

**A FANONIAN PERSPECTIVE ON THE MAY 2008 XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE IN  
SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF THE TSHWANE MUNICIPALITY**

by

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## DEDICATION

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.....

Ms. Anna Lefasthe Moagi

**DECLARATION**

I declare that this research report entitled **A Fanonian perspective on the May 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa: A case study of the Tshwane Municipality** is my own unaided work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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SIGNATURE

Anna Lefatshe Moagi

.....

Date

## ABSTRACT

The research on xenophobia in South Africa is underpinned by the relationship described by Frantz Fanon between violence and oppression present within the structures of domination. This research addresses the colonial structures that manifested themselves within the oppressive modes in societies. It employs a Fanon analysis of the xenophobic violence of May 2008 and serves to provide an understanding of the experiences of a particular condition and of how a broader invisible context plays an important role in what society sees and assimilates. The question can be asked: Is it safe to say that the xenophobic attacks were racist, or was it mere bigotry? An analysis based on the writings of Franz Fanon coupled with a psychological account of the participants, affirms that the xenophobic attacks revealed that the previously colonised or oppressed black people in South Africa reacted with regard to the assimilation of the master and its slave narrative and dialect. Theories of oppression and slavery posit that patterns of colonialism reoccur and manifest themselves both internally and externally within society. A serious debate is necessary to question whether the incidents came at a time that South Africa should have reflected on society's interaction with foreign immigrants.

Key Words: Franz Fanon, xenophobia, migration, Foreign immigrants, violence, humanism, politics of exclusion, structural violence, force, rehabilitation

## ABBREVIATIONS

ANC:	African National Congress
ACMS:	African Centre for Migration and Society
BSWM:	<i>Black skin, white masks</i>
CBD:	Central business district
CDE:	Centre for Development and Enterprise
CORMSA:	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
CoSS:	Centre/s of Safe Shelter
CHR:	Centre for Human Rights
DA:	Democratic Alliance
DFA:	Department of Foreign Affairs
DHA:	Department of Home Affairs
FMSP:	Forced Migration Studies Programme
HRW:	Human Rights Watch
HSRC:	Human Sciences Research Council
ISS:	Institute for Security Studies
IDP:	Internally displaced person
PDI:	Previously disadvantaged individuals
PDG:	Previously disadvantaged groups
RDP:	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA:	Republic of South Africa
SAMP:	South African Migration Programme
SAHRC:	South African Human Rights Commission
SAMP:	Southern African Migration Project
SAPS:	South African Police Service

SARS: South African Revenue Service  
UIF: Unemployment Insurance Fund  
UN: United Nations  
UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 BACKGROUND AND FORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

How did the violence start? This is the question that the study aims to uncover in the process of ascertaining the extent to which the violence has influenced South Africans' prejudice towards foreigners. In May 2008, South Africa witnessed anti-foreigner attacks that spread throughout the country from the Gauteng township of Alexandra where it originated (Kirshner 2011: 8). The catalysts for the May 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa have been found in the high levels of poverty and poor service delivery in local municipalities (South African Human Rights Commission [SAHRC] 2008; Harris 2001 & Human Sciences Research Council [HSRC] 2008). This study aims to study the May 2008 xenophobic attacks through the lens of the theories of Frantz Fanon. Fanon's (1961: 247) axioms on "the need to recognise the open door of every consciousness, on the right of every person to be a person among other people, to come into a shared world and to help build it together and the need to always question" and affirm a refusal to accept the present as definitive, are relevant to the issue at hand. Fanon names it the conditions of oppression on the oppressed "reverse colonialism." In fact, Fanon (1961: 103) talks about xenophobia in his chapter on the "Pitfalls of national consciousness" where he writes:

...whereas the national bourgeoisie competes with Europeans, the artisans and small traders pick fights with Africans of other nationalities, there is a general call for these foreigners to leave, their shops are burned, their market booths torn down and some are lynched....

Fanon's (1961) definitions of violence include force, physical or psychological injury, aggression, coercion and a revolutionary assertiveness. The study will consider whether the 2008 xenophobic attacks can be considered violence as defined by Fanon. Fanon and his ideas on the oppressed and oppressor relationship argue that the oppressor never misses an opportunity to let blacks tear at each other's throats and it is only too willing to exploit those characteristic flaws of the "lumpenproletariat" - namely the lack of political consciousness

(Fanon 1961:87). The many local South Africans, who have been disregarded by the South African government after initially being promised free housing, employment and education, are now starting to militate against the government. As a result, they revolt against the closest agent to them - foreign nationals. Fanon's theoretical argument, in contrast to his counterparts' arguments, with regard to the theory of power relations and conflict studies, justifies the idea that the sublimation of violence alone would be the right therapy to cleansing oneself (Kebede 2011). With regard to xenophobic attacks, Kebede (2004) explains that it is not the physical violence inflicted on the natives who are local South Africans that dehumanises foreign immigrants. Fanon's explanation of violence will assist with theorising about the context of the 2008 attacks and the nature of South African society more broadly – and to connect what is happening here with broader historical and global trends.

## **1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION**

How can the May 2008 xenophobic attacks be conceptualised in terms of the objectives of Fanon?

### **Sub questions:**

- How can Fanon's ideas on violence relate to the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa?
- How is xenophobia understood in the context of South Africa? What if any, are the state structures that cause xenophobic attacks?
- How can we distinguish between Fanon violence and other violence?

## **1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The overall aim of this project was to analyse the extent to which Fanon thought is relevant to the May 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Accordingly, there was a critical reading of policy documents and conflict resolution initiatives to identify their presumptions about the nature of xenophobia violence. Furthermore, the study aimed to explore the phenomenon of xenophobia and reasons for African migrants being exposed to it as witnessed and documented in

the media; while the media reports xenophobic violence in South Africa from an emerging paradigm. These themes provide the questions to be unpacked and will be supplemented through the theoretical analysis offered by Fanon.

#### **1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

The political philosophy of Fanon underpinned the framework of analysis and consequently, this study focused on a close reading and critical analysis of the primary texts of Fanon as a gateway to understanding the 2008 xenophobic attacks. It is interesting to note that since 2008, xenophobic attacks in South Africa have been widely researched (Neocosmos 2010) but the current research does not focus on the philosophical and political dynamics of what led to the incident exactly. Rather, this study is based on Fanon's (1961: 103) reviews of colonial discourse and the imperialist approach to decolonisation and the disorder that it has caused. Fanon's discussion concentrates on the hostile world that an oppressor created in order to instil fear in the mind of the oppressed. This advantages the oppressor since it allows him to have control over the actions of the oppressed through the psychological implication of his domination technique. This chapter will highlight and theorise the violent attack using the chapter by Fanon (1961) in the "*Wretched of the earth*," called the "*Pitfalls of national consciousness*."

Fanon's ideas on domination are also pertinent to this study on xenophobia. Importantly, Fanon (1961: 75) critically analyses the logic of violent attitudes in the oppressed and frustrated mind of an individual. He primarily focusses on the logic underlying the belief that violence is a means to an end. In Fanon's view, the philosophy of liberation can take many forms and a physical attack is a realistic approach to ending the frustration and getting the message across. As Fanon (1961:70) argues, "the customs of the colonised, their traditions, their myths, especially their myths, are the very mark of this indigence and innate depravity." Furthermore, "everybody therefore has violence on their minds and the question is not so much responding to violence with more violence but rather how to defuse the crisis" (Fanon 1961: 330).

Fanon (1961:37) maintains that “the colonised subject is a persecuted man who is forever dreaming of becoming the persecutor.” This analysis by Fanon provides a crucial lens through which to study the 2008 xenophobic violence. Furthermore, Fanon argues that the “colonial world is a compartmentalised world” and describes the world as being reduced to a single constructed place. The inequality between local South Africans and foreigners is maintained by the use of force, by the denial of educational opportunities and by the forced segregation in terms of ethnicity, including economic class and living arrangements. This study will demonstrate that “xenophobia manifests itself through incitement to and actions of obvious exclusion, hostility and violence against people just because of what is deemed to be in the specific context, their “foreign” status...”(Neocosmos 2010:1). Fanon vividly demonstrates, as witnessed during the violent attacks that occurred in May 2008, how the “colonial subject’s abnormal psychological state is the result of an aberrant (social) material state” (Parris 2011:9). Fanon (1961:5-6) posits that:

The violence which governed the ordering of the colonial world, which tirelessly punctuated the destruction of the indigenous social fabric, and demolished unchecked the systems of reference of the country’s economy, lifestyle, and modes of dress, this same violence will be vindicated and appropriated when, taking history into their own hands, the colonised swarm into the forbidden cities

Furthermore, Fanon (1961) suggests that we need to have a clear objective in order to succeed in the struggle for liberation. In general, problem people are dealt with either by means of violence or remedial education (Pithouse 2010:6). These people are those who enter the country without permits and compete for resources with the locals. Importantly, Fanon (1961) refers to apartheid as the quintessence of the colonial system’s “geographical ordering” with its obdurate “system of compartments” and the “dividing line” that sets apart the spheres of existence of two collectivities in “a motionless Manicheistic world” (Sekyi-Otu 2003:7). Fanon (1961) relates the attainment of freedom (economic or social) to violence and legitimises violence by providing practical accounts of how radical regimes such as apartheid in South Africa imposed the rule of separatism. He warns that the transition from one “state” to another does not justify or create harmony but that its context of the ‘new humanity’ was merely a fabrication of its existence (see also Pithouse 2010; Sharawy 2003). According to this analysis

and the ontological premise of xenophobic attacks that occurred in May 2008 in South Africa, the post-apartheid era is an example of what Fanon called “colonial violence.” This approach can be applied to the way in which black South Africans assume “white masks” in the economic and social arenas and the fact that the black South African bourgeoisie are not willing to share their wealth. Consequently, tension builds up between immigrants who come to South Africa to seek assistance because of the economic turmoil in their countries of origin (Sharawy 2003:1).

- **Fanon’s objectives in terms of the politics of space, physical injury and violence**

This framework, articulated by Fanon, will be important to use in the analyses in this study hope of arriving at the broader question of the dissertation. It inscribes the logic of colonialism and is kept intact by the Manichean structure, which in reality cannot be noticed (structural violence), it remains invisible. The local South Africans blame immigrants for taking their jobs, women and resources. In essence, the space is being contested. The conceptualisation of space is a Manichean structure and in his interpretation of this structure, Fanon (1961: 37) affirms that the world is compartmentalised - there is a division of classes and there is the difference of the “Other.” South African people use the darker skin of the immigrant to identify a non-national since this has been internalised to represent a kind of metonym for the poor and thief, and which, in turn, represents a specific construction of otherness. Informal settlements in South Africa represent interdependence, which is asymmetrical but not equal and occurs between the geo-political spaces.

The Manichean structure prevails through the continuous maintenance of colonial structures and the ideas that there is good and bad in the world. For the purpose of this study, the prevailing belief is that the good is only expressed by South Africans and the bad symbolises the foreign African immigrants. This study employed the theoretical framework and objectives of Fanon’s humanism, which takes place across differences. This served as the guiding principle with regard to the proposed phenomenon.

Fanon (1961:40) states:

The violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world, which has ceaselessly drummed the rhythm for the destruction of native social forms and broken up without reserve the systems of reference of the economy, the customs of dress and external life, that same violence will be claimed and taken over by the native at the moment when, deciding to embody history in his own person, he surges into the forbidden quarters.

This section will contest the dialectic that if you are South African, you are privileged and are automatically entitled to receive free housing, free education and employment from the government. Accordingly, many South Africans believe that foreign immigrants are merely here to steal what was promised to them. In the areas inhabited by the poor, the combination of political subordination with economic exploitation and enforced spatial marginalisation is invariably legitimated intense social stigma. For the police, the media and in many instances, the political elite, including most emphatically, some leftist projects, these informal settlements are often still “places of ill fame peopled by women and men of evil repute” (Fanon 1965:30). The local structural living conditions are a critical force to examine because immigrants settle and interact with different locals in different ways (Mabelebele 2008). It is always in relation to the place of the other, which is the colonial desire to articulate what is in part, the space of possession that no one subject can occupy alone. This permits the dream of the inversion of roles. In “*Black Skin White Mask*,” Fanon (1986) recalls the internalised stereotypes of blackness and African identity of “cannibals and fetishism.” It is by their wretchedness, that xenophobic attackers are motivated to be fighters and vent their anger and frustration about the system on foreign immigrants (Kebede 2011). Fanon emphasises that we should not inherit the South African past; rather we should inherit the conditions and creation of the world at large. Fanon (1961:39) maintains:

The town belonging to the colonised people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there; it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire; it is a town of niggers.

Fanon aspires to the ideal that the next generation of people should be revolutionaries, independent thinkers and providers, yet still maintain their humanity without revoking the next individual's rights to freedom and liberty.

- **Fanon's objectives in terms of structural violence**

Structural violence is the inherited trend to revolt and is further increased by the learned trends of the oppressor instilled by the fear of losing jobs and housing and facing the socio-economic consequences of poverty. As observed during the May 2008 xenophobic violence, the attackers believed that they were revolting against a system that promised them social services that were subsequently not delivered. This is structural violence; the township is poverty-ridden as it is a *construction* of the colonial world. Fanon's thoughts on structural violence raise interesting questions about intentionality and motivations. It is one thing to claim that a structure performs certain functions but another to say that it was specifically set up to perform these functions (Jinadu 2002:51).

Fanon unpacks the inclusion and exclusion of people within the contested spaces in the informal settlements and argues that those who are excluded find themselves being the 'wretched.' These inherited conditions of local black South Africans, who attack African immigrants, see nothing wrong with attacking them, as they justify their acts through blaming a system that previously oppressed them.

Structural violence inscribes the logic of colonialism and is kept intact by the Manichean structure. Black South Africans, who hold immigrants responsible for taking away what is due to them in terms of jobs and housing, subsequently react violently. Accordingly, Fanon's thoughts on structural violence are an important theoretical tool to utilise in order to understand the 2008 xenophobic attacks better. Alessandrini (2011: 65) explains Fanon's famous description of "the colonised's sector" and "emphasizes its absolute separation from not just the colonial sector, but even from what we ordinarily understand to be the world of the living, of the human."

- **Fanon objectives in terms of critical humanism**

In "*The fact of blackness*," Fanon (1952:109) exemplifies critical humanism when a child calls out, "Dirty nigger!" or simply "Look a negro!" These sentiments are not far from the rhetoric regarding some South Africans referring to non-nationals as "*Makwerekwere*" or "*Mandofa*." The South African community is characterised by inequality and the effect of racism is seen in the way foreign immigrants are policed about the legitimacy of their staying in the country. Hence, Fanon's emphasis on the lived experience, calls for a re-evaluation of one's identity and as a collective, therefore, one must assume that responsibility. The latter refers to the ideals that come with a new revolution regarding the circumstances experienced. Fanon rejects racism and counters stereotypes, although he posits that people are attracted to it. As in South Africa, the features of racism are still prominent and express themselves in various forms including xenophobic attacks. Racism in South Africa is still a function of economic class. Fanon stresses the importance of consciousness as he attempts to explain the "lived experiences" of the African immigrant. In essence, this study will indicate that it is the human experience that retains a great measure of these material conditions that are part of the degradation of the disadvantaged.

It is imperative to analyse Fanon's thoughts on humanism in the hope of finding a solution to the problem of xenophobia. He (Fanon 1961), argues that to be oppressed is to be denied one's own humanity and through his conception of the new "humanity" and through a successful liberation struggle, argues that "Man" represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of it. Man is the enemy of values and in this sense, he is the absolute evil. Thus, "it is not the physical violence done to the native those results in his dehumanisation, nor is it merely the creation of an ideology that can legitimate such violence." The question we need to pose is how do we discern the form of Fanon's new humanity? According to Sharawy (2003:3), Fanon was "concerned with the new political culture against the mode of cultural mobility on lineage context according to the colonial-imperialist type." Furthermore, Fanon (1961: 310).argues that:

The new man is not an *a posteriori* product of that nation; rather, he co-exists with it and triumphs with it. This dialectic requirement explains the reticence with which adaptations of colonization and reforms of the facade are met. Independence is not a word, which can be used as an exorcism, but an indispensable condition for the existence of men and women who are truly liberated, in other words who are truly masters of all the material means which make possible the radical transformation of society.

Fanon's message in the above text is that we must create a better community by unveiling a "new being." Fanon believes in liberty more than in the emancipation of the self as an individual, whilst at the same time the self must not be isolated from the rest of humanity. He was particularly apt at showing how all identity was relational (Ahluwalia 2010: 59). Neocosmos (2010:10) argues that:

...xenophobia in South Africa is a direct effect of a particular kind of politics, a particular kind of state politics in fact, one that is associated with a specific discourse of citizenship, which was forged in opposition to the manner in which the apartheid state interpellated its subject.

In fact, while practical action was essential, Fanon's ontological uncovering of the "new humanism" seeks to denounce justice as seen in the analysis of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The dream that Fanon evokes is the representation of the body and its agency who seeks vigilance to question their present situation. Fanon also underscores the necessary challenge of a new humanism grounded in the spaces opened up by the epoch of anti-colonial struggles, while cognisant of the possibility that a new beginning could also be crushed and the space for dialogue closed off, not only by the colonial powers but by the anti-colonial movement itself, for the sake of an external unifier (and frustrated by the seemingly endless contradictions) such as "the nation," "the party," "development," and "unity" (Gibson 2011: 6). Kedebe (2011) posits that the rehabilitation of the oppressed from his/her oppressor is an illusory wealth that distracts the colonised from fully identifying with their wretchedness and hence from growing into a real revolutionary force that can be contested.

## **1.5 PARADIGM OF RESEARCH**

This research employed a post-positivist approach concerning an emerging paradigm in relation to xenophobia in South Africa. Researchers in social

sciences employ different paradigms to explain specific phenomena. The importance of a paradigm in research is that the role of the paradigm is paramount to the choice of and the school of thought in social research. This study was based on positivism as an analytical approach (Mackenzie & Knipe 2006). The basis of post-positivism, as ontology, is critical realism, thus the subject being studied is “real only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehensible” (Guba & Lincoln 2005:193). According to the literature on research methodology, a research paradigm is important as the theories applicable to it explains how the world is structured and the imperfection of knowing the reality, thus the reality that exists concerning xenophobic attitudes and violence, is socially constructed.

Alvesson (2011: 16) explains:

Post-positivist research principles emphasise meaning and the creation of new knowledge, and are able to support committed social movements, that is, movements that aspire to change the world and contribute towards social justice.

Post-positivism represents a concern with the theoretical relevance of observables (Heidtman, Wyssienska & Szmacka 2000:2). Consequently, post-positivism is linked to migration theories, as it is able to test the non-falsified hypotheses that are probable facts or laws (Guba & Lincoln 2005:196).

## **1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In the words of Kvale (1996), interviews were conducted to “Try to understand something from the subjects’ point of view and to uncover the meaning of their experiences as they allow people to convey to others a situation from their own perspective and in their own words.”

Accordingly, structured in-depth interviews were conducted with government officials, thirty perpetrators and victims of the 2008 xenophobic attacks within the Tshwane municipality. The interviews were done in the Tshwane area of Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Hammanskraal. The interviews sought to elicit the respondents’ perceptions through verbal reports (Desimone & Le Floch 2004:5). Qualitative research methods, which include in-depth interviews, can provide rich data because the interviewer works directly with what the respondent says (Guin,

Diehl & McDonald 2011). Although there was comprehensive media reporting about the violence in 2008, the media reports were biased. Who did the South African media represent when mobs looted and displaced foreigners from their homes? An analysis of this issue was done in line with Fanon (1961) thought, particularly in relation to his notions of aggression, force, physical injury that is part of his analysis of how violence is understood.

Case studies are normally used by researchers to focus on a specific primary research focus area, for example, when a researcher narrows his research down from a whole community, to look at a specific constituency within a legitimate community. When dealing with a place, May (2011) indicates that the case study approach determines the techniques, methods, strategy approach, and methodology. The critique of a case study is that there are different ways of seeing the world and the conclusion in one case study does not justify or represent the whole population. According to May (2011: 221), the “vantage point changes, but informing these approaches is the search for some replicable reality in a single case that is seen to offer an accurate reflection of a knowable social world.”

Qualitative research methods were adopted and this research made use of semi-structured interviews as mentioned above. Accordingly, interviewers could continue to ask questions until they fully understand the situation (Hardon, Hodgkin & Fresle 2004: 24). The interviews were analysed and the researcher was able to draw connections between the multiple data forms and to explore the experiences of the respondents using a positivist approach. Griffiee (2005:36) explains:

Interviewing is a popular way of gathering qualitative research data because it is perceived as ‘talking and talking is natural. Interviews do not presuppose any statistical knowledge, and persons to interview, called respondents, might be close at hand and willing.

According to Hardon, Hodgkin and Fresle (2004:24):

The results of semi-structured interviews are hard to generalise, as they are based on interviews with a limited number of people. Focus group discussions can be used to further validate to what extent the problems identified reflect what people in the community perceive to

be problems, and to compare the practices and views of different categories of people. Structured interviews can be done to quantify the key findings further.

With the semi-structured interviews, open-ended questions are normally used, but the interviewer is free to probe beyond the answers. Harrell & Bradley (2009:10) state:

Thus using a semi-structured focus group, the researcher tries to build a rapport with the respondent and the interview is like a conversation. The importance of a selecting a group for this research is that focus group data are never generalizable beyond the groups conducted.

Semi-structured interviews make use of an interview guide (Hardon *et al.* 2004:24). They indicate that: "Ordinary conversation makes it easier to reassure informants and to win their cooperation and trust" they provide guidelines with regard to conducting a good semi-structured interview:

...you will need to limit the number of interviews, as semi-structured interviews are quite time-consuming to conduct and analyse. When conducting semi-structured interviews, the interviewer is prepared with a list of questions and topics to be discussed.

However, according to May (2011:134-135), the order of the questions and topics is undefined. It depends on the flow of the discussion. It is best to start with a topic that is not sensitive and is important to the respondent. Thus, an informal, friendly atmosphere can be created, facilitating a "natural" flow of ideas and opinions. The researcher acts as a moderator, guiding the respondent from one topic to another. Hardon (*et al.* 2004: 24) advice, "It is best to do a small pilot study in which the interview guides are pretested, preferably not in the community where the actual study will be done." For the purpose of this research, a case study will be employed. Case studies are normally adopted by researchers to focus on specific primary research focus areas, such as when a researcher narrows down his/her research from a community, to look at a specific constituency within a legitimate community. When dealing with a place, May (2011) indicates that the case study approach determines the technique, methods, strategy approach and methodology.

### **1.6.1 Sample**

The sample is “another important component in teaching the case study method is to emphasize the unit of analysis and description of the sample” (Zucker 2009). According to the Welfare Peer Technical Assistance Network (Welfare Peer TA) (2012i, individuals are asked questions as a way of gaining information about their background, opinions, attitudes, knowledge and behaviors. Marshall (1996: 522) contends:

The process of sampling is one of the principal areas of confusion, a problem not helped by the inadequate way that it is covered in the literature, where there is little agreement on definitions and authors frequently invent new and complex terms that cloud simple fundamental issues.

The study employed a snowball and convenience sampling technique. With regard to the snowball technique, the researcher first selects the participants. Convenience sampling is described as chain referral sampling. Further snowball sampling is used by the researcher to identify potential subjects in the studies where subjects are hard to locate. Such settings are often hard-to-reach populations, characterised by the lack of a serviceable sampling frame (Hancock & Gile 2011:2). Hancock & Gile (2011:3) explain that, “many such hard-to-reach populations, link-tracing sampling is an effective means of collecting data on population members.”

#### **1.6.1.2 Data collection methods**

Data collection will be done by collecting information from the respondents who represent a part of the population. The data were analysed by going through each answer in search of a commonality that persisted through certain topics. The analysis was based on the theoretical framework offered by Fanon to ascertain whether there was a trail of evidence indicating the reasons for violence towards foreign immigrants.

#### **1.6.1.3 Data analysis**

The type of data analysis was descriptive in terms of the researcher familiarising herself with the topic at hand. The physical location where the interviews took

place within the townships opened up new avenues in the sense that she was able to transcribe the respondent's report of their lived experience of the situation at hand. The data was analysed through a thorough reading of the text written down from the respondent. This pattern was in line with the comprehension of the main text of Fanon.

#### **1.6.1.4 Ethical considerations**

The research takes into account the ethical considerations of the proposed research. No individual or group of people was forced to participate in the research without his/her prior consent. The respondents were told about the research prior to them agreeing to participate as respondents. Consent from the participants to take part in the study was sought either verbally or in writing and the purpose of the study was explained to the respondents. Furthermore, every respondent's name, image and location were protected. Although the interview schedule was prepared in English, the researcher allowed participants to respond in their native languages such as Tswana, Zulu and Pedi.

### **1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

Xenophobic attacks in South Africa are not a new phenomenon. However, studying the entire history of the phenomenon would have been too broad and unmanageable for this level of study. Hence, this study focused on the May 2008 xenophobic attacks given the widespread scale and nature of the violent attacks.

There is sufficient material on the topic and the phenomenon of xenophobia is still widely researched in academia. The limitation of the study was accessing the sentiments of perpetrators of xenophobia regarding immigrants within the proposed communities. This study was limited to the perpetrators of xenophobia with regard to immigrants because of the clandestine nature of migration and xenophobic attacks within those communities.

### **1.8 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY**

This study is organised into six chapters.

## **Chapter one: Introduction**

The introduction outlines the aims and objectives of the study and an explanation of the theoretical framework and methodology employed is given

## **Chapter two: Theoretical framework and literature review**

Chapter two discusses Fanon's thoughts on violence and his objectives concerning structural violence critically. Fanon's ideas are then analysed in terms of xenophobia in South Africa as a social injustice. This chapter outlines Fanon's emphasis on agency and action with regard to becoming human in the very activity of liberation. In addition, this chapter offers a critical examination of the characteristics of Fanon violence.

## **Chapter three: Migration in South Africa post 1994: The effect of xenophobia**

Chapter three analyses the 2008 xenophobic attacks in the Tshwane municipality through the lens of Fanon's writings. This chapter explains the occurrence of the post-2008 xenophobic attacks and highlights issues pertaining to human rights and provides an analysis of the state.

## **Chapter four: Analysis of the Tshwane municipality**

This chapter provides an analysis of the Tshwane municipality in terms of the mobility of people and the impact of migration into the city. Lastly, this chapter interrogates the notion of 'globalisation' and its impact on the movements of foreign immigrants into South Africa.

## **Chapter five: research findings, analysis and interpretation**

This chapter summarises the study with an emphasis on the interview responses received and outlines suggestions for future research. This chapter will further discuss the arguments presented by the respondents and its affiliation with Fanon theory.

## **Chapter six: General conclusion, summary and recommendations**

This chapter draws conclusions from the research findings and the literature review outlined in chapters two and three and makes recommendations for future research.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

This chapter outlined the research concerning the problems associated with xenophobic attacks towards foreign immigrants. In addition, the chapter gradually introduced the analytical framework pertaining to this study to comprehend the actions associated with the attacks. It also introduces areas of concern that are misunderstood as well as the implications of the negative perceptions regarding foreign African immigrants.

## **CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2. 1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides a background to Fanon's thinking and incorporates a xenophobic interpretation of the topic under research. Fanon contends in his analysis of racialised spaces, pertains to South Africa where spaces were created based on black and white racial identities. Such circumstances further laid the foundation for the separation of and inequality between races in the country. That space is where the competition of resources occurs. It is the colonized sector as Fanon proposes which is hardly neat and it is central to the conditions of colonialism (Nayar 2013: 73). Fanon (1961) proposes a dimension in evaluation the conscious of the nation in understanding the elements that led to their oppression.

In a sense, the creation of homelands by the apartheid government in South Africa led to the establishment of informal settlements for black people. Therefore, during the apartheid era, the suburbs were a symbol of whiteness and superiority. The apartheid government created public institutions that further promoted racism within public spaces; consequently, space was used to construct blackness. The mandate here pertains to the responsibility that must be taken for the past wrongs inflicted on the oppressed. The meaning of whiteness is not fixed and is therefore a fluid structure that is associated with domination. Accordingly, it is imperative to confront these dynamics; otherwise, injustices will continue to be inflicted on a particular group. What we have witnessed in South Africa after the recorded xenophobic attacks on foreign immigrants in May 2008 was that the perpetrators resorted to violence because they felt that they were entitled to basic services such as housing, sanitation and employment. Moreover, they felt that they should not compete with the foreign immigrants for these basic resources. In 1994, South Africa became a democracy without a manual on how to make progress. Furthermore, after the end of apartheid, the citizens of the country were not provided with a clear mandate on how resources would be allocated especially to previously disadvantaged groups (PDGs). Neither black

South Africans were provided with an opportunity to be rehabilitated from the scars that the apartheid government had inflicted. It is important to note that the PDGs are responsible for carrying these violent attacks out on foreign immigrants, which is in keeping with what Fanon has said about the previously oppressed and marginalised groups. The PGD are the underclass and it is easier to manipulate them rather than the intellectuals who are educated and can contest their positions.

### **2.1.1 FANON AS A CRITICAL THINKER FOR THE POST-COLONIAL ERA**

Accurately Fanon proposes in his reading of re-generation of the new era of states to move away from an oppressed slavery system to an era that redresses those imperial circumstances. Fanon (1961; 1967) observes the post-colonial era as a critical thinker in how the world has been constructed under the impression that liberty is achievable for all. This study proposes that Fanon's thinking and application to theory remains relevant to the contemporary nature of the world system. In terms of culture, race, including economic circumstances Fanon (1961) was cautious in his approach to political activism around the mentioned elements. Fanon (1961) as his studies propose for the new emergence of post-colonial humanity. That new humanity is done through revenge of the proletariat to their master, as he narrows his theory to ideology and the dimensions of settler and native inhabit opposed categories (Gibson 1999: 340). Fanon's (1961) decolonisation process negates around the idea of how the nation is called into believing that the revolution has been won. The struggle over access to resources has been overthrown, that everyone will be equal, that freedom will be achieved. Yet the unexplained nature of the material conditions that is necessary for survival seems to be unclear in terms of how resources will be distributed to the nation. In the nation there is only as a tool to be used by the political leaders. Gibson (2001: 378) explains;

The ruling class interests are forced to the negotiating table while the nationalist organization attempts to control the mass movement by telling them to keep faith with negotiations on one hand, and threatening them with a right wing coup on the other.

Thus in South Africa the tension between local South Africans and foreign immigrants is the circumstances where South Africans still carry the burdens of the past and the lesson is sensitised in the midst of violence towards foreign black immigrants. Nayar (2013: 4) in his reading of Fanon does call for the formerly colonized to dismantle not only the racial boundaries of colonialism but also the xenophobic cultural nationalism of post-colonial nations. As it stands in South Africa what is also under threat is the existence of parallel ethnic groups that are resilient into merging with foreign immigrants especially African immigrants as the issue of identity is a primary challenge. Fanon makes a departure on identity and how it is used to classify the other from the colonial other with the decolonized other.

Fanon (1961) offers a range of analytical frameworks to assist in helping nations to move towards a journey to convergence of creating a utopian humanism. The new humanism becomes productive in dis engaging itself from oppressing the other through violence or slavery. The idea that Fanon proposes in the book *The Wretched of the Earth*, is for the new nations after colonialism to try to erase the old historical ideas that have given the idea that Blacks are lumped together and their own existence is determined by colonization. In analysis the xenophobic tension that exist in South Africa Fanon is so productive helping us think through the routes of postcolonial nations need to take towards a new humanism (Nayar 2013: 5).

Fanon (1967) acquitted the politics of nationalism through the other through liberation his utterances of the human experience should not be equivalent to the armed struggle faced by the new nation. What the study observes in post-apartheid South Africa is that the foreign immigrant is seen as an individual who is not behaving in a foreign country. Thus the local South Africans make it their mandate to ensure that the foreigners behave. Even Fanon predicted “instead of national consciousness becoming a basis for a new internationalism, we have seen, as Fanon warned, its degeneration and the development of new xenophobias, new regionalisms and new tribalisms, all in the context of a capitulation to the profit motive” (Gibson 2001: 383). It is evident in South Africa post-Apartheid that the ANC led government has created a new class of black

bourgeois. The ideals that Fanon illustrates in his study, thus we find a clash of ideas between the capitalist and Marxist ideologies that is fused within the government system.

The local South Africans are direct subject of racism. The wrath of violence used upon the powerless is still evident in South Africa. Thus as Fanon observes and insists in his writings that the morals of a black person are always questioned by the colonizer. Further through punishment and discipline by using violence to condition the black man to behave due to the history of racial hatred in South Africa. This exclusion alienating foreign immigrants in South Africa and be classified as the other, the problem makers of unemployment, crime and the escalation of social conditions that are negative.

The nature of decolonization is to get rid of foreign values, and thus this process produces the new man (Blackey 2007: 81). The new man can be created through acceptance of the previous conditions that he/she was forced to comply. Thus violence in post-colonial decolonization is seen by Fanon as vital in achieving the revolution and liberty of freeing the enslaved. The people who advocate for a revolution are constantly moving towards achieving that goal with their movement. For the propose of the study it will locate the Fanon theory in terms of South Africa and the desire of foreign immigrants to fantasies being part of a democratic society. A society that is governed by a Constitution that advocates for human rights. As opposed to several African states that do not have liberal constitutions such as South Africa thus restricting the movements of their citizens.

#### **2.1.1.1 FANON ON COERCION AND FORCE**

Fanon's theory interprets violence as an activity that is spontaneous. Even in South Africa the dialectic remains on how material force is used to create conflict between communities. Fanon proposes that we have to challenge the material conditions and structure visible that divide the nation. As Fanon (1961) elaborates in the book *The Wretched of the Earth*, the principle force was used to overthrow the colonial powers.

Fanon sees the act and effects of colonialism from the outside. Accordingly, Fuss (1994: 21) comments that “Fanon considers the possibility that colonialism may inflict its greatest psychological violence precisely by attempting to exclude blacks from the very self-other dynamic that makes subjectivity possible.” “The political activities of the national bourgeoisie are conditioned, first by its desire to accumulate to itself all the resources, political and otherwise, left behind by the colonial regime, secondly, by the failure of its party to allow the peasants participation in the running of the state (Staniland 2011:17). Castro-Gomez (2002:278) contends that:

Binary concepts like barbarianism and civilization, tradition and modernity, community and society, science and myth, infancy and maturity, organic solidarity and mechanical solidarity, and poverty and development, among many others, have fully permeated the analytic models of the social sciences

Fanon addressed the dual questions of class and race conflict (Smith 2011). In this regard, Dixon (1997:19): reports

We envisage a world where ‘race’ is inscribed in the very lie of the land, where difference appears as natural and unchanging as the physical topographies from which it issues. This racialisation of space lays the foundations for racism proper. Difference frequently tips over into a hierarchy that elevates the evolution of a particular group within its particular environment.

In “*Black skin, white mask*” (BSWM), Fanon (1986:10) notes that:

Man is not a possibility of recapture but merely or of negation. If it is true that the consciousness is a process of transcendence we have to see that this transcendence is haunted by the problem of love and understanding.

Smith (2011) mentions that for Fanon:

....alienation is central to the analysis of the colonized man and his society. The colonized personality is alienated not only from his own people and traditional community but, most importantly, through the dynamics of colonialism/racism he is alienated from his very being as a Black person.

Fanon in his study did overlook the idea of black communalism as it is expressed within African cultures of living together in harmony, including the expression that

African cultures do not acknowledge 'strangers'. Importantly, Fanon encourages cleansing the people as well as the deconstruction of colonial legacies in the mindsets of formerly colonised people (Thame 2011:75). Furthermore, Fanon (1961: 43) names another manifestation of this alienation, one that is particularly destructive to native society, namely, the "tribal warfare and feuds between sects and quarrels between individuals." Fanon argues that the phenomenon of "niggers killing niggers on a Saturday night" is misplaced aggression that should be redirected at the source of this "tonicity of muscles" — the oppressor. According to Smith (2011), this racially determined alienation is added to the alienation:

...deriving from class relations. This dual nature of the problem of alienation in the Black world leads Fanon to propose drastic measures to deal with the problem — absolute violence — the formulation that he is most famous (or infamous) for in the West.

In addition, Fanon (1961:176) declares

The changeover will not take place at the level of the structures set up by the bourgeoisie during its reign, since that caste has done nothing more than take over unchanged the legacy of the economy, the thought, and the institutions left by the colonialists.

Sandwith (2010: 74) insists that "the violence against immigrants is framed not as a human rights issue - the obligations owed to any human being - but rather as a betrayal of ancient pan-African solidarities and the traditions of the ANC." Significantly, Fanon offers an interpretation of the oppressed mind and the implications of violence for the oppressed seeking freedom. "Ultimately, of course, crude racial divisions give way to a national struggle for liberation as the people take up arms, and then these issues are transcended, if not subsumed, by the class struggle," (Nursery-Bay 1980:137). Fanon (1961: 40) declares, "You are rich because you are white; you are white because you are rich" At first glance, this binary seems to describe Apartheid but does not quite seem to be applicable to the "multicultural and multiracial" South Africa where a powerful new Black elite has emerged.

Fanon's explanation of Manichean thinking suggests that the implementation of racism at a number of different levels rationalises and justifies notions of difference, notions of superiority/inferiority, originally made on the level of the body. Particularly interesting in this respect is his description of the colonial division of space, and how this comes to reify constructed notions of psychological, cultural and moral differences (Hook 2004:129). In other words, because of the entrenched, system, the oppressive character of colonialism in which the world of the colonised is transformed into a normalised lawless space, Fanon believes "the decolonisation phase could only be accomplished through violence, that is, through an armed struggle for liberation" (Nielsen 2011:375). Fanon uses this method of examining the colonised subject and the coloniser to theorise on being and freedom "within what he terms the Manichean colonial world, a world where the colonizer represents the embodiment of universal good and the colonized that of pure evil" (Parris 2011: 6). The Manichean structure is devoted to creating and instilling evil within the socio and economic status of the people. The competition for resources is created through creating an inferiority complex in the group that is unable to achieve those resources. Wright (1993: 689) argues:

Fanon went on to smuggle a doubtful 'biological' integrity into those fictions of political geography, the arbitrary national boundaries left behind by the colonist, and ignored the tribal structures, which were the only properly organic bases of African society.

Parris (2011:8) also confirms that in his dialectic, Fanon illuminates the stance that colonialism imbricates two critical approaches that are generally perceived as theoretically opposed: dialectical materialism and psychoanalysis. Here we see the first as opposed to the last condition experienced with the xenophobic attacks, namely, the psychological notion that the oppressed have been psychologically damaged by the colonial structures that enslaved them. With regard to the xenophobic attacks, as an action towards illegal foreigners, Fanon (1961) claims that the perpetrators are caught in the framework of the coloniser. Fanon places the black experience in "The fact of blackness," where he is concerned with the ontological framework of being, how black people live and

what conditions lead them to exist the way they do. Parris (2011:14) points out that:

Fanon's ontological triplication illustrates the manner in which the Black colonial subject becomes a representation, for his physicality, race and forebears while recalling internalized stereotypes of blackness and African identity.

According to Gerhart (1972:29), Steve Biko comments that "people are shaped by the system even in their consideration of approaches against the system." This system will eventually collapse if it does not receive the support of the intended recipient. In his interpretation, Fanon (1961) warns that simply replacing white power with black elites (as seen in South Africa) will not address the issues fully of those who are entirely marginalised. Instead, it will reproduce the hierarchy of power relations and those who are now in power will only exploit the masses. It is the assertion of power from the perpetrators and the victims who are caught up in the spiral of the conqueror. Fanon (1961:91) asserts:

Colonialism is violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence. The policeman and the soldier, by their immediate presence and their frequent and direct action, maintain contract with the native and advise him by means of rifle butts and napalm not to budge. It is obvious here that government speaks the language of pure force. The intermediary does not lighten the oppression nor seek to hide the domination; he shows them up and puts them into practice with the clear conscience of an upholder of peace; yet he is the bringer of violence into the home and into the mind of the native.

What Fanon (1961; 1967) argues, with reference to South Africa, that when the ANC assumed power it had access to resources and was able to transform the institutions that had previously oppressed them? However, they left the poorest of the poor in a disadvantaged position within society. Consequently, the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks reproduced the violence that was instigated against them in South Africa by the apartheid regime. What was worse in the case of the xenophobic attacks is that it was caused by the black people of South Africa that had been excluded and oppressed by the apartheid regime. Accordingly, Fanon (1961:10) maintains that:

The Third World finds itself and speaks to itself through his voice. We know that it is not a homogeneous world; we know too that enslaved peoples are still to be found there, together with some who have

achieved a simulacrum of phony independence, others who are still fighting to attain sovereignty and others again, who have obtained complete freedom but who live under the constant menace of imperialist aggression.

Man is human only to the extent to which he tries to impose his existence on another man in order to be recognised by him. Thus, the need for recognition and acknowledgement of the other's existence is carried out by means of force. As long as he has not been recognised in a meaningful way by the other, that other will remain the theme of his actions. The colonised, in reaction to the emphasis placed by the colonialist on this or that aspect of his traditions, behaves extremely violently towards the next person. Anderson (1990: 30) remarks:

The native cities are deliberately caught in the conquerors vice. To get an idea of the rigor with which the immobilizing of the native city, of the autochthonous population, is organized, one must have in one's hands the plans according to which a colonial city has been laid out, and compare them with the comments of the general staff of the occupation forces.

Importantly, Fanon (1990: 27) thinks that "the veiled protects, reassures, isolates." This analysis describes the idea that the veil hides the true discrimination towards the other. First, the black slave has neglected to fight for his independence. Thus, Honenberger (2007:156) refers to the fact that Fanon asserts that "historically, the black, plunged in the inessentiality of his servitude, was freed by the master. He did not fight for freedom." Importantly, while Fanon (in Hook 2004:124), violently rejects the notion that there may be any innate, biologically predisposed devaluation of blackness so that blackness may be in any inherent way problematic, amoral, pathological or inferior, he does acknowledge the massive scale of white racism. An important summary is given by Nielsen (2011: 371):

A colonized person's ability to develop his or her personal and communal possibilities can, and, no doubt, is hindered significantly in racialised and oppressive contexts; however, for any form of resistance to emerge and to be actualized, the ability to act freely and intentionally against external, other-imposed constraints must remain. Granting this, significant emancipatory upshots are gained, namely, the always open possibility, for more systematic resistance tactics.

In addition, Fanon provides a projection of how the oppressed notices his/her oppression and indicates that even if when he/she has escaped from it, there are certain stereotypes and myths associated with that freedom. Gordon (2000:12) explains “blackness and, in its specific form, the *black* thus functions as the breakdown of reason, which situates black existence, ultimately, in a seemingly non-rational category of faith.” Furthermore, the author informs us that the resolution of conflict cannot be carried through negotiations only, but that the hostilities should be vented in public. That would be therapeutic for the two parties involved. (Gordon 2000:12) adds:

The situation of blacks cannot be resolved by any philosophical anthropology that makes the human a consequence of essential properties of evaluative determination. Race issues are, in other words, not simply issues of chronological appearances.

Importantly, Fanon has provided the strongest theoretical segment that calls for “the lived experience of the black” (Gordon 2000:27). The lived experience from being a slave to being colonised is that “their historicity is robbed of its contingency and collapsed into necessity or a form of essentialism” (Gordon 2000:23).

### **2.1.1. 2 FANON AND STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE**

Fanon stresses the importance of consciousness when he explains the measure of the ‘lived experiences’ of the foreign African immigrant living in South Africa. This research will introduce a factual analysis of the relationship of local South Africans with foreign immigrants. Fanon (1961: 43) comments that, “the colonialist bourgeoisie had hammered into the native's mind the idea of a society of individuals where each person shuts himself up in his own subjectivity, and whose only wealth is individual thought.” Through oppression, the black man is suppressed and conditioned to believe that his humanity should be reduced to nothingness or that his conditions will be violent, structural violence being the norm in informal settlements where inhabitants fight each other for resources. The creation of informal settlements (as noted earlier) resulted in the material

conditions that according to Fanon symbolise the lived experiences of the colonised. Accordingly, Fanon (1965:49) advises:

We must always remember that in the colonial situation, in which, as we have seen, the social dichotomy reaches an incomparable intensity; there is frenzied and almost laughable middleclass gentility on the part of the nationals from the metropolis.

It is important to note that within the South African context, there are visible material conditions and structures that divide the nation. Neocosmos (2011:392) declares that in order to understand violence in a neo-colony, we need to start by understanding the state of politics of exclusion According to Fanon (1961: 36)

Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a program of complete disorder. However, it cannot come because of magical practices, or from a natural shock, or from a friendly understanding. Decolonization, as we know, is a historical process: that is to say that it cannot be understood, it cannot become intelligible nor clear to itself except in the exact measure that we can discern the movements which give it historical form and content.

In the colonial countries where freedom struggles have taken place, where blood has flowed and where the length of the period of armed warfare has favoured those who are wretched. One can observe the eradication of the superstructure built by these intellectuals from the bourgeois colonialist environment. Fanon (1961: 41) asserts that the colonialist bourgeoisie, in its narcissistic dialogue, expounded by the members of its universities, had in fact implanted the thought in the minds of the colonised intellectuals that their essential qualities were eternal no matter how many mistakes had been made. Accordingly, the colonial powers are not afraid to instil fear of the oppressed that are seen as the most revolutionary. What we learn here is that the colonial world aims to exploit the masses that have become used to inflicting violence on others. Fanon (1961: 38) comments that the colonial city is composed of colonists and the colonised and the colonists that made and continue to make the colonised feel the pressure of inferiority. The colonist's function is to exploit; his instrument is violence: the agents of government speak the "language of pure force."

The colonial world is characterised by the dichotomy, which it imposes on the entire population. “It is a world divided into compartments, a motionless, Manicheistic world: the statue of the general who carried out the statute of the engineering who built the bridge; the world cut into two” (Fanon 1961; Staniland 2011:11). The world is divided into two zones, the zones that accommodate evil and those that accommodate the good. Thus, Fanon asserts that there is a need for the oppressed to have access to material conditions denied to him/her, however, the acquisition of such material conditions will eventually be achieved in evil ways because material means create conflict between specific groups of those who have access and those who are unable to access those resources. Those with insufficient resources became impatient when they do not receive basic resources and will later resort to organising themselves and looting the resources of government.

This Manichean world is the foundation underpinning the employment of those exploitive rules by colonialism. In effect, those rules are still employed today, but this time by the elitist government. Regarding the elitist structures, we note that it is only the elite individuals who benefit from the structures left by the imperialists. Undoubtedly, the utopian world must be shared by the people who fought for liberation and there should be no exclusion of individuals therefore. Fanon (1961) seeks a way out of the Manichean structure of colonialism, where the black person has two choices: either to turn white so that his or her blackness can no longer be detected or to reverse the colonial order (Ahluwalia 2010:72).

For Fanon, “oppression means something more complex than the subjection to violence or the constraining of agency.” Fuss (1994:24) argues that the colonised are constrained to impersonate the image the coloniser creates for them; they are commanded to imitate the coloniser's version of their essential differences. Out of violence the nation is born, consequently, the native is disinfected of his inferiority complex, of his mystification, of his despair. Violence is the praxis of decolonisation, replacing one “type” of man by another “type” (Fanon 1961; Staniland 2011:11). Violence is set to purify the state by destroying those who are not wanted within the community. Kebede (2011:551) alerts the reader to the cathartic value of the aggressive act of violence against the coloniser: it purges

the colonised of the aggressiveness that is consuming them. Because it steers the internalised violence towards the “real” culprit, it emerges as the right remedy to a situation created that violence itself. In fact, several authors for instance, challenge the notion that the systematic exclusionary discourse of the other is a type of structural discrimination based on the experience of ‘exclusion’ with the ensuing limited labour opportunities as described by Rodriguez (2000:77). Fanon (1961:93) makes the following important pronouncement:

The practice of violence binds them together as a whole, since each individual forms a violent link in the great chain, a part of the great organism of violence, which has surged upward in reaction to the settler's violence in the beginning.

In a situation such as the one found in post-apartheid South Africa, where the majority of nationals are yet to graduate into meaningful citizenship, the competition with migrants for the lowest-level jobs is severe (Nyamnjoh 2006:2). In South Africa, the internal narrative by the liberation movements including the African National Congress (ANC) defeated colonialism of a special kind, when the Afrikaner nationals realised that they did not have any other country to go to and control. Therefore, what we see in South Africa with the emergence of xenophobic sentiments towards foreign African immigrants is the new black elites and middle class who perpetuate violence and want to emulate example set by apartheid within the social structures on racism. However, what is different in this case is that the elites and the black bourgeoisie are not actually carrying out the attacks themselves, instead, it the poor and the disadvantaged that are responsible for those attacks. The black elites are speaking from a position of white privilege in South Africa and not from the position of the poor.

Xenophobic attacks are then not so much problems of post-modernity, but are rather problems grounded in post-coloniality in particular, a phenomenon that Fanon squarely connects to the politics of the dominant groups in the period following independence. It is therefore a problem for him of political consciousness, a consciousness that is inimical to the majority of the African population even though they may partake in it (Neocosmos 2010:9).

A culture of xenophobic sentiments, evidenced by negative perceptions of and increased violence against immigrants, has quickly materialised and consumed South Africa's consciousness. The space contested by the poor and the disadvantaged with foreign immigrants subscribes to the logic of colonialism and is kept intact by the Manichean structure, which in reality, is a reproduction of what underpinned colonialist structures. Eke (2011) makes an incisive comment:

Blacks abandoning their own neighbourhood (living space) for white suburbs and whites taking flight on sighting blacks move in. This phenomenon greatly interests this research as argument is directed on the psychological violence the environment inflicts on the individual.

In addition, Eke (2011), refers to the perpetrators of the xenophobic attacks as follows: “In a colonised society, the settler minority expropriated most of the resources leaving the indigenous majority poor.” In Eke’s (2011) discussion, the author affirms that it is in the nature of perpetrators of violence to leave their victims with fear.

### **2.1.1.3 FANON ON THE POLITICS OF PHYSICAL INJURY AND VIOLENCE**

For the purpose of the study, different types of Fanon violence will be discussed. Fanon in his study critically illustrates on two types of violence pre colonisation and post colonization and how it is endorsed. According to Nayar (2013: 70), the first is the violence of the colonizer that results in the annihilation of the body and psyche of the colonized. As Parris (2011: 6) propose it is the abnormal psyche. The second violence that this study recommends illustrates to the xenophobic experiences of foreign nationals is that

“this violence is an attempt on the part of the desperate, frustrated, and alienated colonized subject to retrieve a certain dignity and sense of the Self that colonial violence has destroyed” (Nayar 2013: 70).

In South Africa the violence attacks towards foreign immigrants is extremely internalized by the perpetrators that they end up emulating their oppressor, which is the Apartheid regime. Fanon's schematic mapping of anti-colonial activity — which in effect, imitates the two modes of logic under consideration here, the

Manichean and the dialectical — makes it clear that the organisation of the first resistance is *determined* by the coloniser. There is resistance to changing the structures of oppression and those structures are maintained within a new spectrum. In other words, the actions of the occupier “determine the centres around which a people's will to survive becomes organized” (Gibson 1999: 343). The question can now be asked: How does Fanon see liberation or emancipation? Wilderson (2010: 54) answers that “Humanism has no theory of the slave because it imagines a subject who has either been alienated in terms of language or alienated from his or her cartographic and temporal capacities.” Significantly, Wilderson (2010: 55) makes the following important pronouncement:

I cannot imagine an object who has been positioned by gratuitous violence and who has no cartographic and temporal capacities to lose—a sentiment being for whom recognition and incorporation is impossible. In, short, political ontology, as imagined through humanism can only produce discourse that has as its foundation alienation and exploitation as a grammar of suffering, when it is needed (for the black person, who is always a slave) is an ensemble of ontological questions that has its foundation accumulation and fungibility as a grammar suffering In the context of South Africa, one will never be able to replace the lived experience of an individual or particular group even if one to transcend to the ontological position, one can only imagine.

For Fanon (1961) also writes that “all forms of exploitation are identical because all of them are applied against the same object” (Forsythe 1973: 160). Thus, the black elites are the slaves pursuing white liberal policies. Hook (2004:128) explains, “Manichean thinking is that approach to culture in which all values and concepts are split into binary opposites, one that is positive (which is white) and one that is negative (black)” In the same vein, Fanon (1961: 20) asserts:

Our enemy betrays his brothers and becomes our accomplice; his brothers do the same thing. The status of "native" is a nervous condition introduced and maintained by the settler among colonized people with their consent

Fanon (1961:16) notes that “the muscles of the colonized are always tense” He further argues that colonialism creates in the native a perpetual tendency toward violence, a “tonicity of muscles,” which is deprived of an outlet (Smith 2011). Instead of merely asking, “what does the black man want?” Fanon (1986:10), in a more humanistic approach, raises the question: “what does man want?” Fanon is

concerned with the social diagnosis of the conditions in which the black man finds himself trapped (Staniland 2011:8) “A genealogy of the social sciences should show that the ideological imagery” that penetrated the social sciences originated in the first phase of consolidation of the modern/colonial world-system (Castro-Gomez 2002:283).

#### **2. 1. 1. 4 FANON AND CRITICAL HUMANISM**

Is this xenophobic a human act? In Fanon’s (1986:10) writing on the creation of a new “humanism”, one finds the following phrases: “Towards a new humanism.....” “Understanding among men....” “Our colored brother.....” As for Fanon the new humanism can only emerge if there is peace amongst nations and there is unity no matter your racial or ethnic identity (Nayar 2013: 128). What local South Africans need to aspire is to reject the manner in which national identity has been constructed by the colonial powers. It is the new national identity after decolonization that is a barrier in uniting different ethnic groups. As ethnicity is now a major ideal for national solidarity instead of seeing an individual as a human being. Fanon (1967) continues to say that the black man’s culture has been destroyed by western culture. As Fanon sees it in his book *BSWM*, the black man plays different roles and puts on a mask, therefore there is a lack of clear identity (Nayar 2013: 9).

Fanon indicates in his writings that the world we occupy is underpinned by the existential colonial position. The attitude of the black man today towards the “white world” and his inherited attitude of violent tendencies towards the other those experiences create inequality and distress. In Fanon’s deployment of the phrase, “the Other” is based on racialised and asymmetric power relations that remain only on the one side. The black man now does not want to share any of his wealth accumulated during the liberation period. The black man denies his fellow brother what he has accumulated; he sees no humanity in sharing what he has. This black man is not apologetic for not sharing his wealth because of a history of deprivation. Neocosmos (2011:391) contends that people of all ethnic and racial backgrounds believe in South African exceptionalism in terms of which South Africa is superior to the rest of the African continent due to its levels of

industrialisation, its democracy and its “miraculous” transition. This discourse constructs Africans as the “Other” of post-apartheid South Africa; it thus sees itself as having the “right to exclude.” In the same vein, Fanon (1961:41) asserts that:

...the native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values. He is, let us dare to admit, the enemy of values, and in this sense he is the absolute evil. He is the corrosive element, destroying all that comes near him; he is the deforming element, disfiguring all that has to do with beauty or morality; he is the depository of maleficent powers, the unconscious and irretrievable instrument of blind forces.

In the light of the above context, forewing African immigrants are seen as evil in South Africa as there are stereotypes and prejudice attached to their identity. Fanon’s colonial dis-alienation or self-alienation, involves the internalisation of native inferiority. This condition makes the colonial subject’s plight ineluctable, for as long as he/she is black, he/she will remain inferior in the eyes of the European coloniser and justification will be found for his/her oppression. The colonised is seemingly locked into a cycle of oppression, a material condition that acts as a catalyst for the psychological complex of self-alienation resulting in the frustrations of the dispossessed and disadvantaged local population. Parris (2011:8) asserts that:

To prove that the material reality of colonial oppression creates and maintains psychological complexes, Fanon illuminates the ways in which a detailed study of colonialism imbricates two critical approaches that are generally perceived as theoretically opposed: dialectical materialism and psychoanalysis

Ironically, foreigners often brand South Africans with the same characteristics often ascribed to them: dishonesty, violence and contagion Landau & Monson (2008: 325). Furthermore, Landau and Monson (2008: 34) contend that the social capital that planners might hope to generate to combat xenophobia and encourage integration may not exist. People want to come to our cities, to live and work there. Thus, any strategy that does not take notice of these dynamics will be inherently flawed. Nursey-Bray (1980:135) confirms that Fanon’s treatment of ideology has received less attention than other aspects of his work

and certainly less than it merits. Ideology and social change is too simple and determinist in its ascription of the vital importance of the liberating effects of violence on the consciousness of the colonised (Nurse-Bray 1980:135). Fanon emphasises the race factor with regard to the colonial social formation, which gives rise to the suspicion that he has overvalued its significance and thereby undervalued the importance of class (Nurse-Bray 1980:135). Indeed, ideology is a paradigm that is imposed on a society. When a society is constantly pursuing either a physical or mental activity within a situation that society will conform to that ideology of violence as a legitimate means of rehabilitating themselves.

### **2.1.1. 5 FANON AND SEPARATISM**

Fanon (1961) does not reject the idea that individuals must be treated with humanity regardless of their past. His first call is that “you must see me as a human being.” For Onwuanibe (1983:1) “the term humanism is a slippery word that today covers a watershed of opinions, attitudes, outlooks and movements centering man.” This affirms that humanism is inherent in every individual. In the study by Onwuanibe that includes Fanon, the humanistic narrative is explored within the African context that includes the ethics of caring, loving, respect and forgiveness as an African philosophy and humanism that has been a lived experience of the African and South African people for centuries. Gordon (2000:11) concludes:

It is, instead, to say that the impetus of African philosophy, when the question of the black or the situation of the black people is raised, has an existential impetus. That African philosophy cannot, and word missing not be reduced to existential philosophy is paradoxically because of a central dimension of the philosophy of existence itself: the question of existence, in itself is empty.

African humanism is not only a token of indigenous knowledge, but also a political tool can be utilised to harmonise the community to work together for a common goal, respect, caring for each other’s well-being and a spirit of mutual support co-operation, compassion and forgiveness (Mbigi 1989; Shutte 1993). Pietersen (2005: 54) argues that in the main, the term “humanism” has acquired

two meanings: firstly, to refer to humankind's desire and increased ability to rely on its own resources, to master (discover, analyse and codify) the forces of nature and turn it to its own advantage (the domains of science and technology). The second meaning, is associated with the moral sphere of human existence, in answer to the perennial question of how we should best live – as individuals and as communities (Pietersen 2005:54). Fanon (1961: 40) further indicates that:

The violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world, which has ceaselessly drummed the rhythm for the destruction of native social forms and broken up without reserve the systems of reference of the economy, the customs of dress and external life, that same violence will be claimed and taken over by the native at the moment when, deciding to embody history in his own person, he surges into the forbidden quarters.

The above quotes describe how the insecurities and inaccessibility of basic resources has been instrumental in destabilising the natives in their own land. What also resonates is how the military led ANC wing destabilised the apartheid regime during the 1980's. Thus violence was used to ensure that it becomes the key to liberating the black people from oppression under the Apartheid regime.

Willson (2010:75) observes that “structural or, absolute, violence, is not a black experience but a condition of black “life.” It remains constant, despite changes in its performance over time. The PDGs are conditioned with regard to structural violence to see nothing wrong with their inherited condition. Accordingly, the natives are seen as a community without morals because they do not follow rules and do what they want without the necessary authority. The perpetrators of xenophobic attacks do not conform to the morals that govern humanity. They are quick to dispense with those whom they regard as not worthy of receiving any privileges from the government. They place foreign immigrants in a box and label them as the “Other.” In fact, the “*Othering*” of the foreign black immigrant is normalised by the system. The competition for resources is exacerbated by the government's policy and its systematic approach to employment, access to housing, and jobs by the government.

Dixon (1997:18) declares:

The discourse of the native has emphasized the 'black' Africans' maladjustment to modern urban life, blaming this for the hardships that have accompanied white domination; correspondingly, the discourse of the healthy reserve has promoted the idea that there exists an idyllic pastoral realm to which Africans are naturally suited"). It is common to think the unknown represents a danger, therefore it is "othered" and remain unintegrated. The space is being contested.

The conceptualisation of space is a Manichean structure. Importantly, these Manichean structures of white versus black were perpetuated by the apartheid regime, during which era African culture was regarded as heathen. In some terms the trammled culture needs to be freed, reinvigorated, reappropriated (Cherki 2000:88). In his interpretation of the Manichean structure, Fanon affirms that the world is a compartmentalised world, a world where there is a division of classes, a world where there is the difference of the 'other.' Individuals are compressed into a single space. Significantly, Fuss (1994:23) declares:

If the colonized is no more than a narcissistic self-reflection of the colonizer, then the latter's exclusive claim to "humanness" is seriously compromised, put into jeopardy by the very narcissism that paradoxically constructs the nonhuman in the Imperial Subject's own image.

Furthermore, Fanon (1961: 310) expresses the following opinion:

The new man is not an *a posteriori* product of that nation; rather, he co-exists with it and triumphs with it. This dialectic requirement explains the reticence with which adaptations of colonization and reforms of the facade are met. Independence is not a word, which can be used as an exorcism, but an indispensable condition for the existence of men and women who are truly liberated, in other words who are truly masters of all the material means which make possible the radical transformation of society.

Humanity must be seen to show respect to all other individuals. However, Ahluwalia (2010:66) explains that ironically, "This new humanism was to be achieved through violence, a violence that brought to an end the very process of colonialism." Indeed, the sets of historical circumstances created different spaces where the level of oppression can be carried out through conflict and war by using violence.

Fanon (1961:20), comments:

The more farseeing among us will be, in the last resort, ready to admit this duty and this end; but we cannot help seeing in this ordeal by force the altogether inhuman means that these less-than-men make use of to win the concession of a charter of humanity.

The “Othering” in this context, is conditioned by the notion that the black majority of the black South African citizens, from several studies conducted, indicate that they label “Other” black foreign immigrants. In order to differentiate themselves from the immigrants, especially the black immigrants that are the focus of this study, they call them names; identify them through the clothes they wear and their dialects. Gordon (2000:33) asserts that, “the dualism of black experience and white theory has to be abandoned here for the recognition that black reflections are also theoretical and informative of the human condition.” This black man is quick to forget the people who assisted him to gain independence, liberation and fought the war to end slavery and oppression from “the Other.” Now he is quick to chase them away, so that he can have everything himself. This statement must be analysed against the backdrop of the South African structure of governance where the ANC received power to govern its citizens. Several African countries played a major role in assisting the exiled South Africans to find refuge in their countries. Today, those facts have been forgotten and the local South Africans quick to challenge the foreign immigrants who are now turning to South Africa for refuge.

Fanon’s emphasis on agency and action—on becoming human as the very activity of liberation—does not mean that he dismissed philosophical thinking. Fanon writes about the de-colonial agencies in relation to the engagement of the current realities. In fact, while practical action is essential, Fanon (1961) also underscores the necessary challenge of a new humanism grounded in the spaces opened up by the epoch of anti-colonial struggles. However, they are cognisant of the possibility that a new beginning could also be crushed and the space for dialogue closed off, not only by the colonial powers but by the anti-colonial movement itself; for the sake of an external unifier (and frustrated by the seemingly endless contradictions) such as “the nation,” “the party,”

“development,” and “unity”(Gibson 2011:6). In his narratives, Fanon (1961) felt a deep sense of betrayal. War entails being involved in a struggle with the enemy where you kill the enemy and you are recognised for that. Therefore, Fanon fights a war that is not his, and allows for conflict, that should not be confused with killing. The paradox of that this war entails the colonised liberating the coloniser. Accordingly Alessandrini (2011:65).describes the world of the oppressed as follows:

It is a world with no space; people are piled on top of the other, the shacks squeezed tightly together. The colonized's sector is a famished sector, hungry for bread, meat, shoes, coal, and light. The colonized's sector is a sector that crouches and cowers . . . It's a section of niggers, a sector of towelheads.

From these sectors that were created, there is no room for communication and proper understanding of the situation that separates them. There remains no coexistence (Alessandrini 2005). Fanon (1965:57) further indicates that “unlike the colonized, the colonizer always translated his subjective states into, acts, real and multiple murders.” Research findings on the literature review match reflect current findings in the social sciences. Guillaume & Houssay-Holzshchuch (2001:5) argue that “the view from ‘below’ rehabilitates the role of the poor in the construction of the city, the creation of its landscapes and its economy by fostering active strategies, whether through their choice of residence or of occupation”. Regarding the anger of the oppressed, Fanon (1961:17) comments:

Make no mistake about it; by this mad fury, by this bitterness and spleen, by their ever-present desire to kill us, by the permanent tensing of powerful muscles, which are afraid to relax, they have become men: men *because of* the settler, who wants to make beasts of burden of them— because of him, and against him.

Fanon (1961: 40) utters a moral humanistic critique of the native to confirm his existence as an ex-slave, a human being within a colonial world contesting that “the originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality, and the immense difference of ways of life never come to mask the human realities.” In addition, Neocosmos (2011:382) describes this existential phenomenon as the native versus the evil embodied in the settler. There is nothing hybrid. Fanon

(1961: 39) describes the colonial town as a pleasant town, a town that is secure.

He notes

The settlers' town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings, unseen and unknown and hardly thought about. The settler's feet are never visible, except perhaps in the sea; but there you're never close enough to see them. His feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones. The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easy going town; its belly is always full of good things.

In contrast, Fanon (1961: 39) describes the native's town as follows: "The native's town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire; it is a town of niggers." Thus, there is a reservation of living spaces for foreign African immigrants. He adds, "moreover, by drawing on multiple identities simultaneously, they evade subjection to the overarching authority of one." Importantly, Fanon (1961:204) declares.

The living expression of the nation is the moving consciousness of the whole of the people; it is the coherent, enlightened action of men and women. The "collective building up of a destiny is the assumption of responsibility on the historical scale. Otherwise, there is anarchy, repression, and the resurgence of tribal parties.

Interestingly, Fanon (1961:38) notes: "The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity." Fanon portrays the colonial world as Manichean in its structure and values, a characteristic that makes the native use of violence rebellion the logical corollary of the violent oppression of the settler (Nurse-Bay 1980:136). There is a transition from the Manichean to the dialectical logic where the "will to liberty is expressed in terms of time and space" (Gibson 2006: 108). What is important is the substitution of the responsibility held by the subjects. Such a process of dialectical movement also means a purposeful direction towards a fully realised liberation. The movement from a colonial to an independent society is also a move away from the dominance of the spatial (Gibson 1999: 341). Fanon's discussion of the Manichean character of the settler/native relations of the colonial world must be seen in this light. He is

seeking to capture the character of the colonial world at that precise historical moment when the ideology of racism is paramount. Fanon (1961) declares:

that the colonized cannot find refuge in ordinary social anonymity because the (perverted) extraordinary - the rapture of the ordinary through violence and misrecognition - simply tends to take the place of the ordinary. In this world, psychic pathologies do not mask themselves in the symbolic; instead, they find expression in the real. The colonial anti-black world in which Fanon lived was not simply formed by human beings, but by two fields: the colonizer and the colonized, the white and the black.

Maldonado-Torres, Mignolo, Silverblatt and Saldivar-Hull (2008:208) remarks, "every form of human relation and every feature of human life exhibits the masks of this Manichean opposition. Manichaeism, not simply positivism or ontology, characterises for Fanon modern/colonial thinking and power." Regarding the situation in South Africa, Sandwith (2010: 77), suggests that:

If the May violence revealed lines of fracture and points of tension in the broader South African polity - social divisions, the limits of available discourse and the fragility of national myths - it also laid bare a new Manichaeism of 'criminal' and 'citizen' involving a reliance on a particular model of criminality that achieves the restoration of social wholeness (and the goodness of the nation) through the expulsion of the deviant few.

What Fanon reveals is the internal pattern of violence and how it can escalate. Thus a culture of violence as Fanon agrees was created by the Apartheid regime and how it used it to stabilize the black population. Which the violence was perpetuated amongst the blacks in all levels (Nayar 2013: 732).

## **2.2 FANON AS A REVOLUTIONARY THINKER**

Fanon proceeds to describe the tactics and organisation by means of which the spontaneous revolution acquires strength and also how it enters the towns through the outer ring of urban society, how political education gives discernment and rationality to the revolutionaries and how "violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths" (Staniland 2011: 16; Fanon 1961:102-117). Smith (2011) mentions that for Fanon, violence is a vital means of psychological and social liberation.

He argues that violence

...is man recreating himself: the native cures himself through force of arms. Thus, unlike Marx, Fanon seems to imply that even if the colonialists peacefully withdraw, the decolonization process is somehow aborted, that liberation is incomplete - the native remains an enslaved person in the neo-colonial social system. With Fanon's understanding the "colonized" is a sick patient.

In "*Towards the African revolution*," Fanon (1967) proposes rebellion against the system that has been oppressing him as one of the measures to which can be resorted to deal with the colonised. However, in this case, acceptance of the particular disorder of a situation, Fanon seeks the diagnosis of the patients, namely the oppressed. Fanon recommends that since they feel pain, they need to be relieved of that pain, In order to do that; the patients must probe their consciousness to find a way in order to revolt against that pain. Not only do they discover that they have a serious disease, but then they discover that there are other diseases that are other underlying problems. Accordingly, Fanon (1967:6) declares that the patient exclaims, "My heart seems to flutter inside here.....my head is bursting" For Fanon, it seems as though the patient is unfamiliar with his position as someone in pain, and fails to identify clearly from where the pain is emerging (Fanon 1961).

Wright (1993:684) observes that in Fanon's mind, violence was viewed not as an expression of tribal or social struggles, but as the cleansing, unifying power, which would sweep these away. Rather than integrating or assimilating, migrants, enlist discourses that exploit their position as the permanent outsiders in a manner that "distances [them] from all connections and commitments." Indeed, avoiding such a commitment promotes scepticism and the self-imposed distancing that allows them to elude state control (Landau & Monson 2008: 328). In this regard, the foreign African immigrant is seen as a body (person) to be policed to by checking for working permits as this is the "politics of life" and such foreign bodies (people), they are harassed and policed continually. Under the conditions of apartheid, the black person was also policed continually because of the colonial prejudice that placed a black person on trial since he/she was deemed inferior and not qualified to undertake certain activities.

Therefore, the apartheid government made it a mandate to regulate the black person and to monitor his/her movements. They also regulated the flow of black people within white suburbs and cities by means of the pass laws. Thus, if a black person wanted to be in a white city, such an individual had to receive permission/ authorisation to work in such an area by receiving a legitimate stamp in his/her passbook, thereby obtaining permission to be within that space.

Importantly, Fanon (1967: 44) suggests:

They (the dispossessed within the informal settlements) are invading the space of the privileged. After time spent at the settlers' town, they must go. The controlling of the bodies through racial profiling is inhuman, because they live like animals, therefore they must be treated like animals. People in Alexandra are living on dumpsites; hence, their modes of existence become policed. Fanon's structural violence raises interesting questions about intentionality and motivations. It is one thing to claim that a structure performs certain functions. It is another thing to say that it was specifically set up to perform these functions.

The above statement reflects how local black South Africans have been humiliated by the apartheid regime through segregation. The mental slavery is still embedded in their minds. They seek to erase those experiences including the violent manner in which they were conditioned by the apartheid militant forces. In a positive vein, Jinadu (2002:51) declares.

The end of race prejudice begins with a sudden comprehension. The occupant's' with their rigid culture, have now been liberated, open at last to the culture of people who have really become brothers. The two cultures can affront each other, enrich each other.

Fanon (1961) states that the following elements, namely, paternalism, prejudice regarding one's own race, oppression and control of other humans and lastly, the self-realisation of the oppressed characterise being free from slavery. As for culture it is a vital part of people's identity in its struggle for freedom (Blackey 2007: 83).

## 2. 3 FANON AND THE BULLIES OF XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

They, the “bullies responsible for xenophobic attacks,” cannot recognise that their oppression is created through the notion that it provides them with freedom, thereby preparing the way for further oppression of the people who are already suffering. They start blaming the immigrants for taking their taking their jobs, their women and their resources. “The capacity to suffer is, clearly, part of being human. But not all suffering is equal, in spite of pernicious and often self-serving identity politics suggest otherwise” (Farmer 2002:434). Hook (2004:136) explains, “Not all black subjects find themselves caught in this in-between state, simply because they may well not have the economic or cultural or even the historical, means to move beyond the basest level of racist objectification.” Fanon’s violence is only through combat but also through instilling mental fear as it takes various forms including psychological assertion that foreign immigrants are not human and thus they should be removed from interacting with local South Africans. Foreign immigrants are reduced to being regarded as particular objects and thus unable to be themselves. As Cherki (2000: 183) indicates at this application Fanano’s political violence is different in a sense that it is on a societal level and it is an appeal, a desire for change awaiting a response.

The inclusion and exclusion phenomenon that Fanon unpacks rests on the logic that those who are excluded find themselves in a state of helplessness with regard to their desire to be free, recognised as humans and to be entitled to similar privileges as the natives. Accordingly, they reproduce the violence to which they were subjected, instead of fighting against such injustice and perpetuate the same structural violence. Black South Africans, who attack foreign African immigrants, see nothing wrong with attacking them, as they justify their acts upon the grounds that South Africa belongs to them and foreigners are not welcome. Therefore, structural violence hits those who are unable to recognise its implications and who are oppressed even harder by the reproduction of the system that is not responding to their needs. Significantly, Fanon (1986:109) discusses the subjective meaning of the “Other:” when the migrants are called a:

Dirty nigger!” or simply, look a Negro”! I came into the world with the will to find a meaning in things, my spirit filled with the desire to attain the source of the world and then I found that I was an object in the midst of other objects.

The Manichean structure is maintained through the creation of public institutions and by those who are disposed and who find themselves in a condition(s) of structural violence. The Manichean structure involves a paradox pertaining to a binary structure that should be maintained regarding good and bad. Fanon’s (1961) analysis is epistemic as he probes the colonial subject’s crisis concerning self-identification, as the binary formulating of a black skin and a white mask that describes several theoretical dichotomies. Parris (2011:7) refers to the employment of the “mask to obscure true identity; dialectical in the play of opposing racial identities and symbolically Manichean forces; and ontological, in the subsuming” of black identity by the mask of white identity.” This analysis of Manichean framework draws on the South African context with regard to xenophobia in terms of the fact that identities are challenged by the movement of the people and pose a problem to existing identities.

Fanon (1961:41) asserts:

The colonial world is a Manichean world. It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the native.

Modernity and imperialism project the humanism of Fanon and the formation of the ‘subjecthood.’ Here, the subjecthood of “xenophobia” vis-à-vis “humanism” is informed by the imagination of what it is like not to be oppressed. As for xenophobia, its ideas are constructed by society on how to view foreign people. As for humanism, it’s a natural characteristic to which humans are subjected. The scrutiny of prejudice entails that humanism is to replace colonial structures of oppression that perpetuate the creation of oppression. Mbembe (2003:24) states that “space is therefore the raw material of sovereignty and the violence it carries with it. Sovereignty means occupation” of a particular territory to rule over it, and occupation means relegating the colonised to a third zone between subjecthood and objecthood. Such was the case with the apartheid regime in South Africa

## **2.4 FANON AND THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF THE COLONISED**

South Africans who feel that the South African government has not delivered on promises of free housing, employment and free education, are now starting to militate against them. Accordingly, because of their frustrated condition, they revolt against the closest agents to them, which are the foreign immigrants.

Alhuwalia (2010:62) argues that,

Fanon was forced to conceptualise a new humanism. The tenuous hold he had on cultural certainty led to a weakening of the hold of humanism and the conception of a new humanism, a disruption of humanism that previewed the post-humanism of post-structuralism.

Fanon (1961) expresses the idea that through the act of humanity, one is also able to create a new being from the experiences that one endured. Colonialism created the conditions that necessitated the new humanism.” This calls for the democratisation of the politics of space. If we can have inclusion and exclusion of Manichean structures then there must be a collapse of such binary structures. A new humanity must emerge that exudes purity. What is that the black men want? Furthermore, the new situation must not emerge from racism.

## **2.5. PSYCHOANALYSIS AND RESPONSE TO XENOPHOBIA**

This analysis brings in the internal contradiction between the perpetrator and the victim. There is a tension that exist and is can only be analysed on the psychological level which observes the lived experiences of the victim and the psychological world that offers an explanation to their realities (Clarke 2003: 61). The finding by Fanon (1961) with the case studies in his analysis recognises that there is a denial that his patient failed to comprehend about their social behaviour.

Fanon’s (1961; 1967) study is experimental, that is why his psychoanalysis and philosophical account between the oppressor and the oppressed is unique. In *Colonial War and Mental Disorder* chapter by Fanon (1961) reveals his belief that political violence cannot be bracketed (Queeley 2011: 110). The disorders are visible in the patient as Fanon (1961: 252) writes disorders which persist for

months on end, making a mass attack against the ego, and practically always leaving as their sequel a weakness which is almost visible to the naked eye. These sentiments resonate as the majority of xenophobic violence continuously attracts the similar traits towards foreign immigrants. Clarke (2003: 62) confirms that psychoanalysis deals with the irrational or at least seemingly irrational-love, hate, envy-forces that shape motivation in every existence. It is a powerful process that encourages research in stimulating issues that are practically applied to explain levels of conflict in the world.

Arguably Nayar (2013: 76) confirms that violence therefore fuels the return of the native expression and practices that have been transmitted by the coloniser. The perpetrators of xenophobia as Nayar (2013) suggest are prone to prejudice because of their experiences of once being rejected. These perpetrators were once rejected by the Apartheid system as not legitimate South Africans; they were seen only as migrants in their country of birth.

Fanon in his ideology is more concerned with how once confronted with the human realities the colonial human will behave in a decolonised world. Fanon (1961) makes no mistake by pointing out that the now liberal man will fight to want to belong to the new world. These new beginnings are found with the auspices of the national bourgeoisies who have emulated the western bourgeoisie (Fanon 1961: 153). It will be fearless to and senile not to mention that it is precisely what is occurring in South Africa. The ANC political elites conform to the needs of the white upper class demands.

### **2.5.1 FREUD'S INTERPRETATION ON XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE**

Freud argues that the xenophobic attack witnessed towards immigrants in South Africa is racism. Fanon (1961) grounded his study of psychoanalysis of the psychotic conditions in the social and material context of the blacks, or the colonised (Nayar 2013: 28). What we see manifesting is the ego that perpetrators of xenophobia portray. The ego, according to Freud's theory operates in two domains, the external world and the internal world as it acts upon its instinct (Clarke 2003: 67). As for Fanon (1961) the people are taught to be aware of their

surroundings upon freedom has been achieved and how to identify a bad seed that is upon them. Fanon (1961: 145) writes “as they look around them, they notice that certain settlers do not join in the general guilty hysteria; there are differences in the same species.” It is thus the social conditions of hysteria he argues, a bodily manifestation of an alienated psyche (Nayar 2013: 76).

Clarke (2003: 7) says that the fear about foreign immigrants in South Africa is conducted through a projection that is used as a defence for paranoia because of the fear of the ‘other.’ As for Freud’s theory speaks about trauma that has been experienced by the victim. The latter resonates in this study as it provides an analytical tool to understanding the trauma experienced by the victim through oppression. Freud further locates his neurosis within the family, within a group (Nayar 2013: 36). That there is a causal effect to the trauma experienced by the individual whereas Fanon takes the psychoanalysis further by proposing that it is within the socio, economic and political environment that we see the black man still struggling to be liberal. Because of the internal scares experienced by the black man during apartheid he still sees himself as inferior, and prefers not to let anyone rob him from that freedom once it has been achieved. It is inferior complexity syndrome that perpetrators of xenophobic attacks are experiencing

## **2.5.2 MARXIST INTERPRETATION**

Marxist analysis there is an over extension of material sources in a capitalist community. Karl Marx’s theory represents a discourse on the political economy and distribution of material. For Marx and Fanon the material condition and access to resources equitably is key for the struggle in liberating a nation. The analysis of resources is interpreted in terms of property, in South Africa land and access to housing is a symbol of wealth. Whereas In South Africa post-Apartheid there has been a rise of privatisation of enterprises and ownership of private property signifies once wealth. Marx proposes it is not the rise of private property per se, but the dehumanization of blacks, the reduction of black men to the level of private property, to chattel (Forsythe 1973: 165). Marx was critical in economic class, where Fanon (1961) went further to discuss class and race as a factor in determining the epic of a revolution (Nurse-Bray 1980: 156).

As interpreted by Fanon (1961), there is a conflict that will arise between new classes of liberal black bourgeoisie with the local lower class proletariat masses. Since the middle class has neither sufficient material nor intellectual resources (Fanon 1961: 153). In relations to South Africa and the claim that foreign immigrants compete for resources with locals the idea is that discrimination arises from the competition to secure the resources. This study will help to explain the gap concerning how prejudice occurs and further examines the reason why perpetrators of xenophobia come to hate foreign immigrants. Freud's theory contributes to an understanding of exclusionary practices that we see escalating in South Africa between local South Africans and foreign immigrants (Clarke 2003: 59). According to Fanon (1961), Marx introduced a structural plan of showing how capitalism outcomes of accessing resource contains the seeds to its own destruction (Forsythe 1973: 160).

As for Marxist theory it adopts the idea of alienation which Fanon (1961: 58) where the perpetrator adopts customs and practices including violence to a plan of how to be free. Fanon's Marxist critique intertwine with any problem that the coloniser faced it is due to the nature of creation of colonies (Fanon 1961: 40). According to the observation by Forsythe (1973: 165) "Fanon's great emphasis on the psychologically alienated traits of the colonial person-ality finds small counterpart in the alienated class man of Marx." In a sense how foreign immigrants are exploited by local South Africans in terms of their labour which comes as cheap. The black man travels between these colonies in search of a better life to serve to further the economic interests of capitalist society (Crowell 2011). The similar sentiment that Fanon (1961) saw in applying the ideals of Karl Marx where man is exploited by another man for selfish gain (Crowell 2011). Fanon saw the need to observe Marxist theory as it relates to how to solve the problem of the colonial world. For both Fanon and Marx believed that a revolutionary is necessary for a new creation of thinker to emerge from the decolonization process. As the study illustrates in terms of the poor, the perpetrators of violence attacks are the wretched, the peasants which are both crucial to Marxist approach and centerpiece to Fanon's theory (Nurse-Bray 1980: 156).

### **2.5.3 EXISTENTIALISM AND HEGELIAN DIALECTICS RESPONSE TO XENOPHOBIA**

What we observe from Hegel analysis is the master and slave dialectics that established a foundation on the practical explanation of xenophobic tendencies. The idea is that the ill of slavery is conducted through the proclamation of humanity being reduced to materialism and the other being used for selfish gain by the master. In relations to xenophobia in South Africa the master is carried out by local South Africans and the slave is the African immigrants. Villet (2011: 2) insist that the master-slave dialectic underscores Hegel's primary attempt at conceptualizing and describing the process of recognition on the way to mutual recognition.

The issue is that the idea that the slave fails to assimilate the culture and tradition of the master, is seen as distorting the image of the master. Hence we see the current revolting of perpetrators of xenophobic attacks towards immigrants as they continuously blame the immigrants for not conforming to the norms of the country. The victim is continuously ostracised because he fails to comprehend with the culture of the master. Fanon's ideology proposes that discrimination in terms of race and class is associated with existentialism.

Thus Hegel and Fanon are important metaphor of master and slave narratives as the master admires to see a reflection of his control of the slave. And the slave desires to have the freedom that the master have and imperial power.

There is some sense of recognition and transmission of identity that is transmitted to the perpetrators about foreign immigrants. Thus the study does not conclude but merely gives insight of ho Lacan process is dramatised towards a desired image. And how there is a movement towards aspiring to be the exact replica of the master. Thus the subject "is therefore alienated by the rigid structure of the mirror image, imprisoned by its own image" (Clarke 2003: 108). As Fanon (1961: 93) writes the native's work is to imagine all possible methods for destroying the settler. For both Lacan and Fanon, the self is a reflection of the other. The foreign immigrant in South Africa is the 'Other,' unable to assimilate

the level and practices of the bourgeoisie black South African. Where Fanon defines existentialism in the idea that colonialism was meant for the native to deny his/her own being in the world. In wearing a white mask negates native/Black identity and all that it represents: racial and ethnic particularity, racial self-identification, and native history and culture (Parris 2011: 8).

#### **2.5.4 LACAN INTERPRETATION TO XENOPHOBIA**

Jaques Lacan's study is useful in this study as it talks about the racist world and how the self-mirrors a reflection of the other. In his study Lacan similar to Fanon (1961) stresses the notion of how the is a sense of imagination that occurs between the two groups that are in conflict.

The perpetrators of xenophobia feel that their culture cannot be assimilated if not it not done correctly by foreign immigrants, thus disregarding them as good enough to be part of the culture of South Africa. As Fanon (1961) suggest in his study, that man cannot be isolated. Although what we see is a constant creation of a mirror image of the other to emulate the other. As for Fanon (1961) the colonised must be conscious about his history and fight to exist in a new world as a free man from colonialism.

#### **2.6 CONCLUSION**

Throughout this analysis, the key distinguishing objectives offered by Fanon to identify the syndrome of colonialism of divide and conquer were discussed. This leads to the conclusion that whilst rejecting the idea of not fighting for liberation and confronting the material conditions that perpetuate such barriers, the transition to liberation can be successful through a revolution.

Undoubtedly, a revolution will require the struggle of the entire community in order to achieve its mandate fully and to win the enemy over. However, what is lacking in Fanon's writings is the overarching notion that after liberation from colonial domination, there must be room for rehabilitation of the struggles against the racist structures used to oppress the individuals or groups that were

colonised and conditioned to think in a particular manner. It is imperative that both emotional and physical emancipation of the group should take place. Fanon provided this research with an analytical framework with regard to seeing the xenophobic violence in South Africa as a recurring activity. The study has holistically analysed different theories to explain proponents of xenophobic narratives. Including reviewing the psychoanalysis and de-colonial aspect in expropriating the major diagnosis that propels the xenophobic cultural proponents of nations. Fanon(1961;1967) argues that as a nation we need to eliminate all forms that have created the stereotypes of the black man.

In the next chapter, there will be a discussion of the practical aspect of the study without any reference to the theoretical analysis. The following chapter will discuss the issues related to the policies that govern foreign immigrants.

## **CHAPTER THREE: THE PATTERN OF MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA POST 1994: THE NARRATIVES AROUND XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS OF MAY 2008**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

According to the literature examined on this subject, xenophobia is an international phenomenon and occurs around the world. The literature clearly demonstrates that xenophobia is not an African problem but a phenomenon that occurs worldwide. However, in the South African context, the high levels of poverty and the lack of service delivery in local municipalities are regarded as the causes of the problems (SAHRC 2008: 6). It is interesting to note that there is a growing body of literature and research on xenophobic attacks in South Africa. In addition, a key global trend is that of the racism underpinning xenophobia, with black foreigners representing the common victims of violence and hostility (Harris 2001).

It is interesting to discover that the xenophobia witnessed in the South African context is not entirely regarded as racism but rather as a special kind of discrimination. Xenophobia, unlike racism and nationalism, is a spontaneous and natural biological reaction to strangers (Crush & Ramachandran 2009: 5). Significantly, Harris (2001: 27) observes that:

...the discriminatory and exploitative 'two gates policy,'" which differentiated between black migrants and white immigrants during the apartheid era, effectively remains legislated in the contemporary immigration policy. Beyond the legislation, racism impacts on xenophobic practices, with Black African foreigners bearing the brunt of xenophobic discrimination, both at the hands of the public and at an institutional level.

The story of the country's transition in 1994 from an apartheid pariah to a human rights-oriented democracy was one that presented a great deal of hope, possibility and the victory following a just struggle. According to Landau (2008: 4), for many South Africans who had been welcomed in exile in the 1960s and 1970s in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia and other states, xenophobia was a betrayal of their friendship. According to the literature review conducted in areas such as Johannesburg, Eastern Cape, Western Cape to name a few case

studies on xenophobia and migration in South Africa. In this regard in the literature review and research findings and recommendations of previous scholars on this topic, violence in many instances, is seen as a social control mechanism and is regarded as a form of action. (Harris 2001: 61). Mnyaka (2003: 2) asserts that the problem is that the negative and violent attitudes displayed by some South Africans towards African immigrants, often leads to confrontation. Harris (2002: 170) concludes that:

It is not just an attitude: it is an activity. It is not just a dislike or fear of foreigners: it is a violent practice that results in bodily harm and damage. More particularly, the violent practice that comprises xenophobia must be further refined to include its specific target, because, in South Africa, not all foreigners are uniformly victimized.

It is not the physical violence inflicted on the native that results in his dehumanisation, nor is it merely the creation of an ideology that can legitimatise such violence. In the context of the research, this indicates that xenophobia in South Africa is conceptualised by a sense of entitlement based on what the government of South Africa has “promised” the community that was previously disadvantaged by the apartheid system. It follows that the community expect privileges from the government and are therefore not willing to share those privileges equally and especially not with foreign immigrants.

### **3.2. STATISTICS OF FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN SOUTH AFRICA**

According to the 2011 census, there are more than six million documented foreign immigrants from African states living in South Africa (Republic of South Africa (RSA) 2011). Of this number, the majority are from Zimbabwe followed by Mozambique.

The statistics pertaining to foreign immigrants represents only a portion of foreign immigrants who are on the records of the Department of Home Affairs. There are no official statistics regarding the foreign immigrants who enter South Africa. There are two figures of statistics of foreign immigrants. The Figure 3.1 refers to the overall projection and numbers of foreign immigrants by province.

**Figure 3.1: Total number of documented foreign migrants recorded living in South Africa by province (Source: Statistics South Africa 2011)**

**Citizenship by Province: Census 2011**

Province of Usual Residence	% SA Citizens	% Non-Citizens	Unspecified	Total population	Total Non-Citizens
Western Cape	96.0	3.2	0.9	5 650 462	180 815
Eastern Cape	98.4	0.9	0.7	6 437 586	57 938
Northern cape	98.8	0.9	0.4	1 125 306	10 128
Free State	97.8	1.9	0.4	2 663 080	50 599
Kwazulu-Natal	98.1	1.1	0.8	10 113 978	111 253
North West	95.9	3.5	0.5	3 439 700	120 390
Gauteng	91.9	7.1	1.0	1 195 2392	848 620
Mpumalanga	96.8	2.6	0.6	3 983 570	103 573
Limpopo	96.9	2.6	0.5	5 322 134	138 376
<b>Total</b>		<b>3.2</b>		<b>50 688 208</b>	<b>1 621 692</b>

(<http://www.statssa.gov.za/Publications/P03014/P030142011.pdf>). Calculation of total non-citizen numbers done by ACMS

### 3.3 THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION OF IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, the apartheid regime and its legacies exacerbated the problem with regard to the influx of immigrants by firstly enforcing stringent control on African people's movements to the cities, thereby creating illegal migration. Secondly, by restricting land ownership, especially in the urban areas and thirdly, by restricting African residency in urban areas to certain, delimited neighborhoods', namely, the townships, where the only type of accommodation was the low quality houses provided by the authorities. Accordingly, the Native Land Act of 1913 forbade the black ownership of land and entrenched the negative effects of apartheid. Many areas in South Africa are still racially divided; while the authorities are reluctant to spend money on housing for the African population, consequently, there has never been enough accommodation for the African urban population (Guillaume & Houssay-Holzschuch 2001:3).

### **3.3.1. Informal settlements are a place for xenophobic attacks**

This study opposes the argument by Guillaume and Houssay-Holzshchuch (2001:3), that “squatting was seen as the means to attain personal independence and to gain access to private space, as opposed to the overcrowding of the surrounding townships.” Squatting in informal settlement areas is not merely about gaining access to a private space, but rather about gaining access to resources such as employment. The Alexandra Township, in the northeast of Johannesburg, is an example of a settlement where the poor live who earns a living as labourers in nearby suburban areas, specifically an affluent suburb called Sandton. Alex, the name it is commonly known by in South Africa, carries many deep scars inflicted by apartheid and lies next to some of the wealthiest areas in Johannesburg. Accordingly, the severe poverty and deprivation in the township is in stark contrast with the wealth of Sandton just three kilometers away. It is important to note that South Africa, under the apartheid government was the colonial preserve of the white supremacist power of imperialism that created geographical boundaries between black and white people.

It is interesting to note that what we witness the politics of inclusion and exclusion as the space is being contested there by mostly local Black South Africans and ‘illegal’ migrants. It is imperative to refer to the notion that in the new dispensation, Black South Africans are seeking to assert themselves because of the historical narratives of apartheid that denied them certain freedom and privileges. Squatter camps/informal settlements in South Africa represent an interdependence, which is asymmetrical but not equal in terms of class with regard to the geo-political spaces, this study refers to the townships of Atteridgeville, and Mamelodi and the suburb of Waterkloof. Hence, the Manichean structure prevails though the structure of roads, the N1 freeway that divides the two. In Alexandra, Atteridgeville and Hammanskraal townships, there is a loss of humanity and it is a symbol of the division between the privileged and the disposed.

### **3.3.2 The “Others” are being excluded in South Africa**

Figures 3.1 and 3.2 above show how many African immigrants live in South Africa. Because of the transformation, inclusion and incorporation of “everyone” there was the general acceptance that everyone who enters the country is entitled to services such as housing, employment and education. Marginalised and transient populations often gather in areas initially set up as a temporary transit camp. Importantly, there has been a constant flow of refugees from Somalia, the Congo and recently many from Zimbabwe. With the increasing population of the informal component of the settlement, many problems with basic infrastructure and access to resources including housing and sanitation have developed.

In post-1994 South Africa, communities should have attempted to transcend ethnicity and not display racial intolerance or prejudice by excluding foreign immigrants from other African countries who cannot integrate with the community.

As Harris (2002) points out, despite the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, prejudice and violence continue to mark contemporary South Africa. Indeed, the shift in political power has brought about a range of new discriminatory practices and victims. One such victim is the foreigner subjected to a projection where identity, racism and violent practice are reproduced. The creation of informal settlements by the ANC is evidence of these reproductions because the apartheid regime is an ethnically divided society, through racial and political spaces. Scholars on migration in the social sciences explain that the neurosis of xenophobic sentiments and violent reactions is the fear of something unknown, because social conditions are involved where people legitimise their existence within their space. “Institutional” structures are never simply formal, they are also made and remade through informal codes of interaction and organisation (Tonkiss 2005:52). Tonkiss (2005) adds that while crime and resource conflicts clearly play a part “provoking these attacks, it is also apparent that the attacks are targeted primarily at black foreigners.”

Lemon (1990: 194) suggests the fact that the need for a degree of economic integration has always been recognised, but attempts have been made to minimise even this, largely through industrial decentralisation programmes. In South Africa, spatial geographical demarcation represents who is from where and has further entrenched the roots of the apartheid regime in the black community. Whenever there have been violent attacks on foreigners, many politicians and government officials have tended to downplay the significance of xenophobia, preferring to label such attacks as opportunistic crime and as “conflicts over resources.”

Fuss (1994:22) indicates:

Space operates as one of the chief signifiers of racial difference here: under colonial rule, freedom of movement (psychical and social) becomes a white prerogative. Forced to occupy, in a white racial phantasm, the static ontological space of the timeless "primitive," the black man is disenfranchised of his very subjectivity.

Thus, xenophobia in South Africa pertains to the competition for resources. Furthermore, spatial government regulates our existence in squatter camps, creating dialectic landscapes. Furthermore, this dual separatism created in squatter camps further endorses separatism. Anderson (1990:135) argues that:

Areas with deep-rooted separatist traditions constitute problems for the state, which an appeal to democratic majority decisions cannot solve, though they can bring pressure to bear on the often ‘war-weary’ people in the main conflict areas.

The Zimbabwean, Malawian, Somalis and Mozambique immigrants that were attacked under the guise of xenophobic attacks were “othered” by the local black South Africans. South African history was structured around the concepts of ‘exclusion’ and ‘othering,’ accordingly, a certain group was classified in terms of race and in terms of access to resources. In the case of South Africa, with regard to its politics, solidarity amongst ethnic groups against the fight for freedom created a sense of belonging within a particular place. This study has focused on the causes and consequences of the xenophobic attacks of May 2008 from a political viewpoint. The analysis of what occurred in May 2008 reveals that there

is little indication that the international community was effective in promoting and protecting the human rights of migrants attacked in South Africa. Rodriguez (2000:77) asks how countries can find the ways and means to avoid incipient acts of racism and xenophobia against migrant populations in their countries. With regard to South Africa, the question arises whether xenophobia is about the question of race. Therefore, one has to ask whether blacks (African South Africans) can be racists. This study argues that xenophobia is not a racist act, as racism is based on discriminatory attacks against a group of a different race, not attacks within the same racial group.

Xenophobia is implicitly part of South Africa's culture of violence. Then why does the South African society perpetuate negative xenophobic sentiments of barbarianism towards African immigrants? Why were there no xenophobic attacks in white suburbs?

### **3.4 WHAT IS PROBLEMATIC IN SOUTH AFRICA IN TERMS OF XENOPHOBIA?**

What is problematic is that the xenophobic perpetrators are fighting with illegal immigrants who have settled in South Africa to seek employment. Whilst their argument regarding the problem with xenophobia is permissible concerning the needs of the society living in a country that promised them "A better life for all," free education and housing since the Reconstructive Development Programme (RDP) was initiated in 1994 to improve the living standards of all people. The influx of immigrants has increased the pressure on the South African government to utilise its limited resources for the benefit of its citizenry and to fulfil its promises of economic and social reform. The culture of xenophobia, evidenced by negative perceptions of and increased violence against immigrants, predicted by Hicks (1999:394), quickly materialised and consumed South Africa's consciousness. Undoubtedly, it is unfortunate that it is the illegal (undocumented) immigrants living in informal settlements who face the brunt of the South African public's wrath. According to the SAHRC (2008:8):

Non-nationals resident in South Africa are all the more likely to fall prey to violence, as South Africans often blame them for crime and unemployment, and view them as responsible for depriving “more-deserving” citizens of jobs, housing, and other economic goods.

The research by Davis (2007) and Dalmage (2004) on multiracialism elaborates critically on the concept of ‘non-racialism’ in South Africa and on the interpretation of the concept as the ANC mandate sets out its priorities regarding its vision for building a non-racial community.. Although the current research does not focus on the aftermath of what has happened since the xenophobic incidents. However, this study will demonstrate that “ xenophobia manifest itself through incitement to and actions of obvious exclusion, hostility, and violence against people just because of what is deemed to be in the specific context, their foreign” status (Neocosmos 2010:1). Although the study and research conducted on xenophobic attitudes and perceptions does not deny that blacks can indeed have prejudiced views, how can one explain the fact that the violent attacks were only directed at black foreigners? Underlying this situation is the fact that it is apparent that the apartheid state systematically manipulated the citizenship in order to de-nationalise black South Africans literally, thus turning them into foreigners (2010: 58). Lemon (1990: 195) asserts:

Apartheid, by maintaining the indigenous social structure of Africans in semi-autonomous political entities, Nationalists argued that Africans would enjoy greater opportunities than if they had to compete with whites in a common society.

Would the xenophobic attacks on immigrants have been avoided if the ANC government had been more strategic in terms of knowing how to handle and control the influx of both legal and illegal immigrants into South Africa, seen as the land of milk and honey since the democratic dispensation? The ANC continuously fails to acknowledge that the infrastructure and resources are overburdened because their immigration policies are nebulous.

### **3.4.1 The structural character of xenophobia in South Africa**

There are a wide range of theological, sociological and economic topics and views with regard to finding a solution to the xenophobic phenomenon. Sandwith

(2010: 73) observes that “xenophobia in South Africa also threatens the master narrative of imperialism and colonialism pits white racists against African victims.” It must also be pointed out that the derogative language used by those that started the violence was one of prejudice. In terms of Neocosmos’ (2010:62) analysis, post-apartheid South Africa is in a process of state–nation formation and is explicitly and intransigently opposed to the democratic recognition of ethnic division

Crush and Ramachandra (2009:17) assert that it is clear that the attackers do not regard their actions as a criminal offense, but merely contend that they are “cleansing South Africa of foreign dirt or rather ethnic cleansing.” (Mbembe 2003: 14) indicates that this is structural violence; the township is a microcosm of poverty because of being a construction of the colonial world. In order for xenophobia to end, there must be an end to social conditions that creates such violence to exist. For Fanon there boundaries created by colonial powers and to uphold racial classifications and thus violence was brought to make the separation more effective. From the literature it was thus the fate of the blacks to fight form within the prison house of white national boundaries, racial concepts, and political myths which led deeper into the struggle for liberation (Wright 1993: 2). The perpetrators of xenophobic violence, the previously disadvantaged groups romanticise about having the same type of housing water and electricity as in Sandton, not having to work long hours and enjoying the privileges of the perfect lifestyle enjoyed by those living in Sandton. Therefore, they want to get rid of the people who deter them from attaining that perfect lifestyle, namely, the foreign immigrants who work for cheap labour (Harris 2001). This analysis and argument will be explained by the research findings in chapter four.

### **3.4.2 The discourse on Afro-phobia or xenophobia or racism**

To what extent will we witness another xenophobic attack on black immigrants, and what can we call it? The answer is that it is widely known as Afro-phobia. A debate exists about whether the xenophobic attacks were racist or whether it was bigotry. Bigotry, for the purpose of this research, is xenophobic racism of a special kind. Racism today has assumed new forms. Goldberg (1993: 54) is of

the opinion that, “the discourse of race transforms-arises, alters, and perhaps will eventually disintegrate-both with actual social conditions and with conceptual reformulations, with implicative redirection.”

Racialised expressions pertain to the preconceived elements such as classification, order, value, and hierarchy; differentiation and identity, discrimination and identification; exclusion, domination, subjection and subjugation; as well as entitlement and restriction. The relations of power expressed in terms of and by these conceptual primitives of racialised violation and violence towards the other .The inherited conditions of apartheid in South Africa are a geographical control that has still not been demolished, as the presence of informal settlements is evidence of the material conditions of oppression. Dixon (1997: 17) argues that they are visible in our cities with their buffer zones, “natural’ barriers” and decentralised industrial areas. They linger in characteristic forms of spatial organisation: the township, the compound, the hostel and the informal settlement. They remain part of a ceaseless discourse of territory, identity and partition...space has emerged as the object of intensifying scrutiny, its management inspiring an array of political solutions. Research conducted by Landau and Monson (2008: 328), indicate that In Johannesburg and elsewhere, the police capitalise on “foreigners’ unpopularity to bolster their reputation – and their bank accounts.” In this regard, Steinberg (2011: 2) asserts:

What policing practices did over the preceding 14 years was to recast much of urban life, in this instance, the disappointments of the poor, into matters of security. Struggling to maintain its bond with the urban poor, the government signalled, through the practices of its police, that a quotient of South Africa’s freedom was being stolen and that the perpetrators should be punished.

With regard to xenophobia, certain groups of people are seen as a threat. Sandwith (2010: 73) observes that “xenophobia in South Africa also threatens the master narrative of imperialism and colonialism which pits white racists against African victims.” The perception is that xenophobia in South Africa, with regard to the attack is a form of Afro-phobia that is informed by fear.

According to Harris (2001):

Models of immigrant/refugee integration often suggest a gradual inclusion of foreigners where their differences and external loyalties are gradually supplemented or supplanted by forms of membership linking them to a new national territory and institutions.

However, in response to the violence, abuse and discrimination many foreigners experience in Johannesburg and elsewhere in the country, migrants have developed a discourse of self-exclusion that asserts and maintains a position outside the embrace of state sanctioned values and relationships. Sandwith (2010: 73) asserts, "Xenophobia in South Africa also threatens the master narrative of imperialism and colonialism which pits white racists against African victims." In turn, Steinberg (2008: 3) alleges that at its onset, the violence of looting and destroying property of the immigrants was in fact organised through police-civilian institutions set up by statute under the influence of ideas of community policing. It has yet to be pointed out that the language used by those started the violence was borrowed from state institutions. The relationship between policing practices and mob violence was, thus, from the start, a close, if mercurial one. Neocosmos (2010:61) indicates that "the process of citizenship-building by the state was facilitated by the economic and urban perspective. In addition, according to Neocosmos's (2010:62), analysis, post-apartheid South Africa was in the process of state–nation formation and was explicitly and intransigently opposed to the democratic recognition of ethnic division/How do we justify the paradigm shift from a xenophobic attack to a criminal offense? It is clear that the attackers of such criminal injury do not acknowledge this as a criminal offense, but merely contend that they are "cleansing South Africa of foreign dirt or rather ethnic cleansing" (Crush & Ramachandra 2009: 17).

### **3.5 THE POLITICS OF ENTITLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICANS AND THEIR RIGHTS**

The overriding issue that needs to be addressed is how the South African government could allow the brutal xenophobic attacks on immigrants take place in 2008? Ngomane (2010) observes that according to the South African

Department of Home Affairs, the police, the general public and others involved in immigration enforcement matters have abused, and at times violently assaulted, undocumented immigrants in a xenophobic environment, which perpetuates human rights violations and deprives immigrants of the constitutional protection guaranteed by the 1996 Constitution's Bill of Rights.

Accordingly, The Bill of Rights confers certain rights on "everyone" regarding the right to equality, human dignity, the right to life, freedom and security of person and the right not to be subjected to slavery, servitude or forced labour. The legal implications of The Constitution for immigrants living in South Africa, is that according to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, immigrants are allowed to receive the same equal rights and privileges as South African citizens. Furthermore, the South African Constitution (1996) declares, "If a person is granted permission to live in South Africa on a permanent basis, they are entitled to most of the rights which apply to 'everyone' in the Bill of Rights." Regarding the conference by the Human Rights Commission's consultative workshop held in 1998 on racism and xenophobia Williams (2008), notes that:

This means that no one, whether in this country legally or not, can be deprived of their basic or fundamental rights and cannot be treated as if they were less than human. The mere fact of being an alien or being without legal status does not mean that one is fair game to exploitation or violence or to criminal, arbitrary or inhumane treatment.

Rodriguez (2000: 75) recommends that what is needed is the effective application of the relevant international norms and standards pertaining to the issue and to recommend actions and measures applicable at national, regional and international levels to eliminate violations of the human rights of migrants. It is this conclusion of this study that insufficient legal regulations have been passed by the South Africa government that proclaims the protection of migrants within the country. An issue that needs to be addressed is the fact that the government has created places and areas for migrants. Therefore, one is likely to find a diverse culture of people living in the formal and informal sectors. Furthermore, Monson and Arian (2011: 52) observe that:

...the erasure of agency is duplicated through analogies of natural disaster and communicable disease that construct affected communities as victims

overtaken by a natural force of kind or another, rather than as acting with true agency according to specific local or personal agendas.

Amongst the citizens of South Africa, there is always a negative connotation attached to foreign illegal immigrants (Ngomane 2010). The African Centre for Migration and Society has followed the manifestation of the violence since it erupted in 2007-2008. In fact, Monson and Arian (2011) conclude that as it has been captured in the media and thus the violent attack on foreign immigrants is not something new.

### **3.6 POLICIES THAT REGULATE IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The White Paper on International Migration (the White Paper) (RSA 1999) does not appear to have fundamentally changed the immigration policy or address South Africa's xenophobia concerns. In the light of the xenophobic atmosphere in South Africa, the White Paper's recommendation to shift enforcement procedures of undocumented immigrants from South Africa's borders to its communities is particularly disturbing. Furthermore, the White Paper(1999) advocates stronger collaboration between immigration officials and South African communities to "ensure that illegal aliens are not harbored within the community" and calls for "checking, in cooperation with the community [to ensure] illegal aliens are [not] receiving services from banks, hospitals, schools, and providers of water supply or electricity." In addition, the White Paper (RSA, 1999) sees this close collaboration with the communities as a means for retarding undocumented immigration by creating "the perception that South Africa is not a good receptacle of illegal immigration." Hicks (1999:415-416) explains:

Though the White Paper claims it is concerned about the rise of xenophobia, it is difficult to foresee how governmental plans to integrate the public in its campaign to make South Africa as inhospitable an environment as possible for undocumented immigrants will decrease negative stereotypes and abuse of immigrants.

The SAPS and immigration officials manipulate the applicable law and abuse immigrants, while the Department of Home Affairs continues to espouse the Aliens Control Act 96, of 1991 (Aliens Control Act) and disseminate xenophobic

rhetoric, implicitly giving state recognition to abusive practices (Ngomane 2010; Polzer 2010; Cruch & Ramachadra 2009). Though the police and general public cannot be relied upon to eradicate the practice of abusing immigrants, the South African government clearly has the power, through its parliament, to reform it and its immigration policies. Advocates for reform had hoped that the summer 1999 presidential elections, which put Thabo Mbeki from the ANC in power, would precipitate immigration policy reform. However, the White Paper on International Migration (White Paper) (RSA, 1999), reveals that reform is not on the horizon as South Africa plans to continue pursuing its repatriation policy in accordance with the ACA. Hicks (1999: 409) argues that even the Aliens Control Act of 1991, infringes the rights of immigrants, by broadly using the term "prohibited persons," that it is vague and overstated.

The Population Registration Act (1950) and the Bantustans known as black homelands (see Lemon 1990: 195) required the classification of all South Africans as white, coloured (mixed race), Indian or Bantu (African) (Lemon 1990:195). Lemon (1990: 195) argues that the apartheid ideologues believed that the greater the range of contact in an open society, the greater the friction as blacks and whites compete for homes, jobs, access to services and amenities, and political power. This argument posed by Lemon draws attention to the idea that with xenophobic sentiments, it is contested in terms of the spaces shared, between the local South Africans and black foreigners, in places such as Alexandra, Diepsloot, Atteridgeville, where there is an increase of competition with regard to resources. This study argues, that although South Africa has a distinct apartheid history, the legacy of violence remains imprinted in the minds of the people.

### **3.7 HOW VALUABLE IS THE AFRICAN VALUE OF *UBUNTU* IN THE LIGHT OF XENOPHOBIA?**

In the post-1994 democratic dispensation, the *ubuntu* values have been idolised as a panacea for the South African people. This study will try to answer the question: Does *ubuntu* contradict the May 2008 xenophobic attack? This is asked

against the background that politicians and advocates of *ubuntu* values in South Africa are positive that these humanistic values will unite the people.

The *ubuntu* philosophy as advocated the South African community, pertains to the experience of sharing and communal living in harmony. It is mutually inclusive and the fear of 'strangers' contradicts the notion of this philosophy. Circumstances connected with development and modernity in Africa has led to the concept of '*ubuntu*' becoming a mere fabrication of the imagination and to questioning its interdependence on its values. It becomes extremely difficult to manage and apply *ubuntu* in this modernised African society (Gaylard 2004).

Mnyaka (2003: 2) argues that what the xenophobic attacks of May 2008 indicate is that the majority of South Africans are capable of violating their own ideology /law, which supposedly binds them together in the spirit of *ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* proclaims that we are generally not a violent society and that there is no foreigner. The fact is, early on in South Africa, democratic governance incorporated *ubuntu* as one of its core social values, with which to elicit desired behaviours such as forgiveness, re-conciliation, friendliness, neighbourliness and helpfulness hopefully. Undoubtedly, South Africa has the potential for bringing people closer together, for creating greater cohesion in our (transforming) society as a common and super-ordinate value concept for dealing with differences, conflict and the ever-present destructive tendencies in human nature (Pietersen 2005: 54).

It is extremely unfair to label the government the major instigator of xenophobia because it failed to protect immigrants (legal or illegal) who reside in South Africa. It would also be incorrect to contend that it is the duty of the state (the people), to promote morality and the ideology of communitarianism amongst foreign immigrants living in the country. The message of politicians and preachers proclaiming that *ubuntu* represents African humanism and its values will problematise the ontological idea of its practices related to respect, forgiveness, harmony, communitarianism, which is being misinterpreted by the South African community. Undoubtedly, the May 2008 xenophobic attacks contaminated the values of *ubuntu*. The violent attacks do not comply with the ethics of *ubuntu* and

it is also a violation of human rights. On the contrary, *Ubuntu* teaches us that each individual's humanity is ideally expressed in relationship with others (see Broodryk 2009; Sanders 2001).

### **3.8 THE DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES PERTAINING TO XENOPHOBIA**

- ***Dependent variables***

With regard to the competition for resources and the contention for space with regard to foreign immigrants who enter the same space and expect to receive similar services, the argument is that the economy is one of the variables pertaining to the xenophobic problems and is a potential threat to the economy of the country. DiGiusto (2009: 4) explains that “the state of the economy is a crucial intermediate variable between intergroup contact and the potential for conflict.” As witnessed during the xenophobic attacks, there is the notion that foreign illegal immigrants are a source of cheap labour and therefore threaten the position of local South Africans in terms of employment.

Another variable is that the xenophobic attacks created a scapegoat for politicians who are not willing to discuss the major reason for the attacks. This perception is not improved by the regular scapegoating of foreign nationals with political rhetoric and the careless use a further important variable pertains to whether immigrants are influencing the cultures of the natives. In South Africa, it is alleged that foreign immigrants take our women (see Harris 2002). This variable indicates that because of the intermarriage of two different cultures, one native and one foreign, there will be a mixture of cultures. Significantly, there is a negative perception that foreign immigrants only use South African women to obtain South African citizenship.

- ***Independent variable***

The independent variables include the ideology, age, education level, ethnicity and gender of the persons being studied. It is a fact that mostly male foreign

immigrants were attacked. The most striking analysis is that in South Africa, ethnicity plays an important role in determining who is a native South African and who is not. About ten per cent of the people who were killed during the May 2008 xenophobic attack were South African citizens (see Harris 2002; Holdt *et al.* 2011). This observed aspect indicates that certain independent variables should be dismissed. The argument made by many South Africans is that they can tell through dialect and the way in which people dress whether they are foreign immigrants or not. Furthermore, the research conducted by DiGiusto (2009), confirms that the level of education determines the type of job the immigrant will do. Therefore, if you are a foreign immigrant and have a good job, you will most likely not experience any threat or conflict. DiGiusto (2009: 10) declares:

Accordingly, the educational level, income and homeowner account for a respondent's level of economic threat. We expect the higher educated, wealthier homeowners to experience less threat from immigrants, particularly regarding job losses

The other variable that should be added is race, because in South Africa white immigrants are held in high regard unlike foreign African immigrants.

### **3.9 CONCLUSION**

The study discussed how migration affects the pattern of flow of immigrants into the city of Tshwane. Furthermore, this chapter illustrated the idea that the municipality of Tshwane handled the displacement of immigrants in an inhumane manner. There was no disaster plan in place in the city to address the issue pertaining to the foreign immigrants. Instead, it was individual organisations that mostly came to aid of the displaced foreign immigrants located in camps by providing with them with sanitary products, clothes, and beds to name a few. Independent organization such as Red Cross including human right organisations were part of assisting displaced immigrants at camps.

In the next chapter, this study will investigate the xenophobic sentiments further that were experienced in the Tshwane municipality. The research findings and data will be discussed that were part of the case study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS AND THE RESPONSE BY THE TSHWANE MUNICIPALITY**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

The city of Johannesburg and Pretoria/Tshwane are cosmopolitan in character and have historically, had migrant labour for hundreds of years, as Johannesburg is considered the city of gold and Tshwane the hub of embassies and the seat of the presidency. Historically, mostly migrants who settled in South Africa came from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. Migrants from neighbouring countries were absorbed in the economic labour market through employment at the gold mines. Thus, in the greater Gauteng region, especially in Johannesburg and Tshwane, a large population of migrant workers lives there.

From the fieldwork conducted, it appears that there exists the possibility of a recurrence of the May 2008 attacks just before the 2014 national and provincial elections in South Africa. Because of the promises made by the ruling government after the 1994 general election to provide jobs, free education and sanitation to the poor created a sense of entitlement amongst the people, thus ranking them first class citizens before any other individual within their country. It is important to note that the majority are poor black South Africans who were suppressed by the apartheid government and are referred to as the PDGs. The latter will be discussed in-depth in the next chapter.

The evidence collected by Misago *et al.* (2010: 10), shows “that violence against foreign nationals was organised and led by local groups and individuals who used popular frustration as a means of mobilising people to commit violence.” Furthermore, Mogapi (2011: 120) suggests that group mind can be triggered by overt conflict or the increased perception of danger, which results in an increased affinity to a group and, thus, the development of a group mentality. What is observed in South Africa is that group mobility involves coercion and the strength to undertake an activity as opposed to individual influences. Local leaders play a major role and use their influence to coerce people to strive in accordance with a

given agenda. Goerner and Thompson (1996: 622) observe that a rational citizen consents to the coercive features of the law fully aware that he thereby forces himself to be subjected to the laws within the constraints of which his freedom is guaranteed.

Incidents of xenophobic violence were reported in Tshwane as early as March of 2008 (see Centre for Human Rights 2009). Neocosmos (2010: 144) sees this as one of the major problems in our society as this reflects negatively on the new post-apartheid society in terms of the social progress of the “previously disadvantaged.” Should we end the classification of groups according to ethnicity such as Mosotho, Zulu or Tswana?” Neely and Samura (2011: 1947) conclude that discrimination is fluid and remark that “we can see how racial positioning, access, achievement and engagement are all about racial politics and the struggles to maintain or resist the existent racial hierarchies.”

Ethnicity is a primordial political identity and in the context of xenophobic attacks in terms of profiling individuals. In terms of ethnicity, historically South African community was organised according to ethnic group. Those trajectories of excluding other ethnic groups from interacting with each other is a result of how the existence of xenophobic affairs are affecting the current situation we witness in South Africa. What happens concerning real life identities? Political identities are universal with regard to the particular. Immigrants and migrants, including international students, temporary workers, refugees, asylum seekers, permanent residents, and citizens naturalised in their countries of arrival and illegal migrants are part of globalisation.

It is evident that Africans foreign nationals in comparison with white foreign nationals are the victims of stereotyping. What this indicates is the legacy of colonialism in the psyche of an oppressed individual. It is the oppressor who eventually experiences the pain of attitudes inherited from oppression.

Fuss (1994: 21); suggests that:

Fanon proposes that in the system of power-knowledge that upholds colonialism, it is the white man who lays claim to the category of the "Other," the White man who monopolizes otherness to secure an illusion of unfettered access to subjectivity.

The idea was created that foreign immigrants are inferior to the local inhabitants, thus local South Africans feel that there is a difference that makes them superior to foreign African immigrants.

#### **4.2 UNDERSTANDING THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION INTO TSHWANE**

How do we understand the violent attacks against illegal and legal migrants? Apartheid has left a legacy of violence in South Africa. Accordingly, government has not proposed an innovative method in order to engage effectively with the issue of violent attacks against illegal and legal migrants, usually black men. There must be room to see the conditions of blackness in terms of globalisation, as it is xenophobia involving Africans against Africans. In terms of xenophobia, we must not miss the global economic aspects as these play a major role in what is happening today in South Africa.

The South African experiences pertaining to migration and labour issues should be addressed in terms of the historical implications of migrant labour. The history of migration in South Africa dates back to the 1860s with the discovery of diamonds in the Orange Free State and gold in the Witwatersrand (Ngomane 2010:11). Labour and migration, through the impact of globalisation, provided the platform for movement of people between countries. In this case, of the proposed study, the impact of globalisation on national identity and the dynamics around xenophobic sentiments are addressed. The other factor is that globalisation has contributed to the push factors that see many people migrating into South Africa (Ngomane 2010:18). For migrants it is a sense of belonging in a foreign country, which is also embedded within the theory of globalisation. It is through analysis of globalisation that we see that there is a problem with regard to the integration of migrants within the South African community.

In a sense, the criticism of this argument pertaining to global migration is that the South African government could have addressed the issue of globalisation since the end of apartheid. Instead, they ignored the issue and were, in fact, lenient in terms of providing access to foreign nationals to South African after 1994, especially to those migrants from African countries. The effect of globalisation

has an impact on the movement of people is fluid in terms of internal and external migration. Crush (2008) observes that the South African government is struggling “to formulate a policy appropriate to the country's new role in a changing regional, continental, and global migration regime.” The government must have a stricter influx control mechanism in place, as there are continuous influxes of illegal immigrants into South Africa. The South African government overlooked the significance of globalisation and its impact on the mobility of migrants coming into South Africa to seek better opportunities. The consequence is that there is a fear and insecurity amongst local South Africans because it is difficult to meet the demands made by migration.

For Neocosmos (2010:141), the use of a name like ‘the politics of fear’ is an attempt to stress the etymological roots of the term “xenophobia” in order not to understand it simply as a psychological “attitude,” but as political subjectivity and practice. The African National Congress (ANC) was a radical movement that used violent means to end apartheid during the revolutionary era of the 1980s. The ANC failed to realise that after the democratic transition in the country, it firstly needed to change the mind-sets of the people and to transform it into a more subtle approach with regard to the ideal principles of the prior ideology. Not only that, but also the idea that many people looked up to the historical transition that took place in South Africa. Hence the migration of people coming into South Africa and be part of the experiences and economic opportunities that of a growing country. The effects of globalisation were evident. For many South African people, most African states were the homes of many exiled South African people.

The issue is how to control the surveillance of migrants and immigrants in a country that does not seem to have a regulation process or programmes in place to accommodate the ever growing population of immigrants. With migration, there is always fluidity and the stronger occupant of a specific settlement always dominates the migrants. In certain cases, fighting develops as witnessed in May 2008, to repel the “Others” that are both mistrusted and misunderstood. According to the literature, in South Africa, xenophobia is said to arise when

competition for resources exists (see Ngomane 2010; Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini & Kirsten 2011).

It is important to note that Immigrants have settled in the centrally located suburb of Sunnyside as well as in Atteridgeville, Soshanguve, which is one of the biggest townships including Hanmmanskraal and the oldest township, Mamelodi, situated south of Tshwane.

The labour market in South Africa is able to absorb foreign nationals quickly because they offer cheaper labour compared to that offered by local South Africans citizens. This phenomenon is also evident in the city of Tshwane. The major concern is that fewer South Africans are being employed within the market in low-level employment because of their demands for more financial benefits. Fanon was also directed to advancing the black labour force and to make black labourers conscious about their positions within the labour market. The other side of the Fanon's theory contends the effects of free market its impact on the working class, even though the author sought for reform by introducing limited changes effects to promote a solution promised an economic growth and trickled down redistribution made idea of markets move attractive to the elites.

As mentioned above, the conflict between South Africans and immigrants arises when there is competition for employment. Employment requires skills; therefore, migrants from neighbouring countries are being employed, whilst the first priority should be to employ South Africans. Accordingly, many of those who participated "in the violence are unemployed, live in poverty and see no prospect of a change in these circumstances" (Kirsten & Holdt 2011:3). These structures are institutionalised and are constantly played out in the public domain and reinforced by not having a coordinated institution that condemns hate-speech or a Human Rights Commission that addresses stereotypes aimed at African foreign nationals.

Thus, in the case of xenophobia, the enemy is the foreign immigrants from countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique and Somalia. Although the South African history and "the enemy" should actually be the white citizens of the

country whose forefathers instituted the policies of segregation and who regarded the natives of South Africa as inferior. This perception was based on a myth that blacks South Africans (the “natives”) were not intelligent enough to reason for themselves and thus had to be controlled by a superior race, in this case, the white race. Thus, what we witness today is that throughout the South African history, particular resources such as law, politics and the economy interact to construct segregated spaces. Neocosmos (2010: 148) indicates that the black poor feel cheated because of the continued and even increased levels of poverty and unemployment, which they have to face on a daily basis.

This study also investigated the conditions experienced by poor South Africans. A different scenario is presented by the fact that the poor have to deal with foreign individuals who are illegal and compete with them in their working environment as it appears to them that immigrants are favoured by the labour market as they are supposedly cheaper to employ than the local South Africans are. With regard to the way illegal immigration matters concerning migrants are handled at the Department of Home Affairs and other government departments, the Centre for Human Rights (CHR) (2009) at the University of Pretoria recognises the fact that anti-immigrant sentiments manifest themselves in institutions such the Department of Home Affairs and the South African Police Services (SAPS). These institutions exacerbate the general levels of xenophobia by also accepting bribes from foreign immigrants. Accordingly, Ngomane (2010: 18) argues that in post-apartheid South Africa, the demarcated borders are described as porous and thus encourage illegal migration.

#### **4.3 WHO IS ACTUALLY AN IMMIGRANT IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

The major issue is that xenophobia is directed at foreign black nationals from Zimbabwe, Malawi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somali and Mozambique. In this regard, Neely and Samura (2011: 1936) argue that the relations of power intersect with and may force the movement or placement of people; they also inform the knowledge produced within and about particular spaces. In order to understand the issue of black on black violence, it is imperative to refer to the issue of apartheid in South Africa. It does resonate in the minds of many South

Africans that the violence that marked the struggle against apartheid is still prevalent in society. What resonates in the minds of people is the notion that native black South Africans were treated like foreigners through the inception of the Bantustans (homelands). The latter were areas that fell under the tribal homelands created by the apartheid government to separate black people further from their white compatriots (Hunter 2006). The strength and desire of the apartheid government was to control its territory and its borders from illegal immigrants gaining control and access. Therefore, it was extremely difficult for any entity to enter South Africa illegitimately.

Not enough has been done to address the issues of inequality and the issue of protecting legal migrants is insufficiently addressed by the Immigrations Act of 2002. The latter analysis is affirmed by the notion that it is in fact easy to enter South Africa from neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Research indicates that for most illegal Zimbabwean immigrants it was easier to enter the country illegally than legally as the process to acquire a visa is a lengthy one (see Ngomane 2010). Therefore, corrupt activities of the members of the SAPS stationed at the country's borders and the immigrants who are eager to come to South Africa are rife. Nevertheless, lax border control is outside the scope of this study and the emphasis is on how migrants are handled by the police force within the country.

The South African society is unequal and inequality correlates with race. Duncan (2012: 8) observes that:

To examine the legacy of colonial and Apartheid racism, because it is ultimately in this explanation that one will find the answer to the questions: Why have Africans and other people of colour been the inevitable targets of the xenophobic attacks of May 2008 and earlier, and why have these attacks been characterised by such brutal and inhuman violence?

Racial discrimination against immigrants that stems from the effects of apartheid that was morally indefensible is part of the consciousness of the previously oppressed people. Race was at the forefront of repression with regard to black people in the country. Race determines how you are treated when you migrate; it also determines who is exploited, who lives and who dies. The xenophobic

attacks on foreign immigrants are key examples of these negative sentiments. Nieftagodien (2011:112) argues that “the xenophobic attacks and the spate of “service delivery protests” have illustrated the difficulties and complexities of local politics.” This is a typical case of an exploited society that seems to have created its own victims.

#### **4.3.1 The “alien: in the Immigration Act of 2002**

What we witness in South Africa is that the majority of foreign immigrants enter the country mostly for educational purposes and the facilities offered in the country. There are insufficient programmes to address how immigrants are protected in terms of being able to acquire the basic resources to earn their livelihoods when they reside in the country. Most of them are extremely poor and this creates a feeling of desperation to settle in a country that is seen as the economic hub of Africa. The Immigration Act of 2002 is a legislation that regulates persons entering the country who are foreign. Immigrants are allowed by the Immigration Act of 2002 (amended 2004) to seek employment, residence and education (Polzer 2010). According to Crush and Ramachandra (2009: 85), the act still promotes discrimination towards foreign immigrants, in terms of how foreigners are defined. This act failed to provide a clean break with that past.

#### **4.3.2 The language of discrimination used to describe the “other”**

Duncan (2012) disputes claims that the three month long period of violence and abuse directed at the marginalised immigrants who lived in informal settlements was “a surprise” to many South Africans. In that regard, the subsequent argument is that should we dismiss, the reference of the former Minister of Home Affairs in 1997, to “foreign illegal immigrants” as “aliens” (Buthelezi 1997). Secondly, Buthelezi’s speech was directed publicly at the poor immigrants who lived in the informal settlements when he said in his speech:

...migration to South Africa must be seen from two angles. Firstly, on a positive note, we must think of the benefits [of migration], and secondly, regrettably on a negative note, the problem of illegal aliens migrating to the RSA has to be addressed.

Although both aspects will be discussed, the position of foreign migrants will be emphasised. Immigration remains one of the important functions of the Department of Home Affairs and in this regard, there are very important developments envisaged for 1997” (see Buthelezi 1997). Thirdly, Buthelezi made it clear in his speech that having illegal “aliens,” in South Africa, is extremely costly for the South African government and places a strain on the economy of the state:

...with an illegal alien population estimated at between 2, 5 million and 5 million, it is obvious that the socio-economic resources of the country, which are under severe strain as it is, are further being burdened by the presence of illegal aliens.

In addition, Buthelezi (1997).states:

The cost implication becomes even clearer when one makes a calculation suggesting that if every illegal costs our infrastructure, say R1 000 per annum, then multiplied with whatever number you wish, it becomes obvious that the cost becomes billions of rand per year.

In his speech, Buthelezi focused on negative aspects pertaining to the minority groups, in this case, the foreign immigrants who entered the country illegally, such as blaming them for engaging in crime. Accordingly, he mentioned in his speech that, “the ramifications of the presence of illegal aliens impacts on housing, health services, education, crime, drugs, transmittable diseases - need I go on?” (Buthelezi 1997: 3). Extensive negative statements have been made about foreign immigrants by high profile political figures. Currently, politicians such as the Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, Elizabeth Thabethe, call foreigners names such as “Mohammeds” (City Press 2013). Although the speech was made by Minister Buthelezi eleven years ago, it contributed to the way descriptions and terms were used to describe foreign immigrants. That created the habit of using xenophobic rhetoric in South Africa. It must be noted that Minister Buthelezi was never reprimanded publicly for uttering the term “aliens. These facts contrast with Duncan’s (2012), research that claims that the

xenophobic attack was an incident that occurred unexpectedly. It is interesting to note that the South African constitution proclaims that:

An undocumented foreign national is a person from another country who has entered South Africa and who is in the country illegally, because they have not engaged with any formal processes to legalise their residence - or they have not engaged successfully. The person is undocumented in South Africa, however they may have documentation in their country of origin (RSA 1996).

Such statements found in the constitution, are extremely contradictory. In a social context, as xenophobia is socially constructed and stems from fear of the unknown. It should be apparent that it is the politics of fear (see Neocosmos 2010).

According to Neely and Samura (2011: 1943):

... the issue of race only provides us with the direction of how the "other," was created and the exclusion thereof describes how the orders of domination and power will always be determined by such trajectories. The other seeks to affirm itself.

In his speech, Buthelezi (1997: 2) mentions further that "migration will always be a sensitive issue with views ranging radically to the utmost extremes." Reviewing the incidents that sparked the May 2008 xenophobic reveals a specific chain of events.

With regard to the violent and discriminating rhetoric that has been used by South Africans since the years of apartheid, an example of how violent South Africa can be, is the famous speech by Winnie Madikizela Mandela, "With our match boxes and necklace we shall liberate this country" (Bezdrob 2003: 220). This implies that those who do not comply with liberating the country from white supremacy will be tortured to death. The term they use to describe foreign African immigrants is "Makwerekwere" or "Mandofa" with reference to illegal immigrants groups from Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique individuals mainly. "Makwerekwere," as the research indicates, refers to the immigrants who are poor, and illegal in the country. Ethnicity complexities in South Africa are the product of a white

supremacy syndrome based on racism. Thus, as we witness in South Africa, the dependency syndrome of separatism in relation to the other individuals or being described as a “foreigner” or the rhetoric description of “Makwerekwere” is a fictional character created to oppress and undermine foreign nationals from African countries. Nyamnjoh (2006: 38) points out that the term “foreigner” means different things in different contexts, but in the South African local context, it is used to describe a primitive person from one of the neighbouring states. Thus using a philosophy that endorses discriminatory and prejudicial descriptions for foreign nationals affirms that entitlement to use violence.

Significantly, terms such as “Makwerekwere” and “Mandofa” are commonly known and refer to foreign black immigrants. In the case of the aforementioned dehumanising terms, South Africans direct the terms at black illegal/legal immigrants specifically. The term is coupled with a history of stereotyping and name-calling in South Africa, for example, terms such as the word “*kaffir*.” The latter racial term and offensive word was initiated by the South African apartheid government to describe a native black South African. The term was used as an ethnic slur. Any form of discrimination against members of other races, becomes offensive because it turns them into the “other,” because of specified ethnic differences, thus it enables the dominant group to call the “other,” by a derogative terms in order to colonise them and dehumanise them. The difficulties with regard to race issues pertaining to attacks on foreign migrants are that dealing with the native South African will be daunting experiences as they are confronted with matters of violence, ‘racism’ and tribalism. The latter is not the main argument and purpose of the dissertation. Crush and Ramachandra (2009: 55) argue that it is a fact is that immigrants, especially those from neighbouring countries, provide a valuable service to host populations often by doing the worst jobs in host societies that the native workers do not want to do because of the very low wages. In South Africa, the alien vocabulary also includes the word “amagoduka,” (see Nieftagodien 2011:119). The latter term has means “uKugoduka” in Xhosa, which has a deep symbolic sense of going home (Ross 2010: 73).

It is impossible to prevent people from moving between different spaces and not interacting with the cultural qualities of a specific society. What is under scrutiny

in terms of xenophobia and the position of the state in fostering discipline amongst its citizens?

Neocosmos (2010: 12) points out in the book *"From foreign natives to native foreigners,"* asks how can the poor then be seen as exercising their agency when they killed their fellow poor and thus contributed to their own exclusion and oppression? What should not be discredited is the notion that the protection of migrants, undocumented or documented, should be a policy issue and taken seriously like any matters within the state on a human rights effort. Neocosmos asks further, what agency was there, during the xenophobic attack of May 2008? Neocosmos (2010: 16) asserts that only a rethinking of citizenship as an active political identity could begin to "reconstitute political agency, and hence, begin to provide alternative prescriptions to the political consensus of state-induced exclusion." Xenophobia is a discourse concerned with the process of social and political exclusion of some groups of the population (Neocosmos 2010: 13). Local South Africans feel entitled because they identify with the struggle for freedom and therefore feel that this entitles them to be defined as South Africans. This leaves no room for foreign immigrants to feel entitled to any symbolic identity of South Africa despite the fact that several South Africans were exiled in several African countries.

#### **4.3.3 The language of violence, mob justice towards foreign immigrants**

It is quite evident that the South African trajectory of violence is built on mass/collective violence and Duncan (2012: 108) argues that the racism and prejudice including the stereotyping of foreign nationals that:

...features of the South African society over more than three centuries and it has had such a profound brutalising effect on South Africans that it is improbable that South Africans would not have internalised aspects of the insidious racist messages of the old colonial (including Winnie Mandela's words, (researcher's emphasis) and Apartheid orders of the abjectly "inferior" black "Other" and the 'superiority' of whites.

Violence is an enforced language in the sense that:

...the quality of collective violence against foreign nationals also differs from that which characterises community protests. Xenophobic violence is much more explicitly directed towards destroying the property and the bodies and personhood of its targets (Holdt 2011: 29).

Research on the community regarding xenophobic attacks indicates that “the emergence of violence is rooted in the micro-politics of township and informal settlement life” (Misago, Monson, Polzer & Landau 2010: 10). It is apparent, through research conducted that the rise of xenophobic attacks and conflict is predominantly within informal settlements:

Language can be used as a barrier to exclude other people. (Holdt 2011: 26) avers, “The meaning and purpose of collective violence may have much to tell us about collective action and society and in our research we attempt to begin this necessary task.” Holdt (2011) argues that as much as counter movements exist, xenophobic attacks take place in areas such as Bokfontein, in the Western Cape. South Africa has not yet re-imagined its future without ethnic conflict or attacks on foreigners. With regard to the research conducted in Bokfontein after the xenophobic attacks of 2008, Holdt (2011) clearly indicates a community can indeed be transformed in order to end that violent conflict and to mobilise the community against xenophobic attacks (Holdt 2011: 32). Such initiatives may indeed assist the entire country and provide strategies to transform South Africa. Bokfontein is mentioned in this study specifically as it symbolises the counter actions regarding xenophobic attacks. As various case studies have demonstrated, the instigators of the xenophobic attacks used violence as a means to obtain localised state authority for personal political and economic benefits. What is evident is that the fear of foreign nationals grows and the education with regard to xenophobia is weakened. A certain hierarchy exists amongst local South Africans as they should be the first to receive those basic services as South Africans citizens.

Statistics indicate that immigrants who have settled in South Africa do make a positive impact on the demographics of the current population. However, Balbo

and Marconi (2005: 8) remark that as much as immigrants bring social and economic benefits both to migrants and the receiving city, they are seldom, if at all, given consideration within the political agenda. How do we incorporate them within the community without causing conflict between them and the citizens? “In recent decades, armed political and ethnic conflicts as well as civil wars have led to forced migration throughout the world. In that context, many people have fled to other countries, or become refugees in their own countries. Territorial divisions, border clashes and the dissolution of countries on ethnic and religious grounds have caused millions of people to become refugees” (Ben-Yehuda & Goldstein 2009). Thus, what we witnessed in the May 2008 attacks was that the Zimbabweans, Malawi, and Mozambique, Somalis were the victims of the violence and endured the most of xenophobic attacks. The fear is that it will continue to be the case in future. In sum, the politics of fear has criminalised being an African foreigner.

#### **4.4 INTEGRATION AND EXPLOITATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The dynamics of migration and integration pertain to forces that “pull” as well as those that “push” individuals to leave (World Bank nd: 169). On the other hand, we witness a few if any factors that will encourage black South Africans to visit neighbouring countries for tourism purposes or education. The perceptions of local South Africa with regard to foreign immigrants from neighbouring countries are encouraged firstly, by the lack of education concerning those countries. After the demise of the apartheid regime, the South African state brought about social cohesion through state development by providing free basic houses, sanitation and jobs to PDG who had been oppressed as a result of the apartheid legislation. Although what emerged during the xenophobic attacks of 2008 in places such as Alexandra (Johannesburg) and also several constituencies of Tshwane was basically a state under pressure to deliver certain basic services and thus we saw the state retreating. The state retreated by not issuing public statements directed at the perpetrators of the attacks and about how SAPSA should prosecute them.

#### **4.5 RESPONSE TO THE XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS OF MAY 2008 IN TSHWANE**

One would expect the South African government to go into the local community, especially informal settlements, where there is a prevalence of predominantly xenophobic rhetoric concerning foreign nationals and create a platform where they can educate the community in public halls or even in schools.

The SAPS responded swiftly and the conflict was settled in areas such as Mamelodi and Atteridgeville in Tshwane. It is important to note that xenophobic attacks were predominantly experienced within the Johannesburg metro. In addition, emergency notifications were issued nationally. The city of Tshwane was given official recognition by the government for responding to the xenophobic attacks. The quick evacuation was due to the fear that foreign illegal immigrants might be attacked in their homes. Most foreign illegal immigrants who were residing in Tshwane were evacuated by the government to Centres of Safe Shelter (CoSS). Furthermore, many illegal immigrants were held in camps for the displaced across the country (Steinberg 2008: 3). At the campsites, there were disruptions and difficulties with regard to the way displaced people had to be regulated as most of them had lost important documents such as their identification documents. The DHA initiated measures to provide temporary documents to the people who had been displaced, although the biggest challenges were faced by those who had entered the country illegally. Due to the failure to provide shelter and resources such as water and food for over three thousand families and the lack of funds to sustain the camp sites, several foreign immigrants were sent to Lindela, from where they were to be deported to their native countries (see Igglesden, Monson & Polzer 2009).

Approximately six years after the outbreak of xenophobic attacks, research was conducted to determine what instigated the attacks. It is interesting to note that there is little indication by the major cities such as Johannesburg and Tshwane of any sympathy towards the approximately 63 individuals who lost their lives during the attack. Furthermore, there were problems regarding the maintenance of the camps as the city of Tshwane ran out of funds to finance them. Ultimately, they

approached civil society organisations for assistance (Igglesden, Monson & Polzer 2009: 6).

Insufficient information is provided by the government on the xenophobic attacks in Tshwane. What the city did was that foreign immigrants were displaced to areas such as the Akasia Skietbaan, which is located outside the central business district of the city. According to the Forced Migration Programme report (Consortium for Refugees and Migrants [CORMSA] 2008: 27), the Akasia camp was established in Tshwane when the UNHCR and the city of Tshwane relocated people camping outside the UNHCR's offices to a site in Klerksoord. This site then swelled with additional arrivals that had also fled both the violence and threatened violence around Tshwane. The camps were initially managed by the Tshwane Municipal Disaster Management team who requested assistance from the Gauteng Provincial government. However, GPG did not recognise Akasia as an official CoSS. The implication of non-recognition was that Tshwane stopped providing services after one month, leaving service provision entirely up to civil society (Igglesden *et al.* 2009: 27). There was no swift reaction with regard to assisting foreign immigrants within the city. What did happen was that political parties provided assistance to displaced immigrants and supplied basic resources to them. Camps were also established by the municipality to accommodate the displaced immigrants who had been chased away from predominantly informal settlements. The response to the disaster was not effective as many displaced immigrants did not have food and shelter. Although efforts taken by the Tshwane municipality to assist the foreign immigrants and by the Tshwane Municipal Disaster Management. The response to xenophobic attacks was extremely limited compared with the response by Johannesburg. Important cases of extreme violence were reported by the media with regard to responding to the xenophobic attacks.

The media also racialised the xenophobic attacks by using news headlines such as "black on black violence," thereby sparking the flames of xenophobia even further (Ngomane 2010: 40). Accordingly, the media are seen as a key player in the transmitting of xenophobic rhetoric (Harris 2002: 6). Smith (2010: 6) argues that the media do not just transmit information to the public; they also reproduce

certain ideologies and discourses that support specific relations of power. Newspaper headlines read, “Townships are burning and foreigners may be next” to “war on aliens” these news reports provide a narrow view of the xenophobic incidents (see Harber 2008; Mohamed 2011). These facts indicate that the attacks were a clear case of human rights abuses. According to Misago *et al.* (2010:12), in spite of media statements to the contrary, there was virtually no initiative by the South Africa government to establish a programme to prepare communities for the return and reintegration of displaced non-nationals in some areas.

#### **4.5.1 INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS: THE HUB OF POVERTY AND XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS**

Competition between local and foreign immigrants living in Gauteng/Tshwane, the economic hub of South Africa and employment is rife. The assumption is that the poor are likely to attract the people who compete with them for resources. This sends out a message to the government that the integration of migrant labour in the economy has serious consequences for the well-being of both South Africans and immigrants.

Hunter (2006: 157) observes that the existence of informal dwellings is rooted in the uneven provision of formal housing for Africans during the apartheid era, However, from the mid-1980s informal settlements mushroomed following the relaxation of influx controls (that had previously sought to restrict Africans from entering towns). In addition, there was the issue of the rising unemployment. Currently, several informal settlements around South Africa are home to people from various ethnic groups who entered South Africa illegally. In the Tshwane area, informal settlements are situated within the parameters of townships where there are insufficient roads, access to water and electricity. It can be said that they are situated in a place and centre of oppression.

Victor (2009: 47) concurs that the situation in informal settlements is complex. Not least of all, because the post-apartheid government’s resettlement programme still locates urban poor households on the peripheries of the cities, a pattern similar to the one used during the apartheid era. Also similar to apartheid

ideologies, local black South Africans are starting to believe in their superiority as South Africans and feel more privileged than other foreign African immigrants. This study does not reject the epistemological stance that the apartheid government is to blame for the production of informal settlements as it created racial zoning between native ethnic groups (Victor 2009: 97). Individuals from a specific ethnic group enter a location that is either a Tswana or Pedi location and find it difficult to become integrated in the community. This is due to the historical significance where the majority of Tswana and Pedi groups were located within the constituencies of Tshwane through the Bantustan laws. The specific individuals stand out from the local inhabitants because they speak different languages and also dress differently. Of course, it can be stated that such differences should not justify the negative way an individual from an ethnic group is treated. Nevertheless, such negative attitudes have been reproduced in the minds of many local South Africans.

In South Africa, the concept of 'xenophobia' is related to the negative perception of foreign nationals. In South Africa, most of the foreign nationals are found in informal settlements and the majority of them are poor. Regarding research conducted within the Tshwane municipality, illegal migrants are absorbed within the informal sector similar to what happens in Johannesburg. These illegal migrants are either self-employed and sell fruit and vegetables or work for low wages as hawkers, for example (Misago *et al.* 2010: 29). Furthermore, international migrants typically also work in unskilled jobs in the industry (King & Skeldon 2010: 1629). There is a perception amongst South Africans that the labour of foreign immigrants is cheaper than that of the majority of South Africans.

In the case of South Africa, the May 2008 attacks mostly targeted black immigrants living in informal settlements. Victor (2009: 6) argues that the: "South African urban population living in informal settlements is growing over the years." According to Victor (2009: 97), challenges such as over urbanisation, the absence of affordable housing, and furthermore:

...the lack of urban policy, the legacy of Apartheid planning and lack of service delivery and poor channels for communication with the local community have contributed to the wave of service protests. In many cases, residents of informal settlements complain of being in the waiting lists for many years for low-cost houses.

There is an awareness of the rhetoric in South Africa by foreign immigrants predominately from the African states that argue that their countries, namely, Angola, Mozambique, the Zimbabwe Democratic the Republic of Congo and international states to name a few states, hosted and were home to exiled South Africans during the apartheid era. It is important to acknowledge that South African exiled refugees were in camps and lived within secluded areas. In the data collected there were primarily narratives purporting that it was rare not to hear that a South African refugee was involved in criminal activities such as the selling of drugs as much as the narrative about foreign immigrants on crime is rife in post-apartheid South Africa.

It is important to note that many people migrate to cities in search of employment. Although theoretically, everyone who enters South Africa must have access to basic services. Those who are unable to find housing end up settling in informal dwelling areas where the population densities are high and where there is a serious lack of service delivery. Ngomane (2010:41) indicates that most Zimbabweans are blamed for squatting illegally in the country as they arrive in large numbers. Informal settlements are characterised by low-income profiles and are an indication of the material conditions that have been complicated by the apartheid legacies. They are informal in the sense that anyone can go and locate themselves in those poverty-ridden areas informally without the permission of the municipality.

Current studies such as the study by Victor (2009: 80) indicate that once local South Africans are given RDP houses, they sell them to illegal migrants such as Zimbabweans and Mozambiqueans. This indicates that they are the source of the problem. Ngomane (2010: 41) asserts that corruption is also part of the problem as "illegal immigrants fraudulently benefit from houses that are meant for South Africans."

It is no surprise that eventually the black people will resort to the worst violent attacks on their fellow black neighbours or migrants who have migrated to South Africa since 1994. This is the consequences of being lenient within the borders of South Africa due to the notion that African countries also assisted South Africans during exile.

#### **4.6 CONCLUSION**

Foreign nationals encounter serious obstacles with regard to acquiring legal status and identity documents at the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), amongst which are administrative inefficiency and corruption. This is due to the fact that the migrants lack the requisite legitimate papers and sometimes despite even having identity papers and legal status; foreign nationals are likely to suffer harassment, mistreatment and extortion by law enforcement agencies. Sometimes they are even deported (Centre for Human Rights 2009: 29-30). The violence towards foreign nationals is systematic and seems to occur only when people start feeling insecure, frustrated or want to prove a point. As we will see in the interpretation of the research data, the research will indicate that currently there is a wave of rumors in the Tshwane constituencies concerning the future of foreign immigrants. South Africa must be able to break the cycle of violence. Local South Africans must not allow the dark days of apartheid to return when it discriminated against people on the grounds of their race, class and ethnicity. In other words, People were discriminated against by virtue of the colour of their skins. To counteract the wave of xenophobia, there must be a deep conviction that the problem of xenophobic attacks on foreign African immigrants can be resolved by the involvement of the South African government in educating the community.

It is important to note that certain myths and stereotypes exist about foreign African immigrants linked to their identity. The next chapter presents the research findings of this study, in terms of which, the data will be interpreted to discover what the respondents said about foreign immigrants and which reasons were given for the perpetuation of the xenophobic attacks.

## CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS, DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter five reports on the research data that were collected during the field work precisely on the question about the feasibility of the interaction between local South Africans and foreign African immigrants. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the obstacles that still persist within the community. There are several of these obstacles such as the apartheid mentality and the tendency to resort to violence towards a specific group. Such actions are then regarded as “normal,” and are seen as the only way of tackling the inflow of foreign immigrants in South Africa. Underlying these negative perceptions are the views that the immigrants exploit the country’s resources and do not pay tax, therefore, the country does not benefit financially from them.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the research data collected during the field research at the three proposed townships of Tshwane, namely Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Hammanskraal accurately. The data collected from the respondents do not represent the entire population of the constituency, but merely indicate the common aspects and sentiments of the community. The purpose of this chapter is to present the research findings, analysis and interpretations of results as they were recorded for the proposed research. Information that is related to the proposed research was collected through fieldwork that emanated in areas where incited xenophobic attacks prevail. For the sake of clarity, mostly foreign immigrants in Tshwane are referred to either as *Mandofa* or *Magrigamba*. However, it is unclear where such names originated.

This chapter will firstly formulate the main objectives of violence offered by Fanon’s pro-democracy philosophy pertaining to the liberation struggle. Fanon believed that the fight to end all forms of oppression could take place in a democracy where the majority of people could come together and save themselves from previous oppression. Fanon’s proposal was universal in its striving for humanistic rehabilitation from colonialism and exploitation of the masses (Hensen 2001: 89). For Fanon, the assertion about different races or ethnic groups in society should not be ignored. Moreover, the ignorance shown

by individuals who are in power, leads to discrimination against the disadvantaged. In essence, the disadvantaged do the work for the elites.

This study will examine the narratives of the respondents critically and report the information elicited from them. During the interviews, several participants requested that they should not be recorded by a video or tape recorder. They agreed to their responses being written down on a notepad. Furthermore, pseudonyms were used to protect the participants' identities and anonymity. The participants were all asked similar questions in terms of the key research question to determine how oppression presents and transforms itself within social structures.

Underpinning this study are Fanon's thinking and psychological analysis were applied in a political debate regarding how South African society has been influenced by the inherited colonial conditions. These conditions are gradually appearing within the previously oppressed society with regard to the injustices and inequality that exist today.

Several studies have been conducted on how xenophobic attacks happen and exactly what perpetuates them. This chapter will demonstrate through assessment of the respondents' replies will show that there is an underlying and deep psychological, political and economic pattern with regard to violent xenophobic attacks. This study will reveal that there is an indication that the attacks took place because of the negative connotation of and discrimination against foreign African immigrants in particular.

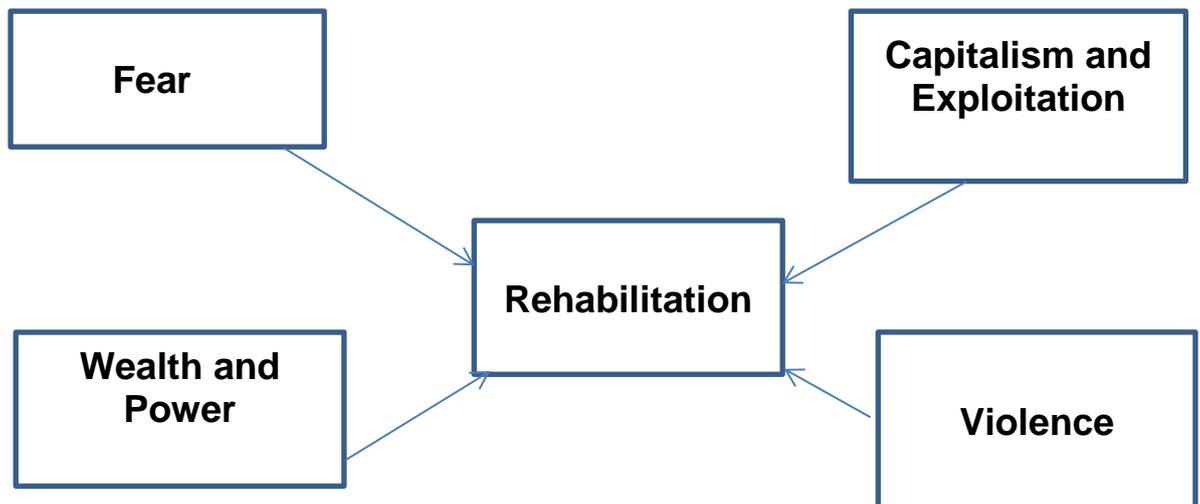
This chapter will also discuss the difference between the violence in South Africa and that described by other violence theorists. There are many reasons why xenophobic attacks are directed towards African immigrants. Importantly, there is a dramatic misunderstanding and perception of foreign African immigrants that dehumanises their very existence within the South African community. Fanon verbalised the consequences of dehumanising the "Other" and what circumstances would lead to the explosion of anger and frustration because of the humiliation experienced, resulting in violence. This is in contrast with several theorists who have resonance within the South African context with regard to

analysing the stance of post-apartheid South Africa and the implications of apartheid within the lived experiences of the previously oppressed.

There seems to be a loss of humanity, which is the opposite of what theorists such as Steve Biko who advocated and lived for the improvement of the lives of all people and who propagated the need for a change of character from the old black person to the new black person. This ideology believed in the humanity of love and respect for all humans regardless of their race, culture and language. In South Africa, there is a deeper concealed racism that informs most discourses on racism and “otherism.” Biko’s first call is that a person must see everyone else as a human being. Both Biko and Fanon advocate recognising that any one life is as important as that of any other life. Villet (2011: 46) asserts that these mutual recognitions include the values of humanity on the one hand and the stance that the degradation and killing of an individual go against the prerequisite of achieving it, on the other hand. What is different is that Fanon’s, solutions to slavery, prejudice, racism, discrimination and all forms of oppression directed towards others is vague. It is only directed at a certain economic class and group of people. Fanon is a radicalist who questioned the position of slavery, the assimilation of the master by the subject and the acceptance of violence.

Regarding Biko’s (2004) analysis and his ideology of black consciousness, there is a solution. In his book *“I write what I like”* where he advocates a change of attitude, “attitudinal change,” concerning how we can approach the world in terms of equality. We cannot talk of rights and freedom if we do not remove all existing prejudice. Fundamentally, the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks have become what they are because they were once radically excluded by the apartheid system. Accordingly, the research data of this study reveal that the perpetrators of attacks know the difference between right and wrong, although there is a disorder of character.

## 5.2 FANON ELEMENTS PRESENT WITHIN XENOPHOBIC NEGATIVE SENTIMENTS



**Figure 5.1: Fanonian elements associated with xenophobic negative sentiments**

The schema in Figure 5.1 above show which elements are associated with xenophobic attitudes and what the research revealed. The elements will be discussed in the next section.

### 5.2.1 Fear

The first element present is fear. Regarding this concept, fear was produced by years of discrimination, oppression and living in apartheid South Africa. The myths associated with the image regarding foreign immigrants are described by Fanon and is found in the unconscious "negro" who fears the other because he was taught to hate his own black skin (Clarke: n.d.). The most prominent critique pertains to the manner in which the SAPS and the perpetrators of xenophobic violence profile African foreign immigrants in a non-scientific manner based on skin colour.

With regard to the current wave of terror that threatens the safety and security of foreign African immigrants in South Africa, the fear portrayed by local South Africans is already showing itself openly. Fanon (1961: 208) says

“Once colonialism has realized where its tactics of social reform are leading, we see it falling back on its old reflexes, reinforcing police effectives, bringing up troops, and setting a reign of terror which is better adapted to its interests and its psychology”

For Fanon, his primary fear is what will happen once the black bourgeoisie take over power and become the government. “Now the nationalist bourgeoisies, who in region after region hasten to make their own fortunes and to set up a national system of exploitation, do their utmost to put obstacles in the path of this ‘Utopia’” (Fanon 1961: 161). He places fear within the economic power and states that the bourgeoisies’ position is primarily aimed at exploitation of the other. They instil fear in the minds of their followers because the resources should be protected. This creates an inferiority complex that is evident in the hearts and faces of xenophobic perpetrators. What makes this element particularly important is that there is something that we can point to as a single agency, which is the precedence to solving these xenophobic attacks. What is learned from Fanon as a psychologist is that he capitalises on the notion that it is in the subconscious where unknown factors dwell that can drive people to engage in actions including violent attacks on others.

### **5.2.2 Rehabilitation**

The second element is rehabilitation as Fanon asserts that the colonialists left the world in a degraded position after leaving the colonial world. Thus, it is up to the oppressed to rehabilitate spaces in order to recover from the experiences of colonialism and of being enslaved. What is remarkable about this element is that it resonates within the context of post-apartheid South Africa.

Fanon (1961: 106) sees the unresolved trauma experienced by the colonised and the oppressed and notes that humankind needs to be rehabilitated. Accordingly, Kebede (2001: 543) comments, that Fanon sympathised with the goal of rehabilitation and perfectly understands the meaning of the strategy of Otherness as well as the passionate search for a splendid past. Kebede (2001) adds that however different these approaches may be, they all aim to persuade Africans that they have no reason to put up with the degrading interpretation of their past

(Kebede 2001: 543). Rehabilitation should act as an antidote to oppression and degradation (Kebede 2001: 555). It enables the oppressed to look beyond the misery that has been experienced and thus see the other as a human being and not as the enemy.

### **5.2.3 Wealth and power**

The third analysis involves access to wealth and power. Fanon (1961: 167) notes that the previously marginalised are eager to gain access to the structures and trappings of power. This trajectory will enable them to see that wealth will make people fight and create conflict. Individuals see wealth differently, as some will see land as wealth as is the case with the perpetrators of xenophobia.

In the South African context, what post-apartheid brought was an increase in the black middle class, known as the black bourgeoisie. Fanon (1961: 167) affirms that it is the black bourgeoisie who are eager to control the wealth, thereby enabling them to have power over the decision-making process. Ultimately, as Fanon (1961: 167) points out, “the distribution of wealth is not spread out between a great many sectors.” In post post-Apartheid South Africa, these black bourgeoisies are described as “black diamonds” that have a specific social meaning to a growing black generation (see Mojave 2013). Thus, a hierarchy of power is established from the black bourgeoisie to the people who are on the bottom rung of society, thus enabling them to pursue these xenophobic trajectories. Unfortunately, the bourgeoisie who finally have the opportunity to be in power are corrupt. Fanon (1961: 171) adds, “privileges multiply and corruption triumphs, while morality declines.”

### **5.2.4 Capitalism and exploitation**

The fourth element that Fanon (1961: 61) posits is capitalism and exploitation. This pertains to the idea that the present racism has assumed new forms because of modern oppression in the guise of capitalism and exploitation of the weaker groups. In effect, the starving peasant, who finds himself/ herself outside the class system, is the first among the exploited to discover that only violence

pays. Accordingly, this research reveals that the majority of respondents see white immigrants as gods and foreign African immigrants as the enemy. Fanon would question the notion of why the attacks are directed at the latter. The black man must address the other black man as “brother,” regardless of their ethnicity. In South Africa, there are ulterior motives and thinking with regard to how foreign African immigrants behave, thus resulting in the fact that belonging to a similar race is not important but the behaviour of the particular ethnic group member is measured in terms of the prevailing rhetoric and attitudes.

The liberator only sees emancipation and not the conscientised oppressive elements that are the antithesis of their liberation. Significantly, the oppressed conclude that the African immigrants are destroying their liberty, the liberty they had fought for years against the apartheid regime. Fanon (1961:238) describes the effects of exploitation with the leaders misleading them; while less focus is placed on those who are being exploited and manipulated to fight foreign immigrants, namely the lower classes. In effect, Fanon (1961:238) asserts that “colonial exploitation, poverty and endemic famine drive the native more and more to open, organised revolt.”

The foreign African immigrants are mostly exploited within the capitalist cycle of wealth creation in South Africa. The black bourgeoisie cannot see that it is the poor and the disadvantaged who are exploited. Currently, there is a black government in power that is interested in enriching itself, while the poorest of the poor have great difficulty with accessing basic resources. This government does not care about the people; they only care about making money and presenting false ideologies to the masses, in general and the less educated, in particular. The peasants are affected directly by xenophobic violence and this is done deliberately by the black bourgeoisie in South Africa. Thus, we see that the xenophobic attacks occur predominantly in informal settlements where the integration of foreign immigrants is still regarded as taboo. To conclude, the conflict that arises due to competition for resources with regard to the local citizens of South Africa is what Fanon (1961: 186) describes as “the dream of every citizen is to get up to the capital, and to have his share of the cake.”

### 5.2.5 Violence

The fifth element is pertains to the fact that violence is seen as a taught behaviour and an inherited syndrome that manifested itself within the post-colonial world. In South Africa, as noted in the previously chapter, violence describes a society that was taught the language of violence. The difference between Fanon violence and other specified violence is that it is justified. What is needed is more than the mental healing from the violence experienced in apartheid South Africa as the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks come from a generation that was subjected to horrendous abuse by the apartheid regime. For Fanon, (1961: 42) what those experiences did for the oppressed was to dehumanise them and turn them into violent individuals.

Fanon is not interested in the killing of people in fact; he insists that it should be avoided. What is imperative to understand here is that reporting the acts of violence should not be interpreted as an account of using attacks to kill people. Concerning the xenophobic attacks of May 2008, the media reported the abuse and killing of illegal foreign immigrants (Harris 2002; Smith 2010). This is in direct conflict with Fanon's (1961: 57) view, namely that the killing of a "friend" should be avoided. For Fanon, the killing of an individual defeats the purpose of the oppressor. It is important to note that removing an individual permanently from this world through killing him/her indicates that the oppressor has finally achieved what it set out to do with an oppressed individual. What it aimed to do was to demoralise them, make them lose touch with reality and make them regard themselves as mere animals, corroborating the very idea regarding why they were enslaved to start with. Fanon (1961: 57) comments that, "symbolical killings, fantastic rides, imaginary mass murders—all must be brought out. The evil humors are undammed, and flow away with a din as of molten lava."

In sum, at the root of Fanon's overall sentiments is humanity and that killing an individual is a transgression against humanity. Villet (2011: 48) cites the following assertion made by Fanon that:

Humans are defined by their desire for life, love and generosity, but also by their desire both for freedom and a mutual subjectivity in which agency is afforded both to self and the Other for the provision of meaning to one's own life. This freedom is both a value and a practice, and transgressions against it almost certainly result in a violation of human life.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967: 151) argue that violence is an act entailing that "there is much empirical evidence that class position, ethnicity, occupational status, and other social variables are effective indicators for predicting rates of different kinds of deviance." The idea in this case, is that violence theorists such as Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) posit that violence is highly regarded by a specific group of people. It is difficult to understand the reasons why xenophobic attacks are violent and why they are carried out and by which specific group. In essence, there are many explanations by theorists about the factors leading to violence. In terms of the existence of violence amongst black groups, Wolfgang and Ferracuti's theory is the most cited, although it differs from Fanon in terms of the manifestation of violence between two races. With regard to Wolfgang's theory and analysis of the manifestation of violence between targeted groups, he argues that violence within the black culture is a natural condition that is inherited. Furthermore, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) conclude that violence is mainly perpetrated by black males. This analysis corroborates the fact that the most violent xenophobic attacks are orchestrated by male leaders within a community.

What we learn here is that there is a cyclical pattern associated with violence in South Africa. Fanon (1961) argues that everything in life reproduces after its own kind, hence the existence of the violent behaviour witnessed in South Africa. Significantly, Fanon views violence as a justified action to rid oneself of years of being enslaved and is a different kind of embodiment to rid oneself of a long history of oppression. Violence for Fanon is an extreme way of expressing hostility and is a way to purge a society from the "dirt" that fills the city and creates inadequacies with regard to resources. Thus, in order to cure society from such disparities, violence is justified. In the next section, an analysis of the research data that reveal the agents of violence present in the perpetrators of xenophobic violence is discussed.

### **5.3 PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS AND THE RESEARCH DATA ANALYSIS**

The structured interview questionnaires were administered to approximately thirty individuals within three constituency areas in Tshwane. Due to the nature of the research, those who were said to be the leaders and perpetrators of xenophobic attacks were reluctant to divulge information concerning how the xenophobic attacks had been perpetrated. This research data left certain elements unexplained with regard to why the dialectic and representation of why the perpetrators do not attack their leaders for misleading them with false ideologies concerning foreign immigrants. The information collected from the respondents is information that will be dealt with in the following sections:

#### **5.4 BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENTS**

The data collection was done in terms of age groups, levels of education, place and sex of the respondents. The following information pertains to the participants' details in terms of their age, gender and educational background.

##### **5.4.1 Age of the respondents**

The majority of the respondents, namely seventy percent (70%) were between the ages of 20 to 35 years of age; while thirty per cent (30%) were between the ages of 40 and 50.

##### **5.4.2 Sex of the respondents**

The majority (approximately 80%) of the respondents were males. The research shows that it is predominantly males who participate in violent attack (see Evaratt 2010; Nell 2009; Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967).

##### **5.4.3 Level of education and employment**

According to the information received from the respondents in terms of level of education and employment, forty-five percent (45%) were re-employed within the

public sector. The rest of the respondents, approximately sixty-five percent (65%) were self-employed, working as street vendors, involved in public transport and odd jobs or were entrepreneurs.

## 5.5 REASONS FOR VIOLENCE TOWARDS FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS

According to the respondents and the body of literature, there were many frustrations amongst the local black South Africans with regard to foreign African immigrants, especially those who entered South Africa illegally to seek refuge. When asked why they used violence against foreign immigrants, one respondent, David, 29, male declared:

*What we did here in Hammanskraal was to give them seven days' notice to pack their possessions here as hawkers and street vendors and go back to their countries. And they did not listen. The only way they can listen is through war, so we burned their shacks.*

Several respondents declared that using violence was the last resort as that was the only way that foreign immigrants would listen to South Africans. They intimated a sense of fear about competing with foreign immigrants in terms of jobs as most of them worked as cheap labour that threatened the livelihoods of local South Africans (see Ngomane 2010; Holdt *et al.* 2011). This statement resonates with how the respondents make sense of the experience they have with foreign African immigrants. There was a follow up question regarding the difference between how the perpetrators treat foreign African immigrants and how they treat white immigrants, one informant, Mike, 30, declared:

*You see white immigrants are not a problem, and you can't even tell, a white person is a white person, with black immigrants, you can tell by the language, their accent, and their clothes they wear, that they are foreign immigrants from Malawi, Zim or Mozambique. I wish to collect Mandofa in a van, they bring drugs, prostitution and all these rubbish, so they must go back with that rubbish.*

In the case of the recent xenophobic attacks that occurred at Hammanskraal, the victims were Somalis, Pakistanis, Zimbabweans and Mozambiqueans who were mostly either shop owners or street vendors. Several perpetrators interviewed,

alluded to the fact that foreign immigrants that were street vendors and shop owners did not pay tax; neither did they save their money in the bank. They thus, suggested, that in terms of savings, they saved their money in the bank, which was not the case with foreign immigrants South Africans and their money was not circulated within the economic structures. Concluding that the money they made in South Africa was not affected by the inflation rate and banking services, therefore, they were left with more money than a local South Africa who was affected by the rates of money circulating. Mike, 30, male stated:

*Their money does not circulate, they keep it under their beds, so we keep our money at the bank and we pay tax, so these foreigners must go, especially those who jumped the borders*

This judgment underscores the claim made by several authors that foreign African immigrants who entered South Africa illegally contribute to the economy through their cheap labour. This results in conflict between the South Africans and the foreign African immigrants. The difference between the way the community treated white immigrants and foreign African immigrants was, noted by David, 34, male:

*You see white immigrants don't come here to waste South Africa's resources, they are rich and always come here to develop the country, whilst these Mandofas are here to waste our resources. White immigrants come here with an economic plan" those ones don't they bring dirt here.*

A question was asked regarding how South Africans relate to foreign immigrants.

A respondent, Naledi, 34, male, commented:

*I have a serious problem with them, yes we were refugees in their country, but we were not selling drugs, we were in camps, now they are here and they have rights, the government must change their immigration act, there is a problem there, there is a lot of corruption, I remember Angolans were told via the newspapers to go back to their country because the war was over, so why don't the Zimbabweans go back home. We will target the media to send a message to them that they must leave peacefully, if they don't go we will use force, and we must tighten our labour laws, xenophobia will be back, and its everywhere and it happens every day, the problem is the ANC, and here in South Africa we don't support each other, the borders are our point of entry, we must remove the police at the border points and place soldiers there because the police are given bribes by the illegal foreigners and you see you can't negotiate with a soldier, they are strict*

According to the data collected, the respondents do not regard White immigrants as the enemy, besides South Africans was built on the resources produced by white people who developed the country. The mentality with regard to apartheid was apparent in the manner respondents made statements such as why there was no attempt to blame white immigrants on the issues of jobs, housing, and taking their women, because as David 29 male stated:

*White immigrants, they pay tax and economically develop our country*

There seems to be a mentality that foreign immigrants are an easy target because of the frustration of local South Africans who fail to blame the government. Instead, they blame foreign African immigrants for the scarcity of certain resources that are not available such as housing, sanitation and jobs.

Several remarks indicated that apartheid indeed had damaged the mentality of Black South Africans and the colonialist mentality was blamed with regard to the oppression experienced. *Sipho, 32, male, explained:*

*We were oppressed, by the white supremacists then we must do the same with Zimbabweans, they must go home, so we can be able to rehabilitate ourselves from the scourge and scare of Apartheid, because after democracy, we were not given a chance to enjoy democracy, because they flowed into the country, and they are dirty, and you see when south Africans went to be refugees in their country they were disciplined, they did not do crime, so why do they do dirty things here*

It is evident through the above statements that a specific mind-set with regard to the cycle of oppression, still exists in many South Africans concerning foreign African immigrants.

Sunnyside is a suburb situated in the south-eastern part of the city of Tshwane. According to research conducted after the xenophobic attacks of May 2008, the majority of foreign immigrants were killed by mobs (Steinberg 2008). Significantly, since 2008, there have been no further attacks In Sunnyside since then. Neither was there any evidence of the place being on the hit list of South Africans. The issues mentioned indicate that the perpetrators are against globalisation as it disrupts people's lives and brings illegal migrants into their living spaces. This

research contends that it is the state that is responsible to defend citizens from counter attacks that threaten its citizens.

Sunnyside is an area with many flats where one finds most foreign immigrants from all over Africa, of which the majority who reside there are Nigerian nationals. The fear by the South African perpetrators of xenophobic violence concerning the Sunnyside area in Tshwane was that there could be a counter attack by Nigerian nationals. Hence, the perpetrators refrained from attacking the Nigerians. The respondent emphasised that because the Nigerians belong to a powerful ethnic group, they are therefore feared by South Africans. In this regard, Big Boy 37, male commented:

*There are only Nigerians whom I feel they are bad because they sell drugs*

Sunnyside seems to be feared by several Tshwane respondents due to the presence of the foreign immigrants and a specific ethnic group that live there. Because of the clandestine activities that take place in Sunnyside, the respondents alluded to the notion that one never knows what sort of weapons is hidden there. Therefore, they feel threatened Oreil, 29, male asserted:

*They bring crime here, like robbery. Well, I don't think violence is the only answer, but certain foreigners like Nigerians who sell drugs can only hear violence, and I will attack Sunnyside.*

Another respondent, Godfrey, 32, male contended with regard to the xenophobic violence that:

*I think there are no changes after the May 2008 xenophobic attacks. The only thing we can do is to control our borders, and as for Nigerians they are far from us here in "Mshogo" (informal settlements), those people are in Sunnyside and It's far from here and they are powerful,*

The point that was emphasised during the data collection process was the notion that Sunnyside had powerful Nigerians. The fear was that Nigerian nationals might have weapons and could therefore retaliate. The fact is that these xenophobic attacks were predominantly instigated by poor and disadvantaged

people that suffered from the daily pressures that prevented them from accessing basic resources.

Ethnicity plays an important role in determining who is attacked and which foreign nationals and which nationality is not attacked. The paradox is that Nigerian nationals are seen to be the worst foreign nationals because they are said to sell drugs and to be involved in maladministration around Tshwane. However, they were less likely to be attacked according to one respondent as they were powerful and money is what makes them powerful. The respondents had many excuses for the fact that Sunnyside has been the target in terms of xenophobic attacks. The respondents were quite aware of the corruption sale of drugs, and prostitution that was said to be promoted by foreign immigrants. Nevertheless, they had no intention to confront the Nigerians in the near future. The predominant aspect highlighted was that there was indeed corruption amongst South Africans that cohort with Nigerians who sold drugs. Given, 34, male maintained:

*I really don't want Nigerians, if we target Sunnyside we must be united, so we need to mobilize very well, because these Nigerians work with South Africans, we promote nonsense, our officials are given money.*

The above statement indicates that such perceptions are increasing in terms of which ethnic nationality in South Africa is said to be promoting corruption.

Accordingly, Thabang 24, male, remarked:

*These Mandofa's do whatever they want, we burned their houses and shacks, if someone is a refugee is hungry they will humble themselves but these Mandofa's don't do that, and our government are full of lies, they allow these people to come in here without permits so that is the problem.*

This also reinforces the negative perceptions of foreign immigrants from African countries in South African. Fanon (1961: 177) argues with regard to public servants who are corrupt:

*...with them the decline of morals, the installing of corruption within the country, economic regression, and the immediate disaster of an anti-democratic regime depending on force and intimidation.*

Several respondents insisted as follows: Given 34, male, declared:

*I really don't want the Nigerians here, they are corrupt they sell drugs.*

In turn, Lolo, male, 38, noted:

*The Nigerians are worse, because they didn't come here to work for a white person.*

The conclusion is that the statements above provide a sample of how corrupt South Africans view a specific ethnic group. The claim was made that “all” African foreign immigrants are either selling drugs or are in the country to engage in clandestine activities.

## **5.6 PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE ATTITUDES OF SOUTH AFRICANS TOWARDS AFRICAN MIGRANTS**

The perceptions of the perpetrators' attitudes towards foreign immigrants were driven by the misconception that migrants only came to South Africa to destroy the state and not to develop it further as indicated by several respondents. The fear of South Africans that foreign African immigrants are in South Africa to compete with them in terms of jobs, skills and access to resources will be discussed below.

### **5.6.1 Cheap labour**

Foreign immigrants are said to provide cheap labour that places too much pressure on the local South Africans who seek jobs. Because of their willingness to work for low salaries, foreign immigrants are more likely to be employed than South Africans are. Accordingly, a respondent commented:

*I'm just get worried because they accept jobs here in South Africa for cheap*  
*Benjamin B, 37, male.*

The way in which the labour market operates in South Africa and the positioning of foreign immigrant skills have to be considered. What is evident in the case of

foreign immigrants and their labour is that South Africa does indeed recognise the importance of the skills of migrant workers. There are certain labour markets where South Africans are not willing to do specific jobs and therefore, a gap is created for those who want to do the work. In addition, the local South Africans in the middle class are aware of this gap as it allows them to push down the price of labour in the market. This makes it easy for the petty bourgeoisie to exploit the skills and labour that the foreign immigrants (undocumented) provide. This research proposes diversity within the labour market including legitimising the skills and labour offered by foreign immigrants that enable South Africa to develop economically. Another respondent, *Daniel*, 33, male commented that:

*They use Muti to grow their business and use it so that we don't get customers but they get customers for their business, Mandofa must go they date our women and use them to get citizenship here in South Africa, those people are donkeys they don't listen so they we will use violence*

Several respondents also referred to the notion that there is serious competition between foreign immigrants and local South Africans; while the public sector is slowly giving in to the demand to employ precisely those foreign immigrants who are not registered by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). This is because foreign immigrants do not contribute to tax and therefore, their employer pays them the amount that they ask for, without making any deductions that will contribute to the South African Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF). Moses, 38, male, asserted:

*I have a problem with them, at where I work, our time is different from theirs and the white people listen to them and not us. And when you talk too much as a South African you can get fired, and because they are cheap, they don't ask for the same wage as us (South Africans). I am affected by poverty and under threat. You see what will happen to them when Mandela dies will depend on the community, because Mandela brought a foreign woman here, because before Mandela was president yes, they were here but you will only see one here and there. Now after democracy they came in their numbers, South Africa is chaos because of them, everybody is doing whatever they want. We just want them to pack their belongings in peace. We must warn them first and then take action if they do not listen, but the government must talk to them first*

The point that should be emphasised here is that indeed, South Africa nationals are worried about protecting their livelihoods from foreign immigrants who enter

the country illegally. It appears that their outcry is ignored by the government. This study might be able to focus the attention of those in power with regard to the South African immigration policy and the laws on how to control and provide a legitimate system of placing foreign immigrants in South Africa.

### **5.6.2 Skills**

Foreign immigrants from neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi and Namibia to name a few, are said to be skilled in areas such as the textile industry and within the academic fraternity and can be employed as doctors and professionals within the public sector. Such an aspect of recruiting foreign skilled migrants is promoted by countries such as Botswana that have recruited both foreign companies and skilled professionals actively from across the continent. Foreign workers were pursued aggressively to fill skills gaps in sectors including technology, management, education, engineering, law and healthcare, and were offered competitive salaries, subsidised housing, cars, health insurance and free education for expatriate children (Lefko-Everett 2004).

The Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) reports that South Africans are afraid of skilled foreign Immigrants (Bernstein 2000). The CDE affirms that if South Africa wants to become a competitive economy in the global system, therefore, consideration must be given to the relationship between opening our borders to trade, industry, culture, communications and capital and the movement of people, which must inevitably follow. Generally, immigrants have entrepreneurial talent and ambition, are prepared to take risks and possess the necessary drive to survive and succeed in a foreign country” (Bernstein 2000: 1). Ryan, 32, male, expressed the view that:

*They are needed because of the ingenuity of their skills, the problem lies with the constitution. There are many drug syndicates and they are allowed through the gate, our borders are too open*

In the same vein, Benjamin 43, male, contended:

*We don't know how to regulate our borders, because we don't use weapons, that's how they can easily bring drugs here. They are not right, and they take advantage because they have support from the government. They take our livelihoods and crime is high because of them.*

When asked a question concerning what sparked the May 2008 violence and if they foresaw similar incidents re-occurring, the response was vague, but respondent *Benjamin 43, male*, indicated that:

*If you are in Rome you do what the Romans do, yes, xenophobia that happened in 2008 was right; I think the ANC is not helping and the DA will help, the ANC is failing the poor. These people are here to destroy South Africa, and they stay here with drugs. If Sunnyside were to be attacked because of Nigerians I will go there running, I know because if Mandela dies there will be conflict, and it won't be nice.*

Thus, the CDE report indicates that South Africans should be open to the idea to allow skilled migrants into the country, as they will add positively to the growing economy of the state. The issue of skills is an overarching issue in South Africa that attention has been focused on illegal immigrants and thus 'the deepening shortage of managerial, professional and entrepreneurial skills, which will undermine the country's potential for sustained economic growth' (Bernstein 2000). Conflicting interests arise with local South Africans in terms of job opportunities. In part, this is because illegal immigrants are not subjected to economic measures such as taxation by the South African Revenue Services.

### **5.6.3 Access to basic resources**

The competition that exists is concerned with access to resources such as housing and land. Foreign immigrants who enter South Africa illegally find it difficult to integrate with local South Africans. The resources such as housing, clothes, shops they occupy once they are settled in South Africa are seen as property once xenophobic attacks are orchestrated. When asked a question about the issues relating to employment and access to access to basic resources for South Africa. *Mpho, 21, male*, commented

*I just don't like foreigners, I don't want them, I want them to go away. You see, I can't get a job because of them.*

Such responses indicate the wish for a South Africa where there is no competition for resources with other individuals. This reflects the entitlement syndrome that emanates from local South Africans who only expect the government to provide them with basic resources.

The door of opportunity is seen to be closed by foreign African immigrants mainly. Because undocumented foreign immigrants do not have work permits, they are relocated to townships or informal settlements as areas in which they can afford to live. Their properties are not safeguarded as they become the target of violence and these are then taken away from them forcefully. Furthermore, foreign immigrants especially those who “jump the borders,” are said to bring diseases into the country and an increase in the crime rate, drugs and corruption. The respondents see war/violence as the only antidote to reducing the influx of foreign immigrants into South Africa.

#### **5.6.4 Corruption**

From the interviews conducted and the subsequent analysis of the data, it appears that the people do not have confidence in the authority of the South African government. The research data collected signify the idea that corruption seems to underpin the South African way of living and it is not only at the South African borders that there is a smuggling of individuals into the country as Ngomane (2010: 21) argues that this is due to the high level of corruption among the SAPS and officials from the DHA. Corruption is said to be promoted by leaders in the government and the SAPS at the borders contribute immensely to the statistics with regard to allowing illegal immigrant without permits into the country. Such perceptions pertaining to corruption, with regard to bribery and money reveal how government officials are willing to conform to the general practice. The issue of corruption is one of the elements that are identified as a major problem associated with the government. Thoza, 40, male, insisted:

*We must just fix corruption; our officials are not good people because they are corrupt*

*In the same vein, Jerry, 27, male, argued:*

*We must not look at their money, so we must also not be corrupt, and the government must bring back the death penalty so that crime and corruption must stop.*

Vusi, 50 male concurred with the above sentiments by noting that,

*They must go, when I was growing up I never saw a foreign immigrant because our borders were controlled very well, it was difficult for you to come to RSA, they are the one now who build the RDP houses and the construction companies employ them because they are cheap in labour, I won't vote in the coming elections, the Apartheid regime was powerful, now the whole of Tshwane belongs to Nigerians, they are everywhere and they don't pay tax, when some of our leaders were in exile in foreign countries, they were there to be educated some studied law, and the thing is here in Hammanskraal there is no police here, they are corrupt, the government should employ soldiers to regulate these illegal foreigners here,*

Such views regarding corruption are widespread among the residents of the mentioned communities in Tshwane and while they express anger and disgust with the corruption, they also seem to accept it as part of life (Holdt 2011: 20). No formal complaints have been made either to the government about the corrupt activities of either the SAPS members or to the DHA officials at the border post. The communities feel that they have the right to exercise passive resistance concerning activities that promote corruption within the state. Allen, 51, male, remarked:

*Our government is slow, the white people employ foreign immigrants because they are cheap, they must go home, I remember the former Minister of Home Affairs used to raid their flats in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, but now the current leadership is corrupt, there is no competency.*

In South Africa, government officials are synonymous with corruption and incompetence; accordingly, the communities are losing confidence in them and not least of all, by the way certain grievances are handled. Hence, as recently witnessed in Hammanskraal, the communities chased the foreigners' away and looted shops that belonged to foreign African immigrants. This analysis indicates

that the community is taking matters into their own hands and is mobilising people to pursue violent activities.

It is interesting to note what the situation is like in Atteridgeville a township situated in the west approximately fifteen kilometers away from the central business district of Tshwane. In the case of this township, fifty percent (50%) of the perceptions of the inhabitants are negative. However, there seemed to be no frustration in contrast with the Mamelodi and Hammanskraal townships. It appears that foreign immigrants are integrated within the community areas of Mshengo, Brazzaville and Phomolong. Nevertheless, according to the data collected from the Atteridgeville respondents, they were sure that there would be another xenophobic attack, which was already under discussion. Although they were reluctant to reveal who the leaders were that were orchestrating the xenophobic attacks, the common sentiment is voiced by Mpho, 21 male:

*If Mandela dies, we are chasing these people, away, and we will use violence, so that we take their shacks and property as for the Pakistan, I will steal their food they sell and properties.*

Tshepo, 32, male corroborated his viewpoint:

*They are many they must be deported. I'll join the perpetrators of xenophobic violence, if these people don't want to go in peace, we will use violence: if Mandela dies we are chasing them away they are here because of Graca Machel.*

According to rumors about the health of the former President Nelson Mandela, who has since passed away, he was said to be in a vegetative state at the time of these interviews. The important point is, how accurate are the rumors concerning the position about Mr Nelson Mandela and should they be heeded by the SAPS and government in order to organise proper sanctions to avoid another flaring up of hostilities? Should the rumors be ignored? No, the collective power of mass violence will increase as long as the rumors spread across the borders of South Africa. As for the communities, collective effort is the only measure to control the anxiety they have regarding foreign nationals. Accordingly, this study examined the responses by government agencies concerning the 2008 May violence within

the Tshwane area and it also explored the government's obligation to respond to violence.

The Township of Mamelodi is situated approximately ten kilometres outside the CBD of Tshwane. What was most profound in Mamelodi is that there is a certain level of understanding of the plight of foreign immigrants who come to the country. There was little indication of hatred; it was rather a mobilisation of antagonism towards them as most immigrants own shops within the townships.

Ryan, 32, male, commented:

*They are primitive and cannot talk for themselves, because they do what someone says they should do, the problem with SA is they forget that they are also Africans, , and part of oppression is that we are being used by the leaders of our country. Well, about Mandela dying is just a rumour; the community builders are crooks, 'the one who is not a sinner must throw the first stone first.'*

Many respondents indicated that they did not have a problem with foreign immigrants as long as they did not disturb them in their daily activities. In Hammanskraal, there is a clear indication that the SAPS are not visible in the community, while in the public sector, the respondents were clear that foreign immigrants would be chased out of Hammanskraal. Prior to this research being conducted there were reports that several of the shacks that belonged to foreign immigrants who were hawkers were closed or burned down. Sbusiso 29 male said:

*We don't want them here in Hammanskraal, and we will never relate well with them they must understand that these is our land and they must listen to us if they want to stay here in South Africa, or else if we are not careful as South Africans, these foreigners will take our land.*

In the case of South Africa, it is ironical that both the attackers and perpetrators of xenophobic violence come from an impoverished background. These individuals are not intellectuals and therefore they are not in the position to think beyond the disadvantagedness of their position within society. Gibson (2001:378) argues that "the lack of critical thinking about their own actions expressed the ideological limitation of the mass movement." Fanon (1961:15) suggests:

Starved and ill, if they have any spirit left, fear will finish the job; guns are levelled at the peasant; civilians come to take over his land and force him by dint of flogging to till the land for them. If he shows fight, the soldiers fire and he's a dead man; if he gives in, he degrades himself and he is no longer a man at all; shame and fear will split up his character and make his inmost self-fall to pieces.

This sort of fear of competition for resources is the reason why attacks directed at foreign nationals are carried out. Fanon rejects the notion that the burden of an oppressive mentality should be expressed through the powerful, thus leaving those disempowered alienated. Someone or an institution must take responsibility for the debt of oppression and in this case, xenophobic violence towards foreign immigrants. Lolo, male, 38, insisted:

*I'm a South African and they must respect our land, so they want to oppress us in our land, it's as if we are stupid and they are clever*

The above statement corroborates what Fanon describes as the reoccurrence of the oppressed syndrome. What resonates here is the revelation about land, a commodity that was previously owned by local black South Africans. Currently, black South Africans own about 14% of the land; while whites have 70%. The battle for control of the power structures is the reason why local South Africans want to protect their land as it was taken away from them under the Native Land Act of 1913, historically. The fact is, foreign African immigrants were not the initial perpetrators of apartheid. Fanon's thinking with regard to the psychological analytical aspects is useful for the analysis of xenophobia. Accordingly, he calls for unity within a humanistic new beginning. What we see here is a special kind of injustice that is manifested indirectly within the phenomenological dimension of modern racism. The residents in Tshwane made it clear through their words and deeds that they do not welcome foreign immigrants within their communities.

## **5.7 CONCLUSION**

The field research work was carried out in three townships in the city of Tshwane as mentioned earlier and thirty (30) respondents were selected, in terms of (10) ten from each of the townships respectively. The research data collected from the

respondents provide a clear picture of what is needed within their community and what is seen as an obstruction. It is apparent that the townships where the data were collected focused on their own self-interest concerning their survival, while African immigrants were seen as a threat. A thorough analysis was done of the data collected in the three townships of Tshwane, namely, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Hammanskraal. The latter township saw no problem with inciting xenophobic violence towards foreign immigrants. As justification for their attitude, they referred to the notion that they were in control of their land, meaning Hammanskraal, and if they were not proactive, they would lose it to foreign immigrants. In terms of solidarity and unity amongst the communities within these townships, Hammanskraal seems to be the one with a coherent communal culture, unlike Atteridgeville and Mamelodi.

The findings are reported objectively and indicate the areas that should be given attention for future research. It is evident through the sentiments expressed by the respondents who were orally interviewed that the general consensus is that the ANC is to be blamed. As noted above, the gist of xenophobic sentiments amongst that South African population is that negative terms regarding migrants are encouraged by government officials.

Chapter six will draw conclusions from the research findings and the literature review as well as the theoretical framework outlined in chapter two. The chapter will also make recommendations concerning the prospects of the study and the gaps identified that can be of major significance in the political climate pertaining to migration and specifically to case studies regarding xenophobia.

## **CHAPTER SIX: GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.1. INTRODUCTION**

With regard to the overall study conducted, the overlying issue is how could the South African government let the brutal xenophobic attacks on immigrants occur in 2008. Something needs to be done about this unacceptable situation to prevent it from ever happening again. Thorough research and a document analysis were undertaken regarding the conventions made known at the “World Conference against Racism, Racial discrimination and Xenophobia,” held in South Africa in 2001, concerning the legal obligations of states pertaining to immigrants (United Nations (UN) 2001). The report from the conference denounced any violence against foreign immigrants and xenophobia as a serious violation of international humanitarian law (UN 2001). It is the conclusion of this study that there are no proper legal binding regulations by the government in place that protect the rights of migrants. The only reliable legal guideline is that contained in the International migration policy. It is important to look at the reasons why migration takes place.

According to Rodriguez (2000: 75), migration occurs for a variety of reasons; including poverty, civil conflicts and insecurity or persecution for reasons of “race, ethnic origin, religion, language or political view.” This study has elaborated on the causes and consequences of the xenophobic attacks of May 2008 against the backdrop of the political ramifications of this event. According to the analysis of what occurred in May 2008, there is little indication that the international community was effective with regard to promoting and protecting the human rights of migrants that were attacked in South Africa. As Rodriguez (2000: 77) asks in his report, what is the policy with regard to avoiding such incipient acts of racism and xenophobia against migrant populations in their countries? This research challenges the government to create a system that can promote the employment of immigrants. The advantage is that this will advance the economic growth of the country. In addition, to avoid similar future violent attacks on foreign immigrants and especially those from African countries, the government needs to empower and educate the community about issues that pertain to migration.

Holdt *et al.* (2011), provides us with information about the movement to counter xenophobic violence and the importance of communities such as the Bokfontein community that was able to create solidarity amongst the community and create peace between the people and foreign immigrants. The case study in Bokfontein was done by constant monitoring of the streets and educating the community about xenophobia. Accordingly, the question can be asked, are such operations impossible to achieve in communities around Tshwane? Indeed, as Holdt *et al.* (2011:4) observe, South Africa was amazed and Bokfontein is a reminder of what is possible in South Africa. "One of the results was the end of intra-community violence and the deliberate rejection of xenophobic violence—achieved. Holdt *et al.* (2011) conclude that such initiatives to end violence and foster peace was done without the involvement of the SAPS.

When asked a question on how they experience integration with foreign immigrants. The common statements were connected to the second point that the research set out to demonstrate, namely that the South African community is not satisfied with the manner in which foreign immigrants are behaving in a foreign country. This research has found that the issue of corruption still exists and it exacerbates the problem concerning the unlawful entry of immigrants into the country. The problem lies with the border control at the point of entry where there is a high prevalence of corruption, with specific reference to the bribes offered to the Department of Home Affairs and SAPS officials. Thirdly, regarding the question asked to the respondents about how they assessed the position of the government relating such matters, their responses indicate that the government of South Africa is not providing sufficient guidance concerning how to control illegal foreign immigrants that engender fear in the community. Significantly, the findings show that foreign immigrants do contribute to the economy with regard to the public and private sectors. Rodriguez (2000) recommends that what is needed is collaboration with non-governmental organisations and civil society in order to promote the effective application of relevant international norms and standards on the issue and to recommend actions and measures applicable at national, regional and international levels to eliminate violations of the human rights of migrants.

Lastly, the findings corroborated both the hypothesis and theoretical analysis of Franz Fanon in chapter two that were presented initially.

## **6.2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH**

This research report draws its conclusions and recommendations from the case study of Tshwane with regard to the challenges regarding xenophobic views and perceptions amongst local South Africans. A division is created between white immigrants and African foreign immigrants governed by the local South Africans. This study points to the idea that there a colonial world exists characterised by division and the skilled labour that foreign immigrants mostly bring into South Africa. A further significant aspect is the manner in which the African foreign immigrants are constantly policed by the SAPS. In this regard, the wretched in terms of the proletariat are the least conscious of their position and are thus used by the elites (Fanon 1961: 49).

## **6.3 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS**

Through the data collected from the interviews and the subsequent analysis of the data, it became apparent that there were certain crucial issues with regard to xenophobia. The findings also affirm the theoretical analysis offered by Fanon (1961), namely that oppression will reproduce itself in the minds of the oppressed. Secondly, structural violence transforms itself within the new realm of xenophobia (Farmer 2002). Thirdly, the objectives of violence including force and coercion make it impossible for a colonised person to develop independently within a communal setting. He or she is always influenced by outside forces. Furthermore, Fanon (1961) refers to the fear of the unknown. However, In South Africa, it is paradoxical that xenophobia results not from fear of the unknown but of the known. Therefore, xenophobic attacks pertain to behaviour by local South Africans with which they are extremely familiar. It is significant to note that the name-calling such as "*Mandofa*," blaming some for taking others' jobs, the oppression of women and the lack of houses, is the very reflection of what was denied to them by the apartheid regime.

Negative terms such as “*Makwerekwere*” or “*Mandofa*” that are discriminatory with regard to foreign immigrants must be classified officially as hate speech by the government. Such terms dehumanise the dignity of people and their values are seen as inferior because they are not seen as human beings. Therefore, the government must take decisive steps to address this problem.

#### **6. 4 ACHIEVEMENT OF THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

The research data collected revealed more information concerning the research objectives. The study revealed information pertaining to the manner in which foreign immigrants are seen by local South Africans and how those negative assumptions are related to the historical narratives that haunt the South African community post 1994 democratic transition. Franz Fanon is relevant to this study as he critiques the psyche of oppression of the inferior at the hands of the oppressor.

In “*Wretched of the earth*” Fanon (1961), recounts the symptoms and the violent attacks described by the perpetrators is the effects and hostility experienced by local South Africans through the development of years of separation policies through apartheid and separation from the outside world. Fanon (1961:54) declares “the native's muscular tension finds outlet regularly in bloodthirsty explosions—in tribal warfare, in feuds between sects, and in quarrels between individuals.” Fanon(1961), provided a novelty theory to analyzing the contemporary state on nations after colonialism. The crucial emphasis that Fanon studies elaborates is on the education of the masses. Education is key and central to making a decolonized state conscious about its challenges and how to move away from them. For this Fanon (1961: 107), says once victory is won over external and internal oppression it now where political education should be emphasized and transmitted to the masses.

#### **6.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The research questions were also directed at how the violence attacks differ from other violence. In that regard, the research concludes that Fanon provides a

unique decolonial understanding and interpretation of colonialisation and its effect on its subjects. In his writings, Fanon insists that the subject will always be the victim of oppression even when liberation is achieved. Thus, the oppression persists and will manifest itself in different ways including through violence. Therefore, Fanon concludes that the effect of de-colonialisation continues.

Furthermore Fanon's ideas on xenophobic attacks are reflected through violence, fear, rehabilitation, capitalism, exploitation, and lastly, wealth and power. These elements all pertain to the cycle of oppression and how it reproduces itself. Thus, Fanon in comparison with other theorists is inclusive making his analysis and critique unique as it has features of prejudice and provides for methods on how to end slavery and oppression. Because the context of colonial violence remains unchanged, as witnessed in South Africa during the xenophobic attacks, those elements are evident within the xenophobic attacks. What we recognise is that Fanon describes the importance of self-consciousness of the oppressed and thus the slave must realise his position that was conquered within an inhuman act, such as colonisation.

In terms of xenophobia, there is a problem in the way xenophobic attackers, or perpetrators of violence treat foreign immigrants inhumanely and call them inhumane names such *Makwererkwere*. There is subjectivity with regard to the "Other" by the subject.

The perpetrators of violent attacks, according to the analysis of Franz Fanon, cannot see themselves outside the violence they inflict on foreign immigrants who are defenceless.

## **6.6 DOES XENOPHOBIA EXIST IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

There are clear factors emanating from the research findings that indicate that xenophobia exists. This is an alarming situation and solutions should be found by the leaders in the country. Certain issues experienced during the apartheid struggle resonate in the minds of local South Africans. As indicated in the research findings, the majority of South Africans advocate that foreign immigrants

should be legally in South Africa. The respondents claim that foreign illegal immigrants are only in the country to exhaust the state resources. This idea stems from stereotyped ideas, such as the fact that they think that foreign immigrants do not pay taxes, bring diseases, engender corruption and contribute nothing to the development of the country. Moreover, they feel that state resources are used to deport the illegal immigrants that do not pay tax. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that attaining permanent residency and work permits is a difficult and arduous process to which the foreign immigrants have to submit themselves

According to the research findings, the respondents regard attacking foreign immigrants as a way of expressing their grievances with the government with regard to the lack of job opportunities as many foreign immigrants work in the public job sector. According to Fanon (1961), points out that the impoverished and disadvantaged want to be part of the bourgeoisie and reap the benefits of democracy. Instead, they find themselves competing for resources with foreign illegal immigrants. Violence should not be bureaucratic in the sense that it is seen as normal to attack African foreign immigrants. The violence that was applied during the apartheid government affirms what Fanon has claimed, namely that violence and attacking foreign immigrants will eventually become a routine matter. This violence not only traumatises the victims but also the perpetrators of violence. Thus, this research indicates that the xenophobic attacks show signs of Fanon elements as the attacks also includes the torture of foreign immigrants

## **6.7. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

The most prominent future research proposal is to find a way in which fostering mutual respect for foreign immigrants may be promoted. At the same time, certain measures regarding how to distribute resources within the South African community can be extremely frustrating especially when there is a backlog, there is no communication directed specifically at the public. This study recommends that future research must create a plethora of research around this study in order to have a platform that showcases the problems that the country is facing in order to find solutions to such challenges.

As the majority of foreign immigrants are illegal, they settle and become integrated in informal settlements. The fear is that negative sentiments and conflict may still persist as foreign immigrants are the closest targets for the perpetration of violence. This is precisely due to the affirmation that most foreign immigrants who enter the country illegally are vulnerable in society as they do not have access to housing, employment and healthcare. Poverty is a major contributor to their vulnerability and this disadvantage leaves them extremely vulnerable because of the conflict of interest with South Africans. Therefore, the government needs to be responsible for the education of the community and serious security measures have to be implemented together with disaster management facilities in order to respond swiftly to future incidents such as xenophobic attacks.

## **6.8 RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO TACKLING XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS**

What this study recommends to the government of South Africa is that it should address the issue of violent attacks towards foreign individuals critically. Through the research conducted, it is evident that the government does not have a strategy or mechanism to deal with xenophobic attacks (Mohamed 2011: 24). Security measures and emergency relief structures must be put in place accordingly in order to deal successfully with any xenophobic attacks that may arise. These structures must be placed accordingly within the parameters of municipal councils. A further important issue is that the South African government must educate the community about xenophobia. This includes the idea that government officials must avoid making discriminatory remarks about foreign immigrants in the public and private spheres.

Regulations should be introduced concerning the work of the SAPS and DHA to create programmes that are related to educating the community about xenophobia. These regulation boards must work together with organisations such as the Human Rights Commission and other NGOs in order to create awareness around the prejudice behind xenophobic attacks and its negative sentiments. The

government must pass harsh laws directed at reacting to xenophobic attacks, as it stands that xenophobic attacks are criminal acts. Thus, those xenophobic acts including the looting of foreign owned shops within the informal sectors must be challenged and treated as crimes.

## **6.9 CHALLENGES PERTAINING TO THE RESEARCH**

Minor challenges were faced during the research process with aspects such as gaining access to the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks within the areas of Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Hammanskraal. Further challenges included being taken from different sectors of the constituencies and the identities of the perpetrators being protected by the community. On several occasions, false information about the location of the perpetrators was given. This further complicated the scheduled times and dates planned to complete the interviews. Nevertheless, such experiences did not hamper the research and fieldwork process.

The researcher was sensitive towards the respondents when they shared gruesome accounts of their actions. These details and verbal assertions of the respondents were recorded by the researcher. Importantly, the questions to the respondents were structured in a manner that would not create negative perceptions about foreign immigrants.

## **6.10. CONCLUSION**

This research can add to the recent body of literature on counter movements established within certain communities in South Africa to combat xenophobic violent attacks. A question that may be asked is why the government does not deal with the corruption of state officials at the borders? This research has found that corruption is rife in South Africa and is promoted both by ordinary people and by the leaders in authority. It is furthermore clear that the local South Africans fight with foreign immigrants because of economic material conditions that they are unable to attain themselves.

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**APPENDIX A**

Consent form for research on *A Fanonian perspective on the May 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa: A case study of the Tshwane Municipality*

University of South Africa

Pretoria

0003

Republic of South Africa

Tel: 012 429 4998

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Political Sciences

My name is Anna Lefatshe Moagi and I am a student at the University of South Africa. I am conducting research as part of the fulfilment of my Master's Degree in Politics at the University of South Africa in the Department of Political sciences. The title of my research project is: *A Fanonian perspective on the May 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa: A case study of the Tshwane Municipality*. I would therefore like to ask your formal permission to conduct an interview with you at your convenience. This study aims to theorise the May 2008 xenophobic attacks through a Fanon lenses. His axioms pertain to the need to recognise the open door of every consciousness, on the right of every person to be a person among other people, to come into a shared world and to help build it together and the need to always question and affirm a refusal to accept the present as definitive.

Your participation in this study is purely and entirely voluntary, therefore, you may choose not to be involved. Furthermore, your anonymity is assured. Your real name, identity and affiliated company will not be revealed in the final research project or transcripts. Furthermore, I will make use of pseudonyms to protect your identity.

If you agree to participate in this study, I would like to request that you please sign the consent form in the space allocated below. Once we start with the formal interview, you are under no obligation to continue with the interview and you can



terminate the session at any time. The interview will be recorded using a digital recording device. The duration of the recorded interview will be approximately 60 minutes. Only, I as the researcher and the University of South Africa will have access to the transcripts.

The research results will be reported in dissertation to complete a Master's Degree in Politics. Furthermore, the results of this particular study will be disseminated at relevant meetings/conferences. The research results could also be published in academic journals. If you have any questions about any aspect of the research (now or in the course of the study or later) please do not hesitate to contact me at the following number 084 371 4787.

Thank you

Ms. A. Lefatshe Moagi

Formal acknowledgment of consent

I, .....on this day of,.....2013, agree to participate in the interview for the research project on Black women and intersections. I understand that I will be asked questions regarding my experiences in this section.

Signed.....

Date.....

## Appendix B

### Semi-structured interview schedule

Pretoria 0003 Republic of South Africa

Tel: 012 429 4998 Fax: 012 429 6085

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Political Sciences

### 1). Background Information

- Tell me about your experiences with any foreign individual.
- What is your view on foreign immigrants?
- What were your reasons for attacking foreign immigrants?
- Why do you use violence?
- Do you predict another xenophobic attack on foreign immigrants in South Africa?
- Why do you think during the May 2008 xenophobic attack, Sunnyside was not attacked by local inhabitants?
- What can you tell me about foreigners?
- What do you know about other African countries?
- What do you like about foreign individuals?
- Why don't you attack white foreign immigrants?
- Would you like to visit foreign countries? Give a reason for your answer.

### 3). Reasons for Violence

- Why do you think violence is appropriate?
- Can you recall having a particular violent attack on yourself?
- Which factors do you think influences people to use violence on each other?
- Are you happy with the type of job you are doing? Are you happy with the salary?
- Do you have a family?
- Do you think that the South African government is protecting immigrants living here?



#### **4). Socialisation with foreign immigrants and integration**

- What are your general views on immigrants in South Africa?
- Do you think you are competing with immigrants here in South Africa?
- Tell me what you know about xenophobia?
- Do have relatives in one of the neighbouring countries of South Africa, such as Lesotho, Swaziland?

## APPENDIX C: BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF THE PARTICIPANTS

All the interviews were conducted in English so this appendix was added to make sure that none of the transcripts were done out of context.

**Table A1: Participants from Atteridgeville**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Alias</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>
1	Maria	19	female
2	Big Boy	37	male
3	Oriel	29	male
4	Mpho	21	male
5	Benjamin	43	male
6	Moses	38	male
7	Nkateko	28	female
8	Godfrey	32	male
9	Benjamin B	37	male
10	Stanley	29	male

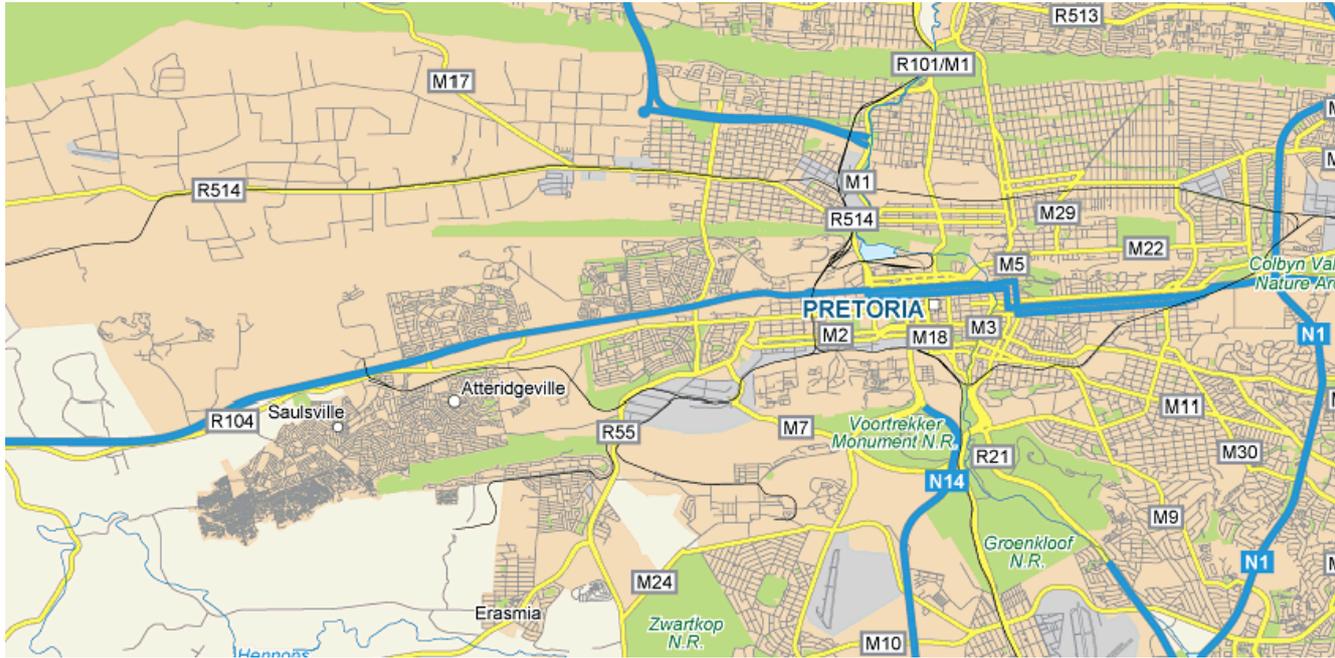
**Table A2: Participants from Mamelodi**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Alias</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>
1	Ryan	33	male
2	Sipho	32	male
3	Tshepo	26	male
4	Thoza	40	male
5	Johannes	35	male
6	Given	34	male
7	Sipho B	32	male
8	Jerry	27	male
9	Naledi	43	male
10	Allen	51	male

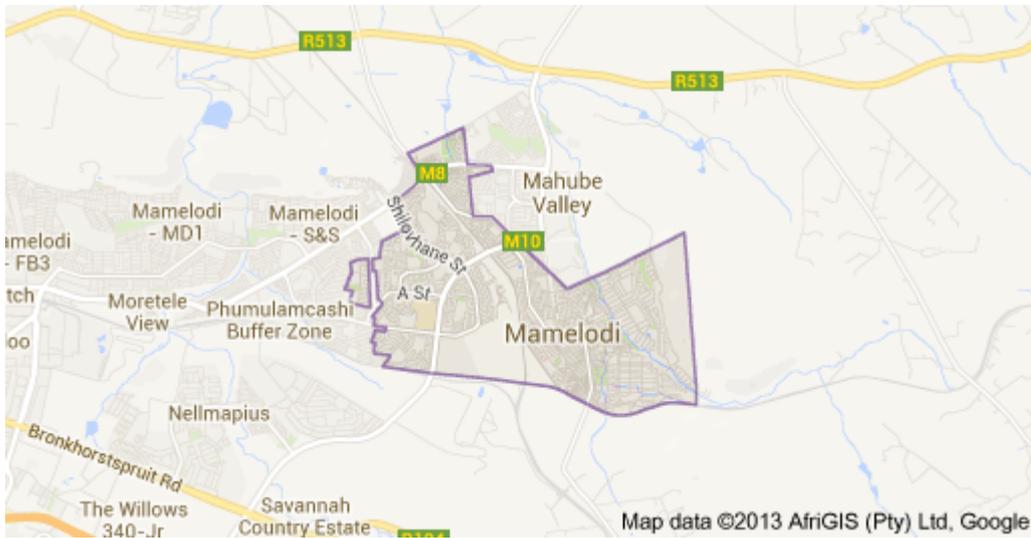
**Table A3: Participants from Hammanskraal**

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Alias</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>
1	David	29	male
2	Daniel	33	male
3	Mike	30	male
4	Sbusiso	28	male
5	Mpho	43	female
6	Thabang	24	male
7	Themba	32	male
8	Vusi	55	male
9	Lolo	38	male
10	Percy	28	male

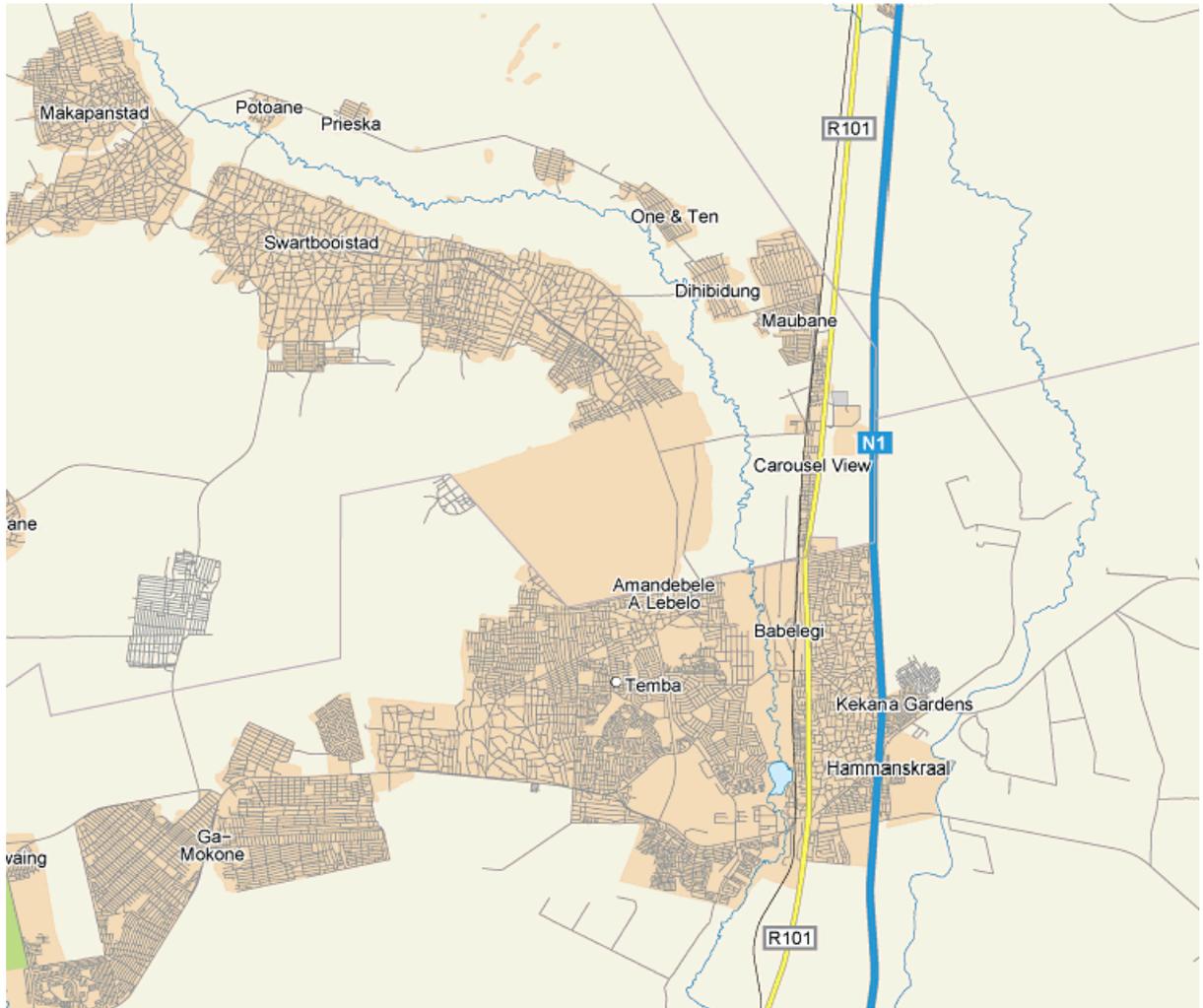
**APPENDIX D:MAPS OF ATTERIDGEVILLE, MAMELODI AND  
HAMMANSKRAAL**



**Figure A1 :Map of Atteridgeville**



**Figure A2: Map of Mamelodi**



**Figure A3: Map of Hammanskraal**