Negotiating urbanities: An ethnography of Zimbabwean immigrants' music informed-placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg

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Abstract

Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa bring a rich heritage and unique cultural contributions to their adopted home. As a sovereign neighbouring country, Zimbabwe has distinct musical traditions and cultural practices that continue to evolve and influence new environments. This study focuses on the music-making activities of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa, exploring how their unique heritage shapes the cultural landscape and contributes to placemaking in their new communities. The theoretical framework for this study bands together theories of social practice creative placemaking, hybridity, and transnationalism, to investigate how the concept of musicking – the active engagement with music-making, listening, and sharing – shapes the experiences of immigrants in their new social and physical environments.

The study followed a qualitative approach nested in a focused ethnography design. Study participants were selected among Zimbabwean musicians and audience members in Johannesburg using a multi-stage random purposive sampling strategy. Data were gathered through participant observation at music rehearsals, performance venues, and churches, as well as through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Thematic data analysis was employed to discover codes, patterns, and themes from the spoken and non-verbal material collected during fieldwork. Additionally, content analysis was applied to selected songs, using literal translation for direct meaning and contextual translation for cultural and nuanced understanding.

The research findings reveal that Zimbabwean immigrants use music to mediate social connections and construct diasporic communities, thereby resisting cultural death. Their musicking and placemaking practices, counter hegemonic narratives of crisis and instability by creating sociocommerscapes and adjusting to their adopted home. Zimbabweans have effectively used music to discover new ways of being and connecting in the diaspora, giving character to place. For them, music is not just sound but a partnered social phenomenon that helps them navigate everyday challenges, celebrate life amidst the complexities of immigration, and negotiate their identity, well-being, and social position.

Cognisant of the immigration crisis and the legitimate fight against xenophobia, this study concludes that there is a much richer range of experiences of sociality and social cohesion experienced by non-South Africans in Johannesburg, especially at sociocommerscapes where music facilitates inclusive negotiation of social relations and everyday citizenship.

Keywords and definitions

Musicking, immigrants, creative placemaking, sociocommerscape, urbanities, everyday citizenship

Definition of key terms used in this thesis

Some of the key terms feature in this study's title, while others emerged through data analysis. Table 1 provides definitions of these terms to ensure clarity throughout the thesis.

Table 1: Definition of key terms used in the thesis

Musicking	Emphasises the active and social nature of music, highlighting its role in shaping communities and cultural expression.
Immigrants	Immigrants are people who move to a new country to live permanently due to various reasons, including economic opportunities, political stability, education, family reunification, or escaping conflict.
Creative placemaking	This term refers to a "collaborative process" (Huat, 2018, p. 278) which emphasises the strengthening of connection between people and the places they share. Particular attention is given to the cultural, social and physical identities that define a place to "maximize shared value" (p. 278).
Sociocommerscape	A sociocommerscape is an ethnic business that providse goods and meeting place for members of a specific community (Chacko, 2009).
Urbanities	This term relates to the expression and framing of people's experience of the social and material world and the "other" (Netto, 2017, p. 36) in the city.

Everyday citizenship	According to Isin and Nielsen (2008), everyday citizenship involves "acts of citizenship" (p. 6) that are performed in routine spaces and interactions, often reshaping social norms and public understanding of who belongs within a society. This concept expands the notion of citizenship beyond legal definitions, highlighting "citizenship as practice" (Lister, 2007, p. 55) and how individuals claim visibility, rights, and recognition in various social settings. Barnett and Bridge (2016) suggest that everyday citizenship allows immigrants to navigate complex urban environments by participating in community practices and fostering local connections, even without formal status. This approach challenges traditional views, recognising that citizenship can be expressed through everyday acts of care, solidarity, and shared experiences that foster social cohesion and belonging. These seemingly small, everyday actions significantly contribute to the well-being of a community. Everyday citizenship, therefore, positions individuals as active participants in society, not only through formal activities such as voting or protesting but also through their day-to-day interactions and contributions.
Kumba, kumusha	These two Shona words, *kumba* and *kumusha*, frequently arose in conversations with participants. While they traditionally refer to rural areas in Zimbabwe, for members of the diaspora, these terms have come to symbolise ‘home’ more broadly, signifying Zimbabwe as a place of origin and cultural identity.

Notes to the reader

First-person narrative

Using the first-person narrative in this study was a deliberate methodological choice to enhance the depth and transparency of the research process. This approach acknowledges that the researcher is not a detached observer but an active participant whose reflections and experiences can illuminate broader sociological and cultural phenomena (Venkatesh, 2013:5). Furthermore, the use of the first-person extends beyond the researcher to include the experiences of the individuals who are the focus of the study. This framing avoids viewing participants as distant "others" and instead emphasises a shared humanity, portraying them as "another myself" to highlight interconnectedness (Csordas, 2023, p. 125). From a communication standpoint, employing first-person language makes the narrative more accessible and engaging, aligning with the storytelling aspect of ethnographic work. As an insider, I used "I" to authentically convey my experiences and insights within the research context, leveraging my unique positionality to access and interpret the nuanced realities of those involved. Situating myself within the narrative, I aimed to offer a reflexive lens that invites readers to engage with the research journey and gain a deeper understanding of the study's findings.

Referencing style

In this thesis, APA 7th referencing was used as required by the School of the Arts, University of Pretoria.

Spelling and language

UK English was used as required by the School of the Arts, University of Pretoria. All non-English terms, such as *kwaChikwanha*, are presented in italics.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and rationale

Research indicates that the post-apartheid historiography of Johannesburg, and by extension, South Africa, barely recognises the contribution of immigrants' cultural expressions in creating the city space. Scholarly debates about immigration often centre on politics, the economy, and xenophobia (Murenje, 2020; Tawodzera & Crush, 2023). There appears to be a deliberate muting of immigrants' cultures, contributing to a longstanding pattern of othering and silencing foreign nationals (Duvenage, 2020). It is as if immigrant communities have no distinct cultures that shape host communities. This practice implies disregarding the unique cultural identities that immigrant communities bring to host societies.

Nevertheless, immigrant cultures persist, sometimes adapting to the local environment and, on other occasions, being actively constructed in response to their surroundings. In certain instances, immigrants contribute to transforming their settlement areas by reimagining elements of their traditional lifestyles (Torres, 2020, p. 142). Concurrently, it is crucial to acknowledge that the host country influences immigrants' cultural production and consumption (Symonds, 2019).

During the past two decades, South Africa has experienced a high influx of African immigrants moving from their countries due to economic woes, political violence, war, and persecution (Tomita et al., 2014; UNHCR[1] 2017). International migrants constitute 7.2% of the South African population, rising from 2.8% in 2005 (Brown, 2020; McAuliffe & Khadria, 2020). Local governments in South Africa view this ever-rising immigration population as a crisis (Landau, 2007). However, internal migration of people from rural to urban areas for labour purposes predates apartheid (Hall & Posel, 2019) and still plays a central role in South Africa's development, with around twelve per cent of the

[1] The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

population migrating within each five years since 1975 (Kok & Collinson, 2006; Worden, 2011).

The country has experienced an unprecedented influx of people from rural areas and international migrants into city centres, contributing to a transformed rural character within an urban context (Mokoele, 2019). The burgeoning of urban sprawl, formal and informal business, and settlements in South African cities symbolise a change in the use of urban space (Abrahams & Everatt, 2019). At the surface, urban sprawl is both a challenge to the apartheid spatial separation of citizens and evidence of a scramble for livelihood in the city (Shapurjee & Charlton, 2013). The rapid urbanisation of South African cities is closely linked to increased foreign nationals (Abrahams & Everatt, 2019), thus complicating efforts to understand the city's character (Moyo & Gumbo, 2021).

The dominant discourse capturing the perceptions of ordinary citizens suggests that they view immigrants as a socially isolated group requiring assistance to navigate their marginalised position (Ghorashi, 2010). Such a fixed perception that immigrants cannot achieve independence hinders a nuanced understanding of their lives and their connections to their adopted homes. In a context where immigrants are openly marginalised, proactive measures such as urban relational initiatives and narratives could offer fresh perspectives, fostering new connections and possibilities for establishing their presence (Ghorashi, 2018). Within contemporary cities, the arts and artists play pivotal roles by reinforcing and idealising mainstream agents and institutions or actively challenging and promoting socio-territorial innovation that can enrich and redefine new urbanities (André et al., 2017). Nevertheless, there is a notable scarcity of research on the contribution of immigrant music to shaping South African cities.

It is estimated that 70% of the immigrants in South Africa are Zimbabweans (Gumbu, 2020), a percentage that could be much higher since the majority are undocumented (Moyo, 2018). By 2007, estimates suggest that between 1 million and 2 million Zimbabweans had migrated to South Africa, with a notable concentration in Johannesburg (Makina, 2012; Crush & Tawodzera, 2017; Siziba & Hill, 2018).

Zimbabweans are amongst the most hated foreigners in South Africa (Dube, 2017); therefore, they employ numerous strategies to blend in. These include consuming South African music (Dube, 2017), (re)constructing their bodies to portray a particular message to local interlocutors (Siziba, 2016), and adapting their language (Siziba & Hill, 2018). These authors contend that code-switching and code-mixing are critical components of this process. Additionally, immigrants use sociolect – classified by them as isiZulu *semaflethini* (Zulu of the flats) – to communicate with African locals (Siziba, 2014). Siziba claims that "Migrants present English as the most valuable language which breaks down barriers where residents speak diverse languages but whose paths cross in their daily practices" (2014, p. 179).

The issue of Zimbabwean immigrants flocking to South Africa has increasingly become topical, attracting attention from scholars and ordinary citizens on social media (Allison, 2023; Tarisayi, 2021). Despite the problematic journeys Zimbabweans embark on, crossing the crocodile-manifested Limpopo River at times, South Africa does not guarantee a better life. The recognition of immigrants in the South African Constitution implies that they are rights holders, subjects as opposed to objects. However, systems are not always favourable.

The growing support for the anti-immigrant movement has made it difficult for the South African government to support and protect immigrants openly. Migration has become an election issue (Bazurli et al., 2022). Some political parties built their support for xenophobia shrouded as safeguarding the interests of local citizens (Allison, 2023; Mlambo, 2023). In November 2021, the South African government announced that they were not renewing Zimbabwe Exemption Permits (ZEP) (Nyakabawu, 2022).

The Department of Home Affairs provided Zimbabweans with exemption documents and a grace period to apply for mainstream permits, facilitating the regularisation of their stay. The revocation of the ZEP document attracted significant attention and became the subject of legal challenges, complicated by comprehensive media coverage that led to two troubling perceptions. Firstly, there is discontent among South Africans with the cohabitation of Zimbabweans within their borders. Secondly, there is a prevalent concern among Zimbabweans about their legal status. However, the mainstream media's narrative

strategically employed silence, subtly suppressing the social dynamics of urban immigrants. In such problematic circumstances, Ghorashi (2017) urges scholars and the media to adopt a nuanced, non-centric approach so that they may capture the intricate tapestry of everyday urban interactions.

Zimbabwean immigrants are active in many sectors of the South African economy, including tourism and entertainment (Serumaga-Zake 2017). However, most of them are based in poor neighbourhoods and slums where they have integrated with locals to various extents, living on the periphery of economic activities (Muzondidya, 2008). The purported integration of Zimbabwean immigrants in slum areas, therefore, poses an opportunity to understand a new form of music, resilience, innovation, and group collectiveness.

Immigrants play an essential role in defining places by their refusal to be tied to a specific location; their multiple roles and methods of engagement in different localities impact the community fabric (Mapitsa, 2019). A variety of cultures meeting, mixing, and contradicting affects a city's social and physical infrastructure (Abrahams & Everatt, 2019). Unfortunately, the most noticeable changes include the fact that anti-foreigner sentiments are increasingly visible on social and traditional media while the state-sanctioned narrative understates xenophobia as “just crime” (Gordon, 2019, p. 567). Anti-foreigner sentiments may result from the general structural inequality, growing social exclusion, disconnection, and an increasing sense of insecurity prevailing in the country (Mutero & Govender, 2019); for the most part, immigrant voices are systematically muted, misrepresented or underrepresented.

Despite the violence, immigrant cultures and businesses thrive in South African cities (Chinomona & Maziriri, 2015). Inevitably, the presence of migrants, mostly from African countries, has altered business (Ngota et al., 2019); societal relations (Alimohammadi & Muller, 2019; Andrikopoulos & Duyvendak, 2020); and cultural consumption, production, and reproduction in South Africa (Phakathi, 2019; Searle, 2020). Like all human beings, immigrants are not passive imbibers of cultural knowledge – they actively partake in the production and reproduction of culture. There are often inconspicuous sites where immigrants, musicians, producers, and fans explore their shared musical tastes and

distinctive lifestyle choices (Drew, 2004). Therefore, this study is vital to understand how immigrants can evade and resist structural constraints to shape their adopted homes through music.

Understanding how these cultural dynamics unfold requires considering the key concepts that frame the current research focus: placemaking and musicking. These concepts offer valuable insights into how immigrants use music to engage with and transform their environments. Placemaking refers to the dynamic processes through which individuals and communities shape their environments into meaningful places. Building upon the work of theorists like Lefebvre (1991), placemaking emphasises the social and cultural dimensions of space. It highlights how human activities, interactions, and experiences contribute to the creation and transformation of places.

Similarly, musicking, a term introduced by Small (1998), highlights the active, participatory nature of musical engagement. Rather than viewing music as a mere object, musicking captures the social and cultural significance of musical acts. It reveals how music fosters community, reshapes interactions, and transforms spaces, making it a powerful tool for cultural expression and adaptation. Building on the significance of placemaking and musicking, it becomes clear that both migration and music challenge power and social structures, shaping new community identities (Mapitsa, 2019; Martin, 2006). Immigrants often assimilate as communities (Hatton & Leigh, 2011), and they employ community music-making to safeguard their culture and sustain social practices (Nethsinghe, 2013). Immigrants have used music as a channel to give them a voice to debate “personal [and] societal issues and challenges (Leppänen & Westinen, 2017, p. 1) during turbulent times of rapid social change and complex diversity. In other contexts, immigrants employ singing to facilitate identity negotiation, social bonding, experiences of well-being, and self-esteem in new cultural environments for refugees (Phelan et al., 2017). Music is used to bring about social change (Miles, 2017). Immigrant music thus constitutes popular art exhibiting a preoccupation with social change, one of the determining characteristics of such musics (Barber, 1987). Immigrants have individual and community stories that shape how they relate to power and their environment (Georgiou, 2018), which may lead to social change.

Popular media and education often frame the local as a dominant master narrative and the only legitimate culture (Chiumbu & Moyo, 2018). This implies that the music and culture of local citizens gain attention while immigrants' music and musical practices appear silenced. The silencing of migrants also frames immigrant issues using "problem-solving" (Georgiou, 2018, p. 48) approaches; foreigners are perceived as products of exceptional circumstances. This represents an anomaly that needs a solution (Georgiou, 2018). However, immigrants also deliberately mute their voices, especially in physical performance spaces (Caruso, 2019).

Immigrants can resist normalised structures through reflective consciousness, choosing marginality in power-related situations (Ghorashi et al., 2018). The influences and determinants of diasporic cultural production may be invisible and deliberately marginal (Ghorashi, 2017; 2018), yet distinct, particularly for the second or third migrant generation born and brought up in a new land (Baily & Collyer, 2006). Research on the immigrant music of Zimbabweans in Johannesburg has not yet been done. Therefore, this study, conducted in the Boksburg area of Johannesburg, focused on micro-narratives in music and music spaces to contest mainstream media's dominant culture and representational space.

Traditional socio-cultural and political categories used to understand communities (Baumann, 2004) need to be re-evaluated in the contemporary context of migration. Music, in particular, shapes social agency. Control over music in social settings is a source of social power that can structure action parameters (DeNora, 2000). This study offers a new perspective on how immigrants articulate their voices and create their narratives in a 'new home' through song and music-making. The term 'musicking', coined by Small (1998), emphasises the music-making aspect that forms an integral part of the music itself. Small argued that music educators often "demusicalize" (p. 212) their students by focusing on the "discovery and selection of talented professionals" rather than nurturing their inherent musicality and belief in their musical potential. According to Small, musicking encompasses the use and function of music in human life, moving beyond the rigid prescriptions of classical music centred on the musical score. It spotlights para-

musical activities and musical participation beyond those traditionally catered to in formal music education (Rinde & Schei, 2017).

Since human beings inherently engage in cultural production and reproduction (Barber, 1987; DeNora, 2000), various scholars posit that music creates a space for contestation and negotiation between conflicting groups (Al-Taee, 2002; Pettan, 2010; Sweers, 2010). In Zimbabwean society, where music parallels the social ladder (Benyera, 2017; Dzvore, 2018; Mano, 2007), understanding musicking illuminates music's use, function, and impact on individuals and society (Brown, 2006). Therefore, this study explores the musicking of immigrant Zimbabweans within the specific urban context of Johannesburg.

As a Zimbabwean immigrant and musician, delving into the exploration of the lives of immigrants in a country that experiences recurrent xenophobic violence is an emotionally taxing endeavour. I have lived a life where my everyday experiences constantly remind me that I am an 'other'. Paradoxically, even as I grapple with this sense of alienation, I find myself growing increasingly disconnected from my country of birth, as it no longer encapsulates a sense of belonging. Through my observations on social media, it has become evident that many Zimbabweans, like myself, leverage the practical function of music to establish connections with their past, engage with their present circumstances, and envision alternative futures. Given my role as a musician, I instinctively turn to music to derive meaning from life and to foster connections with fellow compatriots.

My pursuit of this research stems from the realisation that many Zimbabweans are now considering South Africa as their new home. Music, an integral part of their daily lives, serves as a means of consumption and creative expression for Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. However, the role that music plays in the everyday lives of these immigrants, and consequently, the nature of the music they produce, remains an underexplored aspect. Notably, the work of Zimbabwean musicians and their creations often occupies a marginalised position in the media landscape, lacking due recognition. Yet, as a young immigrant Zimbabwean musician, I perceived an opportunity to engage with fellow artists in shedding light on our musical culture within this new context.

Through this undertaking, I aspired to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of music's multifaceted role in the lives of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa.

1.2 Aims of the study

This study aimed to use music as an entry point in understanding how Zimbabwean immigrants contribute culturally to placemaking in Johannesburg by negotiating a new home for themselves. The researcher intended to gain access to the inner experiences of participants to comprehend the processes of both the production and consumption of socially engaged musicking and how these contribute to the making of place. Furthermore, the researcher endeavoured to inquire how Zimbabwean immigrants explore their shared musical tastes and distinctive lifestyle choices in Johannesburg. Music has long offered a critical vantage to understanding social relationships, individual and communal aspirations, challenges, and successes. Therefore, this study's goal was also to explore how Johannesburg's socio-economic and living environment influence Zimbabwean immigrants' consumption, production, and reproduction of music.

The researcher aimed to identify foreign nationals' contributions to music-informed placemaking in Johannesburg by focusing on Zimbabwean immigrants. The term music-informed placemaking in this study refers to the ways in which music acts as a catalyst for transforming urban spaces into culturally meaningful places. It explores how Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg use musical practices to create a sense of belonging, foster social connections, and reshape public spaces.

1.3 Research questions

Main research question

What is the role of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in negotiating their urban space and establishing a new home in Johannesburg?

Sub questions

The following four sub-questions guided me in the research process, supporting a coherent argument and promoting depth and rigour to contribute to the overall quality of the findings of this thesis.

- What musicking, music consumption, and music production strategies do Zimbabwean immigrants use as placemaking tools?
- In what ways do musicking strategies allow Zimbabwean immigrants to fit into the new urban context?
- How do Zimbabwean immigrants perceive socio-economic and living environments in Johannesburg influencing their music consumption, production, and reproduction?
- How do immigrant cultural consumption and music production contribute to Johannesburg's character and urban identity?

1.4 Research methodology

This study endeavoured to answer the main research question: the role of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in negotiating their urban space and establishing a new home in Johannesburg. This study followed a qualitative ethnographic approach to enable comprehension of Zimbabwean immigrants' cultural practices from the vantage points of those who live in Johannesburg that shape these practices into meaningful experiences (Ostashewski, 2014). Bresler (2021) observes that a qualitative approach allows for studying the interactions of musicians and music consumers in their natural context, leveraging both researcher and informant observations. Study participants were chosen purposively. However, while the study will refer to Shona or Ndebele music, the participants and selected were not selected based on this classification. The bi-modal ethnic problem categorising people of Zimbabwe and by extension Africa into tribes has colonial trappings that fuel conflict and anti-nation

building (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008). Instead of conventional ethnography, the researcher employed a focused ethnographic design that implied short but regular visits to the field, where the researcher collected a large volume of data using traditional ethnographic data collection strategies and digital recording tools. Knoblauch (2005) posits that the short duration of field visits that form part of focused ethnography is typically compensated for by the "intensive use of audiovisual technologies of data collection and data analysis" (p. 2). The researcher used an inductive process for data analysis, allowing patterns to emerge, after which the researcher could synthesise the themes. A more detailed description, motivation, and explanation of the research methodology is presented in Chapter 3.

1.5 Delimitations

The researcher conducted the study in Johannesburg, South Africa, and chose participants from the population of Zimbabwean immigrants based there using a multi-stage random purposive sampling strategy. Therefore, no generalisations could be made. However, the study gives contextual meaning instead of generalisation (Sykes, 2018). Hence, they settled for an ethnographic qualitative approach steeped in everyday activities and conversations.

1.6 Chapter outline

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides a general introduction to the study by setting the study context, the purpose of the study, the research questions, and the rationale underpinning the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter 2 delves into the review of related literature, primarily focussing on the arts and urbanities, music in the diaspora, and immigrants and their musicking.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter explains the research methodology, covering the research approach, research paradigm, selection of study participants, data collection methods, data analysis strategy, and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4: Zim music spaces in Johannesburg - Harare *muJoni*

Chapter 4 presents the findings and discussion of the first central theme, namely how Zimbabwean immigrants have used music to resist the destructive cultural implications of migration, forced, voluntary, or otherwise. Framed within the discourses of placemaking and musicking, the chapter uncovers how Zimbabwean identities are expressed through music in the diaspora and, by extension, the social agency of music.

Chapter 5: Social distinctions through Zim music

This chapter presents the findings and discusses the second central theme: how the socio-economic and living environment in Johannesburg influence Zimbabwean immigrants' consumption, production, and reproduction of music. It also considers how they contribute to music-informed placemaking in Johannesburg in terms of both the physical and social infrastructure.

Chapter 6: The role of mediated music for Zimbabwean immigrants

Chapter 6 explores and discusses the correlation between music consumption and well-being by examining the role that mediated music plays in the everyday experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg. This third theme considers the reflections of Zimbabweans, providing a contextual analysis of purposively selected songs that offer a unique lens into the experiences and perspectives of Zimbabwean immigrants.

Chapter 7: Summary, recommendations and conclusion

The final chapter provides the answers to the research questions and offers a summary of the major findings, ending with recommendations to conclude the thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature review

"Indigenous musical arts in Africa is definitely not an indulgence of sonic euphoria"

(Nzewi & Nzewi, 2007, p. i)

This chapter reviews the literature on immigrants and their music, musicking, the arts and urbanities, identity and belonging, music and social change, musicking and social bonding among immigrants, and cultural losses and gains in the diaspora. While not exhaustive, this review frames critical thinking about immigrants' contributions to the host city's culture and placemaking.

The literature review also focuses on music as a social process and its significance in human life, exploring how music affects and is affected by life and, central to the current inquiry, how music represents life away from home. Lastly, I present perspectives regarding the different ways in which the interplay between person, time, and place shapes musical compositions, performances, and reception.

2.1 The arts and urbanities

The arts and the artists play crucial roles in contemporary cities, either by reinforcing and idealising mainstream agents and institutions or actively protesting and promoting socio-territorial innovation, boosting and enhancing new urbanities (André et al., 2017). In South Africa, urbanisation and the arts have a reciprocal relationship. As urban areas expand, they reshape the physical landscape and influence cultural expressions and the dynamics of artistic communities. Corollary, in spaces like the Maboneng precinct in Johannesburg, interest has emerged in using creative industries as a lever for economic development, job creation and the regeneration of declining economic spaces particularly in the inner city (Gregory, 2016; Mahlatsi 2022).

South Africa's urban areas are characterized by differential patterns, where some regions experience rapid growth while others lag behind (Geyer, 2003). This uneven growth can create vibrant artistic hubs in metropolitan areas, where cultural activities flourish due

to higher population densities and economic opportunities. Howe (2022) further elaborates on the processes of peripheralisation, indicating that urbanization in the Gauteng City-Region has led to both aspirational and marginalized spaces, affecting the accessibility and visibility of the arts. Maboneng Precinct and Braamfontein are considered gentrified places that are becoming enclaves of wealthier members of the population and also giving space to artists. However, art here is used serve the rich, yet, public art initiatives have emerged as a powerful tool for social commentary and activism in urban South Africa, especially in the townships.

For instance, Becker (2018) examines how cultural interventions, particularly in Cape Town, assert the right to the city through provocative artistic expressions. While a study by Chapman (2019), in Durban shows that I argue that street art can be used as an effective transformative strategy to break down the invisible social barriers present in post-apartheid South African cities. These initiatives not only challenge socio-political injustices but also foster community engagement and identity formation in urban spaces. Huchzermeyer (2014) discusses the invocation of Henri Lefebvre’s concept of the right to the city, emphasizing the role of creativity and humanism in addressing the challenges posed by informal settlements. Such artistic endeavours reflect a growing recognition of the importance of inclusive cultural practices in urban environments.

Urban dynamics significantly influence the production and consumption of music among immigrants in Africa, shaped by socio-economic status and urban policies. As such, Marcoux-Gendron and Alvarenga (2020) emphasize the need to understand immigrant contributions to a city's musical landscape beyond their origins, highlighting the dynamic interplay between urban settings and musical participation. This perspective aligns with Watson and Drakeford-Allen's (2016) assertion that mobile music devices can facilitate both withdrawal from and engagement with urban environments, allowing immigrants to navigate their social contexts through music.

The socio-economic status of immigrants plays a crucial role in shaping their musical experiences urban redevelopment policies often push lower-income groups to the peripheries of cities, limiting their access to cultural amenities, including music venues

(Weldegebriel et al., 2021). This spatial segregation can hinder the integration of immigrant musicians into the broader urban music scene, as they may lack access to the resources and networks necessary for musical production and consumption. Conversely, urban centers often serve as hubs for diverse musical traditions, fostering a rich tapestry of cultural exchange that can benefit immigrant communities, as highlighted in the work of Sebastian (2018).

Urban policies also significantly impact the music landscape. For instance, the promotion of informal music venues can provide essential spaces for immigrant musicians to perform and connect with audiences (Wang & Zou, 2021). However, these venues often face challenges related to urban planning and policy, which can either facilitate or hinder their development. The informal nature of many immigrants' musical expressions, as noted by Rapoo (2013), reveals how youth culture in African cities can serve as a form of resistance and survival amidst socio-economic challenges.

Moreover, the relationship between urbanisation and music consumption is complex. As cities grow and evolve, the musical preferences of residents, including immigrants, may shift, influenced by factors such as economic opportunities and social networks. Rebelo (2010) discusses how urban concentration can affect immigrants' access to professional opportunities, thereby impacting their cultural production and consumption. Furthermore, the integration of cultural practices into urban planning can enhance the vibrancy of urban life, as seen in the creative placemaking initiatives that celebrate local musical heritage (Mullins & Ryan, 2020).

Arts-based activities are however not reserved for artists, as ordinary people can improve their lived urban experiences through creative activities and interventions (Cara, 2015). Immigrants are commonly perceived as individuals characterised by a homogenous and static culture (Ghorashi, 2017). The assumption that the cultural identity of migrants is rooted in their places of origin presents a paradox in this era of liquid modernity, marked by the mobility of ideas, people, and resources (Bauman, 2012).

The everyday cultural activities of immigrants are often ignored, yet their presence contributes to redefining, enlarging and enriching the city cultures (Kasinitz &

Martiniello, 2019). When immigrants settle, they contribute to the culture of their destination. Immigrants can, therefore, harness bifocal attachments to enrich their transcultural capital by involving the strategic use of knowledge, skills and networks acquired through migrant connections with their country (Leppänen & Westinen, 2017). These authors suggest they actively engage in their culture of origin at their new residence. Immigrant artists frequently draw inspiration from their cultural backgrounds, employing the memories of home to shape and create art (Dube, 1996; Nyoni, 2018). In response to their current challenges, immigrants can engender cultural innovation and enrichment by crafting new expressive forms reflective of their unique circumstances (Baily & Collyer, 2006). As a result, immigrants have fluid identities that transcend exclusive connections to their home countries or destinations, occupying liminal spaces (Symonds, 2019; Ghorashi et al., 2018).

2.2 Identity, belonging, and music in the diaspora

South Africa has become the de facto[2] big city where Zimbabwean immigrants come for jobs and occasionally visit *kumusha*[3] during holidays. Gugler (2002) explains the city and *kumusha*-relationship from a Nigerian perspective. The notion that Zimbabweans are migrating to South Africa permanently or for extended stays has an outside chance of acceptability, considering that the media and scholars often spotlight frosty xenophobic relations. The question of 'who belongs in South Africa?' gains particular relevance in the ongoing debates surrounding Operation Dudula[4] (Allison, 2023). Cross-border migration often leads to the deconstruction and reconstruction of identity as immigrants contend with the processes of finding space in their adopted homes (van Houtum & van Naerssen, 2002). Kyker (2013) corroborates the utility of music as a resource for contesting, negotiating, and constructing new identities. The relationship between music and identity is a dominant theme in ethnomusicology studies (Rajs, 2007). The following

[2] The term 'de facto' describes practices that occur in reality and are effective, even if they are not officially acknowledged by laws or formal regulations. (Merriam Webster Dictionary).
[3] The Shona word, *kumusha*, means rural areas, but for diasporas, it means home, that is, Zimbabwe.
[4] The name of the South African anti-migrant group, Operation Dudula, means "to force out in Zulu, indicating that they want all foreign nationals who are in the country unofficially to be deported" (Allison, 2023, par. 2).

quotation illustrates the importance of music in the social process, particularly identity formation:

> As a force of social conformity, music has a major role in defining and reinforcing social identity, serving as a socialising force that fosters enculturation of individuals. People learn about the normative behaviours of their society or subculture in the context of musical rituals. In addition, music, as a cultural entity, serves as an important symbol, in and of itself, of group identity, helping to create borders between in group and outgroup.
>
> (Brown, 2006, p. 4).

Music can be employed as a symbolic identifier of a social group, both by the group's members and the surrounding non-members (Lidskog, 2016). It also maintains and promotes pre-existing identities. Therefore, Zimbabwean immigrants can be identified through the music they make, share, and consume, a trait that also applies to other nationalities (Lidskog, 2016). Rice (2013) argues that musical performances facilitate the construction of social identity by providing a sonic sign of difference from, or a boundary between, other ethnic or social groups.

Immigrants have fluid musical identities that are neither exclusively tied to their home country nor destinations (Symonds, 2019). Their present circumstances can lead to cultural innovation and enrichment, creating new forms indicative or symptomatic of the immigrant's issues (Baily & Collyer, 2006). When people migrate, they face the 'task' of creating, adopting, or altering their identity to enhance their inclusion (Siziba, 2014, 2016). Madibbo (2016) shares this view, maintaining that dominant ethnic ideologies generate feelings of exclusion, sometimes leading immigrants to reinterpret their social identities in inclusive ways. However, in some places, such as the Netherlands, immigrants are perceived as having an unchanging culture (Ghorashi, 2017). This assumption presents a paradox in an era of liquid modernity marked by the mobility of ideas, people, and resources (Bauman, 2012). Identity is a complex and multi-faceted concept encompassing the distinguishing characteristics and qualities that make an individual or a group recognisable. It is primarily a psychological challenge related to how individuals see themselves as members of social groups. As "music is a constitutive

part of culture, [music is relevant to] individual and social identity formation" (Lidskog, 2016, p. 25).

Different situations compel immigrants to leave their home countries, including but not limited to economic distress, violence, political instability, or retrogressive cultural practices (Bosiakoh & Williams Tetteh, 2019; Nontobeko, 2021; Otunnu, 2017; Zack et al., 2019). However, they are increasingly confronted by similar hostilities in their countries of refuge (Mukumbang et al., 2020; Zihindula et al., 2017). For instance, challenging circumstances in Britain – including discrimination in the labour market and underpaid salaries – led a cohort of Asian immigrants into entrepreneurship (Basu & Goswami, 1999). Similarly, African immigrants are forced into informality due to a lack of opportunities in South Africa's mainstream economy (Asoba et al., 2018).

In some scenarios, immigrants end up settling for 'dirty work'[5] even though they migrated in search of a good life (Cobbinah & Chinyamurindi, 2018), indicating how their pursuit of safety and happiness is often entangled with suffering and losses (Kóczán, 2016). Nonetheless, immigrants often find space to articulate their present circumstances, navigate their identities, celebrate life successes, and cool off from existential pressures through different art forms, including music and dance (Marsh, 2017). Similarly, Bizzyiam, a Somali citizen based in Finland, exemplifies the multifaceted and evolving concept of belonging by strategically using various semiotic resources in rap music (Leppänen & Westinen, 2017, p. 1).

Focusing on people's participation in music emphasises human agency over the tools (music) used to achieve human desires. Brown (2006) describes the importance of non-sonorous properties of music and music-making as the underlying intentions of the music makers. Functional or utilitarian roles that motivate music-making include creating a sense of safety and acceptance in a host society. Mawadza (2008) notes that Zimbabweans from all walks of life migrate to South Africa in search of a better quality of life. To be

[5] Occupations in the informal sector, such as hairstyling, shoe mending, tire repair, bricklaying, and other similar roles, are classified as involving physical and socially stigmatised labour (Cobbinah & Chinyamurindi, 2018).

accepted by host communities, they employ a plethora of strategies, including participating in cultural activities that allow socialisation.

The South African context makes it difficult for Zimbabweans to embrace their difference and perform their *Zimbabweaness*. As a result, Zimbabwean immigrants employ different strategies to gain acceptance and a sense of belonging, thereby appropriating spaces for themselves in host societies (Siziba, 2016; Siziba & Hill, 2018). The effort that Zimbabweans make in appropriating South African languages, dress and (re)constructing their bodies to portray a particular message to local interlocutors suggests a stifled environment where free expression has boundaries, be they visible or invisible, talked about or unspoken (Siziba, 2014).

Some Zimbabwean immigrants listen to South African music and read vernacular newspapers as a way of blending in and becoming invisible in the eyes of xenophobes (Dube, 2017). But beyond blending in, music, and by extension, cultural production and consumption activities, are crucial to understanding how migrants fit into the cultures they are now a part of as well as how they and their descendants will redefine, enlarge and enrich those cultures (Kasinitz & Martiniello, 2019). Music is an organic part of culture and, hence, is essential for individual and social identity formation (Shepherd, 2012).

In countries like Zimbabwe, certain cultural markers may be overlooked and influenced by policies aiming to build a bicultural and homogeneous nation (Ndhlovu, 2008). However, this policy does not signify the absence of tribal or ethnic distinctions and differences; instead, it reflects a flawed attempt at tribal balancing, emphasising Shona and Ndebele as the only national languages of Zimbabwe (Ndhlovu, 2008, p. 2). This difference is often blurred across borders where both Shona and Ndebele-speaking people are othered and identified as *makwerekwere*, a derogatory term used in post-apartheid South Africa referring to African migrants (Castelyn, 2019).

While Ndebele and Shona cultural groups are targets of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, these groups have different coping mechanisms. Dube (2017) claims that "isiNdebele-speaking migrants see themselves, because of historical and linguistic

factors, as claimants of a South African heritage" (p. 395). Ndebele and Zulu are both Nguni languages with minimal differences, making it convenient for Ndebele-speaking immigrants to use their language to blend into South African society (Siziba & Hill, 2018). On their part, Shona-speaking migrants who have no recourse to an indigenous Black South African language have developed strategies to (re)present the "appropriate" identity and simultaneously "pass" as "normal" (Siziba, 2016) inhabitants of South Africa. Their strategies include silence and adopting a 'local' dress sense.

Zimbabwe is a gerontocratic society (Siziba, 2009), where leaders are often significantly older than the country's adult population, thereby valorising age, power, property, and status.

> The production of culture in African societies has until recently been the preserve of adults. A gerontocratic surveillance system has sought to regulate, suppress, control, define, shape, and thus inform the production of culture and how young people imbibe it. Essentially young people have largely been partakers of a value system deriving from the construction of adults.
>
> (Siziba, 2009, p. 2)

Siziba's research indicates that gerontocracy often has an alliance with patriarchs, which inevitably leads to undermining women and young people's voices, negating their participation, production, and reproduction of culture. Nonetheless, Young Zimbabweans and, by extension, African immigrants are continuously contesting and occupying the various facets of Johannesburg's urban space (Moyo, 2017).

2.3 Music and place

Music and place have a symbiotic relationship wherein both affect each other, be it in giving meaning, creating, shaping, producing, or consuming. The physical infrastructure in a city has a bearing on the form, shape, and types of social infrastructure. Unlike other cultural expressions, music uniquely envelops a space and its listeners, creating an immersive, often collective experience that draws people together and fosters a shared sense of belonging. As Kavanagh (2018) suggests, the daily acts of music-making and

place-making are co-constitutive; they shape and are shaped by each other in an ongoing, dynamic process.

Distinct from visual arts or static cultural markers, music offers an immediate, sensory experience that allows people to engage with a space in real time, reshaping both their individual identities and their sense of community. Musical performance and consumption can transform otherwise neutral spaces into areas that resonate with cultural and social meaning, as seen in the regeneration of Johannesburg's Maboneng precinct, where live performances have turned the area into a vibrant cultural hub (Aymard et al., 2013).

When immigrants settle in a place, they upset the status quo. Their presence changes the consumption and production of music and the use of the physical infrastructure. These changes happen even when there is no conscious intentionality. If the researcher assumes that these changes do occur, it is crucial for scholars in different disciplines to know about such changes and how they occur. For example, scholars may know the history of a place and how it has contributed to the happiness or well-being of people through its music, musical performances, audiences, and venues (Tunstall et al., 2004).

Music provides alternative ways of knowing and thinking about places (Rice, 2018). Feld (1996) refers to 'acoustemology', a term combining acoustics and epistemology, to describe the study of sound as a way of understanding the world; "a sonic way of knowing place in which sound is central to making sense, to knowing, to experiential truth" (Feld, 1996, p. 97). Though Feld derived this concept from an anthropological study conducted in a rainforest community, the principles of this concept hold truth in different places and contexts. Music production, performances, and consumption provide a platform to understand a person's life, aspirations, and frustrations caused by certain places and spaces (Bennett, 2017; Cohen, 2012).

The relationship between music, society, and space has been a subject of critical academic interrogation (Bennett, 2017; Johansson & Bell, 2009; Kavanagh, 2018; Kavanagh, 2020a). The common narrative is that certain sounds are linked to geographies, spaces, and people, and they affect society and influence our everyday perceptions of place

(Connell & Gibson, 2003). Cities are increasingly designing entertainment districts and using music and, by extension, cultural industries to reaffirm their identities (Wynn & Yetis-Bayraktar, 2016, p. 204). As a result, we naturally "have expectations of what music to encounter in certain places, and we develop particular associations between space and sound"(Mullins, 2016, p. 54).

However, while sonic expectations exist, migration has the potential to disrupt musical sound, including traditional music. Bevan-Baker (2016) observes that while traditional music is inherently tied to place, it is also diverse and "isomorphic; […] its multiple sonic currents intertwine and overlap, creating a complex palimpsest of cultural engagement wherever it travels" (p. 31). Migration facilitates the exchange and blending of diverse musical traditions, resulting in "complex musical cultures" (Shelemay, 2012, p. 222).

Music plays a part in creating a sense of place as it influences how people perceive the environment and their emotional reactions to it (Cohen, 1995; Kavanagh, 2020a). Potentially, music provides a platform where everyday senses of place can be expressed by local voices (Feld & Basso, 1996). Likewise, musical transmissions and performances also play a significant role in shaping ethnic places and sustaining immigrant communities, as observed by Shelemay (2012). In turn, the musical experiences also create attachment and fondness for place. Matsunobu (2018) observes that people develop a sense of place through memory and experience with such elements that include rootedness and emotional attachment.

Musical practices have essential meaning for musicians and audiences alike, be they immigrants or not. Music shapes both the lives and places where people experience and make it (Kavanagh, 2020a). Matsunobu (2018) argues that the "inseparability and mutuality between meaning-making of place and place-making of meaning, our everyday experiences – including music-making – are, simultaneously, place-making experiences" (p. 491). The following quote from a biographical study of Jewish immigrants' music experiences in Liverpool refers to the same place-making phenomenon:

> The musical practices and interactions of the immigrant Jews helped to define the particular geographical and material space within the city that they

> inhabited and, at the same time, they invested that space with meaning and a sense of identity and place, thus distinguishing it from other places within the city.
>
> (Cohen, 1995, p. 438)

It is clear that, while physical infrastructure still counts in people's perception of the city, place liveability encompasses much more. There is an increasing awareness that the urban experience is more than living in the concrete jungle (Fouce, 2016). The urban social infrastructure, including art consumption and reproduction, have been used as an anchor for urban regeneration (Gregory, 2016). Music venues and musical performances have potential to facilitate social relationships and transactional or economic collaborations in the city. City planners are increasingly realising that cultural production and spaces for cultural production influence people to live or stay long in the city, as observed by Mullins (2016):

> The use of culture-led regeneration (within cultural clusters), as a model of redevelopment, has aided in the success of attracting new audiences to the inner city once eschewed by suburbanites, providing grounds for new experiences and interactions within an increasingly diverse social sphere.
>
> Mullins (2016, p. ii)

As a migrant city, Johannesburg is bound to have a dialogic relationship with multi-cultural musicians who are either shaped by the environment or who shape the space through music. The implication is that musical identity – including both concepts of identities in music' and 'music in identities' – is, in part, a function of place. Both the arts and the artists themselves play crucial roles in contemporary cities, either by reinforcing and idealising mainstream agents and institutions or through actively protesting and promoting socio-territorial innovation, boosting and enhancing the new urbanities (André et al., 2017).

The term 'urbanities' refers to the qualities, characteristics, and lifestyles associated with urban areas or city life. It encompasses various aspects of urban living, including the physical infrastructure, social interactions, cultural activities, economic opportunities,

and city environmental conditions (Rau, 2020). As an analytical concept, "urbanities do not only convey a functional quality to the city, but they also carry within themselves a whole set of social, political, and human values" (De Francesco & Perna, 2021, p. 7). People's encounters with popular culture, their music, their everyday experiences, and life stories contribute to making new urban sociality not always defined by physical infrastructure (Simone, 2001, 2004). The phenomenon of urbanities, which Baker and Baker (2019) refer to as "urban sociability" (p. 35), offers insights into the social, cultural, and emotional perspective of music activity in cities.

Residents of Johannesburg, especially young people, have historically created a triadic relationship where they use music "to mark distinction and elaborate the tensions of de-segregating urban spaces" (Santos, 2013, p. 59) as well as to affirm their own identities. The implication is that musical identity – including both concepts of 'identities in music' and 'music in identities' – is, in part, a function of place. Both the arts and the artists themselves play crucial roles in contemporary cities, either by reinforcing and idealising mainstream agents and institutions or through actively protesting and promoting socio-territorial innovation, boosting and enhancing the new urbanities (André et al., 2017).

Music can define behaviour in specific locations, elicit certain reactions and responses, and reinforce roles in particular situations (Connell & Gibson, 2003). In Zimbabwe, music is often used to distinguish people and places according to class. For instance, Jazz brings sophistication to musical events (Gioia, 2021), and is consumed in decent places (Manyeruke, 2016). The urban grooves music genre was predominantly popular with urban youth (Tivenga, 2018b), while its successor, Zim Dancehall – albeit now popular across Zimbabwe – identifies with the ghetto/township music of Mbare (Charivanda, 2019). Moreover, there are some genres, such as *sungura,* that identify as merely Zimbabwean without any ties to localised or provincialised identities (Perman, 2012).

The urban regeneration and placemaking efforts are fairly recent additions to the list of qualities that make the inner city a favourite place for many (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). Formerly, inner-city space was considered a place for commerce, high-rise buildings and economic infrastructure, including road networks and factories. However, performance arts – especially music and theatre – have always been a key part of township life, for

instance in the case of Sophiatown in Johannesburg (Rörich, 1989) or Mbare, the suburb south of Harare (Turino, 2008). At present, music lessons and performances play a central role in the regeneration of the Maboneng precinct in Johannesburg (Aymard et al., 2013). These authors view Maboneng as an artistic neighbourhood because of its innovative economy and social utility of the creative arts. Music plays a part in shaping the city through "live music, including musicians playing in the streets or parks, the venue scene, the music festivals and the youth subcultures related to particular neighbourhoods" (Fouce, 2016, p. 73).

Johannesburg, and by extension, Sub-Saharan Africa's urban population, is increasing more rapidly than other regions of the world (Kamusoko et al., 2013). The city carries more promises and better possibilities for improved quality of life. The social amenities, economic activities, urban houses, and huge departmental stores all play a part in curating an image of cities as the place to go. The economy and the modern individualised lifestyle of the city seem to attract dwellers for the longest time (Andersson, 2001). As a result, many people are migrating to different African cities.

2.4 Music as a social process in the diaspora

Garfias (2004) asserts that examining the structure of music and its use can provide significant insights into a society's social structure and stratification. Conceptualising music as a social process enhances the understanding of the uses and functions of music. As music is part of people's everyday life, this cultural heritage constantly shapes societal living, mirroring the economic and socio-political realities (Mutero & Kaye, 2019). Barber (1987) research on African popular culture provides a lens of music as a cultural product meant to serve the community. Music as a social process calls for an appreciation thereof beyond the notated score or the songs bleating on the radio; there is more to music than its sonority.

Most African societies include music in their daily activities, for every situation, event, or milestone, and these "musical performances present a ladder parallel to [the] social and political developments of communities [where] music and dance is made" (Mutero, 2013, p. 36). Music and dance are communally owned elements of the Zimbabwean culture and

play an important role in the lives of Zimbabweans from birth to death (Maguraushe & Machafa, 2017). There are songs that mark or celebrate biological growth, social processes, achievements, losses, triumphs, support political parties, voice dissent and everything that falls within the life of a human being (Phalafala, 2017). In African societies all over the globe, nothing of significance takes place in the community without song. Whether it is "celebrating childbirth or burying somebody; mobilising, or at rallies; rites of passage […], everything of significance!" (Phalafala, 2017. p. 249). It is thus critical to find out how Zimbabwean immigrants based in South Africa use music in their individual and societal spaces.

Music has the potential to influence individuals and societies, guiding them toward making either wise or poor decisions (Brown, 2006). Music is "a functional object whose universal persistence over time and place has resulted from its contribution to the operations of societies" (Brown, 2006, p. 3). The production and use of music are prone to purposive manipulation by members of society to achieve "social and economic functions, especially those related to behavioural control" (p. 9). Instead of music only being a function of creativity, the socio-economic environment influences what people sing and how they consume the music. Brown's assertion highlights the socio-economic factors affecting the music value chain within the Zimbabwean immigrant community in Johannesburg.

Belonging serves as a key analytic coordinate and tool for interrogating the ways in which Zimbabweans – and, by extension, Black African immigrants based in South Africa – articulate their own experiences, possibilities, and desires through music. Njoora (2000) argues that "music plays a major role in defining national solidarity; it informs our sense of 'place' whether that refers to the physical setting of social activity as situated geographically or a philosophical/stylistic space" (p. 7). Music is a powerful medium through which immigrants express their belonging, connect with their cultural heritage, and find a sense of identity and solidarity, both in the physical and cultural spaces they inhabit (Lewis, 2015). Music thus becomes a lens through which researchers can explore and understand the complexities of belonging and identity among these immigrant communities.

2.5 Music and social change

The ensuing discussion advances ideas that music – in the context of migration – can challenge power and social structures, thereby instilling a sense of belonging and shaping new community identities (Mapitsa, 2019; Martin, 2006). DeNora (2000) argues that "music can affect the shape of social agency, and control over music in social settings is a source of social power which can structure the parameters of action" (p. 20).

Immigrants employ singing to facilitate identity negotiation, social bonding, experiences of well-being, and self-esteem in new cultural environments for refugees (Phelan et al., 2017). They use music to bring about social change (Miles, 2017). Immigrant music thus constitutes popular art exhibiting a preoccupation with social change, one of the determining characteristics of such musics (Barber, 1987). Immigrants have individual and community stories that shape how they relate to power and their environment (Georgiou, 2018) that may lead to social change.

Symonds' (2019) study on Polish and Lithuanian settlers in Lincolnshire, UK, reveals that migrants have fluid identities that are neither tied to their home country nor their destinations. Symonds further suggests that migrants adapt to different cultures in the world without feeling at home in any of these local environments. Hence, their music-making is not necessarily reflective of a geographic identity. Immigrant experiences are, however, not uniform and fluid. For instance, Boura (2006) avers that, for the Greek immigrants based in Germany, music serves as an expressive means to uphold cultural identity, forming a figurative but enduring connection between the homeland and the adopted country, and that they maintain an affinity towards music from their home country. This is quite the opposite of what Murray (2009) found in his study of the Latinos who "adopted their cultural and musical tastes, chiefly imported from Spain, France and England with little adaptations to the local rhythms" (p. 242).

Symonds (2019) highlights the multi-layered nature of relationships that immigrants have with countries involved in their migration journey. While nationhood is about the emotional and cultural bonds that unite people from the same country, giving them a sense of common identity and purpose, the notions and connections that immigrants hold with

the nations they are moving to and their home countries contribute to how they participate in cultural production and consumption (Crush et al., 2015). Symonds (2019) introduced the concept of 'notion-state', referring to the way in which individuals perceive their relationship with the nation they have migrated to. This concept encompasses the entities of both the origin and destination nations, capturing the pre-emigration notions of the destination and the post-migration conceptualised relationship with the home nation. The ensuing collective identity includes cultural, historical, linguistic, and sometimes religious elements. Kreuzer et al. (2018) posit that immigrants experience a stream of emotions and cultures attached to physical places in both their original and adopted homes.

Immigrants have used music as a channel to give them a voice to debate personal and societal issues and challenges. Lee and Davidson (2017) reported that Korean immigrants who participated in their study in Australia "felt the power to be transformed and guided through personal problems and difficulties by enabling them to express their emotions through music and prayer" (p.10). Immigrant music "served the audiences as a means for appreciating and learning more about diversity and marginality" (Leppänen & Westinen, 2017, p.21).

The lives of most immigrants living in South Africa are complex. South Africa offers a veneer of hope and freedom to immigrants, hence the increase in the number of immigrants settling there (Maphumulo & Bhengu, 2019, p. 4). However, immigrants do not have the liberty to fully exercise their being because of differences (Odunitan-Wayas et al., 2021; Ruedin, 2019). South Africa now has the unfortunate reputation as one of the more hostile destinations in the world for African migrants (Cinini & Balgobind, 2019; Hewitt et al., 2020) , and it appears as if Zimbabweans are among the most hated foreigners. For example, Dube (2019) argues that "Black South Africans have been consistent in their attitudes toward the two most disliked groups of foreigners over this period: those from Nigeria, followed by those from Zimbabwe" (p. 199). The cross-fertilisation of cultures and musics described in many texts does not put into account the divisive nature of xenophobia (Dube, 2017). While Zimbabweans may physically reside in South Africa, they encounter a sense of ambivalence or limited acceptance within the

host society, a notion referred to as “compassionate repression” (Moyo, 2018). In such contexts, undesired immigrants are often denied a voice by host societies (Siziba & Hill, 2018).

The influences and determinants of diasporic cultural production may be invisible and deliberately marginal (Ghorashi, 2017; 2018), yet distinct, particularly for the second or third migrant generation born and brought up in a new land (Baily & Collyer, 2006). Popular media and education often frame the local as a dominant master narrative and the only legitimate culture (Chiumbu & Moyo, 2018). This implies that the music and culture of local citizens gain attention while immigrants’ music and musical practices appear silenced.

The silencing of migrants also frames immigrant issues using “problem-solving” (Georgiou, 2018, p. 48) approaches where foreigners are perceived as products of exceptional circumstances. Georgiou recognises that while Europe’s migration crisis received immense media attention, migrants rarely appeared as narrators of their own stories. Comparably, Horsti (2016, p. 14)) highlights that immigrant voices often experience a hyper-visibility representational context, either silencing them or creating an ordered hegemonic boundary. In the case of South Africa, the media barely gives Zimbabwean immigrants a voice. Instead, there is an influx of sensational news content and “a particular bias by the reporters which mutes immigrants’ voices from the immigration debate” (Banda & Mawadza, 2015, p. 14).

While it appears as if immigrants’ narratives are silenced and controlled, music has a way of communicating even the restricted messages. In this regard, Siziba (2009) forwards that there is a relationship between repression and culturally informed subversion. Host societies are often not fully aware of the immigrants’ culture and language. As a result, immigrants can easily sing about or embody dissent and frustration in non-confrontational dance performances. In some cases, immigrants deliberately mute their voices in physical performance spaces and develop cultural codes that they can use to release frustration (Caruso, 2019).

Ghorashi et al. (2018) view such actions as resisting normalised structures through reflective consciousness and choosing marginality in power-related situations. The purpose in these instances is not necessarily to communicate with the host society but to send a message within the immigrant community as well as to release pent-up frustrations. These coded messages have potential to create bonding social capital among the immigrant community residing in the same locale (Pearce, 2008), the representational space of mainstream media.

2.6 Immigrants and musicking

The term ’musicking’ was introduced by Small (1999) to explain the human processes that happen when people are taking part – in any capacity – in music performance, for instance, listening, rehearsing, composing, facilitating a performance, or accompanying social life. Musicking refers to the social actions birthed during a music-making performance. In a nuanced definition, Small forwards that that:

> To music is to take part in any capacity in a musical performance, and the meaning of musicking lies in the relationships that are established between the participants by the performance. Musicking is part of that iconic, gestural process of giving and receiving information about relationships which unites the living world, and it is, in fact, a ritual by means of which the participants not only learn about, but directly experience, their concepts of how they relate, and how they ought to relate, to other human beings and to the rest of the world.
>
> (Small, 1999, p. 9)

It is clear that Small regards participating in music performances – and social actions birthed from there – as the essence of music instead of the sonic properties thereof. This closely relates to how African musics mirror the society and the utilitarian roles it plays:

> African musical arts in all its ramifications and transactions, is the product of intuition researched and made concrete in human/societal experiences. That the logic of the musical arts explicates the lore of life is not a mystery, rather a mastery of the intuitive science that systematic sonic rationalisations can process the meaning of human life, death and society.

(Nzewi & Nzewi, 2007, p. 8)

The concept of musicking speaks to what music is about for many indigenous African societies who believe in community and the maxim of Ubuntu. Letseka (2000) suggests that Ubuntu's underlying concern is in humanness and connectedness. Likewise, musicking is considered a relational approach to making music (Anundsen, 2014), where the division between arts and audience is blurred while all participate in creating a music-based experience (Valberg, 2011). Musical participation and experience have a range of possible meanings and purposes for individuals and groups depending on their own situation and life context, as well as the context in which the musical participation happens (DeNora, 2000).

Participating in musical experiences presents both socially and musically meaningful benefits. Kaufman articulates the value of musical participation well Shelemay (2006), believing that musicking leads to the development of emotional, social, and cognitive ties. Similarly, Pitts (2005) explains that participating in music-related activities has positive externalities on musicians' social, emotional, and cognitive well-being. Njoora (2015) argues that "music is powerful at the individual level because it can induce multiple responses – physiological, movement, mood, emotional, cognitive and behavioural" (p. 28).

As music parallels the social ladder in Zimbabwean society (Benyera, 2017; Dzvore, 2018; Mano, 2007), understanding musicking illuminates the use of music, its function, and impact on individuals and society (Brown, 2006). The concept of musicking does away with the prescriptions common in Western classical music where the musical score is central, instead embracing music's broader role and significance in human life (Small, 1999; 2016). For Joseph (2007), "doing" (p. 127) music is an action or verb when describing music-making in an African context. Musicking processes do not lock participants in certain traditions (Westvall, 2021) but spotlight para musical activities and musical participation beyond those traditionally catered to in formal music education (Rinde & Schei, 2017). The conflict experienced during the music-making process is potentially an opportunity for a small group to dialogue (Mutero & Kaye, 2019). To that end, the heterogeneity and fragility in Johannesburg provide a good context in which

communities, including immigrants, can purposefully engage in cultural production and consumption.

2.7 Social bonding through musicking

Musicking can facilitate social integration, bonding, acculturation, and well-being (Batt-Rawden, 2018; Pavlicevic & Ansdell, 2004; Welch, 2021). In immigrant communities, music is rarely understood as an individual artistic expression. Instead, there is often an emphasis on collective participation due to music's role in facilitating active social participation (Pripp & Westvall, 2020; Westvall, 2021). In the same vein, South Africa's policy encourages the use of the arts to promote social cohesion and alleviate injustices based on either ethnicity, gender, nationality, or any other distinctions which engender divisions, distrust, and conflict (DAC, 2017).

South Africa implicitly deals with immigration politics through an integration approach rather than supporting immigrant groups in consolidating their ethnic affiliations (Dangarembwa, 2019, p. 4). This position is understandable given the country's apartheid history of separatist policies (Molope, 2022). However, this approach means that the cultural activities of minority groups are often overshadowed by those of the majority ethnicities. Zimbabwean immigrants fall into this minority category, yet their situation is unique as integration through music may involve negotiating their cultural identity, adapting to the local music cultures, or both.

Activities in spaces where music is created and performed produce "a reciprocating social environment that seems to guarantee and perhaps even necessitate that individuals are closely connected" (Bracken, 2015, p. 303). As a responding social environment, musicking has the potential to build and strengthen social capital between people (Wright, 2012), which, according to Putnam (2000), refers to the social resources that individuals draw upon in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. Musicking activities can facilitate the development of networks and connectedness that increase cooperation, fostering relationships of trust and reciprocity. Kavanagh (2020, p. 47) also asserts that "musicking fosters, among other things, social bonding, personal fulfilment, enjoyment, wellbeing and learning" (p. 47).

As an art form, African music represents ethnicities. In the context of Zimbabwe, the following specific examples demonstrate this phenomenon: *Isitshikitsha,* for instance, is recognised as Ndebele music (Green, 2013); *Mhande* traditional music and dance originates from the *Karanga* people (Rutsate, 2010); and *Amabhiza* is identified as traditional music and dance for the Kalanga tribes (Mutero, 2013). But, when taken out of provincialised categories, all these examples are identified as Zimbabwean music and have the potential to foster national cultural identity (Maguraushe & Machafa, 2017). Zimbabweans living outside the country often do not add tribal or provincialising attributes to their music, especially when performed outside Zimbabwe. This convention allows all diaspora communities to unite around common expressive music practices (Erol, 2012).

South Africans who migrated to Australia have used music to maintain their South African identity through the Jabulani choir, comprising South Africans living and working in Australia (Joseph, 2007), indicating that music-making in diaspora communities unifies immigrants through a national identity. The diaspora also provides a neutral environment for immigrants to appreciate the diversity of their own cultures. Joseph (2007) notes that collective musicking among immigrants fosters an appreciation for diversity, leading to intercultural understanding.

Music created and performed in the diaspora can potentially improve strained race and tribal relations (Dirksen, 2013; Robertson, 2010). Immigrants' dominant identity relates by far to their nationality as opposed to their tribe or race, and fellow country people unite as a minority when outside the borders of their home country. Robertson (2010) and Dirksen (2013) agree that, for music to reconcile ethnicities, the feuding parties must feel connected to the music ethnically and ideologically or feel attracted to the possible social structures it may represent.

Music-making in Africa is premised on the philosophy of sharing and participation, whether in a formal or informal setting (Joseph, 2007). Therefore, music can be a space and practice that binds group members together as people experience a sense of belonging through music. In non-western music contexts, "music is a way of being in the world, becomes an integral part of existence, is inseparably connected with it: it is an ethical

category, no longer merely an aesthetic one" (Boulez et al. 1963, p. 34). Music-making in most Sub-Saharan African communities is a shared activity; its beauty is tied to its utilitarian functions (Nzewi, 2006).

Although cities often breed social isolation, anonymity, and alienation among residents, music can potentially facilitate bonding social capital among immigrants while bridging social capital often emerges between immigrants and host societies (Bucura, 2022). Putnam (2000) describes bonding social capital as cohesion and trust within socially homogenous groups. On the other hand, bridging or linking social capital connects heterogonous entities, for instance relationships between people from a different ethnicity or different socio-economic status (Adler & Kwon, 2002). People often use music to create communication alternatives that allow them to by-pass economic, political, and social divides; a platform that instils both bonding and bridging social capital (Mutero & Kaye, 2019). The music-making process is, however, a potential source of conflict that emanates from differences in expressions and preferences (Mutero, 2013). Siziba (2009) avers that such challenges exist but are simultaneously constraining and enabling.

Artists and communities living under unstable and unfriendly environments usually create cultural codes through which they can safely discuss their political and social problems (Siziba, 2009). Music alone or any other "cultural projects cannot change the order of society or remove embedded structural inequalities, but they do enable positive discourse and provide clear direction, as well as musical enjoyment" (Dirksen (2013, p. 50). However, not all music-making and performances can end conflict or be used to achieve positive social change (Gonye, 2013; Kent, 2012). As music's function is not to facilitate the common good, the potential for social change is not necessarily guaranteed. In reference to the conflict in North/South Korea, Howard (2010) argues that music mirrors the respective ideologies of political sides, thereby propagating the feud after their division in 1945. Kent (2012) argues that music can potentially perpetuate conflict, depending on how it is used and what it represents. These study findings reveal that people can use music for the greater good or destruction.

2.8 Cultural losses and gains in the diaspora

Currently, there is no consensus on issues concerning host societies embracing the immigrants' music or the immigrants adopting the host culture. Researchers have indicated that immigrants' memories and connections with home foster cohesion in diaspora communities (Erol, 2012; Okoli, 2023). For Lidskog (2016), "it is still unclear whether internal social cohesion distances these communities from the society around them or encourages relations to and exchanges with it" (p. 23). However, research indicates that bonding social capital might lead immigrants to have negative attitude towards the locals and their culture in what Lesetedi and Modie-Moroka (2007) call reverse xenophobia. Exiles' creative productions present a paradox when they, at times, poignantly capture sad moments. Said (2013) aptly captures this reality:

> Strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unbearable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life, these are no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement. The achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever.
>
> (Said, 2013, p. 173)

When people are uprooted from their homes, there is significant cultural loss; even musical practices change when removed from their original performance context (Matiure, 2013). The most immediate of the losses is the absence of familiar contexts and having to perform in 'strange spaces' (Matiure, 2019). There is an urge for these cultural productions and performances to continue, as they are an avenue for negotiating and asserting belonging. Furthermore, music is constant as it provides a soundtrack to all life's events (Makinde & Esimone, 2021).

Scholars from the developed world frequently focus on issues of poverty, informality, and violence when exploring cities in the Global South (Mbinza, 2023). Although xenophobia and Afrophobia pose a threat to the peaceful cultural co-existence of locals

and foreigners in Johannesburg, the conflict and tensions might lead to new forms of cultural resistance and coping mechanisms that can withstand repression (Siziba, 2009). Instead of being passive imbibers of culture, human beings create cultural modes that work in their service (Scupin & DeCorse, 2021, p. 43). The tensions bound in the community unavoidably lead to the uprising of an alternative culture where communities can employ cultural codes as a coping mechanism (Mutero, 2013; Siziba, 2009). Immigrant communities can also lead their integration and assimilation using both their own and their adopted homes' music.

Immigrants often assimilate as communities (Hatton & Leigh, 2011), employing community music-making to safeguard their culture and sustain social practices (Nethsinghe, 2013). Therefore, when immigrants settle, they contribute to the culture of their destination. Immigrants can employ bifocal attachments to enrich their transcultural capital, which involves the strategic use of knowledge, skills and networks acquired by migrants through connections with their country and cultures of origin, which are made active at their new places of residence (Leppänen & Westinen, 2017). For example, medical professionals, teachers, and artisans can use their skills in foreign lands.

Immigrant artists are influenced by their memories of home (culture) to create art (Dube, 1996; Nyoni, 2018). At times, such fluidity occupies liminal spaces (Ghorashi et al., 2018). The different musics consumed in multicultural societies should not, however, be misconstrued boundary edges of animosity. In this respect, Kasinitz and Martiniello (2019) observe that music creates a space where boundaries between outsiders and insiders are blurred. Simone (2004) suggests that the combined skills and networks brought by various immigrant groups offer greater potential for profits far exceeding the gains "from commercial activities compartmentalised within narrow ethnic and national groupings" (p. 418).

Chapman (2005) describes how new musical sounds – combining musical resources reflective of home and the host country – were created by the Laos community who migrated from Asia to Australia. In Chapman's study, Lao musicians infused musics from home with Western music to cater for the different generations of their population. Specifically, the first generation gravitated towards modernised renditions of "traditional

khap l am and a ‘country’ style popular music sometimes called pheˆeˆng baan naa, while younger Lao prefer contemporary rock, techno and hip-hop forms sung by Lao performers” (p. 16).

Music is a pan-human constant, something that is universal and applicable to all humans in that they make music, listen to music, or participate in music-making in one way or another (Joseph, 2007). However, the meaning attributed to the same music is not universal and differ from one person to the other, particularly across distinct communities (Lidskog, 2016). Research suggests that different social classes and ages may have different musical preferences (Dowd, 2015). The current study may, therefore, offer a new perspective regarding the ways in which immigrants articulate their voices and how they own and create their narrative in a ‘new home’ through musicking.

2.9 Conceptual framework: Musicking and placemaking in the diaspora

The conceptual framework I selected for understanding immigrants' musicking and placemaking in the diaspora draws upon several key concepts. Firstly, it incorporates musicking as articulated by Small (1999), which sees music not merely as a product but as a social activity involving performance, listening, and interaction. In the context of immigration, musicking serves as a vehicle for cultural expression, identity formation, and community building within diasporic communities. Secondly, the framework incorporates the notion of placemaking, which refers to the processes through which individuals and groups shape their physical and social environments to create a sense of belonging and attachment (Ellery et al., 2021; Kavanagh, 2020a). Immigrants engage in placemaking activities through musicking by transforming public spaces, such as parks, streets, and community centres, into cultural hubs where they can gather, perform, and celebrate their heritage. Furthermore, the framework draws upon theories of transnationalism and hybridity, highlighting the fluid and dynamic nature of cultural identities among immigrants. Immigrants often negotiate between multiple cultural influences, blending elements from their home countries with those of their host society (Mistry & Wu, 2010) to create unique and hybrid cultural expressions through musicking.

Additionally, the framework considers the role of power dynamics and social hierarchies in shaping immigrants' musicking and placemaking experiences. Immigrants may face challenges such as discrimination, marginalisation, and restrictive immigration policies, affecting their ability to participate fully in cultural life. Therefore, an intersectional approach is necessary to understand how race, ethnicity, class, and gender overlap to shape immigrants' musicking experiences and placemaking in the diaspora (Pardue, 2023).

The following conceptual framework diagram illustrates the interconnected relationship between musicking and placemaking within diasporic communities, highlighting how music functions as a tool for cultural expression, identity formation, and social cohesion, and detailing the broader outcomes of cultural identity and social inclusion.

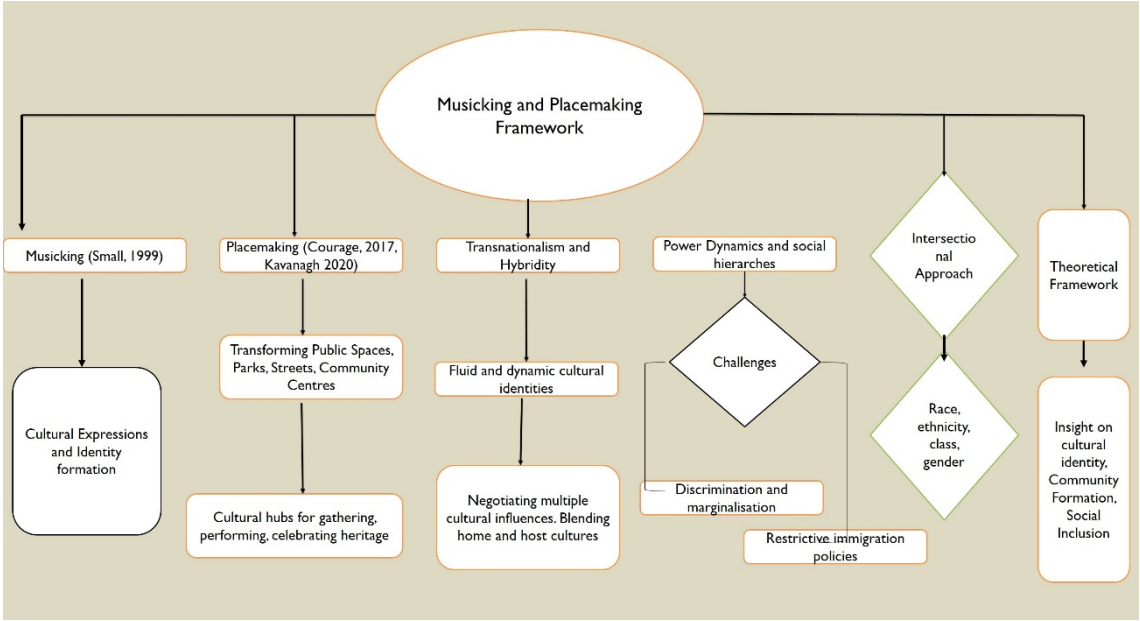

Figure 1: Conceptual framework diagram

Overall, this theoretical framework provides a comprehensive lens through which to examine the multifaceted ways immigrants engage with musicking and placemaking in the diaspora, shedding light on the complexities of cultural identity, community formation, and social inclusion.

Summary

In this chapter, I established that community music is vibrant in Zimbabwe, with a cultural orientation toward creating and enjoying music within familial and communal contexts. Consequently, when individuals are separated from their families and friends, they are detached from the primary source of their musical experiences. However, this perspective may not necessarily hold, especially considering the significant number of Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa. In the preceding discussion, I reviewed literature that shows how time, place, and context relate to music production and consumption. The chapter described music's utilitarian role regarding identity and belonging, placemaking, and social activities to frame an understanding of the likely relationship between Zimbabwean immigrants, music, and the places they live in Johannesburg.

The literature shows that the relationship is often symbiotic but not consistently so. The chapter also considered literature that speaks to the fluidity of culture and acculturation, highlighting gaps in the literature beyond the sonic properties of song. This identification of gaps underscored the need to explore further how music influences social governance dynamics in areas characterised by complex relationships between foreign nationals and local citizens. One of the main gaps in the literature is a lack of research seeking to understand Zimbabweans' contribution to South Africa's cultural space and the shaping of the cities. Moreover, the conceptual framework provided a lens to explore how Zimbabwean immigrants experience their common musical tastes and distinctive lifestyle choices in Johannesburg, enabling me to identify foreign nationals' contributions to music-informed placemaking in Johannesburg.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology employed in this doctoral study. The chapter begins by detailing the research approach, research paradigm, and research design, which provides the overarching framework guiding the investigation. Following this, the selection criteria and process for research participants are elucidated, ensuring that the chosen sample accurately represents the study's focus. Subsequently, the data collection methods are described, highlighting the techniques used to gather rich and relevant information. The chapter then explains the procedures for data analysis, illustrating how the collected data was systematically examined to derive meaningful insights. Next, the steps I took to ensure the research quality of the study are described. Finally, the ethical considerations underpinning the research are discussed, ensuring that the study adhered to ethical standards to safeguard the rights and well-being of all participants. Through these sections, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the methodological approaches that underpin this research, ensuring transparency, rigor, and credibility in the study's findings.

3.1 Research approach

As a native of Zimbabwe who speaks both Shona and Ndebele, I was able to employ an emic approach to represent the perspectives of the participants in this study (Bergman & Lindgren, 2018). Adding "emic validity" (Whitehead, 2005, p. 5) to the study meant that I endeavoured to understand the research problem from the participants' "own system of meanings" (ibid). As a necessity, I had to spend extensive time "in the host community and coming to a thorough understanding of the daily lives of the hosts" (ibid). As a culture insider, I expected to elicit rich data during the data collection process, as there should not be a language barrier.

I immersed myself in Zimbabwean immigrants' lived realities in Johannesburg to understand their contribution to South Africa's cultural space and shaping of the city, therefore, qualitative research offered the most appropriate approach (Almalki, 2016). Qualitative research involves a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people

interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live (Crescentini & Mainardi, 2009). As indicated in the introduction to this study, Zimbabweans constitute a significant presence in South African cities. I, therefore, engaged Zimbabweans on how they make sense of and experience musical, cultural production in Johannesburg. A qualitative research approach was chosen for its ability to provide complex contextual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

The basis of qualitative research mainly lies in an interpretive approach to social reality and in the description of human beings' lived experiences (Alase, 2017). In a qualitative in-depth ethnographic study as applied in the current research, the strict distinction between independent and dependent variables—common in quantitative research—was not appropriate. Ethnographic research prioritises processes, meanings, and interactions over causal relationships. Therefore, instead of isolating variables, I rather explored themes, patterns, and lived experiences as they emerged from the fieldwork as appropriate in an ethnographic context. The data collected for this study was steeped in participants' lived realities and experiences to understand the interplay between space, culture, and identity in their lives as immigrants based in Johannesburg.

3.2 Research paradigm

"We don't see things as they are; we see things as we are."
(Anaïs Nin, Spanish author 1903-1977)

The words in the above quotation accurately illustrate how important it is for researchers to integrate cultural considerations and that they should be wary of their preconceived ideas influencing how they see the world. Cain and Lawless (2013) argue that researchers' and research participants' "worlds" (p. 4) may be different because of cultural experiences. Individuals tend to view things not as they truly are but in the context of personal preconceived notions or assumptions (Creswell & Poth, 2016), and previous experiences will often affect expectations of future events. Therefore, researchers need to observe high cultural competence with an "awareness of unique and defining characteristics of the populations" (Atim & Cantu 2010, p. 1). As a result, my endeavour

to understand how the musicking and consumption process, cultural life, and politics of Zimbabwean immigrants add to arts-informed placemaking in Johannesburg is underpinned by an interpretive paradigm.

According to Thanh and Thanh (2015), an interpretive paradigm allows a researcher "to view the world through the perceptions and experiences of the participants" (p. 24). Goldkuhl (2012) adds that "The core idea of interpretivism is to work with these subjective meanings already there in the social world; i.e. to acknowledge their existence, to reconstruct them, to understand them, to avoid distorting them, to use them as building blocks in theorising" (p. 15). The account to be told in this research represents Zimbabwean immigrants residing in Johannesburg. The interpretivist paradigm has room for "multiple perspectives and versions of truths" (Thanh & Thanh, 2015, p. 25). To that end, I took views from participants without in any way assuming that they have uniform cultures or perspectives. Instead, the underlying assumption of the study was that every individual who participates in this study has a different and, at times, unique voice that deserves to be heard.

Willis (2007) argues that interpretivists are anti-methodological fundamentalists. Conversely, Thanh and Thanh (2015) believe that there is no particular right or correct path to knowledge and no special method that automatically leads to intellectual progress. As a result, I aimed to be non-rigid in finding ways that Zimbabwean immigrants use to express themselves through art, borrowing constructs from social creative placemaking theorists (Cara, 2015). Studying the ways that Zimbabwean immigrants' express themselves and how they interact with and within the city via musicking is important as their social interactions contribute to the physical and social infrastructure of Johannesburg. This process of letting the community 'be' through conducting research as an organic experiential platform is supported by Kemmis (2006), who posits that "if practices are constituted in social interaction between people, changing practices is a social process" (p. 277). Rather than imposing methodological restrictions on how social processes should manifest at the expense of organic and positive human interaction, I remained open to an organic and experiential platform (Kemmis, 2006). In the next

section, I explain the conceptual framework I devised to allow me to explore the topic under investigation within an interpretative paradigm.

3.3 Research design

According to Fetterman (2010), ethnography provides a comprehensive design for uncovering ways people attach meanings to their world, interpret their lived experiences, and change their behaviour and practices within a sociocultural context, as will be the case with the proposed study. Over the years, ethnography has evolved from the complex descriptive interpretation of a culture based on intensive and extensive fieldwork in anthropological and sociological research (Caines, 2010) until it culminated into different types, which include critical ethnography, classical ethnography, focused ethnography, and auto-ethnography among others. For completeness, I will first discuss ethnography and then move on to the specifics of focused ethnography.

3.3.1 Ethnography

The emphasis of investigation in an ethnography is on the everyday behaviours of the people in the group with an intent to identify cultural norms, beliefs, practices, social structures, and other patterns (Leedy & Ormrod, 2020). As such, in this research, I studied how the culture of Zimbabwean immigrants – expressed through their music and in their interactions with each other during informal musicking and at performances – contributes to placemaking and urbanity in Johannesburg. Hence, it is designed as an ethnography. Curtis and Curtis (2011) view ethnographic research "as the study of a culture" (p. 3), while Wolcott (2008) concurs that culture is the central defining characteristic of an ethnography, and Merriam and Tisdell (2015) explain it as the inquiry of "human society and culture" (p. 29). However, an ethnographer goes beyond reporting on culture and rather attempts to give a detailed description and explanation of the cultural constructions in which people live (Hoey, 2014). Therefore, it is primarily done by staying with and living the culture of the researched people in a given social setting for an extended period (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Yarris, 2017). I was however, unable to live with the researched community for a continuous or lengthy period due to the restrictions of the

COVID-19 pandemic that were there at time of data collection. As a result, I used focused ethnography (Knoblauch, 2005; Wall, 2015).

3.3.2 Focused Ethnography

This research design is characterised by relatively short-term field visits rather than permanent or lengthy stays with the researched community (Knoblauch, 2005). Beyond the vast amount of data collected, there is a turn towards focused ethnography to document more closely a few individuals' musical practices and choices (Stock, 2001). Therefore, instead of spending an entire year in Johannesburg, I lived and interacted with selected participants for two weeks every month for six months.

The design allowed me to explore how the Zimbabwean immigrants' musicking contributes to music-informed placemaking. I was particularly interested in participating in and observing musicking activities as artists interacted with each other during rehearsals, recordings, and performances. During observations, I was guided by the nine dimensions suggested by Reeves et al. (2008), as shown in Table 2. Through these dimensions, I managed to focus on ways that bring holistic insights into Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking in Johannesburg.

Table 2: Observational dimensions

Space-	Physical layout of the place(s)
Actor-	Range of people involved
Activity	A set of related activities that occur
Object	The physical things that are present
Act	Single actions people undertake
Event	Activities that people carry out
Time-	The sequencing of events that occur

Goal	Things that people are trying to accomplish
Feeling	Emotions felt and expressed

Adapted from Reeves et al. (2008, p. 512).

I purposefully selected the study participants for their roles in making, consuming, and distributing music. These participants included practising immigrant musicians and music consumers of Zimbabwean origin living in Johannesburg. It was also necessary for the participants to have in-depth knowledge of the Zimbabwean culture and music traditions.

I collected data using a combination of immersive participant observations, community scoping, and one-on-one interviews. I collected most of the observational data during community scoping and while attending live music performances. These observations were either captured using a digital camera or diarising it manually. The community scoping process involved observing both the physical and social infrastructure of the community for the purpose of becoming familiarised with the environment and the people. When visiting all the places of interest, I had the privilege to be accompanied by the Zimbabwean poet Itso (pseudonym), a childhood friend and resident of Johannesburg. Poet Itso's social capital made it easy for me to negotiate entry into the community. In addition, my position as a Zimbabwean immigrant with a music background created a common ground for me to interact with participants in ways that reduced participant reactivity.

My fieldwork relied heavily on casual conversations when I was hanging out with the community and musicians, sharing their working and socialising environments. Moreover, I held in-depth interviews with three musicians, four audience members, and one venue owner.

The study focused on the meanings embedded in shared musical practices of Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg. Fetterman (2010) suggests that a researcher with insider or background knowledge of the cultural group carries out focused ethnography; therefore, my nationality as a Zimbabwean with specialised education in music aided the process of

this focused ethnographical study. This enabled me to achieve a high cultural competence with an “awareness of unique and defining characteristics of the populations” (Catalyst, 2010, p. 1).

As I am familiar with the languages, customs, and other social norms of Zimbabwean people, this allowed me to navigate the field more effectively, or perhaps more naturally. My understanding of the culture and position as an insider made communication with participants easy, and I could understand nuanced meanings without fear of losing important information in translation. Wall (2015) posits that focused ethnography is relevant for sub-cultural groups with common behaviours and shared experiences and is suitable for examining emerging cultural contexts, such as the emerging Zimbabwean urban community in Johannesburg. Through focused ethnography, I was able to collect data on observable practices amongst community members as well as to use video and audio-recording technology to capture rich data. This allowed me to compile thick descriptions of the informants and study environment without the participants being disturbed by me as the ethnographer (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

Using focused ethnography allowed for a more targeted and specific investigation of the research question. By focusing on music and its role in placemaking, I was able to delve deeply into the intricacies of this phenomenon, examining the specific cultural practices, meanings, and interactions between Zimbabwean immigrants that contribute to their establishment of a new home in Johannesburg.

3.4 Sampling strategy

The study sought the perspective of both Zimbabwean musicians and audience members in Johannesburg. To achieve this, I used a multi-stage random purposive sampling strategy (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) among Zimbabwean immigrants residing in Johannesburg. Given the substantial size of the Zimbabwean population in Johannesburg, the multi-stage random sampling involved two random stages to select a representative sample from the larger immigrant group. First, I engaged selected musicians of Zimbabwean origin who are regular performers in churches and venues that are popular

with Zimbabwean bands and audiences. As a Zimbabwean immigrant, I visited various churches, live music venues, and music clubs in Johannesburg.

Consequently, I connected with musicians, including Poet Itso and Gwenyambira (pseudonyms). I engaged in conversational ethnographic interviews with various musicians, leading to connections with organised bands and Zimbabwean musicians living and working in Johannesburg. Some of these musicians later introduced me to their fanbases via WhatsApp groups. Finally, I identified eight key informants who met the selection criteria for participation in individual interviews, as indicated below.

3.4.1 Selection criteria for individual participants

The study included practising immigrant musicians of Zimbabwean origin based in Johannesburg. I selected participants purposefully because they were either vocal or instrumental musicians with in-depth knowledge of the Zimbabwean culture and music traditions. Furthermore, they had to live in Johannesburg for at least three years as fully integrated members of the Zimbabwean community and local music scene. As regular performers at diverse social gatherings, including but not limited to churches, festivals, restaurants, and other venues in Johannesburg, participants needed to be recognised as musicians within their community, as evidenced by regular performances, show attendances, or social media presence.

I recruited participants for focus groups from churches and venues hosting regular live music performances by renowned Zimbabwean musicians. The aim was to ensure representation from a diverse group, encompassing different genders and ages, who have "tacit knowledge of the rules, conventions and stocks of knowledge that they use and draw on in everyday life" (Atkinson & Pugsley, 2005, p. 230). While selecting focus group participants, I deliberately included women and youth who do not necessarily occupy a position of authority with the understanding that their experiences and knowledge are legitimate (Kotzé, et al., 2013). These authors posit that the inclusion of marginalised voices has the potential to raise a creative and alternative discourse, which

can transform dominance and power differentials and undesirable practices peddled as culture. I purposefully selected all the study participants based on the following criteria:

- They should be Zimbabwean of origin;
- They should be living in Johannesburg;
- They should be actively participating in music events, either
    - as practising musicians, or
    - as music spectators or audience members regularly attending performances.

This ensured that they provided diverse and in-depth knowledge of both the Zimbabwean culture and experiences of living in Johannesburg. Table 3 lists all the participants who participated in this study. Column 1 indicates the data collection method, while column 2 provides the pseudonyms of professional musicians and groups who agreed to participate in this study. Column 3 lists the pseudonyms of music spectators participating in this study. All participants are listed alphabetically, and their genders are indicated with F for female and M for male.

Table 3: Research participants who partook in interviews and focus groups

Data collection method	**Musicians** (Pseudonyms)	**Music spectators** (Pseudonyms)	**Music Promoters** (Pseudonyms)
Open-ended face-to-face individual interviews	• Baroness (F) • Eljoy (M) • Gigi (F) • Gonyeti (F) • Gwenyambira (M) • Musa (M) • Poet Itso (M) • Silo (M)	• Chipo (F) • Davidzo (F) • Gono (M) • Ephias (M) • Farie (F) • Heather (F) • Mhazi (M) • Mr Dube (M) • Pee (F) • Precious (F) • Prim (F)	• Gonzalo (M) • Mr Dube (M)

Facilitated individual interviews via Skype	• Bassman (M) • Feyi (F) • Mhofu (M)		
Focus group discussions	• Afrostitch Band (M+F) • Bassman (M) • Gigi (F) • Gwenyambira (M) • Journey Band (M+F) • Silo (M)	• Ephias (M) • Farie (F) • Heather (F) • Mhazi (M) • Pee (F) • Precious (F) • Prim (F)	

Table 4 on the next page presents the pseudonyms of the musicians whom I observed, as well as the names of the venues where they performed. All musicians and venues are listed in alphabetical order, and the genders of participants are indicated with F for female and M for male.

Table 4: Participants and venues for observation

Data collection method	**Musicians** (Pseudonyms)	**Venues where observations took place**
Participant observations	• Baroness (F) • Feyi (F) • Gigi (F) • Gwenyambira (M) • Mhofu (M) • Musa (M) • Sambo CI (M) • Silo (M)	• Apostolic Faith Mission • Endaweni Lounge • Innocent Pub and Grill • *KwaChikwanha* • Macanudo Lounge • Rumours Lounge

3.4.2 Participant profiles

Below, I present brief profiles of the participating musicians using pseudonyms, offering a glimpse into the diverse and rich experiences, perspectives, and backgrounds that have shaped the research findings. The profiles of audience members are provided in the findings chapters as precursors to interview excerpts included in the thesis.

Baroness: Baroness is a Zim Dancehall chanter. As a spirited performer exuding the poise of a star, she has become one of the few Johannesburg-based Zim Dancehall female musicians. Baroness has diligently worked to gain recognition within the Johannesburg Zim Dancehall community and is often featured in live shows.

Bassman: Bassman is a bassist, singer, and songwriter, who initiated his music career in Gweru, playing with one of the most prominent local bands. The group succeeded, winning the Music Crossroads Competition in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe and securing the third position at the national finals. In South Africa, Bassman serves as a church musician, participating in weekly performances at different churches and occasionally contributing to studio recordings for fellow musicians.

Eljoy: Eljoy is a multi-talented artist excelling as a music writer, music producer and singer. Originally from Shurugwi, his nickname is in reference to his home. Eljoy commenced his musical journey in 2010 shortly after completing high school, and relocated to South Africa in 2014 to further his musical career. To date, he has collaborated with notable figures such as Nox Guni from Zimbabwe, Alino Alino from Cameroon, Rhyma from Nigeria, and Ntosh Gazi from South Africa, among others.

Feyi: She is a versatile artist and music entrepreneur. Feyi established a record label offering recording facilities and skilled engineers with a deep understanding of Zimbabwean music. Feyi is renowned for her vocal prowess, often creating reinterpretations of popular old Zimbabwean songs that she shares on social media. Her productions have amassed over one million views on YouTube. Additionally, she holds the position of the official musician for the Zimbabwe Consulate in Johannesburg, enhancing state events with her performances.

Gigi: A seasoned musician, Gigi started her career as a solo artist in Bulawayo before joining a band in Gweru in 2015. She relocated to South Africa in 2017, currently working in the hospitality industry while also pursuing her musical endeavours. In South Africa, her involvement in music shows has largely been as a backing vocalist. Nevertheless, she occasionally takes the lead in renditions of popular songs from Zimbabwe.

Gonyeti: She is a seasoned musician who previously worked for one of Zimbabwe's most successful musicians. Following a disagreement with the said musician, she relocated to South Africa. Gonyeti has released two albums that feature a blend of traditional and contemporary sounds. In Johannesburg, Gonyeti holds solo performances as well as providing backing vocals for various musicians' live shows and studio recordings.

Gwenyambira: As a mbira player and songwriter, Gwenyambira has cultivated strong relations with many traditional music Zimbabwean musicians based in South Africa. He serves as a valuable link between musicians and venue owners, gaining influence as a blogger on social media, and sharing updates about the Johannesburg music space.

Itso: This participant acted as my research assistant, introducing me to the music communities in Johannesburg. Itso is a dub poet[6] proficient in playing mbira Nyunga Nyunga, nhare, and the acoustic guitar. As an ethnomusicologist, he graduated from Midlands State University in Zimbabwe. He is widely recognised for his protest poetry, which addresses poor governance in Zimbabwe and the daily struggles faced by underprivileged people. Additionally, he records his own music and poetry.

Mhofu: Leading a team of eight musicians, Mhofu's musical style is heavily influenced by Thomas Mapfumo and Oliver Mtukudzi. Born in the late 1970s, he had a late start in music. To date, he has recorded two albums, the first released in 2018. Mhofu is a frequent participant in Johannesburg shows headlined by prominent musicians based in Zimbabwe.

Musa: He is a multi-instrumentalist proficient in playing the keyboard, mbira, marimba, and percussion. He leads a band and serves as marimba teacher at a primary school in Johannesburg. As a highly respected session musician, Musa often plays for Thomas Mapfumo during his performances in South Africa.

[6] Dub poetry is a form of performance poetry that emerged in Jamaica during the 1970s. It combines spoken words with reggae rhythms, often featuring a strong emphasis on social and political commentary (McKenzie & Schlosser, 2021).

Sambo: Sambo is a versatile fusion artist who performs Afro pop, reggae, and soul music. Proficient in playing various instruments, including marimba, acoustic guitar, djembe drum, and keyboards, he has released three albums to date. Sambo writes and sings his music in Zimbabwe's three primary languages, Ndebele, Shona, and English.

Silo: Born in Murehwa in Zimbabwe, Silo was influenced by musicians such as Jah Prayzah, Oliver Mtukudzi, and Andy Muridzo. He leads a six-piece band, playing the acoustic guitar and providing lead vocals. He has worked with prominent figures in the industry, including Gonyeti, Dino Mudondo, Maselo, and Mirazvo Productions. In 2017, Silo secured second place in the Chibuku Road to Fame Finals and was a finalist in the Starbrite competitions. He often performs alongside Gigi, who also participated in this study.

3.5 Data collection

The data collection methods inducing, informal conversations, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, and deep mapping were deliberately chosen over other possible techniques to align closely with the exploratory, qualitative nature of this study and its focus on the lived experiences of Zimbabwean immigrant musicians in Johannesburg. These choices reflect a commitment to using methods that could best capture the complexity of the research context, thereby enhancing the depth and quality of the data collected.

At its core this ethnographic project was a study of people's culture through music. As such semi-structured interviews were favoured, for instance over structured surveys because they allowed for deeper probing and flexibility, capturing rich, detailed narratives that would be missed in more rigid formats. It was important that the study employs data collection techniques that capture the layered, experiential aspects of place and music.

Deep mapping, unlike traditional cartographic or spatial analysis was able to provide a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between space and cultural practice. The study also employed focus groups, instead of individual interviews alone, to benefit from the dynamic group interactions, which offered valuable insights into shared cultural

practices and collective experiences. While participant observation was chosen over non-participant methods to provide an insider's perspective, enabling the researcher to immerse in the musical settings and directly observe cultural expressions and social interactions that might not surface in interviews or surveys. These data collection techniques are described in more detail in the following sections.

3.5.1 Interviews

During data collection for this research, I employed a variety of interview types. These included semi structured, informal, unstructured, and conversational interviews. My position as an insider allowed me to initiate data collection with conversational interviews that allowed me to conduct culture-sensitive interviews and listen attentively without making harm and boredom to the participants (Rai, 2020). Through this process, I eventually managed to identify key informants for further semi-structured interviews (Whitehead, 2005). For this purpose, I engaged eight Zimbabwean immigrant musicians in with a view to elicit in depth data through asking descriptive questions that have a greater focus on the specific research problem and objectives of the study (Whitehead, 2005). The reason for selecting only a limited number of interviewees was to support the depth of case-oriented analysis that is fundamental to this qualitative study (Vasileiou et al., 2018).

The participants' roles as musicians gave them the capacity to provide richly textured information on how Zimbabwean immigrants are contributing to culture, musicking, and music-informed placemaking in Johannesburg. Interviews had the flexibility to further probe initial participant responses for elaboration and engage them according to their individual personalities and styles (Matiure & Shoko, 2011; Tessier, 2012). (See Appendix A for interview guide). I conducted the interviews at venues and times convenient to the participants, as suggested by McGrath et al. (2019) who recommend that researchers schedule interviews "at a time and place of the respondents' convenience" (p. 1003). With the consent of participants, I made audio recordings of the interviews (Al-Yateem, 2012). After each interview, I made detailed field notes documenting personal thoughts, ideas, and queries that emerged during our conversation.

According to Phillippi and Lauderdale (2018), field notes aid the researcher in constructing thick, rich descriptions of the study context and encounter, adding valuable contextual data.

3.5.2 Focus group discussions

Guest et al (2016) argue that three to six focus group discussions enable the researcher to discover themes. I therefore conducted four focus group discussions with seven to eight participants per group. These focus group discussions assisted me to gain valuable information from Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg to gain an in-depth understanding of their "complex personal experiences, beliefs, perceptions and attitudes […] through a moderated interaction" (Nyumba et al., 2018, p. 21). These authors contend that historically, focus group discussions represent a qualitative approach that increases knowledge of social issues from a purposively selected group of individuals rather than from a statistically representative sample.

The participants from two of the groups were part of organised bands consisting of Zimbabwean musicians. The other two groups included marginalised community members from the Zimbabweans living in Johannesburg. In most patriarchal societies like Zimbabwe, and by extension its diaspora, women and youth are often marginalised (Togarasei, 2020), yet their voices and experiences are legitimate and should be included in research (Kotzé et al., 2013). Therefore, I deliberately included women and youth in the third and fourth focus groups. I identified the youth group at a music studio, while participants in the women's group were from a local church. Both the church and studio are sites where consistent music-making and consumption took place.

Data from these focus group discussions enriched my understanding of how Zimbabwean immigrants share their common musical tastes and distinctive lifestyle choices in Johannesburg. The focus group discussions also assisted me to understand how the socio-economic and living environment in Johannesburg influence Zimbabwean immigrant's consumption, production, and reproduction of music. (See Appendix B for focus group discussion guide.)

3.5.3 Participant observation

While I am a Zimbabwean immigrant, I do not live in Johannesburg. Therefore, in order to develop an understanding of what it is like to live in the Johannesburg setting, out of necessity I became both a participant in the life of the setting while also maintaining the stance of an observer (Hoey, 2014). Scholars view participant observation as the primary source of ethnographic data (Caines, 2010; Curtis & Curtis, 2011). For this purpose, I observed musical performances, rehearsals, and music recordings, made by Zimbabwean immigrants living in Johannesburg. I was also a participant observer in community music performances and attended settings such as churches and live music venues (see Appendixes G and H with letters of informed consent for these venues). Participant observation allowed me to describe the experiences with detachment. In addition, I also captured observational data during "community scoping" (Singal & Jeffery, 2008, p. 15). In such instances, I observed both the physical and social infrastructure during performances, rehearsals, and recording events. I had planned specific aspects to observe during attending these music performances and events (See Appendix C for the music events observation guide). For the purposes of this study, I refer to music shows where Zimbabwean musicians perform for a predominantly Zimbabwean audience in South Africa, as either Zimbabwean shows or Zimbabwean music shows. These Zimbabwean shows unavoidably bring a different texture to South Africa's live music ecology. These venues have peculiar characteristics both in terms of the physical and social infrastructure that define them.

3.5.4 Deep mapping

Biggs (2010) understands "deep mapping as using practices drawn from literature, performance, and the visual arts to evoke the warp and weft of materials, perspectives, and temporalities that 'make up' a place" (p. 5). This suggests that artistic techniques and views have to be involved to conduct an in-depth exploration of a specific location, typically a location of a limited scale. Roberts (2016) posits that deep mapping emphasises verticality; the "plumbing of a place's depth" (p. 3) which can never be achieved using thinly layered horizontal cartographic approaches. I therefore conducted

a deep mapping of venues in the Kempton Park and Boksburg areas to find out where Zimbabweans consume music; what the attractions, dimensions, security, and musicking activities were that took place at the different venues. Deep mapping provided space for horizontal mapping where I collected narratives to bring a deeper understanding of place and people interaction within the locality. I did not intend deep mapping as a representational device through which I could ascribe a set of formal and reproducible cartographic features; I rather used it as an avenue enabling me to provide a richly nuanced in-depth perspective.

Multiple – and often competing – voices from insiders and outsiders, amateurs and professionals, official and unofficial, contribute equally to subjectively map a place (Finnegan, 2007). Hence, deep mappings allowed me to be as political and politicized as I could anticipate from such a polyphonic structure rather than attempting to be neutral or 'right' in any cartographic sense. Deep mapping was useful in identifying places through people's experiences of, and in, space. McLucas argues that deep mappings give rise to "debate about the documentation and portrayal of people and places" (Biggs, 2010, p. 7). Narration of the Zimbabwean immigrants' story, and by extension any group of people who are minorities and often disadvantaged, best comes from people with lived experiences as opposed to following official accounts from authorities. The media and political authorities have set agendas to achieve, and, at times, these come in the way of truth. Based on the aforementioned thinking, I found deep mapping to be useful in my understanding of the Zimbabwean immigrants' roles in shaping the musical ecology of Johannesburg. Equally important was that this exercise revealed valuable insights to me on how the place and sound affected the lives of Zimbabwean immigrants based in South Africa.

My approach to deep mapping emphasise the importance of listening and gathering stories from different citizens to get a better understanding the relationships existing between Zimbabweans, music, and the city. Key to my approach was leveraging the perspectives of people living in the city. This came from an understanding that, for most residents, experiences of the city do not match the visions, stories, and maps of the planners; these experiences are rather shaped according to dwellers' histories and

perspectives (Till, 2012). Broadly, the themes that emerged from the data analysis clarified my understanding of the times, spaces, and experiences during musicking.

3.5.5 Research diary

I kept detailed field notes in a research diary, and for instances where it was impossible to quickly jot my notes, I made audio recordings of my observations and thoughts on my phone. Essentially, my cell phone became a digital research diary. According to Nadin and Cassel (2008), a researcher can use a diary to enter the observations and reflections after an interview or social encounter. Maharaj (2016) suggests that the researcher takes note of the participants' verbal and nonverbal behaviour and the context in which these behaviours take place. My experience was that the diary was a debriefing strategy if I used it directly after an encounter, as it aided me I seizing the context. Hence, I would make audio recordings in the moment, capturing all my emotions. Depending on circumstances, I either audio-recorded or jotted down noteworthy observations and impressions during and immediately after the observation sessions or interviews, as well as reflecting on my own experiences of the events.

In Hoey's (2014) view, "ethnographers depend on their fieldnotes to discover, to work toward preliminary understandings, to develop interpretations, and eventually to reach their conclusions" (p. 6). I therefore wrote my reflections in the same research diary, using square brackets to separate my reflections from the descriptive aspects of my fieldwork as suggested by Emerson et al. (2011). For Maharaj (2016), "critical reflection is about 'shaking up' and 'unearthing' assumptions [so that the researcher can] scrutinize them, and perhaps adjust them or develop alternate assumptions" (p. 115). I also used the research diary for reflexivity to bracket perceptions and subjectivity (Polit & Beck, 2012). According to Cope (2014) "reflexivity is the awareness that the researcher's values, background, and previous experience with the phenomenon can affect the research process" (p. 90). The reflections were important in examining the beliefs, values, and ideas of participants so that these could guide my conduct as a researcher and my understanding of the research problem (Hickson, 2011).

3.5.6 Data collection during COVID-19 restrictions

At some point, face–to-face contact with individuals other than family members required certain protocols due to widespread infections and rapid spread of the Coronavirus (South African Government, 2021). I had made arrangements that had the restrictions lasted for a long period, focus group discussions and interviews were to be held online, or physically depending on the country's Coronavirus alert level. Fortunately, I was able to physically visit the sites during specific weeks of the planned eight-month data collection period. I, however, did go ahead with asking the participants to share audio and audio-visual recordings of their live performances which they had posted on social media and augmented my observational data. I had made arrangements to provide participants with personal protective equipment (PPE) or face masks and to observe the standard recommendations of COVID-19 safety engagement measures such as social distancing, temperature testing and hand sanitisation in line with COVID-19 regulations (See Appendix D with COVID-19 Protocol).

3.6 Data preparation

Before the analysis process began, the data preparation involved a series of steps beginning with the verbatim transcription of audio data from interviews and focus group discussions and, when necessary, translating it into English. I also shared the transcripts with the participants for them to verify the accuracy of the information (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Additionally, I collated all the field notes I made in my research diary and the reflections I wrote after each encounter with the research participants. The flow diagram in Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the steps taken in preparing the data. It illustrates the sequential order of the transcription, translation, verification, and collation processes, offering a clearer understanding of how these activities contributed to ensuring the accuracy and reliability of the data prior to analysis.

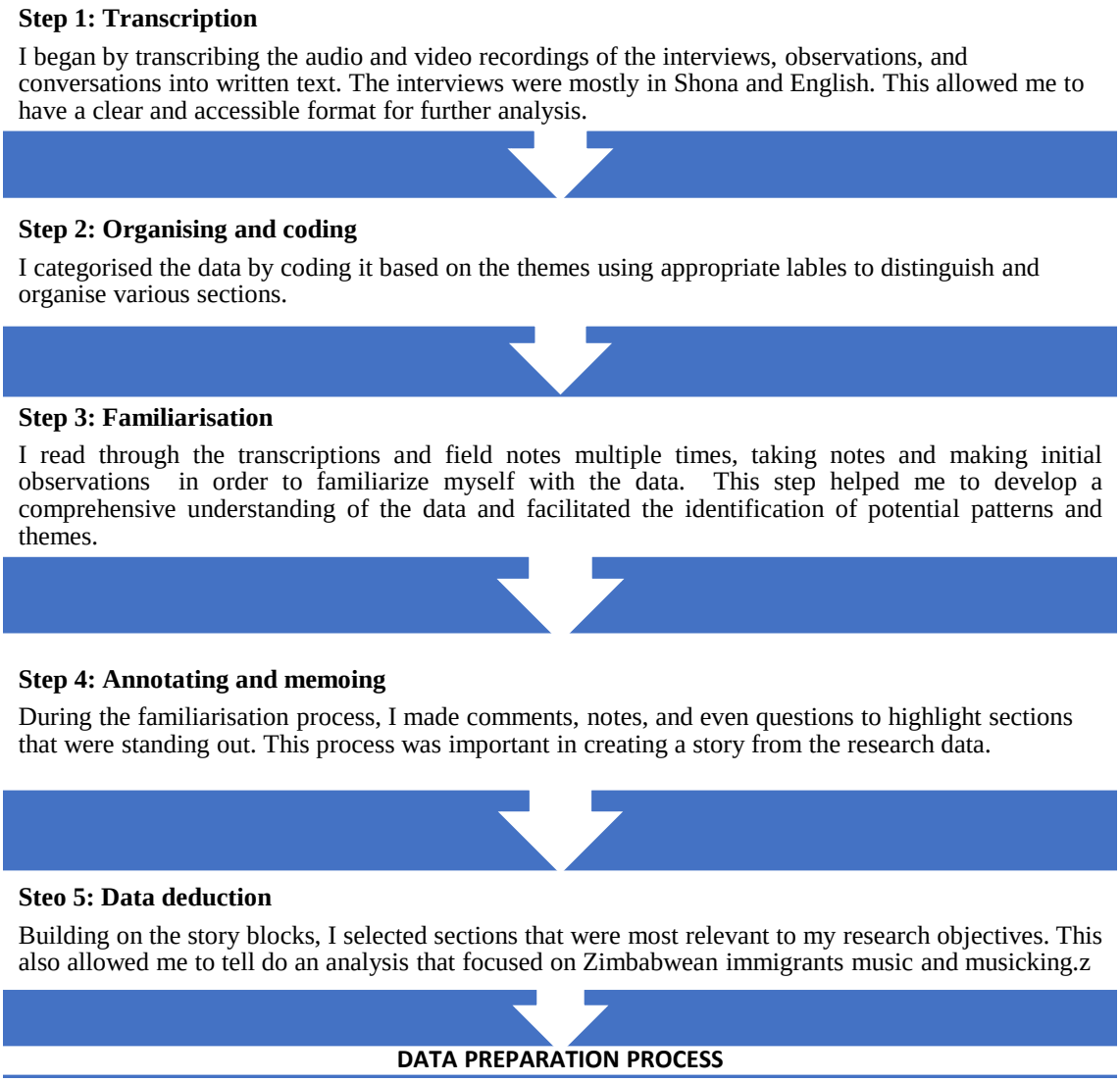

Figure 2: Flow diagram of data preparation process

3.7 Data analysis and interpretation

Informed by the understanding that Zimbabweans come from a country with a long history of repression, including restrictions on freedom of speech and association (Källstig, 2021; Zenenga, 2012), the ethnographic exploration of how immigrants embrace their newfound freedoms assisted me in framing the analysis and discussion of the social functions of music in the lives of immigrants. I used a thematic analysis approach (Al-Yateem, 2012; Jackson & Bazeley, 2019) to examine concepts (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and identify themes as they emerged from the data. An inductive analysis process was employed whereby I searched for codes, patterns, themes, relationships, and

attitudes from the spoken and non-verbal language material collected during fieldwork. Green et al. (2007) explain that the process of data analysis involves the "examining [of] the information collected and transforming it into a coherent account of what was found" (p. 545). They argue that data analysis is a back-and-forth process that follows four key steps, albeit in no particular order: immersion in the data, coding, creating categories, and the identification of themes. This iterative process included assessing the relevance of theoretical concepts used in the study as data analysis proceeds.

Applying Fereday and Muir-Cochrane's (2006) suggestions to do the analysis in two stages, I used data-driven coding in stage 1 to identify concepts, relationships, and broad themes emerging from the data. During stage 2, I applied a thematic analysis to narrow the broad themes into distilled findings (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). I proceeded to identify categories with subthemes and sub-ordinate themes and organised the data into a holistic narrative to ensure the validity and representativeness of individual themes. Finally, I selected and added data extracts that represent key themes, as well as diverging viewpoints to verify each theme (Bazeley, 2009). The analysis culminated in a discussion, where I compared each finding with relevant literature and integrated it into the broader academic debate (Geng &Wharton, 2016).

Regarding the analysis of specific songs that the participants mentioned during interviews, I asked them to provide contextual meanings of these songs. My position was that even though I am also a Zimbabwean immigrant, a textual analysis from my personal perspective would privilege my own thoughts as opposed to the participants' views and experiences. Therefore, such a textual analysis would reveal more about my personal theoretical proclivities and not so much of about that of the researched community (Muggleton, 2000). With this knowledge, I made sure not to take on the position of being a "self-appointed 'expert' decoding works for everyone else, passing off provisional readings as concrete fact" (Renzo, 2003, p. 12). I therefore delved deeply into the participants'experiences and interpretations of the songs and the personal meanings they attached to them.

3.8 Research quality

In quantitative studies, the researcher applies a set of quality criteria to assure the soundness of research findings: validity, reliability, replicability, and generalisability (Brown, 2015). However, such criteria do not fit the nature of qualitative studies, yet academic rigour is vital to ensure the quality of findings in interpretive research (Flick, 2019). Credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability have been adopted as criteria for qualitative studies since the 1980s (Anney, 2014; Cope, 2014; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Flick, 2019; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In the following paragraphs, I describe each of these criteria and how I applied them in this study to ensure the quality of the research findings.

3.8.1 Credibility

It is important for any study's findings to have credibility; therefore, I took certain steps to ensure such credibility. According to Anney (2014), "credibility establishes whether or not the research findings represent plausible information drawn from the participants' original data and is a correct interpretation of the participants' original views" (p. 276). I enhanced the credibility of the research by describing my personal experiences as a researcher and reflecting on such experiences. Moreover, I juxtaposed and correlated the research findings from interviews, video recordings, and my observations and interpretations as a participant observer to ensure its credibility (Leung, 2015). Finally, I also verified the research findings with the participants to ensure that they concur with my interpretation of their perceptions and experiences (Polit & Beck, 2012).

3.8.2 Conformability

The study demonstrates conformability by providing rich quotes from the participants that depict each emerging theme. Cope (2014) posits that confirmability can be shown by describing how conclusions and interpretations were established and exemplifying that the findings were derived directly from the data. I also compared and contrasted the theoretical perspectives on the subject against the study's field experiences to ensure

conformability (Anney, 2014). In addition, the use of a research diary for reflexivity aided in maintaining an auditing trail of my biases, thus enhancing the confirmability of this qualitative inquiry (Anney, 104; Ryan-Nicholls & Will, 2009).

3.8.3 Transferability

I facilitated transferability of the study findings by using multi-stage random purposive sampling (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) to select respondents who are in a strong position based on their country of origin. Moreover, the diverse and in-depth knowledge of these participants meant they had personal perspectives regarding both the Zimbabwean culture and experiences of living in Johannesburg. This purposeful sampling combined with "thick description" (Bitsch, 2005, p. 85) allowed the transferability of the research findings to similar contexts where Zimbabweans may find themselves in other South African cities.

3.8.4 Dependability

Dependability refers to the constancy of the data over similar conditions (Polit & Beck, 2012). Therefore, I ensured the dependability of the study by keeping an accurate audit trail that shows all the research decisions and activities as well as how I collected, recorded, and analysed the data (Anney, 2014).

3.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was obtained from the Faculty of Humanities Research Ethics Committee at the University of Pretoria before data collection commenced. I sought informed consent from all participants before engaging them in the study (Lee, 2018), implying that I explained the purpose and aims of the study, the use of the results, and possible consequences of the research if any, to participants before they appended their signatures on written consent forms. I also informed the participants that they were free to choose whether they were willing to participate in the research and that they have an unreserved right to quit at any time, and they are not liable to explain their reasons for

quitting, even after signing the consent forms (Shaw, 2003). My interactions with study participants followed ethical research systems and practices, enabling participants to have control over information relating to their knowledge, their heritage, and to themselves (Battiste, 2008).

Before involving participants in the study, I first explained the purpose of the study and all participants' roles in the research. I obtained consent from the participants obtained in two ways: Firstly, I made phone calls to all participants before meeting me for the individual interview or the focus group discussion, whether it was taking place in a face-to-face or online format. During the phone call, I outlined the purpose and scope of the study and asked for their oral consent as well as arranging a meeting time that will be convenient for the participants. Secondly, at the arranged meeting time, I asked the participants to give their consent at the beginning of the interview or focus group discussion. I also had a participant reply slip which I gave to face-to-face interviewees or physical group meeting participants to add their names and signatures (See Appendices E and F). For online interviews, I asked participants to give their consent orally, and I recorded it as part of the research proceedings. Although I put mechanisms in place to ensure confidentiality during focus group discussions, I informed participants of the limitations on researchers to enforce post-discussion adherence to confidentiality by fellow participants (Tolich, 2008). I informed all participants that they had the right to decline to participate and to drop out at any time without any consequences.

3.9.1 Confidentiality measures and data management

I assured the participants of confidentiality, namely that their identities would not be revealed in any research outputs (Tolich, 2008). However, I gained the permission of several participants who wished their photos to be publicised to validate their roles in contributing to the research findings. Therefore, I obtained their consent specifically for this purpose. I also confirmed with the research participants that the audio and audio-visual data, as well as all the transcripts, will be safely stored in an electronic format for a period of 15 years in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria. They were

also asked to consent that the raw data may be reused for possible further research during this time.

3.9.2 Benefits and risks of participation in the study

As a researcher, I recognised the importance of considering the potential harm to participants who agree to take part in this study (Tolich, 2008). Apart from COVID-19 risks during contact meetings, there were no foreseen risks to the participants. However, I also managed to minimise any negative outcomes resulting from participation in this study. Although there were no direct benefits to the Zimbabwean community members who took part in this study, this research may provide a voice to their initiatives and social practice of creative placemaking.

3.9.3 Dissemination

Findings for this study will be disseminated through published research articles and presentation of research findings in local and international conferences for both academic and advocacy purposes. I also use this thesis as an avenue to share the research findings.

3.10 Delimitations of the study

In exploring the musicking and placemaking experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg, South Africa, certain delimitations are essential to acknowledge. Firstly, the study focused specifically on Zimbabwean immigrants, and findings may not be directly transferable to other immigrant groups with different cultural backgrounds or experiences. This delimitation was necessary to provide a coherent focus but may limit the broader applicability of the insights generated. Additionally, I delimited the research to the urban context of Johannesburg, excluding rural areas or other South African cities where the dynamics of musicking and placemaking might differ. Consequently, the urban specificity may affect the interpretation of the results, particularly regarding the spatial and social factors unique to Johannesburg.

The study primarily emphasised musicking activities as a lens to understand placemaking, thus excluding other forms of cultural expression or community-building practices that could contribute to placemaking in different ways. Furthermore, as the research delimited the timeframe to the contemporary period, I did not extensively address historical aspects which might have provided a deeper temporal context to the cultural practices observed. Finally, the study did not delve into the economic or political dimensions of immigration, as its primary focus was on the cultural and social aspects of musicking and placemaking experiences. However, this delimitation might result in a narrower interpretation of the broader structural influences on the experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants. These delimitations helped me to define the scope of the study and provide clarity on the boundaries within which I conducted the research.

3.11 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have outlined the methodological strategies employed for this ethnographic study. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 delve into the findings derived from the data analysis. These chapters explore the participants' diverse musical preferences and their musicking, organised around the three main themes that emerged from this study.

Chapter 4: Zim[7] music spaces in Johannesburg - Harare *muJoni*

Mainstream media often sidelines immigrants, relegating their representation to so-called 'experts' rather than allowing the immigrants themselves a voice. Examining the musical practices of immigrants in their daily lives offered me a potential remedy to this misrecognition, providing fresh insights into how migrants establish connections within the urban landscape. The main theme described and motivated in this chapter is how Zimbabwean immigrants create music spaces in Johannesburg as a means of resistance against the detrimental cultural consequences of migration, whether forced or voluntary.

For some Zimbabweans, the relationship between South Africa and Zimbabwe begins with music and their mothers embarking on informal cross-border trade. Zimbabwean musician Robson Banda prayed for the freedom of Black South Africa and the end of apartheid in his song entitled *Soweto*[8]. This indicates that music serves as a valuable entry point, adept at fulfilling the social and cultural roles of connecting individuals to specific locations through aesthetic enjoyment and sonic familiarity. The participants in this study have seen a steady increase in Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa and have played and danced to music from both countries. South Africa's diverse population, including citizens and non-citizens, show that legal distinctions between regular and irregular residents do not seem to dissuade foreign nationals, especially Zimbabweans, from establishing a sense of belonging in the country.

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[7] **Motivation for the use of the colloquial term 'Zim' in this chapter:** 'Zim' is a widely recognised term among Zimbabwean immigrants as a familiar, collective reference to Zimbabwe. This abbreviation carries cultural significance, reflecting how the participants self-identify and express their connection to their homeland in an informal and endearing manner. Including 'Zim' in the chapter heading aligns with the language and expressions authentically used by the participants and maintains a sense of cultural relevance and immediacy in the narrative. The choice to use 'Zim' also supports the ethnographic approach of this study, aiming to present participants' perspectives and voices as authentically as possible.

[8] This song was recorded by Robson Banda and the New Black Eagles in 1986 during Zimbabwe's optimistic, post-colonial period. (https://afropop.org/articles/robson-banda-and-the-new-black-eagles-soweto)

Johannesburg, colloquially known as Jozi, is the most populous city in South Africa with more than six million people[9]. As it has a thriving Zimbabwean music community that I came to know about through a Zimbabwean friend from my childhood, Johannesburg was the place I chose to conduct the current ethnographic study. I therefore used musicking as a key entry point to understanding Zimbabwean immigrants' lives in Johannesburg, their adopted home. The flow diagram in Figure 2 illustrates the first theme of this study, as indicated by the chapter title, as well as the four sub-themes that emerged from it through data analysis.

Figure 3: Theme 1 - Zim music spaces in Jozi

As shown in Figure 2, the four subthemes are i) Musicking in *kwaChikwanha;* ii) Musicking and group identity; iii) Building social capital; and iv) Communities of belonging. Delving into the narratives of Zimbabwean immigrants congregating at *kwaChikwanha* to partake in musical experiences, the subthemes are verified by quoted text from the participants; their stories depict engagement as active citizens in daily life but also highlighting their unexpected agency within a potentially xenophobic context. Grounded in the discourses of placemaking and musicking, the chapter unveils the expressive nature of Zimbabwean identities through music in the diaspora. It reveals the social agency inherent in musical practices and demonstrates how musicking activities foster communities of belonging among Zimbabweans.

[9] World Population Review. (2024). *Johannesburg*. https://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/johannesburg-population

4.1 Musicking in *kwaChikwanha*

The moniker *kwaChikwanha* is derived from a popular bar and braai[10] spot in Chitungwiza, a dormitory town of Harare. *KwaChikwanha* is one of the many spaces in Zimbabwe where one can enjoy a variety of barbecued meats, such as pork, beef, or gizzards while drinking beer in any open space. Zimbabwean immigrants have a propensity to rename places in their destination countries, often as a reflection of their growing population. This subtheme emerged during data analysis of my observations during the research process when I discovered that musicking was a magnet that drew people to a specific diasporic meeting place for Zimbabweans in the Boksburg area of Johannesburg. During fieldwork, I had the privilege to be accompanied by the Zimbabwean poet, Itso, a childhood friend and resident of Johannesburg who introduced me to the vibrant music spaces in *kwaChikwanha*.

Poet Itso is a popular figure among revellers and people doing business at *kwaChikwanha*. His social capital made it easy for me to negotiate entry into the community. In addition, my position as a Zimbabwean immigrant with a music background created a common ground for me to interact with participants in ways that reduced participant reactivity. Upon my arrival in Johannesburg, I went to Poet Itso's workplace and picked him up before heading to his apartment. Although calling it an 'apartment' might not be accurate, I use this term to maintain his dignity. Itso lived in the backroom of a large house, which served as his kitchen, bedroom, sitting room, and recording studio. I quickly realised that all his fellow tenants were Shona, indicating that, despite crossing the physical border, Zimbabwean influences still surrounded me. He took me to *kwaChikwanha*, a shopping precinct in Boksburg that is so-called by Zimbabweans living in the area. *KwaChikwanha* is a typical case of how immigrants' musicking and placemaking practices produce narratives and cultures that are different from politicised xenophobia.

Arriving at *kwaChikwanha*, I first noticed the streets teaming with vendors who neatly arranged their wares on street pavements to allow easy pedestrian movement and entrance

[10] A South African term that refers to grilling meat over an open flame.

into shops, as seen in the photos of Figure 3. This was somewhat unusual, as street stalls often make movement difficult, and the lack of space creates opportunities for pickpockets. Social media, however, contradicted my observations of this neatness with complaints of foreigners messing up Johannesburg. Although there may be petty crime in the area, the visibility and neatness of the pavement work as a deterrent compared to densely populated areas. I also entertained the thought that the order might be a way to reduce the cat and mouse-chases between immigrants and police.

Figure 4: Street photos of kwaChikwanha in Johannesburg

As I walked with Poet Itso, I sensed he was a 'mayor', a very well respected and known person to revellers. For a moment, I thought Poet Itso was exaggerating both his popularity and affability. He would animatedly shout: "*ndeipi mudhara, wangu, sei sei"* [what, old man, my, how come!] or any other variant of the Shona street lingo used when greeting. I soon realised that nothing he did was fake; everyone knew everybody, and I noticed how Poet Itso and the other Zimbabweans living in the area had created a home in Johannesburg. *KwaChikwanha* did not show signs of resenting Zimbabwean immigrants, even at the height of Operation Dudula. This urged me to explore what the place *kwaChikwanha* means to Zimbabweans and how it came to being.

Poet Itso then introduced me to Gono, a Zimbabwean truck driver living in the Boksburg area. Gono, visibly old, probably 50 or above, gave me the conviction that *kwaChikwanha*

was ‘home’. We met at Poet Itso’s apartment where he had come to listen to a poem that he had commissioned Poet Itso to write, recite, and record. The poem, a totemic[11] praise, was meant to be a Valentine’s Day gift Gono wanted to give to his wife. Gono’s words still linger with me, and it is from him that I found inspiration for the title of this chapter as shown in the following excerpt of my conversation with him:

> Handiti maBhurantaya momaziva? Babuminini ini ndiri muBhurantaya wemuno Ndiri wemuno chero vakandinemera. Tiri kutovaka Harare muJoni!
>
> Is it not that you know of *maBhurantaya*? Young brother, I am a *muBhurantaya* here. I belong here, regardless of all insults. We are actually building Harare in Johannesburg! (Gono)

To begin with, Gono’s age gave me the impression that I would meet Zimbabweans of different generations who would be able to historicise the creation of Zimbabwean spaces in Johannesburg. Most importantly, I hoped that the older generation of immigrants would have memories and experiences that would help to make meaning of the current musicking and placemaking perspectives in a way that delights the day and predicts the future. Secondly, *MaBhurantaya*[12] is a derogatory label used to exclude Malawian people living in Zimbabwe. Hence, Gono said, “we are actually building Harare [the capital city of Zimbabwe] in Johannesburg”. By referring to himself as *muBhurantaya*, Gono meant that he is now permanently living in South Africa, albeit with a Zimbabwean tag on him.

The renaming of the area to *kwaChikwanha* has undertones of belonging and some form of permanency. Commenting on where the name *kwaChikwanha* came from, Gono had the following to say;

> Zvekuti kwaChikwanha ndingakurevera nhema kuti zvakatanga nani oro rini. But, what I can tell you is patove nenguva pachinzi paChikwanha. Ini ndakauya

[11] Totemic refers to animals or other natural objects that are chosen and respected as special symbols in a particular culture (Merriam Webster Dictionary).
[12] This term is derived from Blantyre, Malawi's second largest city and its centre of finance and commerce.

> kuzogara muhood ino muna 2012, vana Itso vachizouyawo kuzvi2015 uko. Pese ipapo we would still meet pamashops during weekends totandara tichimwa. Pane doro hapashaikwi music nenyama.
>
> I do not know when the moniker *kwaChikwanha* was first used and by who, but I can tell you that the place has been called *kwaChikwanha* for some time now. I started staying here in 2012, while Itso only came around 2015. All that we would [do is] still meet at the shops during weekends. We would hang out while drinking alcohol, and where there is alcohol, you will always find music and meet. (Gono)

Music easily becomes an intangible territorial marker as Silo, a Zimbabwean musician, explains in the following quote:

> PaChikwanha pahomeground. Toridza music yekuden pamadiro. Kana takuda amapiano toinda kumwe but pano corner to corner mota dzinoridza music yekuZimbabwe especially magolden oldies esungura, unototamba borrowdale. (Silo)
>
> *Chikwanha* is our homeground. We play music from home without restraint. If we want to hear Amapiano, we go to other venues. Otherwise, when you are here, all cars will be playing Zimbabwean music from one end of the road to the other! Mostly they play *Sungura*[13] golden oldies that make one perform the Borrowdale[14] dance. (Silo)

However, my observation was that revellers at *kwaChikwanha* do not dance with childish gaiety. The high energy and galloping that accompanies dancing in Zimbabwe is subdued. My observation is that the reduction of energy is most probably an issue of class or

[13] Sungura stands out as Zimbabwe's predominant musical genre, coming into existence in 1980 during the establishment of regional identity. It represents the indigenous genre within Zimbabwe's music industry. (Perman, 2012).

[14] "The Borrowdale dance is a Zimbabwean dance named after the horse-racing track situated in the Borrowdale suburb of Zimbabwe's capital city, Harare. The dance is characterised by fancy footwork and galloping body movements in the style of racing horse." (Zimbabwe Legends, 2022)

contrived opulence. There is a popular street parlance in Zimbabwe used when people dance 'lazily', which goes "*mbinga hadzitambi zvinobuditsa ziya*". Loosely translated, this means that rich people do not sweat profusely when dancing.

Similarly, my research assistant, Poet Itso, reflects on what *kwaChikwanha* means to Zimbabweans:

> *KwaChikwanha* is home. You will find everything that you want. It is our place. You should look at the music played on the music box. It is all from Zimbabwe. Even the sex workers […] there are from home. (Poet Itso)

I also noticed, for example, that the jukebox playlist had Zimbabwean music. Itso paints *kwaChikwanha* as a Zimbabwean creation where a variety of social and business transactions – reminiscent of home – are carried out. Zimbabweans, mostly ladies, had vending stalls where they sold different Zimbabwean brands. Some of the unmistakably Zimbabwean items they sold include *mathings*, *muriwo wecovo*, *maheu epfuk*o, and *mbiya dzemapositori* [vegetables, bird eggs, and potter's bowls] as shown in figure 4.

Figure 5: Zimbabwean vending stores in Harare muJoni

After my first visit to *kwaChikwanha* , I realised that it is the most fitting and authentic site for data collection regarding placemaking and musicking, as it offered a unique perspective of *Harare muJoni*'s live music ecology. It represents the 'hang-out space' for the Zimbabweans who want to assert independence and presence in South Africa.

Zimbabwean music has played a role in attracting a particular population and the making of place at *kwaChikwanha*. Ons of the research participants described how music lures people to *kwaChikwanha* through aesthetic appeal, and how it has contributed to making the place a Zimbabwean space:

> Music is the biggest thing on First Street. It works as an advertisement. How it happened for us is that we were passing through the street and we heard Zimbabwean music bleating from cars and from the bar. We heard Baba Harare's music playing. People were dancing to jiti music in Johannesburg. In that way, music served as an invitation; an invitation for people to come in, an invitation for people to eat, an invitation to speak about experiences from home. (Pee)

In the same vein, another participant responded:

> That bar was set up for us. The beer and music are both from home. Even the ladies are from Zimbabwe. So, why should I go back to Zimbabwe? Zimbabwe should come here! Is it not that you saw posters adverting Zim Dancehall posters? […]. They [musicians] survived from performing for us, especially during the COVID lockdown. (Farie)

Participants buy and consume products made in Zimbabwe, including music, as suggested by Farie's comment when she mentioned posters that were advertising Zim Dancehall shows. Although the place itself is not aesthetically as pleasing as is the case with other shopping precincts such as *Maboneng* or *Konka*, it has many patrons. The environment created by music at *kwaChikwanha* is a space for many possibilities. Participants described how they are connected to *kwaChikwanha* through Zimbabwean music and how they gained experience with other positive externalities of music. Musicking at *kwaChikwanha* allows immigrants to escape their perennial preoccupation with seeking economic opportunities. It creates opportunities for relating and leading lives like everyday people whose existence depends not solely on commercial transactions.

4.2 Musicking and group identity

Geographical borders are in and of themselves markers of identity, and so are the cultural practices among many other markers of identity. The research findings in this study indicate that Zimbabwean immigrants based in Johannesburg use music to deconstruct and reconstruct new identities in their new environment. Music is an integral component of culture and plays a crucial role in the development of both personal and societal identities. It can work as a setting and activity that unites group members, enabling them to perceive themselves as belonging to one another and perhaps even having a shared agenda.

During numerous of my visits to *kwaChikwanha*, and indeed to many other places that Zimbabwean immigrants frequent, I observed small groups of mostly men milling around, with some standing next to their cars, chatting and drinking beer outside the commercial premises, often playing music from their vehicles. It is this playing of Zimbabwean music in the street that I refer to as public musicking. The intention may or may not be to assert citizenship, yet it remains an act of citizenship. However, the participants in this study asserted that, at times, they consciously listen to Zimbabwean music publicly to send a message. One of the conversations between Mhazi and myself (TM) revealed the following about music and group identity:

> **Mhazi:** We know that we have overstayed our welcome here, but we cannot just go back to Zimbabwe without a concrete plan. In a way, if you see us standing by our cars, drinking alcohol and listening to music, we are sending a message that we are not afraid, and we are many.
>
> **TM:** So, you do not just listen to music for the purposes of entertainment?
>
> **Mhazi:** I am not saying we are not entertained or that we purposefully leave home to make people afraid of us. I am saying it is possible that if potential xenophobes see our numbers, they rethink about being violent. Music helps us not to hide who we are, and it also connects us. I do not have to talk to everyone

> to know that they are from home. You can see it from how they dance and the music they listen to.

Mhazi suggests here that the Zimbabwean immigrants' musicking activities serve to magnify their presence and, by extension, send a message that they are not afraid of community-led xenophobic attacks. Ordinary community members who are not involved in crime are unlikely to instigate xenophobic violence when they observe that the foreign population is large and united. Standing in groups while listening to 'foreign music' makes the Zimbabweans visible and easily a target for attack, but in this case, the visibility is used as a deterrent and a boundary marker.

I realised that music draws boundaries between Zimbabweans and 'others', shaping identities within the group of Zimbabweans meeting at *kwaChikwanha*. The creation and observation of boundaries are very important in identity formation. Loosely and without a descriptive label attached to this group, Zimbabweans are seen for whom they are, both by their fellow countrymen and by 'others', including South Africans.

4.3 Building social capital

KwaChikwanha is a typical compact music venue playing a pivotal role in strengthening social capital by serving as spot where the researched community comes together to celebrate a shared love for music. The sheer size and activities at *kwaChikwanha* stimulate conversations, spark creativity, and cultivate a strong sense of community, ultimately contributing to strengthened social capital that binds people together through shared musicking. Generally, Zimbabwean music-making and performances are communal. While there is a distinction between the professional performer and the audience, the performances are often participatory, involving everyone singing and dancing. The venue capacity of *kwaChikwanha* facilitates interaction and connection. Interactions among audiences and musicians might seem like inconsequential daily mundane transactions, but they have profound implications on different aspects of people's lives and, in this case, on the place.

The isolation created by migration puts migrants in a space where they have to establish new relationships for socio-economic gains as observed by (Sibanda & Stanton, 2022). Music performances and the availability of braaiing facilities and beer have made *kwaChikwanha* a popular venue. In the process, there are different social dynamics that occur as people engage in different social and economic transactions that build or strengthen attendees' social capital. Small-scale music venues facilitate trade in social capital, and *kwaChikwanha* is no exception. Silo, one of the musician-participants in this study, expressed how playing, listening, and dancing together with fans facilitates deeper connections that last beyond the encounter on the dance floor.

> We meet different people during our performances. We also share the stage with other musicians, listen and dance to each other's music. I have built relationships with accomplished musicians here. I believe that some of my achievements would not have been possible if I was in Zimbabwe. I have a song, with the legendary Dino Mudondo and I am now good friends with Gonyeti. I think this was all possible because of the space we have here. There also audience members who now hire me for services as an electrician. Music gives me other jobs. (Silo)

Chipo describes how she has met and connected with fellow country people, with music as a constant feature in their social interactions:

> I used to have a mentality that said: 'Zimbabwean music and culture are annoying'. Not anymore! It is the backbone of *kwaChikwanha*. We come here to meet other Zimbabweans and for many other social activities, and almost always, Zimbabwean music will be present. It's almost as if music provides a sound track to life here. In some instances, conversations start from just talking about a song that will be playing, or the usual bar talk comparing musicians […]. Jah Prayzah versus Winky D, Mark Ngwazi versus Macheso, until it turns into another subject. In no time, you will be friends, especially when the person is a man. You know men! (Chipo)

Besides listening to music at her lodgings, Chipo, a young woman in her early twenties, said she often spends her weekends with friends and other Zimbabweans at *kwaChikwanha*, hanging out and listening to music because of its social role, making her feel part of a group. She explained as follows:

> Hanging out and listening to music from home with other Zimbabweans has a special effect. I feel at home. I also feel that that no one is looking at me suspiciously. We will just be one big group of happy people. We enjoy the moment, even if it is short. Do you know how good that feels, especially here, far from home? (Chipo)

Through data analysis, I realised that, although Chipo loathed local music when she was in Zimbabwe as a young girl, Zimbabwean music became the magnet that drew her to a venue where she has built relationships and pride in her culture. The implication is that immigrants' musicking activities create bonding social capital.

Furthermore, music at *kwaChikwanha* strengthens social capital within the Zimbabwean community. The shared musical experiences and interactions foster a sense of unity and support among Zimbabweans, reinforcing their social bonds and collective identity.

4.4 Communities of belonging

Musicking provides a frame for immigrants to engage in everyday social activities that allow them to contest exclusion and to assert membership both in South Africa, the host and in Zimbabwe their country of origin. Sociality and related everyday practices provide an avenue for undocumented immigrants to assert their citizenship. Participants indicated that the music bar was a safe zone where they did not have to worry about their immigration status. For instance, one of the participants highlighted that:

> I feel very comfortable, there is no unfamiliar rules and we speak our language freely. I am free to do whatever I like, just like we are at home [Zimbabwe]. This is one place where I proudly identify as a Zimbabwean and I am not afraid

> of being arrested. *Ndepedu pano* [this is our place]. No one will ask for a passport. (Mhazi)

KwaChikwanha represents a key space where patrons can discover themselves as proud Zimbabweans. This implies that this specific community of Zimbabweans has created their own space in the diaspora where they freely socialise with kin without worrying about their status as immigrants. The space and place where this research took place have assumed new names, appearing to go against the popular press narrative that Zimbabweans do not belong. However, I observed many people engaging in everyday practices, such as eating Zimbabwean foods and cuisine including sadza and mopani worms, with most of them exhibiting a sense of belonging through their demeanour of joyful interactions. Gonyeti, a seasoned session musician who has lived in Johannesburg for five years, offers a vivid illustration of the affective dimensions of music in place-making, describing the feelings she perceives when she is either on stage or enjoying music with other Zimbabweans.

> Yes, I like to come here whenever I am off duty. This helps me. I feel well when I arrive there, with all the people enjoying music, food, and drink, and I see all these happy faces, cleaned up, ready to have fun. The feeling is even intense when I am performing. I feel loved. You know, the stage has always been my go to place. But, also seeing us in numbers gives me assurance that I did the right thing to 'cross over' [to come to South Africa]. (Gonyeti)

Gonyeti's story refers to a range of feelings associated with her musical experiences at *kwaChikwanha*. Much of these sentiments are caught up in the homeliness of the host community and its associated joys. Paradoxically, the musical performances, musicians, and most products sold at *kwaChikwanha* refine and maintain distinctively Zimbabwean lifestyles. The street where the music bar is situated epitomises Zimbabwe, teaming with Zimbabwean wares, traders, and musicians. It is almost impossible not to hear snatches of conversations in Shona or a distinctively Zimbabwean accent on the streets.

Zimbabwean immigrants have used music to explore new ways of being and connecting in the diaspora. Their musicking activities contribute to placemaking, giving South

African spaces a hitherto unknown character. In the process, the immigrants feel connected and belong to the place. Music provides a soundtrack for social relational processes happening at the venue.

4.5 Discussion of theme 1: Zim music spaces in *Harare muJoni*

For a considerable period, scholars have widely recognised the impact of human mobility on cultures, raising concerns that economic migration leads to family disintegration (Chireshe, 2010; Mawire et al., 2020), culture masking (Siziba, 2014), and at times, formation of new identities. The colonial resettlement scheme had similar dehumanising effects. The movement of people from their homelands has the potential to sever "cultural continuity [and] disrupt important cultural practices" (Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999, p. 147). The motivation for Zimbabweans to migrate stems from political and economic pressures, resulting in significant cultural losses. For applied ethnomusicologists, especially in my case, the growing Zimbabwean communities in Johannesburg evoke a compelling inquiry into the intricate relationship between geographic location and musical expression.

While I draw a comparison between the cultural losses that happened during colonial migration and the present economic migration, colonialists had a deliberate intent for 'epistemicide', a term describing the intentional erasure of "other knowledge systems" (Hall & Tandon, 2017, p. 6). Hancock-Barnett (2012) posits that, under colonial rule, native populations were relocated to designate land and assets for settlers while also aiming to govern and instil in indigenous peoples the logical reasoning and ethical values deemed essential "to transform them into cooperative members of modern society" (p. 12). On the other hand, society expects immigrants – especially immigrant children – to assimilate into the cultures of their adopted homes for them to progress in society (Tarisayi & Manik, 2020). This type of assimilation means immigrants' agency is relegated, incapacitating them to producing subcultures within host nations. Consequently, culturally expressive immigrants are often viewed as being arrogant. Tarisayi and Manik (2020) define assimilation as "the loss of the home culture in favour of the host culture" (p. 289), an unlikely event when people migrate *en masse* and settle as communities as is the case with Zimbabweans moving to *Harare muJoni*.

Recognising that musicking impacts both physical and social infrastructures, the study findings indicate an intricate balance of establishing and maintaining relationships at music venues. This corresponds with Connell and Gibson (2003) who found that people strongly associate musical sounds with particular events and places, suggesting that "popular music is spatial – linked to particular geographical sites, bound up in our everyday perceptions of place, and a part of movements of people, products and cultures across space" (p. 1).

The following sections delve into how the related subthemes in this chapter compare to other scholars' research findings.

The flourishing of Africa's new urbanities lies in this cultural entanglement where boundaries are transgressed in the every day (Nuttall, 2004). Musicking at *kwaChikwanha* facilitates the negotiation of new urbanities by providing what Landau (2014) refers to as usufruct rights. These usufruct rights enable immigrants to access and utilise available resources and opportunities without ownership.

- **Discussion of subtheme – Musicking in *kwaChikwanha***

Zimbabwean immigrants often rename places in their destination countries, reflecting their growing communities as in the current study, where *kwaChikwanha* is their gathering place in Johannesburg. This corresponds with Mano and Willems (2008), who posit that, due to the high concentration of Zimbabwean immigrants, London was referred to as "Harare North" (p. 4), while the UK[15] and Slough areas in South-West London became known as "*kwaChirau*[16]". Immigrant cultural consumption and music production contribute to the character and urban identity of the city, Johannesburg, first by drawing people to different venues such as *kwaChikwanha* and *Macanudo* lounge, creating a meeting place for Zimbabweans, and serving as a catalyst for the emergence of new urbanities. The music and musicking at *kwaChikwanha* defy the notion of urban spaces

[15] UK or 'Unit K' refers to a section of Chitungwiza, a satellite town close to Harare in Zimbabwe.
[16] *KwaChirau* is an area in the Mashonaland-West province of Zimbabwe, of which the name rhymes with the pronunciation of Slough.

as areas of upmarket architecture that typically reinforce social stratifications and divides. As Desai (2017) notes, the legacy of apartheid-era group areas in South Africa remain intact, despite the lack of legal enforcement. This implies that some communities in South Africa continue to develop neighbourhoods that segregate the 'haves' from the 'have-nots' and create divisions between different social groups. However, the musicking-informed placemaking at *kwaChikwanha* challenges those boundaries, creating a new urban sociality of diverse and vibrant cultures.

Reviewing the past and envisioning the future is paramount in the all-important vocation of anticipating opportunities and challenges besetting South Africa, and by extension, the whole Southern African Development Community or SADC (Moyo, 2004). Furthermore, this study confirms Lwanda's (2014) finding that derogatory terms are used in discourses of exclusion of immigrants, for example *maBhurantaya*, as mentioned by research participant, Ghono.

Musicking among Zimbabweans at *kwaChikwanha* reflects the negotiation of new urban identities shaped by migration experiences. This finding correlates with Rau (2020), who notes how immigrants' use of built and social spaces is intermeshed, mutually shaping and determining each other creating a new urban sociability. The city of Johannesburg is allowing cultural diversity that adds colour to the city's brand, similar to how musicking relationships contribute to fostering cultural bonds and branding of Lagos as an African mega-metropolis (Boluwaduro, 2018).

Zimbabwean immigrants frequenting *kwaChikwanha* have responded to characterisations of themselves as the 'other' whose presence is threatening through consuming and identifying with both Zimbabwean and South African musics assertively and unashamedly. As in Crush et al.'s (2015) research findings, the participants in this study no longer see South Africa as a temporary economic opportunity for survival but rather as a place to stay and build a future for themselves and their families. Inevitably, Zimbabweans contribute to placemaking and influence the culture in the various spaces they live in. In these – often inconspicuous – sites, immigrants; musicians, producers, and fans explore their common musical tastes and distinctive lifestyle choices. The study

findings support Miriyoga's (2017) research, indicating how Zimbabwean immigrants use every day social practices as a way to contest exclusion and to assert membership and everyday citizenship in South Africa. Particularly in the current study, Zimbabwean immigrants use music to negotiate the social and cultural consequences of migrating to South Africa.

KwaChikwanha is also an 'arrival zone' as defined by Robinson (2010) when describing neighbourhoods that house new immigrant arrivals in the initial stages of their residence. However, *kwaChikwanha* presents the complete opposite of the threatening streets studied by Siziba (2016), where Zimbabweans of Shona origin hid their nationality. The open embracing of Zimbabwean identity through the consumption of music in the current study differs radically from Siziba's (2016) observations, who found that Shona-speaking immigrants engage in social masking and tactically maintain silence in public spaces. Similarly, Moyo's (2017) research reveals that Zimbabwean immigrants conceal their identity in some places. These researchers' conclusions are understandable, considering the timeframe of their studies. However, that was largely not what I observed during my conversations and visits to *kwaChikwanha* in 2021-2022.

Public musicking endears Zimbabweans to South Africans and other foreign nationals living in the same area. The view that music and dance are used for endearment is widely held in Zimbabwe, as espoused by Gonye (2012), who posits that "Dance has always permeated Zimbabwe's everyday life, employed to express happiness and sorrow and to make friends and lovers" (p. 14). Zimbabwean music is strongly associated with dance, so much so that Mutemererwa et al. (2013) suggest that the Zimbabwean national anthem should have been composed to allow dance accompaniment. Some of the dance styles, for example, Borrowdale, are very distinct and known to almost every Zimbabwean (Gonye, 2012). According to Muranda and Maguraushe (2014), "Borrowdale is contemporary dance where dancers imitate the galloping horses at the Borrowdale race course in Harare" (p. 54). This Borrowdale dance is synonymous with Sungura music in Zimbabwe.

- **Discussion - Musicking and group identity**

Geographical borders are in and of themselves markers of identity, and so are the cultural practices among many other markers of identity. This research finding indicates that Zimbabwean immigrants based in Johannesburg use music to deconstruct and reconstruct s new group identity in their adpted environment. According to Erol (2012), music shapes our consciousness by providing direct experiences related to "the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives" (p. 840). These non-sonic activities, such as social interaction, dancing, cultural rituals, or consumption of food and drink, occur either simultaneously with or following the pleasures of music, from its production to its consumption. The research findings suggest that musicking is the external activities associated with music-making, distribution, and consumption, which intensify and elevate all human emotions. Lidskog (2016) supports this perspective, asserting that musicking can lead to the formation of emotional, social, and cognitive bonds that facilitate the enactment of social identities and social memory.

While most of the actions, conversations, and associations happening at *kwaChikwanha* are personal, they are simultaneously political and serve to address cultural misunderstanding, a major contributor to ethnic and xenophobic animosity. Erol (2012) observes that music often serves to present a group's identity to the broader community. The current study findings suggest that music and dance-forms negotiate identities, foster social transformation, and deal with political upheavals. Similarly, Kaiser's (2006) anthropological study of the Kiryandongo refugee settlement in Uganda reveals how song-and-dance dissolves cultural boundaries. Kaiser (2006) concludes that residents of Kiryandongo use music and dance to negotiate their Acholi and Sudanese identities, providing a platform to assert and explore both.

The practice of gathering in groups is not unique to Zimbabweans. In one of the seminal studies on inner city Johannesburg, Simone (2004) shares that Ibo Nigerians typically congregate on the street from 2-7 in the afternoons. Despite their reputation, their primary purpose is not to engage in the drug trade, but rather to demonstrate unity and camaraderie while purchasing their "daily meals from the curb side street vendors" (p. 412). It is within

the same realm that the public musicking of immigrants should be recognised for its role in representing solidarity and group identity in an environment often perceived as hostile and xenophobic. According to Alfadhli and Drury (2018), it is common for immigrants to rely on shared social identity as a foundation for mutual support in the face of stressful environments, at both practical and psychological level.

Isin (2008) argues that acts of citizenship can be unintentional or affective. In recent years, the conceptualisation of citizenship has been broadened to address previously un-theorised issues concerning group identities and how their recognition is implicated in people's abilities to participate in the public sphere (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011). Other researchers have begun to refer to this perspective of participation as everyday citizenship (Harris et al., 2007; Wood, 2010). Here I follow Ní Mhurchú's (2016) argument that "conceptualising citizenship is an act that links citizenship to the process of claiming and performing rights to belong; it thus enables us to rethink 'who' can be a citizen beyond the already-existing rights-bearing liberal subject" (p. 156). Citizenship can be understood outside the traditional tenets of rules and legalities. Isin (2008) describes citizenship as "the art of being with others, negotiating different situations and identities and articulating ourselves as distinct yet similar to others in our everyday lives, and asking questions of justice" (p. 6). Equally, Stevenson et al. (2015) forward that "citizenship is now understood as located: within the interpersonal conversations and in public performances of everyday life; in the streets as well as the schools; and in the politics of the playground as well as the politics of the state" (p. 196).

In the current study, immigrants use public musicking to call for recognition regardless of their documented or undocumented status, corresponding with Modood's (2005) viewpoint that a public show of ethnicity is a negotiation for recognition. Public musicking shifts everyday individuals from the periphery of regional politics to the centre, where immigrants – individually or in groups – negotiate and assert their citizenship without official authority. Music functions to express and maintain pre-existing identities and provides resources for contesting and negotiating identities and constructing new ones. Music serves to denounce the *makwerekwere* or unwanted foreigner label, replacing

it with a self-coined pan-Africanist identity that says: Harare can find expression in Johannesburg, *Harare muJoni*.

Data analysis revealed that there appears to be a disjuncture between political and cultural borders as suggested by Madsen and van Naerssen (2003). According to these authors, the geopolitical boundaries delineating Zimbabwe and South Africa have proven ineffective in impeding immigration, allowing for a flourishing exchange of cultures. Zimbabwean immigrants, in their pursuit of unity, are concurrently advancing an agenda distinct from the official undertakings of the respective governments. It becomes evident that the focal points of collaboration between the Zimbabwean and South African governments revolve around economic cooperation and political fraternity. While undeniably significant on a larger scale, these political and economic initiatives, often orchestrated by policymakers, tend to be somewhat exclusive and fall short of addressing xenophobia at the grassroots level. In this context, public musicking emerges as a vital avenue for Zimbabweans to delineate their identity, offering a means to articulate not just who they are but, equally important, who they are not. In this study, musicking reveals Zimbabweans as highly sociable neighbours, undeserving of rebuke and hate.

- **Discussion - Building social capital**

When immigrants listen to music in groups of sameness, it serves to form social safety nets. Social capital refers to social relations that have productive benefits and embodies the trust and unity experienced within socially homogenous groups (Putnam 2000). In the current study, I observed significant social cohesion among Zimbabwean immigrants. Putnam emphasises that bonding social capital is a key component of social cohesion, providing a range of advantages to individuals and the society they belong to. Although Zimbabweans like Chipo may have disliked Zimbabwean music in their home country, this study corroborates Kyker's (2013) finding that suggests Zimbabweans in the diaspora may grow a fondness for music from home once they are immigrants.

Small venue music performances and musicking play a key role in the creation and deepening of social networks among Zimbabwean immigrants. These social networks, albeit being informal, are important in providing social care and ensuring that one fits in

their adopted home as observed by (Makanda, 2021). According to Gould (2001), social capital represents the collective assets of a community, emphasising values beyond mere economic measures. It underscores the significance of fostering relationships, networks, and collaborations at the local level. Gould (2001) argues that each interaction serves as an investment, leading to the cultivation of trust, reciprocity, and lasting enhancements in the community's well-being over time. Miriyoga (2017) affirms that engaging in social practices via social networks and connections serves a dual purpose. It goes beyond merely demonstrating one's Zimbabwean identity and leads to attaining tangible and significant results.

In my observations during data collection, I noticed that the size of a venue is of particular importance in strengthening social capital as smaller venues foster personal interactions. Initially, these interactions between audiences and musicians may appear to be routine and inconsequential. Still, they actually have profound implications on various aspects of people's lives, particularly in terms of place. Notably, these intimate and personal connections in smaller venues increase appreciation of Zimbabwean music and its emotional impact. This corresponds with Chatterton and Hollands' (2003) research, who found that small-scale popular music venues create a fluid boundary between musicians and consumers, building relationships of trust, business, and reciprocity. Besides facilitating argentic relationships, compact venues are also considered a predictor of increased enjoyment at a musical show (Dowdy, 2007).

Similar to DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly's (2015) research, it appears that the Zimbabwean immigrants at kwaChikwanha employ musicking "to assert dignity and claim national membership" (p. 1236). They perform the right to belong through how they interact with the state and other citizens at kwaChikwanha. Here, I use Anthias's (2006) lens to understand belonging as being a full member of and showing love to a particular community. Therefore, musicking can be viewed as an accessible platform and conduit through which Zimbabwean immigrants find a sense of community belonging, even when not granted any kind of official acceptance or citizenship. Music performances and musicking at small venues facilitate the building and strengthening of social capital among Zimbabwean immigrants. Miriyoga (2017) affirms that engaging in social

practices via social networks and connections serves a dual purpose. It goes beyond merely demonstrating one's Zimbabwean identity and leads to attaining tangible and significant results.

- **Discussion – Communities of belonging**

Renaming the musicking space to *kwaChikwanha* has undertones of belonging and permanency. This aligns with scholars' findings that the pursuit of autonomy, 'freedom', and socialisation in diaspora communities leads to the creation of unique urban spaces, which in turn facilitate diasporic placemaking (Pemberton & Phillimore, 2018) and belonging (Antonsich, 2010). Similarly, Van der Hoeven and Hitters (2019) noticed the utility of music in engendering inclusivity and regenerating urban spaces and urban culture.

The pursuit of autonomy, 'freedom', and socialisation in diaspora communities leads to the creation of spaces such as *kwaChikwanha* that play a role in facilitating everyday citizenship and attachment to place. Music plays a dual functional role; firstly creating a meeting place, and secondly establishing a reason for patrons to achieve contact that is more enduring. Music is part of social events because of its known utilitarian functions and uses, not just for enjoyment. A prevailing theme in the results of the study is how music invited Zimbabweans to meet and socialise at *kwaChikwanha* where they would find a host of other Zimbabweans.

Patrons at *kwaChikwanha* create a sense of belonging in their new environment or adopted home by making and consuming music, sharing in the joys and positive experiences that musicking brings. However, this contrasts with Ndlovu's (2023) study, which reveals that Ndebele people use music to assert non-Shona territories in Johannesburg. According to Ndlovu (2023), they use music to designate areas like Hillbrow, Berea, and Yeoville in the inner city of Johannesburg as spaces for the Ndebele people among Zimbabweans. This reflects the ongoing conflict between the two largest tribal groups in Zimbabwe: the Shona – approximately 70 % of the population, and the Ndebele – approximately 20% (Ndlovu, 2017).

Summary

This chapter presented the first theme of the data analysis, indicating how Zimbabwean immigrants have created new music spaces in Johannesburg and leveraged music to discover new ways of being and connecting in the diaspora. Music at *kwaChikwanha* fosters a heightened sense of belonging and it contributes significantly to shaping the identity and character of the place. The musical reception frequently becomes a site where social relations and citizenship are negotiated and worked through. Musical gatherings often befome sites where social relations and notions of citizenship are negotiated and redefined. As a catution, while the fight against xenophobia is legitimate, it is important to acknowledge and celebrate inclusive spaces. Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg navigate and assert their presence within a new urban environment through everyday practices, particularly through music. Musicking extends their presence in Johannesburg beyond legal definitions of citizenship, encompassing acts of belonging, cultural expression, and social participation that shape both individual experiences and the broader cultural landscape of the city. Music affords Zimbabwean communities a sense of place and space to create, trade, and consume their cultural products.

In the next chapter, I present the second theme from the data analysis namely social distinctions through Zimbabwean music. This theme examines how music serves as a marker of social boundaries and hierarchies within the Zimbabwean immigrant community in Johannesburg.

Chapter 5: Social distinctions through Zim music

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the second main theme derived from data analysis, namely social distinctions between Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg, based on their music preferences, performance practices, and music repertoire. I explore how musical preferences and practices reflect and reinforce social distinctions, such as class, ethnicity, and regional affiliations. The participants' voices verify and bring to life the nuances of this theme, followed by a thorough discussion of the subthemes that emerged. This exploration provides a deeper understanding of the complexities of social differences and cohesion within the Zimbabwean diaspora.

Zimbabwean musicians have played a significant role in shaping the music scene in Johannesburg, South Africa. With their rich musical traditions and diverse cultural influences, they have created a vibrant and dynamic music culture in the city. During data analysis, I delved into the performance practices of Zimbabwean immigrants, indicating how the atmosphere at music events or shows differs or is similar to what is experienced in Zimbabwe, and how the Zimbabwean immigrants' memories of home, especially the music and cultural performances, played out within their present context where they are carving out new realities.

For Zimbabwean immigrants, music plays a crucial role in shaping and maintaining their identities. Music serves as a bridge between their homeland and their new environment, helping them to navigate the complexities of diasporic life. Zimbabwean music often embodies themes of resistance, resilience, and solidarity. These themes become particularly poignant in the context of migration, where music can be a powerful tool for coping with the challenges of displacement, discrimination, and adaptation. Knowledge of these inherent themes helps to explain how and why Zimbabwean music remains a source of strength and empowerment for immigrants.

In the diaspora, music is a key element in placemaking and community building. It helps to create spaces for Zimbabwean immigrants to gather, to share their culture, and to support one another. My research findings revealed several aspects related to the performance practices of Zimbabwean musicians in Johannesburg, namely their selection of music genres, their use of traditional instruments, rhythms, and harmonies, as well as their incorporation of contemporary elements into their music. I also considered their distinctive lifestyle choices, the socio-cultural context in which they perform in Johannesburg, and the ways in which their music reflects and responds to the urban environment. As seen in the flow diagram of Figure 5 below, I divided the central theme of this chapter into two subthemes. The first subtheme provides perspectives on the Zim Dancehall music culture, which is associated mainly with young and excitable immigrants. The second subtheme explores alternative contemporary music strongly influenced by Zimbabwean traditional music, a genre that often attracts mature audience members.

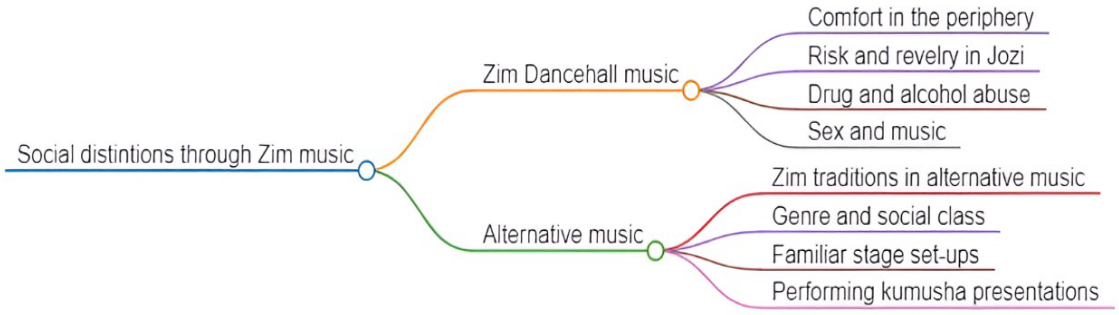

Figure 6: Theme 2 - Social distinctions through Zim music

5.1 Zim Dancehall music

In Johannesburg, Zimbabwean immigrants have brought a wide range of musical styles and traditions, each with its unique rhythms, melodies, and instrumentation. The Johannesburg market is very attractive to all musicians, including those who are based in Zimbabwe. Most of the shows feature sungura and Zim Dancehall musicians and it appears that the latter is one of the most prominent Zimbabwean musical styles in

Johannesburg. In the following sections, I present the research findings related to Zim Dancehall music in Johannesburg.

5.1.1 Comfort in the periphery

The ever-growing number of Zimbabweans settling in South Africa, whether legally or illegally, has contributed to the growth of the Zim Dancehall genre by fostering both new artists and new audiences. Johannesburg presents a robust market with a substantial Zimbabwean population willing to spend money on attending music shows. Evidence of this market readiness includes the high frequency of shows and the consistently packed audiences.

Figure 7: Collage of Zim Dancehall show advertisements in Johannesburg

The collage of Zim Dancehall advertisements in Figure 6 above highlights the genre's popularity in Johannesburg. Despite the large market, the artists often remain invisible, unknown, or generally overlooked. These shows, and by extension, the genre, have a

strong following among Zimbabweans. Eljoy, a Zim Dancehall musician, expressed that while Johannesburg offers significant opportunities from a professional musician's perspective, these opportunities are limited to a certain extent:

> Our shows are always packed! Our people support us. However, you will not hear a Zim Dancehall song even on a community radio. We make our money through performances for Zimbabweans. I do not know. Maybe the radio thinks that Zimbabweans do not listen to their stations, or they are following the directive that 90 per cent of the music played on air should be South African. Because we do not have radio time, we become unknown outside our community (Eljoy).

The promoters of Johannesburg's Zim Dancehall scene have successfully curated events featuring musicians from both Zimbabwe and Johannesburg, showcasing their talents at various venues. However, I did not encounter any show with a lineup that included South African artists. It appears that the genre and the shows have been provincialized[17] to cater only for Zimbabweans despite the rhetoric of 'taking Zim Dancehall to the world'. In my conversations with one of the promoters, he shared the following:

> We have tried to push the sound, but most people who attend our shows are Zimbabweans. You will get a few Congolese and Malawians coming here and there. I, actually, do not think that they come for the music. I think it is just about the vibe or following their friends. The idea of Zim Dancehall to the world is a pipe dream. We are invisible to other nationalities, even here in Johannesburg. (Gonzalo)

Inevitably, Zim Dancehall evolved into ethnic music, primarily appealing to Zimbabweans. During one focus group discussion, the issue of provincializing Zim Dancehall in South Africa emerged The prevailing argument was that some Zimbabwean musicians and promoters appear reluctant to integrate into South Africa's mainstream

[17] The term 'provincialized' is used here to signify a resistance to becoming part of the mainstream (Burns et al., 2021).

creative industry. Silo, one of the participants in this study, offered an alternative explanation regarding the supposed peripheralization[18] of Zim Dancehall music, or the lack of interest in the genre particularly from South Africans.

> Reggae and dancehall music are associated with poverty, protest, and unkemptness. South Africans are generally clean and know how to have a good time compared to Zimbabweans. The youth music is influenced by hip hop from America. (Silo)

I could relate to Silo'observations, as I had a similar experience growing up. We referred to our peers who listened to hip hop and mimicked the American affluent lifestyle as *masalad*.[19]. If one were to objectively juxtapose Zim Dancehall as an urban youth culture to hip hop, it becomes evident that there may be a lack of othering of the musical genre, as its aspirations and expressions do not align with those of young South Africans. Nonetheless, during my fieldwork I observed that Zim Dancehall shows were mostly overcrowded. My observations revealed that the setting of dates and pricing of shows – approximately R 100 per person – were done deliberately to consider affordability and convenience for audience members who work in the informal sector. It became evident that Zim Dancehall music has created a subculture of Zimbabwean immigrants who bond over their shared love for the music and its themes. This subculture has created a sense of belonging and identity among the immigrants who feel more at home among their compatriots who share similar experiences and struggles.

5.1.2 Risk and revelry in Jozi

Zim Dancehall shows bring a different texture and presence to Johannesburg entertainment ecology. The music, musicians, and events, might not be as affluent as is the case with mainstream genres, but the culture lives and contributes to Johannesburg's

18 Peripheralization refers to the creation and persistence of marginalized areas and communities (Meyer & Miggelbrink, 2013.)

19 *Masalad* refers to a sub-group of Zimbabwean youth from mostly well-to-do families who "imitate American hip hop culture in dress, music taste, language and style of living" (Kellerer, 2014, p. 195)

entertainment architecture. A typical Zim Dancehall show in Zimbabwe is a lively and celebratory event, full of energy, music, and the smells of nicotine and drink. For Zimbabwean youth living in Johannesburg, life associated with Zim Dancehall is encapsulated by the abbreviated Zimbabwean term, *dobenya*[20], which refers to beer, sex, and meat.

During my visits to studios with Baroness, I met numerous young individuals who identified as Zim Dancehall artists. However, few of these artists are known beyond their immediate circles and are largely unrecognised by regulatory authorities that facilitate artistic growth in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. I perceived Zim Dancehall as a form of modern community music that is inclusive, allowing anyone to participate. Conversely, it is not just the music that unites these young people; I also witnessed various negative behaviours that some of the musicians engage in during the music-making process.

5.1.3 Drug and alcohol abuse

One of the defining features at Zim Dancehall shows and at the studios is the abundance of beer and illicit drugs, such as mutoriro, bronco[21], and marijuana, that are readily available around venues. Despite my repeated attempts to schedule an interview with Baroness, I soon realised that she had a full schedule – like the rest of the participants, she had a day job that consumed most of her time, leaving music as a part-time vocation for weekends. Even though I had initially planned to interview her in Boksburg, I asked her if I could accompany her to the studio in Kempton Park to either sit-in or just wait to interview her after the recording session. Visiting the studio in Kempton Park, however, was a highly beneficial decision as it provided the opportunity to interact and observe Zim Dancehall musicians in an off-stage music space. I accompanied Baroness to the studio, and upon arrival, we encountered six young men in their early twenties sitting

[20] *Dobenya* is an acronym using the the first letters of the words doro (beer), beche, (vagina) and nyama (meat).
[21] Broncleer, also known as bronco, is a cough mixture containing codeine, "an opiate drug derived from poppies. […] If taken in large doses it produces feelings of euphoria which makes it popular among substance abusers." (Macheka, 2018, p. 218)

outside. These young men appeared unhurried and indifferent to our arrival and their immediate surroundings. Inside the studio, we met another group of four young men, two studio owners and the other two musicians. On scanning the environment, I noticed discarded bottles of broncleer cough mixture, a substance often abused by young people.

On seeing the bronco containers, I immediately knew that the unbothered young men we had met outside were under the influence of drugs. However, I had to verify my observations with Baroness, whose response was *"vakasticker"*, street lingo that means someone is high on drugs. This studio encounter became the first of many similar occasions that I would meet young artists and their audience members who were '*vakatsomwa or vakasticker'* both at their shows and at the studio. As Baroness explained, musicians use alcohol and drugs for different purposes:

> Marijuana helps me to meditate. I take a joint before recording so that I can block my mind to focus on what I will be singing only. You can get distracted by other people or by your own thoughts and fail to do record, yet you have already paid studio time. (Baroness)

She also shared the following:

> It's more common than you might think. Many artists use drugs and alcohol to cope with the pressures of the industry, and it's not just limited to Zim Dancehall, it's a problem that affects the music industry as a whole. There are some who are involved in the making and drinking of fluid from boiled diapers (clean), illegal spirits, and overdosing bronco. (Baroness)

Data analysis of my observations suggests that Zim Dancehall music and marijuana are almost synonymous. Baroness, like many other artists who sing in the Zim Dancehall genre, believes that marijuana improves creativity. There is a general perception among the musicians that I encountered that smoking *mbanje*[22] before a performance, writing a song, or making a recording, enhances their creativity. As such, the musicians confirmed

[22] *Mbanje* is the Shona word for cannabis or weed.

to taking drugs, including *mbanje*, to boost their confidence. However, the effects are not always as desired. The studio producer stated that it is often hard to control the creative process of the Zim Dancehall artists during recording sessions, especially when they are high:

> As a music producer, I've seen artists come into the studio under the influence, and it's never a good thing. It affects their performance, and it's just not a professional way to conduct oneself. But for some, it works. I think it gives them confidence or the courage to perform. Crystal Meth gives them the energy to perform. You will not sleep when take it. You can go for three days without sleep. (Music producer)

All-night shows in the area where I did fieldwork are a norm, where drugs are inevitably exchanged. It appears that drug peddlers, though destructive, are significant shareholders in the Johannesburg Zim Dancehall fraternity. Eljoy's recollection of drug issues shows that they have been in existence for a while.

> Drugs have a significant impact on the Zim dancehall fraternity because our paymasters are drug users. Drugs were better off in the past than they are now. These days, there is hard-hitting drugs like crystal meth, which causes one to lose sleep for days. It's also more expensive compared to bronco, therefore sustaining the habit can lead into theft. (Eljoy)

I observed the preparation of a crystal meth joint, which begins by dismantling a fluorescent light bulb. The contents of a sachet of crystal meth are then carefully poured into the broken light bulb tube and heated using a cigarette lighter until the white crystals liquefy and begin producing smoke (see figure 7).

Figure 8: Preparing a crystal meth joint

Recording studios traditionally serve as crucial hubs in the music ecosystem, facilitating not only music production but also fostering learning and networking among musicians. However, the sprouting of Zimbabwean-owned studios in Johannesburg is antithetical to development. Some of these studios have unfortunately become hotspots for drug abuse among Zimbabwean youth based in Johannesburg. Despite technological advancements that have lowered music-producing costs and enabled quality output with minimal equipment, there is a lack of quality control, especially in independently run backroom studios frequented by Zim Dancehall musicians.

During my fieldwork, I observed several concerning factors. Firstly, many studios operate without adequate supervision, creating an environment conducive to risky behaviours such as drug use. Secondly, the absence of familial oversight exacerbates the situation. Consequently, these studios inadvertently foster circles of drug use and belonging. Beyond peer pressure and studio convenience, the psychological pressures of immigrant life, compounded by high unemployment rates in South Africa, contribute to substance abuse. Additionally, some individuals without musical talent use studios as social spaces, further perpetuating drug-related activities. In this regard, Poet Itso shared the following:

> Many young Zimbabweans come to Johannesburg with dreams of getting employed. But times have changed. Unemployment is very high. Even though I have a degree, I've been unable to find a job in my field. Many Zimbabweans end up doing menial jobs just to make ends meet. Some are becoming musicians or music producers. But even if they don't have the talent or connections to make

> it in the music industry, they still spend time at music studios as a way to socialize and connect with others. (Poet Itso)

It became evident that, within the social milieu of their gatherings, some young people gravitate towards drug and alcohol abuse.

Attendees at Zim Dancehall shows often purchase multiple beers to sustain their energy throughout the night, compounded by the affordability and widespread availability of alcohol in South Africa. However, it is noteworthy that despite the accessibility of alcohol, many Zimbabwean youth based in Johannesburg are drawn to illicit drugs such as bronco and crystal methamphetamine, suggesting that factors beyond alcohol pricing contribute to their drug use.

5.1.4 Sex and music

I did not, for once, think that sex would emerge as an important finding when I proposed to undertake this study. However, the results suggest that delving into the world of the music industry involves sex, with a particular focus on the experiences of young Zimbabwean immigrants. I admit that there is a need for more work to be done in this area. Still, I uncovered a fascinating and often taboo world of casual sex, transactional relationships, and sexual exploitation. Talent alone is not enough, nor does the availability of resources imply that one will make. There are people who decide who gets what and when. These people are in music for business and know what they want and from. At times, this politics involves sexual intercourse. The music industry has always been alluring, with its glitz and glamour often hiding the more mundane aspects of the industry. Yet a covert complex network of power dynamics, gender roles, and cultural practices exist that shape the experiences of music industry players. I was surprised to find out that the Zimbabwean community involved in Johannesburg's music industry appears unbothered by the urge to cover the profane. It seems that to them, sexual intercourse is not as sanctified as it is in Zimbabwe.

I sat for hours on end, thinking of how I could get the functional equivalence of translating *tese tinoda kupinda*. The phrase *tese tinoda kupinda* has double meanings. The literal

translation means ‘we all want to get in or pass through’. However, the men and women who used these phrases during interviews assigned two different meanings to them, both related to sex and music. *Tese tinoda kupinda* was either used to express willingness or as a form of justification. The hunger for a breakthrough has drive some young Zimbabwean immigrants to navigate the world of music, using sex as a means to gain entry into this highly competitive and often obscure industry. There are cases of music producers who allegedly want to be intimate with female musicians in order for them to avail opportunities. From a cultural point of view, it is very easy to look at this as prostitution.

It is evident that this area needs a sensitive, dedicated study and intervention from adequately skilled and relevant professionals. But, here I am sharing a phenomenon where sexual appeal and sex are deliberately used to get ahead. A female Zim Dancehall artist who participated in this study shared the following;

> Well, when I was working for an insurance company, I saw that this thing works (pointing to her groin area) for sure. When I started, I had no nice clothes. I would wear anything and anything, but when I got money, I bought myself tight formal pants, tight whatever, and tight whatever, and do my hair to look beautiful. And I was just new, but I was raking in the numbers. I figured that this system works like this, if you are women, males will fall for you. (Feyi)

In a different meeting Baroness confirmed the same:

> Look at our actress on screens. Some actress act b+*t [with poor acting skills], but they have got the figure and the looks, and they get the job. So, yah, it works. If sex is what one has to give to break through, then they should. We all are going for that one opportunity (*tese tinoda kupinda*). These are things that are done in private; no one will judge you. But even when they do, the likes of Pokello became household names. (Baroness)

Zimbabwean female Zim Dancehall musicians based in Johannesburg present a rather refreshing breed of empowered young women who are not bound to societal norms. Their efforts at dressing up are not necessarily to satisfy men, they rather do it to profit themselves and to feel good. Out of concern, I asked if these sexual encounters are consensual or otherwise. Often, the responses suggested that the young men and women participating in this musical circle do not sanctify sex and they do not hide the fact that men and women should enjoy sex. Therefore, discovering women who used expressions like *'bota tiri kudya'*, *'tiri kuwirana'*, or *'kunakirana'*, which are colloquial Shona phrases indicating that women and men are engaging in reciprocal sexual activities, reflects a cultural shift, at least among the young female musicians if not in the broader society.

Nonetheless, the ladies' openness to discussing sex and their agency in doing so for their own pleasure, confirms the Nego-feminism[23] claims that women do not passively appropriate cultural demands but are constantly negotiating culture. In this case, they are negotiating the culture that sees women as sexual objects and subjects for men's pleasure at home and in the media. It is important to emphasise that, although these experiences may seem submissive and compliant, there is a need to investigate the potential negative aspects of these practices. This includes examining the power dynamics involved and the ways in which women might be exploited for their sexuality. Without a detailed and nuanced study in this area, there is a risk of perpetuating a harmful notion that women are complicit in their own marginalisation.

The sexual lives of male musicians are also affected by their involvement in music. Their status as 'local celebrities makes them targets for both male and female fans seeking intimate relationships. These musicians often fall victim to groupies[24]; that is, individuals primarily interested in engaging in sexual encounters with musicians. However, one of the respondents said:

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[23] Nego-feminism refers to a form of feminism focused on negotiation. It also signifies a 'no ego' approach, shaped by cultural demands and influenced by the constantly changing "local and global exigencies" (Nnaemeka, 2004, p. 378).

[24] Larsen (2017) defines a groupie as "a more extreme type of female fan who seeks intimate emotional and/or sexual relations with a musician" (p. 2).

> Some musicians, actively seek out groupies rather than waiting for them to come forward. They people who search the venue for potential groupies who might be interested in joining them in their hotel rooms or gaining backstage access. It is only that most musicians may not openly acknowledge their pursuit of groupies, but it happens. For some of the male Zim Dancehall musicians, the ultimate reward is to get financiers of [their] careers, whom they call *mbinga*. (Eljoy)

Casual sex is part of the culture in Zim Dancehall circles. However, it is important not to assume that groupies are exclusively professional sex workers. Individuals with regular jobs can also be groupies, deriving satisfaction from sexual relationships with famous musicians. Additionally, musicians often engage in casual sex for various reasons, including personal pleasure, gaining an advantage over competitors, and securing financial support from well-resourced fans.

For me, the criticism on Zim Dancehall is that the music perpetuates negative stereotypes and encourages a culture of materialism and instant gratification. However, if looked from the point of view of fans, Zim Dancehall music often features lyrics about enjoying the moment and living life to the fullest, despite the challenges faced by Zimbabweans. This message resonates with many Zimbabwean immigrants, who often work low-paying jobs and struggle to make ends meet. The music provides a temporary escape from the stresses of everyday life and offers a sense of hope for the future.

5.2 Alternative music

One of the ways to understand the multi-layered and different classes of Zimbabweans living in South Africa is through understanding their musics and musicking. During my fieldwork in Boksburg, I noticed that the musical preferences and venues were clearly demarcated by age, social class, and ethnicity. Music is an important aspect of culture and identity, and the types of music people listen to say much about their backgrounds, values, and experiences. Moveover, the previous discussion on Zim Dancehall music only represents only one dimension of the Zimbabwean story in Johannesburg. The rich textures of Zimbabwean musics and culture cannot be fully captured by a single genre,

regardless of its popularity. Certainly, not every Zimbabwean based in South Africa is a young and excited Zim Dancehall fan.

Zimbabwean music has a strong presence in South Africa, with popular genres such as Zim dancehall and sungura drawing large audiences from the Zimbabwean immigrant community. However, often for the sungura genre, the preferred musicians are based in Zimbabwe. It appears, however, that the sungura market in Johannesburg is not yet ready to embrace Zimbabwean sungura musicians who are based in South Africa. There are also a number of musicians focusing on different music genres such as *Tshibilika* and soul among many other genres that were not the focus of this study. It is, however, important to note that all these genres have roots in Zimbabwean culture, have distinct sounds, and appeal to different audiences.

Zimbabwean immigrants have introduced a rich musical heritage that is shaping the cultural landscape of Johannesburg, South Africa, though this impact of often undocumented. The unique rhythms, melodies, and styles of Zimbabwean music have captivated audiences in Johannesburg, creating a vibrant and dynamic music scene that is constantly evolving. Zimbabwean music has a long and rich history, spanning a diverse range of genres and traditions. From the traditional mbira music of the Shona people to the Afro-jazz fusion of modern Zimbabwean musicians, the country's music is a reflection of its complex cultural and political history. In Johannesburg, Zimbabwean musicians have found a welcoming audience that is eager to experience the sounds and rhythms of their music. Through live performances, recordings, and collaborations, Zimbabwean musicians have been able to share their music with a wider audience, while also enriching the city's music scene with their unique perspective and artistic vision.

During March to April of 2022, I committed to going to various restaurants and cocktail bars in the East Rand area of Johannesburg attending music shows. Joining music shows was a relief after a year of either staying indoors or avoiding crowded areas due to the threats posed by COVID 19. While South Africa progressively eased the COVID 19 mitigation measures by relaxing the regulations based on scientific guidance, Zimbabwe used the pandemic to restrict freedoms. As a result, many Zimbabwe-based musicians were travelling to perform in South Africa. Musicians literally flocked to Johannesburg,

thus contributing to enlivening the Zimbabwean music scene. There were numerous shows that feature Zimbabwean Afro jazz musicians in Johannesburg. However, for this study, I decided to focus on the East Rand area where some of the major venues include the *Macanudo* Lounge, Boksburg Hotel, *kwaChikwanha*, New Town Music Factory, *Endaweni* Lounge, Innocent Pub and Grill, and the Rumours Lounge among many other establishments.

Data analysis revealed that Zimbabwean immigrants construct their identities at music shows. Johannesburg has venues such as *kwaChikwanha* and *Macanudo* lounge where decent middle-aged Zimbabweans – who have an affinity towards live band music and a cultural connection with home – meet. Venues and audiences have a symbiotic relationship; the demands of the patrons influence the space, while audiences' behaviours are also a product of venue ambience. Differently put, venues that host Zimbabwean Afro-contemporary musicians imbue both meaning and agency, brought about and passed on to audiences and musicians.

5.2.1 Zim traditions in alternative music

Johannesburg boasts a thriving alternative music market for Zimbabweans which, in my view, presents a contrast to Zim Dancehall. Alternative music, sometimes called 'traditional contemporary music' in Zimbabwe, presents a different angle of comprehending the presence of Zimbabwean music and musicking in Johannesburg. It became evident that I needed to understand the connections between social class and musical preferences as it sheds light on the ways in which music reflects and reinforces social inequalities through its content, industry practices, and access to opportunities. In this study, these aspects assisted me to acknowledge the cultural experiences and identities of different Zimbabwean social groups, and to appreciate the diversity and richness of musical expression across communities.

The *Macanudo* lounge, an establishment of notable repute, regularly showcases musical performances that draw a discerning audience with an affinity to traditional inspired music. It stands as the premier destination for enthusiasts of alternative Zimbabwean

music, appealing to both musicians and patrons who relish the vibrancy of live band performances. In its illustrious history, the venue has hosted acclaimed South African artists, including luminaries such as Zandie Khumalo and Joel Zuma. I came to know the proprietor, Mr Dube, through one of the research participants, the mbira musician Gwenyambira. Mr Dube added me to the Zimbabwean Musicians Roundtable WhatsApp group consisting of 25 members. This group's description pre-empts a pattern I later observed during fieldwork, as it was defined as "a platform for Zimbabwean musicians limited to original genres independent of Zim Dancehall to interact, network and discuss pertaining issues including gigs creating and uploads". The *Macanudo* lounge supports alternative Zimbabwean music that fuses traditional music with Western musical instruments using a mid to slow tempo. The music is often characterised by harmonies and chord progressions that showcase the skill and creativity of the musicians.

The calibre of musicians who perform at *Macanudo* Lounge is highly aware of their stagecraft, maintaining a connection with Zimbabwe through their work. The performance practices, aesthetics, audience reception and preferences, were also visibly different from Zim Dancehall performances discussed earlier. Mr Dube's Roundtable WhatsApp group uses Zimbabwean alternative music to create and manifest a solid conception of Zimbabweaness, an effort to avoid an inevitable cultural reset. The venue, musicians' creativity, and audience preferences, are deliberately connected to the past as shown in the following excerpt of a conversation that I had with Mr Dube:

> **Mutero:** I find the music that your venue focuses on to be interesting. What led you into focusing on alternative music?
>
> **Mr Dube:** I do the real Zimbabwean music! There is a market of people who believe, like I do that, traditional music connects us inner selves and our ancestors. I do 'biras also, and it's really all about the power of music and its ability to connect us to our past, and our present life.
>
> **Mutero:** That's really interesting. Can you explain a bit more about what you mean by 'connecting our inner selves'?

> **Mr Dube**: I think that music can awaken memories that are lying somewhere in our heart of hearts. When we hear certain sounds or types of music, it can bring us back to times and places that raise all kinds of emotions and feelings. And with traditional music, there's a deep sense of history and tradition that's within the music, which makes more sense when you are here (diaspora). We should not lose ourselves, that is why we have this venue, catering for the musicians and fans we cater for.

Alternative music is important in the lives of immigrants, and it is not solely based on its role in reminding people of their past or safeguarding traditions. Alternative music incorporates Zimbabwean traditional music, which is culturally used as a conduit to connect with ancestors who guide the living at all times, including life in the diaspora. In Shona tradition, the diaspora is considered the wilderness or *musango*.

In the Shona culture, hunting in the wilderness is not a casual activity as weapons are required for a successful hunt. Therefore, before and after a hunting expedition in the wilderness, they use traditional music and dance to ask for guidance and to thank their ancestors because no one knows what the forests hold and hide. In this respect, alternative music holds a religious function as it centres people as suggested by Mr Dube. Similarly, Gwenyambira, a mbira musician who participated in this study, suggests that the fusion of different music styles facilitates a deeper connection. He was, however, careful not to call it an ancestral or spiritual connection. For him, the connection made through alternative music – which fuses traditional music and contemporary sounds – is a connection of the past and the present, a connection between home and the diaspora.

5.2.2 Genre and social class

After attending a musical show that featured Silo and Gigi at *Macanudo* Lounge, I wrote the observations below on my Facebook. Although both these musicians are not known by the wider Zimbabwean audience at home or in Johannesburg, here was a venue taking a risk of booking them on a public holiday, considered a business peak for show promoters and venues. But, as time went on, pockets of people in small intimate groups

or in pairs started streaming in. The crowd never swelled to its maximum capacity and attendees seemed familiar with each other.

> April 15, 2022 was Good Friday holiday. Silo served us with a musical feast. We danced and sang along as if our lives depended on it. For me, the find for the show was Gigi, whom I think is to Johannesburg, what Sandra Ndebele[25] was to Bulawayo. I have watched numerous mbira musicians who lack the spirited performances that Sandra Ndebele had. They go for a 'classy and restrained' performance. But Gigi has an imposing stage presence, and a figure like Sandra's too. Though her stage attire covered almost everything except the face, it was quite visible that she has a beautiful fuller figure.
>
> (Observations on researcher's Facebook)

The performers that evening included research participants Silo, Feyi, Sambo, Musa, and Gigi. A notable observation was that the musicians in the alternative music genre displayed a distinctive style of dress, which appeared to draw inspiration from a common source. Both the performers and much of the audience were adorned in 'Ankara[26]' fabrics, characterised by their vibrant patterns and traditional African designs. For, Gigi, dressing in Ankara shows a "pride in being an African" while Silo added that "putting on African attire means that we are not concerned about vanity and chasing trends from overseas". It shows from both their responses that their stage attire is a political statement showing that they are proud of their identity as Africans.

On the next page, figure 8 presents a photo collage of alternative genre musicians and their dress code during performances.

[25] Sandra Ndebele is a Zimbabwean musician based in Bulawayo who generated wide media and public attention for her energy on stage, sexually explicit dancing, and style of dress (Viriri, 2014).
[26] Colloquially, 'Ankara' refers to African attire and is synonymous with pan African diaspora identities (Mchunu & Memela, 2019).

Figure 9: Musicians performing alternative music in Ankara dress

While the musicians wear Ankara, their fans often adorn Zimbabwean flags as shown in Figure 9 below.

Figure 10: Audience members attending a show

The growing number of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa has led many to find employment in the informal sector, often in low-skilled jobs such as domestic work, waiting tables, street vending, and general labour in various industries. These positions are typically low-paying and offer limited job security or benefits, indicating that many immigrants belong to lower socio-economic classes. However, based on my observations at various shows, there is also a significant population of Zimbabweans, both young and old, who hold well-paying jobs. These individuals can afford consuming art in spaces that are not necessarily affluent, but are conducive for conversations with little risk of incidences of petty crime.

5.2.3 Performing *kumusha*[27] presentations

Most Zimbabweans conceive a musical performance as a wholesome interaction of the performer with the audience, the props, the bandmates, an enactment of social life on stage. During my observations at music performances, I noticed that the Zimbabwean alternative musicians used minimalistic stage set-ups, while their performances showed investment in artistry, thought, practice, and execution. They all had a similar and familiar band set-up, popular with most musicians who identify as Afro Jazz or traditional contemporary musicians in Zimbabwe, as illustrated and explained on the stage plan image (figure 10) and explanation thereof (figure 11). In the case of Silo, Sambo, and Gigi, the most noticeable influence is the band set-up that consists of a guitarist, bass player, percussionist, acoustic guitar, and backing vocals. As mentioned before, Silo plays the acoustic guitar, and so does Sambo, while Gigi does the backing vocals.

[27] The Shona word, *kumusha*, means rural areas, but for diasporas, it means home, that is, Zimbabwe.

Figure 11: Silo's stage plan for performances

USR – Up Stage Right	**CS** – Centre Stage	**USL** – Up stage left
DSR – Down Stage Right	**DSC** – Down Stage Centre	**DSL** – Down Stage Left

Figure 12: Explanation of Silo's stage plan

I witnessed a lively Zimbabwean alternative music scene in the diaspora presented by Silo, one of the research participants. Silo had a three-hour performance in which he showcased an eclectic mix of his Zimbabwean roots and his ability to seamlessly fuse them with other genres to create an enchanting musical experience. Silo referenced to influence from home on both his composition preferences and stage act. He opened his set with a love song titled *Mambure erudo* in which he collaborated with Gigi, another research participant. *Mumambure erudo* is a slow gem that speaks of staying loyal in love. Gigi and Silo's harmonies managed to create the impression of a perfect and unending

love. When I spoke to Silo about what influenced the song, I expected to hear the obvious explanation namely the song's functional utility. However, Silo said he made the song with an expectation that his market will identify with the music. He was inspired by Pah Chihera and Prince Musarurwa who gained widespread attention with their song, *Ndirwo rudo*[28], in 2013, as shown in his response below:

> *MaZimba haadi zvinhu zvinyowani. Ukada kuita zvemaexperiment hauna chaunowana. Tarisa kana Jah Prayzah akambodzikira paakaita seave kusiya mbira. Mutactic wandakashandisa panaMambure ndakautota panaPah. Ndanga ndakateya gap remichato munomu. Saka takaita plan but haina kubuda sezvaida. Pakazoita COVID.* (Silo)
>
> Zimbabweans are not welcoming of new material. If you try to experiment, you will not reap any rewards. Look at Jah Prayzah; he once dipped [in popularity] when thinking of abandoning the mbira. So, what I did on *Mambure* is something I copied from Pah Chihera. My goal was to perform at weddings, but our plan didn't work out as we envisioned it because of COVID-19. (Silo)

Silo's response invoked my curiosity on how the Johannesburg market influences his artistry, as explained by him here:

> *Mashow angu chaiwo ndinotevedzera mudhara Tuku. Ukangoti unoita type yemusic yedu iyi vanhu vakutoda kuona Tuku. Tinotanga show yakapora ichidziya mbichana mbichana. Zvatosiyana neZim Dancehall or kwana Macheso.* (Silo)
>
> I imitate Tuku for my shows. People expect to see Tuku from the moment I tell them of the genre of music I do. Our shows always start on a low tempo

[28] Mbirimi, T. P. C. (2013). *Pah Chihera ft Prince K Musarurwa - Runonzi Rudo* YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XXwVIZLLmng

> and pick up with time. Our approach is very different from Zim Dancehall or Macheso. (Silo)

Indeed, energies went up as Silo progressed with the show. He plays the acoustic guitar like the late Oliver Mtukudzi, changing the mood in the venue as he played his track, *yamaronga haite* that features yester-year legend, Dino Mudondo. Again, Silo uses the same formula that he used on *Mumambure*. While the song *yamaronga haite* has original lyrics, the melody is not new. Instead, it is built around a game-song entitled *Mukoma Edmore,* often sung by school children spurring on their football teams.

5.3 Discussion of theme 2 - Social distinctions through Zim music

It is crucial to grasp the fundamental aspects of Zimbabwean music before delving into how it translates to the diaspora. I begin by providing an overview of these core elements to allow a full appreciation of the depth and significance of the music when performed in a diasporic context. However, defining Zimbabwean music presents a challenge given the country's diverse population of approximately 17 million people, each contributing unique musical expressions and reactions. Zimbabwe comprises ten administrative provinces: Masvingo, Midlands, Harare, Bulawayo, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Matabeleland South, Matabeleland North, and Manicaland. Each province produces distinct musical forms, reflecting the country's rich tribal and ethnic diversity (Zinyama & Chimanikire, 2019). Although these provincial borders are a colonial legacy, they significantly mark tribal differences, with each tribe and ethnicity having its traditional music. Therefore, it is not feasible to refer to Zimbabwean music as a single entity given the country's numerous ethnic groups, “each with their particular history and subculture” (Asante, 2000, p. 6). Examples of such traditional music and dance genres include *jerusarema, mbakumba, amabhiza, isitshikitsha, amantshomane, ngororombe, and imbube* (Chamisa, 2014; Maguraushe, 2017; Mapira & Hood, 2018; Mutero, 2013).

In the historic development of Zimbabwean music, there were sime intances of political manipulation at play, for example compelling Ndebele musicians to perform in Shona to access the Zimbabwean market (Ncube & Siziba, 2017). Conversely, musicians from

minority language groups such as Nambia, Xhosa, and Tonga – often categorised as Matebeleland musicians – faced pressure to sing in Ndebele. This situation largely arose from Zimbabwe's historical broadcasting framework that, until recently, consisted of four national radio stations and one national television broadcaster. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) originally established the structure of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) radio station to facilitate the transition to an independent Zimbabwe (Mano, 2007). The most widely listened-to radio station primarily aired content in Shona and Ndebele, the country's most spoken languages, with music comprising one-third African and two-thirds local Zimbabwean content (Mano, 2007). Consequently, all musics from across the nation were transmitted through a single platform, Radio 2, without dedicated regional stations for provincial arts. Scannell's (2001) research highlights the issue of Zimbabwean radio stations prioritising music produced in South Africa over supporting local Zimbabwean musicians. This practice hindered the growth and recognition of Zimbabwean artists within their own country. By favouring South African music, these radio stations contributed to the underrepresentation of Zimbabwean talent and the stagnation of the local music industry.

People in Southern Zimbabwe have musics that are in many ways similar to South African music. For example, the Ndebele people have vocal music sung in four-part harmony just as is the case with Ndebele and Zulu people in South Africa (Muparutsa, 2013). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) forwards that "to those with a hegemonic Ndebele agenda, being a Ndebele means a conglomeration of all those people whose ancestors were assimilated into the Ndebele state, be they of Nguni, Sotho, Shona, Kalanga, Tonga, Tswana, Venda or Lozwi extraction" (p. 7). Nombembe (2013) mentions the cultural and musical variances and parallels in Zimbabwe and South Africa especially among the Xhosa people. However, in the context of immigration status, xenophobia, and Zimbabwean identity, tribal distinctions become irrelevant. This holds particularly true in discussions about Zimbabwean music in the diaspora, where traditional genres of music render insignificant in the classification of popular music. This is due not only to political factors but also because popular music is not localised or tailored for tribal appeal. Instead, many musicians draw upon the diverse cultural heritage to create music that resonates universally. While tribal musics vary in dominance, the most populous tribes tend to exert

significant influence in the music landscape. In my view, it is impossible to fully separate Zimbabwe's Ndebele culture from other cultures in South Africa; any such attempt in present day Zimbabwe constitutes an act of othering the Ndebele, implying that they do not belong. Therefore, my focus was places such as kwaChikwanha where people who identify themselves as Zimbabweans produce, perform, and consume music. However, despite these dynamics, Zimbabwean music retains a distinct and recognisable identity regardless of its regional origins.

For a definition of local music, Scannell (2001) interviewed Fred Zindi, a Zimbabwean musician and academic, who suggested that "local music means music played by local musicians. Reggae or Zairean rumba is local music so long as it is played by local artists" (p. 19). This issue is still relevant, emphasising the need for greater support and promotion of homegrown musicians to foster a thriving and self-sustaining music scene in Zimbabwe. Community radio stations are a recent phenomenon in Zimbabwe, broadcasting music commonly understood as 'Zimbabwean music'. Musicians can blend various elements of traditional Zimbabwean music or emphasise a single style. At the same time, some artists incorporate influences from cultures outside Zimbabwe, as evident in Zim Dancehall and Urban Grooves music.

In the context of the current study, Zimbabwean music broadly refers to music made and performed by and for Zimbabwean citizens residing in South Africa, covering diverse influences of Zimbabwe's cultural heritage. Zimbabwean immigrants bring a rich heritage and unique cultural contributions to their adopted home. As a sovereign neighbouring country, Zimbabwe has distinct musical traditions and ethnic practices that continue to evolve and influence new environments. The repertoire of Zimbabwean music in South Africa represents "different social systems" (Mitchell, 2013, p. 37), corresponding with the current study findings, namely that cultural diffusion occurs as migrants bring rural practices to the city and take urban patterns back home, with rural experiences influencing city adaptation and urbanites creating institutions for urban needs.

Johannesburg is home to many African nationals whose cultures contribute to the cosmopolitanism of the city. Zimbabweans are a major factor due to sheer population

numbers and the proximity of the two countries. In addition, for most Black Africans, the rural area is home; for Zimbabweans based in South Africa, their country is *kumusha/ekhaya* or home. I therefore explored what Zimbabwean immigrants think of the music and the performances they are now exposed to in South Africa. This allowed me to reach a more nuanced understanding of how Zimbabwean music evolves in the diaspora, and how other musical cultures influence it. More specifically, I gained an appreciation of how the interaction between Zimbabwean music and the musical traditions of the host country led to cross-cultural influences and hybrid forms.

5.3.1 Discussion - Zim Dancehall music

Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa bring a rich heritage and unique cultural contributions to their adopted home. As a sovereign neighbouring country, Zimbabwe has distinct musical traditions and ethnic practices that continue to evolve and influence new environments. The repertoire of Zimbabwean music in South Africa represents “different social systems” (Mitchell, 2013, p. 37), corresponding with the current study findings, namely that cultural diffusion occurs as migrants bring rural practices to the city and take urban patterns back home, with rural experiences influencing city adaptation and urbanites creating institutions for urban needs.

Johannesburg is home to many African nationals whose cultures contribute to the cosmopolitanism of the city. Zimbabweans constitute a significant factor due to the sheer population numbers and the proximity of the two countries. In addition, for most Black Africans, the rural area is home; for Zimbabweans based in South Africa, their country is *kumusha/ekhaya* or home. Zimbabwean immigrants have brought a wide range of musical styles and traditions, each with its unique rhythms, melodies, and instrumentation. I, therefore, explored these musical styles, including my observations during performances and the thoughts of both musicians and their audiences regarding the music they are now exposed to in South Africa. My observations revealed that the Johannesburg market is very attractive to all musicians, including those based in Zimbabwe. Most of the shows feature Sungura and Zim Dancehall musicians. However, it appears that Zim Dancehall is easily one of the most prominent Zimbabwean musical styles in Johannesburg.

The historiography of Zim Dancehall remains contentious, with numerous individuals claiming to be pioneers of the genre. Nonetheless, there is consensus that Slaggy Yout, a Zimbabwean musician based in the UK, is credited with coining the term "Zim Dancehall" (Charivanda, 2019, p. 3) and establishing a dedicated website for the genre in 2006. The genre's current prominence is closely linked to Chillspot Records, a studio located in Mbare, Zimbabwe's oldest township.

The nomenclature 'Zim Dancehall' combines 'Zimbabwe' and 'Dancehall', indicating a fusion of reggae and dancehall elements within a national context. According to Charivanda (2019), Zim Dancehall represents the third iteration within the dancehall generations experienced in Zimbabwe. In his view, the first generation of post-independence Zimbabwean music was marked by strong Pan-African themes and family-oriented lyrics, reflecting the early challenges of the new regime, such as corruption.

The second generation emerged around the same time as Bob Marley's independence performance. Still, it differed significantly from traditional reggae bands, featuring sound systems pioneered by figures like William Sinclair, known as Jah B. The contemporary third generation, known as Zim Dancehall, is largely digital and characterised by backyard studios that emerged due to the Zimbabwean crisis at the turn of the century (Charivanda, 2019). Some of Zimbabwe's leading Zim Dancehall musicians include Winky D, Killer T, Freeman, Seh Calaz, Da Rula, Lady Squanda, and Lipsy (Charivanda, 2019).

- **Discussion – Risk and revelry in Jozi**

Zimbabwean musician Mc Praise released a highly successful song entitled *Dobenya,* in which he shamelessly talks about and valorises the party life associated with Zim Dancehall shows. As part of the discussion of this subtheme, I present the original lyrics in Shona as well as the English translation of the song text in Table 5.

Table 5: Song lyrics of Dobenya

Original lyrics in Shona	English translation
Tiri most	We are the best
Apa ndaona munenge maita lost	I realise you seem confused
Auya madangerguys	The dangerous guys have arrived
Can you all switch off your phones for the meantime?	Can you all switch off your phones for the meantime?
Pinda mumood yehappy time	Get into the mood of happiness
Focuser neino party coz tapinda musummer time	Focus on this party because it is now summertime
Enjoy it's time to shine	Enjoy, its time to shine.
Vasvika maqueens eRoMaGa	The Queens of *RoMaGa* have arrived
Ndaita confused, Tariro panga pasina ambozvigaira	I got confused, there was no hope at all
Voita clash netwumaslender	They are clashing with slender women
Haa beginning RoMaGa	This is the beginning of *RoMaGa*
Chidangerguy, aah…	The dangerous guy, aah…
Dobenya	*Dobenya*
MaDangerguy tonokuza Dobyena	The dangerous guy supports *Dobenya*
Aya maholiday aah Dobenya	At these holidays there is *Dobenya*
Kutadziswa nei tine mbinga dzinorema	What stops us when have rich benefactors
Musummer anytime	Anytime in summertime
Ndangoti ndiimbire vanoda kufara	I am singing for those who want a good time
Let's have fun friends	Let's have fun, friends
Yo so me say	This is what I am saying
Twinkle ndipe riddim ndiise vocal	Twinkle give me an instrumental, I'll add vocals
Yoh Wemanuff Nhubu digital	Yoh, Wemanuff Nhubu[29] digital
Dark city don don	Dark city, don don
Catalyst garai masvika panzvimbo	Catalyst, come over here
Prezha riri kubvira ON ON	We are having a lot of fun here

[29] Wemanuff Nhubu is a music producer and video maker from Zimbabwe based in Cape Town.

Some more, some more	Some more, some more
Vasikana vari kuchukucha	Girls are gyrating
Ngoma ndariza asi kune vari kukurura	I played good music, and some are getting naked
Makunge makwana madhakwa	You have had enough. You are drunk
Vakurutsa vabvisei vaende vambonozorora.	They are puking. Help them to get a rest
Mwana wenyu waita ndirove ngoma husiku hwese	You, child, have made me to have sex all night
Waita chiuno chinogwinha sikhuzonke	Her waist gyrates at all times
Isu tinokupinzai level	We will get you in different levels
Manje ndauya neimwe Pattani	I am here with a different way of doing things
Yavaisa muAction	That got them into action
Moto wakubvira wedzera paraffin	There is a fire burning; pour on some paraffin
Saka pullop de tune	Rewind the music
Vakuchida vangani	How many like this
Tinokupinza level	We will get you into [a] different level

At surface-level, *Dobenya* exemplifies a typical social life where people eat, drink, and engage in sexual activities. In this respect, Mangeya (2022) examines how Zim Dancehall music establishes guidelines for heterosexual encounters, and several authors suggest that clever language manipulation and sexually suggestive content are primary factors contributing to the success of many Zimdancehall musicians (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2018; Magweta, 2018). Consequently, the genre is often regarded as superficial due to the prevalence of explicit material in its lyrics. Nevertheless, beyond being indicative of the everyday, *Dobenya* also speaks to the accessibility of the genre and the ease at which young people become active participants in the Zim Dancehall sector as either producers or consumers.

- **Discussion - Comfort in the periphery**

Similar to my study findings, other scholars have found Zim Dancehall to be very popular with the youth (Charivanda, 2019; Viriri et al., 2011), who most likely make up the largest population of Zimbabweans based in South Africa. The South African contingent of Zim Dancehall musicians based in Johannesburg at the time of writing this thesis include study participants Eljoy and Baroness, as well as musicians Ptk, Mc Praise, Hwindi President,

Empress Thunder, and Nox, among many. All these musicians fall under the third generation of Zim Dancehall musicians, as categorised by Charivanda (2019).

Zim Dancehall's position at the periphery of South Africa's music scene is also advantageous when thought of in the context of xenophobia that is related to unemployment and access to economic opportunity. As long as there is no popular media attention to Zimbabwean musicians and their promoters, there are no xenophobic elements for these busnisses. These "sociocommerscapes" (Chacko, 2009, p. 21) or ethnic businesses created by Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg that provide goods and meeting places, play a crucial role in blending economic activities with community building. They offer a platform for cultural expression, social interaction, and economic survival, thus helping immigrants to sustain their cultural identity and adapt to their new environment.

Ghorashi et al. (2018) speak of this as choosing marginality concerning power, where vendors deliberately choose to be on the periphery to counter structural constraints. Therefore, if little is known about Zimbabweans participating in South Africa's music industry, the appetite for xenophobia diminishes. This was similar in the late 90s when Zimbabwean immigrants' involvement in the informal street trade sector was largely unknown (Peberdy, 2000).

The role of radio extends beyond serving as a platform for music marketing and promotion; it also wields considerable influence in shaping national consciousness. This dual capacity positions it as a tool harnessed by politicians to mould public perception as was the case in Zimbabwe when Jonathan Moyo introduced 75% local content on all radio and television stations, thereby endorsing and amplifying local artists (Chari, 2013). Similarly, research poarticipant Eljoy bemoaned a similar directive imposed by Hlaudi Motsoeneng during his tenure as the Chief Operations Officer (COO) of the South African Broadcasting Services, using his authority to enact programming changes, unilaterally decreeing a 90% local content mandate for all SABC radio stations (Muswede, 2016).

Regarding the issue that Zim Dancehall music has failed to penetrate international markets, Zimbabwean journalist Shumba spoke to Hillary Mutake, a music entrepreneur

who downplayed the popularity of Zim Dancehall in other countries", who said: "In the diaspora, Zimbabwean artists only perform for the Zimbabwean community. Without Zimbabweans in the diaspora, they won't be going there to perform. Promoters who invite these artists are Zimbabwean promoters, that's the truth on the ground" (Shumba, 2017, par. 11).

However, using the lens of provincializing Zim Dancehall music in South Africa, parallels can be drawn to how some Zimbabweans have created communities that are in South Africa, co-existing with South Africans in everyday contact, but without connection. In his seminal work on micro-publics, Amin (2002) reasoned that physical proximity to one other is not enough to create a connection; rather deliberate efforts should be made to create "spaces of interdependence" (p. 969) to engender an intercultural understanding. Conversly, the findings of the current study suggest that Zim Dancehall is often performed and serves as 'community music', corresponding with Kelley's (2016) conception of community music as participatory public singing, where participants adapt to the circumstances in order to take part.

Kyker (2013) mentions that being and working in the diaspora affords Zimbabweans a small yet significant amount of disposable income, which allows them to attend shows. Similar to the results of the current study, Meyer and Miggelbrink (2013) found that Zimbabwean immigrants often experience peripheralization through various processes, including migration flows, disconnection from mainstream society, dependence, stigmatization, and social marginalization. Both individuals and groups, as well as specific geographic regions, can be subjected to these peripheralization processes. The invisibility of Zim Dancehall among non-Zimbabweans indicates a thriving alternative popular culture in Johannesburg. The challenges and marginalisation that Zimbabweans face inevitably lead to the emergence of a culture within a culture. Siziba (2009) forwards that "while structures are viewed as constraining, they are simultaneously viewed as in essence imbued with agency, thus, they are both constraining and enabling" (p. 10). Consequently, the social and political structures that marginalise Zim Dancehall potentially have currency to help an alternative popular culture to thrive.

While conducting fieldwork for this study, Zim Dancehall was the most prominent urban youth music genre in Zimbabwe. All the musicians I observed and interviewed fall under the third generation of Zim Dancehall musicians as categorised by Charivanda (2019). It is not surprising that most of the scholarship on Zimbabwean music focuses on the genre with themes ranging from gender identities, vulgarity and political protests (Gukurume, 2022; Mateveke, 2022; Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2020). However, the the genre has failed to penetrate regional markets in other countries. The Zimbabwe-based musician, Winky D, who proclaimed himself the Dancehall *Igwe* (King), is hardly known by a non-Zimbabwean audience. This is even though Africa is currently experiencing growth in terms of international prominence of its musicians and musics with artists such as Burna Boy, Diamond Platnumz, Nomcebo, Black Coffee, Yemi Alade, to mention a few becoming global stars (Gani & Gani, 2020; Krings & Simmert, 2020). Winky D, and by extension, the Zim Dancehall genre, has yet to claim a market share regionally or internationally. There are several reasons that led to this stunted growth, including poor business acumen, an undefined value chain, and weak productions. Although Zim Dancehall is mainstream in Zimbabwe, it has not infiltrated global music scene. As a result, Zim Dancehall musicians based in South Africa perform for a predominantly Zimbabwean audience.

- **Discussion - Drug and alcohol abuse**

The use of drugs is not unique to Zim Dancehall musicians; it is a worldwide scourge. In Nigeria many artists reportedly believe that the use of drugs enhance their performance (Ojukwu et al., 2016, p. 124), and a study conducted in New York City revealed that audiences at electro-dance music shows were likely to use synthetic drugs if offered (Palamar, 2020). Much closer to context, young South African musicians and their audiences engage in casual sex and use of drugs (Khan, 2007), while in Zimbabwe, Zim Dancehall music is also associated with all sorts of vices. My study findings revealed that the music itself and the venues are not direct influencers of this behaviour; it is rather underlying issues affecting youth well-being that play a significant role. Nevertheless, it is evident that Zim Dancehall music often serves as a backdrop to these activities,

especially the notorious drug use associated with some Zim Dancehall role models like Soul Jah Love (Mangenje, 2023).

There have been numerous news reports addressing the issue of drug abuse amongst Zimbabwean immigrants in the Johannesburg area. At one time, the Hawks[30] busted a place in Germiston where they confiscated hundreds of boxes of broncleer syrup worth hundreds of thousands of Rands (News 24, 2015). During data collection at the recording studios, I observed that these addictive drugs are also a magnet attracting young Zimbabwean immigrants to the studio.

It seems that drugs form a part of Zim Dancehall music and have come to be a part of the so-called contemporary 'ghetto culture' within popular culture in Zimbabwe (Mabuto & Saidi, 2018). Such drugs are propagated in songs and videos, while some of the Zim Dancehall show promoters are also drug peddlers or have relations with peddlers. This correlates with Dube (2023), who reported on drug kingpin Boss Dama, stating that "Dama is a close associate of producers […] and is reported to be the one who funds street bashes popularly known as Pasa Pasa[31], which have been associated with drug users" (para. 12).

Similar to the findings of the current study, Tivenga (2018a) discovered that musicians believe marijuana enhances their creativity. This aligns with Chihora's (2016) conclusion that Zim Dancehall artists think smoking marijuana and other drugs boost their resourcefulness and confidence for performances and songwriting. Hope (2013) also noted that the use of marijuana use is celebrated in Jamaica, where it plays a role in identity formation in popular culture.

[30] The Hawks, known as the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation (DPCI) in the South African Police Services, focus on combatting organised crime and other major offenses (DPCI, 2024).
[31] The Pasa Pasa street bashes are all-night music shows that are held on the street within a neighbourhood.

- **Discussion – sex and music**

Viriri (2014) has spoken about the perceptions that people have around successful female musicians and their sexual lives and to what extent this may be seen as prostitution. In my view, however, it is not, as data analysis revealed that young men and women who use sex appeal as a means to get ahead of their peers in the music industry may experience some abuse. The study participants and my views are supported by Nyangairi's (2010) research detailing immigrant sex work in South Africa. Burford et al. (2020, p. 4) speak of how the use of sex appeal is a form of emotional labour that sees people, especially women, absorbing negativity with an outward expression of cheerfulness. This corresponds with Marshall and Taylor's (2006) research, indicating that most Zimbabwean women have grown accustomed to the fact that they are created to satisfy male sexual urges and pleasure.

Sexual imagery enhances the enjoyment of music videos and can help create an artist's image if used judiciously (Cummins, 2007). The concept of sex appeal is undeniably popular and widely accepted among young people, who are the primary consumers of popular music. Thus, it is more progressive for young Zimbabwean women to become self-sexualisers rather than being objectified by men. Choi and DeLong (2019) define self-sexualisers as "women who embrace and participate in the hyper-sexualized cultural trend" (p. 1351). From the perspective of female musicians, self-sexualization can be seen as an empowering choice. By embracing and participating in hyper-sexualized cultural trends, these women actively shape their images and identities. This approach allows them to take control of their representation in the music industry, asserting their agency and challenging traditional gender norms.

On the other hand, female audience members who flirt with male musicians – known as a 'groupie' – present a different dynamic. Larsen (2017) defines a groupie as "a more extreme type of female fan who seeks intimate emotional and/or sexual relations with a musician" (p. 2). Mukundu (2018) posits that "groupies are women who literally worship musicians; their ultimate prize is to sleep with the musicians. They do not even wait for you to approach them, especially if they feel you are oblivious of their advances" (p. 45). These definitions provide a basic understanding of what a groupie is, but they offer a

skewed perspective, implying that such women have loose morals and assigning blame solely to them. In this age of fluid genders, it is crucial to recognise that these definitions may not fully capture the complexity of gender dynamics and the interactions between fans and musicians, as revealed in the current study findings.

Zim Dancehall musicians and fans reject conventional notions of respectability and consequently align themselves with a stereotypical subculture. They do not seem concerned with maintaining blameless reputations or adhering to traditional stage aesthetics during performances. The behaviour of Zim Dancehall fans and musicians may create a distinct social class of Zimbabweans who prioritise ‘fleeting moments’ instead of being ‘good’ immigrants who are compliant and focused on sending remittances back to Zimbabwe. The lives of Zim Dancehall fans indicate a sense of permanency and assimilation into South African popular culture. It is important to note that these actions appear spontaneous rather than premeditated. Bourdieu (1987) suggests that social distinctions can often form with little or no deliberate forethought.

5.3.2 Discussion – Alternative music

It is insufficient and unjust to assume that all Zimbabwean musicians and fans create and enjoy the same type of music. Such a view risks oversimplifying Zimbabweans as a homogenous group of immigrants. At most, what ties all Zimbabweans residing in South Africa is their nationality alone. However, even this assertion is contestable, as evidenced by the reluctance of some Zimbabweans, including the well-known musician Oskido, to acknowledge their Zimbabwean heritage (Ndlovu, 2019). Music and social stratification share a symbiotic relationship wherein music facilitates the creation of social classes. Particular groups tend to gravitate toward music that reflects their social status. For example, pop music is often associated with popular culture, while classical music is perceived as catering to more affluent audiences. Nevertheless, like any other cultural phenomenon, social stratification within music is not static and can undergo unexpected transformations, sometimes even reversing established social hierarchies.

- **Discussion – Zim traditions in alternative music**

People in Southern Zimbabwe have musics that are in many ways similar to South African music. For example, the Ndebele people have vocal music sung in four-part harmony just as is the case with Ndebele and Zulu people in South Africa (Muparutsa, 2013). Nombembe (2013) also mention the cultural and musical variances and parallels in Zimbabwe and South Africa, especially among the Xhosa people. Bajilla (2018) forwards that "to those with a hegemonic Ndebele agenda, being a Ndebele means a conglomeration of all those people whose ancestors were assimilated into the Ndebele state, be they of Nguni, Sotho, Shona, Kalanga, Tonga, Tswana, Venda or Lozwi extraction" (p. 7). In my view, it is impossible to separate Zimbabwe's Ndebele culture from other cultures in South Africa. Any such attempt in present day Zimbabwe constitutes an act of othering the Ndebele, implying that they do not belong. Therefore, I focused on places such as kwaChikwanha where people who identify themselves as Zimbabweans produce, perform, and consume music.

Traditional contemporary music centres the spiritual lives of Zimbabwean immigrants. The nostalgia created by traditional music helps Zimbabwean immigrants to maintain a connection to their cultural roots and to feel a sense of continuity and connection with their past. This connection with the past and present is aligned to a view held by Zimbabwean cultural theorist, George Shire, who argues that "to be diasporic is to be a subject of displacement and there is no return to an origin. If you do not live in Zimbabwe, you are a Zimbabwean who lives outside the country" (Nyoni, 2018, p. 411). Zimbabweans remain Zimbabweans no matter they are exiled forceful or by choice, and despite the emergence of new music styles and genres, artists still use traditional modes to create their new song material (Maguraushe & Machafa, 2017), as these elements of Zimbabwean music make them feel a connection the self, the present, and home. Musicians deliberately exploit musical resources from Zimbabwean culture to appeal to both their own creativity and the preferences of their audiences. The spiritual connection happening at commercial venues where traditional and Western instruments are fused is indicative of the 'psychic power' of Zimbabwean traditional music. This corresponds with Ayorinde and Ajose's research (2022), suggesting that music should not be relegated

to merely an ‘aesthetic’ or ‘art’, but that music rather enables and enhances communication, assisting “as a spiritual tool, healing, ritual, and medium through which multitudes of human needs are negotiated in many societies across Africa” (p. 4).

Identity is a fluid construct; at times, a person may create an identity to achieve certain ends. People can negotiate, perform, and decide who they want to be and why they want to be identified as such through employing different tactics, including fashion, their bodies (Siziba, 2016), and languages (Siziba, 2014). The performances change, and performers assume identities in context or place. For Gaddam (2021), moving across different places and coming of age affected how she perceived herself and her culture. The same applies to listening to – and identifying with – traditional music; for many, this music makes sense as they age, become more affluent, or acquire higher education statuses (Roy, 2015).

The music I observed at the Macanudo Lounge reminded me of Afro jazz, stemming from the fusion of traditional music with the mid- to slow tempo and virtuosity on western musical instruments. Although this genre is not true jazz, Zimbabweans have developed a culture of calling all slow music ‘jazz’, as observed by veteran guitarist, academic, and music producer, Clive Mono Mukundu. He posted the following observation on his Facebook profile:

> I think the word jazz is the most abused and most misunderstood genre name in Zimbabwe. The media has contributed a lot to the misuse of this name. Although the word jazz in itself is sometimes difficult to define but surely you can’t say that every slow song is jazz. Now everybody who plays slow music will tell you they play jazz even if it’s slow rock or country music or any ballad.
>
> (Mukundu, 2014)

The comments generated from this post and my own knowledge suggest that Zimbabwe does not have a thriving jazz community, a genre whose early proponents include Andy Brown and Chiwoniso Maraire, and, as explained by the latter, their music is not jazz but a fusion of traditional and contemporary music (Maraire, 1998). In my view, there is a

distinction between traditional contemporary music and Chimurenga music, which also fuses traditional instruments and western instruments. The major difference is that Chimurenga musicians would play mbira dzevadzimu and mbira melodies on the guitar, often including politically confrontational lyrics (Eyre, 2015). In addition, “chimurenga music maintains the same traditional arrangement by making use of mbira chord progressions in common mbira tunes such as nhemamusasa, chemutengure, nyamaropa, dangu rangu and chigwaya which already exist” (Chipendo, 2022, p. 326)

On the other hand, traditional contemporary musicians would play chemtengure on the mbira and accompany it with unique melodic lines on the guitar instead of typical mbira adapted melodies. The Zimbabwe Music Awards (ZIMA, 2023) includes chemtengure for artists performing alternative music genres. As the current study focuses on the utilitarian role of music and its contribution to placemaking in the lives of Zimbabwean musicians in Johannesburg, the emphasis on genre here does not attend to the technicalities of music, but rather on how immigrants engage in socially relevant musicking practices. This relates to Walser's (1993) argument that music genres function as “horizons of expectations for listeners” (p. 99), while Roy (2015) emphasises the social relevance of genres.

The intentional exclusion of Zim Dancehall music on the Zimbabwean Musicians Roundtable WhatsApp group as referred to earlier, relates to the on-going debates that Zim Dancehall is not Zimbabwean enough, concurring with Nyambo’s (2022) finding that the genre’s popularity is at the cost of the country’s traditional or original music.

For many immigrants, the diaspora is the wilderness, it is a place of alienation from kinship; of constant pursuit of economic survival (Kyker, 2013). Additionally, most Zimbabweans who are in the diaspora were forced by economic and political challenges to migrate. Therefore, the diaspora is a hunting ground for opportunities that lead to better lives.

Musician Daniel Mugo Parewa, popularly known as Hwindi Prezident, had a stint in the diaspora and released a song that speaks to the diaspora as if it is a jungle (Prezident, 2022). Table 6 below includes an excerpt of Hwindi Prezident’s lyrics for his song,

Tirikushanda – together with the textual translation and context – that poignantly illustrates this point.

Table 6: Song lyrics of Hwindi Prezident's Tirikushanda

Kuno tiri kushanda	We are working over here.
Tiri musango tiri kuvhima tinouya	We are in the wilderness hunting; we will come back.
Kumba tinouyawo	We will come back home.
Tiri musango tiri kuvhima tinouya	We are in the wilderness hunting; we will come back.
Kuno tiri kushanda	We are working over here.
Tiri musango tiri kuvhima tinouya	We are in the wilderness hunting; we will come back.
Tikagara munofa nenzara	You will die of hunger if we do not work.
Tiri musango tiri kuvhima tinouya	We are in the wilderness hunting; we will come back.
Hatina kutandavara	We are not living in comfort.
Pamwe tinomborara nenzara	We at times sleep on empty tummies.
Pamwe tichitoshandiswa mahara	Sometimes we are forced to labour for nothing.
Kumba munotitiona zvabhadhara	We will come home when the hustle starts paying.
Hatina kuramwa musha	We did not give up on home.
Kumba tinouyawo	We will come back home.
Chitinamatirai zvitifambire	Pray for us so that all our plans succeed.

Contemporary music made by Shona speakers bears influences of Ndebele traditional music. For instance, Zimbabwean musician Jah Prayzah's song, *Poporopipo* (Prayzah, 2017), incorporates Lameck Moyo's melodies, and Baba Harare's video, *Samatenga* (Harare, 2021), demonstrates imbube influences on rhythms and dances. Ndebele music is inevitably a mix of musical cultures by virtue of the Ndebele state came into being.

The people of Zimbabwe have cultural ceremonies using music to invoke the spirits of ancestors to guide the living. Nyambo (2022) forwards that "mbira acts like a 'telephone to the spirits' since it used to contact both deceased ancestors and even more ancient tribal guardians at all-night Bira ceremonies" (p. 383). "Modern traditional" (Brusila, 2002, p.

35) music of Zimbabwe, as the Zimbabwean mbira player Virginia Mukwesha describes it, serves as a spiritual connection. This connection, however, is an elaborate process that goes beyond playing traditional music as the ancestors speak through spirit mediums only, not through random people. In addition, *midzimu haibuditswi nemagitare'* [ancestral spirits are not evoked by guitar music]. However, the absence of spiritual possession does not necessarily mean the absence of spiritual connection through music (Nyambo, 2022). Immigrant communities view religion and music as anchors during times of precarity, providing and sustaining hope (Mhishi, 2017, p. 47).

- **Discussion Genre and social class**

Research has shown that there are connections between social class and musical preferences (Roy & Dowd, 2010). Individuals' economic and social standing within society and education can influence the types of music they listen to. This discussion on Zimbabwean immigrant musicking and social class matters, particularly faced with a media that seems to be creating a narrative that paints "foreign nationals […] as criminals, drug dealers, job-stealers" (Nkwe, 2023, p. 23). Musical genres influence the audiences they cater for, for example traditional music which has historically attracted an older, respectable, and spiritual audience. However, while it is possible to predict the typical attendees at events or consumers of a particular musical genre, Manners et al. (2015) argue that audience's acceptance of music cannot be limited or controlled. Zimbabwean alternative music artists are in many ways influenced by the former well-known Zimbabwean musician, Oliver Mtukudzi. On his YouTube channel, Mtukudzi explained how his lyrics are informed by "day to day issues, not just the difficulties but the humour, the happiness, the irony" (para. 1).

- **Discussion – Performing *kumusha* presentations**

Similar to the well-know Zimbabwean musician, Dino Mudondo, Silo, and Gigi deliberately use music to trigger memories and associations of home. Ths correlates with Mhishi (2017) who found that music is a passage "for the construction of diasporic being and belonging" (p. 3). Drawing upon traditional sounds and motifs in their creative processes allows the participants them to connect easily with fellow Zimbabweans. For

audiences, as explicated by Mr Dube, the nostalgia created by traditional music, familiar and well-presented sets, deepen their connection to the music and enhance their overall listening experience. But, beyond the listening experience, this music also plays a significant role in their sense of place and belonging within their new environment, as revealed in the first central theme that emerged from data analysis as described in chapter 4. The fusion with traditional music makes the listeners feel they are not entirely lost, even though they are away from home. Muranda et al. (2022) describes that, in the time before the Chimurenga war – fought between African nationalist guerrillas and the predominantly white Rhodesian government during the 1960s and 1970s – most Zimbabweans had rural or *kumusha* homes where they could "mingle freely, cook their food freely, do their chores with ease, or sleep in their homes" (p. 6). In some ways, the *kumusha* music performances in Johannesburg bring back those nostalgic moments of home in Zimbabwe for both performers and audience members.

Conclusion

I this chapter, I examined how Zimbabweans carry elements of their culture with them when they migrate, including how much they are willing to adapt or abandon, and what modifications they make to their performance practices. The analysis revealed that music in migrant contexts often evolves to reflect the new environment while incorporating different opportunities.

Baily and Collyer (2006) suggest that the creation of new forms are indicative or symptomatic of the issues facing the immigrant. Further complexity is presented by the fact that immigrants can recreate their past through music, and migration can lead to cultural innovation and enrichment. Besides describing the repertoire, this chapter also represented how Johannesburg, an international city, is not separated from its hinterlands, and that music of every society is bound to change and is recontextualised as it travels in space and time.

In the next chapter, I present the third main theme namely the role of music that Zimbabweans access through social media.

Chapter 6: Role of mediated music for Zimbabwean immigrants

Introduction

One of the key findings from the data analysis was that participants often experienced music through various platforms rather than in direct, live performances. This phenomenon, known as mediated music, includes the different ways that people access music, including but not limited to platforms such as social media, radio, streaming platforms, television, laptops, and mobile phones. Toynbee and Dueck (2011) defines mediated music as "the circulation through print, broadcast, recording and various forms of electronic dissemination of musical objects that are separable in time and space from human subjects yet continually available for activation and engagement by them" (p. 2). From field visits, it became evident that participants had nearly unlimited access to mediated music, which they could listen to at times convenient to them. This accessibility, along with the ability to curate and enjoy their preferred musics at specific times, – enables it to play various roles in the everyday experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg.

Building on the previous chapters, which discussed how the making and consuming of music in shared spaces such as *kwaChikwanha* and *Macanudo* Lounge, have an effect on the music, the space, and the people, this chapter delves into immigrants' consumption of mediated music. Based on self-reported experiences of the study participants, I gained insight into role music plays in their daily lives, with a specific focus on listening to mediated music rather than live performances or music-making. This chapter applies Blacking's (1973) concept of "soundly organised humanity", focusing on ordinary citizens to understand the functional roles and influence of Zimbabwean music on the emotional wellbeing and experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg. It unravels the intricate relationship between music and the subjective wellbeing of these immigrants in South Africa.

During data collection, participants were asked to subjectively and retrospectively report their various reasons for listening to music in their everyday experiences in Johannesburg. They also reflected on how their music listening experiences affected them. From data analysis, three main themes emerged. Firstly, the strategies immigrants use to choose the music they listen to. Secondly, the circumstances that influence immigrants' music choices indicates that mediated music has a functional role; the freedom to listen to preferred music extends beyond the availability and accessibility of technology to being a functional choice. Lastly, the outcomes of mediated music and how it affects the participants personally. I also offer a contextual analysis of purposively selected songs that provide unique insigths into the experiences and perspectives of Zimbabwean immigrants.

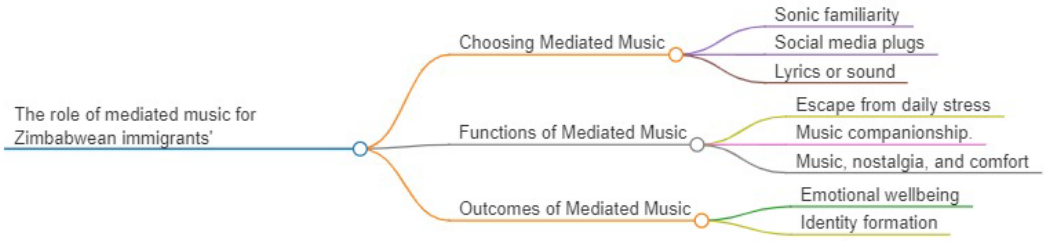

Figure 9: Flow diagram of chapter themes and subthemes

The flowchart in figure 9 summarises the roles of mediated music, indicating the factors that led participants to choose particular songs over the other, the functions of the music, and the outcomes. Mediated music fosters cultural connection, nostalgia, emotional expression, and virtual connections within immigrant communities as shown on the flowchart. Zimbabweans use music as a medium to maintain ties with their cultural heritage.

6.1 Choosing mediated music

One of the key findings from the data analysis was that participants often experienced music through various platforms rather than in direct, live performances. The introduction of smart phones and ubiquity of the internet makes it possible for people to choose what they want to listen to and at what time they want to listen to it. Unlike in the past, when

people depended on radios and listened to music in fixed spaces, modern technologies now allow individuals to carry their personal music libraries wherever they go, enabling them to shape their everyday lives. For diaspora Zimbabweans, the freedom to listen to their preferred music extends beyond the mere availability and accessibility of technology. While accessibility is a factor, it is just one among many that influence their music selection criteria. More importantly, understanding where participants access music and what influences their choices is crucial, as it has significant implications for the preservation and promotion of Zimbabwean cultural identity abroad.

The medium through which mediated music is accessed makes it impossible to analyse all songs that immigrants listen to. However, it is possible is categorise the music according to the most popular genres and themes among the participants. At the time of data collection, Afro beats, Zim Dancehall, Gospel music, and Sungura were most popular among the interviewed participants. In addition to unravelling the profound influence these songs hold in shaping the participants wellbeing, the focus on specific songs is, in a small way, a recognition and celebration of the achievements of musicians. I therefore include a contextual analysis of specific songs and artists who had several mentions from participants in the sections that follow.

6.1.1 Sonic Familiarity

While online platforms have made it possible for Zimbabweans to easily access old and new music from their home country, the choice to listen to it does not depend on accessibility only. Some Zimbabwean immigrants listen to music from home for its familiarity; the melodies, timbre, and lyrics resonate with who they are and with their personal experiences. Although South Africa and Zimbabwe share music cultures, the existing differences lead some immigrants to deliberately search for and listen to Zimbabwean music, as expressed by Heather:

> *Music yemagitare yakawanda. I can listen to other guitars from here but gitare raBaba Shero igitare raBaba Shero. I go for the instruments that feel like home.*

> There is an abundance of guitar-based music. I can listen to local guitar styles, but they will not match with Baba Sharo's guitar work. I go for the instruments that feel like home.

During data analysis, it became evident that the physical movement of immigrants from one place to another does not always lead to cultural losses. The participants living in Johannesburg recognise the different ways they impact the city scape and contribute to the community.

6.1.2 Social media plugs

Participants reported discovering new Zimbabwean music mainly through social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp. They receive music notifications from dedicated artist profiles or media-run news and entertainment pages like ZimCelebs and Earground, as well as Facebook groups such as *mvenge mvenge*, named after a long-standing televised Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation musical programme. After engaging with social media, they turn to YouTube and Spotify for streaming and downloading. Social media platforms also make personalised recommendations that influence music access and choices; for instance, YouTube's algorithm predicts likely song choices based on listening trends. Although the study participants did not mention other streaming platforms, many exist and are in use, an area that warrants further investigation.

6.1.3 Lyrics or sound

During data analysis, I realised that it is the stories of my fellow Zimbabwean immigrants that truly shed light on the transformative role of music in promoting overall wellbeing. In my conversations with participants, I found that people relate to music in differing ways; be it through the lyrics as text or though the sonic properties. These preferences are not a demonstration of friction or opposition but rather expose the multifaceted immigrant experience. Both the sonic properties of the music and the lyrics convey limitless emotions and can deeply resonate with immigrants. However, a song's lyrics appear to

bear most prominence in the lives of immigrants for various reasons. Heather reflected that she settles for the lyrics on the following basis:

> I listen to music with words because I want those words to motivate me. For example, I listen to Killa T a lot. I do it to remind myself of why I am here. (Heather)

Heather's position to favour lyrics over the music is also held by Precious, who believes that a song is made to communicate a message. Hence, she listens to music for the messages within the texts.

> *Magitare kwave kunakidzwa kuti kana ichitambika yotambika. But pamalyrics ndopakakosha. It's the message that is in the song that matters. The message needs to be delivered whether its zvekumafaro, kuchema kana kukumbira.*
>
> Musical instruments enhance a song's aesthetic appeal, such that if it's a dance song, people can groove. However, the lyrics are more important. It's the message that is in the song that matters. The message needs to be delivered, whether its about happiness, crying, or pleading. (Precious)

Ephias also said:

> *Magitare inzira yakashandiswa nevaimbi kuti message yavo isvike. Vakasaisa magitare tingabhoekana. Kungava kuZim Dancehall kana kuSungura muimbi anenge ane message yake anenge achida kuti isvike.*
>
> Guitar accompaniment is a way used by musicians to package their music so that it is acceptable by their audiences. Musicians always have a message that they want to communicate, be it in Zim Dancehall or Sungura genre. (Ephias)

Precious and Ephias's sentiments suggest that musical lyrics influence more than song choices and expand a song's utility to more than enjoyment. Her views give credence to the direction that this study took to focus on how music fosters a sense of belonging in

their new environment and serves as an outlet for emotional expression, allowing immigrants to articulate their feelings of longing, joy, or sadness.

6.2 Functions of mediated music

This section explores the functional role that mediated music listening plays in engendering resilience among Zimbabwean immigrants. Superordinate themes relating to the subthemes include escape from daily stress; music companionship; and music, notstalgia and comfort.

6.2.1 Escape from daily stress

Perhaps one of the most noticeable roles of mediated music I found during data analysis is that it is a form of self-care, reducing the effect of daily stressors associated with struggles of immigrant life. For the Zimbabwean immigrants, listening to music works as distraction or diversion from negative or distressing thoughts, emotions, or situations in their everyday lives. Like most people, study participants find comfort and emotional support through listening to music. From my interactions with participants, it appears there really is no distinctively new role that listening to music plays except that the functions become more nuanced because of the circumstances caused by migration. However, it is those minute details that matter when studying a people's culture. Figure 5 on the following page presents a word mesh[32] generated from the participants' responses when they described the functional role of music, and how music affects them emotionally.

[32] This 'word mesh' is a combination of common words mentioned by the participants during interviews.

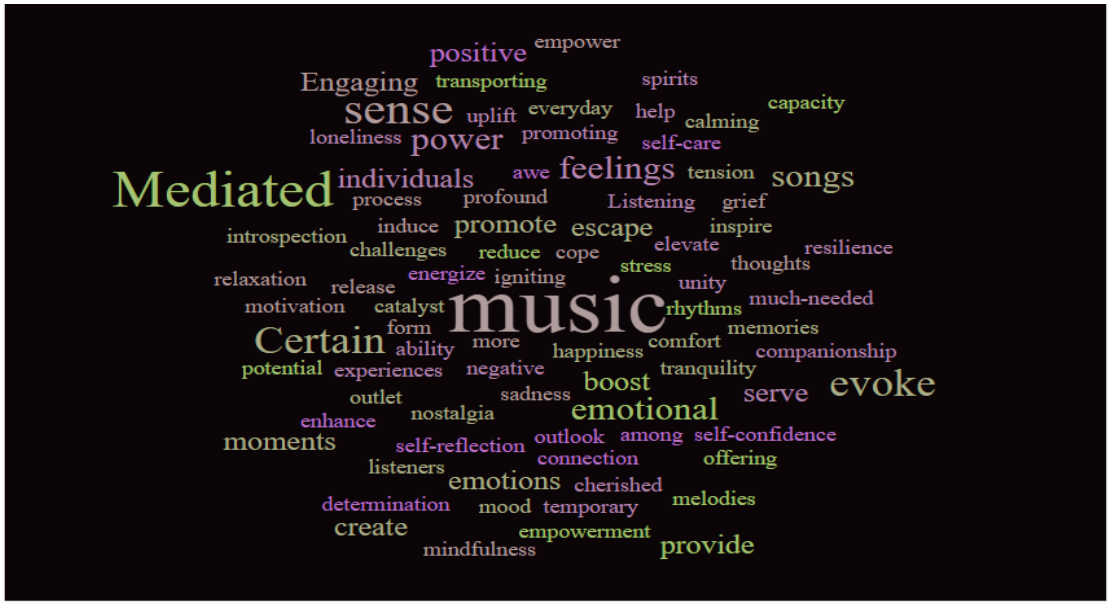

Figure 13: Word mesh – Participants describing the functional role of music

Zimbabweans generally have an incline towards the depth of song lyrics. Hence, I was not surprised when participants shared that listening to some song makes them feel understood and validated. Music allows them to express all human emotions they experience, including joy, laughter, happiness, and loneliness, as succinctly expressed by Heather who said “music is fluid”. This implies that music can evoke feelings of longing, loss, and homesickness, just as it stimulates happiness. Most Zimbabweans who migrate have the urge to remain attached to Zimbabwe or to carry the Zimbabwean identity. The intense nostalgic feelings raised by music are also sad reflections of cultural dislocation, symptomatic of failing to adapt to a new culture. In this sense, music allows immigrants to deal with the wide spectrum of emotions they experience.

I found that the research participants frequently reported lower life satisfaction in their host country compared to native resident, as many encounter a myriad of daily stressors that impact their wellbeing in different ways. It is important to note, however, that not all music or every aspect of a song provides the same level of companionship and comfort. While individuals have distinct preferences and emotional responses to music, the

contextual meanings of specific often make them particularly cherished. These meanings, including the lyrics, themes, and personal connections, significantly enhance the ability of certain songs to evoke a deeper sense of companionship and comfort. Notably, during the interviews, several songs were mentioned repeatedly, highlighting their special significance to the participants.

6.2.2 Music companionship

While the population Zimbabweans based in Johannesburg is increasing, some immigrants still find it difficult to make friends. Commenting on the space that mediated music occupies in her life, Precious said:

> *Ini hangu personally handisi someone anoti ndambobuda kumboenda kunosangana nevamwe. Mostly my every day is to [go] work, come back, work, come back. So, music is just me. Ndikadzokawo kumba ndoisa Bluetooth yangu, pandiri kubikawo ndoisa music and my day is done. You can say music is my friend chero ndakasuwa kana ndichifara. I put it all through music. Sometimes even when loneliness will not hit you, kana uchiteerera music yekumba. And you find kuti at times paunenge uchigara panenge pasinawo maZimbabweans and kubasa kunenge kusinawo maZimbabweans. So, the only time that you speak to in Shona ndepaunenge uchiteerera music yekumba.*
>
> Personally, I'm not a person who *goes out*[33]. My everyday routine is to go to work and come back home. I play music accompanying my chores like cooking and before I know it my day is done. You can say music is my friend…I put it all through music. Sometimes even when loneliness will not hit you when you are listening to music from home. At times you might be

[33] Precious lives an introverted lifestyle.

> living and staying with non-Zimbabweans. So, the only time that you speak to in Shona is when you listen to music from home. (Precious)

I found Precious's use of the metaphor 'music is my friend' to be profound and instructive. It speaks first to the changing dynamics of social relationships in the context of migration. Secondly, it highlights the important role that music plays in life in general and in particular, Precious's life. Of concern, though, is the latter where she speaks of the functional role of music as a surrogate friend. It became evident that for the participants, friendship is a sacred relationship; one of trust, vulnerability, and happiness. Heather poignantly describes the depth of friendship offered by music:

> If music was a person, it would be my partner. Music is my partner in the sense that it's there where it's, not like, all rosy. Well, I am talking about a well-functioning love. Music gives you space where you break down, where you are also come alive and share dreams and all sort of things, where you are also heard and seen. So, I felt like music saw me. (Heather)

She also added that:

> Music inopa community [music gives a community]. I think because *kana ndiri kumba* [when I am at home] I already have that community in my every day. I don't come back home to an empty house. I come back home to a cooked meal and my mother joking and embracing me, little Ano is there. Here, I come back to an empty house. So, the first thing I do when I get back home is put my bag down and play the music. It kills the emptiness, literally and otherwise. (Heather)

For both Precious and Heather, listening to music gives them the comfort and companionship they would normally expect from a friend, helping them through difficult times in a new environment. As emigrating disrupts social networks, it becomes difficult to build new relations of trust and reciprocity, therefore, listening to music provides consolation.

6.2.3 Nostalgia and comfort

Zimbabwean music holds a special place in the hearts and minds of the diaspora participants. Through listening to music, immigrants get an opportunity to deeply reflect and connect with themselves and their homeland in better ways than any other social activities such as conversations, could offer.

The participants that I interviewed described the music as a comforting embrace; a way to keep a part of Zimbabwe with them no matter where they are. This theme encapsulates the participants' strong emotional connection to the music from Zimbabwe, their homeland, and the impact it has on their experiences and perceptions of self in the diaspora. One of the research participants shared how he listens to Zimbabwean music for nostalgic purposes:

> *Ndinotereera music yekuden for nostalgia. Kuno hakusi kwedu. Music inondirangaridza kwandakabva plus kuti ndiri ani. Music yedu inotova netune yavo yekuti when I listen to it, I feel a strong sense of identity and belonging, even when I'm far away from home. Kungoziva ikoko kuti ndine kumba kwakakosha kunondipazororo mupfungwa. Pamwe tichadzokera tiri vapenyu, pamwe ndiri body bag. But ndine kumba.*
>
> I listen to music from home for nostalgia. This is not our home. Music reminds me of where I come from and who I am. Our music has distinct melodies, such that when I listen to it, I listen to it; I feel a strong sense of identity and belonging, even when I'm far away from home. Just knowing that I have a home is important, it eases my mental stresses. Maybe we will one day return home alive or will go back when dead. All the same, I have a home. (Bassman)

It is interesting to note that Bassman, a musician who regularly performs, also engages in mediated music listening which aids him in releasing stress and shaping his identity. Another participant remarked in the same vein:

> Being an immigrant in a different country can sometimes make you feel a bit detached from your homeland. By staying connected to my roots, I can retain a sense of who I am, where I come from. It makes me understand and appreciate my present more. (Pee)

Through their narratives, participants shared how listening to Zimbabwean music in Johannesburg transports them back to their childhoods and conjures images of family, community, and familiar landscapes. As such, when life becomes difficult in adopted homes, immigrants turn to music that reminds them of their original homes. This implies that music settles both a longing for home and a desire to comfortably assimilate and be accepted in their adopted homes.

However, the realities of the diaspora can give new meanings and importance to music. Life in the diaspora can be challenging, and some immigrants find solace in listening to music. In times of uncertainty, some Zimbabwean immigrants use music listening to remain self-motivated so that they are able to succeed economically, as described by Davidzo:

> *Ndichitaura ini not vamwe* [Speaking for myself], music gets me going. When I listen to Mambo Dhuterere's[34] music, it keeps me going. The lyrics, the message, everything. It really lifts someone's soul when things are down. Some situations that we go through here *unoita paunofunga kuti dai ndiri kumba* [make you wish you were at home], and at that point you, trust me, you will need music. Especially *kana usiri kuenda kubasa* [when you are unemployed]. (Davidzo)

I noticed a tendency among the participants to listen to music that has lyrics which resonate with their experiences and aspirations, validating their struggles and offering hope for better lives. Several participants referred to one of Mambo Dhuterere's songs entitled *Hamen Hlebann* (Dhuterere, 2021). In table 7 below, I present the song lyrics in

[34] Mambo Dhuterere is a celebrated Zimbabwean gospel artist and songwriter. Zim Profiles. https://zimprofiles.com/mambo-dhuterere-biography-2023

the left column, and the English translation thereof in the right column, after which I present the contextual meaning of the song as provided by research participant, Heather.

Table 7: Song lyrics of Hamen Hlebann

Original lyrics	English translation
Dai dzisiri nyasha dzake ane hushe iyi nyika yanga yatoramba.	Were it not for the Lord's grace, the evil of the earth was against me.
Kuti ndingoo suzumira ndisvikewo pavari iyo moyo yavo yairamba.	They would not afford me similar opportunities to theirs; I had no place in their hearts.
Nazvinoo vanongo sadharara vachida kundi turunura asika ropa raShe rinoramba.	They try with their might to destroy me up to date, but the blood of Jesus will not allow that.
Unonzwa voti 'ngaadzike uyo, ngaadzike mweya' waShe uchiramba.	You will hear them shout 'He should fail, he should fail!' But the Holy spirit says no.
Mumoyo voti ngaadzike uyo ngaadzike mweya waShe uchiramba	They are committed to my downfall. But, the Holy spirit says no!

For Heather, the above song primes her to work hard, even during times of uncertainty.

> When I listen to this music, I listen to it as a Zimbabwean who would have wanted to be home, but I am here. So, it is more at a personal level. I meditate about my life through music. Last year I was binging on Mambo Dhuterere. I was going through a spiritual awakening, and it was my go-to song. It helped me work hard and to anticipate the future. Music helps negotiate life and survival in a foreign land. (Heather)

The currency of song in fueling immigrants to work hard and to remain committed to purpose despite the hardships that might be faced in the context of migration was also shared by Ephias. For this, he had the following to say:

> *Kana zvinhu zvakandiomera ndoinda kwangu kuZim Dancehall kune song yaKilla T inoti hatina nguva yekuzorora pandinongoteerera song iyoyo inondipa simba rekunoshanda. Kana tichinge tawana basa chero rikanzi riri kurwadza ndotanga kushanda ndakamirira hangu rakanaka. Music inondipa simba rekunoshanda.* (Ephias)

> If I am going through a difficult phase I resort to Zim Dancehall music, especially to Killa T's song titled *Hatina nguva yekuzorora* [We have no time for resting]. That song energizes me to work. If I get a job, I do it no matter how strenuous it is while waiting for better opportunities. (Ephias)

The song *Hatina nguva yekuzorora* has poignant lyrics that speak to working hard to be successful. Ephias uses this same song to motivate himself. South Africa is facing economic challenges; however when faced with uncertainties and vulnerability, some Zimbabwean immigrants put their hope in prayer and hope that better days are coming (Chinyakata & Raselekoane, 2021). Hope is a currency that gets immigrants going and music fuels that hope. Listening to music gave gives participants upliftment and inspiration to persevere in their pursuit of the purpose that led them from leaving home.

6.3 Outcomes of mediated music

Data analysis indicated that listening to mediated music led to two specific outcomes, which are firstly remembering and recreating home; and secondly the musical meanings of wellbeing. These points are explained in the following subsections with verbatim quotes from the participants to verify these subthemes.

6.3.1 Remembering home, recreating home

Having established the impact of music when listened to alone in the previous section, I now turn my attention to exploring the effects of listening to music with other people in private spaces. The previous chapters on venues and performance practices have shown that Zimbabweans are not restricted by any law or by any xenophobes from meeting in public spaces and enjoying their culture. I wrote about how music and musicking

transforms and facilitates relationships and a sense of belonging at public venues, in what I called *kumba ngakuuye kuno.* This chapter also talks about *kumba* but in reference to family home or residence as opposed to country. The context of public spaces of entertainment is different from private spaces such as family residences or churches in terms of the quality of interactions, conversations, and relationships. Although music serves a similar function in private spaces, the difference is that the connections are deeper and safer, as explained by Heather:

> Always, when I visit my friends, they play Zimbabwean music. People just don't play English music. We recreate home […]. Recreating home is just saying: 'we are not home, but we bring the fundamentals that say home'. If there is *sadza* that is Zimbabwe, *nehigh firidzi kana nematemba*. So, we are bringing home in the space where we are [...]. Actually, on Friday, we were meeting to celebrate a friend's Master's [degree], and we ended up playing Urban Grooves music. *Paingoti pakarira 1 song wonzwa munhu akutaura nyaya yake* about that song [People shared memories of home every time a new song was played]. In that moment, we recreated home *chero taiva kuno* [even if we were far]. (Heather)

The shared experience of hearing familiar melodies, rhythms, and lyrics brings a collective sense of nostalgia. As the music plays, memories come flooding back, allowing them to momentarily escape the physical distance and immerse themselves in the sounds and stories of their homeland. It becomes a form of solace, offering comfort and a reminder of their past in Zimbabwe. Mhazi also thinks that listening to music at home and with friends plays a part in remembering home:

> When we play the music, we remember of the things that would happen when we were at home, and we get into discussing politics unprovoked. Music is a dialogue starter. People start very complex conversations with music. But also, we use it to neutralise very hard conversations. (Mhazi)

The above reflection from Mhazi indicates that shared music listening experiences facilitates dialogic conversations. Although South Africa has provided a home for

Zimbabweans, many remain deeplyu connected to their homeland and hope for improvements in its socio-economic and political conditions. Participants shared stories of listening to politically conscious music that evokes a strong sense of patriotism and inspires visions of returning to a better Zimbabwe. This music addresses the current challenges faced in Zimbabwe, reinforcing their attachment and aspiration for change.

One of the protests artists that was listened to by many of the participants during the time that I conducted this study was Winky D, especially his song, *Ijipita*. I engaged participants in a dialogue to unpack their understanding of *Ijipita* in the context of being immigrants. First, I present the lyrics and textual translation of the music.

Shona	**English translation**
Pandinomuka mangwanani	When I wake up in the morning.
Ndinozvitarisa pagirazi	I look at myself in the mirror.
Hakuna ini arinani	There is no better me.
Mangwana ngaasiyane nanhasi	May tomorrow be different from today.
Kutsvaga manake	I am in search of a better opportunities.
Kuti mhuri irarame	For the family to survive.
Aiwa harisi dambe	It's no joking matter.
Ndatemba tsoka rega ndifambe	I trust my feet let me walk.
Bvisai rima pamberi pangu	Remove evil on my path.
Isai chiyedza ndifambe zvangu	Light my path.
Hupenyu ndishande hwangu	I want to work for myself.
Ndakanda nhanho ndabvisa shangu	I making strides take off my shoes.
Ijipita, Ijipita	Egypt, Egypt
Bhabhai ndakukanda nhanho	Goodbye, I am leaving.
Canaan tapinda tapinda	Canaan, I am here.
Tavakusiya musha kufamba mamaira	We are leaving home to far away destinations.
Vakomana kuchikaira	Oh boy, tt's a hurdle!
Tavhunza zvirimberi hakuna adaira	We have asked what the future holds, no one has answered.
Totungamirwa nepasi, ndipe nhekwe iya	We are guided by spirit mediums, hand me snuff.

Zvinodzimba asi rega ndireve *Ukasadikitira hauseve* *Tavakutsvaga zvakafa zvega* *Kuvhima kweasina uta nemuseve* *Ndoenda ndoenda* *Ndoenda ndega kusina mhai*	It's tough, but let me say it: If you do not sweat you won't eat. We are hunting for dead animals like a hunter who does not have a bow and an arrow. I am going, I am leaving. I am leaving alone to a place where there is no family.

For Precious, Winky D's song *Ijipita* is a prayer for hope, evident from her words below:

> *Ndikateereta Ijipita* (If I listen to *Ijipita*), it is just our everyday life. It really hits deep, especially the first part. We are hoping that our country will be able to contain us back. So, when I listen to that song, I am going to reach Canaan and I will be with my family. (Precious)

In reference to how *Ijipita* speaks to the political environment in Zimbabwe and her circumstances in South Africa, Raina said the following:

> *Nhamo inoita kuti titize muZimbabwe, tichicrosser border kuuya kuno kuSouth vamwewo vachienda kunana Botswana. Song iyi ukanyatsoiterera uri kure nekumba inogona kukuchemedza. Matamabudziko atinoona nekuda kwekungoti tiri kure nekumba akawandisa. But hatigoni kudzokera zvisina plan. Biggy vakapinda deep. That song is too much!*
>
> We ran away from poverty in Zimbabwe, crossing over into South Africa, while others went to Botswana. This song will make you cry if you listen to it intently while you are far from home. The challenges we face every day a lot. But we cannot just go back home without a plan. That song is too much! (Raina)

Through music, the Zimbabwean participants find a space to connect and allow their collective imagination to flourish as they envision a positive change in their homeland. Participants shared that listening to music, especially with friends at barbeques or any other related private events, leads to revisiting old memories of their homeland while also

igniting their imagination for a new and better Zimbabwe. It is important to note that conversations of a political nature are not always top of the agenda whenever Zimbabweans meet. However, music invites the topics and provides a soundtrack for reflections on the challenges in Zimbabwe and at times they discuss ways to address them. Even though this agency and empowerment does not necessarily lead to organised actions listening to music in shared intimate spaces has mobilising effect. For Sabe, one of the research participants, music facilitates a recollection of his childhood memories in Zimbabwe, bringing a present joy in imagining how his surviving parent spends his days in retirement.

> There is a time when you really miss home. *Inini* [I] personally, when I miss home, I play Simon Chimbetu. My father was one of [his] biggest fans. Everyday *tichikura daddy vasiri kuenda kubasa vachiita* gardening *yavo paden tinenge tichiteerera* Simon Chimbetu. *Ukanzwa ndakuridza* Simon Chimbetu *ziva kuti ndafunga kumba*. I have been here for 8, 7 years *handisati ndadzokera kumba*. So, that thought yekuti I really need to see my family catches up with me I play Simon Chimbetu. The only parent who is at home is my father because my mother is late, so when I listen to Simon Chimbetu, I will be also seeing him dancing. (Sabe)

Sabe is not the only one who is reminded of his past experiences in Zimbabwe through music, and certainly, music helps him to imagine life in Zimbabwe at present.

6.3.2 Musical meanings of wellbeing

Most Zimbabweans living in South Africa are either in the country illegally, or are under the Zimbabwe exemption permit. Though they are protected by law, the label that they are illegal and undocumented carries with it a burden of unwantedness, limiting their ability to exercise their rights (Mafa et al., 2021, p. 283). Appealing music offers support during precaritus times, providing temporary respite from the hardships of being considered ‘unwanted illegal immigrants’ by the law. It allows individuals to find strength and connection within a community of fellow music enthusiasts. Listening to music from

home, especially tracks that are sung in vernacular languages, has the effect of lifting their spirits and bringing hope and comfort during challenging times. Turning to music allows them to shift their attention from daily stressors, redirecting their mental energy to issues and tasks they can deal with. As such, mediated music becomes a source of motivation, sparking feelings of determination and self-confidence. It also builds resilience, providing an outlet for emotional release and promoting overall wellbeing.

6.4 Discussion of theme 2 – Role of mediated music for Zim immigrants

The process of migration often presents various socio-cultural and psychological challenges for immigrants. Bhugra (2004) posits that biological, psychological, and social vulnerabilities increase immigrants' susceptibility to poor wellbeing. However, cultural practices such as music, have been recognised as instrumental in promoting wellbeing and enhancing a sense of belonging among immigrant communities. Similar to the xenophonic environment I observed during site visits and the positive role of music in the everyday lives of Zimbabwean immigrants, Västfjäll et al. (2012) found that music-making-and-listening activities regulate emotions and stress in volatile economic contexts.

An important factor emerging from data analysis is the resilience I observed in the participants of this study is informed by Theron et al. (2013), who regard resilience as a "positive adaptation in the face of adversity" (p. 2). I draw a link between resilience and wellbeing on the basis that both point to the ability to do well in challenging times. A key finding I discovered during data analysis was that participants'resilience are both highly subjective and deeply connected to social factors. Their engagement in musical activities enables them to tap into their emotions, thoughts, and desires, providing a channel for self-discovery and personal development. Similar to the findings of the current study, Slobin (1994) found that music's role is "central to the diasporic experience, linking the homeland and the here land through an intricate network of sound" (p. 243). Stokes (1997) argues that music is a key social practice to guide and comfort immigrants during the process.

- **Discussion – Choosing mediated music**

Familiar musical sounds can maintain connections between the original and adopted homes. Similarly, Kyker (2013, p. 263) the diaspora audience has a longing for familiar sounds of home. As the current study found, other researchers recognise that nostalgia and comfort are some of the prime functions of listening to mediated music. (Clarke et al., 2-15; Schäfer & Eerola, 2020; Schäfer et al, 2020).

The ubiquity of music is undeniable; the different musics individuals listen to provide a soundtrack to their lives. However, it is also to be expected that, like every cultural activity, music changes. Some of these changes can be minimal yet significant. For example, Zimbabweans have a tendency to change song lyrics while the structure and form of the song remain the same, a "functional metamorphosis of song and dance" (Mutero, 2018). Such a metamorphosis may imply that context changes the social function of music. United States-based Zimbabwean musician, Zivanai Masango, for example, gave an elaborate recall and meaning of the song *Tozivepi*, on his YouTube channel:

> When I was in primary school, this song was a major hit on Radio 2 in Zimbabwe. They played it every morning without fail. I would stall and stall as I waited for it to be played before I left the house for school. Lucky enough, my school was a five-minute run from our place. *Tozivepi*, by the Zimbabwe Stars, is in the top three of my most favourite songs in the whole wide world! The song is the voice of a parent, advising their child as he moves to the big city. They tell him to stay focused on his goal and warn him of all the glittery things in the city which could easily sweep him away, and the dangers of the party life. I remember singing this song to myself when I took the 30-hour journey from Harare to New York in February 2004 with just a backpack and the clothes I was wearing... not knowing what exactly was in store for me in America. Although I had previously done two American Tours with bands, it was different this time because I was completely on my own.
>
> (Masango, 2020)

Masango is one of many people connected to Zimbabwe who have been assisted to settle in an adopted country through music. Similarly, song lyrics are important in postcolonial societies as they allow people to be and to voice, even if it means using vulgar language (Mbembe, 2001).

- **Discussion – Functions of mediated music**

Extant literature shows that mediated music helps immigrants to improve their well-being by negotiating and developing new identities (Condé, 2021; Henderson et al., 2016; Lidskog, 2016). The nostalgic feelings the study participants revealed when describing their experiences of listening to mediated music resonates with van der Tol and Giner-Sorolla (2017), who explain that "music is a versatile and effective tool to regulate emotions" (p. 3). The liberty of choosing which songs to listen to adds to the suppleness of music, allowing Zimbabwean immigrants to express and process their feelings in many ways.

For Stone and Mackie (2013), "subjective well-being" (p. 1) is a term describing how individuals assess and evaluate their own lives, encompassing various aspects of their experiences, relationships, and circumstances, be they positive or negative. DeNora (2016) posits that music, as a cultural practice, can serve as a form of 'asylum', offering relief from distress and creating a space where individuals can thrive. She emphasises that musicking plays a crucial role in the formation of the self, providing both a physical and personal refuge. Physically, musicking offers a place where individuals can engage in the act of making or experiencing music. On a personal level, it becomes a mode of self-expression and a way to experience oneself in the world. The participants in this study echo these ideas, suggesting that musicking helps them navigate challenges and manage daily stressors, aligning with the findings of van der Merwe et al. (2022).

There are pockets of Zimbabwean immigrants based in South Africa who feel empty and lonely, who miss the companionship of family and friends (Moyo, 2021). This contradicts other researchers' findings that suggest immigrants settle as communities and rely on social networks to either travel to or settle in destination countries (Kazemipur, 2006; Muanamoha et al., 2010). This implies that relationships based on bonds of kinship and

friendship cannot consistently be replicated in destination countries and that physical proximity to other Zimbabweans does not necessarily translate to friendships. Amin (2002), for example, observed that proximity on its own is not enough to create transformative relationships and social transformation. The current study findings confirm Chekero and Morreira's (2020) results who established that friendship – known as hushamwari in Shona or or ubungane in isiNdebele – plays a pivotal role in the lives of immigrants, and that firendship shapes the connections that immigrants use to adapt and facilitate resilience. Social science research indicates that the current timeframe is one of liquid modernity, where young people and older people alike are interested in fleeting moments and invest less in nurturing interpersonal relationships (Bauman, 2012; Rehman & Hodgson, 2021). Unfortunately, compromised social connections adversely impact human well-being, underscoring the pivotal role music plays in fulfilling essential health and social functions, albeit in a surrogate capacity.

The participants in this study's experiences give credence to the view posed by van den Tol and Edwards (2011), namely that listening to mood-congruent music alone can provide a sense of companionship, understanding, and comfort, akin to having a friend by one's side, especially during moments of sadness. Similarly, Schäfer et al. (2020) posit that "private music listening can convey the sense of the presence of another person […] and can also function as a form of social encounter" (p. 3).

The study findings indicate that emigrating disrupts social networks. For some people it becomes difficult to build new relations of trust, reciprocity, and active listening associated with friendships. The well-known phrase, 'familiarity breeds contempt', suggests that knowing someone too well can lead to a loss of respect. In contrast, McPherson et al. (2001) posit that "similarity breeds connection" (p. 415). This principle of homophily – the tendency of individuals who associate with others of the same kind – structures various network connections, such as "friendship, work, advice, support, information transfer, exchange, comembership, and other types of relationships" (p. 415). Stokes (1997) proposes that music plays a crucial role in the various ways humans "relocate" (p. 3) themselves. This may involve group dancing or listening to music in a

shared space, corresponding to the the participants in this study who perceived as a current experience of place “unmatched by any other social activity” (Stokes, 1997, p. 3).

Mhishi (2017) notes how Zimbabweans in the United Kingdom turn to music for the construction of diasporic being and belonging. As for the current study participants, Zimbabweans based in the United Kingdom experience music as a powerful link to their roots, bringing back cherished memories and reminding them of home (Kyker, 2013). There are correlations in the findings for participants who are both musicians and listeners to mediated music – they seem to experience the same emotions when musicking as when they are listening. Hearing familiar Zimbabwean music in a delocalised context enables immigrants to remain connected to home through memories and emotions. It appears that music brings nostalgic memories and identities that make it comfortable to settle in adopted homes. Gibbs and Egermann (2021, p. 2) posit that music can be nostalgic, inducing a wistful and positive affection for memories of the past. What is key to note here is that the memories can be from a time gone by, but the pleasant affective quality is felt in the present.

Remembering Zimbabwe through music allowed the participants to curate a memory of home that they chose to remember. Music allows immigrants to create memories that they choose and can bear with even when they are from a traumatic past (Baffoe, 2010, p. 10). Therefore, despite the situation that might have led some participants to leave Zimbabwe, music provides a coping mechanism. Differently put, listening to music is used by people to help them relax and calm down. Boym (2008, p. xiii) posits that “Nostalgia is not merely an expression of local belonging, but a result of a new understanding of time and space that made the division into “local” and “universal” possible”. Implied here is that the nostalgia elicited by music allows immigrants to reconnect with their personal history and experiences, leading to a better understanding of themselves both in the present moment and in relation to their past.

Diaspora life often involves grappling with a mix of cultural, social, and personal influences, where individuals may experience a sense of belonging to multiple places or struggle with conflicting cultural values, norms, or expectations (Sebaihi & Cheroun, 2022). The journeys and settling from one country to another has its complexities that are

not often observable because the struggles happen in the mind and the soul. Faced with these circumstances, music provides a platform for introspection and get in touch with one's emotions and experiences.

Listening to music provides a means to either negotiate, reconcile, or navigate the different and, at times, confusing impulses that arise in diaspora life. These are by no means new roles that suddenly come up in the diaspora; music always has functional roles that are situational or context-specific. However, the diaspora's realities can give music new meanings and importance.

- **Discussion – Outcomes of mediated music**

My findings revealed that many of the participants listened to Winky D's music, particularly his song *Ijipita*. At the same time of data collection, this song attracted critical scholarly attention for its salience in exposing poor governance and dictatorship in Zimbabwe (Bwanya, 2020; Khan, 2021; Maguraushe et al., 2022). The comments made by two of the research participants, Raina and Precious, are echoed by several Zimbabwean scholars who have done a contextual analysis of the song, *Ijipita* (Gukurume, 2022). Maguraushe et al. (2022, p. 222) conclude that it is a lamentation track highlighting the Zimbabwean crisis which has no end in sight, symbolising the plight faced by many who have left Zimbabwe in search of greener pastures abroad. This song captures the collective sentiments of many ordinary Zimbabweans who yearn for a better life, free of economic challenges and incessant political bickering that have affected the country since the year 2000.

The wish for a better Zimbabwe has been longstanding as "Zimbabweans in the diaspora have lived with the eternally prolonged expectation that an end to the political and economic 'crisis' was looming" (Worby, 2010, p. 421). Listening to music from their homeland helps Zimbabweans sustain their hopes for change, as the memories evoked by the music offer a journey into both in their present and past selves. Landau (2011) suggests that the music one listens to as a child may seem unimportant and unappreciated at the time, but as one gets older, especially during migratory journeys, that music takes on significant meaning.

Zimbabwe has a history of political tensions and silencing dissenting voices. Most citizens are afraid of speaking out against both the sitting President Emmerson Mnangagwa and the leading opposition party leader, Nelson Chamisa. The President came into power after a military coup, resulting in a systematic shift of politics from the public sphere to a security-driven process that instilled fear in the citizens (Moore, 2018; Ruhanya & Gumbo, 2022). The current study findings align with the perspective offered by Mutero and Kaye (2019), who propose that music facilitates the transformation of political conflicts in Zimbabwe, allowing neighbourly and harmonious relations in everyday spaces.

Listening to mediated music from Zimbabwe is a conduit for reconnecting with their past and settling in a new environment. Finnegan (2007) supports this position, saying that "musical experience belongs not just to the musical work, composer, or accredited 'expert', but also, crucially, to the variegated audiences" (p. 188). This suggests that the meaning and significance of music are not solely determined by its creator or experts but are also shaped by the audiences who interpret, experience and assign personal meanings to the music they encounter.

The absence of one dominant genre in the diaspora mirrors the situation in Zimbabwe as observed by music critic, Argus Mepo for Earground media. Mepo (2022) observed that "with the inception of the Covid-19 pandemic it seems as if the odds have been shifting even in musical spaces. As we speak, no genre is owning the ground, it's no longer about the dominant genre but it is now all about good music" (par. 4 & 5). It appears that the listening patterns among immigrants parallel the patterns in Zimbabwe.

6.5 Summary

This chapter explored the role of mediated music listening as an important medium through which immigrants navigate everyday challenges and celebrate life in the midst of complexities associated with immigration. The choices that individuals make to listen to particular songs enable a deeper understanding of how immigrants are connected to both their original and adopted homes, and how they are negotiating identity, wellbeing, and life. While individual preferences of songs and artists vary, the utilitarian role of

music, especially familiar sounds and lyrics, does not necessarily change. If anything, the diaspora heightens the need for mediated music listening experiences and provides evidence that listening to music improves wellbeing.

In the final chapter, a summary of the whole thesis and answers to the research questions are provided. Finally, recommendations for future research and a conclusion to the study are provided.

Chapter 7:

Summary, recommendations and conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary and conclusion of the study, addressing the research questions, acknowledging the study's limitations, and offering recommendations for future research. The study aimed to discover the role of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in negotiating their urban space and establishing a new home in Johannesburg. By exploring music-related cultural aspects, this research investigated what Zimbabwean communities may have lost, gained, or re-appropriated in South Africa. I used music as an entry point to understanding Zimbabwean immigrants contributions to culture, placemaking, and negotiating a new sense of home in Johannesburg. Engaging with these musical practices offered a glimpse into understanding key areas, such as placemaking, ethnic sociocommerscapes, social bonding, and the well-being of Zimbabwean immigrants in their new environment.

7.2 Answering the research questions

This study was grounded on the premise that the research questions address how Zimbabwean immigrants contribute to placemaking in Johannesburg through musicking. The following section summarises the research findings using the sub-questions as guides.

7.2.1 Sub-question 1

What musicking, music consumption, and music production strategies do Zimbabwean immigrants use as placemaking tools?

Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg participate in the processes of making and consuming music at different social gatherings, reinforcing their cultural identity,

strengthening social cohesion, and fostering a sense of belonging in their new urban context. Findings show that Zimbabwean immigrants engage in music-making and consumption experiences in ways that create memorable events and foster deepened attachment to both their original home in Zimbabwe and their adopted home in Johannesburg. They have established ethnic sociocommerscapes such as *kwaChikwanha* and *Macanudo* Lounge, which serve dual purposes as places of commerce and social interaction for Zimbabweans. Zimbabwean music in Johannesburg, like in their home country, is a melting pot of different musical styles and traditions. The musicians I interacted with during this study are heavily influenced by the musical cultures and artists from Zimbabwe. The audience is also very diverse, but a common thread is that many perform and consume Zimbabwean music in spaces frequented by their compatriots.

In these sociocommerscapes, Zimbabwean immigrants engage in activities that help build and strengthen social relationships through the consumption of music. At *kwaChikwanha*, for example, patrons buy Zimbabwean brands of alcohol and food, which they share while listening to music. In Zimbabwean culture, sharing is a sign of social connectedness, reflected in the Shona proverb *hukama igasva hunozadziswa nekudya*, meaning relationships are incomplete without sharing food. However, what is shared in these spaces extends beyond food. People share a common appreciation of music, exchange stories, and spend quality time together.

The findings indicate that music production strategies vary based on genre, age, and the purpose of the music. The creation and performance of Zim Dancehall music in South Africa reflect the social context experienced by young Zimbabweans. Zim Dancehall has fostered a subculture among youthful immigrants. Although musicians often produce music in poorly equipped backyard studios, this not a significant drawback as the genre relies heavily on computer-generated music and does not require live bands. These studios and performances serve as spaces for social interaction, where musicians, most of whom are semi-professional, connect with their fans through a shared love of music, good food, alcohol, drugs, and sexual activity.

Zimbabwean immigrants also make adaptations of traditional music genres, redefining the popular music scape among their compatriots in Johannesburg. Venues such as

Macanudo Lounge provide a platform for Zimbabwean alternative music to thrive in Johannesburg. Musicians and patrons who meet at Macanudo Lounge have an affinity towards music inspired by Zimbabwean traditional music and live band performances. Regardless making the music using both Zimbabwean indigenous and western instruments, respondents believe that the traditional music connect them to ancestors. As such findings also show that alternative music is used to reify a solid conception of Zimbabweaness rooted in tradition. Zimbabweans hold on to their traditions in order to avoid a complete cultural reset using the venue and music as a conduit to the past or the perceived indigenous ways of being.

7.2.2 Sub-question 2

In what ways do these musicking strategies allow Zimbabwean immigrants to fit into the new urban context?

The study findings show that Zimbabwean immigrants use music as a tool to mediate social connections and building diasporic communities. Music acts as a territorial marker, with Zimbabweans establishing and supporting venues that reflect their musical preferences. Studios and venues like *kwaChikwanha* and *Macanudo* Lounge function not only as places for creating and enjoying music, but also as social hubs for Zimbabweans seeking to assert their independence and presence in South Africa. The activities at *kwaChikwanha,* for instance, provide immigrants with access to and consumption of Zimbabwean-made products, including music, commodities, and social interactions, that help satisfy their longing for home.

This study has shown that musicking provides Zimbabweans a platform for both social transactions and livelihoods in Johannesburg. Music venues, studios, and musical performances are instrumental in fostering social relationships and facilitating economic collaborations among musicians, music promoters, and audiences. Through these musical activities, participants temporarily shift their focus away from the pursuit of economic opportunities, allowing them to engage in social interactions. Participating in musicking activities in various settings such as churches, bars, restaurants, and studios, where group

consumption of music takes place, helps to build networks and a sense of community for immigrants in an unfamiliar urban environment. New arrivals often meet and expand their connections with fellow compatriots at music shows and clubs where music plays a central role.

7.2.3 Sub-question 3

How do Zimbabwean immigrants perceive socio-economic and living environments in Johannesburg influencing' their consumption, production, and reproduction of music?

The study suggests that music can be a powerful tool for understanding the multi-layered and complex social dynamics of immigrant communities. Generational differences and the inclination toward permanent residence significantly influence cultural consumption, production, and its impact on the city of Johannesburg. The older generation of Zimbabwean immigrants tends to be more conservative, gravitating towards live bands and music venues where they can sit and fully appreciate a musical performance. Consequently, there is a robust market for alternative music. Musicians in this genre are not widely recognised and often perform renditions of songs by Zimbabwean music legends such as Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo, and Marshal Munhumumwe, among others.

Conversely, young immigrants are more experimental and have an affinity towards urban pop-music, Zim Dancehall being the major genre. Some of the musicians, like Baroness, claim that the South African economy makes it possible for novice musicians to negotiate their way in the local music sector with very few hurdles. Additionally, the economic opportunities available to immigrants in South Africa provide them with disposable income, enabling them to invest in music and entertainment. In contrast, Zimbabwe's struggling economy leads many young people to pursue music as a low-barrier profession; however, despite the intense competition, the market is limited.

The consumption of music extends beyond live shows for participants. Though online radio is available, many immigrants lack access to Zimbabwean radio stations. Instead, they discover and consume new music through social media platforms such as ZimCelebs, Earground, and the Facebook group *Mvenge Mvenge*[35], named after a former Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation music programme that has been airing on national television for decades. Additionally, participants utilise YouTube and Spotify for both streaming and downloading music. They also share music via WhatsApp, a platform requiring minimal data usage for music downloads. Through streaming platforms and smartphones, immigrants, and by extension others with access, curate personal music libraries and playlists that allow them to enjoy their preferred music at their convenience.

The study findings revealed that the musicking activities of immigrants serve as a coping mechanism in response to the socio-economic challenges they face. The consumption patterns of mediated music are in many ways related the everyday experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg. They use mediated music to navigate everyday challenges and celebrate life in the face of the complexities associated with their status as immigrants. The listening choices Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg make reflect how they are connected to both their original and adopted homes, and how they are negotiating their identity and life in general. Musicians also turn to music to express their experiences of life in Johannesburg as well as their hopes and aspirations for a better life.

7.2.4 Sub-question 4

In what ways do immigrant cultural consumption and music production contribute to the character and urban identity of Johannesburg?

Zimbabwean immigrants play a vital role in shaping the character and urban identity of Johannesburg by contributing to diversity, artistic expression, community building, and

[35] "Mvenge Mvenge Tv is a channel that promotes African music in general and Zimbabwean and Southern music in particular covering various genres."
https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC8eyo5jOT7cd30aCL-zvzxg

the cultural vibrancy of the city. Zimbabweans' cultural productions in Johannesburg presents a stark difference to the overly publicised narratives of urban poverty and xenophobia. Xenophobia and poverty are big challenges that require urgent attention. But the placemaking and musicking activities of Zimbabwean immigrants contributes to the branding and identity of Johannesburg as a melting pot of African cultures. The deep mapping of music and musicking activities carried out in this study shows a different reality and another way of exploring African cities.

The music venues, recording studios, and shopping precincts that Zimbabweans access and use to perform their music work as platforms of community building among Zimbabwean immigrants and with the broader Johannesburg population. Findings show that the time people spend together and enjoy music helps them connect at a personal level. Some develop relationships that go beyond music consumption and production. The *kwaChikwanha* sociocommerscape is, therefore, a window to Zimbabwe in South Africa, influencing the social fabric of the city of Johannesburg.

Zimbabweans have managed to manipulate music to find new ways of being and connecting in South Africa. The musicking informed urban sociability of Zimbabwean immigrants at *kwaChikwanha* produces a strong sense of belonging and ownership, giving an identity and character to place. Just as monocotyledonous plants[36] are characterised by their single embryonic leaf and parallel leaf veins, immigrants in the city can be seen as having a unified drive or singular focus that guides their integration and adaptation process. Like the fibrous root system of monocots, immigrants establish widespread connections within their new environment, creating a supportive network that helps them thrive despite scattered beginnings. This analogy draws on the defining features of monocot plants to highlight the resilience, unity, and adaptability of immigrant communities in a new urban setting. However, the flowering of urban life in Johannesburg is not 'monocotyledonous'; instead, the presence of people from other countries including Zimbabwe contribute to the shaping of the city's unique local culture.

[36] Monocotyledonous plants or monocots are flowering plants that have only one seed leaf when it geminates. They typically have leaves with paralell veins. (Encyclopaedia Britannica).

Johannesburg, being an international hub, attracts businesses, individuals, and cultures from across the globe. The involvement of Zimbabwean immigrants in cultural activities, particularly music production and consumption, enriches the cultural tapestry of the city. Zimbabwean immigrants also contribute to the religious landscape of Johannesburg, embracing the mbira as a symbol of African traditional religion. Furthermore, independent African churches of Zimbabwean origin not only contribute to the music scene but also shape the religious environment, fostering a multicultural and religiously tolerant atmosphere in the city. Importantly, the research findings indicate that the engagement of Zimbabwean immigrants in music production and consumption across various spaces enhances their visibility within Johannesburg and challenges negative stereotypes associated with the city's reputation for xenophobia.

7.3 Limitations

While I collected valuable data showing great insights about Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg, the study had its limitations. Zimbabweans from various walks of life and tribes now reside in South Africa. None of them is more Zimbabwean than the other. That presented a problem with having a representative sample. I could not possibly have a cross-section of Zimbabweans. Nonetheless, the results present contextual meanings steeped in everyday activities and conversations of a select group of Zimbabweans based in Johannesburg. In addition, the ethnographic design I employed captured a snapshot of Zimbabwean contributions to musicking and placemaking.

7.4 Recommendations

Media coverage of Zimbabwe-South Africa migration often portrays South Africa as a deeply xenophobic country. Academic discourse also frequently focuses on migration patterns, typically depicting them as a crisis. It seems that challenges in migration garner more academic and media attention than successes. However, this narrative presents an incomplete picture of immigrant life in South Africa. This study aimed to humanize immigrants' stories and experiences, demonstrating how marginalised individuals contribute to the cultural diversity and socioeconomic landscape of Johannesburg.

Currently, cultural performances and music by immigrants receive little media attention. Yet, there is an opportunity for the media to reshape public perceptions of immigrants and counter xenophobic narratives by showcasing positive representations of immigrant cultures and their contributions to the local music scene and economy.

Zimbabweans and by extension all immigrant communities in Johannesburg bring unique cultures, creative business, and diversity to the city. However, these musics and cultures are not static and might be different for each subgroup of the immigrant population within, and between cities. A plethora of factors can contribute to the differences of how immigrants' music and musicking shapes, and is shaped by, the host community. Nevertheless, all the important lessons can be gleaned from these population differences and spatial variances. There is a need to conduct further comparative analyses of immigrant music and musicking practices across different cities in South Africa. Potentially, studying the different musics and musicking practices of immigrants can foster cultural integration as well as contribute to a broader understanding of urban dynamics.

Future research could employ a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative ethnographic studies with quantitative surveys to capture both the lived experiences of immigrant musicians and broader demographic trends to strengthen policy relevance. Methodologically guided by frameworks like Social Network Analysis, these studies could be longitudinal to track the social and economic impact and changes of music in communities over time. Moreover, participatory action research could engage immigrant communities directly in the research process, ensuring that their voices inform policy recommendations. These studies could inform the development of municipal and national cultural policies that are more inclusive of immigrant cultural expressions.

Evidence-based policy recommendations could advocate for the creation of multicultural performance spaces, grants for immigrant artists, and programmes that promote cultural integration. Music helps immigrants to stay connected with their compatriots and it improves relational wellbeing. This study offers qualitative evidence of the role of that music plays in helping immigrants to navigate everyday challenges and complexities associated with immigration. However, conventional research suggests that wellbeing is

a psychological domain almost relegating music scholars to the periphery of their own practice. Research that builds evidence and theory on the impact of music on wellbeing and providing academic insights for the development of culturally sensitive policies and interventions would fill an urgent gap in the literature.

7.5 Conclusion

This study concludes that, despite the numerous challenges faced by Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg such as xenophobia, they have successfully found ways to make and consume their music, enabling them to forge new identities and connections. The widespread focus on social adversities often overshadows the positive impact that immigrants' music and musical activities have in shaping the identity and character of Johannesburg, especially in sociocommerscapes in the city.

Participants in this study demonstrate how music allows them to express their cultural identity and negotiate a sense of belonging. They navigate an unfamiliar environment through music, creating a personal sense of place in Johannesburg. This engagement with music, in various forms of participation, contributes to creating a multicultural city where people from different backgrounds can make, consume, and share their cultural heritage. Therefore, promoting policies that validate and support immigrant cultural experiences is essential. These efforts can foster spaces contributing to a vibrant cultural community, celebrating diversity and nurturing everyday citizenship. Music and musical activities can enhance the sense of community and connection among people from different cultures, contributing to the vibrancy and identity of the city.

Listening to Zimbabwean music with fellow Zimbabweans at places specially curated for that plays an important role in shaping the cultural landscape of Johannesburg. Arguably, the creation of spaces where Zimbabwean traditional music is featured and celebrated, venue owners and musicians are contributing to creating a vibrant cultural community that celebrates diversity and embraces different forms of expression. The only shortfall, in my view, is that these spaces are still ethnic enclaves, attracting mostly Zimbabweans. Yet, musicking can bring together people from different backgrounds and cultures, fostering a sense of community and connection.

One of the research participants shared her view of music's role in immigrants' lives, a fitting conclusion to this study.

I am here, I am a foreigner...
Music helps me locate myself in this place and reminds me what I am here for!

(Precious)

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Appendix A: Semi-structured interview guide

Section A: Introduction

Note to self in researcher's role: Take time to introduce myself and explain the purpose of the study. Allow the key informant to ask questions for clarification. Ask for the verbal consent and ask participant to fill in the consent form before conducting the interview.

Section B: Interview Questions

General questions about personal experiences as a Zimbabwean in Johannesburg

1. What informed your musical tastes and lifestyle before you came to South Africa?
2. What cultural practices were part of your life in Zimbabwe?
3. What role does music play in your life now, as an immigrant in South Africa?
4. How have your Zimbabwean roots influenced the music space in Johannesburg?
5. How do you think your music-making practices have influenced the space where you live in Johannesburg?
6. How do you access music in Johannesburg?
7. What forms of communication do you use to connect with other music consumers?
8. What influences your music choices?
9. How has the Johannesburg environment influenced your production and consumption of music?

Experiences attending musical shows in Johannesburg

1. What kind of events do you attend?
   Probes: Music shows, music performances, community gatherings, church or religious gatherings
2. What is the role of music at these gatherings or events?
3. Who introduced you to these venues or events? Please describe.
   Probes: Was it a fellow Zimbabwean, an immigrant from another country, or a local

citizen? Was there more than one person who invited you to these events? How did the person/persons introduce you to the venues and events?

4. How long did it take you to adapt to the environment at these musical events? Please describe this process.
5. How do the practices at these musical events differ from those you participated in and attended in Zimbabwe?
6. Are there some practices done in Johannesburg that you have adopted in your own musical performances and activities? If so, please describe.
7. What attracts you to the spaces where you can listen to music?
   Probes: Connecting to others, participating in music-making.
8. What other activities happen at these venues?
9. Is there anything distinctively Zimbabwean that happens at these gatherings? If so, please describe.
10. How do you establish relationships with other attendees at these gatherings?
11. What is the nature of these relationships?
12. What kind of music is played at these gatherings?
13. What influences the music choices at these gatherings?
    Probes: Performing musicians themselves, other musicians, audience members, media, popular music culture in Johannesburg, community members.
14. How do you influence music choices at such musical gatherings?

Music and Placemaking

1. In what ways – if any – do you think your presence in Johannesburg has influenced the locals? Please explain.
2. How do you – as a Zimbabwean immigrant – experience the work environment in Johannesburg? Please describe your experiences.
3. What are the challenges you face as a Zimbabwean immigrant in a South African city?
   Probes: Work environment, social gatherings, religious gatherings, musical events.
4. How do you navigate such challenges that might arise due to your nationality?
   Probes: Work environment, social gatherings, religious gatherings, musical events.

5. What is your view of community gatherings and musical experiences in the wider context of Johannesburg as a city?
   Probes: Economic aspects, urban space.

Music and social integration

1. Since coming to South Africa, have you shared music or attended a musical show with one or more non-Zimbabweans? Please explain.
2. What were these experiences? Please explain.
3. What are your views regarding the social impact of such activities?
4. What are your other thoughts and ideas about your experiences and activities as a Zimbabwean musician in Johannesburg?

Note to self in researcher's role: Ask the participant if there are any further questions about the research process, and explain that they will be able to view the transcripts for feedback regarding the accuracy thereof. Thank the participant for taking part in the research.

Appendix B: Focus group discussion guide

1. What role does music play in your life as an immigrant?
2. How do you access music in Johannesburg?
3. How has the Johannesburg environment influenced your consumption of music?
4. What kinds of events or social gatherings do you attend?
5. What is the role of music at these gatherings?
6. What attracts you to the spaces where you can listen to music?
7. What other activities happen at those venues?
8. In your view, what are – if any – distinctive Zimbabwean things that happen at these gatherings?
9. What is your view of the influence of your presence on the locals in Johannesburg? Please explain.
10. What are the challenges you face as a Zimbabwean immigrant in a South African city?
    Probes: Work environment, social gatherings, religious gatherings, musical events.
11. How do you navigate such challenges that might arise due to your nationality?
    Probes: Work environment, social gatherings, religious gatherings, musical events.
12. What is your view of community gatherings and musical experiences in the wider context of Johannesburg as a city?
    Probes: Economic aspects, urban space.

Appendix C: Observation guide for music events

Aspect	Researcher's comments
Environment Describe the venue, organisation of space	
Context Describe the: ● Contextual details of event, e.g. band rehearsal/performance/church gathering ● Musicians and/or community members taking part.	
Participation and interaction of musicians Describe the: Level of participation and attitude of musicians Relations and interactions between musicians Interaction of musicians with audience members	
Responses from community members Describe the: Audience's reaction during performance/ gathering Social interaction between audience members Audience's participation during performance Audience's reaction after performance/ gathering.	
Community resources Describe the: ● Details of community resources available for band/musicians to use ● Personnel supporting Zimbabwean musicians at rehearsal/ recording/performance venue	

Appendix D: COVID-19 Protocol for data collection

In order to shield participants from COVID-19 risks, I will take the following precautions during interviews, observations, and focus group meetings.

Before each Event

1. I will invite a maximum of 8 people to focus group meetings.
2. I will ensure that the space where meetings are held is well ventilated and large enough to accommodate the number of participants. If weather circumstances allow, focus-group meetings will be held outdoors.
3. I will pre-order sufficient face-masks, sanitizing wipes and hand sanitizers for all participants. I will also encourage participants to bring their own masks.
4. I will obtain a non-contact temperature assessment device in order to measure participants' temperatures before interviews or meetings.
5. I will advise participants in advance that, if they have symptoms or feel unwell, they should not attend.
6. I will gain contact details from all participants such as email addresses, phone numbers, and physical addresses – if possible – to facilitate contact tracing.
7. I will ask all participants to:

    - Follow COVID-19 rules,
    - Self-isolate if someone becomes positive,
    - Understand that they are attending a group meeting and, as such, are potentially at risk of becoming infected with COVID-19.

During the Event or Meeting

- I will use a non-contact temperature device to measure all participant's temperatures before they enter the venue;
- I will record each participant's temperature on list, and ask participants to add incomplete contact details and to sign next to their names;

- I will ask all participants to clean their hands with the provided sanitizer when they enter the venue or meeting space;

- I will educate participants on the COVID-19 regulations before the interview commences;

- I will ensure that all participants wear PPEs correctly throughout the meeting and when leaving;

- I will ensure that social distancing is maintained;

- I will wear personal protective equipment (PPE) throughout the meeting.

Appendix E: Informed Consent letter – Musicians

Date:

Dear Musician

My name is Innocent Tinashe Mutero and I am currently enrolled for my doctoral degree in music at the University of Pretoria. I am inviting you to participate in my study and would greatly appreciate your involvement since your experience and knowledge will add valuable insight to my research project.

Research topic
Negotiating urbanities*: An ethnography of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg*

In this study I am aim to explore how Zimbabwean immigrants use their music-making practices to create a new home for themselves in Johannesburg.

What will be expected of you? As you are a Zimbabwean musician, you are a key informant to this study. Therefore, to understand your musicking practices and how you have created a new home for yourself in Johannesburg, I aim to spend two weeks of every month over an eight-month period in Johannesburg amongst your community. During those times, I would like to have informal conversations as well as semi-structured interviews in a face-to-face context with you. Conversations and interviews will take place at times and venues that is convenient for you. All conversations will be audio-recorded, and interviews will be audio-visually recorded. I will make verbatim transcriptions of the conversations and interviews which I will share with you so that you can verify if they accurately represent your views.

Additionally, I will attend rehearsals and performances when you are sharing your music with community members at church gatherings and/or at live Jazz and music clubs in the Johannesburg area. I will make video recordings of these events in order to study them later in more detail. The information you share as well as the audio and video recordings will be treated with strict confidentiality.

Should COVID-19 restrictions prohibit face-to-face interactions, conversations, and interviews, I will arrange that we meet via Skype or Zoom, whichever is possible for you. Likewise, should the COVID-19 restrictions prohibit live performances, I would like you to share with me audio and audio-visual recordings of your live performances that you may have posted on social media.

Approval: The study will only begin after ethical approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, has been obtained.

Risks and benefits: There are no potential risks or direct benefits in participating in this project. Participation in the study is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time. If you decide to withdraw, there will be no negative consequences to you, nor will you need to explain your reason. By participating in this research, you will advance the knowledge and understanding of Zimbabwean immigrants' musical practices in creating a new home for themselves in Johannesburg.

Who will have access to the results of the study? All information and views shared by you will be treated with strict confidentiality and your identity will not be revealed in any of the research outputs. The research will be handled by myself as principal researcher, and by my supervisor. It will be used for academic purposes only. The data will be archived in electronic format in the Music division of the School of the Arts at the University for a minimum of 15 years. During this time, the raw data may be reused for possible further research. You will have access to the data and, should you be interested, the research findings will be shared with you on completion of the study.

Please feel free to contact me or my supervisor if you require more information about the study.

Yours sincerely,

Innocent Tinashe Mutero

Contact details of researcher

Innocent Tinashe Mutero (Doctoral student)
email: muteroinnocent@gmail.com
Mobile number: 0785877933

Contact details of supervisor

Dr Dorette Vermeulen
dorette.vermeulen.music@gmail.com

If you agree to participate in this research, please sign the reply slip on the following page to indicate your consent.

Informed Consent – Key informants' Reply Slip

School of the Arts: Music

Research Title: Negotiating urbanities*: An ethnography Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg*

I hereby give my consent to participate in the aforementioned research project. I confirm that I understand what is required of me to take part in the research project. I am aware that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, should I wish to do so, without any negative consequences. I understand that I will have access to the data. I agree that data may be used in current research, and that it may be reused in possible future research. I acknowledge that data will be securely stored in an electronic format for a minimum of 15 years at the School of the Arts, University of Pretoria.

Participant _____

Signature: _____

Date _____

DMus student/Principal researcher: Innocent Tinashe Mutero

Signature: _____

Date _____

Appendix F: Informed Consent letter – Focus Groups

School of the Arts: Music

Dear Focus Group Participant

My name is Innocent Tinashe Mutero and I am currently enrolled for my doctoral degree in music at the University of Pretoria.

My research topic:
Negotiating urbanities*: An ethnography of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg*

In this study I am aim to explore how Zimbabwean immigrants use their music-making practices to create a new home for themselves in Johannesburg.

What will be expected of you? Data will be collected through a focus group discussion and participant observation. Your involvement will include participating in a focus group discussion which will take approximately 60 minutes. The focus group discussion will be audio-recorded. In addition, I will also collect data during band rehearsals or performances at church gatherings and/or at live music venues. I will make video recordings of these events in order to study them later in more detail.

Approval: The study will only begin after ethical approval by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, has been obtained.

Risks and benefits: There are no potential risks or direct benefits in participating in this project. Participation in the study is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time. If you decide to withdraw, there will be no negative consequences to you, nor will you need to explain your reason. By participating in this research, you will advance the knowledge and understanding of Zimbabwean immigrants' musical practices in creating a new home for themselves in Johannesburg.

Who will have access to the results of the study? All information and views shared by you will be treated with strict confidentiality and your identity will not be revealed in any

of the research outputs. The research will be handled by myself as principal researcher, and by my supervisor. It will be used for academic purposes only. The data will be archived in electronic format in the Music division of the School of the Arts at the University for a minimum of 15 years. During this time, the raw data may be reused for possible further research. You will have access to the data and, should you be interested, the research findings will be shared with you on completion of the study.

Please feel free to contact me or my supervisor if you require more information about the study.

Yours sincerely,

Innocent Tinashe Mutero

Contact details of researcher

Innocent Tinashe Mutero (Doctoral student)
email: muteroinnocent@gmail.com
Mobile number: 0785877933

Contact details of supervisor

Dr Dorette Vermeulen
dorette.vermeulen.music@gmail.com

If you agree to participate in this research, please sign the reply slip on the following page to indicate your consent.

Informed Consent – Focus Group Participants' Reply Slip

Research Title: Negotiating urbanities*: An ethnography of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg*

I hereby give my consent to participate in the aforementioned research project. I confirm that I understand what is required of me to take part in the research project. I am aware that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, should I wish to do so, without any negative consequences. I understand that I will have access to the data. I agree that data may be used in current research, and that it may be reused in possible future research. I acknowledge that data will be securely stored in an electronic format for a minimum of 15 years at the School of the Arts, University of Pretoria.

Participant _____

Signature: _____

Date _____

DMus student/Principal researcher: Innocent Tinashe Mutero

Signature: _____

Date _____

Appendix G: Informed Consent letter – Churches

School of the Arts: Music

Dear Pastor

My name is Innocent Tinashe Mutero and I am currently enrolled for my doctoral degree in music at the University of Pretoria.

My research topic:
Negotiating urbanities*: An ethnography of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg*

In this study I am aim to explore how Zimbabwean immigrants use their music-making practices to create a new home for themselves in Johannesburg.

What will be expected of you? I am hereby requesting your kind permission that I observe Zimbabwean musicians when they perform during gatherings at your church. I will make video-recordings of their performances during such church gatherings in order to study it later in more detail.

I am also requesting your kind assistance in identifying a possible place where I can be accommodated in the community for two-weeks of every month over an eight-month period to collect the data for this ethnographic study. I will be willing to pay for such accommodation, should it be available.

Approval: The study will only begin after ethical approval by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, has been obtained.

Risks and benefits: There are no potential risks or direct benefits in participating in this project. By consenting that I may conduct the research at your church, you will allow me to gain knowledge and a better understanding of Zimbabwean immigrants' musical practices in Johannesburg. Participation in the study is completely voluntary. If the church decides to withdraw, there will be no negative consequences, nor is an explanation for

such withdrawal necessary. All the data will be treated with strict confidentiality and the name of the church will not be revealed in any of the research outputs.

Who will have access to the results of the study? The research will be handled by myself as principal researcher, and by my supervisor. It will be used for academic purposes only. The church will have access to its data, and if the church is interested, the results of the study will be shared with the church after the completion of the study. The data will be archived at the department of music for a minimum of 15 years. During this time the raw data might be reused for possible further research.

Please feel free to contact me or my supervisor if you require more information about the study.

Yours sincerely,

Innocent Tinashe Mutero

Contact details of researcher

Innocent Tinashe Mutero (Doctoral student)
email: muteroinnocent@gmail.com
Mobile number: 0785877933

Contact details of supervisor

Dr Dorette Vermeulen
dorette.vermeulen.music@gmail.com

If you give permission that your church may participate in this research, please sign the reply slip on the following page to indicate your consent. Please add the church's stamp, or reply with your church's official letterhead.

Reply Slip - Permission from Church Pastor

Research Title: Negotiating urbanities*: An ethnography of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg*

I hereby give my consent that music performances during church gathering may be observed as part of the aforementioned research project. I confirm that I understand what is required of the church, the musicians and the congregation to take part in the research project. I am aware that the church is free to withdraw from the study at any time, should they wish to do so, without any negative consequences. I understand that the church will have access to the data. I agree that data may be used in current research, and that it may be reused in possible future research. I acknowledge that data will be securely stored in an electronic format for a minimum of 15 years at the School of the Arts, University of Pretoria.

Participant _____

Signature: _____

Date _____

DMus student/Principal researcher: Innocent Tinashe Mutero

Signature: _____

Date _____

Appendix H: Informed Consent letter – Music Venues

School of the Arts: Music

Dear Manager/Owner

My name is Innocent Tinashe Mutero and I am currently enrolled for my doctoral degree in music at the University of Pretoria.

My research topic:
Negotiating urbanities*: An ethnography of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg*

In this study I am aim to explore how Zimbabwean immigrants use their music-making practices to create a new home for themselves in Johannesburg.

What will be expected of you? I am hereby requesting your kind permission that I observe Zimbabwean musicians when they perform during gatherings at your live music venue. I will make video-recordings of their performances during such occasions in order to study it later in more detail.

Approval: The study will only begin after ethical approval by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, has been obtained.

Risks and benefits: There are no potential risks or direct benefits in participating in this project. By consenting that I may conduct the research at your venue, you will allow me to gain knowledge and a better understanding of Zimbabwean immigrants' musical practices in Johannesburg. Participation in the study is completely voluntary. If you decide to withdraw and disallow me to do the observations at your venue, there will be no negative consequences, nor is an explanation for such withdrawal necessary. All the data will be treated with strict confidentiality and the name of the venue will not be revealed in any of the research outputs.

Who will have access to the results of the study? The research will be handled by myself as principal researcher, and by my supervisor. It will be used for academic purposes only. The venue will have access to its data, and if the venue is interested, the results of the study will be shared with the venue after the completion of the study. The data will be archived at the department of music for a minimum of 15 years. During this time the raw data might be reused for possible further research.

Please feel free to contact me or my supervisor if you require more information about the study.

Yours sincerely,

Innocent Tinashe Mutero

Contact details of researcher

Innocent Tinashe Mutero (Doctoral student)
email: muteroinnocent@gmail.com
Mobile number: 0785877933

Contact details of supervisor

Dr Dorette Vermeulen
dorette.vermeulen.music@gmail.com

If you agree that observations for this research may take place at your live music venue, please sign the reply slip on the following page to indicate your consent. Please add the venue's stamp, or reply with your venue's official letterhead.

Informed Consent – Manager/Owner of Live Music Venue Reply Slip

Research Title: Negotiating urbanities*: An ethnography of Zimbabwean immigrants' music-informed placemaking and musicking in Johannesburg*

I hereby give my consent that music performances at my venue may be observed as part of the aforementioned research project. I confirm that I understand what is required of the venue to take part in the research project. I am aware that the venue can withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that the venue will have access to the data. I agree that data may be used in current research, and that it may be reused in possible future research. I acknowledge that data will be securely stored in an electronic format for a minimum of 15 years at the School of the Arts, University of Pretoria.

Participant _____

Signature: _____

Date _____

DMus student/Principal researcher: Innocent Tinashe Mutero

Signature: _____

Date _____