Manifestations of Xenophobia in South Africa and Implications for Sustainable Livelihoods

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Sanpad Workshop
Durban, 26-28 September 2012
The African Centre for Migration & Society at Wits

An internationally engaged; Africa-oriented; and African-based research and teaching centre dedicated to shaping academic and policy debates on migration, development and social transformation

- Graduate degree programme with students from across Africa, North America, and Europe;
- Research in 12 African countries on issues related to migration, urbanisation, human rights, development, governance, and social change;
- Partnerships in 4 continents;
- Provides research services and support to government, international organizations, local NGOs, and rights advocates.
Migration and Mobility to and within SA

- Post-apartheid South Africa has become a migration hub with increasingly massive regional and domestic mobility.

- A magnet for millions of migrants seeking a better socio-economic future but also protection from civil wars and/or political persecution. Predominantly from African countries but also increasingly from Eastern Europe and Asia.

- In 2008, South Africa recorded the highest rate of new asylum applications in the world with over 200,000 people applying for refugee status.

- Massive rural-urban domestic mobility; mostly ignored despite visibility and consequences.

- Migrants both domestic and foreign are often met with discrimination, hostility and violent exclusion by local communities and institutions.

- Discrimination commonly known as xenophobia.
Xenophobia: Meanings and Dimensions

Xenophobia:

- Remains an ambiguous term and is a highly sensitive and contested topic in popular and policy debates because of its often used literal translation as a hatred, morbid dislike or fear of foreigners or strangers
- Attitudes, prejudices, and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity

Dimensions in South Africa:

- Not unique to SA
- Surveys show xenophobia more pervasive than anywhere else; across all strata of society: race, class, gender, ethnicity, etc
- Manifests in various forms: from everyday street-level abuse to discrimination by government officials and recurring bouts of popular xenophobic violence in varying intensity and scale
Manifestations of Xenophobia

- Violent attacks: murder, injuries, hate speech, threats of mob violence, looting and destruction of residential property and businesses:
  - May 2008, still on going, widespread and on the increase in 2012
  - Current threats to lives and livelihoods: GGBF, SABA
- Informal settlements and townships most affected: direct competition for scarce resources and opportunities; micro politics
- Institutional discrimination: denied access to services (clinics/hospitals, schools, banks, policing, detention, unequal protection)
Xenophobic Violence Widespread
Xenophobic violence widespread
Manifestations of Xenophobia: Threats and Eviction Notices

YOU SOMALIANS/ ETHIOPIANS/ TANZANIANS/ KENYANS
YOU DOGS/ PIGS/ BASTARDS
READ IT NICELY, BECAUSE MAY BE IT IS YOUR LAST TIME TO READ

1. YOU FUCKED UP OUR COUNTRY.
2. YOU ARE SUPPOSE TO BE FUCHEN REFUGEES, BUT YOU ARE FUCHEN TRAITORS.
3. YOU FINISHED OUR ECONOMY, OUR HOSPITALS, OUR SCHOOLS, OUR BUSINESS.
5. YOU ARE SENDING MILLIONS OF RANDS OUT OF THIS COUNTRY TO YOUR FUCHEN COUNTRIES. THROUGH MONEY LAUNDERING.
6. ITS TIME FOR US TO REACT. (FUCK YOU UP)
7. WE WILL BURN YOUR HOUSES, YOUR SO CALLED LUXURY CARS. WE WILL KILL YOUR FUCHEN PUPPIES (CHILDREN) AND BURN DOWN YOUR SHOPS.
8. FUCK UNITED NATION AND UNHCR, IF THEY GIVE A DAWN FUCK ABOUT YOU. THEY SHOULD TAKE YOU THEIR FUCHEN WHITE COUNTRIES.
9. WE ARE DECLARING A WAR AGAINST YOU. YOU FUCHEN REFUGEES.
10. JUST WAIT, WE ARE COMING FOR YOU. YOU DOGS, DIRTY COUNTRIES SHIT. YOU BRING ALL THE DIRTY SICKNESS INTO OUR COUNTRIES. YOUR WOMEN ARE ALL PROSTITUTES. YOU ARE ALL FUCHEN PIMPS. WE WILL FUCK THEM BEFORE KILLING THEM.
11. WE ARE WATCHING YOU, WE KNOW YOUR HOUSES, YOUR FUCHEN CARS, YOUR CHILDREN AND THEIR SCHOOLS. WE WILL FUCK YOU ALL UP.
12. THE REVOLUTION IS COMING TO YOU FROM THE SABA (SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS ASSOCIATION)
Key Triggers of the Violence

• Competition for formal and informal local leadership positions:
  • In many affected locations, local leaders and aspirant leaders mobilised residents to attack and evict foreigners as a means of strengthening their personal power base in the local community

• Competition for business opportunities:
  • In other locations, local business owners mobilised violence against foreign-owned businesses as a means of reducing what they perceive to be ‘illegitimate’ business competition

• This competition generally takes place in locations where local governance structures are complicit, absent, weak or considered illegitimate by the local population.
What Does this Violence Really Mean?  
(Membership, Rights and Entitlement)

- Violence exposes deep social and political tensions in communities but also weaknesses in the country’s ability to protect its residents.

- It’s not only about getting rid of foreigners:
  - But sections of people deciding who has the right to the country’s cities and benefits held within
  - Evidence of growing territorialized/nationalistic/ethnic understanding of rights and entitlements

- In a place where violence against unpopular groups makes political and economic sense, everyone is at risk
Other forms of exclusion

- Lack of responses to population dynamics/changes due to migration and normal population growth, ‘backward’ looking planning
Implications for Sustainable Livelihoods

Discrimination and violent exclusion have negative developmental social and economic effects beyond the targeted group:

- pose a fundamental threat to social cohesion, development and stability both at the community and the national level
- undermine the benefits that (im)migration can bring to the community’s development, limits opportunities for long-term investment and job creation
- undermine the opportunity for all within a community to have a fair chance of making a decent living through employment or self-employment, based on their skills and abilities
Combating urban poverty and achieving sustainable livelihoods in our informal settlements and townships demands:

- policy frameworks that consider increasingly mobile urban residents
- resisting social fragmentation and marginalization
- enhancing human security
- promoting accountable public institutions
- forging a willingness to co-exist under a shared set of rules of engagement
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