this regard, Kaburise (2004: 5) opines that communication is a complicated process, 'The communication process involves complex verbal behaviour where the participants have to accommodate a variety of interconnected factors before meaning can be generated'.

Thus, data for this paper has been selected to corroborate this between Balobedu and Vhavenḓa name-givers. Perianova (2015:1) further supports this view when she says personal names 'are also a marker of memory and trust as well as a signifier of status'. Perianova affirms what different scholars have alluded to; for example, African personal names act as a library for events, good or bad, that once befell the family or the communities, such events being recorded in the names that they bestow on their children. Regarding the naming process and its function in society,

Perianova (2015:12) further opines, 'The socio-cultural associations conjured up by personal names change with every generation, and in this way, personal names become part of a new communicative code'.

Contemporary African Personal Naming Perspectives

The study of personal names, particularly African personal names, has attracted the attention of many scholars because of how they are created and because of their communicative function (Agyekum 2006; Chauke 2015; Sengani 2015; Zungu 2019; Ramaeba 2019; Mahwasane & Tshifura 2019; Mensah 2019; Mandende, Cekiso and Rwodzi 2019; Mkhize & Muthuki 2019; Batoma 2019; Mphela & Mogoboya 2019; Mamvura 2021; Zungu 2021).

African personal names are bound both religiously and culturally. Despite their communicative function, they also act as forms of identity formation. On the relationship of personal names with language and culture, Ramaeba (2019:21) states, '… names do not exist in a vacuum because they arepart of people's culture, so they cannot be isolated from the language and traditions of a society'. Similarly, Samuel and Ibrahim (2021:33) aver, 'Human names give an insight into one's identity, background, ethnicity and culture'. This is particularly true for African names because they are closely linked to the people's cultural practices. Indeed, from the African perspective, personal names cannot be detached from the language and their society, as they encapsulate societal beliefs and values. In a similar vein, Sengani and Raphalalani (2018) posit, 'Tshivenḓa names carry information about the history, culture and the environment of the Tshivenḓa people'.

Sengani (2015), in his study on using personal naming as an empowering tool among the Vhavenḓa, found that name-givers utilize the strategy of personal naming as a form of empowerment. He found that mothers and fathers have recently taken up the role of baby-naming, the role performed initially by the grandmothers and grandfathers or elders in the family. These groups can no longer carry out this important traditional function of naming the newborn. Parents are empowered as they take up this role and bestow upon the newborn names of their choice, and these names communicate the parents' feelings of joy, endearment, praise, etc. Sengani (2015) further avers that personal names bestowed upon children reflect the parents' inner feelings unlike in the past when the family's elders carried out this role.

Regarding the communicative function of personal names, Mandende, Cekiso, and Rwodzi (2019) also found that Tshivenḓa personal names serve a communicative function among the Vhavenḓa. When interlocutors speak, they perform actions by way of the words they utter, and when people name their children, they act through their words. Thus, the unique naming phenomenon cannot be divorced from pragmatics and speech act studies. When these names are created, words (language) are at play as the core of communication. There would be no speech act if what has been uttered (locution) does not have any performative force (illocution), and further, it does not induce an action (perlocution) from the listener/audience (Austin 1962).

On the other hand, the practice of baby-naming has its taboos in many African communities; for example, babies are not supposed to be named before they are of a particular age, ranging from seven days after birth (Anim 1993) to six (6) months, depending on the health of the baby (Mandende 2009). According to Koopman (1986), no specific process is set for this in some speech communities. However, African societies have different waiting periods before a child is named. Furthermore, when a child is born, it is put in seclusion for a time, as it is believed that it is fragile and can be easily infected by diseases. Only the mother and the selected older adults are allowed into the house where the baby is placed (Mandende 2009).

Similarly, rituals are performed in other communities when the babies are named (Mandende 2009; Sagna & Bassène 2016; Babane 2017). The belief around this process is that babies are being introduced to the lineage and protected against evil forces that are deemed to be behind the death of infants. In its nature, the baby naming process constitutes a broader communication aspect in African communities. While the baby naming process has a communicative function, they are also used for record-keeping (Mensah & Rowen 2019; Himmelmann 2006).

The Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to explore the functions performed by the Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa baby personal names from the Speech Act perspective. Balobedu and Vhavenda unwittingly give their babies personal names not guided by what speech act theory proposes; however, the personal names they choose carry these different felicity conditions. As such, this pattern arouses interest in studying these baby names.

Methodology

This paper used a qualitative approach, conducting face-to-face semi-structured interviews with seven participants. This approach was deemed relevant because of its in-depth nature of inquiry (Lampek & Horvathne Kives 2015). The selected participants consisted of three Khelobedu speakers and four Tshivenḓa speakers, ranging between 30 and 78 years old. These participants were regarded as the custodians of these customs and traditions as these cultural groups have practiced them since time immemorial. Among the four Tshivenda speakers, three were males and one was a female whereas among the three Khelobedu speakers two were females and one was a male. These participants, who are the custodian of the culture, were selected through snowballing. The snowball sampling procedure was used by asking our first participants, from their respective villages, to refer us to others they know who practice the baby naming rituals (Lampek & Horvathne Kives 2015). The sampled participants are the 'traditional' doctors, *ṅanga* in Tshivenḓa and *ngaka* in Khelobedu, specialising in '*u thusa vhana,'* '*go thuša ngwana'* outdooring (Anim 1993), in Tshivenḓa and Khelobedu respectively. In the following section, the findings are presented according to themes which are alos guided by the Speech Acts Theory which is a theoretical framework for the study.

Findings

Felicity[2] *Condition of Declaration*

'The declarative speech acts effect immediate changes in some current state of affairs. The speaker brings a change in the world' (Ashfira & Harjanto 2021:27). In this category, though the name-givers or the name bearers are not in a position of authority like one possessed by a judge or a priest, yet, they declare that they are ready should anything happen to them. The message also means the opposite, i.e.; nothing will happen to them, come what may. The message also has a connotation of a challenge. One might say that the person who bestowed the name invited or challenged their enemies or competitors to attack them. This ability to challenge enemies or

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[2] Felicity, is an ability to express one's thought. The expression that are rendered through naming among Balobedu and Vhavenda, enables them to express themselves better through personal naming.

competitors is a demonstration of one's power and a demonstration that one is not scared. Table 1 below represents such personal names. These names have a connotation of a command. However, they do not end there. Although someone is commanded to do something, that is not an end, a means to an end. The result is the action the name bearer will take after the action has been taken. For example, *Mmbulaheni* is a command to the enemies or competitors to kill the child, but on the other hand, the message conveyed is that 'should you kill this child, you will see what I am made of'. This sounds like a warning.

It should be noted that sometimes African people specially use language. Although the linguistic form of the utterance means something, the expected action is the opposite. In this case, the name bearer appeals to the enemies not to kill the baby. For example, in *Mmbulaheni* (kill me), *Mmbangiseni* (contest) and *Gumani* (stop) from Table 1 below, the name-givers declare that if people to whom the message in the statement is directed continue to do what they are doing, they may face dire consequences. To support this view, one participant, a traditional healer aged 71, said, 'When a name like *Mmbulaheni* (Kill me) is bestowed on a baby, the name-giver challenges the enemies of the baby's family, either from the family or the community at large, because this name is used after there have been incessant deaths in the family'.

Table 1: Declarative Personal Names

Tshivenḓa	**Gloss/ Meaning**
Mmbulaheni	Kill me
Mmbangiseni	Fight me
Mmboneni	See me
Nthatheni	Chase me (away)
Nkhakhiseni	Mislead (me)
Gumani	Stop
Khelobedu	Gloss/meaning
Mbolayeni	Kill me
Mboneni	See me
Mbontsheni	Show me
Kitimisani	Chase away
Ntebalene	Forget me

Felicity Condition of Representative

'Representative speech acts commit the speaker to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition' (Ashfira & Harjanto 2021:27). The names below reflect the state of mind of the name-giver. The analysis behind these names is that the name-giver communicated their feelings to the world. It is a clear demonstration of the hopes and aspirations of the name-giver. These names are pregnant with meaning. For example, names like *Ḓembe/ Surprise* could mean that the name-giver thought they were done with childbearing and suddenly an unexpected baby came.

Names like *Gundo/ Victory* convey a message of overcoming hurdles that have been there in life. It shows that the name-giver is in a happy and relaxed mood.

In Table 2 below, the data reveal that Balobedu and Vhavenḓa baby name-givers represent how they see the world around them when they bestow names onto their babies. In the same vein, they also express their feelings in these names. These are revealed by baby personal names such as *Mashudu* (Lucky) *Tshifhiwa* (Gift), *Mpho* (Gift) and *Lutendo* (Belief); *Tshedza* (Light) Tshivenḓa examples, and *Mashoto* (Lucky), *Dimakatšo* (Surprises), *Thabane* (Happy) (Comforter), through which both Balobedu and Vhavenḓa represent their world views.

Regarding the name *Tshifhiwa* (Gift), one parent, a female aged 73, said, 'We got this child after the death of the first one. Again, I struggled with conception, so when we got this one after we had lost hope that we would conceive, we regarded her as a gift from God'.

Table 2: Representative Personal Names

Tshivenḓa	**Gloss/ Meaning**
Bono	Vision
Ḓembe	Surprise
Gundo	Victory
Lutendo	A belief
Mashudu	A lucky
Mbofholowo	Freedom
Mpho	A gift
Tshedza	Light
Tshifhiwa	A gift

Khelobedu	Gloss/ Meaning
Dimakatso	Astonishment
Mashoto	A lucky
Mpho	A gift
Refilwe	Given
Seetša	Light
Thabane	Happiness
Tumelo	Belief

Felicity Condition of Expressive

Kaburise (2012:39) sees expressive statements as '… speech acts which indicate the speaker's psychological state of mind or attitude to some prior action or state of affairs. They are seen in greetings, apologies, congratulations, condolences, and expressions of giving thanks'.

In support of Kaburise's view, Ashfira and Harjanto regard expressive as that kind of speech act that 'expresses the psychological state of the speaker. It only expresses speaker's attitude about their psychological state' (Ashfira & Harjanto 2021:27). They express psychological states and can be statements of pleasure, pain, likes, dislikes, joy, or sorrow.

The names in Table 3 convey a message about the beliefs of the name-giver. They reflect how the name-givers judge themselves and the people around them. The name-givers express their opinions about their life experiences through the name-giving process. One could argue that these names express different states of mind like positivity, negativity, hope, loss of hope, etc.

In Table 3, on the felicity of expression, the findings indicate that baby names such as *Molamodi* (Mediator), *Refilwe* (We are given), *Sello* (Cry), *Mahlomola* (Sorrow) (Khelobedu), and *Rofhiwa* (We are given), *Rofunwa* (We are loved), *Ndamulelo* (Saviour), *Avhampfuni* (They do not like me), (Tshivenḓa) are all examples that reflect the name-giver's world views and such views are respectively represented and expressed through baby names.

To support this view, a female parent, aged 30, had this to say about the name of their firstborn son, Rofunwa (We are loved), 'This is our message to our parents for the love that they my husband and I. Both our parents brought us up well, and we are who we are because of them. So, we felt we needed to thank them, and did so by giving our firstborn this name'.

In addition, another participant, a male aged 53, said, ‘Regarding the name *Refilwe* (Given), parents of this baby regard his birth as a gift from God’.

Table 3: Expressive Personal Names

Tshivenḓa	**Gloss/ Meaning**
Avhampfuni	They do not love me
Avhapfani	No peace
Dakalo	Happiness
Musandiwa	The hated (one)
Mususumeli	Intruder
Ndamulelo	Saviour
Rofhiwa	Given
Rofunwa	We are loved
Tshisammphiri	Gossiper

Khelobedu	**Gloss/ Meaning**
Khomotšo	Consolation
Madimabe	Misfortune
Mahlomola	Sorrow
Matshwenyego	Struggle
Modiidi	Poverty
Molamodi	Mediator
Molathegi	Lost person
Morebiwa	The one they gossip about
Ngaletjane	Leave him/ her alone
Refilwe	Given
Sello	Cry

Felicity Condition of Directive/ Command/ Ordering

‘The directive speech act makes the speaker attempts the hearer to do something’ (Ashfira & Harjanto 2021:27). To buttress this point, Kaburise (2012:39) regards directives ‘… are typically broadcast within a social group and rely on a speaker for their success, being sanctioned by the community, institution, committee, or even a single person in the group, to perform such acts under specialised conditions’.

Through personal names, name-givers indirectly command the known or unknown individuals through messages carried by the names they bestow upon their offspring. One could argue that these baby names are based on the life experience of the name-givers.

Similarly, Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa also use the felicity condition of command when bestowing personal names on their babies. This finding is revealed in baby names such as *Lavhelesani* (Look), *Konḓelelani* (Tolerate), *Thetshelesani* (Listen), *Vhonani* (See/ Watch), in Tshivenḓa, *Bonane* (See/ Watch), *Lebowane* (Be thankful), *Thakhalane* (Be happy), *Shumane* (Work) in Khelobedu. These examples give commands/ directives to people and communities at large. Baby personal names in this category are in the form of verbs. It should be noted that the Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa verbs that end with a suffix – ni are directed to more than one person.

In the same vein, one participant, a male aged 58, said this about a baby name *Retane* (Praise Him), 'The name *Retane* means that the parents must praise God because this baby was born after a long struggle for conception. So, when the child was born, the name-giver decided to record their belief in God, as they view God as the one who intervened in their circumstance. The in-laws were also beginning to blame the wife as the one who had a problem regarding conceiving, so this birth came as a relief to the couple'.

Table 4: Command Personal Names

Tshivenḓa	**Gloss/ Meaning**
Itani	Do it
Konḓelelani	Be tolerant
Lavhelesani	See (Watch)
Livhuwani	Be thankful
Rendani	Praise
Shonisani	Be shameful
Shumani	Work
Takalani	Be happy
Tendani	Agree
Thetshelesani	Listen
Vhonani	See (Watch)

Khelobedu	Gloss/ Meaning
Bonane	See (Watch)
Lebowane	Be thankful
Mboneni	See me
Retane	Praise
Shumane	Work
Thakhalane	Be happy

Felicity Condition of Commissives

'Commissive speech act commits the speaker to some future course of action' (Ashfira and Harjanto 2021:27). Kaburise (2012:38) concurs with Ashfira and Harjanto (ibid) and posits that 'These acts commit the speaker to some particular future course of action. They may be in the form of promises, offers, threats, or vows'. Personal names presented in table 5 below are those through which the name-givers commit themselves to work for God. These names demonstrate the relationship between the name-giver and God. The names reflect that the name-givers are strong Christian believers. The 'will' in the translated version indicates that the name-giver is sure that what they wish for will happen, no matter what. This attitude of strong hope and commitment could be attributed to their strong belief in God. The names demonstrate the name-giver's commitment to God. They have a strong bond with God. The last felicity condition found in the Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa baby names is commissives. This finding is revealed in names such as *Riḓomushumela* (We will work for Him), *Riḓomuthetshelesa* (We will listen to Him), *Riḓokunda* (We will win), and *Nkapene* (Talk about me), *Rorisane* (Praise him), and *Ntšhomelene* (Work for him).

It should be noted that baby names under this category refer to God. The name-givers are committing themselves to work for God. These are kinds of names that are new in the Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa cultures and originate from Christianity. It is worth noting that these names reveal how the name-givers believe in God as part of their belief system.

One participant, who is a parent of baby-girl called *Riḓo-muthetshelesa* (We will listen to Him), said, 'This is our commitment as parents to God, we are saying through this name that, as Christians, we listen to God and nobody else, because we are who we are because of the Almighty, that is what we believe in. We commit ourselves to God'.

Table 5: Commitment Personal Names

Tshivenḓa	**Gloss/ Meaning**
Riḓokunda	We will win
Riḓomupfa	We will listen to Him
Riḓomurenda	We will praise Him
Riḓomushumela	We will work for Him
Riḓomutevhela	We will follow Him
Riḓomuthetshelesa	We will listen to Him
Khelobedu	**Gloss/ Meaning**
Nkapene	Talk about me
Rorisane	Praise me
Ntšhomelene	Work for me

The findings further show that parents from Balobedu and Vhavenḓa communities, more than grandparents, have taken up the naming role; they are the name-bestowers for their children. One could conclude that this could result from modernisation (Sengani 2015; Mahwasane & Tshifaro 2019; Zungu 2021).

Discussion

The findings above indicate baby personal names' different functions in every society. While scholars generally agree on the communicative nature of African personal names, personal names perform certain functions, such as identity formation and documentation, when uttered or bestowed on an individual. From the speech act point of view, these functions are commands, declarations, expressions, commissives, or representations of the name-giver's worldview. The findings reveal that the Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa speakers, in particular, use personal names to come up with many felicity conditions when bestowing personal names to their babies. Communication which these speech communities perform through personal name-giving, either gives a command to someone in the family or society, or a name-giver commits to doing something or expresses their feelings about a situation in their lives, bestows a name as a sign of representing their views about the life experience or, lastly, they declare that if something happens, they are ready for it.

Similarly, neglecting the analysis of personal names from the speech

act point of view would be equal to neglecting the essence that these monikers carry, i.e., communication, and for that matter, to induce action. African personal names are tools for communicating ideas and views between interlocutors, visible, i.e., people, or invisible, i.e., ancestors and evil spirits. Due to the belief that Africans generally have ancestors that are believed to have a great influence on the living ones, communication through these monikers is also directed to them (Kaburise 2012). This is supported by Sagma and Bassène (2016) when they aver that rituals are performed after the death of an infant. Mandende (2009) argues that rituals are performed during the name-giving ceremony to inform the ancestors about the arrival of a new family member and to also ask for their protection of this member when they grow up. This ritual belief was reported by Mensah (2015) when he says that the Ibibio community of Nigeria also considers their traditional belief system when deciding on their babies' names. And when a baby follows some incessant death, the rites and rituals are performed to appease the spirit.

Moreover, these baby names are used to document and record-keeping people's worldviews (Himmelmann 2006). From the examples provided above, in addition to their different felicity functions, the findings reveal that baby personal names among Balobedu and Vhaveṋḓa of South Africa function as record keeping and documentation of the parent's life experiences, family and a community at large.

The findings of this paper concur with what many scholars, such as Anim (1993); Agyekum (2006); Mandende (2009); Kaburise (2012); Sengani and Raphalalani (2018); Ramaeba (2019); Mahwasane and Tshifaro 2019); Mensah and Rowen (2019); Mandende, Cekiso and Rwodzi (2019); Ekanjume-Ilongo, Adesanmi, and Kolobe (2020); Mamvura (2021); Samuel and Ibrahim (2021), to mention a few, regarding the importance of baby names within a broader community's sentiments, that are reflective of their beliefs and cultural systems. Through these names, communities communicate other felicities, as shown in this paper. Indeed, baby personal names are communicative. Similarly, Khelobedu and Tshiveṋḓa's baby personal names are part and parcel of Khelobedu and Tshiveṋḓa's linguistic repertoire as they play a role in their communication endeavour. By baby naming, a speech act is induced, and a speaker (a name-giver) acts out (Hadiati 2019). Baby naming enables interlocutors to speak the unspeakable among themselves (Zungu 2019). These names are not just labels and pointers but communicative tools; they are apparatuses for daily conversation. Be that as

it may, Balobedu and Vhaveṋḓa are regarded as competent speakers of these languages; therefore, whenever they hear or use these baby personal names, they can decode speech acts encapsulated in them (Ashfira & Harjanto 2021).

Conclusion

We conclude that Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa's examples were compared to highlight how African personal names reflect different felicity conditions such as declarative, command, representation, expression, and commissives, as performed by utterances in baby names that are part of their languages. Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa baby personal names, as enablers, can function as communicative tools and pass on different messages to the communities at large. Baby personal naming facilitates communication between interlocutors. Where people cannot confront each other about an issue, baby names become a germane strategy for this purpose. Balobedu and Vhavenḓa use baby personal names as apt instruments to pass messages politely and diplomatically to their targets without creating any disharmony. The paper managed to show how Khelobedu and Tshivenḓa baby's personal names could be explored using a Speech Act Theory. Furthermore, it is hoped that the findings from this paper will add to the abundance of knowledge regarding anthroponyms. This paper focused on personal naming as meaning-making through a speech act approach; other studies could focus on personal names as an identity formation.

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Chapter 3 - Our Music and Their Music: Issues on Identity in Christian Music Use among South Africans and Nigerians in Durban

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Abstract

This discourse provides a religious perspective on the integrative dynamic of migrant Nigerian Christians in Durban. It also engages the adaptive views among Christian South Africans as the host community towards migrant groups (such as Nigerians) through a shared platform – their consumption of Christian music. Responses to otherness and diasporic presence are mostly polarised and often attributed to cultural differentiation. For this reason, the disparity and unappreciation of otherness become widened. In the context of this paper, our music and their music may connote a differentiated pattern of Christian music use among those within the 'home' context (South Africans) and those who are 'the diaspora' (Nigerians). This paper aims to demonstrate how their cultural, diasporic, and religious identities are construed in their preference for Christian music, how these identities interact within similar religious but distinct cultural backgrounds, and the results of these interactions. This study's samples are examined at the group (observing their church services through ethnography/participant observation) and individual levels (through interviews). At the group level, there was a higher exhibition of musical ethnocentrism – a preference for songs from their own cultures. However, at the individual level, openness, and knowledge of 'otherness' in celebrating cultural diversity, Christian music use, and preference were

identified. Through the medium of Christian music, the diasporic group has sustained its cultural heritage in the face of globalisation and has become exposed to the heritages of other people. These practices can be advantageous in facilitating interactions that promote cultural diversity to mitigate clashes and xenophobic attacks between the 'self' and the 'other.'

Keywords: Music; identities; differentiation, ethnography; religion; home-based; migrants; South Africa.

Introduction

Within this study, how South Africans and Nigerians sustain their identities and accommodate others within similar church contexts, as observed in their modes of worship and individual experiences, are examined and identified. This was coined from a larger body of work (see Abiolu 2020a). These outcomes are recognised through the cultural and religious representations of language 'verbally' (that is, linguistic construction as regards their different language backgrounds) or 'objectified' (particularly cultural practices). This was achieved through an ethnographic study of two Pentecostal[1] churches – eThekwini Community Church (ECC), a South African church, and the Living Faith Church, aka Winners' Chapel, Durban (WCD), A Nigerian-affiliated church. The eThekwini Community Church (ECC) has positioned itself as a ministry that caters to people in Durban and its environs to restore *ubuntu*[2] and empower its members to have a well-balanced life and outlook (ECC website n.d.). The Winners' Chapel, Durban

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[1] Pentecostalism is 'an offshoot of Christianity in search of revival and personal relationship with Christ. [It] heralded and witnessed the adaptation of new [Christian] musical genre of emotional expression by lifting up of hands' and is inclusive of other gestures such as dancing, prostrating, shouting, and jumping (Udok & Odunuga 2016:55).

[2] *Ubuntu* is all about acknowledging and promoting collectiveness among people. It involves taking care of one another in the society to ensure social cohesion, bearing in mind that the society is an extension of the family, hence a member of society is viewed as a family member. And to achieve this, *ubuntu* celebrates the connectedness within the African context (Patrick 2020).

(WCD), places itself as a ministry targeted at no specific group, race, or ethnicity but works as 'a vehicle for the rescue and preservation of all peoples' (WCD website 2021). Both churches signify an inclusive and welcoming environment for all, irrespective of culture, ethnicity, race, or other forms of categorisation.

The purpose of the study is to have a deeper knowledge of how social constructs such as culture, religion, and the media interact to define and influence human lives resulting in identity formation and [re]construction. It stemmed from the desire to spotlight a uniting force among diverse communities of people to promote the humanness in us all as opposed to acts of violence, especially xenophobia, towards 'the other.' The study demonstrates this by exemplifying how home-based (South African) and diasporic (Nigerian) cultural, diasporic, and religious identities are construed in the use and preference of Christian music, how these identities interact within similar religious but distinct cultural backgrounds, and the results of these interactions. These people are observed at the group (church services) and individual levels (interviews). For this reason, the discourse covers Christian music, language use, connections between home-based and diaspora, and outcomes of such relationships. The authors unpack the data from interviews as well as the ethnographic observations. From there, analysis and study conclusions are done.

Music and the Relevance of Language in South Africa and Nigeria

Religion within the African continent is perceived as an indivisible aspect of life that influences people's identity and serves as an instrument for the inculcation of moral values, as well as advancing socio-economic and political development (Agbiji & Swart 2015). Similarly, its practices, part of which is music and its accompaniments like clapping, dancing, ululation, etc., are integral aspects of the African community and familial relations (Lebaka 2015; Mbaegbu 2015).

Music is a tool for verbal and non-verbal expressions (cultural, ethnic, linguistic, performative, religious, and other means). Not only is it communicative, but it is also a manner by which traditions, cultures, identities, and practices are safeguarded and preserved (Abiolu, Alabi, Patrick & Abiolu 2022). Music in the various unique African cultures binds

the African people together, making it a common feature that cuts across cultures (Mbaegbu 2015). Varying music genres are ways by which people reinforce or preserve their identities and simultaneously accommodate other cultural identities and groups (Schäfer & Sedlmeier 2010)[3].

Religion and associated practices can promote peace or incite violence in some cases, depending on, for instance, how the media - through representations, religious leaders, and other key actors contribute to or dissuade believers from the creation of violent or safe spaces, as the case may be (Mitchell 2012). For these reasons, particular attention is required for portraying identity through music, in which language, through representation, plays an influential role.

Language is a critical element of South African, and indeed African music (King 2008). That is why historically, the efforts of groups like Amadodana aseWesile would not go unnoticed in their alteration of European-based hymns to a more African and South African-oriented rhythm through translations to local and indigenous languages. Other artists, such as Joyous Celebration and the Soweto Gospel choir, have contributed to sustaining the South African rhythmic Christian musical landscape (Bainbridge *et al.* 2015).

In Nigeria, the importance of language is also underscored. Early musical movements, such as those of the African Indigenous Churches (AIC) in Nigeria, clamoured for more indigenised and relatable forms of worship and Christian music practices, especially through language depictions (Ayegboyin & Ishola 1997). Attempts of Canon J.J Ransome-Kuti and Sam Ojukwu cannot be ignored in their musical compositions of hymns in indigenous languages (Osigwe 2016). This 'brought a significant change in the liturgical church life. The acceptance of native choruses in local languages [showed] the creativity and relevance of indigenous songs [to Nigerians]' (Akpanika 2012:407).

The relevance of highlighting the historical antecedents of the importance of language in music to South Africans and Nigerians is because it made such representations more endearing and relatable within those milieus. And as much as this was and still is the case, it has also been revealed that music transcends global barriers such as those of linguistic concerns, particularly in situations where people who are not conversant with the

[3] And with the advent of Pentecostalism came different contemporary and hybridised subgenres of Christian music (Rigobert 2009).

languages in which songs are sung still enjoy the rhythm, harmony, or flow of such musical contents (Vuoskoski, Clarke & DeNora 2017). This paper suggests that cultivating some awareness of the uniqueness of other people who are linguistically diverse or different from one's sphere of interaction can endear a deeper appreciation of one another.

Interactions between Home-based and Diaspora: Self and Others

Interactions are bound to occur in spaces of encounters, particularly between different peoples and identities. This is not farfetched between host cultures and integrating cultures, the diaspora. The diaspora is a distinct community held together by social relations that are beyond boundaries which link the diaspora as members of a transnational community (Brubaker 2005). But contrary to this, Tashmin (2016:18) asserted that 'not all diaspora communities are transnational, but many are, and the easy ability to maintain personal, cultural and economic connections over long distances may be important to the maintenance of diasporic identity'. In Brubaker's (2005:6) view, the diaspora develops a level of boundary [or culture/ identity] maintenance to preserve their distinctive cultural or national identity vis-à-vis a host society or societies. And much in line with Brubaker's opinion, this study argues that such boundaries are achievable through transposed religious practices such as Christian music and religious gatherings.

Music can be a medium for group inclusivity and exclusivity based on shared or divergent characteristics (Boer *et al.* 2011; Lidskog 2017). Music inclusivity and exclusivity constitute the process of 'self' – our music, and 'othering' – their music. Ethnocentrism – the belief in the superiority of one's culture – is not only a phenomenon attributed to culture or ethnicity but also prominent in artistic expressions and musical performances. For instance, Boer *et al.* (2013:2362) concluded from their study on music use and patterns that musical ethnocentrism – the preference for exclusive musical contents from one's cultural or national roots – communicates and strengthens the essence of cultural or national identity. Therefore, musical ethnocentrism and differentiation point to the cultural representations of what distinctively constitutes the people of a nation and how they preserve or reinforce their identities (Thompson 2015). But at the same time, it can showcase neglect of intercultural awareness and intercultural musical competence. Schwartz *et al.* (2006) argued and recognised that preserving

the knowledge of the 'self' should also be in line with considering new possibilities in different cultures and backgrounds. This will breed cultural adaptation/accommodation and cultural awareness/diversity as a response to new cultures instead of ethnocentrism.

And in a world of flows and counterflows, enhanced by the globalisation process, interactions between host and diasporic communities result in claims of wanting to belong or associate and conflicting encounters. Bohlman (2011) believed the migration and integration process between the diaspora and host communities spark political (negative) and aesthetic (positive) responses. The positive aesthetic outcomes recognise the migrant groups' diversity and add to their communities. This encourages intercultural competence, a situation where hosts and diaspora adopt an integrative worldview to accommodate the demands of living together (Leung, Ang & Tan 2014). The negative political outcomes are those of xenophobic attacks based on the assumption that migrant groups are threats to the host's physical, social, political, and economic well-being. The host adopts defensive reactions to the presence of the 'other' in their space (Hall 1992). Such responses are mitigated when there is an awareness of a shared framework. Music, as a universal and borderless phenomenon, and religion, as proposed in this current study, fills this void because there is a heightened sense of bond and togetherness consolidated by music (Mavra & McNeil 2007).

Of this, music is established as a cross-cultural phenomenon. It reflects aspects of individual identities and personalities (Rentfrow & Gosling 2007; Lidskog 2017). And for the diaspora, Slobin (1994:243) described the importance of music as,

> central to the diasporic experience, linking homeland and here-land with an intricate network of sound. Whether through the burnished memory of childhood songs, the packaged passions of recordings, or the steady traffic of live bands, people identify themselves strongly, even principally, through their music.

Music is thus a means by which people express their identities to make sense of the world (Hoene 2015; Lidskog 2017). The music reflects people's identity regarding choices and preferences and adequately presents, highlights, and constructs their cultural and musical experiences in cultural backgrounds (Frith 2004; Rastas & Seye 2016).

Methods

This study adopted a qualitative approach to explain the social phenomenon of Christian music concerning identity construction (Hancock 1998). Ten black South African Christians and ten diasporic Nigerian Christians in Durban, South Africa, were interviewed. The participant observation was done within the ECC and WCD. Their modes of worship were observed over eight weeks, four weeks per church. The ECC and WCD were selected as churches with a large concentration of the study sample to critically understand the dynamics of identity reinforcement and adaptation of South Africans and Nigerians in their use and choices of Christian music subgenres. Their personal experiences were brought to the fore to shed more light on this set objective of how they relate with other people who have somewhat similar religious but different cultural identities. These experiences require the participants to draw cultural meanings from their use of Christian music as a phenomenon (Padilla-Diaz 2015). The sampling technique of this study is purposive because purposive sampling identifies samples with rich information with specific characteristics (Struwig & Stead 2013).

Ten South Africans and ten Nigerians who reside in Durban were sampled for important reasons. For instance, the estimated percentage of those with a religious affiliation to Christianity within the Kwa-Zulu Natal province was 78.5% (Statistics South Africa 2015). And as of the last census in 2011, black South Africans were the highest racial population representation in Durban, which stood at 51.1% (Statistics South Africa 2011). The actual number of diasporic Nigerians in Durban is not available. However, the total number of migrants in KwaZulu-Natal, as reported by Statistics South Africa (2015b), is 234,570, a considerable number and significant enough to study. With this and the backdrop of a high percentage of those with religious affiliation with Christianity, this study focuses on black South African Christians in Durban.

The justification for this comprehensive selection of participants and Sundays of worship relies on data saturation to avoid repetition. As a result, it served as a guide in selecting 'how many groups [a researcher should] choose, and to what degree [s/he should] collect data on a single [or multiple] group[s]' (Glaser & Strauss 1967:60). A method adopted in this study to facilitate the data analysis process is hermeneutics; the theory of interpretation which was originally used to interpret ancient and biblical texts (Kinsella 2006). Hermeneutics is a descriptive process that employs an

interpretative/ narrative strategy used as the basis to organise and explain generated data for a research study (Mitchell & Egudo 2003). Taking up the role of a narrator enabled the authors to interpret observations from the interviews and ethnography through the interpretative and narrative strategies embedded within hermeneutics.

Participant Responses: Language Use and Christian Music Preferences

Language use has been a significant element in meaning-making and communicative encounters. Similarly, it is a vital marker of identifying with or dissociating from a group (King 2008). It is thus a tool for inclusion or exclusion. As much as linguistic exclusivity indicates cultural preservation or reinforcement, it is equally an indication of exclusion of those not part of such linguistic groups, particularly in a multicultural setting. This was evident during the participant observations of the churches, which resulted in musical ethnocentrism. In some instances, at the personal level, some participants were keen on relatable content and language, while others were not.

Nevertheless, a higher number of the participants showed an inclination to Christian music from their home cultures. In contrast, others indicated an appreciation for pan-Africanism, and western/foreign Christian musical genres regardless of their linguistic representations. Thus, the observations and the individual experiences were somewhat varied but still with congruent ideas.

Some South African responses revealed a preference for indigenous, hybridised, and pan-African Christian music. SA [P01][4] preferred the 'traditional Christian [music like those of] Deborah [Fraser, a South African Christian music artist], Pure Magic, [and] Jabu Hlongwane', who are South African Christian music artists. Similarly, SA [P03] preferred the traditional subgenres of South African artists such as Joyous Celebration, Dr. Tumi, and Benjamin Dube because of the way they 'market themselves [… and] the

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[4] This symbolises the pseudonym used for participants all through the study. Therefore, P = Participant, 01-10 = the number the participant was at the time of the interview, and SA/Nig = South African or Nigerian. So, SA [P01] = South African Participant number 1, etc.

message'[5] of their songs. SA [P05] also preferred traditional subgenres, especially meaningful songs and those she understands. In the same vein, SA [P08] and SA [P10] preferred traditional subgenres from Joyous Celebration, while P10 [SA]'s preference for the Joyous Celebration choral group was because 'I like the dance, I like their movement, I like … the way they dress, [and for the language], I prefer both isiZulu and English…'.

Similarly, among Nigerians, the language in which the songs are performed is important – 'I [like] Tope Alabi [a popular Nigerian Christian music artist] because *she sings in my dialect … I understand all what she says*' [Nig, P06]; 'sometimes when I sing my language song, it's like I get [spiritually] connected on time' [Nig, P08]; '*language is very important*. You know, when it comes to Christian music, as a person, I believe when it comes to calling God's names, *my language is able to make me communicate*. It goes deeper; English just calls it on the surface' [Nig, P10]. This last statement speaks of how meanings may be lost in translations.

However, others were not particular about language. Some Nigerian participants responded,

> I'm sure you'll be familiar with Joyous Celebration [a South African singing sensation]; *even though I don't understand what they are saying, I dance to it* [their songs] [Nig, P02].

> … some of the ones here in South Africa, the isiZulu songs, *I don't understand them, but I like the rhythm*, so I go along with it [Nig, P05].

> … [E]ven if it is not translated, it has a very nice melody; I [as a Yorùbá lady] know about one or two [songs] which are sang in Igbo and not translated, but then, its melodious [Nig, P07].

> I listen to a lot of [isi]Zulu gospel songs, so it's not really about the language; it's about what it does in your spirit [Nig, P09].

Nig [P09] listened to 'lots of Nigerian gospel songs like Nathaniel Bassey, Sinach', who are contemporary Nigerian Christian music artists. Nig [P10] preferred traditional Nigerian Christian music artists like Tope Alabi and the

[5] Words or phrases in *italics* are the authors' emphases.

AjogbaJesu boys because '*they do a lot of beating* … I like songs that are like hyper, the beat is high, its running … that kind of music'.

Some South African participants indicated that their preferences were not limited to indigenous artists. For instance, SA [P04] revealed that her 'favourite Christian music is more of the American gospel, but if its anything South African, its mostly our praise songs [because of] *how we dance and play drums*', while SA [P09], 'the ones that I like are the overseas one, like your Kirk Franklins, Donnie McClurkins … and there is one that I like here in South Africa, I love his music, *instruments* and *he's also young* Dr. Tumi … he's very good. Sometimes there's music … old ones like those ones which were listened [to] by our mothers, the ones that [are] very slow when it comes to beats, so, I'm still young, so I would like to have this fast beat'. SA [P07] had a more pan-African preference, 'I like Benjamin Dube, I like Sinach [a Nigerian Christian music artist], I'm more into African Christian music'.

In addition, the medium of Christian music was a means to learn about other cultures. According to SA [P07], 'I have [learned about the Nigerian culture]. I feel they are one of those improving countries that obviously come from a challenging background, but you can see the people are actually trying to get the best out of the situation. They are moving forward with life'. Similarly, SA [P01] said, 'I do listen to them [Christian music from Nigeria], I don't know their names, but I listen … like [the Igbo song] *Igwe* …'. In the same media vein, some were exposed to 'otherness' through various forms of media contents, not only through Christian music. In the case of SA [P01], 'I do listen to P-Square [a defunct boy pop group] from Nigeria most of the time', and she learned about 'their [Nigerian] religion, their culture, [the] way they live. They believe more than us'. She came to this conclusion as a result of her exposure to Nigerian media content. SA [P08]'s exposure to 'otherness' was by 'maybe … watching a movie, those Nigerian movies and stuff, I would hear their songs that they sing'.

Inclinations to 'each individual's indigenous Christian music' showed identity reinforcement, while openness to 'other' genres of Christian music indicated identity accommodation. They saw beyond cultural or national differences to create a common ground through religion for interaction. As preference and consuming local content encouraged the promotion of local outputs and content from local artists, consumption of transnational or global content facilitated a global consciousness because such medium became a means for educative and social encounters.

Observations

Winners' Chapel Durban

The worship and fellowship mode of the Winners' Chapel Durban church was observed in August 2018, and the interviews were carried out concurrently. On the first Sunday of the month, out of a total of 17 songs during 'praise and worship,' 'thanksgiving,' 'pre-sermon,' and 'end of service' songs, 11 were 'Nigerian' songs mainly recognisable by the infusion of Nigerian languages [Yorùbá, pidgin English and Igbo dialects specifically] in the lyrics. For example, *Alágbádá iná, come and manifest yourself* ['Alágbádá iná' is a Yorùbá phrase used to describe God as He who clothes Himself with fire], *wetin I go give to you, my praise…* ['wetin I go give' is a pidgin English sentence which means what will I give], and *Ebube Dike Jehovah* ['Ebube Dike Jehovah' is an Igbo sentence that means Jehovah, the One who opens doors], among many other Nigerian songs. Five of these seventeen songs were English songs [i.e., foreign songs, either by other African or western artists], and one was South African [in isiZulu]. This was the South African gospel song *Wahamba nathi* by Solly Mahlangu.

For the second Sunday, out of a total of 11 songs, inclusive of special renditions and communion songs, nine were Nigerian songs, while two were English songs. There was no rendition of any South African song during this service. The Nigerian songs were equally a blend of Yorùbá, Igbo, and Pidgin English songs, while the English songs were foreign.

On the third Sunday, the 'praise and worship' session started with Benjamin Dube and Praise Explosion's *We Lift Him Higher*, which was rendered in English. The second song was *Yes, You are the Lord* by Denzel Prempeh, a Ghanaian artist. In addition, one more South African song, one English song, and two Nigerian songs were rendered. The song leader chose *Tambira Jehova* [*come and dance to the Lord*] by Joyous Celebration, a South African gospel choir. These were instances where musical renditions within a context can be adopted within another cultural context, though with different traditions but a similar religious identity. This Sunday service had a total of 21 songs, ten of which were Nigerian, eight songs were in English, and three were South African. And for the last Sunday service, out of 20 songs rendered during service, 14 were Nigerian songs, four were English songs, and two were South African songs. The predominant pattern during these services was an oscillation from Nigerian to foreign to South African Christian music and vice versa.

Conclusively, the observation was that most of the songs during these periods were a blend of Nigerian [Yorùbá, Igbo, pidgin English and Hausa], South African [isiZulu], and foreign praise songs. Still, they were mostly Nigerian songs, while there was evidence of cultural accommodation in song choices, dress representations and participatory audience strategies.
eThekwini Community Church

The eThekwini Community Church was observed in September 2018, and the participants were interviewed simultaneously. On the first Sunday of observation, 22 songs were rendered during service, of which 20 were in isiZulu and two were in English. Out of the 20 isiZulu songs, three were songs that had the tunes of English hymns. The first was *Ungumhlobo Wamu'Jesu [You Are My Friend Jesus]*, which had the tune of *What a friend we have in Jesus*. It, however, was not a literal translation of the hymn. The second was *Uyaphila Umphefumulo Wami*, *[It is well with my soul]*, and the third was *Umkhulu Kangakanami*, *[How great Thou art]*.

One of the isiZulu songs at the beginning of the service was *AmaZulu, Athembe Lona, Nathi Sithembe Lona [the heaven trust this name, we also trust it – the name of Jesus]*. For me, this was an intriguing and educative rendition because it referred to the intrinsic meaning of the word Zulu – which means 'heaven.' This was a direct cultural and religious intersection in song choice. Additionally, of the two English songs, the one before the offering was collected was '*God is shifting things for me*,' which was keyed into the offering mode, but this was not constant throughout the observations.

The third Sunday was no different in music representation. Of the 23 songs rendered during the service, 17 were in isiZulu, and six were in English. The performer-audience relationship was showcased using the word '*woza*' as a call to action to mimic whichever performance the lead singer performed or acted out. Other cultural expressions were obvious features in the church as well. The service ended with the song *Wahamba Nathi, Siyabonga*, *[You have walked with us, we thank you]*. This was symbolic as a way of reinforcing their religious identity in appreciation for the success of the church service. But a closing song was not a consistent occurrence in all the services.

The last Sunday of the month marked the last Sunday of observation. It was on this Sunday that Heritage month was celebrated. Some of the isiZulu and English songs were hymns, the isiZulu translations or variants, or the original English versions. *Gelekece, athi Gelekece ezonweni [Clean,*

completely out of sin] was the first song rendered that Sunday. It was fast-paced and energetic, facilitating a participatory culture, especially since it was at the beginning of the praise session during the church service. During this praise session, the performer [lead singer] danced the Zulu dance while the congregation clapped and ululated.

Unlike previous services, there was no closing song at the end of this service. Connecting song choices to any particular service period was not as easy. This was because the songs were all related to the manifestation of God's presence and anointing and not much about the different periods that made up church services.

These church service patterns were unique to both churches (WCD and ECC) because the Pentecostal mode of service left room for an unstructured pattern, unlike the Protestant church, which has similar structures of service and song renditions (Rigobert 2009; Johnson *et al.* 2010). Consequently, there were religious liberties expressed in both contexts.

Musical ethnocentrism was apparent in the churches but more palpable in the South African community. The motivating factors in these churches were linked to musical styles and patterns, traditional, contemporary, or hybrid, in as much as the styles reflected their national and cultural roots. Using the native language also made it easier to understand what was said by the locals but difficult for anyone without knowledge of the language. The dominant language in the South African church was isiZulu, while the Nigerian church adopted English as a universal approach. These factors, through the interrelatedness of language, culture, and tradition, provided strong links to preserve the cultural identities of the people, irrespective of the social contexts where they were, home or away from home. Since these mediated preferences were culture and context-specific, they were unique expressions of their cultural and national ideals (Boer *et al.* 2013). Though these may be expected because their cultural groups and ethnicity constituted higher percentages of the churches' population, there were still instances of the considerations of 'otherness' through the inculcation of Christian music from other ethnic groups in the churches. For instance, in the Nigerian church, some of their songs were represented in Yorùbá, Pidgin English, Igbo, Hausa, and a bit of isiZulu, and the lyrics of these songs were projected on screens at strategic places in the church. These observations were at the group level.

Cultural Representation

The language of representation speaks of practices, artefacts, and symbols that strengthen and accommodate cultural identities. It is within these forms of representation that meaningful experiences are gained (Hall 1997). Tashmin (2016) corroborated that the use of cultural symbols and narratives both within and away from their 'ideal or natural' context underscores attachments to cultural or national identity. These outcomes are affirmed in this paper. During the participant observations, each church manifested some musical practices that transcended national or cultural borders and were points of convergence in religious identity formation. For instance, some contemporary musical instruments were similar such as drums (jazz set – South Africans and Nigerians, djembe – South Africans only) and the piano (South Africans and Nigerians). In the case of using the djembe drum, it reveals cultural adaptation because the djembe is indigenous to Mali, West Africa.

Fritz *et al.* (2013) from their study affirmed that music and musical expressions, representations, and artefacts acquire new interpretations in different environments. And much in line with this view, this study also reiterates that these artistic expressions transcend borders to assume new meanings and positions, which bridge the 'self' and 'othering' divide.

Our Music and Their Music – Ethnocentric or Multicultural Impressions?

Choices and preferences for certain musical genres or practices have been shown to distinguish between the social interests of people and are an indication of cultural and musical differentiation (Thompson 2015). Cultural differentiation in music use and consumption can either result in ethnocentrism or multiculturalism, i.e., high cultural awareness and diversity (Boer *et al.* 2013).

During the observations and interviews, this paper identified cultural or musical differentiation lines in song choices among host and migrant communities. On the one hand, the consumption of local content addressed the issues of developing, supporting, and promoting local outputs and content from local artists. On the other hand, consumption of transnational or global content indicated an awareness of 'otherness,' but not necessarily derogatory because Christian music became an educative and informative tool in those

cases. This aligns with Abiolu *et al.*'s (2022) and Mbaegbu's (2015) views. In this research endeavour, it was established that although musical ethnocentrism was a dominant cultural phenomenon among these groups of people, as observable through the linguistic representation of Christian music choices, there was an awareness of multiculturalism and diversity. So also, the cultural and religious heritages of both the home-based and the diaspora were obvious in songs that were in their local dialects. Thus, such Christian musical traditions were exemplifiers of ways to maintain a connection to their roots even more because their local dialects made the songs relatable by which these groups, as home-based and diasporic people, preserved their identities (Boer *et al.* 2013). These people were living representatives of their cultures and heritages, at home and away from home (*Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, Department of Arts and Culture, South Africa 2017).

The meanings and interpretations attached to the individual and collective readings and expressions are highly contested. Group interactions became even more contextual, and individual interactions more personalised and introspective. Therefore, individual and shared experiences influenced the meanings derived from sociocultural and religious exposures. Not only did these influence meaning, but they also shaped identities and perceptions of us versus them scenarios. By this, 'our' music and 'their' music became depictions of 'culture-specific music [that were] unique expression of national, [religious], and cultural aspirations and ideals' of different people regarding Christian music that originated from their cultural backgrounds, supporting the findings of Boer *et al.* (2013: 2360).

Therefore, appreciation for one's indigenous music traditions over the other or admiration for non-indigenous music should not be a basis for cultural differentiation but rather a channel for education and awareness as well as appreciating cultural diversity, provided that such preferences do not tilt towards discriminatory tendencies. As Yang (2013) and Abiolu (2020b) observed, this paper avers that in the face of the homogenising characteristic of globalisation and gradual cultural erosion, deliberate and consolidated attempts should be made to safeguard [Christian] music cultures in local communities as they welcome or become more open to other musical practices through globalised practices. By ensuring this, social cohesion becomes realisable. And because of the observable intersectionality of human music cultures due to the ubiquity of music (Fritz 2013), alongside unity (or the nearness thereof) in identities, as shown in this study, a greater

level of cross-cultural cognisance and intercultural competence can be achieved.

Conclusion

This paper explored music use and preference at the individual and group level and how the 'self or collective identity' is represented within diverse religious contexts. This study revealed that when South African religious identities interacted with Nigerian and other identities from different cultural frameworks and vice versa, these resulted in accommodative cultural features. These characteristics were visible in cultural practices such as song choices and how they attempted to teach songs from 'other' groups into church worship. This was at the church level. At the individual level, though some people were inclined to their traditional Christian music genres, others showed cross-cultural and pan-African approaches to song choices from other cultural groups.

As these groups relayed these experiences, coupled with observations, the study concluded that Christian music could be a medium to foster religious and sociocultural bonds serving as gateways to nurturing intercultural competence and celebrating cultural diversity and multiculturalism. This avenue facilitates cordial interaction between the 'self' and the 'other.' So also, media portrayals and the role of socio-religious organisations like the Church in preserving people's identities and fostering goodwill among different people should not be relegated, seeing the impact of these factors on the study participants and the ethnography report. The study advances the initiation of viable and sustainable communication through religious music and forestalls clashes between different groups and communities of people.

Acknowledgement

I wish to thank the organisers of the Durban University of Technology's 4th Interdisciplinary Research and Innovation Conference 2019 for the opportunity to present this paper before it was recommended for publication.

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Chapter 4 - Identity Negotiation and the Impact of ‘Modernization’ on Migrants’ Religious Affiliation and Cultural Tourism Participation

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Abstract

The impact of modernization on traditional religion in many African countries has increasingly stoked fears among its enthusiasts on the preservation and sustainability of traditional spiritual practices. The impact on cultural and heritage identities, particularly for migrants who make return visits back to their place of origin, has been increasingly significant. Thus, the study explores migrants’ identity negotiation and religious affinity to cultural heritage practices from their origin, using the Osun festival as a prism for analysis. The study employs qualitative methods to explore the validity of these concerns. In-depth interviews were conducted with 25 first-generation Nigerian migrants of Yoruba descent living in South Africa. Findings from data analysed using Nivivo reveals that attendance and participation at the grove and the festival have different meaning and significance to the migrants, such as the opportunity to reconnect with their cultural identity and heritage. While some members of the diasporic community found reintegration of the self quite easy, others had to negotiate their transnational identity to fit in and ‘feel among’ people of their kin. The findings from this study can help migrants to reconcile with the challenges posed by cultural identity and heritage.

Keywords: Migration, Religion, Spirituality, Cultural tourism, Cultural identity, Cultural heritage

Introduction

The impact of modernization on traditional religion in many African countries has increasingly stoked fears among its enthusiasts on the preservation and sustainability of traditional spiritual practices (Kasongo 2010). These impacts seem to have continued to manifest and have affected other areas, such as cultural and heritage identities, particularly those in the diaspora. A critical look at the Western effect on African culture shows good and bad influences. From the positive perspective, this Western influence has helped to abolish some harmful cultural practices, such as the killing of twin children, who culturally were believed to be evil, in a region in West Africa. These influences, however, have also given birth to several undesired problems and changes.

According to Bitrus (2017), one global phenomenon that seems unavoidable is the impact of modernity on human social life. The effect of modernity has, to a large extent, influenced intimate and personal aspects of human lives, social, cultural, and religious traditions and institutions around the world. In many African societies, especially in Nigeria, cultural festivals are often conceptualized as a medium through which humans communicate with deities. Festivals attract people from near and far, not only for social entertainment but also to enhance the relationship with and understanding of cultures (Taylor & Kneafsey 2016).

The Osun Osogbo festival in Nigeria is an annual celebration of the Osun goddess of fertility, prosperity and healing (Oparanti 2004). The festival is one of Nigeria's highly revered religious and spiritual festivals (Oladipo & Modupe 2020). The festival can also be described as a symbol of cultural identity for many diasporic community members (Oyeweso 2013). Exposure to modernisation and 'Westernization' has, however, made many of these migrants shy away from association with the entity of these festival celebrations because of its religious connotation (Umejei 2021:47).

The nature of the average Nigerian diaspora is often quite conservative (Duru 2017). However, national identity dynamics within the diaspora can range from a state of traditionalism to modernisation. For some migrants, attendance or participation at these festivals represents an avenue to fulfil a desire to reconnect with roots, cultural identity, and homeland heritage practices. The diasporic situation triggers this quest that many of these migrants find themselves. Furthermore, many embark on these return journeys back to their country of origin to address some of their life challenges, such as

healing, seeking divine assistance or exploring their spiritual belief.

In these return visits, many diaspora members are often faced with the challenge of dealing with contra values and practices from their place of origin, which they are no longer used to. These challenges emanate from resolving the conflict between the new (adopted residence) and old (place of origin) practices. Members from the diaspora born in their homeland (first-generation migrants) usually maintain a stronger attachment to their homeland, such that their identities are not yet completely transformed (ElleLi & McKercher 2016), even after migration. However, some, especially descendants, begin to identify strongly with their host country; thus, reconnection with their country of origin and potential reintegration become problematic.

During the festival, the grove, the festival location, becomes a stage for identity negotiation (Duval 2003). As migrants, their return visit back home makes them occupy a position that places them in-between domestic and foreign tourists. This renders their experiences unique and special, as they are culturally close yet geographically distant. This study explored how these diaspora members negotiate individual identities during these visits. This study adds to the emergent literature on migrants' return to their homeland and contributes to African tourism development from both business and academic perspectives. The contribution is significant, particularly because migration in the area of tourism research has been neglected for many years (Asiedu 2005; Marschall 2017a; 2017b).

Literature Review

Migration and Nigerians

Literature on migration abounds, with many studies attempting to comprehend the processes and the subsequent outcomes of these movements of persons (Wapmuk *et al.* 2014). With the prominent role and engaging debates around immigration that have continued to make headlines in newspapers worldwide, it may be difficult to deny that migration has continued to be an issue of great social and political concern. In the last two decades, 'African migration' has been the topic of an increasing body of research and policy interest (Bakewell & Binaisa 2016: 280). Previous research (Connor 2018) has mainly focused on the movement of Africans outside the continent. However, a small but growing number of studies have looked at the diaspora formation of African migrants who are still within the continent, as recent

studies have shown that most of these migrants are moving within the continent (Ibrahim Forum Report 2019).

In West Africa, Nigeria is a key regional player and accounts for roughly, half of the region's populace, with approximately 202 million people (World Factbook 2012). It is also regarded as one of the countries with a large population of youth. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and culturally diverse confederation with a long tradition of mobility, although, the volume, form and direction of the emigration have changed over the years (Carling 2006: 21). It has been estimated that well over fifteen million Nigerians live outside the country. The host countries for many of these Nigerians include the United States of America, the United Kingdom, European countries and many other African countries. According to Olarinde (2021), well over a million documented Nigerians have residency in other African countries.

It is believed that migration can make significant social and economic impacts on destination nations (De Haas 2005). These impacts could include cultural enhancement of the society, improving the tourism products in the country, or providing labour for travel, tourism, hospitality, and catering sectors (Ivan 2016). Furthermore, it is a known fact that the process of immigration can enrich the cultural life of host countries and provide them with a wider range of consumption opportunities. Migrants who are industrialists in their host countries often take advantage of their connections and business-related information in their country of origin to conduct and undertake profitable businesses between the two countries (Seetaram 2012). This could subsequently lead to a stimulation of outbound tourism at the host destination. These affirmative outlooks on the merits of migration do not downplay the negative aspects of migration.

Migration and Tourism

Although many migrants tend to preserve their close ties with their place of origin, they also seem eager to improve their attachments to their new host country. This often results in the sense of multiple attachments to both their country of birth and their host country (Simonsen 2017). Travelling back to their homeland is one of the boundary-crossing activities through which immigrant communities can partake and contribute to affairs in their ancestral land (Coles & Timothy 2004). Tourism is widely acknowledged as a product of contemporary social engagements, with its origin traced to Western Europe in the 17th century. However, it has several antecedents in

classical antiques. Before the 19th century, travelling, particularly for non-work-related reasons, was only available to a limited class of elites and was in itself a 'mark of status' (Urry 1990: 24). In recent times, however, tourism has become a central component of the process of globalization, subsuming ever increasing numbers of travellers to virtually every part of the world, and even outer space (Bajc 2006: 102).

The nexus between migration and tourism is quite distinct but often restricted to the visiting friends and family (VFR) form of tourism (Williams & Hall 2002). VFR has always been socially relevant and can be regarded as one of the earliest forms of mobility (Backer 2012). VFR tourism is a type of travelling that connects tourism with migration as it involves persons travelling between two sets of places they call home (Asiedu 2005). Backer (2007) acknowledges that in the past, especially in most African countries, the VFR tourist hardly recognized themselves as tourists because many thought they were just general vacationers or mere holidaymakers.

Current studies (Asiedu 2005; Marschall 2017a; 2017b). have revealed a wider impact of migration on tourism, which also involves the components of tourism demand (e.g. holiday and business). These studies postulate that the evolving presence of immigrant communities might substantially affect tourism flows in many ways (Dwyer *et al.* 2014). Marschall (2017b: 141) opines that in the African context, tourism is often regarded as a leisure activity conducted by the affluent and the privileged in society. The study identified that migrants are significant for tourism as they also engage in other tourism-related activities during their travels. After their visits, VFR tourist migrants are most likely bound to report or share their travel experiences with other friends, which might influence the latter's future choice of holiday destination.

Similarly, immigrants making return trips to their country of origin might promote their host country to individuals in their homeland, which could foster further holiday trips. Furthermore, an increase in tourism movements prompted by the presence of immigrants is also perceived, as permanent, by tourism market agents and policymakers (Council A.U.E. 2006). Consequently, there will likely be an increase in the supply of tourism services (like the hospitality sector) and tourism infrastructures (like transporters); all these will improve the destination's competitiveness.

While recent pragmatic works in the field show that migration's impacts on tourism demand go beyond the VFR segment, the empirical evidence is still limited and does not cover all the major destinations of

international tourism (Etzo 2016). Migration also has a clear tourism demand generation because of its ability to stimulate an increasingly two–way flow of expatriates visiting their countries of origin and, in turn, their relatives and friends visiting those based in the new host countries.

Migration and Identity Negotiations

Migration and tourism are closely related on a macro level because both phenomena involve the movement of individuals across geographical regions; however, the difference is in the duration of stay (Williams & Hall 2000). These return trips provide an avenue for confrontation with one's past, which 'may re-invigorate or shatter the myth; re-affirm or shift self-identity; fuel emotions and prompt insights about one's true sense of belonging, about the home, the host and oneself' (Marschall 2017b: 142). The longing for sameness; a quest for cultural bases; an opportunity for migrants to assess themselves, resolve their identity struggles, and connect with their forerunners are some motivations for many migrants to make return trips to their homeland (Timothy 2008). It is believed that first–generation immigrants are often astounded with nostalgia when making return trips to their native land.

For present-day members of the diasporas, a longing for 'home' may not necessarily mean a desire to make a permanent return to the country of origin but may rather be a preference to satisfy their yearning through tourism (Hung *et al.* 2018:55). The desire to spend some time with friends and relatives, according to Munoz *et al.* (2016), is an important motivation for a wide range of travel decisions worldwide (UNWTO 2014). Although the yearning to stay connected to one's roots may be identical, the diaspora tourism experiences may differ because of the different migration history or national origins (Huang *et al.* 2018: 62). While some diaspora tourists always feel a sense of belonging when they return to their birth country, others may not; which eventually leads to them being more alienated from their immigrant origins and heritage. The connection between 'diaspora tourism' and 'immigrants' emotional attachment' to their country of origin is not always positive (Huang *et al.* 2013:286). Many migrants are interested in travelling back to their homeland and reconnecting with their ancestral culture and heritage; however, they often do not always get their desired experience. This is because many have had to go through the process of identity negotiation on their return to their homeland (Umejei 2021).

The key theme identified from limited studies on the motivations for migrants to visit their ancestral homeland was the search for 'identity re-affirmation', reconnecting with one's cultural roots and a mission to re-affirm their sense of belonging which may be absent in their current host country (Coles & Timothy 2004:16). Sometimes, however, the actual interpretations of the experiences from members of the diaspora returning to their homeland range from a re-enforcement of association to challenging and uncomfortable cultural interactions (Tie *et al.* 2015: 4). The longing being faced by members of the diasporic community to be accepted and to assimilate into their host culture is counteracted by their parallel desire to maintain their sense of identity and maintain established links with their homeland.

Migration and Modernization

Studies on 'transnational and diasporic identities' suggest that identities depend upon a local sense of belonging maintained with the place of attachment (McDowell 2003: 864). In some cases, the travellers find that bridging the social and cultural gap between themselves and the new society is fairly easy. These travellers sometimes discover that the reorientation process may require them to absorb new cultural history and traditions. It has been argued that making these adjustments enhances the migrant's experience; otherwise, they risk becoming a marginalized figure separated from the surrounding society (Trew 2010: 548).

Leary (2012) opined that people have multiple, dynamic, and contextual identities, which can be foregrounded or activated in specific situations. Studies have shown that several migrants suffer identity formation and construction challenges because they might have lost their sense of identity while fighting for acceptance in the new culture of migration. In a bid to adjust to their new setting, many migrants begin to conform to the ways of their new setting, which they believe to be better than their original home (Alinia & Eliassi 2014). However, no identity formation can be completely eroded by a new identity, although the assimilation of a new identity can, to a great extent, bring about changes in the existing one.

Identity negotiation is usually demonstrated when people are unsure of where they belong. This means that the individual cannot state their place among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, which

consequently results in a struggle, to make sure that people around accept this placement as proper. For this study, identity is used as a reference to parts of a self–composed meaning that individuals ascribe to the different roles they would typically play in highly differentiated contemporary societies (Burke & Stets 2009). This study draws on identity theory to explore how members of the Nigerian diaspora community in South Africa experience their journey back home, not just as festival participants but also as migrants on return journeys.

Theoretical Framework

As developed by Stets and Burke (2000), identity theory explains that the core of an identity is the categorization of the self as an occupant of a role, and the incorporation, into the self, of the meanings and expectations associated with its role and performance. From an identity theory perspective, identities are adopted meanings given to the self as a distinct individual, an occupant of a role, and a group member (Stets & Burke 2014). Tourism scholars have suggested that identity influences travel motivation, destination choices, touristic behaviour, and experience (Pratama 2016). In their study to understand 'tourist's motivations for travel', Pearce and Lee (2005:226) postulated that self-actualization and self-development are major motivators for embarking on trips. Bond and Falk (2012: 430) opined that all tourist experiences are somehow motivated by their self–perceived identity-related needs. This suggests that identity issues lie at the heart of an individual's desire to travel. However, most of these perspectives are related to recreational tourists.

The theoretical assumption of the identity theory employed in this study essentially argues that identity is an invention of social interaction which seeks to address, from different points of view, how identities are formed, constructed and negotiated through the interpersonal interaction of these migrants. The theoretical importance of the theory in understanding the identity formation and construction of migrants cannot be excused from its shortcomings. The argument that individual identity is constructed and formed through interpersonal relationships is flawed and criticised because a mere interaction between two or more people does not possess the required impetus for identity formation. Rather, the place of socialisation and the individual's cultural identity should be given more credence (Hopkins &

Greenwood 2013). One of the primary goals of identity theory is to specify how the meanings attached to various identities are negotiated and managed in interaction (Stets & Serpe 2013:31). Therefore, this study employs this theory to explore how human behaviour influences social situation. The theory is used in this paper to understand 'how individuals' identities influence their behaviours, thoughts, feelings, or emotions and how their identities tie them to the society at large' (Burke & Stets 2009:3).

Methodology

The study employed a qualitative design to gather the needed data. This design was considered most appropriate for the study because it 'explores ways by which individuals make sense of their social worlds, and express these understandings through language, sound, imagery, personal style and social rituals' (Deacon *et al.* 2007: 5). The techniques used in collecting data for this research include observation, in-depth interviews, and review of existing documentation. The sampling method was purposive and snowballing as the study's approach comprised pinpointing and choosing personalities or groups of persons that are principally conversant about or have some experience with the phenomenon of interest (Cresswell & Clark 2011).

The sample size for this study was twenty-five participants because the researcher had reached saturation at that point. The target population was first–generation Nigerians of Yoruba descent who live in South Africa and have had cause to travel back to Nigeria in the last five years. The location for the study was Durban a city in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa, and, Osogbo, a city in Western Nigeria. Although all the participants recruited in South Africa were from the Yoruba-speaking community in Nigeria and still had very good proficiency in their indigenous/local language, the interviews were all conducted in English. This was done because, after being out of their country of birth for a while, all the recruited participants had developed their proficiency in English and thus were quite comfortable communicating with the researcher in English.

Existing and relevant documents were also gathered from reliable sources such as the Adunni Orisa Trust (AOT), the Osun state (and local) government, and the National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM). These documents were used as secondary data to complement the data gathered during the interviews. This was done to ensure comprehensiveness and to enrich the data collected.

The Findings

This section presents the contributions of participants like Yemi (pseudo name), who was born in Nigeria but has spent much of her life outside Nigeria. She left Nigeria at about 5 to live with her mother in the United States of America (USA). After having been married for years and still unable to conceive, even after two failed IVF (in vitro fertilization), Yemi decided to follow her mother's suggestion to visit the Osun sacred grove and seek assistance from the Osun goddess. She claimed to have fallen pregnant after visiting the sacred grove. The said daughter was preparing to celebrate her 6th birthday at the interview time. Yemi believes so much in the efficacy and wonders of the Osun goddess. Her primary reason for attending the annual Osun Osogbo festival was not for the fun and festivity, but mainly to find a solution to her problems. Yemi is one of the many Nigerian migrants residing in South Africa who participated in this study.

The Osun goddess is regarded as 'the goddess of wealth and beauty, a herbalist or healer, a diviner, a dyer, a giver of children, a goddess of fertility, protection, blessing, and a leader of women' (Oyeweso 2013:20). The dense forest of the Osun Sacred Grove, which has been inscribed as a UNESCO world heritage site, is believed to be the abode of the Osun deity. Every year, a traditional festival is held in August to celebrate and honour this traditional deity. The festival, one of Nigeria's most prominent cultural celebrations, is a symbol of identity for adhering to her divination by many members of the Yoruba community. Participants at the festival are usually made up of local residents and citizens from across Nigeria, members of the diaspora, local and international tourists.

The Osun Osogbo festival has different meanings and significance to different people. Consistent with responses from the different participants, the festival is perceived as a cultural celebration, a sacred ceremony, and a pilgrimage for those with spiritual allegiance to its cultural practices. The differences are in terms of the perceived significance of the tangible site, the intangible beliefs, and values attached to it by these members of the diaspora. While the migration process may have made these migrants create or establish a home in their host country, many are still strongly attached to their country of origin.

Return Journeys and Activities at their Destinations

As presented in the review of literature, the motives for migrants to embark

on return journeys are numerous. For some of the participants who shared their experiences during the interviews, attending and participating in the festival was their main motivation to embark on these return trips back to their country of birth. For some others, even though the festival may have been an attraction, the prospects of reuniting with friends and family were equally strong motivations. Some also travel, mainly to seek solutions to their problems or offer thanksgiving to the goddess. For this group, travelling is more of a mandatory task than one undertaken by choice. According to one of the participants, even when it was not convenient for them, they still had to embark on this return journey to their homeland to fulfil an obligation.

> *It was sort of mandatory that I attended that year, and that was why I did.. I attended the festival in 2014 as part of an obligation. It wasn't very convenient for me then, but I had to go because my mom insisted. It was just a trip that was said to be important that year, and I was able to make it (RF004: CPT, Nov. 2018).*

Another participant, RM011, who described himself as an Osun devotee stated that when people are at home and attend the festival as often as they can, they may not fully appreciate the festival's richness. This, he feels, changes when they sojourn abroad and do not get to participate as often as they used to. Memory now comes into play, and that is when one begins to appreciate the legacies that their forefathers left behind. When asked to describe their experiences at the festival, all the participants opined that it was fun-filled, exciting, and entertaining.

> *I like the songs they sing during the festival and all the merry making. It's actually a very lively celebration. You know, the last time I went, they even had DJs after the whole festival thing; I remember that was in the evening (RF002: Durban Feb. 2019).*

RM007, like most other participants who are Osun indigenes, has very high regard for the festival, the grove, and the goddess. Being also a devotee, he sees the festival as a traditional and spiritual event celebrated by many, both Nigerians and foreigners.

Issues of Experience and Identity

According to the data gathered, the thought of going back home was an

exciting event to look forward to for many of the participants. Many of these migrants' return journey to Nigeria was motivated by a need or desire to reconnect. All participants agreed that maintaining ties with home was the primary motivation to make these return journeys. When asked how it felt to be back home after having been away for years, reactions varied; some had nostalgic looks, others had smiles that instantly brightened their faces, while for others, their responses involved a loud cheer. However, not all migrants who travel back home easily adjust to their old routine; many experiences a subtle sense of alienation. For RM014, the return trip was not as exciting as anticipated. For him, it was a rude culture shock as he could not 'blend' with his peers as he did in the past. RF007 felt she was treated differently by friends and family because she had travelled out of the country. RM013, too, had to undergo some readjustment on a level of personal comfort. Having lived in South Africa for some time, he was now more comfortable with cooler weather than what one would get in Nigeria. For RM015, the struggle was not being able to engage with most people around him in intellectual conversations, even with his peers in the academia. He said:

> *Sometimes I find the way they analyse issues very tiring, or should I say unbelievable that someone will still reason like that in this present day. I would say enjoying intellectual conversations with relatives back home when I travel is sometimes a challenge, but this is not to say that they are all dumb or not intelligent (RM015: Durban Sept 2018).*

As previously presented, not all migrants who travel back home easily adjust to their old routine; many experiences a subtle sense of alienation. The experiences shared by these participants show the different ways that some have had to renegotiate their identity when in their birth country. It showed them what these return journeys meant and how they shaped their sense of identity. When asked to describe their experiences at the festival, all the participants agreed that the festival was fun-filled, exciting, and entertaining, although their perceptions and belief about the grove and the goddess varied.

Perception and Beliefs around the Festival

As earlier presented, this annual festival, done every year in August, involves a whole month of celebration. One of the participants, RF002, opined that

the month of August in Osogbo is just like most people see in December. RM002 described the festival as a 'carnival of sorts', which can be likened to those celebrated in Brazil. Some participants attested to the fun and gaiety present at the festival; others opined that it goes beyond that. According to RF005, 'the whole thing is a belief and something that has to do with more than the ordinary'. She agrees that it can be described as extraordinary because it is a 'mixture of culture and a belief in the supernatural'. A public opinion survey in Nigeria demonstrated that Nigerians believe religion to be more central to their identity than nationality. According to the study, Nigerians are more likely to first identify themselves as Muslims or Christians before even acknowledging that they are Nigerians. Though many of these participants have been away from their homeland for some time, their migration status had little or no alteration in their sense of belief or acknowledgement of the presence of a Supreme Being, as they all still expressed deep religious sentiments in their responses. Though their levels of belief varied, a common trend showed that they all believed in the existence of a greater power, albeit acknowledged, with different names.

Another participant, RM001, strongly believed that modernization, globalization, and civilization have almost eroded certain cultures. He, however, opined that the Osun goddess and the grove have been able to survive because of people's beliefs. RM015 admitted that, before becoming a Christian, he used to dabble in worshipping traditional Yoruba gods, but in recent times, he would no longer like to be associated with things of that nature. 'I'm going to be biased now, I am a Christian, and that will colour my impression' (RM015: Durban Sept 2018). RF009, another migrant who travelled for the festival as a part of her fieldwork for a Ph.D. research, had a contrary opinion:

> *I could also question the existence of the Christian God from that angle. I am a Christian, but what I am saying is that if we claim to believe in the existence of a big God, why we will question the belief of another? We cannot be certain who he or she is, but I think everyone should be allowed to have their own belief and not be condemned for what they believe in (RF009: Durban Feb. 2019).*

Two other participants admitted to having attended the festival but stated that they do not worship the goddess because of their Christian beliefs. RM012

said that he has never gone to the grove for supplication because he can pray to God anywhere.

> *That's my belief. My belief is in the Almighty God who created the heavens and the earth. I know there are other lesser gods, but that is not my belief (RM012: Durban Sept. 2018).*

Some other participants, however, had a contrary opinion. RM003, who claims to be a concrete believer in his culture and tradition, thinks Africans should do all they can to preserve traditional indigenous religion. RM014 also shared this sentiment with RM003. He said it is unfortunate that 'Western orientation has eroded our mind-sets about the gods of our fathers' (RM014). He went further to elaborate on a personal ideology that he had formulated. He feels that the gods of Africa are angry. According to him:

> *I personally feel that the reason why Africa is underdeveloped and perpetually remains underdeveloped is because we have left the gods of our fathers because if you look at this, when these deities protected us over time, we were developing at a pace over time. But with the caution of the European settlers and Western thoughts coming into Africa, we stopped worshiping these deities. These are significant deities in our lives. Before that, we were developing almost at the same paths with the West, but once we stopped with these deities, and we moved to start worshipping other deities of the West. So, the West continuously strive because we are, as it were like feeding the deity of the West while putting our own deity on starvation. So, at the end of the day, the deity of the West blesses their people while we are where we are today. We are where we are today technically because we have refused to give honour to where honour is due (RM014 Durban Feb. 2019).*

Findings from all the interviewed migrants show that, even when these diaspora members did not have absolute belief in the powers ascribed to the goddess, many still felt the festival was an opportunity to reconnect with their culture and foster social ties. Even those who claimed to now have a deeper Christian or Islamic religious belief still love to be associated with the festival. However, many would appreciate it if all the 'ritual' aspects were taken out.

Discussion

Findings from the data gathered confirms that migrants use these journeys to fulfil their desire to reconnect with their roots, cultural identity, and heritage. People migrate from one setting to another, or from one culture to another, with their knowledge and cultural heritage. Upon arrival at the new location, their cultural identity becomes altered, incorporating the new order while still being in touch with the old one (Axelsson 2009). The discourse of identity formation has largely been credited to individual daily activities, and experiences garnered through social engagement (Alinia & Eliassi 2014). Therefore, the lived experiences and activities of migrants with other members of their host communities play a crucial role in the understanding and formation of their identity as migrants.

According to ElleLi and McKercher (2016), first-generation migrants usually maintain a stronger attachment to their homeland, but some begin to identify strongly with their host country. For the latter, the connection with their country of origin and potential reintegration becomes problematic. In other words, these migrants' identities might be transformed or shifted while assimilating into the host culture and social system as they integrate with members of the host society (Bhatia & Ram 2009). For some members of the diaspora, depending on the complexity of individual and collective histories, subsequent homeland visits may assist in reinforcing their homeland identity (Corsale & Vuytsyk 2016) or heighten their sense of hybridity (Tie *et al.* 2015).

In the canon of migratory studies, a sense of belongingness remains a fundamental component of identity formation and construction for migrants (Kim & Merriam 2010). However, the search for this belongingness for migrants continues to question the formation of migrants' identities. According to Hopkins & Greenwood (2013), understanding migrants' identity formation should include a consideration of the host or community locations, migration guidelines, cultural identifiers, the value system of the host countries, and the migrants' country of origin. Studies have shown that several migrants suffer identity formation and construction challenges because they might have lost their sense of identity while fighting for acceptance in the new culture of migration. This results in what can be called an idealized image of the new settling point they perceive as better than their original home (Alinia & Eliassi 2014; Owens *et al.* 2010).

According to Jongman-Sereno & Leary (2020), finding happiness

means living in harmony with one's true self. Identities are understood to influence human behaviour and become activated (or invoked) in circumstances where the individual perceives that the meaning of the situation matches their identity (Carter 2013: 204). The theoretical assumption of the identity theory employed in this study essentially argues that identity is an invention of social interaction which seeks to address, from different points of view, how identities are formed, constructed, and negotiated through the interpersonal interaction of tourists with their host counterparts. Identity, therefore, answers the question of what it means to an individual to be, for example, a festival participant, a Nigerian, or even a member of the diaspora community. The position, meanings and expectations attached to these different identities originate from a common culture shared with others. Within this common culture, people can understand what it means to hold that identity and, thus, link their personality to that social structure and culture (Stets & Burke 2014: 59).

In the context of 'diaspora return travel', migrants with different identity backgrounds may experience more complex changes after their return. The religious, spiritual, and ethno cultural identities of these members of the diaspora play a significant role in their tourism mobility decision. Many visitors to the grove and Osun Oshogbo festival are more intentional in their traveling decision. Their identity contributes to their motivation for their journey as some of them use it as an opportunity to reconnect with others who share similar cultural and religious background with them. For others, it is used as a means to address more pressing needs like a remedy to fertility issues. Some people may find that they behave in ways they ordinarily will not because of situational factors. When this happens, people adjust their behaviour until it matches the level of their identity standard (Grandberg 2006: 111).

The Osun Osogbo grove is a tourist destination, a pilgrimage and cultural heritage site, thus placing the festival at the intersection of pilgrimage, heritage, and tourism. This makes it a viable site that invokes the process of cultural negotiation and identity formation. Identity theory, which provides a conceptual framework that links identity, attitude, and behaviour (Nunkoo & Gursoy 2012), is employed in this study to understand how these groups of migrant tourists under focus, experience the Osun Oshogbo festival, especially their spiritual beliefs, and how it affects their sense of identity. Identity, migration, and related studies have shown that many

migrants go through acculturation to assimilate and establish their identity in the new community of their host (Ramelli *et al.* 2013).

The contention that identity formation is acquired through time has been grossly criticized. Several criticisms have been reported in literature. that the acquisition of identity does not happen throughout an individual's lifetime but only forms at a specific life stage (O'Brien 2011). In other words, these authors argue that identity formation is synonymous with personality development, at which time, personality development only happens at a specific stage of development and not through life (Eliassi 2013). Other drawbacks concerning the formation of identity by migrants within their host communities have also been grossly flawed. For instance, critics asserted that it is still not plausible for a migrant to develop an identity within a short space of relating with his host community. This argument was stretched further that rather than attributing the formation of a migrant's identity to the activities and experiences acquired in his host community, much attention should be given to the role of culture, customs, and origin (Bhabha 2014).

Data gathered showed that the individual beliefs and exposure of these migrants played a very important role in their perception and acceptance of the cultural practices associated with the festival. While all the participants acknowledged the importance of cultural sustainability, which the festival represents, some people shy away from partaking in local cultural practices because of their religious beliefs. Some participants struggled as attendance at the festival is assumed to be a 'sin' or fetish. This attests to the school of thought that claims that many cultural traditions, events, and practices that possess cultural and heritage tourism potentials, given their rich aesthetics, have become denigrated and relegated to a state of insignificance (Ibagere & Adeseye 2013).

In today's globalized world, tourism cannot avoid capitalization, and academics have agreed that culture is not static but evolving, moving, adapting, and changing (Hopper 2007). However, according to many adherents of African religion and culture (Awolalu & Dopamu 2005; Obasola 2014), a condition in which intellectual traditions of people are deliberately destroyed, denied or subjugated to the point of non-existence is quite problematic. Many of the participants, particularly the devotees, opined that if people continue to view these practices in frivolous terms, the chances of the culture of their forefathers going into extinction is inevitable.

Conclusion

This paper explored the identity negotiation process of migrants on their return journey to their place of birth. It probed the experiences of South Africa-based Nigerian migrants, to understand the extent to which modernisation has affected their religious affinity to cultural heritage practices from their birth country. Data presented showed that the festival is a strong motivation for return travel. However, while some members of the diasporic community found reintegration of the self quite easy, others had to negotiate their transnational identity to fit in and 'feel among' people of their kin. Furthermore, it is seen that individual beliefs play a very important role in the perception and acceptance of the cultural practices associated with the festival. Some who had participated in the festival before claimed that they no longer do so because of their exposure to more modern practices. The fear here is that, with increased condemnation of the cultures that are laced with religion of old, many will begin to shy away from it, consequently, leading to a situation where many cultural traditions, events, and practices denigrated and are relegated to a state of insignificance.

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Chapter 5 - Did the 'Coronavirus Crisis' Period Fuel Xenophobia in South Africa? Assessing the Early COVID-19 Pandemic Period as an Explanatory Variable

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Abstract
Has the COVID-19 pandemic fuelled xenophobia in South Africa? Little is known about the effect of mass disease-related threats (such as COVID-19) on human psychology in the country. But the existing research on pathogen stress suggests that a mass disease event (like a pandemic) can increase antipathy toward foreigners. In particular, levels of zero-sum thinking about immigration should be influenced by pathogen threats. The study explores whether the pandemic increased the welfare chauvinism of the adult populace as well as levels of anti-immigrant violence. The South African Social Attitudes Survey (N=2,988) was used to investigate how the pandemic impacted xenophobia. The fieldwork schedule for SASAS 2020 allows researchers to test how the COVID-19 pandemic affected public attitudes. Results show that the pandemic did intensify anti-immigrant sentiment (albeit not substantially). The article concludes with an assessment of this change and recommendations for future research.

Keywords: COVID-19, Xenophobia, Migration, Zero-sum thinking

Introduction

When the COVID-19 pandemic reached the shores of South Africa, the government responded quickly. Although proactive state policies saved thousands of lives, the health and economic implications of the pandemic have been (and continue to be) devastating. The first six months of the pandemic saw a deep national economic recession and a psychological landscape characterised by fear and uncertainty (World Bank Group 2021). As the government implements its vaccination programme and begins to rebuild the economy, it is worth asking whether the early pandemic period - which could be called the 'Coronavirus Crisis' –made South Africans more suspicious of others. Pandemics are among the deadliest natural disasters any nation can face, with far-reaching effects on human societies. In addition to the health risk, pandemics can cause significant economic shocks that negatively affect intergroup relations within a country. Past pandemics have coincided with growing antipathy towards, and violence against, international migrants (Cohn 2018). Historical analyses have identified a link between past pandemics and prejudice against non-nationals (also see Clissold *et al.* 2020).

Scholars have become increasingly interested in whether and to what extent the COVID-19 pandemic has fuelled xenophobia. But current studies (e.g., Drouhot *et al.* 2021; Esses & Hamilton 2021; Gray & Hansen 2021) offer confounding evidence on whether the pandemic caused an upswing in anti-immigrant attitudes and behaviours. Some suggest that the pandemic negatively influenced anti-immigrant attitudes, but others are more positive and show no effect (also see Muis & Reeskens 2022). The shock of the so-called 'Coronavirus Crisis' may have led to a surge in anti-immigrant sentiment in South Africa. This study examined how the COVID-19 pandemic fuelled xenophobia by exploring how attitudes and behaviour changed during the first 'hard' lockdown period (i.e., between March and September 2020).

Three models that predicted how a pandemic might alter public attitudes and behaviours were considered in this study: (i) the Behavioural-Immune-System Model; (ii) the Epidemic Psychology Model; and (iii) the Social Identity Model of Collective Resilience. An innovative split-sample dataset from the South African Social Attitudes Survey series was utilised. Using multivariate regression analysis, this paper assessed each of the three models for validity. This is one of the first studies to assess how the

'Coronavirus Crisis' influenced xenophobia in South Africa and contributes to understanding how a macro-level pathogen event alters public attitudes and behaviours towards outsiders. Little is known, at the time of writing, about the effect that mass disease-related threats have on intergroup relations in the country.

Interpretations of Xenophobia

The work of South African academia on xenophobia is extensive and covers multiple disciplines. Much of it is not only concerned with anti-immigrant sentiments but seeks to explain violent outbreaks of anti-immigrant hate crime. The causes of this kind of crime in this voluminous scholarship are quite diverse, numerous and often complex. Given the space available here, it would not be possible to provide a summary of this body of knowledge in its entirety. But it is important to acknowledge that almost all of this work has dealt with the 'economic competition' thesis. According to this thesis, human nature is motivated by material self-interest, and the scramble for scarce economic resources drives antipathy toward foreigners. The thesis has been quite popular since the 1990s, with various studies providing comprehensive reviews of this argument (e.g., Neocosmos 2010; Matsinhe 2011; Tafira 2018).

Taken as a whole, the 'economic competition' thesis owes much to a utilitarian model of intergroup conflict first posited by Sherif (1966). This model tends to give materialistic motives a superordinate role in the study of intergroup relations. It holds to the assumption that individual behaviour is primarily driven by material self-interest (also see Levine & Campbell 1972). Although it is not often acknowledged, this model builds on the philosophical work of Thomas Hobbes and the rational choice economics of the 1950s (for a discussion of the origins of this approach, see Mansbridge 1990). The 'economic competition' thesis is widely accepted in many parts of South African academia, demonstrating the popularity of this materialistic Western view of human motivation. Of course, the importance of the self-interest motive in South African studies of xenophobia has not gone unchallenged. Critics, such as Neocosmos (2010) and Matsinhe (2011), have argued that the predictive power afforded to self-interest in explaining xenophobia is deceptive and undermines the study of more important drivers of human behaviour.

The 'economic competition' thesis enjoys a degree of support

amongst South African policymakers. This is most evident if we consider the National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (hereafter the NAP). Launched on the 25th of March 2019, the NAP was the product of a four-year process that involved multiple stakeholders. The document acknowledges the reality of xenophobia and the problem of anti-immigrant hate crimes in South Africa. In outlining the causes of xenophobia in the country, the NAP references the 2015 Ad Hoc Joint Committee on Probing Violence Against Foreign Nationals (PVAFN) report. The NAP built on the work of the PVAFN and identified economic issues (i.e., poverty, the inequitable distribution of economic resources and wealth inequality) as the main driver of anti-immigrant violence.

The PVAFN considered numerous oral and written submissions from different stakeholders. One of the most important was the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Migration (ICM). The committee published an investigation into immigration in November 2015 that utilised the 'economic competition' thesis to explain xenophobic violence (PMG 2015a). The ICM report recommended more aggressive regulation of immigration and the economic behaviour of non-nationals[1]. The PVAFN released its final report in November 2015, adopting many of the recommendations of the ICM report (PMG 2015b). The PVAFN report, in particular, accused foreign-owned small businesses of 'unfair' practices that damaged local competitors. It recommended that further violence could be prevented by curbing the ability of migrants to operate in the national economy.

The PVAFN, of course, built on earlier investigations into anti-immigrant violence that also privileged the explanatory power of the 'economic competition' thesis. These included state-funded investigations into large-scale anti-immigrant riots in May 2008[2]. The PVAFN (and later the NAP) appear to understand public antipathy towards foreign nationals regarding a resource allocation debate. These documents assume that many South Africans view international immigration as a zero-sum game. The

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[1] The ICM report made a series of recommendations, these included the implementation of a punitive license system for traders in the informal economy, a more restrictive approach to border management and law enforcement campaigns that target foreign nationals involved in criminal activities (especially human trafficking, the illicit drugs trade and prostitution).

[2] One of the most prominent examples was a parliamentary-funded investigation by the Human Sciences Research Council (Pillay *et al.* 2008).

issue of immigration is imagined in zero-sum terms: the more resources one group (i.e., non-nationals) acquires, the less there is available for the other group (i.e., citizens). Viewed in these terms, the interests of the two groups are incompatible and represent opposite poles of a single dimension. This study will examine zero-sum thinking about foreign nationals and how common this type of thinking is in the country.

Zero-Sum Thinking about Foreigners

But what, in the context of this study, is zero-sum thinking? Instead of viewing outsiders as potential collaborators with shared interests, this is a belief that one group's gain is another group's loss. The main inspiration for the study of zero-sum thinking comes from classic game theory (Ross & Ward 1995). It is a general belief system about social relations predicated on negative interdependence between people. Viewed through this system, life has the structure of a zero-sum game where one person's win is another's loss. In such a game, self-interest is incompatible with the interests of others (also see Wright 2001). Public opinion scholars have used the idea of a zero-sum game to understand mass attitudes toward intergroup conflict, with the work of Bar-Tal (1998) being particularly notable. She showed how zero-sum beliefs informed attitudes towards the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and helped participants view it as intractable.

Zero-sum thinking often derives from beliefs about resource scarcity, such as the 'fixed pie bias' (de Dreu *et al.* 2000). Consider the belief, for example, that the number of jobs in a labour market is finite or the belief that the number of 'business opportunities' in an economy are limited. If a person believes that economic opportunities in a country are fixed, then when someone gets an opportunity, this must come at a loss to another person. Imagine viewing the economics of immigration in zero-sum terms, that non-nationals and citizens exist in a state of negative economic interdependence. From this vantage point, an immigrant's entry into the economy is a threat to all others in that economy. International immigration, of course, does not generally have a zero-sum impact on national economies. Existing empirical economic scholarship shows that international immigration often has a positive-sum economic effect in South Africa[3]. Rather than reducing the

[3] A study from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in partnership with the International Labour Organization (2018) found

resources available, the entry of international migrants into the country tends to, on aggregate, grow the 'resource pie'.

Zero-sum thinking is associated with various adverse intergroup behaviours. Research suggests that this kind of thinking makes people less generous and open-minded and more predisposed toward conflict (He *et al.* 2020). If the two groups operate according to the rules of a zero-sum game, then co-existence or collaboration will be detrimental for both. This type of thinking prevents individuals from envisaging and accepting 'win - win' resolutions to problems that would benefit both sides (also see Wright 2001). In addition, zero-sum thinking encourages people to view intergroup cooperation as always unjust (Różycka-Tran *et al.* 2015). Therefore, this form of thinking is a dangerous way of seeing the world as it incentivises distrust of others and disincentivises intergroup collaboration.

Our knowledge of mass opinion on immigration in South Africa has expanded significantly in the last few decades. This emerging research tradition has documented how non-nationals are frequently blamed for economic problems (Gordon 2015). Many, in particular, scapegoat foreigners for unemployment or poverty (also see Gordon 2017). Despite the growing public opinion research on xenophobia in the country, this scholarship has not looked at the level of zero-sum thinking about foreign nationals. No systematic investigation has been made into the causes or triggers of this type of zero-sum thinking. Given how central the 'economic competition' thesis is for South African policymakers and scholars working on xenophobia, this is a disturbing knowledge gap.

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that inflows of foreign nationals had a positive effect on local employment in South Africa. In other words, international immigration seems to have created jobs for locals. The results of this study are consistent with a World Bank investigation into the impact of immigration on the South African labour market during the 1996-2011 period (Hovhannisyan *et al.* 2018). Moreover, it would appear that international migrants pay more in taxes than the average citizen and take less in terms of welfare. International migration has, as a result, a net positive impact on public finances. Even foreigners working in the informal sector are a boon to economic growth in the country. A recent report by the International Organization for Migration (2021), for example, has detailed the economic contributions made by informal foreign-owned businesses in the City of Johannesburg.

The Health and Economic Impacts of the COVID-19 Pandemic

South Africa reported its first COVID-19 cases from nine adults who returned from a holiday in Italy, where cases were rampant, on 29th February 2020. Faced with an escalating rate of COVID-19 infections, the authorities implemented strict lockdown measures, issuing stay-at-home orders and requesting businesses to close on 25th March 2020. The borders were also sealed, putting the country in *de facto* isolation. The strict lockdown brought domestic production to a standstill and severely impacted the national economy. This was compounded by a contraction in global demand as governments introduced various lockdown measures worldwide. Faced with state-ordered lockdowns as well as declining consumer domestic and international demand, the country faced a substantial financial recession in 2020.

A report by the World Bank Group (2021) outlines how the 'Coronavirus Crisis' impacted the South African economy. The size of the overall national economy contracted by 7% in 2020, and Gross Domestic Product per capita (constant 2010 US$) fell from $7,346 in 2019 to $6,748 in 2020. This was one of the country's largest financial contractions during the last hundred years. Many firms (especially micro and small enterprises) downsized or failed, negatively affecting local labour markets. Overall employment decreased substantially, and 1.4 million jobs were lost between 2019 and 2020. People of colour in the country were more vulnerable to the socioeconomic and health impacts of the pandemic and were, consequently, more negatively affected. According to a report published by Oxfam, the COVID-19 pandemic significantly exacerbated considerable class and racial inequities throughout the world (Berkhout *et al.* 2021).

President Cyril Ramaphosa promised to deepen government support for poor and working-class households during the 'Coronavirus Crisis'. One of his main tools was the South African welfare system, this is one of the largest in Africa and is the government's most direct means of combating poverty. Billions of additional rands were injected into the welfare system to provide emergency support to the vulnerable. The Ramaphosa Administration launched the COVID-19 Social Relief of Distress Programme (SRDP) on 21st April 2020. Millions of people had received at least some sort of financial support from the SRDP by the end of 2020. Evaluating the SRDP, Mazenda *et al.* (2022) found that the programme positively assisted households with food insecurity. However, the intervention was affected by

numerous issues, including administrative bottlenecks and irregular costing of food parcels, as well as travel and contact restrictions.

Neocosmos's (2010) noted that denying social rights and entitlements to foreigners was one of the most essential features of Southern African xenophobia. Even under the dictums of law, foreign entry into the welfare state is seen as violating an autochthonic view of South African citizenship. The belief in citizenship as autochthony is informed by what Matsinhe (2011) calls a 'post-colonial colour-code'. This code distinguishes Black African citizens from their counterparts in the rest of the African continent. Indeed, xenophobia in South Africa has traditionally targeted foreigners from elsewhere in Africa (also see Tafira 2018). A powerful anti-immigrant narrative during the COVID-19 pandemic was that international migration depleted SRDP resources, and immigrants were a drain on relief efforts. There was even an attempt to exclude certain non-nationals (i.e., refugees and asylum-seekers) from the SRDP (Mukumbang *et al.* 2020).

Three Models that Predict the Attitudinal Effects of Pathogen Stress

This study considers three theories that may predict how a pandemic could alter public attitudes and behaviours toward non-nationals. Let us start with the hypothesis that disease fuels xenophobia. Douglas (1966) postulated a powerful thesis about how pathogen fears promote intergroup conflict. She contended that fear of disease is a universal concern and that societies actively work to protect the social body from infection, separating outsiders from insiders. Behavioural-Immune-System (BIS) theory views xenophobia as an evolutionary response to disease. Complementing Douglas's approach, BIS theory predicts that attitudes towards immigrants will become more hostile during periods of increased threats from pathogens (Schaller & Duncan 2011). Past research shows a link between pathogen stress and discriminatory attitudes (see Faulkner *et al.* 2004). Consequently, BIS theory would lead us to expect that exposure to a serious macro-level pathogen event (e.g., a pandemic) would result in a robust and immediate increase in prejudice.

The COVID-19 pandemic may have no impact on public attitudes toward foreigners. The Coronavirus does not affect just one group and threatens everyone. According to the Epidemic Psychology Model, a virus may trigger the fear that every person is a potential threat to every other person (Strong 1990). In other words, a pandemic may lead people to see every indi-

vidual in society as a potential disease carrier and a latent social body polluter. Although this may result in greater societal anxiety and distrust levels, it should not elicit group-specific responses. A recent study by Muis and Reeskens (2022), using unique Dutch longitudinal panel data, found some support for the Epidemic Psychology Model. The authors found that anti-immigrant sentiments have not increased due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Natural disasters may drive anti-immigrant sentiments even if citizens and non-nationals face roughly the same threat level. Andrighetto *et al.* (2016) argue that this is because natural disasters do not, in themselves, drive antipathy. Instead, it is the concern that the disaster has depleted national resources and has exposed groups to a greater level of economic competition. As aforementioned, the 'Coronavirus Crisis' had a particularly dramatic (and negative) effect on the South African economy. Levine and Campbell (1972) famously argued that the likelihood of intergroup conflict would increase during an economic downturn. Negative attitudes toward outsiders can develop when economic situational factors (e.g., a recession) create perceptions of group competition[4]. As resource availability shrinks, we may anticipate an increase in prejudicial attitudes amongst the public.

Could the COVID-19 pandemic have led to greater social solidarity in South Africa? Vollhardt (2009) put forward the theory of 'altruism born of suffering'. This thesis contends that a natural disaster may motivate people to help disadvantaged members of society, including outgroups (e.g., foreigners). The Social Identity Model of Collective Resilience predicts more solidarity and 'togetherness' during a natural disaster (Drury 2012). According to this model, the traumatic experience of a natural disaster could create the perception that both ingroup and outgroup members share the same superordinate group identity (i.e., disaster victims). This is comparable with the predictions of the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio 2000), which contends that experiences that create a sense of common belonging between groups will have positive effects on intergroup relations. Some scholars in South Africa are quite optimistic about the pandemic's

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[4] A public opinion study by Kuntz *et al.* (2017) found that the Great Recession of 2008/2009 increased anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe. However, the researchers discovered that it was the *perception* of macro-economic decline that was the main driver of attitudinal change rather than the objective economic conditions (e.g., unemployment rates) during that period of time.

effect on social cohesion. Struwig *et al.* (2021), for example, showed that during the early phases of the pandemic, there was significant optimism amongst the mass populace that the pandemic would make society more compassionate and altruistic.

Data and Method

Sample

Data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) 2020 was used for this study. A repeated cross-sectional survey series, SASAS's sampling frame is based on Statistics South Africa's 2011 Population Census. In the first sampling stage, a set of 500 small area layers (SALs) was drawn. In each SAL, seven dwelling units (i.e., non-vacant residences) were randomly selected. Using a computerized randomization method, a respondent was drawn from all persons 16 years and older in this unit. During the 2020 round, more than a hundred fieldworkers visited 3,500 dwelling units; the realised sample for the round was 3,133. Summary statistics for the 2020 round are provided in Table 1.

The fieldwork schedule for SASAS 2020 allowed for a test of how the 'Coronavirus Crisis' affected public attitudes. Fieldwork for the SASAS 2020 round began in late February 2020 but was halted when President Cyril Ramaphosa announced the national lockdown on 27th March 2020. Approximately 40% of interviews had been completed at this time. After about six months, on 21st September 2020, restrictions were lowered to alert level 1, and it was deemed safe to resume fieldwork. The SASAS fieldwork round was only completed on 15th February 2021. As a result of these delays, the 2020 SASAS fieldwork round constituted a split sample design. This allows the study to test whether being interviewed after the 'hard' lockdown altered how the adult populace viewed outsiders.

Procedure

SASAS questionnaires were translated into all the country's major languages for easy interpretation. All face-to-face interviews were conducted (when appropriate) in the participant's home language. Respondents were asked for written informed consent, and if the fieldworker was interviewing a minor, then a dual consent process was required (both from the minor and their parent/guardian). Every participant signed consent forms; these forms stated

that respondent participation was voluntary. After collection, the data was weighted to be nationally representative of the adult population in the country's nine provinces. All SASAS data displayed in this paper has been weighted unless otherwise specified.

Table 1: Summary statistics for the 2020 round of the South African social attitudes survey

	Obs.	Min	Max
Gender			
Male	1263	0	1
Female	1769	0	1
Age	3021	16	98
Marital Status			
Married	956	0	1
Not married	1999	0	1
Population Group			
Black African	1943	0	1
Coloured	471	0	1
Indian	315	0	1
White	289	0	1
Employment Status			
Employed	983	0	1
Unemployed	927	0	1
Labour Inactive	1122	0	1
Years of Schooling	2996	0	17
Provincial Residence			
Western Cape	411	0	1
Eastern Cape	319	0	1
Northern Cape	240	0	1
Free State	184	0	1
KwaZulu-Natal	579	0	1
North West	222	0	1
Gauteng	501	0	1
Mpumalanga	253	0	1
Limpopo	279	0	1

Note: Unweighted data

Tracking Zero-Sum Thinking about Foreign Nationals

The 'Coronavirus Crisis' may have increased the likelihood that the mass public in South Africa would view immigration in zero-sum terms. Social psychology researchers have established that economic conditions can significantly affect zero-sum beliefs. In a study of almost forty countries, Różycka-Tran *et al.* (2015) investigated whether resource scarcity influenced zero-sum thinking. The authors found that resource-deprived conditions led individuals to see the world as zero-sum (also see He *et al.* 2020). Consequently, a largescale macro-level contraction in the availability of resources (e.g., a national recession) may boost zero-sum thinking. However, we may consider that it is the relative economic position of the individual, rather than their objective material conditions, that determines whether they will adopt zero-sum beliefs. In seven studies, Ongis and Davidai (2021) found that personal relative deprivation cultivates a belief that economic success is zero-sum. This finding held even when a participant's household income or other objective metrics of socioeconomic position were taken into account.

SASAS participants were asked whether they felt that immigrants' success in accessing welfare or employment reduced opportunities for everyone else in the country. In addition, respondents were questioned on whether they thought that when immigrants open businesses, it meant fewer business opportunities for others. Results are depicted in Figure 1, and it is apparent that many oppose the position that a foreigner's gain would be another's loss. To adequately examine zero-sum thinking about foreigners in the adult population, a composite index was created using the three items showcased in the figure[5]. The new metric was labelled the Zero-Sum Beliefs about Immigration (ZSBI) Index. The indicator was arranged on a 0 to 10 scale; the higher the value on the ZSBI Index, the greater the likelihood an individual will view immigration as a zero-sum game. The national mean score on the ZSBI Index was 4.54 (SE=0.083), and 24% of the adult populace scored below 2.5 on this metric.

To assess the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on zero-sum beliefs about immigration in South Africa, a multivariate analysis was performed. This technique allowed us to determine the relationship between the two variables while accounting for the effects of socio-demographic background characteristics. Given the nature of the ZSBI Index, a standard (OLS) linear

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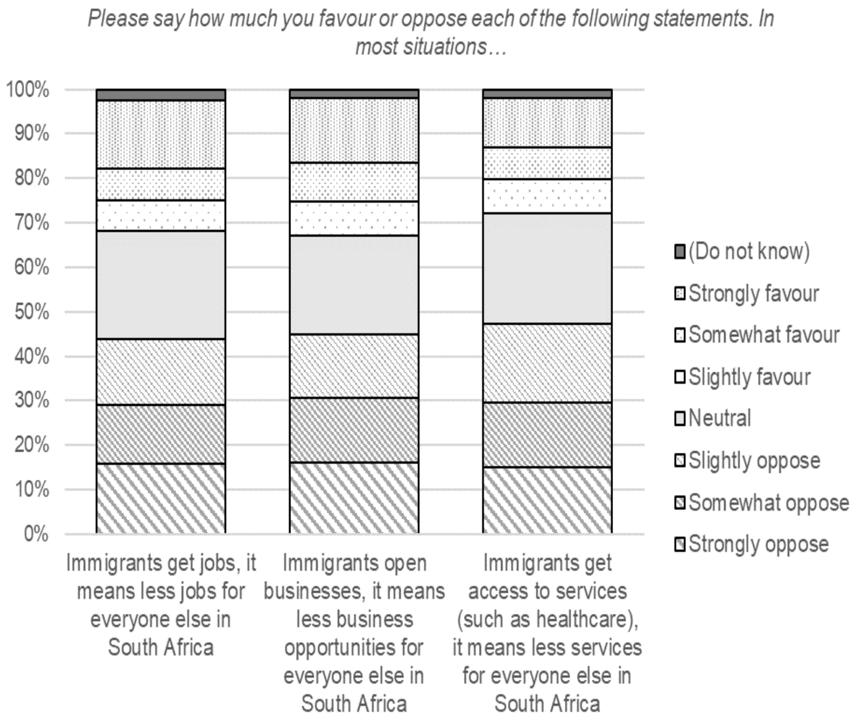
[5] Standard reliability and validity testing showed that these items loaded well onto a single index (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.818$).

regression approach was employed. Several standard dummy variables were included in the analysis as background controls to account for socio-demographic characteristics. The background variables constructed for this study captured gender, marital status, age, educational attainment, asset ownership[6] and province of residence.

Figure 1: Public support and opposition against zero-sum statements against the impact of international immigrants 2020



[6] An Asset Ownership Index was created based on twenty-two questions on whether an individual had certain assets (in working order) in their household during the time of the SASAS interview. The number of assets listed is quite diverse and ranged from a microwave oven to a swimming pool. The Asset Ownership Index was transformed onto a 0 to 10 scale, with the higher value representing the greater number of assets.

Model coefficients (as well as standard errors) from the OLS linear regression analysis are portrayed in Table 2. Beta coefficients were also produced (and represented) to compare the independent variables under consideration adequately.

Table 2: Linear regression on the predictors of the zero-sum beliefs about immigration (0-10) Index

	Coef.	Std. Er.		Beta
Female (ref. male)	0.111	0.100		0.033
Age	0.004	0.004		0.037
Marital Status (ref. Married)	-0.057	0.109		-0.015
Population group (ref. Black African)				
Coloured	-0.375	0.137	**	-0.064
Indian	0.156	0.173		0.015
White	0.437	0.166	**	0.075
Employment (ref. employed)				
Unemployed	-0.076	0.143		-0.022
Labour Inactive	0.031	0.132		0.009
Years of Schooling	-0.042	0.016		-0.009
Asset Ownership Index	-0.041	0.027		-0.055
Interview date (ref. pre-pandemic)	0.334	0.111	**	0.096
Provincial residence (ref. Western Cape)				
Eastern Cape	0.044	0.195		0.080
Northern Cape	0.518	0.192	**	0.050
Free State	-0.252	0.192		-0.033
KwaZulu-Natal	0.279	0.176	*	0.065
North West	0.574	0.286	*	0.087
Gauteng	0.059	0.162		0.016
Mpumalanga	-0.397	0.173	*	-0.061
Limpopo	0.985	0.217	***	0.175

*** p<0.001, **p<0.01, * p<0.05
Note: Number of obs. =2,833, F(19, 2814) = 6.57, Prob > F = 0.000, R-squared = 0.068, Root MSE = 1.615.

Interviewing after the 'hard' lockdown period had a positive (and statistically significant) correlation with the dependent in Table 2 (r= 0.334; SE=0.111;

β=0.096). If a person was interviewed after 21st September 2020, in other words, they were more likely to view international migration in zero-sum terms. This is consistent with BIS theory and suggests that attitudes towards immigrants become more hostile during times of increased threat from pathogens. But, of course, this change could also be due to the 2020 financial recession and growing macro-level resource scarcity. It is interesting to note from the table that economic indicators (e.g., employment or asset ownership) were not good predictors of the ZSBI Index. It may be that *relative* economic status is a better predictor of zero-sum thinking. To check this thesis, the model was adjusted to include a measure of relative economic position[7]. This adjusted model showed that personal relative deprivation fostered zero-sum thinking about international immigration[8]. This is consistent with Ongis and Davidai's (2021) work on how relative disadvantage influences attitudes toward economic success.

Entitlement to Welfare

Entitlement is an important component of zero-sum thinking, an attitude that an individual or group is more entitled to resources than others (Różycka-Tran *et al.* 2015). Entitlement beliefs are one of the primary reasons that different groups find it difficult to fairly distribute resources or devise win-win solutions to problems (also see Wright 2001). Social welfare entitlement

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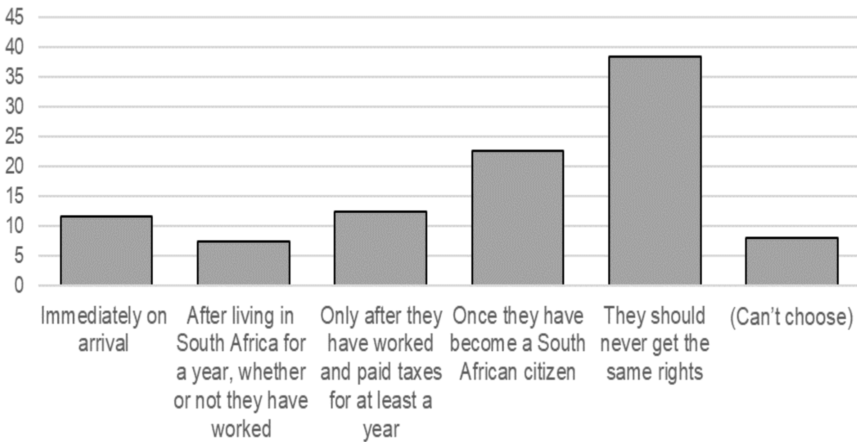
[7] SASAS respondents were asked if they "[h]ow does your household income compare with other households in your village or neighbourhood?" About an eighth (12%) of the adult populace said that they earned above average and 37% told fieldworkers that their income was similar to their neighbours. More than two-fifths either said that they earn below average (27%) or much below average (15%). The remainder (9%) said that they were uncertain of how to answer the question. Responses to this income question were used to measure personal relative deprivation.

[8] Above average income was used as the reference group in the modified model. The results of the modified model showed that having an average income or a below average income had a positive (and statistically significant) correlation with the ZSBI Index. Compared with the reference group, the coefficient for average income (*r*= 0.390; SE=0.146; β=0.113) was lower than below average (*r*= 0.467; SE=0.167; β=0.126) and much below average (*r*= 0.670; SE=0.177; β=0.144).

is a prime source of conflict in many high immigration-receiving countries. The preference for restricting (or denying altogether) the access of the foreign-born to state services (such as healthcare, housing or social grants) has been labelled 'welfare chauvinism' (Greve 2019). This form of chauvinism has been a destructive element in the politics of several nations, and many scholars have explored the rise of this kind of right-wing populism (for a review of the scholarship on this issue, see Careja & Harris 2022). As already aforementioned, welfare entitlement is one of the most important and contentious issues surrounding international migration in South Africa.

Figure 2: Public attitudes towards the inclusion and exclusion of international immigrants in the South African social welfare system



Past public opinion research on international immigration in South Africa has tended to ignore welfare chauvinism and the possible drivers of such attitudes in the country. To address this knowledge gap, the study examined support for welfare chauvinism amongst the general population. SASAS respondents were asked the following question: '[t]hinking of people coming to live in South Africa from other countries, when do you think they should obtain the same rights to social grants and services as citizens already living here?' About two-fifths (38%) of the adult population selected the most

exclusionary option, stating they should never get the same rights (Figure 2). Nearly a quarter (23%) believed such rights could only be accessed when immigrants obtain citizenship. An eighth of the populace said it should be based upon reciprocity, and 8% told fieldworkers that foreigners need to live in the country for a year before these rights can be granted. Only a small minority (12%) took an unrestricted position on welfare access for foreigners.

Table 3: Multinomial probit regression on when individuals think immigrants should obtain the same rights to social grants and services as citizens already living in South Africa

	Model I			Model II		
	Coef.	Std. Er.		Coef.	Std. Er.	
They should never get the same rights	ref.			ref.		
Once they have become a South African citizen	0.053	0.115		0.006	0.135	
Only after they have worked and paid taxes for at least a year	0.402	0.128	**	0.334	0.145	*
After living in South Africa for a year	0.316	0.173		0.300	0.183	
Immediately on arrival	-0.220	0.150		-0.375	0.158	*
(Can't choose)	0.412	0.164	*	0.320	0.180	
Background controls	No			Yes		
Number of obs.	3032			2863		
Wald chi^2	25	(5)		395	(95)	
Prob > chi^2	0.000			0.000		

*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

Note: Coefficients presented in the table depict the correlation between the interview date (ref. pre-pandemic) and the relevant welfare option.

To explore the impact of the 'hard' lockdown period on support for welfare chauvinism amongst the general public, a multinomial probit model (in which the log odds of the outcomes are modelled as a linear combination of the predictor variables) was selected. Two models were produced to assess the relationship between interview date and welfare chauvinism. The first excluded the study's background variables, and the second included them. The multinomial approach used 'they should never get the same rights' as the base outcome, and coefficients (as well as standard errors) are presented in Table 3. From both models, it was clear that the 'hard' lockdown had some influence on welfare chauvinism. However, the overall effect is less robust

than may have been predicted. In Model II, the pandemic's effect was a statistically significant correlate of the dependent in the second and fourth pairings. Compared with the base outcome, the coefficient was negative for the 'immediately' option (r = −0.375; SE = 0.180) and positive for the 'reciprocity' option (r = 0.334; SE = 0.145). In other words, the 'Coronavirus Crisis' decreased support for unrestricted welfare inclusion but increased support for welfare based on reciprocity.

Anti-Immigrant Violence

In this final section, the study considers whether the 'Coronavirus Crisis' increased the likelihood that the adult populace would partake in anti-immigrant hate crimes. There is some evidence to suggest that the COVID-19 pandemic may have fuelled public participation in this kind of crime. Gray and Hansen (2021) found that the COVID-19 pandemic inspired an upsurge in hate crimes against Chinese people in London. When trying to predict how macro-level events influenced intergroup conflict, scholars have paid attention to the role of economic conditions (Dancygier & Laitin 2014). Poor socioeconomic conditions are thought to undermine the societal norms that would impede extremist anti-minority behaviour. Given the socioeconomic shock of the early pandemic period, we may assume that it boosted levels of anti-immigrant participation and support for this kind of violence.

SASAS participants were asked to report whether they had 'taken part in violent action to prevent immigrants from living or working in your neighbourhood?' About a tenth (12%) of the population claimed they had previously participated in anti-immigrant hate crimes. A similar minority (11%;) reported that they were non-participants but might partake in violence in the future. The majority (74%) said they had not participated and would never do so. The remainder (4%) of the adult populace were uncertain how to respond to the question. Commensurate with the previous section, a multivariate analysis was used to assess the influence of the 'Coronavirus Crisis' on public participation in anti-immigrant violence. A multinomial probit approach was selected, and two models were computed; the first did not include the background variables, while the second did. 'Have not done it and would never do it' was the base outcome in both models, and model outcomes are portrayed in Table 4.

Table 4: Multinomial probit regression on whether an individual had taken part in violent action to prevent immigrants from living or working in their neighbourhood

	Model I			Model II		
	Coef.	Std. Er.		Coef.	Std. Er.	
Have not done it and would never do it	ref.			ref.		
Have not done it but might do it	0.164	0.138)		0.354	0.144	*
Have done it in the past	0.381	0.129)	**	0.320	0.154	*
(Can't choose)	0.716	0.190)	***	0.755	0.224	**
Background controls	No			Yes		
Number of obs.	3032			2863		
Wald chi²	19	(5)		228	(57)	
Prob > chi²	0.000			0.000		

*** p<0.001, **p<0.01, * p<0.05

Note: Coefficients presented in the table depict the correlation between the interview date (ref. pre-pandemic) and the relevant anti-immigrant violence option.

A relatively robust relationship between the interview date variable and past participation in both models can be detected. In Model II the size of the interview date coefficient was similar for past participation (r = 0.320; SE = 0.154) and intention to participate amongst non-participants (r = 0.354; SE = 0.144). In summation, the 'Coronavirus Crisis' has increased the likelihood of the reporting past participation in anti-immigrant violence and intention to commit violence among non-participants. Indeed, the effect of the crisis is more robust in Table 4 than in Table 3. Although the positive correlation between the interview date and the dependent variable observed here corresponds with BIS theory, it could be related to the widespread financial recession in South Africa in 2020.

Discussion

The paper investigated whether the early COVID-19 pandemic period increased antagonism towards international immigrants in South Africa. The study focused on three different forms of antipathy: (i) zero-sum beliefs about immigration; (ii) welfare chauvinism; and (iii) anti-immigrant violence. Three theories were considered in predicting how the pandemic

may change public attitudes and behaviours toward foreigners. The data demonstrated that the pandemic increased anti-immigrant behaviour between March and September 2020. Results found that the 'Coronavirus Crisis' increased self-reported participation in hate crime as well as intention to participate among non-participants. The data also found evidence for the hypothesis that the crisis fuelled zero-sum beliefs about international migrants. Both these findings are consistent with BIS theory and was incompatible with both the Social Identity Model of Collective Resilience and the Epidemic Psychology Model. The influence of the early COVID-19 pandemic period on welfare chauvinism in South Africa, on the other hand, was not as substantial as was hypothesised.

The degree of attitudinal and behavioural change observed in this study was not as large as would be predicted by BIS theory. So why did the early COVID-19 pandemic period not have a greater effect on prejudice formation in South Africa? It is possible that progressive efforts by the state and others helped alleviate feelings of stress caused by the 'Coronavirus Crisis'. The SRDP, as Mazenda *et al.* (2022) has argued, did help assuage financial desperation amongst the mass public during the early pandemic period. Similarly, frequent mass appeals to solidarity made by prominent leaders (both political and civic) may have also had a mitigating effect. Research by Struwig *et al.* (2021) seems to suggest that such appeals did have a significant (and positive) effect on the general public during the early phases of the pandemic.

When trying to understand the processes underlying the effect of the 'Coronavirus Crisis' on intergroup attitudes in South Africa, the present study has several limitations. Cross-sectional data was used for the analysis and causal inferences made in a correlational study are always tentatively assumed but not empirically proven. But, given the principal assumptions of this study, it is possible to be reasonably confident about the causal direction of the observed relationships. However, a longitudinal panel design would have been more appropriate for a study of this kind. Longitudinal data would certainly have provided greater insight into the socio-economic effects of the pandemic on individuals over time. Further researchers should try and resolve the data limitations here and use panel studies to investigate why attitudes changed in the way they did.

BIS theory is premised on individual exposure to a pathogen or a set thereof (Faulkner *et al.* 2004). The theory predicts that the greater the level of exposure to a pathogen (e.g., COVID-19), the larger the effect on attitudes

and behaviours (also see Schaller & Duncan 2011). The data available for this study did not include direct measures of individual exposure to pathogens. The paper was, therefore, unable to measure the effect of exposure to COVID-19 on attitudes and behaviour. It may be that greater levels of economic competition (perceived or real) caused by the ‘Coronavirus Crisis’ is responsible for the results observed in this study rather than pathogens *per se*. This conclusion would be consistent with the work of Andrighetto *et al.* (2016). Future research should seek to redress this limitation, and assess how direct exposure to COVID-19 has influenced anti-immigrant behaviour and attitudes in South Africa.

Conclusion

At the time of writing, millions of South Africans have been infected with the Coronavirus, and more than a hundred thousand have died because of the COVID-19 pandemic. This disease has profoundly impacted all aspects of our nation, and at times like these, foreigners can become a scapegoat for societal ills. Limitations notwithstanding, the findings detailed in this paper shed light on how adult attitudes towards non-nationals have changed in response to large-scale macro-level pathogen stress. The study showed that the early pandemic period worsened anti-immigrant sentiments. But more research is needed. We still do not know enough about how major viral pandemics influence attitudes toward international migrants in South Africa. As the general economy is rebuilt following the pandemic and the vaccination programmes begin to achieve their targets, ongoing monitoring of anti-immigrant attitudes and behaviour is necessary. Currently, we do not understand the long-term effects of the pandemic on public attitudes toward foreign nationals, and we do not know how permanent the observed upswing in anti-immigrant sentiment will be[9].

[9] Public opinion data from the 2021 round of SASAS shows that self-reported levels of public participation in anti-immigrant hate crime remain elevated and consistent with what was seen in SASAS 2020 (Gordon, 2022). Unfortunately, the 2021 round of SASAS did not repeat the questions on welfare chauvinism and zero-sum thinking about foreigners.

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Chapter 6 - Realising Rights for Women and Gender-related Refugees and Asylum Seekers: Exploring Intersectionality as an Analytical Tool for Refugee Law and Policy Reform in South Africa

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Abstract

Although women reflect almost sixty percent of the total refugee population in Africa, they remain relatively invisible in refugee law and policy. This is because advances in protecting women refugees and asylum seekers have not necessarily kept pace with the realities they face. There is a need for law and policy reform geared towards effectively responding to their needs. With South Africa as the context, this paper utilises intersectionality theory as the analytical lens to examine protection gaps that women and gender-related refugees and asylum seekers face and suggests how these can be adequately addressed to enhance law and policy reform. The analysis is premised on the assumption that identifying specific systems within the refugee and asylum regime that propagate oppression and discrimination would enhance the protection of women and gender-related refugees in South Africa.

Keywords: refugee women, gender, intersectionality, asylum, South Africa

Introduction

The notion of asylum or protection of foreigners by a state other than their own has been an issue of concern for centuries. It remains high on the political agenda, not least because of the large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers and the protracted nature that asylum has become (see, for example, Crisp 2003; Kraler, Etzold & Ferreira 2021). Key among the priorities within the global asylum sphere is addressing the root causes of forced displacement and finding durable solutions to what is termed the 'refugee problem' (see for instance, Bloch 2020; Chimni 2004; Goedhart 1955; Saunders 2017). Often the assumption is that the adoption of international law standards at the national level would ensure that those seeking refuge or granted protection would lead optimal lives shrouded by the protection that such domestication of laws would provide. However, the general reaction in 2015 of European states to the arrival of large numbers of asylum seekers highlighted that the existence of law would not necessarily ensure the protection of rights (John-Langba 2020: 96). Further, any questioning of the substance of asylum would focus not on remedying deficiencies in law, policy and practice but on the persons seeking refuge. Are they worthy of such protection even if persecution underlies their flight?

Perhaps the results would be different if the refugee laws and resultant policies were formulated giving due regard to pertinent dimensions of asylum, such as gender. Certainly, the lessons from feminist thought and methodology have underscored the importance of interrogating asylum utilising a holistic approach that 'sees' all as individuals with experiences of asylum that cannot be generalised or labelled simply by virtue of existing in a common space (for example, country of asylum) or perhaps displaced from a common geographical location (for example country of origin). This approach is particularly important in effectively addressing the rights of women refugees. Evidence and practice indicate that law and policy often overlook displaced women. Thus, scholars are applying a more complex gender lens in studies related to migration broadly and specifically to refugees and forced migration (see, for example Khan & Willie 2021; Yacob-Haliso 2021 & 2016; Farley 2019; Carastathis, Kouri-Towe, Mahrouse & Whitley 2018; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014). Some states are adopting feminist foreign policies that redefine their foreign policies to ones centred on the socio-economic well-being of groups they have designated as marginalised such as refugees (Scheyer & Kumskova 2019).

The theoretical approach that is beginning to take root in analysing the complexities that face refugee (and other forcibly displaced) women is intersectionality. As a theory, intersectionality moves beyond a mere gender-sensitive approach to analysing asylum to one that attempts to peel back and expose the layered experiences of displacement that propagate or amplify inequalities that women in particular encounter (Yacob-Haliso 2016). While there are divergent views on its definition and application, basic tenets underpin this theory, including viewing people as more than just a single characteristic (Yuval-Davis 2011; Hankivsky & Cormier 2009). Intersectionality also proposes that social categories or locations like race, ethnicity, gender, age, class etc., are socially constructed, dynamic, inseparable, and in constant interaction, making it impossible to view or analyse each category in isolation or hierarchically (Hankivsky *et al*. 2019: 135). Its underlying current promotes social justice and equity (*ibid*.; Hankivsky & Cormier 2009: 4).

Intersectionality's utility as an analytical tool in research on refugee studies in Africa is that women account for almost 50 percent of the total refugee population (UNHCR 2022a). Yet, they remain relatively invisible in refugee law and policy as advances in their protection have not necessarily kept pace with their realities (Orock 2021). Most of the body of work on refugee women in Africa adopts the traditional analytical methods of focusing on a singular category, such as gender or sex, without critically considering the complex relationships that intersectionality proposes (Orock 2021). Thus, there is limited analysis between the various social categories and the complexity of the contexts within which they are located.

This paper stems from recommendations from a doctoral research project conducted between 2017 and 2020 (John-Langba 2020) and aims to explore intersectionality as a theoretical framework for refugee law and policy reform for the realisation of rights for women and gender-related refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. In particular, the doctoral study identified the lack of consideration of the intersecting disadvantages that women face when accessing asylum. The paper employs a desk review methodology drawing from secondary sources, including journal articles, reports, books, and internet sources. It responds to Orock's (2021) call to explore intersectionality as a paradigm to generate knowledge on refugee women and forced migration in Africa by providing an analysis of the asylum regime in South Africa concerning women and gender-related refugees and asylum seekers. The analysis is located within the gender, women, and

refugee law discourse. The analysis utilises Yacob-Haliso's (2016: 55) intersectionality of disadvantage, which she defines as 'a dual intertwined convergence of personal and systemic factors' that aggravates refugee [women's] disadvantages in accessing and experiencing solutions.

The first part of the paper provides an overview of the theory of intersectionality and its importance in analysing women and gender in refugee law, policy, and practice. The second section discusses the emergence of women and gender as subjects of analysis within refugee law, the important notion of vulnerability, and why these need to be questioned. This is followed by a discussion and analysis of women and gender within the South African asylum regime focusing on specific aspects of claiming asylum based on gender-related and gender-specific grounds and the intersectionalities that arise. The paper wraps up with reflections on implications for policy and practice.

Intersectionality in the Context of Women, Gender and Refugee Law

Intersectionality was proposed as a theory by Crenshaw (1989) and may be defined as 'a theory to analyse how social and cultural categories intertwine' (Knudsen 2006: 61). It has transcended its critical race theory roots and has been developed, adopted, or adapted by other academic disciplines and discourses. Its importance in the context of this paper is that it has since travelled beyond its initial theoretical premise and has found application in refugee studies (for example, Iyar 2019; Taha 2019; Yacob-Haliso 2016). Within the refugee discourse, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2017: 1) describes intersectionality as:

> The recognition that experiences of displacement are framed by a range of intersecting and overlapping identity markers [or categories] (including gender, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and age) and also by a range of power structures (such as patriarchy, xenophobia, Islamophobia, and homophobia). Importantly, the relative significance of these identity markers and related power structures shift across time and space, including in processes of displacement. This can help us understand – perhaps even predict – that individuals and social groups may be vulnerable to, or at risk of,

> different forms of violence [marginalisation and exclusion] throughout different stages of their journeys to secure international protection.

Ultimately, intersectionality is principally concerned with how people experience belonging to these categories and the related oppression or empowerment that may result (Yuval-Davis 2011). Research within the intersectionality framework often gives a voice to oppressed or invisible groups (McCall 2005), hence its emblematic social justice leaning.

There are inherent challenges with intersectionality as a theory. One of the primary concerns is the underdevelopment of research designs and methods that capture their utility in social research (Hancock 2013 & 2007). This underdevelopment, in turn, impacts decisions about the manner intersectionality should be applied, the process of its application and how to accommodate the multiplicity of intersecting categories within any given analysis or if it is necessary to include all identifiable categories in the analysis (Orock 2021: 1169). There is evidence that the above-mentioned theoretical and methodological weaknesses have resulted in research outputs that still fail to account for the intersection of forcibly displaced women's experiences with other categorical variables (such as gender, race and sexuality) that shape those experiences (Orock 2021: 1169; Carastathis *et al*. 2018; McCall 2005: 1772). Some intersectionality scholars have proposed methodologies to address these shortcomings (see, for example, McCall (2005), Knudsen (2006) and Angelucci (2017)), which may assist in framing intersectional research on refugee women in Africa.

The other fundamental gap is limited evidence that intersectionality as a theory or method has been utilised in analysing asylum within the African context. It is, however, emerging as a pertinent theoretical framework to understand the gendered experiences of women refugees in Africa. A growing body of work provides viable insights into intersectionality's theoretical utility, including Yacob-Haliso (2021: 579-602 & 2016: 53-67); Orock (2021: 1168-1173); and Khan and Willie (2021: 175-189).

Notwithstanding the challenges and gaps, intersectionality provides a promising avenue to develop strategic approaches to address systemic human rights violations, which often arise in the context of refugees. Thus, it provides a lens to comprehensively analyse the situation of refugees and asylum seekers, especially women, girls, sexual minorities, persons with disability, and the elderly.

Situating Women and Gender within the Asylum Regime in South Africa

South Africa hosts many refugees and asylum seekers, with the highest numbers from Ethiopia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Bangladesh, and Somalia (UNHCR 2022b). The precise number of women, girls or those categorised based on gender is unknown as these data are not disaggregated. Based on NGO research reports and documentation from legal aid clinics, it is estimated that women constitute 32 percent of the asylum/refugee popular-tion (Chinnian 2014: 182). Given the absence of disaggregated data, it is difficult to determine the accurate figures. It is unclear what percentage of the refugee and asylum population comprises other gender-related asylum claimants.

Additionally, women and sexual and gender minorities seek asylum in a context of high levels of sexual and gender-based violence (Mogale, Burns & Richter 2012; Nduna & Shona 2021; Sibanda-Moyo, Khonje & Brobbey 2017; Vogelman & Eagle 1991). This ultimately impacts how those adjudicating asylum view gendered harm and how women and gender-related refugees and asylum seekers experience asylum. (Freedman, Crankshaw & Mutambara 2020: 324-334; Freedman 2016 & 2015).

The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) oversees asylum, and its current domestic legal framework is underpinned by the Refugees Act 130 of 1998 (the Refugees Act or the Act) as amended. The Immigration Act 13 of 2002 also contains provisions relevant to refugees and asylum seekers. The Refugees Act is written in gender-neutral terminology and contains two key provisions that are particularly relevant with respect to women, sexual minorities, and gender are its definition of the term 'social group' (section 1 of the Act) and the refugee definition clause (section 3 of the Act).

The Refugees Act in section 1 (xxi) elaborates on the meaning of a 'social group' which is defined as including 'a group of persons of particular gender, sexual orientation, disability, class or caste'. The definition of a refugee as provided for in section 3 of the Refugees Act not only reflects both the 1951 Refugee Convention and Organisation of African Unity/African Union (OAU/AU) Refugee Convention definitions of a refugee, but it also goes further than the treaty definitions by including 'gender' as one of the grounds of persecution. This widens the scope of protection and provides an explicit basis for claiming asylum on gender-related grounds. This provision reflects the constitutional imperative for

equality, set out in section 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, that prohibits discrimination on grounds including sex, sexual orientation, and gender. Should such grounds have been absent from the Refugees Act, this constitutional provision for non-discrimination would have provided the implicit basis for claiming protection on such grounds. The Act was amended in 2020. While it retains its gender-neutral language, the opportunity to elaborate further on or reflect pertinent refugee law developments with respect to women and gender was missed.

The DHA's website also reflects the apparent disconnect between the legislative progression concerning gender and implementation. The DHA officially departs from gender-neutral terminology used in the Act resorting instead to the almost exclusive use of the pronouns he/him (DHA 2022). The website also fails to include 'gender' as the grounds on which asylum can be claimed. This asylum regime is embedded within a context steeped in xenophobia, corruption, and maladministration (John-Langba 2020), which in and of themselves contribute to the power differentials, complexities, discrimination, and disadvantages that refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa face.

Claiming Asylum by Women and Gender-related Asylum Seekers

Due to its positive legal environment, there is an assumption that South Africa provides one of the most optimal environments in Africa for those fleeing persecution on the grounds of gender, including based on sexual orientation and gender identity (Marnell, Oliveira & Khan 2021). The asylum process is initiated at first contact with an immigration official (refugee status determination (RSD) officers), which then triggers certain processes that are time-bound, with all documentation issued in terms of the Immigration Act. The regulations stipulate that the adjudication process should take 180 days. However, the system is plagued with numerous problems, which result in intersectionalities of disadvantage. These include: the absence of a framework for determining refugee status based on gender; challenges with confidentiality and the impact of cultural norms on the asylum process; limited capacity and skills in refugee law; and the lack of knowledge on the asylum process. These challenges are discussed below, considering the intersecting disadvantages they impose on women and others claiming

asylum based on gender, and the resultant protection gaps.

Absence of a Guiding Framework for Determining Refugee Status Based on Gender and the Resultant Intersecting Disadvantages.

There are currently no guidelines in South Africa that provide a framework for evaluating gender-related asylum claims. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) issued two guidelines which remain the most authoritative source for interpreting claims based on gender-related persecution within Article 1A (2) of the 1951 Convention. These are the UNHCR Guidelines on International Protection: Gender-related Persecution (UNHCR 2002) and the Guidelines on Claims to Refugee Status Based on Sexual Orientation and/or Gender Identity (UNHCR 2012). These guidelines aim to standardise: the interpretation of claims and procedures, including the concept of gender/sex as grounds for claiming asylum, the notions of well-founded fear and persecution, the absence of State protection, the use of same-sex interviews or appeal hearings and optimal modalities of giving evidence (Querton 2019: 381).

In the absence of such guidelines, the RSD process concerning claiming asylum in South Africa on gender-related grounds is, at best arbitrary and subjective. A guiding framework would give meaning to the legal provision that recognizes gender as a ground on which to claim asylum and, where implemented, would reduce the arbitrariness that may result from processing such claims. This is because gender is relevant in assessing whether one meets the criteria for being granted asylum. The DHA had the opportunity to provide such a framework through the amendments to the Refugees Act. The amendments could have included principled guidance on how the gender-related grounds for claiming protection are to be interpreted. This would eliminate the arbitrariness or subjectivity that a mere listing of grounds would have on the interpretation and application of the decisions related to such gender-related claims. As Palmary (2003:11) rightly points out, a positive change in the law is only one part of the equation as the asylum process depends not only on the law itself but also on the constructions of meaning by all the actors involved. Its interpretation and application will determine whether those eligible to claim asylum based on gender can successfully do so. argued that. Therein lies the crux of the matter.

Crawley (2001) distinguishes between gender-related and gender-specific claims as they relate to women. Gender-related persecution is 'the experiences of women who are persecuted because they are women, i.e., because of their identity and status as women' and gender-specific persecution as 'forms of serious harm, which are specific to women' (Crawley 2001: 7) such as female genital mutilation (FGM). As acknowledged earlier, men also experience gender-based persecution, which could be based on sexual orientation or sexual violence. In addition, certain war-related activities that can amount to persecution target men/males specifically because of their gender, such as forcible recruitment of boys and young men by armed groups (Querton 2019: 385). These are gender-specific claims. Therefore, delineating what constitutes gender-related and gender-specific persecution clarifies the substantive elements of such claims and is an important step toward eliminating subjectivity and arbitrariness when assessing claims.

In addition, studies indicate that claiming asylum based on gender-related or gender-specific grounds is difficult (see, for example, Camminga 2018; Dustin & Held 2018; Arbel, Dauvergne & Millbank 2014; Hathaway & Pobjoy 2012; Harris 2009; Zeigler & Stewart 2009). Gender-related and gender-specific grounds in South Africa include domestic violence, female genital cutting/ mutilation, forced marriage, forced sterilisation, rape, and sexual orientation (Harris 2009). These claims are interpreted using the 'typical male refugee fleeing religious or political persecution' (Crawley 2001: 35; UNHCR 2002: 2; Zeigler & Stewart 2009) approach due to the absence of a gender-sensitive interpretation in the adjudication process. The result is that claims based on gender often fail as they are deemed manifestly unfounded; they do not fall under any of the designated grounds.

Harris (2009) noted a vast difference in interpretation of what amounted to valid gender-related claims and the requirements for meeting the perceived thresholds of such claims in South Africa. In the absence of guidelines, this is left to the whim of the RSD officer and other officials within the adjudication structures. For instance, the differences in adjudicating domestic violence and FGM claims. Domestic violence claims failed regardless of the facts. The view among officials was that it would not be grounds for asylum as states are not required to prevent domestic violence, and domestic violence does not amount to persecution (Harris 2009: 310-311). The result was that all claims based on domestic violence were rejected regardless of the facts (*ibid.*). However, FGM claims were considered favourably (*ibid.*). There was also a degree of arbitrariness and unsound

reasoning behind the rejection of claims based on rape. For instance, one rejection letter stated: 'rape is a crime that appears to be rampant all over the world and could therefore not constitute persecution' (Harris 2009: 316). This was despite the claim, included details of the systematic use of rape by rebel groups against women and girls, and country of origin information supporting this fact (Harris 2009: 316).

A study on asylum claims based on SOGI in Germany and the United Kingdom (UK) found a high degree of subjectivity in adjudicating such asylum claims, despite the existence of guidelines or instructions on handling SOGI claims (Dustin & Held 2018). Similarly, a growing body of evidence in the South African context indicates that the experiences of asylum seekers when applying for asylum based on SOGI are not based on the interpretation of the law but the administrative officers' perceptions, attitudes, and stereotypes about sexual minorities (Moodley 2012; Mudarikwa *et al.* 2021; Okisai 2015).

Decisions related to SOGI have revealed inconsistencies in understanding the nature of well-founded fear of persecution, absence of best practice and, given the emerging jurisprudence of SOGI-based asylum claims, a lack of consultation with case law and authoritative legal opinions that would otherwise clarify critical concepts and guide necessary interpretation of claims (Mudarikwa *et al.* 2021). For instance, the Refugee Appeals Board, the DHA body entrusted with appeals, determined that well-founded persecution for a claim based on SOGI requires not merely the existence of a law that criminalises homosexuality but the enforcement of the law leading to the actual prosecution of the asylum claimant (Moodley 2012: 11-17). In other words, an asylum claimant was required to live openly as a homosexual (or other sexual minority) and, as a result, face persistent harassment, threats, or arrest before qualifying as having a well-founded fear of persecution. Academic opinion and case law point to the fact that in the case of sexual minorities, harm amounting to persecution can either be exogenous, endogenous or both (Hathaway & Pobjoy 2012: 333; Moodley 2012: 10 & 16).

Exogenous harm is external to the person and can be from state action, such as through criminalisation of SOGI or cultural and religious factors (Hathaway & Pobjoy 2012). Endogenous harm is internal or psychological, as illustrated by Sachs (1999, para 130) in *National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality v Minister of Justice* 1999 (1) SA 6, where he asserts that requiring an applicant to live in a state of self-denial was to

require him to live in a state of self –induced oppression. To rely on external harm would not be sufficient to assess the totality of the degree of persecution for a SOGI asylum claim. The relevant persecutory harm is the modification of behaviour or the impact that such behaviour modification has on the applicant Hathaway and Pobjoy (2012: 333). The South African asylum system relies heavily upon exogenous harm to determine the credibility of a SOGI asylum claim, contrary to international case law and human rights practice resulting in structural intersectionality with detrimental effects on meeting the protection needs of such refugees and asylum seekers (Dustin & Held 2018; Lee & Brotman 2013).

Confidentiality, Cultural Norms and the Intersectionalities of Disadvantage

Confidentiality is another important underlying principle of the asylum process. Section 21(5) of the Refugees Act guarantees confidentiality and is one of the fundamental principles of the UNHCR Gender-related persecution guidelines (2002, para 35 & 36). However, evidence indicates that the application process for some asylum seekers was not confidential or that the applicants were not made aware that the application process would be confidential (Harris 2009). The impact manifested in particular ways. Sexual minority refugees and asylum seekers reported being 'outed', taunted, ridiculed, and humiliated by officials and other refugees and asylum seekers when they sought services related to their asylum application process, whether at initial interviews or subsequent DHA visits for permit renewals (Camminga 2018: 102-105; Okisai 2015: 28-30).

In the absence of the guarantee for confidentiality or awareness about confidentiality, other asylum seekers chose not to disclose their SOGI status at the time of application out of shame or fear of repercussions like those that caused the flight (Okisai 2015: 26-28). Those who were 'outed', perceived, or discovered to be sexual minorities, found it difficult to integrate locally, within their national or socio-cultural communities or the broader community, were treated with indignity, and faced high levels of threats of harm and violence (Camminga 2018; Okisai 2015: 28-30). In sum, once within the asylum system, claiming rights such as accessing employment, healthcare and housing are curtailed by societal perceptions, attitudes, and stereotypes about sexual minorities, which compound their survival

(Camminga 2018: 102-105). In the case of women, particularly those subjected to sexual violence, this resulted in non-disclosure of the sexual violence perpetrated against them, with a detrimental impact on the credibility of their claims (Freedman *et al* 2020).

Cultural norms impact how asylum seekers interact with the asylum system or process and compound perceptions about confidentiality. They play a significant role in determining perceptions about the interviewing process, interactions between adjudicators of a sex different from the claimant, perceptions about persons in authority, the extent to which matters considered taboo can be discussed and so forth. Zeigler and Stewart (2009), in their assessment of the US asylum policies, noted the detrimental impact that the failure of the US policies to incorporate the gendered nature of cultural practices had on women's access to asylum (119). Similarly, within the South African context, the asylum system is administered in a manner that fails to account for the gendered nature of cultural practices, which impact, for instance, women's willingness to discuss sexual violence. Harris (2009) and Moodley (2012) found that women were reluctant to disclose the nature of the sexual or gender-based harm they experienced where the RSD officer or assigned interpreter was male. Harris (2009) noted a general pattern of non-disclosure or limited disclosure of gender-related harm by female asylum seekers and refugees where the interviewer and interpreter were males. None of the women whose asylum claims were gender-related in all the cases reviewed were interviewed by a female RSD officer, and neither was a female interpreter provided (Harris 2009: 331).

Cultural norms do not fall away once in a country of asylum. Thus, being a refugee or an asylum seeker serves a cohesive purpose to the extent that cultural norms are retained while in the country of asylum. While the degree to which acceptance of homosexuality and other forms of sexuality varies across Africa, evidence from South Africa indicates that many refugees and asylum seekers who are sexual and gender minorities are excluded from their communities (Camminga 2018; Mudarikwa *et al*. 2021). In the case of women, for instance, victims of rape, disclosure of the rape(s) experienced may be difficult due to social norms that constrain discussion of sexual matters or that victimise the woman because of the sexual violence she has experienced (Harris 2009: 331-333; Zeigler & Stewart 2009: 123). In the absence of carefully considered asylum adjudication protocols, refugees and asylum seekers are disempowered and rendered vulnerable to the injustices that arise from a poorly managed asylum system.

Knowledge/ Awareness and the Intersectionalities of Disadvantage

The asylum process relies heavily on knowledge (Yacob-Haliso 2016: 56). It requires knowledge about refugee law and emerging trends in its interpretation; knowledge about the country of origin (including the laws and practices that may constitute harm amounting to persecution); and knowledge about the asylum process and importantly, the grounds upon which international protection may be claimed. Knowledge underlies competency. Proper refugee status determination requires competency in the law, and the application of the law in a gender-sensitive manner while adhering to confidentiality. A proper status determination also requires access to accurate country of origin information (Amit 2012; Middleton 2009: 31-33).

In a survey of the asylum process, Amit (2012) found that adjudicators generally lacked an understanding of the basic tenets of refugee law. This resulted in an overall lack of well-reasoned decisions, critical errors of refugee law, including misapplication of the notions of 'persecution', 'well-founded fear', and 'social groups', and application of incorrect standards for burden of proof (Amit 2012: 18 - 19, 31 - 94; see also Middleton 2009: 33 - 37). The RSD officers also failed to apply their minds and regularly utilised inaccurate country of origin assessments to determine the credibility of claims (see also Middleton 2009: 38- 45; Moodley 2012: 10-18).

For example, a female Rwandan asylum seeker who identified as Tutsi and was repeatedly raped by Hutu militia was assigned a male Hutu interpreter (Harris 2009: 330). She was uncomfortable disclosing the nature of the crimes perpetrated against her because of the interpreter's ethnicity and gender. The RSD officer's failure to utilise country of origin information in appointing an interpreter, specifically that the Rwandan genocide was perpetrated primarily by the Hutu tribe against the Tutsi tribe, jeopardised her claim to asylum and access to protection. She chose not to mention either the rapes by the Hutu militia or her ethnicity during that interview which substantively undermined her claim (*ibid.*).

Similarly, in *Refugee Appeal Board Decision (Tanzania)*, South Africa 2011 (UNHCR 2011), which involved a SOGI asylum claim, the Refugee Appeal Board failed to consider pertinent country of origin information, including a report submitted to the UN Human Rights Committee (HRC) that highlighted the human rights violations that sexual minorities faced at the hands of Tanzanian authorities (Kyaruzi, Mbaru,

Fabeni & Tripp 2009). The HRC would subsequently censure Tanzania for failing to protect the rights of sexual minorities in its outcome report (HRC 2009, para 22). The asylum claim was denied.

Knowledge of the asylum process, including grounds on which a claim can be made, is vital to access protection. There is a degree of unawareness among asylum seekers of the grounds upon which to lodge a claim; for example, Harris (2009) noted that some asylum seekers were not aware that they could claim asylum based on gender-related or gender-specific grounds such as SOGI, FGM or rape until legal counsel was sought following an asylum denial. Some asylum seekers were also unaware of the impact that non-disclosure of gender-related persecution would have on the credibility of their claim, as exemplified above with the case of the Rwandan claimant. Non-disclosure of valid grounds for asylum applications in terms of the Refugees Act often occurred due to the combined absence of an environment conducive to disclosure, cultural concerns, and the lack of awareness of, or perceived absence of confidentiality (Harris 2009; Moodley 2012; Okisai 2015; Zeigler & Stewart 2009). These factors rely on having the requisite knowledge about the asylum system, the rights that an asylum seeker or refugee derived from the law and the duties imposed on the officials overseeing the implementation of the system.

Yacob-Haliso (2016: 54-55), writing about refugee women's experiences in Liberia and Nigeria, concluded that access to information contributed significantly to the intersectionality of disadvantage. She notes that numerous protection problems were directly related to access to information and that the lack of information contributed to complicating protection challenges that refugee women face (Yacob-Haliso 2016: 56). A primary example is access to justice, without which the rights promised are illusionary. Access to justice requires knowledge about legal remedies and institutions that can facilitate justice and the process of accessing those remedies and institutions. Not many refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa have the knowledge or resources to seek justice (Khan & Willie 2021: 182-187). This is a significant problem as the asylum system is beleaguered with problems that directly undermine refugee and asylum seekers' access to their rights (John-Langba 2020). The result is the heightened vulnerability of women and other gender-related refugees and asylum claimants to limitations on accessing rights, violation of rights, abuse, violence, and exploitation.

Reflections: Implications for Policy and Practice

The above challenges interact in a context rife with xenophobia, discrimination, maladministration, corruption, securitisation, and a lack of political will to meet legislative and constitutional obligations to refugees and asylum seekers (John-Langba 2020). In the absence of a mandatory framework for applying gender guidelines and the presence of an asylum regime that does not integrate a critical gender-sensitive approach, women and gender-related refugees and asylum seekers constantly find themselves navigating complex crossroads that render protection out of reach.

For policy to address these challenges and the resultant protection gaps, proposals need to consider how the different inequalities such as social class, ethnicity or sexuality interact to produce different effects on refugees and asylum seekers. Moreover, policies would need to challenge power hierarchies and account for how 'structural aspects locate individuals and groups in certain (dis)advantageous positions, while at the same time refraining from (re)enforcing stereotypes about specific groups' (Standke-Erdmann 2021: 8).

The first mitigating step would be to make women and gender-related refugees and asylum seekers visible in terms of numbers. The absence of official statistics and data on these categories of refugees and asylum seekers results in an asylum system that renders them de facto invisible. The laws and policies are implemented blindly without recognising vital trends that disaggregated data may provide. Statistics and data constitute an integral part of generating policy and, if properly analysed and communicated, result in policies that work well (Dilnot 2012). Importantly, such information would provide important trends on gender-related asylum issues and help develop contextual responses that would effectively address protection gaps.

Another vital step is developing a framework for gender-related asylum determination within the asylum system. Adopting gender guidelines for refugee status determination is not a remedy that stands in isolation. Still, they provide the necessary benchmarks with which adjudication can occur with reduced arbitrariness and subjectivity. For instance, the NGO-proposed gender guidelines for refugee status determination in South Africa included a recommendation to expand the meaning of political persecution to include experiences of harm in the private sphere (Valji & De La Hunt 1999). Importantly, they would mitigate discrimination based on sex and gender and enhance substantive gender equality. A normative approach to developing

such a framework would be necessary to ensure that they form a binding influence on the adjudication process. They could, for instance, be included as part of the regulations of the Refugees Act. Such a framework would require a capacity-building plan, which includes training on, the interpretation of gender as grounds for persecution and, collecting and synthesising data on women and other gender-related refugees and asylum seekers.

There is a growing body of evidence on asylum claims based on SOGI and the experiences of these categories of persons as either refugees or asylum seekers in South Africa. The evidence has highlighted significant protection gaps and intersectionalities of disadvantages they face, and crucially, provides policy recommendations to address these challenges. There is, however, a significant gap in research on other aspects of gender-related asylum matters, specifically on women. Feminist engagement with and analysis of refugee law has brought substantive changes in understanding women's experiences with persecution in the North. It is precisely this manner of academic and advocacy engagement that can propel the experiences of persecution of women in Africa to the forefront of asylum policy and practice and contribute to substantive changes that would address the protection gaps in Africa. Gender also needs to be analysed further to generate clarity on the impact of masculinity on power relations in the context of asylum in Africa. This would reveal other structures of discrimination or intersectionalities and vulnerabilities that must be addressed to enhance the protection of the rights of women and gender-related refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa.

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Chapter 7 - Migrants, Criminals and State Security Concerns in Contemporary South Africa: The Implications of Labelling on Migrant Policy and Practice in South Africa

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Abstract

This article discusses the policy aims of the South African Department of Home Affairs (DHA) because it exposes foreign nationals, women and migrants to differential treatment in South Africa today. The study involved migrant labourers in Polokwane and Gauteng working on the farms, mines and industries. Economic opportunities offered by South Africa after 1994 turned it into a migrant-receiving country, requiring legal control towards potential visitors, refugees or foreign labourers to avert the problem of fugitives running away from the law. Participants for the qualitative study were randomly and conveniently drawn from a sample of Zimbabweans and Mozambicans. Media Assisted Interviews (MAIs) also Mobile Instant Messaging Interviews (MIMIs) used a mobile messenger, WhatsApp in the study. Participants ranged from those with expired visas to those without passports at all. The study established a correlation between the contemporary immigration policy and the South African Apartheid Aliens Control Act of 1991 that restricted foreign African nationals but did not restrict white foreign nationals. The South African immigration policy has justified both politicians and nationals to act violently against foreign African nationals causing great turmoil among migrants in South Africa. The study found out that South Africa's immigration policy criminalises all migrants and securitises nationals through fear by reports such as the seven percent

proportion of children of foreign natives born in South Africa becoming native foreigners. This study is couched in new discourses of decoloniality by emphasising on use of regional, continental, and international templates to benchmark progressive immigration policy aims for South Africa.

Keywords: Migrants, Criminals, Security, Decoloniality, Labeling, South Africa

Introduction

South Africa (SA), probably one of the last group of countries in Africa to be free from the most heinous of colonial rules, Apartheid, did not only turn out to be an economic powerhouse in Southern Africa but one of the highly visited middle income countries by other African nationals in Africa (Klotz 2012). The country is bordered by two oceans (the Indian and the Pacific Oceans) and four nations (Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana and Namibia). South Africa uses the national constitution to create its acts such as the Immigration and Refugee Acts but has lacked a (w)holistic approach on how to differentiate legal from illegal migrants, refugees and run-away criminals due to its cleavage to the complex Apartheid system's 1991 Aliens Control Act (Ilgit & Klotz 2014; GOSA 1991). Run-away criminals are a threat to state security and justify securitization and criminalization options although it does not justify use of the colonial template to create such legislation (Crush & Pendleton 2004; Vigneswaran 2020). In the history of nation-states, sojourners, visitors, tourists, migrants, migrant labourers and criminals have been treated with respect especially among Greek societies (Seaver 2022). Trading regulations have been cognizance of power and hegemony, but respected human beings leading to human inventions and civilizations that gave growth in science, education, religion, medicine, philosophy, literature, democracy, trade, agriculture, and commerce (Seaver 2022). This study explored the policy aims in SA's migration discourses for various statuses of migrants (Carens 2008). The study was concerned about the blurred lines in the SA policy aims (Bloch 2008) that must be resolved by benchmarking against regional, continental, and international best practices along discourses of decoloniality (Deacon, Olivier & Beremauro 2014; Segatti 2011) in the DHA in SA.

Background History and Context of State Security in South Africa

State security framework of analysis was developed at Copenhagen School of Security Studies (between 1990 and 1995) by international relations theorists with interests on controlling potentially dangerous migrants (Farmy 2016; Buzan, Wæver & de Wilde 1998). Securitisation has implications on legal measures used by nation-states to securitise themselves from regional insecurity concerns (Buzan 2007; IOM 2019). Legal securitisation shifts away from military securitisation (Collins 2016:168). Securitisation is distinctly important in international politics so as to avert danger posed by an inter-subjective view of irregular regional migration (Buzan, Wæver & de Wilde 1998). States rather confirm citizenship upon persons with qualities to strengthen national cohesion, identity, and dignity (Biehl 2009). Decoloniality interrogates use of identity on territorialisation as a danger to human security in a contemporary world with improved travel, transportation and telecommunication across borders, ideas and relations. Identity of territorialisation risks in developing a stateless mobile population (Castles & Miller 2014). Security clustering in geographic regions leads to complexes where security becomes threatened as migrants travel from one region to another (Buzan & Wæver 2003:41). When a migrant moves from one state to the other, he or she interacts with the security of the locals leading to security-inter-dependence making our study of the security of locals and migrants in SA an interesting subject of discussion. SA is bordered by four countries and two oceans around it domiciled by two countries, making it an insulator state. SA has become a country at the points of security dynamics in relation to theories of international relations in southern Africa. It protects the region from developing stateless communities as transcending boundaries applies to regional polarity, interdependence, the balance of power and alliance system that belongs to regular and irregular migrants in regional states (Buzan & Wæver 2003:49; Carens 2008).

Further, increased sensitivity towards job security to divert attention from government failure led to criminalization of migrant labourers, narrowing the definition of citizenship to ethnic and cultural identity, legitimacy, recognition and entitlement. Apartheid SA used identity in its contract-migrant labour system. Asylum seekers thus are regarded as job seekers not protectable under the South African law as the state is not obligated as does to its citizens and voters. This has legitimised unjustified

xenophobic attacks like Operation Dudula that human rights and humanitarian organizations have criticised. Xenophobic attacks, probably wrongly ascribed to the self-defense units of the African National Congress (ANC) in the 1990s to defend people in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng against attacks by Inkatha Freedom Party (Zulu: *Inqembu LenKatha yeNkululeko,* IFP) and the apartheid state's military and police have not been sustained (Harper 2022). President, Cyril Ramaposa, denied the claims, saying the governing party did not welcome the activity (Harper 2022; *The Herald* Correspondent 2022; Madia 2022; Magakoe 2022; Harper 2022). This struggle justifies the couching of this study in the decolonial theory (Sibanda 2022; Bhengu 2022). Arresting and incarcerating of Nhlanhla 'Lux' Dlamini is evidence that the operation was not supported by ANC (*The New Zimbabwe* Staff Reporter 2022; Maromo 2022). This makes the opinions and actions of individual ministers responsible for foreigners of less effect. The divisive and criminalizing mood in the security discourse is therefore condemned, especially for conflating migration with illegality, insecurity and criminality. Tendency to think that Africans are criminals and fugitives while Europeans are investors require a decolonial theory to interrogate SA's past on law-making and practice. The highly intrusive security measures in SA have seen the government rounding up undocumented Africans, perpetually keeping them in custody without trial, and finally deporting them without allowing them to collect their belongings (Hollfelder, *et al.* 2020). This attitude and practice can only be addressed by the theory of decoloniality.

The Sociological Theories of Migration in Africa

There are three top sociological theories of migration considered by various people-groups and individuals in the world, namely Everrett Lee's Theory of Migration (Ravenstein 1885; De Haas 2008); O.D. Duncan's Theory of Migration (Duncan 2013) and Guy Standing's Theory of Materialism (Standing 1981). This paper is couched on these three Sociological Theories of Migration in Africa, which appreciate decoloniality.

Lee's theory, the first one, divides between push factors and migration processes. Push factors are associated with problems in the place of origin and opportunities in the place of destination. This has to be examined in view of obstacles, cost of travel, language barriers and individual competencies (De Haas 2008). Migration also is associated with

migrants' characteristics, migration volume, and streams of counter-streams of migration (De Haas 2008). Migrants thus select a place of destination based on these factors.

The second is Duncan's theory. It associates human movement with agricultural activities (Duncan 2013). Duncan argues that migration is caused by social change, wherein changes in production processes, market structure and wage bills on one hand, while public policies on land, production, and product pricing inclusive of other social factors influence migration (De Haas 2008). Still, such people have personal needs met by their choices such as health and safety due to disease and disasters. These factors may include labour needs, the environment (drought, flooding, earthquakes, and snowing), conflict and peace as well as availability of natural resources among others.

Finally, Standing presents the idea of the Neoclassical Liberal Economic Theory (Obeng-Odoom 2012). This theory was first used at Arizona School by Andrew Sable as observational and empirical libertarian philosophy (Long 1996). Materialism focuses on demand and supply; wherein people consider their relationship with means of production in terms of ownership and benefits for their economic sustainability (Obeng-Odoom 2012). The end of colonialism for instance influenced internal and local migration for particular groups of people in a postmodernist capitalist society (Standing 1981). Capitalism created classes upon which relations with the industry influenced labour supply and wages. Due to increased mechanization, excess labour could not be absorbed because it became expensive in relationship to machines leading to human migration.

These theories operate in unison as countries whose populations left for greener pastures in large numbers had economic, political, and conflict challenges as well as productive sectors at home (on farms, mines, and industries). These challenges were created by the capitalist industry as it mechanized to reduce human-labour needs as people turned to use of machines which required specialization. The study is couched to decolonial theory as formerly colonized nation-states were not left to function well but to be presented as failed states.

Methodology

The study used literature reviews, mobile instant messaging interviews (MIMI) from mobile messenger, WhatsApp, to collect in situ data (in the real-time life experiences) as COVID-19 made it impossible to meet

interviewees in person (Kaufmann, Peil & Bork-Huffer 2021). The study contacted Zimbabwean, Mozambican and sympathetic nationals on the plight of migrants in Gauteng and Polokwane. MIMIs can be used in doing mixed methods designs and is a smart way of nudging research participants to elaborate their responses when well prepared and carefully coordinated (Kaufmann, Peil & Bork-Huffer 2021:1). The study sought to answer the following questions: What does the South African legislation say about migrants to SA? What are the experiences of migrants to SA after the 2001 bill? What can be done about the policy aims and practices affecting the living conditions of foreign nationals in SA? Literature filled gaps that could not be answered by field studies. Nineteen out of twenty participants in the study indicated that they regarded both the threats at home and the opportunities in SA before they migrated. Interviewees gave informed responses on the migration policy and practice in SA. Ten key informants and two focus groups of four people each were conducted successfully. The participants were fairly distributed between women and men with eleven women and seven men. The study met its reliability and validity tests as participants were interviewed while in their own socio-cultural and socio-technological spaces (Kaufmann, Peil & Bork-Huffer 2021:2) in this 'socially distant method' (Lobe *et al.* 2020:1), compiling data and 'from home' (Lupton 2020). This provided voice and written responses to inaccessible data in respect of curfews and lock downs (Lobe, *et al.* 2020; Teti, *et al.* 2020; Ohme *et al.* 2020:2). Reliability was met by engaging key institutions and persons such as the refugee, immigration, and labour industries. The study used Statistical Packages for Social Sciences 8 (SPSS 8) to interpret data. The study met minimum ethical requirements of informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity.

Study Results

South African Asylum/ Migrant Legislation

Many nation-states religiously and judiciously use the security discourse in designing migrant laws. The criminalisation of migrants and refugees raises concerns on maintenance of the Aliens Control Act (ACA) of 1991 to define national identity and unity. ACA in 1991 consolidated five pieces of Apartheid legislation to exploit the migrant labour system (GOSA 2002). ACA, in 1995, went through a presidential amendment without being abandoned as SA's key immigration legislation (Office of the President

1995). In 2001, the new policies remained racial and prejudicial against people of African descent (ACMS 2017). Unfortunately, the selective laws increased rather than reduced national insecurity in SA. Europeans and Asians were co-opted into the South African homelands as opposed to African foreign nationals.

The new South African government attempted to reconfigure its boundaries and change its laws with the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) that provided housing to South Africans (DHA 2017); then Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) to redistribute land and other natural resources without producing a new law (ANC 1994; GOSA 1996). The Presidential Commission to investigate labour market policy (LMP) made far-reaching proposals on immigration (Fauvelle-Aymar 2015). The LMP abandoned racist immigration policies to break with the past as it accepted African nationals for residence, work, settlement and citizenship. However, some 'Decision makers showed minimal support for immigration, a view widely endorsed at the grassroots' (Crush & McDonald 2001:4). The LMP attracted skilled labour to avert the effects of massive brain-drain. The ANC shifted its thinking on immigration and accepted neoliberal policies only for socioeconomic transformation. The LMP was used to give special residence conditions to injured, dead or retrenched former mine workers as permanent residents and citizens, especially Mozambicans (ACMS 2017; Crush & McDonald 2001; SAMP 1998).

The post-Apartheid SA became committed to international ideals of refugee protection in 1995 when it signed the UN and OAU refugee conventions. 'This was made more urgent by the fact that SA had become a new destination for asylum seekers from elsewhere on the continent' (Crush & McDonald 2001:5). Sweeping powers from ACA before 1994 empowered authorities to manhandle African migrants (Crush & McDonald 2001:5). In 1994, Africans were welcomed without legislative support. This led the spirit and letter of ACA to remain intact on how the new regime would treat African labour migrants who competed for jobs and space with locals. Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and Nigerians in recent trended as causing threats to locals socially and economically leading to the lynching of limps and killing of African foreign nationals (Mpofu 2022; BBC 2019; Schenoni 2017; Harding 2012). The South African refugee and migrant policy to stop xenophobia was implemented when human rights, non-governmental organisations and the courts forced the SA government to be honest (Handmaker 2001). In fact, 'South Africa still lacks a sound and robust

refugee determination system, however in its absence; there is a strong residual suspicion among South Africans that most asylum seekers are economic migrants in masquerade' (Crush & McDonald 2001:6). The SA Minister of Home Affairs reportedly persuaded parliament to harden the soft ACA laws, meaning progressive immigration policies can be developed if SA removes the Apartheid templates in its parliamentary system (GOSA 2002). Remembering ACA was crafted by Apartheid engineers, NGOs and human rights groups protested but parliament sanctioned new amendments and Home Affairs was given sweeping powers and abilities to police internal migration (DHA 2017).

ACA clearly violated the rights of non-citizens as documented in the human rights watch (GOSA 2002; HRW 1998). The authorities hid by saying they are only upholding existing legislation until it changes. The influx of immigrants from impoverished countries justified the draconian enforcement of the law to quell off threats to citizens (Danso & McDonald 2000). By 2001, using a fallacious methodology by the Human Sciences Research Council indicated that as way back as 1995, there were 9 million unauthorized immigrants in SA, yet Statistics SA placed the record at 500 000 in 1999 (Crush & McDonald 2001). This attitude has influenced systematic and consistent deportations by the Police and Army since 1995 using crime statistics justifications wherein the Home Affairs provided administrative oversight (DHA 2017). Border controls have been ineffectual due to corruption by intrusive and extensive internal military-style policing. Arrests and detentions have been done alongside human rights abuses of undocumented refugees and migrants without following international best practices on immigration policies (GOSA 2002; HRW 1998).

Experiences of Migrants in South Africa beyond the 2001 Bill

Many migrants, despite their legal status in SA, have been labeled illegal aliens, especially if they are associated with a chaotic African state. Many asylum seekers who turned into migrant labourers on farms, mines and industries have not sought for legal stay in SA as their chaotic states did not prepare them with travel documents or bogus claimants had caused problems with the DHA (GOSA 2002). Such claimants, locals claim, 'Deprive us (locals) of services and jobs because illegal immigrants corrupt officials to cover up their crimes', stated one angry South African from Gauteng. The views that non-citizens compete with locals for basic services such as elec-

tricity, water, housing, women and healthcare are awash in the local media and streets. 'This has influenced locals to be pervasively hostile and intolerant towards us (outsiders)', stated a Zimbabwean respondent. In view of illegality, foreigners are wholesomely brandished as criminals; hence many have been 'falsely accused as perpetrators of crime and violence in SA', yet 'our presence in SA expands their pie and we are not going to stay here forever if our country is restored to normalcy', stated another Zimbabwean woman in the farms of Tzaneen in Polokwane. Economies are expanded through cheap labour, especially in extractive industries like mines and farms.

Furthermore, a Zimbabwean in Polokwane responded: 'The South African farming industry depends on illegal migrants from neighbouring countries because South Africans work in urban centres and not in dirty on the farms'. This was supported by a Mozambican who stated: 'Since I came to the banana fields here in Tzaneen, I have never seen many of the South Africans on these farms because they do not like dirt'. These responses were also supported by mine workers in Johannesburg who said: 'Even though we (mine workers) were downsized and retrenched in the last five years, new workers were recently recruited without national nor gender restriction'. Sotho labourers are found on vegetable farms in the Free State, and Shangaan and Shona in Mpumalanga and Northern Province respectively. The 'contract migration from the region is set to continue for as long as the mines want it' (Crush & McDonald 2001:11) on farms and mines with more and more women entering the industry to support children and aging parents at home.

Further, the post-apartheid law is gender sensitive as it does not address women as mates to males but can come on their own without any company. A mother of two who came to SA unaccompanied stated: 'We (women) came here alone, but we have eventually gathered our families on these farms because this is the only place jobs are readily accessible'. Women however bemoan of gender discrimination, although it cannot be specifically discussed in this paper. Women were regarded as a potential drain on the national economy during the Apartheid era, hence were regarded as dependent spouses to accompany an economically productive men (Crush & McDonald 2001:7). These opportunities are seen as encouraging child labourers on farms, mines and industries. This calls for decoloniality on producing laws in SA. It is unthinkable that SA can 'produce a siege mentality that foolishly imagine that the country [can] erect a security perimeter to insulate it from the north' (Crush & McDonald 2001:8), yet neighbouring

countries struggled together with it to attain freed. Thus, SA's policy aims cannot ignore the continued support of regional and international partners.

On the Dudula operations, Memory from Maupane in Gauteng said: 'Africans from other countries are a threat to white supremacy, and until SA understands the *Big Africa Debate*, the South African economy remains in the control of whites, and they continue to Dudula other Africans'. South Africa remains racially divided and suffers from lack of identity determination as all its systems are insidiously colonised. Thus 'People will continue to die in SA like it's a warzone until corrupt politicians are kicked out'. She argued further: 'The recent court application by Afriforum to overturn the ban on displaying the old South African flag is an indicator that the country still has its own internal racial identity issues to confront'. Afriforum is a civil rights organization by Afrikaner nationalists, seen as a non-governmental organization that represents Afrikaner interests, popularly, white nationalists in South Africa (Powell 2019). The leader of Afriforum, Kallie Kriel, raised a voice that Apartheid was not a crime against humanity. The court counteracted the statement (Scribd 2019; Modjadji & Goba 2018). A decolonial theory can help dismantle the colonial images that continue to control attitudes, laws, and practices in SA. Stereotyping immigrants as *Makwerekwere* (SA) and *Maburanyuchi* (Zimbabwe) is a sign of continual euphoria with the past in a freed regional black for trade, education, and labour movement (Muzondidya 2010:37–57).

Reportedly, the ANC has tried to distance itself from the past by its amnesties. It provided a once-off compensation to victims of Apartheid immigration policies. On record, there are three amnesties to non-citizens in 1995 and 1996 and the third was realized later. The first amnesty was requested by the National Union of Mine Workers (NUMW) for workers who had been in SA for more than ten years. Such persons were offered permanent residence in 1995, but nothing for dead, injured or retrenched miners back in their own countries (Mares 2017:9-31; ACMS 2017; SAMP 1997). The second set in 1996 was for proven SADC citizens who had five years of residence. The third amnesty was for Mozambicans in SA before 1992, and those people resided thereafter, and had to spend ten years dodging deportation squads until 2001 when legislation offered them permanent residence and citizenship. Immigration legislation was however not improved, hence a mother in Johannesburg argued: 'The judiciary and legislature in SA still needs to become African before issues of immigrant rights are confronted'.

Finally, a Zimbabwean teacher reported having met a white South African parent of a delinquent student at a private school in Midrand who shouted: 'Why are you here in SA? Why don't you go back to Africa where students are disciplined?' This attitude is also displayed by black nationals. Most participants indicated that they could go home if home was a place to stay as the greener grasses in South African had turned sour. However, whites had travelled 'To convert and then conquer, to trade and to teach, to learn and to settle' (Furnham 2012:10). This calls for a decolonial theory when interrogating the SA policy and practice.

Discussion of the Results

The ANC government has attempted to articulate new visions on immigration as a definer of national identity, and racial or cultural boundaries of exclusion and belonging. The history of SA's policies and migrant experiences after Apartheid started 'Burning the Welcome Mat' (AllAfrica 2008). The policy from the 2001 parliamentary bill markedly departed from ACA (GOSA 2002). It emphasised skills-based selection of immigrants to avert SA's skills shortage. The Bill unfortunately did not lay a foundation for a new beginning on immigrants policy. It had international cleavage, borrowed from the USA, but it did not meet international best practices, as the USA policy also emphasises on control and exclusion. President Donald Trump raised an illegal concern against Mexicans for whom he pledged to build a wall because they were bringing drugs into the United States of America (Chen 2019). The USA legislation allows that to be done. It remained highly restrictionist while it embarked on racially inclusive nation building. It reconfigured and redefined inclusion/exclusion but continued in ACA's suits by use of exaggerated statistics, overstated impact and minimized positive effects (GOSA 2002). Like in most postcolonial African countries, politicking diminished policymaking. SA legislators remained skeptical to migrants and constructed hostile pictures of aliens threatening citizen interests. That's why the Minister of Home Affairs in 1996 felt ACA was a 'sound legal base for effective alien control' yet calling for international cooperation to guarantee South African's future (GOSA 2002). The call was aware of the carnage in KwaZulu Natal, wherein the ANC turned towards a skills-based immigration policy as politics between IFP and ANC laid hostage to progressive immigration reform in SA.

The rise of xenophobia, violence, vigilance, protests, and riots after

2001 resulted from the failure of the 2001 Bill to define the difference between immigration and foreign policy, leading elites to promote conflict and security concerns to protect their hegemony (ACMS 2017; SAMP 2001). 'The question underlying this study is why growing xenophobic violence, vigilantism and volatility within SA received little attention for so long by the country's foreign and security policy elites' (Hammerstad 2012:3). Elites acted like despots to use the securitisation theory against foreigners (especially Zimbabweans) to fuel hostility at the grassroots levels, 'as segments of SA's poorer citizenry perceived Zimbabwean immigrants as threats to jobs, health and welfare' (Hammerstad 2012:3). ACA thus advanced both securitisation and criminalisation theories, turning townships and informal settlements increasingly tensile, violent and riotous. This has led the authorities to perceive immigration as a potential threat to the domestic stability in SA. The elites' actions have been affected by the 'foreign policy discourse of African solidarity', leading President Ramaposa to apologise to the Nigerian government for an attack against its people in SA (BBC 2019). This diffused the increasing tensions between the two African superpowers and other countries in SADC.

Finally, human movement since the Second World War has always been regulated by security lenses. Thus, 'Instead of being discussed as a political, social or economic challenge, migration is framed in the language of existential and urgent threat, as dictated by the concept of security' (Hammerstad 2012:5). Copenhagen formulated the concept with the insight that security concerns result from political battles, and winning disputants transfer it from normal politics to urgency, threat and survival in their utterances. Utterances by presidents, cabinet ministers, security and defense heads, create a sense of crisis because of their positions of authority, power and expertise in security policy. Their audience seriously action their pleas through violence, looting and destruction of property; which confirms some African leaders like President Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), President Sani Abacha (Nigeria) and President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos (Angola).who viewed South Africa as having transitioned little into an African country because'white officers were still leading its armed forces, white bureaucrats still developing policy in the ministries, and white economic power still underpinning SA's political might' (Hammerstad 2012:10), hence 'a white country with a black head of state' (*Mail & Guardian* Reporter 1997). South Africa is exceptionally different from other African countries as it was colonised the longest and was one of the last countries to be liberated, but

remained insidiously colonised in all its systems (Kynoch 2008:629–45; Mamdani 1996). Preferences are given to fairly skinned people, hence need for a decolonial theory to interrogate this continued bondage (Dube 2017).

Labelling in South African Migration Policies and Practices

Migration policy and practice categorizes migrants as criminals, creating potential threats national and regional security. Unfortunately, international politics eliminates passions (Crawford 2014) by generally not taking 'stock of the emotional models that drive political interventions and strategies of governance' (Aradau 2004:255). Securitisation in international politics criminalises migration, and triggers emotions of national fear. Laws developed from fear generally take an extremist stance. Such policies are borne from discourses and frames of labeling. Security policies in southern Africa have been framed in this emergence of fear and anxiety. This has affected identities, dignities and securities. Labeling in SA, has posed a challenge for the ANC government in steering and controlling national actions and attitudes towards migrants (Ceyhan & Tsoukala 2002:21-22).

Further, the elitist production of policies using 'an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure' (Buzan, Waever& de Wilde 1998:23-24) became a disservice towards regional integration. Video footages of Zimbabweans being denied medical care were circulated and many people reacted, yet the medical practitioners adamantly told patients to get medical care from President Emerson Mnangagwa. This justified stance can only be criticised in view of the decolonial theory. Elites peddled threats that constructed discourses of fear and danger. This has been demonstrated by the summary cancellation of of residence statuses and work permits, requiring re-applications to justify reasons for staying in SA. The correlation between fear and politics, unfortunately, influences personal and corporate reactions towards non-nationals. Fear from perceived danger prompts one to have a notion of vulnerability and victimization, using migrants as a scapegoat for national misfortunes. Fear is thus combated by an amalgamation of national strategies that justify and reassure control of the influx of migrants in the nation. Labels are created to provide a foundation upon which personal safety is guaranteed. Labels determine how nationals interact with migrants, notwithstanding the perceptions politicians create to convince and encourage backlash behaviour like Operation Dudula against foreigners.

The movement of large populations causes a geopolitical threat to the economy and society, including human trafficking, sex working and fugitive criminals. Women trafficked for the sex industry suffered the most, hence need for 'the constitution of subjects to be governed through pity or risk makes it possible for the vulnerable body of trafficked women to become the site of potential dangerous irruptions' (Aradau 2004: 276). Reports were made of migrants who were picked dead in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Zambia (Harris 2022; Katumba 2022; The Staff Reporter 2022). Ethiopians were reportedly driven in non-ventilated vehicles in Zambia and Zimbabwe and died. Similarly, people have died in mines in South Africa, requiring pity for those at risk and vulnerable. This militates against conceiving migrants as enemies of the state. Media, policy-makers and public officers have fuelled these views. The promotion of fear in postmodern and multicultural cultures fails to manage the 'clash of civilizations' in nation-states. Migrants are a threat to national security as well as cultural identity. This threat is real, but cannot be promoted by use of fear and vulnerability as generalisations are dangerous to migrants' own securities. Generalised labels that merge migrants into a category of criminals is retrogressive when making policies for immigrants as it may eventually lead to blood-births that can sour regional relations.

Use of Ethnic Identity in South Africa's Migration Processes

Ethnic identity is used in creating hostile migration laws that secure nationals from fugitive criminals just because they 'are different from us'. Host countries normally believe that their cultures are superior to those of migrants (Togral 2011; Ibrahim 2005). Ethnic prejudice breaks society as the ignorance of migrants' needs creates a needy category of non-desirables (Ibrahim 2005:164). This discourse can broaden the concept of security if it links risk and threat to the plight of migrants. Instead of using ethnic difference as a source of threat, to which terror and criminality are ascribed to migrants, it is risk that poses security threat towards public safety, a heterogeneity that cannot be avoided in a postmodern and multicultural society. Emphasis on homogeneity in SA has robbed the nation of its stability and economic viability because 'the protection and transformation of cultural identity is one of the key issues through which the politics of belonging and the question of migration are connected' (Huysmans 2000:762). Generally, ethnic identity is used in constructing the politics of migration, where

security threat is embedded in the politics of homogeneity, and therefore belonging.

The South African migration policy benchmarked the USA policy that discriminates against migrants arguing it undermines and weakens 'cultural homogeneity' (Farny 2016:5). By cultural homogeneity, the policies in SA have become more exclusive, becoming a concern for countries of southern Africa as it has extended rather than departed away from the Apartheid regime. The laws have encouraged the assimilation of immigrants in their securitisation agenda rather than encourage 'cultural pluralism [that] will lead to interethnic conflict which will dissolve the unity of the state' (Ibrahim 2005: 166). It needs not be disputed that nation-states should ensure and provide the security of their citizens, but also should develop systems of justice and rights for sojourners as rich cultivators of local cultures. Ethnic exclusion that uses difference as a security threat, leading to xenophobia in SA, is based on the thinking that one has biological superiority that regards new migrants as biological narratives of threat. This reflects upon a discourse of ethnic bias that is reinforced by notions of racism advanced by Charles Darwin's evolutionary theories, hence need for a decolonial theory.

Finally, discrimination that capitalizes on cultural or biological differences to exclude other people, is classified a 'new racism' by Martin Barker (20 April 1946 – 8 September 2022; Barker 1981; Togral 2011; Ibrahim 2005). This ideology arises in the context of racist-public discourse in the Western depiction of immigrants as a threat. This is subtle racism built upon new configurations like 'preservation of one's identity, own way of life and values in the face of the destabilising and damaging effects of other cultures' (Togral 2011: 220). It is a new cultural dimension of racist practices that 'functions to maintain racial hierarchies of oppression' (Togral 2011: 222). South African Xenophobia rose to some level of hatred for Africans of neighboring countries that was instigated by South African politicians and supported by their policies. The South African immigration law restricts and controls migrants of African descent because its laws have hardly delinked themselves from their colonial history of Apartheid that stereotypes and labels to exclude. They also benchmarked the USA laws that are racist. European and Asian migrants have seemed to be phenotypically different from African nationals because their racial and economic statuses. The practice of xenophobia, also Afrophobia, reveals some degree of self-hate and ethnocentric superiority inherent in similar competitors.

Conclusion

The article discussed concerns of migrants in SA. The proportion of migrants has posed a threat to state security as it is affecting the identity and security of nationals. Migrant workers to South Africa's farms, mines and industries have been accompanied by unrepentant fugitive criminals. Criminals team up to commit even deadlier crimes like rape, murder, robberies and terrorism. SA has developed policies out of fear despite the SADC protocols on trade, travel, labour and tourism. Study participants were drawn from Zimbabweans and Mozambicans on farms, mines and industries. A mobile messenger, WhatsApp, was used in Mobile Instant Messaging Interviews (MIMIs). Participants of various statuses were used in the study. Literature was also useful in outlining the history of the immigration and refugee policy in SA. The legislation was found to be criminalizing and securitising. Irregular migration by criminals and terrorists in the company of miners, scholars, vendors (including thigh vendors), hoteliers and technicians require SA to install stricter legislation despite market liberalisation. The study argues that state failure should not manipulate differences to create emotions of fear and danger useful for labeling and stereotyping all migrants in SA. Identity should not be used as the basis of exclusion as it reinforces notions of biological superiority. Ethnic and racial superiority can only be averted in this insidiously colonised system by use of the decolonial theory. Lack of livelihoods for African foreign nationals forces them into crime with the resultant xenophobic attacks. This study is couched in discourses of the decolonial theory.

Competing interests

There are no financial or personal relationships that inappropriately influenced the authors to write this article.

Author contributions

The authors equally contributed to the drafting, authoring, and editing of the article although G.M. proposed the paper and B.D. analysised and critiqued the final draft.

Funding

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial or not-for-profit sectors.

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