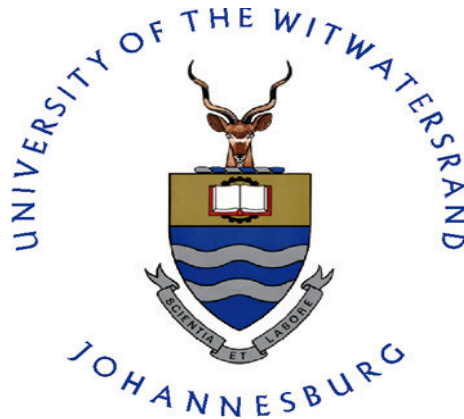


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**NATIONAL IDENTITY AND IMMIGRATION FROM AFRICA:
Relationships between Black South Africans and African Immigrants in Yeoville,
Johannesburg**



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I. ABSTRACT

As a critical field, Anthropology aims to study humankind in all its diversity: past, present and future, physical, psychological, cultural and social, etc. Lienhardt (1967: 1) says, social anthropology “is connected with older and more familiar subjects, particularly with history and sociology, and cannot be neatly distinguished from them”.

However, Anthropology has come a long way since the 19th century when the story of modern anthropology begun. During this period, the notion for human progress became the guiding light for anthropological thought. The early anthropological school of this thought contributed to the notion of racial superiority as one can notice that it was around this time that the theory of racial determinism was proposed to account for the differences among various cultures. The differences among people, according to this theory, were attributable mainly to their varying racial background e.g., the Hottentots were considered one-step above the apes.

South Africa has a legacy of polarised racial communities that still affect Africa not much less than the other continents with which Africa may be identified. Many of the political, social and economic patterns, structures and attitudes of racism that characterised the apartheid era continue to shape many of the experiences of life in South Africa today. One cannot pretend that racial discrimination, racial prejudice, racial stereotypes, xenophobia and other forms of racism no longer characterise the South African society. Despite rapid progress in race relations and the introduction of positive non-discrimination and equity legislation in political level, a more systematic programme is required to transform race relations in ordinary people.

I. 1. AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

The aims of this research are neither to create platforms of racial or tribal discriminations nor to promote xenophobia. However, they are:

1. To create safe spaces (discussion groups, seminars and conferences) for people to share their experiences and dialogue about xenophobia, racism and race relations in their daily contexts.

2. To explore the relationships between black South Africans and African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville.

I am going particularly to be interested in the qualitative nature of African immigrants and migrants in South Africa. **Who are these immigrants and migrants in South Africa? What is the nature of their relations with South Africans? What are their attitudes towards South Africans? And what are the attitudes of South Africans towards African immigrants and migrants? How do they live together on a daily basis?**

When leaving their villages to seek for better life in urban areas, locals come with great expectations. When they do not meet their expectations, they feel under threat. As a result, they start developing “nativist idioms, practices supported by discourses that justify everything from subtle forms of discrimination to extraordinary violence by both state agents and citizens against ‘foreign’ populations. Such idioms may, as intended, marginalize or ‘liquidate’ populations identified as aliens”. (Landau 2006. Working paper # 19. www.migration.wits.ac.za)

I shall also be interested in some of the ordinary but touching questions prompted by these migratory patterns: the question of xenophobia, outsiders often accused locals of being xenophobic when they face unemployment. Locals argue that ‘foreigners have come to take our jobs’. **In studying the question of marriage between locals and African immigrants/migrants, I shall look at the motivations behind these marital relationships.** Seldom people comment that these relationships have financial (for the local partner) and citizenship (for the foreign partner) interests. **The question of Education is crucial** in the sense that locals often diabolise apartheid for not giving them good education. Henceforth, they deposit their anger upon ‘well educated’ Zimbabweans, and other Africans for stealing their jobs. **Immigrant entrepreneurs are also somehow the cause of a deteriorating relationship with locals.** Black South Africans accuse foreign entrepreneurs of drug lords. They argue that in opening their own small business, foreigners feint to cover their illegal traffic of drug and prostitution.

This thesis is an investigation on the day to day relationship between Black South Africans and African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville.

There are several questions of interest, which stem from the fact that many South Africans and African immigrants live in fear of each others. Although this is partly due to linguistic reasons, there is also a dominant perception that Black South Africans living in Yeoville are xenophobic.

African Immigrants do not find themselves integrated in South African society. Understanding the relationships between Black South Africans and African immigrants necessitate an understanding of the role that the African Union plays in identity formation for one united Africa. Because the interest is in both Black South Africans and African immigrants, the question of identity must include themes around security, safety, belonging and home.

What are the implications of this process for relationships between black South Africans and African immigrants and migrants in the new South Africa, precisely in Yeoville? **Yeoville is of interest because of its cosmopolitan life as a recipient of black South Africans coming from rural areas to look for better life in Johannesburg, its simultaneous history of immigrant and migrant settlement.**

This thesis demonstrates also that local and official attitudes to black African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville have changed positively although one can dismantle some isolated dramatic negative attitudes.

The wider South African context is inextricable from the experiences of these African immigrants and migrants. Further, what does the role of the Ministry of Home Affairs tell us about President Mbeki's ideal of the African Renaissance? After all, the vision of the African Union includes:

Eliminating colonial borders and frontiers, but also eradicating the differences arising from ethnic, racial or linguistic pluralism.

([Http/www.africa-union.org](http://www.africa-union.org)).

Celebrating Africa Day in 2002, President Mbeki said in his speech that “we must and will march together in step, assured of victory because we have united as Africans to advance towards their day, the Renaissance of Africa and the victory of the African Century” (ibid).

The unity and oneness of Africa, however, exists mainly in theory. It is political rhetoric. People themselves do not experience that unity or that oneness in their every-day lives. The friendly rhetoric of ubuntu and African union do not find a place in daily life.

Why did I choose Yeoville as location to conduct my research on the relationships between African immigrants and black South African? It is because Yeoville is the most cosmopolitan area in Johannesburg. Yeoville is a sort of a concentration camp for many African immigrants and migrants. I recall accompanying a Congolese lady to the Yeoville police station one day to report a case on domestic violence. As she did not know to speak English, I went to interpret for her. The police officer who wrote the affidavit argued, “You foreigners have turned Yeoville into a small Congo (and many other African countries) in Johannesburg”.

I. 2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research is generally going to urge Black South Africans, especially those living in Yeoville to look for ways to bring cultural and racial differences into a fruitful contact with African immigrants and migrants. African immigrants and migrants in return have also to embrace the cultures and customs of the host nation. The fieldwork shall be conducted in the city of Johannesburg, precisely in Yeoville. **I am going to interview Black South Africans and mostly African immigrants living in this area in door to door interview.** I shall interview Congolese citizens of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroonians, Nigerians, Somalians and Ethiopians living in Yeoville. African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville do not often live in harmony with black South Africans. Xenophobia is currently a talkie issue on the streets of Yeoville, to the markets, work places and in churches. Black South Africans on the other hand claim being overpowered by foreigners who are taking their jobs and women. They accuse foreigners of being the source of insecurity and drugs.

My primary tools shall be structured indoors interviews, participant observation in visiting public places such as the market of *Ngambela*¹, bars and restaurant bars

¹ Ngambela is the biggest market of Yeoville in which most of the vendors are African immigrants and migrants. The name Ngambela is a Congolese name. It refers to one of the big informal market in Kinshasa, the capital city of DR Congo.

where they sell African foods and beers. **I shall also use the knowledge from previous works done on the relationships of immigrations with South Africans and the knowledge from the books.**

The answers and identities of my interviewers will be kept confidential and will help me to identify some factors that create rejection and exclusion among black South Africans and African immigrants in Yeoville. I will not give this information to the government or to the police. I shall not use the real names of those I interview. I am going to use the pseudonyms for ethical reasons.

I. 3. RESEARCH OVERVIEW

Twelve years since the choice was made to pursue the path of democracy as country and to grow together as a multicultural nation.

- What example of *Ubuntu* (togetherness) do South Africans experience in their daily lives that reflect the vision of the freedom charter?
- What evidence does one see in the society of the vision held out in the democratic South African constitution?
- What do ordinary South Africans do in their efforts to tolerate the needs of other cultures in the society?

According to Jonathan Crush (2001) South Africans became more antagonistic towards foreigners in the mid- 1990s. The focus group studies of South African political attitudes in 1995 were the first to reveal an amount of latent hostility towards foreigners. The studies of some particular communities confirmed that many foreigners feel that there is verbal and physical antagonism towards their presence.

President Mbeki in ANC Today (2001) called South Africans to reach out and create one South Africa in which all find an experience of belonging to one nation.

With its many races and cultures, South Africa places its citizens in a unique position to work at overcoming racial and cultural barriers. One shall acknowledge with gratitude the efforts made by the government since the fall of apartheid to build relationships between different groups of people who have up to now been separated from each other. One would suggest this to go further than casual and superficial acquaintance, to work together and to build up one truly South Africa in the one real rainbow nation.

In churches, people are grouped according to racial or ethnic origins.

Integration and cultural identity are very important for the two parties, African immigrants and Black South Africans.

When Tom Kuhlman (1991: 7) defines the integration concept as a “process of change caused by the settlement of migrants in a plural society”, two important things strike me:

1. Integration is a process of change
2. It is a process that takes place in a plural society.

As a process, integration is a phenomenon, which unfolds stage by stage and progressively in order to make a durable change.

The integration process can succeed only if African immigrants can freely express their cultural identity and interact with the cultures and people of their new society; in other words, the cultural exchange is very important for the integration and identity of African immigrants and migrants. The lack of integration and cultural exchange in South Africa has brought African immigrants to find refuge in creating churches, nightclubs and markets where they can express their identity. In the churches, nightclubs and markets, they feel at home, secure and safe. The efforts of integrating themselves to the new society are less and host people do not care in acquiring new skills and learn the cultures from these African immigrants. Rejection from both sides is highly noticeable. Due to its geographical placement, Yeoville seems to be the center of attraction for many African immigrants and migrants. They find it easy to get transport to any part of the city and the cost of living is low compare to many other areas in Johannesburg. The same apply to black South Africans who come from rural areas to seek for better life in town. The population living in Yeoville is a middle and low class population. The cohabitation of these two populations becomes controversial from the time they do not accept their cultural differences and work for unity in diversity. They accuse each other mutually of anti foreign sentiments and discomfort.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The demise of formal apartheid and the easing of illegal entry to South Africa have created new opportunities for migration. South Africa's strong economy has brought new streams of legal and illegal immigrants from all over Africa.

African asylum seekers, entrepreneurs, students and professionals find South Africa a promised land, a country of new opportunities.

"South Africa is increasingly host to a truly pan-African and global constituency of legal and undocumented migrants". (Crush J, 2002: 4)

First, the democratization of South Africa in 1994 has attracted refugees from the rest of the continent fleeing political and cultural persecution.

De Jongh (1994) says, an estimated 350,000 refugees entered South Africa and less than twenty percent have since returned.

The typical character of these new migrants is that most of them are permanent immigrants, not temporary migrants. However, the state has adopted some measures to ensure that they remain temporary. "Mass arrests and deportations have sent over 600,000 migrants home since 1994". (Crush J, 2002: 7)

Most African migrants, says Morris (1998) are feeling the verbal, and sometimes physical sting of rampant anti-foreign sentiment. These situations hardly encourage permanence or integration.

"Few migrants express interest in long term permanent residence or South African citizenship. Across a wide range of indicators, migrants strongly prefer life in their home countries. Visits to South Africa are generally strategic and temporary". (Crush J, 2002: 7)

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND AFRICAN IMMIGRATION

The advent of democracy in South Africa has changed the conditions of participation in civil society and national life. During apartheid, black South Africans and immigrants shared a common status and identity as outsiders. The boundaries of inclusion and exclusion were cut off in 1994.

What are the implications of this process for relationships between black South Africans and African immigrants and migrants in the new South Africa?

“International experience suggests that civil society plays a crucial role in the incorporation of immigrants into the society of their adopted country”. (Crush, J, 2002: 80)

Citizens of the host country have the right to facilitate the integration of the immigrants into their society. Thereafter, immigrants can organise themselves massively about issues that affect them as outsiders. “This leads to the blurring of “insiders/outside” identities, as immigrants become absorbed into society”. (Crush J, 2002: 81)

The main problem of exclusion of immigrants from the host society is race, ethnicity, national origin and property ownership; gender and religion too create a web of crosscutting cleavages.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

According to Crush (2002), the current South African debate on immigration is mostly influenced by claims that the increasing in number of foreigners affects the economy and the society. “Immigrants consume resources to which South Africans are entitled and are responsible for rising crime”. (Crush J, 2002: 90)

However, the impact of immigrants in the economy and social activities is much visible and valuable.

These dynamics are important because many immigrants are already embedded in civil society. Attempts to dislodge them or to deny this reality will be futile and counterproductive. The challenge for decision-makers is how to enhance their participation, in the interests of augmenting the legitimacy of the state and of broadening and deepening democracy. (Crush J, 2002: 91)

Most immigrants in Yeoville are “self-employed and self-sufficient, and claim that they have no need to compete with locals for formal employment”. (Crush J, 2002: 91)

Only few seem to compete with locals for jobs. Many African immigrants in Yeoville create their own opportunities for economic participation and social integration in South Africa.

Karen Jacobsen, in her working paper number 45 “The forgotten solution: local integration for refugees in developing countries” provides a reach and deep definitions of local integration. The most significant definition takes local integration as one of the “durable solution promoted by United Nations High Commission for Refugees where refugees are offered permanent and integration into the host society by the host government”. In his work, Jacobsen affirms again that

The international convention, local integration refers to the granting of full and Permanent asylum, membership and residency status, by the host government. Besides it takes places through a process of legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees culminating in the offer of citizenship. (2001:2).

The definitions provided show that the refugees integrated in the host countries, according to the international law, enjoy a range of human and civil rights, often referred to as “*refugee rights*”. The resettlements as recognized by the same author may take many forms. As there are not refugee camps in South Africa, therefore refugees are all forced to integrate themselves on their arrival. By saying so, I mean that no material provisions (accommodation, food and other basic needs) are being provided for them. Apparently, local integration is not always seen as a good solution especially for refugees. In fact, in her article “National Geographic: The rooting of peoples and the territorialisation of National identity among scholars and refugees” Liisa Malaki, presents what we should call the natural order of things or better the Ontology. Referring to the Ontology, she claims that there is a linkage between population and territory. This linkage is not only at the material or physical level. It should also be situated at the metaphysical level. From Malaki’s argument about refugee’s problem, I can advocate that the voluntary repatriation may constitute a good policy for refugees themselves especially if the security conditions are guaranteed. In addition, Chimni, B.S., another scholar studying refugees, in his article, “The geopolitics of refugee studies: A view from the South” finds out that it was easy during the cold war for refugees to be integrated into a host country, especially in Europe. However, nowadays, it is difficult for refugees, especially from Africa to be integrated in Europe. One of the reasons is that African

refugees do not fill the criteria of refugee status. They are attracted by Europe for the economic reasons or for improving their well being. Referring to Chimni, the solution to the refugee's problem would be to go back, especially for refugees from Africa. Will Kymlicka in addition argues, "The best that refugees can realistically expect is to be treated as immigrants, with the corresponding polyethnic rights and hope to return to their homeland as quickly as possible." (Kymlicka, 1999: 1)

"Some immigrants claim that the South African who resent them are jealous of their initiative, creativity, and entrepreneurial acumen, and themselves lack a work ethic. They argue that, in comparison to South Africans, immigrants have made a considerable contribution to the South African economy". (Crush, J, 2002: 92) *The Citizen* (04.11.2004) published a story about foreigners. The article quotes Landau extensively:

Other myths were that non-nationals were needy and strained public service resources and were an economic threat. Research had shown that non-nationals were in fact contributing to the economy and even employing South Africans for their language skills and knowledge of local business...some non-nationals complained that the police saw them as 'walking ATMs.'

Black South Africans in Yeoville deem certain kinds of jobs as beneath them. There was an incident recalled by some foreigners in which, black South Africans chased away a building contractor who came to recruit labour. They argued that 'they were sick and tired seeing immigrants working for low wages'. Economic opportunities are there for everyone living in the country to participate. The competition is free and open to everybody without discrimination.

Nevertheless, African immigrants allege that black South Africans are hostile; they wait for immigrants when pay time comes to rob them and break into their houses.

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS AND CRIME

Black South Africans in Yeoville accuse African immigrants of involvement in crimes such as drug dealing, fake documents, and housebreaking, etc. some argue, “the only people who have such expertise are the *grigambas, makwerewere*²”. (Crush, J, 2002: 93) Reitzes and Bam argue that while South Africans perceive many immigrants being engaged in crime, their evidence does not confirm the accuracy of those perceptions.

On the contrary, the insecure status of immigrants actually contributes to rising crime of which they are victims. Immigrants consider themselves soft targets for criminal activity. They claim they are denied protections against criminal behaviour by the police, who are seen condone, or to refuse to act against, crimes committed against them. (Crush, J, 2002: 93)

The foreign identity of immigrants is perceived to be a disadvantage in relation to local criminal and the police. Many locals steal from immigrants, knowing that immigrants will not report the matters to the police for fear of arrest and deportation; also immigrants are discouraged to report to the police because the police do not attend to the problems brought to them by immigrants.

There is a widespread belief among immigrants that the police criminalise them. One immigrant argues, “instead of arresting criminals, they arrest innocent people. I accept that in every society there are criminals, but the way they do it here is to make every Mozambican a criminal”. (Crush, J, 2002: 94)

South Africans consider foreigners to be a principal source of violence. The Christian Science Monitor writes:

South Africans commonly blame Nigerian immigrants for this country's high crime rate and drug dealing. Mozambicans are thought of as car thieves. Highly educated Zimbabweans are blamed for stealing jobs away from locals. (<http://www.csmonitor.com/durable/2000/08/31/fp6s1-csm.shtml>).

² *grigambas, makwerewere* are names that locals use to identify foreigners.

Statements from local officials suggest that the state perceives to be fair and equal in dealing with criminals, regardless of their nationalities.

XENOPHOBIA AND ANTI-IMMIGRATION

Xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment is extremely high in South Africa, particularly when it comes to migrants from other African countries...less than five percent of South Africans interact on a regular basis with non-citizens”. (Crush, J, 2002: 101)

Xenophobia became a serious problem in the 1990s when African immigrants and migrants started flocking into South Africa. Harassment and violence toward foreigners, particularly Africans, flow in the South African press. “The tragic deaths of two Mozambicans and a Senegalese national in September of 1998 at the hands of an angry mob of South Africans claiming that foreigners were “stealing jobs” is but one example of a long list of such incidents”. (Crush, J, 2002: 102)

The Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) conducted two surveys in mid-1997 and late-1998 on public attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in South Africa; the result showed

“That the overwhelming majority of South Africans oppose a liberal immigration regime, with fully twenty-five percent of the population calling for a complete ban on migration into the country and approximately half... calling for a “strict limit on the number of foreigners allowed into the country” only six percent said that the government should “let anyone in who wants to enter””. (Crush, J, 2002: 102)

The remainder was not sure or conditioned the entry of foreigners with job availabilities. The very same surveys were conducted in seventeen other countries including the United States of America, the South African ones were qualified of being conservative and South Africans themselves hold strongly negative views about immigrants and migrants, especially those from others African countries.

What Crush finds more important on these perceptions and attitudes is that every South African “men or women, whites and blacks, young and old, rich and poor, educated and

uneducated, all hold the same generally negative stereotypes about immigrants and immigration in South Africa”. (Crush, J, 2002: 103)

One may ask, where does this anti-foreigner campaign come from? The two surveys tell that the anti-immigrant sentiment among the locals is not the result of personal experience with non-citizens, but rather a product of misinformation from secondary sources such as friends, schools, work places and media.

The media creates anti-foreigner sentiments in South Africa, the way it portrays foreigners as sources of crimes. Immigration and migration are seen “as problems and threats to be resisted rather than opportunities to be managed”. (Crush, J, 1999: 126)

According to Crush (2001) South Africans became more antagonistic towards foreigners in the mid- 1990s. The focus group studies of South African political attitudes in 1995 were the first to reveal an amount of latent hostility towards foreigners. The studies of some particular communities confirmed that many foreigners feel that there is verbal and physical antagonism towards their presence. After the violent attacks on foreign traders that erupted on the pavements of Johannesburg in 1996, the assaults of foreigners became increasingly common in a number of cities. It culminated in 1998 with the death of three foreigners on a moving train at the hands of a group of South Africans returning from a rally of the unemployed in Pretoria; Says Crush.

Adelaja (2001) of Human Rights Watch that the South African media is also guilty of xenophobia, linking refugees to drugs and arms trafficking among other crimes. This stands also true even for legal authorities in South Africa. Buthelezi, the former Minister of Home Affairs, for instance, used to make some anti-immigrant statements and imposed policies, which were against immigrants (Adelaja, 2001: 96). All this has only reinforced the resentful attitude of locals towards refugees. Barbara Fontana (1998) is right when she asserts that “xenophobic sentiment of most South Africans is not the result of their experiences with foreigners, but the result of “biased or imprecise information presented by the press”, which has tendency to associate in general foreigners directly with unemployment, crime and others.” (1998:16).

In 1998, Human Rights Watch (HRW) and the International Human Rights monitoring organization conducted a field investigation in South Africa and concluded that “South Africa has become increasingly xenophobic in recent years, with a large percentage of

South Africans perceiving foreigners – especially, almost exclusively black foreigners – as a direct threat to their future economic well-being”. (Crush J., 2001: 12)

After numerous surveys on immigrants and refugees and South Africans, Human Rights Watch (1998) wrote exactly what Crush has stated: “Since the first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa has made remarkable progress in establishing a free and democratic society based on respect of the human rights of its own citizens. South Africa has failed to grant the same rights to foreigners and this remains the subject to serious abuse. Anti-foreigners feelings have also increased. Foreigners are accused of being the source of rising crime, unemployment, even the spread of diseases.” In their survey recently, Landau and Jacobsen (2004: 44-46) wrote that “it is surprising that an almost equal number of South Africans and migrants report being unemployed: 42% and 39% respectively... in the sample, one third (32%) of South Africans report working full time in either the formal or informal sector, compare with only 7% of migrants”.

What has been written in the South African constitution is not what foreigners experience daily. Jonathan Crush says, “The South African Constitution has been widely praised as amongst the most progressive and inclusive in the world. Not only does its bill of rights guarantee unprecedented rights and freedoms but also it extends these same rights to everyone living within the boundaries of the nation-state. Only two sets of rights are expressly reserved to citizens: a) the right to vote; and b) the right to engage in freedom of trade, occupation and profession. All other rights are extended to all ‘persons’ in the country” (Crush, 2001: 17). The new South African government, after 1994, became strongly anti-immigrationist. Crush justified that in terms of the threat to jobs for South Africans. Some international data suggests that, compared with other nations, “South Africans rate among the most unfriendly to outsiders”. The majority of South Africans believe that immigration and migration have an adverse impact on the country. According to them, the presence of foreigners brings crime, disease and loss of jobs.

It seems a bit strange that in this 21st century there is still moral rejection of discriminatory attitudes and practice against people because of their race, colour or tribe. There are still many racial prejudices of individuals and groups of people in South Africa that endanger peaceful co-existence. Even if apartheid is wiped out, there are still people who promote racism, xenophobia and tribal discrimination.

“Because of this attitude, we cannot but reaffirm the fundamental equality of all human beings. Each one of them has the same dignity and is members of the same human family. The diversity that characterizes each group should not be a cause for uneasiness in society but an opportunity for mutual enrichment’. (Tulinnye D, May 2004: 1)

When asked if racial issues in South Africa are outdated, Lebo said, “Race issues are still very thick in the air; I personally think that it will take at least four to six generations (from now) before we can say (that the) problem will be solved. A large part of this problem is based on the parents and community around us, if a child is taught to hate, the child will hate, but if the child is taught to love, the child will love”’.
(www.JHBLIVE.com)

“South Africa had a complicated and varied racial problem. First of all, we have become conscious in South Africa of the existence of what we call Afrikaners, English-speaking people, Africans, Asians, Coloured people. That is a very large number to have to deal with. And the policy of that country has been such that these groupings have been created, maintained, kept alive and developed, strengthened and fortified one against another. And the efforts to entrench these groups and separations are still going on today. But that is not all. The effort has also been directed at building up a mutual hostility between them.”
(www.anc.org.za/or Tambo - 'racial problems in South Africa', 1961.htm)

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEWS WITH AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS

To be read to all interviewees before starting the interview:

Greetings my brother or sister. My name is _____. I am working on my research project to fulfill a Masters Degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. My project seeks to explore: “How do African immigrants relate with Black South Africans in Yeoville. How are your relationships in daily life and at work if you work in a multicultural environment. This research aims first of all to create safe spaces (discussion groups, seminars and conferences) for people to share their experiences and dialogue about xenophobia, racism and race relations in their daily contexts. Secondly it aims to explore the relationships between black South Africans and African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville.

If you agree, I would like to ask you a series of questions about social networks, your opinions regarding your relationships with black South Africans, and the possible roles that the South African government and the African union can play in shaping unity between African people. This is not a test or an examination and my questions do not have ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answers. I only want to know your own ideas. Please tell me what you honestly think and remember, you are free to reject certain questions or to stop the interview at any time. Your answers will be kept confidential and will help us to identify some factors that create rejection and exclusion among black South Africans and African immigrants in Yeoville. I will not give this information to the government or to the police.

Since I do not work, I cannot promise you any form of compensation for your participation except my appreciation. If you would like to receive a copy of my final report, I will take your mailing address at the end of the interview.

All together this survey should take just between 30 and 45 minutes to complete. Are you ready to go ahead?

Interviewer should sign in the appropriate box bellow:

Yes	No
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If the answer to the above question is yes, the interviewer should complete the following questions:

1. Date of Interview:

Day	Month	Year

Start Time:	Finish Time:

2. Respondent's sex:

Male	
Female	

I. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENT & COHABITORS

1.1. From which country are you coming in Africa?

1.2. For how long, have you lived in Yeoville?

1.3. How old are you? If respondent can't remember age, ask: What year were you born?

1.4. Have you ever been married? If yes, is your partner from your country of origin or not?

Yes (go to next question)	
No (skip next question)	

1.5. I' am going to read you a list. Please tell me which of the following best described your current marital status? (*Read out. Record one answer only*)

Single (never married)	
Living with partner	
Married (legal/religious/traditional) and living together	
Married (legal/religious/traditional) but temporarily living apart	
Divorced or Permanently Separated	
Widowed	
Question not asked	

1.6. What is the highest level of education you have completed? Tick one response only.

<u>No</u> formal schooling/ some primary education	
Finished <u>Primary</u> Education	
Finished <u>Secondary</u> Education	
Finished <u>Tertiary</u> Education (BA, BS, Diploma, etc.)	
<u>Post-grad</u> degree (Maters, doctorate, post-graduate diploma)	
Other (specify)	

1.7. Apart from that which you just described, have you had any sort of additional training or education? If yes, what kind of training? Tick the response.

English language	
Other language course	
Financial/Business management	
Tailoring /Sewing	
Shoe repair / Nursery / Waiter / Fork lift / Rich truck, etc.	
Law	
Management course	
Computer programming/ Skills	
Religious school	
Teacher training	
Technical/ Professional training	
Other (specify)	
Question not asked	

1.8. Where did you receive this training? Tick one answer only.

Country of origin	
South Africa	
Third Country	

1.9. What languages do you speak and understand?

French	
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Swahili	
English	
Portuguese	
Other: (specify Bellow)	

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1.10. Which language would you consider being your mother tongue?

Mother Tongue:	
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1.11. How many people live currently in your house or flat here in Yeoville including *yourself? When I say household, I mean people with whom you live and who are under your responsibility.

Household Members	
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1.12. Are there other people who stay with you regularly for periods of more than two months? If so, how many?

None	
Yes (record number)	

1.13. How are you related to the people you are living with now.

African's friends I met in South Africa	
Fellow country friend I knew from country of origin	
Friends from South Africa	
People I didn't know from country of origin	

II. PRE-MIGRATION CONDITIONS & EXPECTATIONS

2.1. Why did you ultimately decide to leave Country of Origin? Tick up to two responses.

For economic reasons (to get a job, improved standard living , etc)	
Because of easy information and access to documentation, and opportunities for income generation in Johannesburg.	
Because most of the European and North American countries effectively off limits due to restrictive measures on migration.	
Because of the post apartheid South Africa sounds relatively prosperous, and with a corrupt immigration and asylum system.	
Because the borders are relatively porous in South Africa	

Because of social networks act as an important source of information to progressive migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, providing people with details on issues such as transport arrangements, entry requirements, asylum procedures and social welfare benefits, as well as the detention and deportation policies of different destination states.	
To escape war, conflict	
To escape political oppression	
To escape religious persecution/ discrimination	
To escape ethnic/tribal persecution/discrimination	
To escape gender/sexual discrimination	
For educational opportunities	
To be reunited with relatives	
Access to government aid such as Merit Award Bursary, etc.	
Access to aid from NGOs/ churches	
Already familiar with South Africa	
Easy access to visa/immigration status	
Easy access to third country	
Close to country of origin	
Other (specify)	

2.2. What year did you leave your country of origin?

Write Year in box to the right	Year
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2.3. When you were thinking about leaving your country of origin, did you already have relatives living in South Africa?

Yes	
No	

III. ECONOMIC NETWORKS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

3.1. Are you working now? How would you define your current employment status according to your background? Tick one answer only.

Unemployed	
Working part-time (formal/informal sector)	
Working full-time (formal/informal sector)	
Casual employment/temporary worker	
Doing piece jobs	
Self-employed (run small business/income generation project)	
Voluntary worker (receive no money)	
Housewife/homemaker	

University/technikon/correspondence student	
Other (specify)	

3.2. What did you do to make money when you first came to Johannesburg?

3.3. How would you describe the kind of work that you are currently doing here in Johannesburg? Tick one answer only.

Factory worker/ Sweat shop	
Petty Trading (fixed location)	
Domestic Worker/Caretaker/Custodian	
Restaurant employee	
Own Business/Businessman/ Woman	
University/technikon/correspondence student (Skip next question)	
Doctor	
Lawyer	
NGO	
Other Profession	
Driver	
Volunteer Work	
Mechanic	
Construction	
Housewife/ homemaker	
Shoe Repair	
Hawker (no fixed location)	
Missionary/Religious work	
Primary or Secondary School Student	
Journalist/ Media Professional	
Does not work (skip next question)	
Immigrated as a child	
Other (specify)	

3.4. Before you came to South Africa, would you say you were: *Read list and mark appropriate response*

Worse off economically	
About the same economically	
Better off economically	

3.5. Since coming to South Africa, have you ever paid someone to do work for you? This could be at home or in your business.

Yes	
No	

3.6. I am going to read you a list again. I would like you to tell me which of these terms best characterizes the type of people you typically hire. *Read list, record up to two responses:*

Your fellow countryman	
Non-South African from another country	
A South African	

IV. LEGAL AND REGULATORY ENCOUNTERS

Now I would like to ask you a few different kinds of questions. Remember that we can skip any question if you do not feel comfortable answering it.

4.1. I am going to read you a list. Please tell me if you have any of the following forms of identification. *Read list. TICK an answer.*

		Yes	No	
(a)	Section 22(Asyl. Seekers) Permit			
(b)	Section 24 Permit (refugee status)			
(c)	RSA Travel Document			
(d)	Maroon Identity Document			
(e)	South African Identity Book			
(f)	Passport. Country of issue			
(g)	Smart Card			
(h)	Student identity card			
(i)	Driver's License			
(j)	Study Permit			
(k)	Work Permit / company ID			

4.2. Have you ever paid someone other than a government official to help you to get any of these documents?

Yes	
No	

4.3. Apart from the normal fees, have you ever had to pay money to get your identity documents or visa in South Africa?

Yes	
No	

4.4. If you did not have identity documents, how would it affect your life in Johannesburg?

Can't get employment/work	
Can't open bank account	
Can't access shelter	
Can't access health care services	
Can't access education	
Restricted Movement and fear of being arrested by the police	
Cannot access refugee services	
Other (specify)	