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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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 less than the other continents in the world. 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.

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 immigrants¹ and migrants² 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 a 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

¹ Who is an immigrant? An immigrant is a person who leaves his or her country of origin with intention to settle permanently in a given country.

² Who is a migrant? A migrant is a person who has left his or her country of origin for a mid term period with the intention of returning in his or her home country. Refugees, asylum seekers and political exiled fall under migrant’s definition. (Cf. The South African Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English. 1994)

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 complain that the apartheid regime did not give them a 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 being drug lords. They argue that in opening their own small business, foreigners feint to cover their illegal traffic in drugs 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 other. 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 into South African society. Understanding the relationships between Black South Africans and African immigrants necessitate an understanding of the role that the South African State and the African Union play in identity formation for one united Africa. Because my 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>).

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*³ 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 Africans? 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 how 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”.

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 was conducted in the city of Johannesburg, precisely in Yeoville. I interviewed Black South Africans and mostly African immigrants living in this area in door to door interviews. I interviewed Congolese citizens of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroonians,

³ Ubuntu is the friendly rhetoric of togetherness, unity and oneness. According to African spirit and being more close to the South African society, there is a Xhosa proverb that says: “a person is a person through other people”. This is the spirit of Ubuntu.

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 talking issue on the streets of Yeoville, at the markets, work places and in churches. Black South Africans on the other hand claim they are 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*⁴, bars and restaurant bars 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 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.

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?

⁴ 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.

- 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 on South Africans to reach out and create one South Africa in which all find an experience of belonging to one nation.

With its many races⁵ 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. The spiritual leader of one of the established congregations in Johannesburg asked one of his South African clergymen to lead the Yeoville congregation of which sixty percent of congregants are immigrants and migrants. The pastor refused, arguing that he cannot be a pastor of

⁵ According to the general South African definition of race, the word race is used to differentiate black from white to Indians and coloured people.

foreigners.⁶ This attitude is linked to the history of the church in South Africa as Hinchliff argues: “a clergyman may not be able to live in his parish if the people are of another race. It has become increasingly difficult for the different races to worship together” (1968: 106). Hinchliff talks about apartheid South Africa in the context of religion. He explains how culture and race separated people to worship together. Apparently, the same scenario is observed between nationals and non-nationals in Yeoville.

Segregation was favoured by the church as Anderson writes that “almost from its inception in South Africa, the White Pentecostal movement has favoured segregation” (1992: 32). 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, 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, especially in Yeoville has led African immigrants to find refuge in creating churches, nightclubs and markets where they can express their identity. In the churches, nightclubs

⁶ My conversation with an African immigrant member of the congregation.

and markets, they feel at home, secure and safe. The efforts of integrating themselves to the new society are less compare to the immigrants living in some of the western countries such as France. Host people hence 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 compared to many other areas in Johannesburg. The same applies 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. African immigrants accuse black South Africans of anti foreign sentiments and black South Africans accuse African immigrants of discomfort.

YEOVILLE YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Yeoville is one of the oldest areas of the city of Johannesburg. It was once a middle class district populated by the city's white residents. Yeoville is also recognised as one of the first Johannesburg's residential areas where different racial groups integrated during apartheid era. In the late 80s Yeoville was "a bastion of apartheid defiance and a melting pot where creative people of all races, backgrounds, lifestyles, classes and creeds cross-pollinated", as Bob Eveleigh wrote in *The Herald* Newspaper. http://www.joburg.org.za/2005/june/jun7_yeoville.stm

Today Yeoville is a receptive sponge for the downtrodden, the hopeful and the affluent from all over the world. "People say Yeoville is the new Sophiatown, the cultural melting

pot of Johannesburg where the Rastafarian, the gay, the Nigerian, the Ethiopian and a host of other cultures occupy a dynamic but harmonious niche”.

http://www.joburg.org.za/2005/june/jun7_yeoville.stm

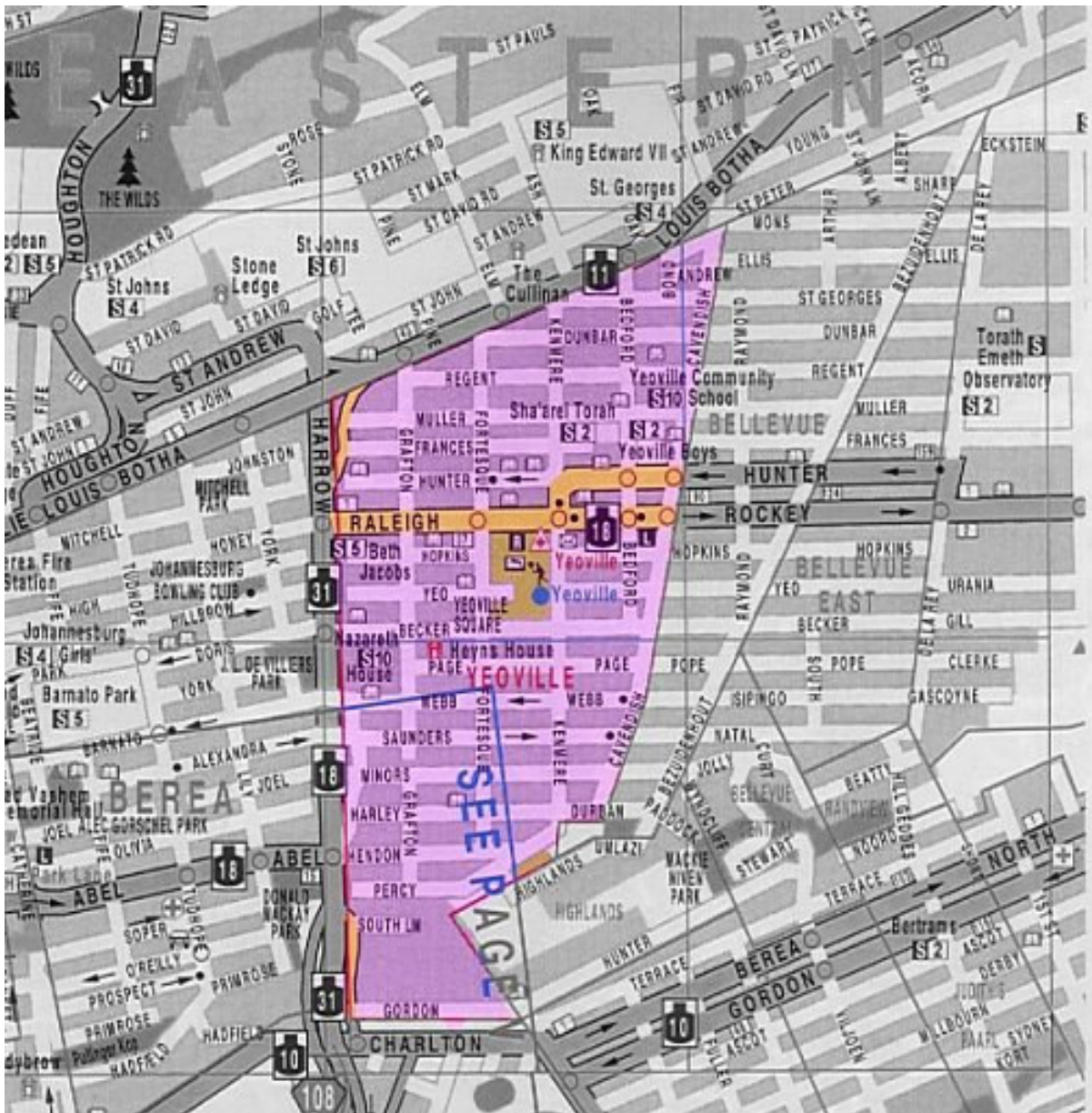
“For Rockey/Raleigh Street, the hub of cosmopolitan Yeoville, Sunday morning is as active as any other... Part of flatland (the term given to the Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville areas because of the plethora of high-rise flats), Yeoville has, since the late 1990s, seen a huge increase in residents, a large number of which are immigrants”.

http://www.joburg.org.za/2004/april/apr13_yeoville.stm

When African immigrants or migrants come to South Africa, says Reitzes (1997: 21), it is not easy for them to find accommodation. Many among them can not afford to pay rent because the rental bills are exorbitant; although the rent is high, black Africans would always crowd in one flat or room because they would not like to see one of them sleeping on the street. They then tend to share accommodation. In sharing their accommodations, these flats or rooms end up being overcrowded. Areas such Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow are now called under the names of certain African countries because of the high numbers of African immigrants and migrants living in these areas. In occupying these areas, African immigrants are therefore accused by locals of depriving them of places to live. As argued by Reitzes (1997: 23) in an interview that she had with a local that “landlords, who are mostly South African, charge immigrants higher rents than South Africans. Immigrants do pay these higher rents, because they are desperate for accommodation. Thus, profit-seeking landlords prefer immigrants, and South Africans, who refuse to be exploited so easily, are rendered homeless”.

Yeoville is a central rendezvous point for friends and relatives from the Zimbabweans to Pakistanis in the Middle East; Yeoville is a home-away-from-home for immigrant and migrants residents.

THE YEOVILLE MAP



<http://www.joburg.org.za/yeovillemap>

REVIEW OF SOME RELEVANT LITERATURE

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. He states that many South Africans think that “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 very 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 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 integration into the host society by the host government”. In her 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 recognised by the same author may take many forms. As there are no 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. (In the South African case, nothing is provided for locals either by the government).

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 Malki, presents what we should call the natural order of things or better, their Ontology. Referring to 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 Malki’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 (Journal of Refugee Studies. Vol. 11(4): 350-374. 1998), 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 to Europe for 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, forging documents, and housebreaking, etc. Some argue, “The only people who have such expertise are the *grigambas*, *makwerewere*⁷”. (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

⁷ *grigambas*, *makwerewere* are names that locals use to identify foreigners.

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>).

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” are 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 about 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 this anti-foreigner campaign comes 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 (Crush, J. 2001: 126).

Adelaja (2001) of Human Rights Watch states 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, made 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. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the then minister of Home Affairs commented 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 races, colours or tribes. 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 are 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)

GENERAL CONCEPTS ON LOCAL INTEGRATION

Karen Jacobsen, in her working paper number 45, *The forgotten solution: local integration for refugees in developing countries*; provides rich and deep definitions of local integration. She argues that the most significant definition is the “durable solution promoted by United Nations High Commission for Refugees where refugees are offered permanent integration into the host society by the host government”.

The negative attitude towards refugees in Europe as I did mention above, confirms the idea why some people think that local integration is not a good solution to refugees’ problems.

Many authors such as Jacobsen, and Koffi Annan, the former United Nations Secretary-General for their part, do not ignore the fact that voluntary repatriation may be the best solution in the case of refugee’s problem. However, there is some time the problem of security. Jacobsen for example affirms that the “problem today for refugees living in first asylum countries is that return is not an early possibility”. Return might be voluntary because as argue Lynellyn and Ellen in *Coming Home?* “Mass forced repatriations are not homecomings or the natural outcome of a refugee cycle...in a forced repatriation, people may be allowed to return only to their former nation-states, not to their former home” (Lynellyn D. Long & Ellen Oxfeld 2004: 11). In other words, the literature shows that local integration should be taken as an alternative to voluntary repatriation. In fact, when Jacobsen provides the criteria for a successful local integration, he affirms, “repatriation must become a component of assisted local integration”.

From this analysis, one can deduce that local integration is neither the only durable solution, nor the best solution ever.

THE CHURCH AND INTEGRATION

The Christian church in South Africa has an ambivalent and difficult history. According to Hinchliff (1968), the obvious political and economic factors have given rise to 'separatist sects'. The apartheid policy of the South African government was clear: 'separate development' of the races. Apartheid was seen as a solution to the social problems of the country, says Hinchliff. And it was a solution in which Christian doctrine and Christian churches were implicated (Hinchliff 1968: 105).

The creation of the 'sects'⁸ was proof that the frustration was present even within the churches. For many Christians, however, the absolute separation of the races constituted a denial of the Christian ideal of love. Discrimination humiliated some of God's creatures. Justice was totally disregarded, Hinchliff says.

The question is what is the meaning of Christian love? These practical problems are still seen among the nationals and the non-nationals within the established South African evangelical churches. These practical problems bring the non-nationals to create their evangelical churches. Anderson writes "Africans have found in Pentecostalism a place to be at home" (1992: 119). They experienced Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit; and as a result, their lives had been radically changed. Anderson really believes that the evangelical experience of the power of the spirit can be a unifying factor in a deeply divided society and the catalyst for the emergence of a new society where there is justice for all, and hope for a despairing people. He continues by stating again that this experience needs to liberate South Africans from their prejudice, their arrogance, their

⁸ Hinchliff calls sects the churches that had been created by non-white people because the segregation and marginalised attitudes of the apartheid regime. Evangelical churches created by African immigrants and refugees nowadays because of the same attitudes may be seen also by nationals as sects.

isolationism and their ethnocentrism. In other words, this experience will liberate them from all their abominable selfishness.

Similarly, Marjorie and James (1983) see the church as a pillar of the status quo or a force for a social change. They argue again that the church mirrors the society. It is one the place where non-violence is discussed and where some non-violent action originates. They also say that it is the role of church leaders to conscientise the congregants and to support actions against violence when the goal is social justice:

Over the years the South African churches have been somewhat equivocal in their attitude to violence. For example, most of them have upheld the doctrine of the “just war” (1983: 239).

The radical politics of some churches under apartheid gave a wrong image of outsiders instead of preaching the message of peace and justice.

Orobator (2000) writes that in South Africa, the self-understanding of the church as a church on the side of the oppressed took several decades to develop. Even its mission of justice and liberation for the oppressed people developed over time. Before, the church was segregated and divided. Preaching what they did or do not practice was or is a hypocrisy. The creation of Evangelical Movements nowadays among African immigrants and refugees in Johannesburg is based in this attitude of hypocrisy on the side of nationals. Immigrants and refugees prefer to create their churches where they can express their culture and integrate themselves in the society. These Evangelical Movements help them to integrate in the society.

I. RURAL EXODUS (NATIONAL IMMIGRATION) AND AFRICAN IMMIGRATION/MIGRATION IN YEOVILLE

ABSTRACT

The advent of democracy in South Africa has shifted the conditions of life of the nationals and outsiders.

During apartheid, black South Africans and all other black Africans from neighbouring countries had a common status and identity as outsiders because racism was at the center of the apartheid system. The struggle of marginalised black South Africans was not against a certain race but against powers that were dehumanising and destroying. It was a struggle for justice, human rights, reconciliation and peace, says De Gruchy (1979). It was also a struggle against the ruling power. The black majority wanted to have a share in the ruling and government of the state. The reason why the old struggle was explosive, Okolo writes, “is because of the unjust social, political, and economic structures, purposely created to yield two unequal results for whites and blacks.” (1978: 29) All these divisions and boundaries came to an end in 1994 with the first democratic elections. This chapter exposes the implications of this process for relationship between black South Africans and African immigrants/migrants in Yeoville. I shall demonstrate from the African respondents the attitudes of locals and officials towards African immigrants and migrants; who claim that the attitudes of black South Africans and officials have changed negatively, quickly and perhaps dramatically.

I shall then examine the impact of this process on the fragmentation of civil society and the strategies of survival of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville. I shall also look at the causes of immigration and migration to South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

According to Cohen (1994), the international experience suggests that civil society plays a crucial role in the incorporation of immigrants and refugees into the society of their host country.

“This process usually follows four distinct, although not mutually exclusive, phases: survival, organization, consolidation, and integration, all of which are facilitated by civil society organizations”. (Crush & McDonald 2002: 80) However, the general trend is for immigrants and migrants to organise themselves continually around issues that affect their lives in common with local citizens. This will lead to the blurring of the locals and foreigners’ identities, because foreigners will be absorbed into society.

As Reitzes (1995) says, the fundamental criterion for the construction of a better cohabitation between national citizens and immigrants is national origin, because it determines the categorisation and definition of locals and foreigners.

When this topic was conceived to crown my masters degree, I thought of Yeoville as the research area precisely because Yeoville is considered as a community of locals who come from rural areas to look for a better life in Johannesburg. Yeoville is also home to a significant number of legal and illegal immigrants and migrants coming from various African countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Somalia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi, etc. Yeoville is actually a cosmopolitan area. The main question that I ask myself is whether the advent of democracy in 1994 has influenced the ways in which black South Africans relate to foreigners. Under apartheid, the struggle for survival was shared by black locals and black foreigners alike although at that time, black foreigners were few.

The key problem for exclusion between locals and foreigners in Yeoville are race⁹, ethnicity, national origin, work/job opportunity, and love life. Different private and state organizations sometimes reinforce exclusion and division between citizens and non-citizens in Yeoville.

This chapter is going to explore the extent to which immigrants and migrants participate in the economy, organization and development of Yeoville, and whether their presence in Yeoville enhances, complicates or obstructs prospects for the growth of democracy in South Africa. What I aim to establish in this chapter is: whether there is any commonality of interests between black South Africans and immigrants living in Yeoville, whether cooperation occurs as a result of different views held by South Africans and foreigners. What is the perception of immigrants to South Africans, as well as their expectations and interests, and what is the socio-economic impact of immigration/migration in Yeoville.

This research consists of primarily of interviews with a broad spectrum of people in Yeoville, mainly foreigners and black South Africans. I have no intention of making the conclusions of the research definitive. But the findings of this research shall present a credible overall impression of local/non-local dynamics in Yeoville, perceptions of immigrants and migrants of their own socio-economic impact and the attitudes of black South Africans and black officials towards African immigrants.

⁹ One may argue that how can black South Africans and black African immigrants/migrants have racial issues whereas they are all blacks? Here I have in mind Somalian and Ethiopian citizens who although black are not 'Bantu' and it is quite easy to identify them from the rest of other African immigrants/migrants. They are identified through their physical characteristics.

I.1. CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION AND MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

One cannot easily name and single out the causes of African immigration and migration to South Africa. However, there are number of reasons why South Africa is considered to be the target of African immigrants and migrants. One big reason why South Africa is targeted is the establishment of democracy and its economic stability. South Africa is seen as a country of opportunity and prosperity. I am going to give some causes or reasons of immigration and migration to South Africa in the following lines.

WAR

When interviewed by the newspaper *Sowetan* in December 1999, Nicholas Bwakira, the regional director of the UN High Commission for Refugees revealed that Africa holds seven million of the world's twenty two million refugees. However, Africa is only second after Asia. Africa has so many refugees because of civil wars, rebellions and aggression between countries. Democratic republic of Congo, Sudan, Somalia, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Angola, and so many other countries, are in wars, rebellion and aggression. Africa, especially the central, northern and eastern sides of Africa have become a place of revolution and revolt, a place of coups d'état and therefore a place of instability.

Many African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville come from these countries torn apart by wars and many sorts of violence and abuse of human rights. They choose South Africa as their country of refuge because South Africa seems to be the only or perhaps one of the most advanced African countries economically and politically in terms of the respect of human rights and freedom of opinion. Even though many South Africans think that their country is flooded by African immigrants and migrants, South Africa is not as

over subscribed as they think. Mr. Bruno Giddo of the UNHCR confirmed this in his interview on the SABC Two Way Programme on the 29 of January 2001.

TRADING

Black South Africans often think that when African immigrants and migrants come to South Africa, they come to steal their jobs. This I heard several times from my black South African informants. The truth is that not all African immigrants and migrants come to South Africa for employment. Others come to South Africa for business such as food selling and clothing. They find food and clothing very cheap in South Africa and therefore, they buy and resell it in their home countries or they create a network system with those who stay back in their countries. Others again come to sell handicrafts. Such attempts as Reitzes (1998: 1) argues do not threaten the South African economy but benefit it. Hence, African immigrants and migrants who sell on the streets and those who have the well settled businesses are viewed in a hostile manner by black South Africans.

JOBS

The well educated African immigrants and migrants come to South Africa seeking employment. Some argue that due to political situations in their countries, the job market has become difficult and even the few jobs that they can find are not well paid. Therefore, South Africa is the booming country economically and many companies wish to invest in South Africa. These kinds of people are the ones that Cropley (1975: 4) calls 'transilient (sic) immigrants. Transilient immigrants are people who have high professional or technical qualifications and who are willing to live for a while in any congenial society

that can reward their qualifications adequately. And when they find out that there are better opportunities in any other country different from the previous one, or when they see that the need for them in the present host country diminishes, they simply move on. And this is true for many skilled professional African immigrants living in South Africa. Many African medical doctors and engineers have worked in South Africa but when they heard that they are well paid in many Asian countries and in Europe, they moved on.

STUDY

Many African immigrants come to South Africa for study purpose. The admission of African students in the South African universities and technikons is benefiting academically, financially and culturally as noticed by Crush (1999).

Looking at the various reasons and causes that bring African immigrants and migrants to South Africa, one can argue that South Africa is a top and favorite host country for many Africans who are in search for better lives, safety and security, protection and better education and so many other advantages. In coming to South Africa, African immigrants and migrants run away from insecurity (war situation and political threat) and frustration (after completing their studies, many can't find jobs); South Africa then appears to be a haven-paradise and why South Africa? Because of "its regional strength in terms of much greater productive forces and infrastructural resources, acts as a strong attractor". (Cochrane 1998: 408)

I. 2. IMMIGRANTS/MIGRANTS AND LOCALS IN YEOVILLE

Immigrants who arrived in 1992 in Yeoville argued that they were largely integrated into civil society, some even participated actively as individuals in political decision making against apartheid. This is a fact that, even when immigrants participated in local politics, they did so as individuals rather than representing immigrants as a constituency. According to one immigrant from the Democratic republic of Congo, the participation of immigrants in local politics was influenced by personal motivation or intention such as: intentions of settling in South Africa permanently. He continued claiming that

Before the first election in 1994, there was no noticeable discrimination or feelings of hostility towards foreigners. We mingled more easily with black South Africans than with their fellow whites. But now it is the opposite. We mingle so much more easily with white South Africans than with black South Africans.

African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville perceive that they are discriminated against and treated in a xenophobic manner by black South Africans. A common view is that locals, especially blacks are not welcoming and that they treat outsiders harshly. This brings anger, surprise and anguish for some of the African immigrants who think that they deserve better treatment from black South Africans because their countries gave great support (some African countries did give some support but some didn't) to South Africa during the struggle against apartheid. Listening to SA FM Radio one afternoon, I heard about the march that was organised by African asylum seekers in Cape Town because of the corruption that is spread among Home Affairs officials. The Home Affairs officials refuse to offer asylum papers to African migrants because Africans do not have

money to bribe them and they sell it to Asian migrants who offer them money and material goods. The right to be in South Africa is now for sale. Home affairs officials give papers to people they allow to stay in the country in exchange for money or some valuable deeds.

Even among themselves black South Africans, these things exist. A South African is the one who has money in order to bribe a police officer once he or she stops you for identity check up. If you do not have money you are out of the country by deportation. A story was once told that a local black South African Shangani was sent to Mozambique because he did not have an identity document. He tried to convince the police that he was a genuine true South African but because he lacked money to bribe the police officer, he was taken to Lindela¹⁰. Few days later, he found himself in Mozambique, a country he never thought he visited against his will. Lost in the middle of nowhere, he had to find his way back home, a home which is no longer a welcoming one.

In listening all these stories of immigration and migration on radio and the in the media in general and listening the life experience of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville, I tempted to argue that black South Africans in fighting apartheid, they (simply) wanted power not justice. The fight for life in South Africa is all about power and money not justice and peace. I shall also mention here that I am not promoting the return of apartheid. The apartheid system was an evil system and it deserved to be banished and eradicated for the sake of democracy, equality, peace and justice.

What was most amazing in my discoveries on black South Africans living in Yeoville was that black South Africans in Yeoville do not know much about themselves. This is a legacy of apartheid. They seldom mingle and invite each other in their homes. Why are

¹⁰ Lindela is a deportation prison – centre on the periphery of Johannesburg.

they exclusive of one another? The answer is that Black South Africans in Yeoville live according to their ethnic and tribal groups. Zulus mingle with Zulus; Xhosas interact with Xhosas and so on. They even stereotype one another with derogatory names and characters. For example, Xhosas accuse the Zulus of being violent in their language and even physical violence. Zulus in return accuse the Xhosas of being too proud of themselves as the highly educated and power hungry tribe. All tribes from Limpopo are seen as backward, low in action and therefore, less nationalist. I came to the conclusion that if among themselves black South Africans there exists division, exclusion and suspicion. How can it be not possible and real to the outsiders especially the African immigrants and migrants?

A Cameroonian interviewee once argued that,

When you meet a black South African male or female on the street of Yeoville, after you have greeted him or her, the first question they ask you is: 'where are you from?' Their second question is: 'when are you going back to your country'. These questions are insulting and stupid. It shows in advance that we are not welcomed by our fellow black Africans.

However, till now, immigrants are not a formal unified group within Yeoville. You find little associations of foreigners based on tribal or religious origins. These associations are themselves exclusive by nature because not all the outsiders find space within them. African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville make little effort, if not no effort to

integrate themselves in their host society. However, attitudes towards African immigrants and migrants nowadays have changed markedly.

Having won the battle against apartheid and living in the new democratic South Africa, African immigrants in Yeoville are now increasingly defined and treated as trouble makers, drug dealers, etc. “A previously shared and inclusive racial identity has been substituted with an exclusive national identity.” (Crush & McDonald 2002: 87). African immigrants who previously were best friends of black South Africans in the fight against apartheid are now worse enemies of black South Africans in the new democratic South Africa. “The study suggests that racism in post-apartheid South Africa is taking on new forms and that foreign black Africans, especially those originating from countries north of South Africa’s neighbours, are being portrayed as a major threat to the success of the post-apartheid project.” (Morris & Bouillon 2001: 68)

Although the department of home affairs and the South African police service are publicly condemning discrimination against immigrants and refugees, “...it seems to have two positions. In open mass meetings, people are told to stop harassing and threatening the immigrants, and yet when one goes...with a problem, one is reminded that one is an immigrant.” (Crush & McDonald 2002: 87) A young Somalian man claimed that he often experiences verbal abuse when he goes shopping or while waiting for the bus or taxi. He said,

One evening I was in the shop queuing to the till point in Yeoville and a black South African man came to stand in front of me and he wanted to be served first. When I tried to tell him that I was here first and that he should queue like others,

he started shouting at me in these words: 'I know you are not from South Africa. Go back to your country. We do not need you here. We do not like you *kwerekwere*¹¹.

Why do black South Africans in Yeoville act in this manner? It is because they think that they liberated the country themselves and now Africans have come to invade their country to enjoy the fruits of their own hands fought and won battle of freedom. Black South Africans also think that the African countries are a failure. When they faced such verbal attacks, generally immigrants do not reply for fear of being stabbed or beaten badly. As one Somalian man stated:

I say nothing when they insult me simply because I am afraid of being stabbed or beaten.

I accompanied a man from the DR Congo to open a case of theft and robbery in Yeoville police station. His case was not attended to because he was an outsider. The officer openly said, 'go back to Congo'. Kabeya, a Cameroonian born, alleged that some black South Africans in Yeoville are now receiving police rewards for identifying or spying on African immigrants and migrants.

¹¹ Kwerekwere is a derogative name given to all outsiders black and white alike. Everyone who does not speak the local language is called kwerekwere.

We are now discouraged from participating in community building (safety, cleanliness, etc.) because we are ostracised by locals. We are called with derogatory names. (Emile from Somalia)

One South African interviewee argued that,

African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville are the cause of their own predicament. They do not have to blame anyone. They must learn to stand up and fight for their rights.

This may be true in the sense that, ignorance of one's own rights may lead to serious threats and others may take advantage on the person. The fight for identity can have serious implications for integration and development in Yeoville. Immigrants from Christian background cannot attend existing South African churches in Yeoville. They found their own churches saying that they cannot join local churches because locals do not show brotherhood and sisterhood.

Members of Victory Gospel Ministries¹² feel safe and secure within the church. The church in itself has organised two rooms at the back of the church next to the pastor's

¹² Victory Gospel Ministries is an evangelical church founded by a Congolese pastor, himself refugee. And most of his congregants are outsiders from around Africa.

office. These two rooms called 'permanence'¹³ are used to accommodate the congregants who newly arrive in Johannesburg and have no place to stay. However the church only accommodates men or boys in its premises. For the new arrived women and girls, the church has no official location for them. The social care team use to contact within the church, members of 'good will' to accommodate these ladies or girls until they find their own places. In most cases, ladies or girls are few and they find their own place more rapidly than men, as they are looked after by men.

Prime, the 32 year man from Congo, spends most of his time at the door of the church as usher. He said:

This is my eighth month since I came to stay in the church. As I have no job, I cannot afford rent. I thank the church and the pastor for keeping me safe and secure. I would be on the street, sleeping in the park.

In conclusion, the conflict that rises in Yeoville between locals and African immigrants is bound up with tensions surrounding the immigration issue. Locals migrating from rural areas to town (the rural exodus) feel threatened by African immigrants once they do not meet their expectations and dreams that they had when leaving their villages. On the other hand, African immigrants feel betrayed by locals who suddenly reject them after having fought apartheid together (In most cases, when non locals say they fought apartheid together with locals, these last ones do not believe having fought apartheid together with Africans). Some of the dignities in government were exiled in various

¹³ Permanence is a room into the church reserved for members to pray outside the normal time of services. It has been transformed in a shelter in this church because of the needy members who are homeless and jobless.

African countries where they were accommodated as fellow Africans. Some pupils in certain African countries were popping in money to help their fellow black South African pupils. South Africans pupils who stayed in the country do not care about this.

We used to pop in money when I was in primary school for the children of Soweto. I remember our teacher used to explain to us how black people were suffering in South Africa. (Bakasi, a 46 year old Congolese man. January 2007).

Was this money sent to Soweto as was the intention of the donors? No one knows the answer.

Often black South Africans do not accept that other countries helped them to fight apartheid. Many argue that African countries helped their political leaders who were in exile but not them as a population at the grassroots level. They do not identify themselves with their leaders who went into exile. The South African government knows the contributions made by some African countries in helping South Africa to fight the apartheid system but its population seems to be ignorant. As Mbeki stated in his ANC Today (May 2001) that "...we should also never forget that the same peoples welcomed us to their own countries when many of our citizens had to go into exile as a result of the brutality of the apartheid system. To express the critical importance of Africa to ourselves, both black and white, we should say that we are either African or we are nothing".

A return to the pre-94 life of oneness may be a solution. Immigrants of that period were largely integrated into the community. This return may probably reduce the potential for

conflict. How to? By revisiting the African values of togetherness, a life of being a person through other people.

Despite this rising conflict, immigrants and locals still participate sometimes without discrimination in communal activities such as sport clubs, churches, etc. “The existence of such institutions suggests that the differential mobilisation and contestation of national identity as criteria of inclusion and exclusion are contingent on citizens’ perceptions of threats to their interests...” (Crush & McDonald 2002: 89)

Ignorance or perhaps the fear of victimisation on the side of immigrants and migrants cause the conflict. Perhaps series of proper mobilisation seminars from the Department of Home Affairs, the police and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees might help outsiders to know their rights and interests.

Thus, there is possibility that an increasingly hostile Yeoville will prompt the elimination of cleavages within the immigrant community and the consolidation of inclusive immigrant/migrant solidarity. As they claim to be excluded from the municipality delivery and feel unsafe, immigrants and refugees could refuse, in turn, to recognise decisions taken without them, but which affect their interests. As a result, they may sabotage the implementation of policies. Two Somalians respondents argued that the Johannesburg Home Affairs do not issue papers anymore. The officials never gave valid reasons for stopping the issuing of refugee and asylum seekers’ papers. Asylum seekers are now to travel to Pretoria, Durban or Cape Town to get papers. They struggle for transport money, accommodation and food. These Somalians said that the government should not be surprised to see refugees getting into the streets to strike for the recognition of their rights.

I. 3. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS/MIGRANTS IN YEOVILLE

“...it is widely believed that African immigrants and refugees constitute a serious hurdle to the endeavours by the post-apartheid government to improve the living conditions of its disadvantaged population. Many people from various segments of the South African society tend to think that the bulk of African immigrants and refugees from Africa are involved in criminal activities. While it is true that some people are criminals, it is essential to point out that these are minority. The majority of African immigrants and refugees try to make a living through legal means. Arguably, the emigration wave of Africans from beyond the Southern Africa region’s borders is not necessarily a burden to South Africa at this stage” (Morris & Bouillon 2001: 90)

Academics such as Reitzes (1995), McDonald (1998), Crush (1999) and many others have said that the current South African debate on “illegal” immigration is mostly influenced by claims that foreigners, especially African immigrants have a negative impact on South African economy and society. Locals accuse immigrants of consuming resources to which they are entitled. They also comment that outsiders are responsible for the rising crime.

“But the impact of immigrants is linked to the nature and extent of their access to social institutions and to their participation in the economy. Such phenomena affect their ability to interact with the organisations of civil society, influencing their level of incorporation

into society. These dynamics are important because many immigrants are already embedded in civil society.” ((Crush & McDonald 2002: 90)

Yeoville is largely a residential area. However, it does have an economic base of its own. The most popular and vibrant streets such as Rocky and Ralley show the type of employment in which the economically active population (both locals and African immigrants) are involved. Some African immigrants have even transformed their residences especially their garages into tuck shops and hair saloon in which they employ locals. Most immigrants and refugees in Yeoville claim that working for a company is difficult because of their status and also because of xenophobia.

In order to survive, they become self-employed and self-sufficient. They finally claim that they have no need to compete with locals for employment. In fact they employ locals in order to attract local clients or customers. Immigrants in Yeoville run tuck shops, night clubs, hawk vegetables, hair saloon, import-export agencies, freight agencies, some even manufacture but in small scale, clothing as afro-traditional clothing. Others do the backyard mechanics, some even own scrap yard, evangelical churches, day care nursery, etc. A significant number of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville make a living by operating as middlemen between South African companies (clothing shops, hardware shops, etc) and their country based importers. This trade is significant because it contributes to the creation of jobs in the South African economy.

The evangelical church of Victory Gospel Ministries, through its teachings and preaching tries to integrate immigrants and refugees in the local community. The interaction between nationals and no-nationals who worship together is real.

Victory Gospel Ministries according to Jiji, a 30 year man from Cameroon said that the church has a meaningful significance in his life, because it has brought him in touch with South Africans who worship there. He never thought of being in touch with locals because of their xenophobic behaviour. Churches in the past socio-political context of South Africa which is apartheid, “formed an integral part of the movement that culminated in the transformation of South Africa from a racially segregated society to a multiracial, integrated and democratic society” (Orobator, 2000: 96). The active involvement of the retired Anglican archbishop Desmond Tutu in the fight against apartheid proves how much the church strived for a one united South Africa.

Unfortunately, churches seem nowadays unable to overcome the marginalised and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans towards immigrants and refugees. The political and social factors of the South African history did not allow churches to work accordingly. Hinchliff writes that “the apartheid policy of the South African government is so well known that, perhaps, it is not necessary to do more than merely touch upon some of its aspects as it affects the churches” (1968: 104).

Some members of the Victory Gospel Ministries conduct their own business such as Night Clubs, private clinics, Shops, Internet cafés, Freight agencies, public phone business, hair saloons and many other entrepreneurship established business in Johannesburg, more especially in Yeoville. These businesses are not only for survival but also employ nationals thus providing job creation for both communities:

I am glad to find South African joining the congregation and committed to the activities of the church. Ntombi, a 26 year woman, married and mother of two

children is my secretary and she is a South African. (Pastor Nawaya. February 2006)

Some of the South Africans who worship at Victory Gospel Ministries are employed by immigrants and refugees, members of the church.

This sad situation of unemployment is well elaborated by Singer (1998). According to Singer (1998), 35% of the South African population is unemployed. One of the objectives of the government is to create jobs or fight poverty. By creating jobs for local people, this particular category of refugees participates to the program of the South African government.

Furthermore, local integration can also be seen in terms of “bringing together into a whole” or “to become available to persons of all races” (Kymlicka, 1999:4).

Immigrants’ churches and many other of their businesses are doing their best to bring their congregants and employees both nationals and non-nationals to be one as Africans despite their cultural differences.

One sees some Congolese within the church, for instance, learning South African local languages (Zulu, Xhosa and other.) as a means by which to participate or integrate efficiently in the ways of lives of South African society. However, these are individuals in isolation who want to be integrated into the host society. Many of the African immigrants and migrants do not want to learn local languages because they accuse black South Africans of xenophobia, of not being welcoming, etc.

It is also neither surprising nor discouraging to meet into the church or those sharing flats, some South Africans, who have never been in the Congo but highly conversant in

Lingala and *Swahili*¹⁴. Sharon, a 31 year single mother, South African, speaks Lingala well and plans to visit the DR Congo one day because she has been living with Congolese since she joined the congregation. Contrary to the work of Mattes (1999) entitled “Still waiting for the Barbarians: South African attitudes to immigrants and immigration” where he sadly remarks that many South Africans do not believe that foreigners bring skills to South Africa or they do not want to learn from foreigners. The experiences mentioned above witness that the presence of immigrants and refugees stimulate some black South Africans in Yeoville to know about their fellow Africans, their ways of lives, cultures, languages and compose with them.

Contrary to what black South Africans say about African immigrants in Yeoville, many Yeoville immigrants and migrants are actively self-employed. The big Yeoville market is now nicknamed ‘Gambela’ after the biggest informal market in Kinshasa, the capital city of the DR Congo. Why this denomination? It is because almost three quarter of vendors in that market is foreign including the products that they sell.

Few of the foreigners in Yeoville seem to be directly competing with South Africans for small jobs in restaurants, security companies and shop sellers. African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville are mostly generating their own opportunities for economic participation and integration. Kimpangi, a Congolese refugee, who owns a backyard garage argued that,

Locals who resent African immigrants are jealous of our initiative, creativity and entrepreneurial acumen. We are making a considerable contribution to the

¹⁴ Lingala and Swahili are national languages among the four official national languages spoken in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

economy of South Africa compared to the locals because locals always want to be employed rather than being self-employed.

One thing which is noticeable among African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville is that African immigrants/migrants never thought of learning the language of the locals. They like sticking to their network and they are reluctant to mingle with black South Africans. Why do black South Africans reject this trading model (self-employment)? Apparently they are not used to it. They never knew it before. The small businesses such as hair saloon, internet café and so on; these are innovations brought by African immigrants and migrants.

Kizito, a self-employed young man from Congo testified that before he had the idea of starting his own hair saloon, he used to work for a security company. His employer was hostile:

The boss employs immigrants and refugees and when the pay time comes, he will find different reasons to retrench our money and when we complain, he will threaten us in calling the police. Since we never sign a contract and being foreigners, we did not have much to say.

Such practices have awakened immigrants in taking initiatives of being self-employed and self-sufficient. However, a relatively higher proportion of immigrants and migrants in Yeoville operate in the informal sector compared to the formal sector. Some immigrants from the Democratic republic of Congo for instance import informally from

Congo artifacts such as wooden crafts, precious stones, malachite, etc through ordinary channels (air freight and ground transportation). Once in South Africa, they then resell these products to retailers for cash or in exchange for some other goods. Although they are aware of the dislike of the informal sector by the South African official, immigrants still do it for survival. A significant number of Congolese men and women are currently involved in importing clothes from Asia and they resell them in shops and flea markets in Johannesburg and Pretoria and in the neighbouring townships.

Kasemula from Congo said:

I travel with my friend in Hong-Kong to buy clothes and sell them in Johannesburg. I currently own three clothing shops, one in Yeoville, two in Johannesburg CBD. In my shops, I have employed mostly locals so that they may attract South African customers in advertising in vernacular languages.

Around townships, the salespersons are mainly black South Africans who speak the language of the people in townships. This is a direct job creation by African immigrants and migrants for the nationals.

A part from importing their goods, many African immigrants and refugees export South African goods to their respective countries. From their modest starts, fair proportions of African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville have built up successful businesses and have employed a significant number of black South Africans. But their success is being greeted with hostility and resentment from some black South Africans, who accuse them of selling drugs and doing other illicit practices. It must be said that a large number

of African immigrants and migrants operating in an informal sector do not contribute to the South African economy because they do not pay tax.

I. 4. AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS AND CRIME IN YEOVILLE

Black South Africans in Yeoville claim that African immigrants and migrants are involved in crime such as housebreaking, armed robbery, and cell phone robbery on streets. A local citizen once argued that

Young male Mozambicans and Zimbabweans are cell phones' robbers. These makwerekwere (immigrants) have turned Yeoville into little Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

“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>)

The reputation of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville is spoiled. If perhaps one of the African immigrants is caught in crime, the conclusion drawn by the locals is always that all African immigrants are criminals. However, if one of the African immigrants does well for the community, no one from the host citizens tends to generalise that goodness saying ‘African immigrants are good.’ “National origin is thus a primary determinant of South Africans’ perceptions that some immigrants are engaged in crime.” ((Crush & McDonald 2002: 93) Mozambicans and Zimbabweans are perceived

for theft and robbery. Nigerians are accused of drug dealing and bank robbery. Congolese, Cameroonians, Somalians and Ethiopians are perceived as forgers of false documents.

Why are black South Africans behaving in such a manner towards African immigrants and migrants? The answer is that during my encounter with some locals in interviews and casual chatting and talks revealed that black South Africans think that they liberated South Africa alone. Therefore they do not want to share it with anybody. They also think that Africa is a failure. Africa is corrupt and poor. There are wars, rebellions, disease and famine in the rest of Africa. Therefore they do not want to be like the rest of the continent. And the presence of African immigrants and migrants in South Africa is the advent of diseases, crime, corruption that prevail in the other African countries. When black South Africans see African immigrants and migrants in their country, they see failure coming.

While black South Africans living in Yeoville perceive that many immigrants are involved in crime, my findings during interviews with African immigrants and migrants do not confirm the accuracy of these perceptions. On the contrary, foreigners claim that their insecurity contributes actually to crime of which they are victims.

I cannot go out at night even I am in dire need of something. I better wait for the next day rather than risking my life. The streets of Yeoville are not safe at night.
(Nkala, a Cameroonian refugee, March 2007)

Clarice from DR Congo outlined that,

In my country, you can walk on the street with your money and cell phone in your pocket. Nobody will come and ask for it. Here we can't do so. You can even sleep with your door wide open. In Yeoville you cannot leave the door open. My friend lives in a second floor building. He left the door open as it was hot. He was visited by burglars who climbed up to the second floor using step ladder.

Immigrants consider themselves as soft targets for criminals. Many of the African immigrants and migrants have been victims of crime in Yeoville and most of them know of fellow Africans who have been victims too. Many of the incidents of crime are minor, such as being beaten after being robbed or small wounds due to the resistance of the victim before he or she surrender. Few of the incidents are dramatic like the killing of the victim or serious wounds. A Congolese man was killed two months ago. He was coming from a night club in the early hours of the day when he was stopped by three gunmen who requested him to give money and everything he had in his pocket. When he tried to resist, they simply shot him three times on the chest and he died on the scene.

The biggest fear of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville is to be shot dead or stabbed. To my knowledge, this fear is not irrational. On the 20th of March 2007, it was reported in the Daily Sun newspaper by a certain national civic organisation chairperson that "enough is enough! We do not want aliens here! We want to clean out these aliens who destroy our beautiful place. Now drugs are being sold like vetkoek and the crime rate is escalating."

In Yeoville, there is a strong social network among African immigrants and migrants; which means that every single criminal incident that involves one of them as victim is widely reported within the community. This constant circulation of crime incidents generates substantial anxiety and fear of being the next victim.

African immigrants and migrants argue that police do not protect them against criminals. They eventually accuse police of being brutal towards them. It is evident that the Yeoville police station is convinced that most of African immigrants are involved in drug selling or other illegal activities. “Xenophobia and the perception that most Nigerians are involved drug-dealing have led to the police actively seeking out Nigerians and the latter were constantly worried about police or people masquerading as police, using their positions of authority to terrorise them.” (Morris & Bouillon 2001: 83)

Socially, African immigrants believe that their home countries are better than South Africa. They argued that in spite of political insecurity, they are at least sure of their lives to an extent, unlike in Yeoville, where they feel unprotected.

Manga, a young Congolese said,

I was living under the same roof with my South African girlfriend. One day I came from work, I found the room empty, all my belongings were removed. When I asked my land lord, he said my girlfriend has moved out to an unknown destination. I approached the police; they refused to act against my girlfriend simply because I am a foreigner.

According to some African immigrants in Yeoville, black South Africans steal from them, knowing that immigrants will not report the matter to the police for fear of deportation and mostly for fear of being turn down because of foreign identity. Once they catch a thief, immigrants deal with him in their own manner. It is currently known that cell phone robbers do not rob Nigerians anymore because they beat them to death.

Immigrants are now taking the law into their own hands; which is wrong. They do so because they said, police are doing nothing to protect them.

One argued that the police, instead of arresting criminals, arrest innocent people. He agreed that there are criminals among foreigners. But the way police treat them in Yeoville, they make every foreigner out to be a criminal. When speaking to a police officer from the Yeoville police station, he denied that immigrants are specifically targeted by the police. According to him, everybody is involved in crime in Yeoville, locals and immigrants alike.

Immigrants allege that whenever the police need money, they target foreigners. A young Somalian commented:

The police torn up my refugee paper saying that it was obtained illegally. They did so because they needed money from me.

A young Congolese man was arrested and sent to Lindela (to await deportation. Lindela is a deportation prison). He could not be deported because of the political situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. While in prison, he observed that the whole deportation process seems to be directed at African immigrants and migrants only. Other racial

groups are seldom deported. He argued that in Yeoville, there are many Pakistanis and white Zimbabweans who fled war and economic crisis from their countries; they own businesses and some are even involved in crime but they are protected by the police due to cash. They bribe the police.

“The hostile and sometimes corrupt ways in which police engage with immigrants not only alienates them from the state, but delegitimizes immigration policy in particular, and the government and state in general. If immigrants themselves are not treated within the bounds of legality, they cannot be expected to comply with the rules of the state.” (Crush & McDonald 2002: 97). If police continue to falsely painting immigrants and migrants of crime, they are slowly and surely destabilising Yeoville and public order will be at stake. Locals are often used to track down foreigners. The disproportionate targeting of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville by local criminals and by the police implicitly undermines their rights to freedom of movement and speech. This renders them vulnerable and insecure. Thus their will to participate actively in civil society is decreasing.

I. 5. RESENTMENT AND HOSTILITY OF NATIONALS TOWARDS AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS AND MIGRANTS IN YEOVILLE

Looking at the responses of African immigrants during the interviews, there seems to be a number of interrelated reasons for the wide spread prejudice they experience in Yeoville. The first one is that, African immigrants and migrants are being blamed for the shortage or lack of jobs. Nationals also blame them for stealing their jobs.

Unemployment, poverty, crime and poor service delivery from local governments are certainly angering black South Africans living in Yeoville and nationwide to increasing pressure on black Africans immigrants and migrants. Also, the size of an immigrant grouping is an important determinant of the level of racism directed at them in that generally the larger the size of the immigrant grouping the greater the perceived threat in terms of competition for existing jobs.” (Morris & Bouillon 2001: 76). The increasing number of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville impedes the progress of black South Africans in the job market. That is why they are always subject to constant accusations that they are stealing jobs from nationals.

The question that I ask myself is that why African immigrants living in Yeoville are threatened to such extent? African immigrants living in suburbs are less often not even threatened compared to those in Yeoville. An attempt to answer is perhaps because they are easily identified as foreigners. They often like to occupy a house, flat or building with compatriots. Again, their physical features, their clothing style and their accent when speaking English, and their inability to speak vernacular language clearly identify them.

Also, looking at the history of South Africa in comparison with other African countries; one notices that apartheid was a profoundly evil system. It did not let black South

Africans be open to the wider world. Ordinary peasants did not know about other African countries. This is another reason why they do not welcome foreigners.

Once a Black South African asked his Congolese flat mate this question:

Where is the Democratic Republic of Congo? Is it in Zimbabwe? This guy who plays for Kaizer Chiefs, Kabamba Musasa comes from there. Everybody praises him.

The isolation of South Africa from the rest of Africa (besides Southern Africa) during apartheid, have left ordinary Black South Africans unused to their fellow Central, North, East and West Africans. They find it difficult to incorporate them as fellow Africans.

“There is little doubt that the brutal environment created by apartheid and its enormous emphasis on boundary maintenance has impacted on people’s ability to be tolerant of difference”. (Banton 1983: 126)

“People see difference as ominous rather than an opportunity”. (Bauman 1991: 64)

And for black South Africans living in Yeoville, the presence of African immigrants and migrants is the source of crime and lack of jobs. Therefore, they are not welcomed for integration. The media and officials are also portraying a bad image of African immigrants and migrants. For example, in May 1997, the Star newspaper headed that “2500 held in crackdown on Gauteng crime”. The subheading was “Spotlight on illegal aliens as police swoops find Nigerians core suspects in drugs and other illegal activities”. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the former minister of home affairs, suggested in the Mail and Guardian, the weekly newspaper, in September 1994 that all Nigerians immigrants and

migrants were criminals and drug dealers. A recent opinion of a chairperson of a civic organisation in the Daily Sun newspaper alleges that nothing positive is done from the side of the media and the officials to construct narratives that would counter resentment and hostility directed against African immigrants and migrants in South Africa, especially in a cosmopolitan area like Yeoville. A positive report by the media and those in power can progressively help to change the mentalities of ordinary citizens to accept foreigners and integrate them. A perpetual exclusion may lead them to dislike the culture of the host country which is sheltering and protecting them. In listening most of the African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville, there is little desire to assimilate.

I. 6. AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS IN YEOVILLE

African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville have a negative stereotype of black South Africans. This stereotype has various features. Besides the perception that black South Africans are xenophobic, another prominent perception is that black South Africans, especially men are violent.

Kizenga, from DR Congo argued that,

Black South African men are very violent. They kill as if they kill a bull. They beat their wives or girlfriends without remorse. That is why their women love to have us foreigners as partners. We treat them well and we do not beat them.

African immigrants and migrants often depict black South African men as lazy, violent and adulterous. They do not nurture their partners. Foreigners exalt themselves as hard working and caring. A Congolese lady once claimed that:

Black South African men are not caring; maybe because they do not like schooling. And they drink too much alcohol. They don't respect their wives. In Congo if you have a wife or a husband, you only have one wife or husband.

African immigrants and migrants believe that laziness and crime often go together. When a person is lazy and does not want to find a job, that person will always be tempted to commit crime or robbery in order to survive. Black South Africans are portrayed by African immigrants in Yeoville as unenterprising and wasteful. A common view is that black South Africans are poorly educated, lazy and ignorant. And according to most of the foreign respondents, apartheid is to blame. Dieudonné from Cameroon said:

Black South Africans are not culturally educated compared to us. In Cameroon, even a person who has never been in Europe or America, he can tell you how people live in Europe or in America simply because we study about other people's culture.

In listening to African immigrants, all they say about black South Africans living in Yeoville is the kind of treatment they receive from them. Treatment which involves discrimination and many other vices. They experience it during their interaction with

locals on the streets, shops and taxis. The bitterness of African immigrants also stems from the kinds of treatments they receive from black officials.

Another thing that may increase the level of bitterness and dislike of black South Africans by African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville is the frustration and disillusion of some African immigrants who came to South Africa with the idea of furthering their studies but they cannot do so due to the lack of proper income. Their negative perceptions of Black South Africans are also expressed on issues of crime, unemployment and mostly their status as outsiders. The kinds of papers they utilize (refugee and asylum papers) do not allow them to find proper jobs although some of them hold degrees.

Francois, a young graduate from Congo Brazzaville complained:

Whenever I go to look for a job, they ask me for an ID (identity document). I have attended many job interviews. But I never got a chance of being employed simply because I don't have an ID. They always promise to call but they never call.

Probably, African immigrants and migrants suffer discrimination in the job market. They end up being creative in initiating their own businesses (self-employment). Some of them are into informal business. Some even admit that their fellow immigrants are involved in drug dealing although they are minority. Some of the African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville are living a comfortable life. However, some of them are struggling and are being forced into economic activities that do not match their educational background.

African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville depict black South Africans with a derogatory name, "Zulu". For them all black South Africans are 'Zulus'. According to them, the term connotes violence, aggressiveness and brutality. African immigrants also

stereotype black South Africans as closed to the world. They argue that black South Africans were taught by the apartheid system that Africa was just South Africa; and that they have not learned otherwise since then. Most of African immigrants in Yeoville think that the oppression black South Africans suffered in the past and the level of poverty they live in now explain their attitudes towards African immigrants. The most common stereotype of black South Africans is that they are lazy.

Kassim from Cameroon once argued:

Black South Africans say that we steal their jobs and we do any kinds of jobs to survive. They don't want to work themselves and they refuse to sell on the street like us.

I argue that it is quite normal for a black South African to hesitate selling on the street, because it was not in their custom to do so. It seems reasonable for black South Africans to sell cattle or any farm product because it is what they were taught. African immigrants are used to selling on the streets in their home countries and the informal sector is wide spread.

African immigrants believe that black South Africans are not ready to work hard, they drink too much alcohol and they are not willing to work.

CONCLUSION

The post apartheid South Africa with its emerging economy compared to many other African countries is the most preferred country of destination for African immigrants who flee from political and economic crisis in their countries. “The inflow of emigrants and refugees from the rest of Africa to South Africa has been an explosive issue. Newspaper editorials and articles frequently focus on the issue and unfortunately rarely focus on the positive contribution of immigrants. Rather they contribute to the rampant xenophobia by running editorials which explicitly propagate supposed ‘solutions’ such as ‘Kick them out’ (editorial in *The Citizen*, 4 July 1997” Morris & Bouillon 2001: 109) the editorial of *Daily Sun* of March the 20th 2007 was ‘We say enough! Town calls for crooked aliens to be kicked out!’

In listening to African immigrants and migrants during my interviews, I sensed that if South Africa and its population persist in labeling African immigrants and migrants with derogatory names such as kwerekwere, aliens, robbers, trouble makers, job stealers, etc. they (African immigrants/migrants) are less likely to integrate and subscribe to the obligations of citizens. (Reitzes 1995) If they are denied the opportunities (as they claim) to participate meaningfully in the society and to engage positively with the authorities and the locals, they will increasingly find strategies to avoid or to outwit authority and demonise black South Africans.

Yeoville is becoming a more complex area. Notwithstanding the barriers for them to integrate and participate in the municipality building up, the evidence shows that illegal (undocumented) immigrants and migrants are embedded in associational organisations. They do see themselves as having a stake in the future of South Africa. They consider

themselves as making an impact in the country's economy as producers and consumers. The main question for authorities must not be how to repatriate illegal immigrants and migrants. "Immigrants proceed regardless, under the understanding that they do have certain rights that facilitate their social, economic, and political participation. The challenges are to acknowledge the realities of immigrants' participation in civil society." (Crush & McDonald 2002: 99)

The acknowledgement of realities and contributions of immigrants can partially succeed by stopping demonizing African immigrants and looking at them as threats to the socio-economic and political life of the country. My encounter with African immigrants and migrants have shown that being an African immigrant or migrant in Yeoville is no protection from prejudice and abuse from black South Africans living in Yeoville too. This shows that the anti-apartheid struggle did not really encourage properly an ethos of international and a pan African solidarity, togetherness and respect for diversity.

The high rate of unemployment among locals, the uncompassionate behaviours of the officials, the negative coverage of the media are perhaps the most powerful weapons of incitation to xenophobia and resentment of African immigrants and migrants. The negative views that African immigrants/migrants have for locals and those that locals have for African immigrants and migrants "illustrate that being black is no guarantee that progressive views will be held...it indicates that any notion of black or African essentialism is mythology." (Morris & Bouillon 2001: 87)

African immigrants and migrants are described by their fellow black Africans (South Africans) as kwerekwere, aliens, illegal, etc. they are accused as causes of high rate of crime wrongly or rightly. In this chapter, I went beyond the emotional dimension of these

issues by interviewing both locals and foreigners to discover what both groupings (outsiders and insiders) think of one another.

I also looked at the contribution of African immigrants and migrants to the economy of the host country. The reality is that most of African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville are self-employed either formally or informally. However, both formal and informal economic activities they perform have positive impact on the economy of South Africa. Immigrants and migrants work hard and have initiative and creativity to make a living. While the influx of African immigrants and migrants in South Africa is characterised by some negative features, their overall contribution to the economy of the country is positive.

II. XENOPHOBIA IN YEOVILLE: CITIZENS' ATTITUDES TO AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS/MIGRANTS

INTRODUCTION

According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, xenophobia is a “morbid dislike of foreigners.” Xenophobia in South Africa has been officially recognised by the state and it is a major problem. To combat xenophobia, the government and the Human Rights Commission have introduced the campaign to “roll back xenophobia”. Pamphlets, billboards of roll back xenophobia are distributed and posted around the country. “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” are but one example of a long list of such incidents”. (Crush. J, 2002: 102)

Since the coming of democracy in 1994, there has been a tremendous change in race relations and inequalities in South Africa: a representative government and an inclusive constitution. However, the ANC government, as noted by Crush (2004), in its attempts to overcome the vices of apartheid and rebuild social cohesion locally, regionally and

nationally; it embarked on an aggressive and inclusive nation-building project. One of the unfortunate outcomes of these programs is a growth in intolerance towards outsiders.

“Intolerance, bordering xenophobia, has intensified dramatically since 1994. Violence against foreign citizens and African refugees has become increasingly common and communities are divided by hostility and suspicion.” (Crush 2004: 4)

African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville face a particularly difficult challenge from xenophobia because they are visibly and easily distinguished. Black South Africans think that African immigrants and migrants left their home countries in utter chaos in search of opportunities to South Africa.

Xenophobia is the enemy of social cohesion, integration, peaceful co-existence and human rights. This is my personal opinion. However, xenophobia is a global phenomenon, and so South Africans cannot be singled out as extremely anti-immigrants/migrants.

In this chapter I’m not singling out South Africa. I’m going to explain the anti-immigration attitudes of black South Africans living in Yeoville, their attitudes, anti-social cohesion and anti co-existence with African immigrants and migrants.

II. 1. XENOPHOBIC AND ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENTS: CAUSES

The South African Human Rights Commission defined xenophobia in the ‘Braamfontein statement on xenophobia’ as “the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state. Its manifestation is a violation of human rights. South Africa needs to send out a strong message that an irrational prejudice and hostility towards non-nationals is not acceptable under any circumstances. Criminal behaviour towards foreigners cannot be tolerated in a democratic society.”

(<http://www.queensu.ca/samp/migrationresources/xenophobia/responses/sahrc2.htm>)

This is proved today when one looks at the ANC; it is formed of all races although the top six seats are led by blacks.

The xenophobia policy published in *ANC Today* Vol. 1 No 31 of August 2001 says that “The xenophobic sentiments evident in parts of South Africa runs against the current of the country's main political traditions, and is in sharp conflict with the strong non-racial culture of the majority of its people. At its formation in 1912 the African National Congress became the pivot of African unity in South Africa and beyond... African National Congresses were formed in Zimbabwe, Zambia and even as far a field as Uganda. Our anthem, 'Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika', which is sung in a host of Southern African nations, is a reflection of the pan -African vision and unity for which the ANC has always stood.” (<http://www.queensu.ca/samp/migrationresources/xenophobia/responses/anc.htm>)

In his letter – Statement on Xenophobia, President Thabo Mbeki said: “Many of these new immigrants bring with them important skills that our country needs. Many of them are also people who are creative, full of initiative and driven by an enterprising spirit. The more they impart these characteristics to us as well, the better we will be as a people and

a society. Necessarily, we must continue to be vigilant against any evidence of xenophobia against the African immigrants. It is fundamentally wrong and unacceptable that we should treat people who come to us as friends as though they are our enemies. We should also never forget that the same peoples welcomed us to their own countries when many of our citizens had to go into exile as a result of the brutality of the apartheid system. To express the critical importance of Africa to ourselves, both black and white, we should say that we are either African or we are nothing. We can only succeed in the objectives we pursue if the rest of our Continent also succeeds. We sink or swim together.”

(<http://www.queensu.ca/samp/migrationresources/xenophobia/responses/mbeki.htm>)

I outlined all these statements on xenophobia to show that the government, political parties and human rights organisations acknowledge the existence of xenophobia and its rising rate in South Africa. What are then the causes of high rate of xenophobia? The following lines are going to describe the causes of daily xenophobic and anti-immigration sentiments according to African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville.

CAUSES

Most of the respondents gave me a strong and convincing message that if they experience daily xenophobic attacks it is because of the media first (television, radio and newspapers), secondly the department of home affairs and the police service.

I think that the media perpetuate a negative stereotype about African immigrants and migrants. It contributes largely to xenophobia in the South African society.

Kayembe, a Congolese young man said:

Everyday when you read the newspapers, listen to the radio and watch television, you have seventy percent of chance to read, hear or see something negative of foreigners. We are always put on spot whenever one of us has done something wrong. Never have I seen the media praising us for good things that we do. Our good deeds are always buried, unseen, unspoken, unheard. The media is our first enemy in South Africa. We don't know if journalists are paid for spoiling the image of African immigrants.

If African immigrants are accused today of job stealing, criminals and carriers of diseases, I believe it is because the media portray them so. Some of the News Papers that I have quoted above and that I still have to quote prove how the media promote xenophobia in South Africa. What is sure is that not all journalists perpetuate these derogative stereotypes. Black South Africans in Yeoville call African immigrants and migrants as 'job stealers' because they said, the media especially the newspapers advertise for jobs everyday, thus the number of unemployment never decrease. According to them, foreigners are the ones who jump first for all those advertised jobs in newspapers.

Their general impression is that African immigrants and migrants are flooding into the country to steal their work. Mazibuko, a young Zulu man mentioned this;

Many of my friends who furthered their studies have degrees now but I roam with them on the streets of Yeoville because they do not have jobs. The companies

have given jobs to these foreigners. You yourself will get job as soon as you complete your studies.

The media have given a negative picture of foreigners as a whole and of African immigrants and migrants in particular. According to them, immigration worsens unemployment among nationals. The very same media seem to ignore that immigrants and migrants create jobs as well. *The Citizen* (04.11.2004) published a story that quoted 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”.

Chemvo, from Cameroon argued that,

Since I arrived in South Africa, I never worked in a company simply because I am a refugee. Whenever I try to introduce my CV and they call me for interview, I never got a chance to work. The reason being, I do not have an ID (South African identity card). I finally decided to open this garage for wheel alignments and now I have two black South Africans working with me as my employees. I pay them and I have to pay rent for this place and the house where I live; water and electricity.

Besides the media contribution to calling African immigrants ‘job stealers’, it also contributes to the painting of African immigrants and migrants as ‘criminals’. “The high rate of crime and violence – mainly gun-running, drug trafficking and armed robbery – is directly related to the rising number of illegals in South Africa.” *Financial Mail*, 9 September 1994.

“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>)

Even the word ‘illegal’ as it is used above, is used to judge foreigners and link them with drugs, corruption, gun, fraud, etc. it likely true that the level of crime in the country has increased with the involvement of non-nationals since the end of apartheid. However, what is more stereotyping and disturbing is the way in which the media nationalise and racialise crime involving migrants. More serious again is that crime is not only racialised but africanised.

Nigerians are coming to South Africa to sell drugs and rob banks; at the end, they go back to Nigeria and build mansions. They pretend selling African clothes and having phone shops and whatever small businesses they do but behind that, they sell drugs. We know them now. This is according to Mbali, a young South African woman.

To all the other foreigners living in South Africa (western Europeans, north Americans, etc), despite their involvement in crimes, the media seldom expose them. Crime has been africanised in South Africa. “When African migrants are associated with a criminal act the event becomes news-worthy, while the same crime committed by a white foreigner is ignored or given less publicity.” (Crush 2000: 17)

In the same lines with Crush (2000), the point that I want to make here about the South African media (after my interviews with locals and non-locals on xenophobia) is that there is a great need for the South African media to be more objective and impartial in its coverage of foreign migration and crime. When talking about crime that involves African immigrants and migrants, they forget that this genre of crime is a network of both locals and outsiders. An outsider cannot commit crime without the help of the local who is supposed to know well the area and above all the language. I would like to exemplify this with the case of car hijacking. Mozambicans who are known as car hijackers cannot steal cars alone. They need the complicity of certain locals in order to help for boarder crossing. There are many examples to be given. There is much to be desired in the coverage of media on issues of immigration and migration. Nothing or little is said by the media about the positive contribution of African immigrants in the social, political or economic development of the country.

However, I am not trying to give sole responsibility to the media for the current high level of xenophobia in South Africa, Yeoville in particular, but the media clearly is contributing to this problem (xenophobia). The media have the power to help in eradicating this gangrene the way they have helped to spread it in the minds of black South Africans living in Yeoville. “As South Africa becomes more integrated into the

region, and as it moves hopefully towards an increasingly democratic future, the role of the press cannot but assume an even greater importance in constructing what, and how, South Africans think about migration issues.” (Crush 2000: 22)

The media should now try to balance their coverage on the issues of immigration and migration. They should not be focusing only on negative doings and on africanising crime.

The media is put on the spot here because according to my informants, the people of the media are the ones who approach the Department of Home Affairs and the South African police service to ask for sample and other data concerning immigration. Therefore, home affairs and the police advocate for the media. They work hand in hand to stereotype and derogate African immigrants and migrants. However, there is no evidence in what my informants argued about the media approaching the department of home affairs.

Kapinga, a citizen from the democratic republic of Congo said:

When you go to the refugee home affairs in Rosetenville now as we are speaking, you will see many African migrants sleeping outside, waiting to get refugee papers. Some have even spent already four to five nights outside in this cold of winter. Three months ago a man died there because of cold. The officials of home affairs never called the media to report about the event. But the day we tried to storm their offices, they called the police and the media to cover the event and we were denied the renewals (extension) of our papers for two weeks. The police were arresting us for expiry of our papers.

II. 2. THE ATTITUDES OF NATIONALS TO AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS/MIGRANTS IN YEOVILLE

This point is going to deal specifically with the attitudes of black South Africans towards African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville. Are the locals willing to welcome their fellow Africans? Black South Africans who interact on a daily basis with African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville argued that the stereotypes given to African immigrants are the products of misinformation by the media. They even suggested to me that if the people of the media would like to interview them about immigration, it would be nice because they live daily with African immigrants and migrants. Lebohang, a national citizen argued that,

People of the media when they speak of African immigrants and migrants, they mostly refer to those who live in townships and villages, where the level of crime and poverty is high. Those African immigrants and migrants there do not have enough means to survive. Instead of specifying the kinds of African immigrants and migrants they speak about in their newspapers, they generalise. Therefore, even these ones in towns, suburbs suffer the consequences. I live with mainly African immigrants and migrants in my flat here in Yeoville; not a single day I saw them doing dirty business.

“South Africans are unlikely to be quickly persuaded to view non-citizens and immigrants more favourably simply by providing more realistic, positive and accurate

information about what immigrants and migrants actually do, or about their true impact on the country.” (Crush 1999: 2)

They see African immigrants and migrants as a threat to their economy. Africans immigrants are disease bearers and crime makers. They are a failure, reason why they ran away from their countries to come and look for better life in South Africa. There are many other allegations against African immigrants and migrants. Even though African immigrants and migrants can adjust and integrate into a new social order, black South Africans have certain perspectives about them. African outsiders are seen not only as violating “a territorial bounded entity, defined in terms of being on the wrong side of a border and responded to as disruption of the state” (Reitzes 1996: 30), but they are also blamed for being bearers of some South African vices such as crime and diseases (sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS).

ANTI-IMMIGRANT POSITIONS AND BEHAVIOURS FROM NATIONALS

I have experienced during my interviews with nationals in Yeoville a strong strain of opposition to the flow of immigrants and migrants, especially African immigrants and migrants in South Africa. This strong opposition to immigration and migration is the result of xenophobia, intolerance and much other anti-social behaviour of nationals towards African immigrants and migrants who are already in the country.

Kenneth a young man from Rustenburg once argued during the interview:

Look at how many Zimbabweans are crossing the border daily illegally. They claim running away from hunger and political oppression of Mugabe. Our government must arrest them and punish them severely before sending them back in Zimbabwe. I even think that the government must build a strong wall like the one Americans have built in Iraq so that they cannot jump anymore.

Almost in all the major cities of the country, there have been reports either from the media or by the word of mouth about African immigrants and migrants being the targets of different forms of abuse from black South Africans. There is even some well planned violence and abuse from nationals toward foreign immigrants and migrants. The killing of a Congolese security guard during the security companies strike last year by a mob of angry black South African securities in Pretoria is a sad and tragic living example.

When describing his relationship with African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville, Karabo said that he tries his best to avoid meeting foreign citizens on a daily basis because they make him angry. When I asked him how and why African immigrants make

him angry, he argued that he often sees them smart, healthy; this shows that they have a lot of money and they do not want to share with poor nationals.

However, said Karabo, “my attitude of avoiding and rejecting foreigners is personal and I will never transform it into action because by trying to steal or kill one of them, I may find myself in jail.”

Karabo’s attitude is mostly the general attitude of black South Africans living in Yeoville. Few of them put into actions their attitudes of resentment of African immigrants and migrants.

“...Respondents were asked what they would do if they found out about someone who was in South Africa “illegally”. Almost half our sample (48%) said they would do nothing. Thirty-five percent said they would report them to the police and another 12% said they would report them to their local community association or street committee. Only 3% said they would get people together to force them to leave.” (Crush & McDonald 1999: 15)

I think that reporting illegal immigrants is not bad by essence but taking action against them is unlawful. The country through its institutions has to take action, not the people at the grassroots.

Often black South Africans repeatedly claimed that African immigrants and migrants are threats to the job market and to the economy of the country. Some even went far in saying that African immigrants and migrants are the cause and source of diseases such as HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. “Thus, South Africans not only hold negative attitudes towards foreigners, they also have a readily accessible set of stereotypes with which to justify or rationalise their negative attitudes. Like any

stereotype, its legitimacy is less important than the fact that most people believe it to be true.” (Crush & McDonald 1999: 19)

If black South Africans in general and in particular those in Yeoville have negative attitudes and stereotypes about African immigrants and migrants, it is not mostly because they have direct contact with foreigners but they (South Africans) get this information most probably from the media. Therefore, it is possible for the government to educate locals to accept African foreigners and integrate them into the society.

Due to what black South Africans often listen from the radio, watch from television and read from newspapers, and less what they experience, one can attempt to conclude that black South Africans do not like African immigrants and migrants. Mostly black South Africans prefer to act against immigration and immigrants/migrants rather than endorsing legislation. There were a few minorities of my local respondents who accept African immigrants and migrants positively.

II. 3. AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS/MIGRANTS' COMPLAINS AND MALTREATMENT

I have been reporting and analysing the citizens' attitudes towards African immigrants and migrants; I think it will be better if I do the same in reporting and analysing the non-citizens' attitudes towards black South Africans. The treatment that African immigrants and migrants receive from black South Africans appears to be no more tolerant or even humane. It is clear that, in Yeoville, being an African immigrant or migrant is no protection from xenophobia, especially if you are from countries which are not neighbouring South Africa.

Kas Kaskito, from Cameroon said:

I thought that since South Africa is by majority black, we will be much welcomed by our fellow black African brothers but it is the opposite that I am experiencing now.

Another African migrant argued in this way:

We (Africans of the countries who gave asylum to some South Africans during apartheid) never treated them the way they are treating us when they were in exile during apartheid. Instead of being thankful and gratitude, look at what they pay us in return.

Xenophobia is now taking a public and official scale in Yeoville. Even outsiders from the neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, etc. are

now experiencing xenophobia. But among African immigrants and migrants coming from North Africa, they believe that black South Africans only express xenophobia to them because they come from afar and that those from neighbouring countries are favourable. But this assumption is not justifiable and seems to be not true because while talking to some Mozambicans and Zimbabweans, they too suffer from xenophobia and are viewed as outsiders who are in South Africa to steal jobs and commit crime.

Bhila a young man from Mpumalanga claimed that,

Mozambican and Zimbabwean men are the ones who have introduced this phenomenon of a day *tsotsi*¹⁵. And their women are coming to South Africa to prostitute themselves.

Due to what African immigrants and migrants are experiencing in Yeoville as xenophobic behaviour and resentment from black South Africans, they seem to generalise xenophobia as an attitude of all black South Africans. This generalising assumption can be a stumbling block to their integration into the hosting society.

The majority of African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville are aware of the negative attitudes that black South Africans have for them. And they pass it to other African immigrants/migrants who are newly coming to Yeoville. Here comes the firm belief that all black South Africans are xenophobic, intolerant and hostile towards African immigrants and migrants.

¹⁵ Day *tsotsi* are robbers/thieves who steal in day light on the street. They stop pedestrians and ask them for their cell phones, money and any other valuable things they find one with. They use knives or guns to intimidate and immobilise the victims.

Nevertheless, “the vulnerability of foreigners to corruption, extortion, harassment and physical violence is not unique to South Africa. International comparisons reveal trends and patterns of xenophobia similar to those which have emerged in South Africa over the last decade... Throughout the world, it appears, non-white foreigners suffer a greater risk of hostility than their white counterparts.”

(<http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/papvtp5.htm#foreigners>)

III. WHY DID I CHOOSE SOUTH AFRICA AS HOST COUNTRY?

ABSTRACT

There is a popular notion that circulates among African immigrants and migrants that South Africa is among or perhaps the only desirable place to live in Africa. But most of the African immigrants and migrants that I interviewed in Yeoville argued that their home countries are better places to live despite political and/or economic crises. The majority of my informants mentioned that the level of crime and their safety is what discourages them to stay long in South Africa. Most of them, especially immigrants and migrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo came to South Africa for a purpose of transiting to Europe or North America or to Australia.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the reasons and motivations of their immigration and migration to South Africa. I opt to focus on what I found to be more common and on what African immigrants and migrants called ignorance of locals for they (locals) think African immigrants are here to steal and spread diseases.

III. 1. WHO ARE THESE AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS/MIGRANTS IN YEOVILLE

African immigrants and migrants who have chosen South Africa as their host country are of different and diverse horizons. Among them, there are those who are well educated with high degrees and great skills and there are those who are uneducated but with natural talents, skills which help them to survive.

Very few of them choose to stay permanently in South Africa. Some prefer to return to their home countries and others are planning to move overseas.

Kambala a young Cameroonian mechanic said:

I am a mechanic by formation since my home country. I came to South Africa because my friends who came before me told me that South Africa has a big automobile industry and that they need skilled working personnel. But since I arrived, I have been applying here and there without success. I finally decided to open my own repair garage and I work with two black South Africans I have employed and two other fellow Cameroonians. So far I am happy about what I am doing. But I would like to go home one day and start this business there.

In listening to African immigrants and migrants when I asked the question whether they would like to become permanent residents of South Africa, most of them do not want permanent residence; some want it for traveling ease because the majority of them living in Yeoville are refugees or asylum seekers. They do not have passports and if they have it, it is either expired or without a valid South African visa that allows him or her to apply for a visa in any European or North American country.

The uneducated or unskilled immigrants/migrants prefer to stay for a long period in South Africa but with hidden agendas, especially male African immigrants and migrants. (I shall discuss this point later in my thesis when I will speak about intimate relationship between locals and African immigrants/migrants).

African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville are of various characters and horizons, educated and uneducated, short term and long term immigrants and migrants with different reasons and purposes of migrating to South Africa. It is not surprising that job opportunities are deemed far better than in their home countries and these are reasons of migration for the educated ones. “But this perception of job opportunities does not necessarily translate into a flood of migration.” (Crush 1998: 13)

The uneducated ones live in South Africa for a short period and if they prolong their stay in South Africa, it is because they want to make money that will help them to arrange papers to continue their journey overseas. There is a point to make here: according to most of the African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville, not everyone wants to live in South Africa for good or for a long period. Hence, the media let locals believe that African immigrants and migrants are invading the country to transform it into a crime field, job stealing and getting national identity cards. This may be true but the generalisation of realities is not rational.

III. 2. WHY DO AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS/MIGRANTS COME TO SOUTH AFRICA?

Interviewed by the newspaper *Le Monde*, in October 1996, Colyn Piet the former director general of home affairs said: “*Les Africains considerent l’Afrique du Sud comme étant leur paradis. Mais ils se trompent. Notre pays ne peut pas prendre la misère de tout le continent dans ses épaules*” meaning, “Africans consider the new South Africa a paradise where they are welcomed. But they are wrong. Our country cannot take the entire continent’s misery on its shoulders.”

Many South Africans assume that Africans leave their home countries to South Africa for social, political and economic reasons. Some even think that Africans are coming to South Africa to flee poverty, chaos and lack of opportunity. This may not be the primary motivations for African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville. “It is impossible to say with absolute certainty what motivates people to cross (or not cross) borders.” (Crush 1998: 17)

One thing that should be highlighted is that the overwhelming majority of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville consider their home countries as better places to live despite their current realities (war and economical situations).

When asked why he came to South Africa, Emery from DR Congo replied:

I came to South Africa to seek for job, gain money and go back home to start my own business. There is no much job opportunity at home and the few job opportunity that is there is left for the cousins, nephews and nieces of those in power.

Kamodike said that he came to South Africa because he was told that it was easy for one to travel overseas since South Africa has a good record abroad. Since he arrived here, he never saw that traveling easiness. But he still hopes to travel one day to his dream European country which is Ireland.

Nevertheless, African immigrants and migrants consider South Africa as a country of their ascension in job and travel opportunities and business. "South Africa may very well be seen as an attractive place by many people but this does not mean that the attractions outweigh the benefits of being at home." (Crush 1998: 21)

The common reasons and motivations of immigration and migration to South Africa are job opportunities and travel facilities. What is more surprising is that most of the African migrants in Yeoville hold refugee status or asylum seekers papers but none of my informants told me that they were in South Africa for refuge. When I asked them why they declare themselves being refugees or asylum seekers, the majority replied that they opted for refugee status because they could not afford to renew their visitors visas which allow them to enter into South Africa. Others argued that they could not stay in the country for more than a year with a visitor's visa. Again the political and/or economic situations of their home countries cover them to apply for refugee and asylum status.

Thus, black South Africans in Yeoville who stereotype African immigrants and migrants with derogatory names such as aliens, job stealers, crime makers, drug dealers, etc. must know that the majority of African immigrants and migrants living in South Africa and particularly in Yeoville have their hidden agenda that they did not come in the country to eternalise themselves and acquire citizenship. Most of them are passengers with great agendas to fulfill in the long term. Others open their own businesses to generate income

in order to make their dreams come true. Thus, they create jobs for locals and contribute to the economy and development of South Africa.

IV. IMMIGRANTS/MIGRANTS SMALL ENTREPRENEURS IN YEOVILLE

ABSTRACT

Since the fall of apartheid and the emerging South African democracy in 1994, there have been a growing number of immigrants and migrants into the country. These immigrants and migrants come from all over Africa. However, there is not much written about this new immigration and migration movement. When one looks at migration documents of South Africa, much has been written on temporary migrant workers in sectors such as mining and agriculture. Less written about are the new immigrants and migrants who establish themselves in small enterprise economy (sometimes informally).

This chapter is going to elaborate on these African immigrants and migrants who are involved in small enterprise if not micro enterprise in Yeoville. These African immigrants have established their businesses in Yeoville because since 1989 Yeoville stopped being a simply residential area. It is now both residential and commercial area where one finds restaurants, bars, night clubs, open markets, taxi ranks, flee markets, etc. African immigrants and migrants mostly ran businesses such as restaurants (where they sell traditional foods), bars, night clubs, salesman (woman) in open and flee markets, music shops, import-export businesses, automobile garages (motor car repairs, panel beating) traditional clothing, hair dressing salons, etc.

Food stores, hardware stores and electronic ware houses are mostly run by Pakistanis, Indians and Lebanese immigrants and migrants.

All these businesses are run by immigrants/migrants as head masters, in other words they play the bosses or chief executive officers. What is amazing is that being the number ones of their own businesses, these immigrants/migrants work the same way and the same

number of hours like their employees have to. According to these African entrepreneurs, they often endure a considerable hostility towards themselves and towards their businesses. This is the result of xenophobic behaviours of black South Africans in Yeoville. Despite all that, they stay firm and continue their businesses because they believe in contributing positively to the South African economy and for their survival.

IV. 1. WHY THE CHOICE OF JOHANNESBURG AND YEOVILLE FOR BUSINESS

When speaking about the flow of immigrants and migrants in South Africa, the city of Johannesburg is mostly targeted because it is the strategic city for the South African economy and it contains on itself almost one third of African immigrants and migrants who are in South Africa. And it is “evident from the sample of migrants from 19 different African countries, the SMME economy of Johannesburg has been increasingly penetrated by foreign migrants originating from a range of countries. Both SADC and non-SADC migrants are well represented in the community of foreign-owned businesses that have become established in the city.” (Crush & McDonald 1997: 7)

When I asked Donald a Congolese citizen, why he chose Johannesburg and Yeoville in particular to start his business, he replied:

Before I made the decision to come to South Africa, I used to hear people speaking about Johannesburg too much. Whenever they talked about South Africa, the city of Johannesburg was always coming after. Johannesburg is the mirror of South Africa. And it is easy to find everything you want here in Johannesburg. My choice of Yeoville is because I easily relate with my fellow countrymen and they are my main clients in my business of Congolese food.

As I mentioned in my previous chapters that common reasons for many African immigrants and migrants in leaving their home countries were issues of wars, economic and political reasons; those who were already involved in business in their countries are

the ones who continue doing so. However, some have just started it here in South Africa for various reasons. As Emanuel says:

I never thought of becoming a businessman. I did information technology (computer) at technikon home in Cameroon. When I arrived here, I looked for job but could not get one. Then I decided to open this computer shop and the internet café where I repair computer, sell and buy. I am happy so far because my business is growing and I am thinking of opening another shop in Pretoria. But I do not know much about business in Pretoria. Johannesburg is better for me and especially Yeoville because here all my fellow African brothers come to surf the internet.

Most of the African immigrants and migrants who have established their businesses in Yeoville arrived after the first democratic election in 1994. They argue that after the fall of the apartheid regime, they saw South Africa as a 'country with lots of economic opportunities', a 'country most advanced and developed in Africa'.

I cannot claim to have any scientific evidence on how the businesses of African immigrants and migrants contribute to the economy of the country. However, it is apparent that the businesses of African entrepreneurs in Yeoville have contributed to the economic revival of the suburb. Shifting their focuses in business to Yeoville has also contributed a lot to the decrease of crime and robbery in the Johannesburg inner city. The Johannesburg CBD was the center perhaps the only place of business. But now with the coming of African immigrants and migrants entrepreneurs, small, medium and micro

businesses are done in areas like Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow. In general, the city of Johannesburg enjoys a far better reputation among African immigrants and migrants compared to any other South African city. This may not be the case for many South Africans.

IV. 2. HOW DID I START THIS BUSINESS AND WHO WORKS WITH ME

It is obvious that to start a business one needs funds. Looking at the reasons and motivations that led most of the African immigrants and migrants to come to South Africa, financial or economic reasons are common to all of them. Therefore, one asks oneself: where did they get money to start up their businesses? Who funded them?

Most the African immigrants and migrants who own businesses in Yeoville were funded from their personal savings while they were doing small jobs such as working in security companies, in restaurants, etc.

Blaise a young Congolese who owns a night club, restaurant-bar said:

When I first arrived in Yeoville in 1995, I was working as barman in Rosebank. And I was not married at the time. My boss used to give me food and clothes. I did not buy food or clothes from my salary. I then decided to save my salary with the vision of starting my own restaurant-bar. Having a bit of expertise in this business from my boss and seeing how much my boss had per day, I said to myself, I shall go for it. Of course, I struggled a lot from the beginning but now I am settled and I have six employees; three black South Africans and three Congolese.

In most cases, African immigrants and migrants who own businesses in Yeoville have been working as employees for other people before initiating their own. Some received the start up capital from their relatives back home or those overseas.

Mampangou from Congo Brazzaville said that he started his hair salon with the money that was sent to him by his twin brother who lives in France. He argued:

My twin brother is in France for 12 years now. He sent me money while I was in Brazzaville three times so that I can join him oversea but three times I failed to travel for personal reasons that I want to keep confidential. He finally suggested that I come to South Africa where according to him the conditions of traveling overseas were high. Unfortunately here again I missed twice. When he sent me money for the third time, I decided to open a hair salon business. I now progress well and I have no need of traveling oversea anymore.

For those who gathered money from their previous works done in South Africa, we can see that the kinds of works that they did were not office works or highly paid jobs. Most commonly the types of jobs they did were such as waiters in restaurants and bars, security guards, hawkers or street vendors, car repairers and so on. This can be an inspiration and a lesson for black South Africans who always want the government to provide them with jobs instead of showing initiative and being creative. The initiative and creativity of African immigrants and migrants in being self employed is contributing to the economy of South Africa in one way or the other. And it reduces level of unemployment because these African immigrants employ not only their fellow immigrants but also the locals.

However, African entrepreneurs in Yeoville experience many problems of xenophobia. They argue that black South Africans accuse them of selling drugs behind the curtains; in other words, black South Africans say that African entrepreneurs sell drugs at night and

use the drugs' money to start decent businesses. And even while they do clean businesses, inside their shops they continue selling drugs. As result, they are often being visited by burglars. Ruffin, a DR Congo citizen who owns an internet café found one day his café empty and all the computers were stolen. The robbers left a letter in the shop warning him they will come back if he does not go back to his home country to start an internet café there.

Another problem that African entrepreneurs face in Yeoville is the harassment from the police. They said whenever they catch a local robber in their shops and take him to the police, the latter favour the robber simply because he is a local over us. There is also a problem of discrimination in renting premises. African entrepreneurs are over charged compared to the local entrepreneurs.

Authorities are to look critically on these problems because both local and African entrepreneurs are creating jobs for South Africans and they are contributing to the economy of the country.

It is evident that in the coming years, with the flow of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville, African entrepreneurs will become a distinctive feature of Yeoville. A police official from the Yeoville police station once said:

You have turned Yeoville into small Congo, small Cameroon and Somalia. In our streets we always hear your local languages no more South African languages. You must return to your home countries.

CONCLUSION

The coming of African owned businesses in Yeoville is a component of the changing economic of the landscape of Johannesburg and particularly of Yeoville. Although they endure hostility, harassment and abuse towards their businesses and towards themselves, African immigrants and migrants' entrepreneurs work hard and believe to continue their businesses for their survival, for the education of their children and their positive contribution to the economy of the country and they participate in job creation in employing not only their fellow immigrants and migrants but also the natives (Black South Africans) who left their home villages in rural areas for the search of better life in Johannesburg, Yeoville.

V. EDUCATION: ONE OF THE CAUSES OF XENOPHOBIA AND RESENTMENT

ABSTRACT

“The system of education in South Africa has hitherto been elitist and exclusionary.” (Crush & McDonald 1999: 1) In 1959, the minister of Native Affairs amended the Bantu education bill in which, only members of certain Bantu ethnic groups were admitted to particular colleges. “Africans who were already enrolled at ‘white’ universities were to leave by the beginning of 1961”. (Oakes 1992: 379)

Apartheid is partly to be blamed for the education system it offered to black South Africans. However, thirteen years later, one might ask: for how long are we going to blame the past? What are we doing currently to remedy the wounds of the past? When black South Africans resent and use derogatory language towards African immigrants and migrants, they say that African immigrants have come to steal their jobs, working in offices whereas they work in factories. Often, they blame apartheid. This point is going to highlight how education has become one of the causes of resentment and xenophobic attitudes towards African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville.

South African universities and colleges are since 1994 registering a considerable number of foreign students from around the world particularly from all over Africa. And Yeoville is one of the areas in Johannesburg where you find many African students because of its

geographical situation: it is easy for students to walk or get a taxi at their respective schools and the cost of rent is low.

V. 1. I STUDY (IED) TO HAVE A BETTER LIFE TOMORROW

In my encounter with African immigrants and migrants who live in Yeoville, I came to realise that the majority of African immigrants and migrants living at this part of Johannesburg hold either an undergraduate degree or a postgraduate one in various disciplines. Others are enrolled in universities and technikon in Johannesburg and at nearby cities such Pretoria, Vaal, etc.

When asked why they studied or why they study? The spontaneous response was, I studied/study to have a better life tomorrow for myself, my children and my family. According to Crispin, a young man from DR Congo, his parents' policy was that all their children hold at least an undergraduate degree. He is from a family of four children; two girls and two boys. All of them went to school and later completed their tertiary education. Crispin is graduated in French with a specialisation in African literature. Because of the situation he finds himself in Yeoville, he opted to work as a security guard for four years in order to collect funds to further his studies. Currently Crispin has registered with a certain university in Johannesburg to do his masters in French.

There are many other African immigrants and migrants who are registered as full or part-time students. Some are funded by their families and relatives back home or overseas. "In 1996, a total of 13 606 international students were studying at South African universities

and technikons, up from 4 489 in 1992...half of these students came from Southern Africa...” (Crush & McDonald 1999: 5)

Education is like an energy booster. It opens one’s mind to see far and look at the world with positive and great ideas and plans of innovations and development of oneself and of the society. Many of the African immigrants and migrants who yesterday lived in Yeoville when they first landed in Johannesburg are today living a better life and they have left Yeoville to suburbs such as Sandton, Rosebank, etc because they studied and they have nice jobs today.

I met Papitsho, a young Congolese engineer who was visiting his friend in Yeoville. He said:

I lived in Yeoville when I first arrived in South Africa for five years. I attended Wits university for three years where I did my honours and masters degrees in engineering. When I completed, I was employed in one of the companies and I now live in Rosebank with my wife and children. Yeoville is like my home here in South Africa. That is why I never cease to visit from time to time. It reminds me my beginnings in South Africa.

Testimonies like this one of Papitsho are typical. When black South Africans who knew him while he was still in Yeoville see him today, they tend to argue that he came to steal their jobs ignoring that while they were all living in Yeoville, Papitsho was busy studying in order to improve his life standard. That is why “highly educated Zimbabweans are blamed stealing jobs away from locals.”

(<http://www.csmonitor.com/durable/2000/08/31/fp6s1-csm.shtml>)

Education for African immigrants and migrants is capital and crucial. It is not that we undermine black South Africans. The point is that the majority of black South Africans living in Yeoville use education to derogate African immigrants and migrants accusing them of job stealing. It is not that all African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville are educated. Many are uneducated and came to South Africa for economic reasons; some came to transit to Europe or North America or Australia.

It is imperative that for one to survive in this advanced technological and scientific world, one needs to study. Education affects one's activities and it shapes one's life for better future.

VI. MARRIAGE BETWEEN LOCALS AND AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN YEOVILLE

ABSTRACT

The main reason for migration and immigration of Africans to South Africa is that of employment and trade. They moved to South Africa to seek employment, others came to do business; some came with intentions of going overseas. All these reasons prove poverty, socio-political turmoil and economic disparity within other African countries.

Having all these reasons in mind, and when they do not meet their expectations and dreams, they opt for easy solutions: marriage with a local in order to somehow fulfill the mission. They start by spoiling local girls with gifts and small cash in order to win their hearts. Vukani a young man from Kwazulu Natal argued that “when you see your girlfriend misbehaving and ditching you, you have to know that she is in love with a foreigner who gives her money and some other material goods”.

Locals on the other side enter these marriages for financial stability and for the wellbeing of their families they left home in the villages. I wonder whether these marriages are built upon real, true and genuine love or they are simply contracted for identity documents and money.

INTRODUCTION

Marriage between black South Africans and African immigrants or migrants in Yeoville has become an act of profit and interest. Mutual love, respect and the upbringing of children is not important because in most of the cases, couples do not want having children in these marriages. Often these marriages do not last because when one partner sees that his or her mission has been fulfilled, he or she leaves the marriage without informing the other partner for a legal process of divorce. What is fascinating in these marriages is the fact that it is male African immigrants or migrants who contract marriages with female black South Africans not the opposite. I never saw a male black South African marrying a female African immigrant or migrant.

In this point I am going to examine reasons and motivations behind these marriages. In most cases, both locals and African immigrants/migrants who live in these marriages did not want interviews taking place in their respective houses for fear of their hidden agendas being revealed to their partners. With due respect and ethically, I conducted all my interviews with them far from their houses.

VI. 1. WHY DID I MARRY HER: AFRICAN IMMIGRANT/MIGRANT SPEAKS

These interviews were very sensitive. Hence, there was not much openness on the side of the interviewee. And interviews were conducted always far from the respondents' houses for ethic and safety reasons. None of my informants wanted to be interviewed in front of their partners.

Kabasele a young Congolese from Brazzaville is married to Ntombi a young black South African lady. He said that when he first landed in South Africa in 1999, he never thought falling in love with a black South African girl for various reasons which remain confidential to him. However, when times went on and seeing that he could not make his dreams come true, he resorted for a 'short cut'¹⁶. Kabasele said:

I came to South Africa to look for work and get money to help my family back home. My father died during the 1998 civil war. He was a soldier. Seeing the struggle of the family and how my mother could no more pay my brothers' school fees, I decided to come down to South Africa. For three years, I could not find employment. I am electrician by formation. My friends advised me to marry a local lady and through her I could find work. I was at first reluctant because at home I left a wife with one kid.

When I asked him whether Ntombi knows about his wife that he left back home in Brazzaville, Kabasele refused and claimed:

¹⁶ Kabasele calls this marriage a short cut because according to him, in a short period of time after being married to Ntombi, he got what he was longing for.

This was the reason why I did not want you to interview me at home in my wife's presence because even we talk in French, she can sense as she now can grasp few words in French. She does not know that I am married. I always tell her that she is my only wife for life.

Kabasele married Ntombi in order to get a South African permanent residence and with it, he hunted a better job. And he is able to help the family back home. He however argued that he feels guilty of divorcing Ntombi because she means a lot in his life. There is no reason too to divorce the one he left back home. Kabasele does not want to be polygamous too. He must ipso facto divorce one. Who shall be divorced between Ntombi the South African and Rachelle the home girl back home?

When asked if he was going to spend the rest of his life in South Africa. Kabasele categorically replied no.

I am in this country for no more than 25 years. After that I shall return home and start my own business. I want to lay my tomb in my ancestors' soil. I still see myself as foreigner here although I hold residence. Even my wife never ceases to call me foreigner especially when we argue.

This statement of Kabasele already presumes who from his two wives he shall divorce. The South African one is not a permanent wife. She will be dumped soon or later. Kabasele's marriage with Ntombi has economic reasons attached and they are married for two years now and they have no children. When asked why he does not have children

with Ntombi, he said, 'my wife does not want to have a child now. And I also don't want to leave my blood behind'.

Jacque from Central Africa is married to Lebo from Soweto. He said his marriage with Lebo has one main motivation: to get legal South African residence and later a passport so that he can travel oversea to join his entire family which lives in France. According to Jacque, his family has tried several times to send him money to travel but it was unsuccessful because he was using fake documents. He resorted for marriage to a black South African lady by the advice of an airport immigration official. The latter helped him to escape deportation after being arrested for the fourth time at the airport.

Jacque is now a permanent resident of South Africa. He has full right to apply for visa at any embassy. He only waits for time and financial support from his relatives to make his dream comes true.

Many marriages are contracted between male African immigrants/migrants and female black South African women in Yeoville for various reasons and motivations. One asks whether these are marriages or concubines who want to help themselves for economic and social problems.

VI. 2. WHY DID I MARRY HIM: BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN LADY SPEAKS

“I was told that African immigrants/migrants are tender, loving and caring towards their wives”. This was one of the reasons that pushed Sibongile to marry Alfred from Cameroon. She has a friend who is also married to a foreigner. She could not understand why her friend married an outsider. One day Sibongile asked her friend what really attracted her to marry an African immigrant. The friend told her how loving and caring the foreign husband was: “my husband never beat me and whenever he comes back home, he kisses me and gives me whatever he got from work, money, and food”.

According to Sibongile, every time she visited her friend, she never heard her friend speaking wrong of her husband. Sibongile came to believe that African immigrants male are good husbands. From that moment, Sibongile opted to find a foreign boyfriend. Her friend advised her to increase visiting with intention of meeting the friends of her friends’ husband. This is how Sibongile met Alfred and ended up in a relationship that led to marriage.

Since I got married to Alfred, I never regret it because what my friend was telling me about African males, I now live it. Alfred is a tender husband. He loves me and I love him too. I don’t mind seeing him going out with other women because he is man. As long as he provides me with food and my needs, I am fine.

Faithfulness in these marriages is not crucial and important. The husband can have concubines outside marriage; is not a problem for the wife and vice versa. When asked whether they have children in their marriage, Sibongile said that she does not intent to

have them now perhaps later as time goes. However, she revealed to me that she has a child which she left home in her village with her mother. Alfred does not know about the child. She said:

I had a child while I was in high school. When I moved to town (Johannesburg) to seek for employment, I decided to leave my child behind with my mother because I could not afford to raise him here. Life is difficult in town. I send money home every month for his schooling and food. I cannot tell Alfred about my child because he knows that I never had a child before. I'm afraid to loose him the day he will know that I have a child.

Openness and frank dialogue is mostly lacking in these foreign – local marriages. Because each partner enters the marriage with a hidden agenda and once the agenda has been fulfilled, he or she walks out of the marriage without taking legal steps of divorce. Joyce contracted a marriage with an African immigrant because she was told that African immigrants have a lot of money. They fly in coming to South Africa and the fact of using an airplane means they are rich.

Salome married an African immigrant because she heard that African immigrants are good lovers, they never fight their women and they are good caretakers. According to the *Drum* magazine of May 31 2001, some black South Africans women explained their marriages with African immigrants/migrants by saying that it is because African immigrants know how to look after their ladies. They are gentler, respectful and kind compare to South African men.

CONCLUSION

There are several reasons and motivations that push black South African women living in Yeoville to enter into marriages with African immigrants or migrants. Love does not come first in these marriages. Instead, hidden egoistic and selfish agendas are upfront in these marriages. Once one party finds complete satisfaction, he or she walks out leaving the other party miserable. In most cases, husbands are the ones who leave first the marital house. They (African immigrants/migrants) are afraid of staying for long in these marriages because most of them have left wives or fiancées in their home countries. Wives seldom run away from these marriages because in contracting marriages with foreigners, they never drop their old relationships with their home men (black South Africans). They see their boyfriends from time to time while still in marriage with African immigrants or migrants. The phenomenon of boyfriend – girlfriend is strongly in fashion in South Africa, especially in Yeoville.

VII. THE CHURCH AS THE PROCESS OF HOME-MAKING AND LOCAL INTEGRATION

INTRODUCTION

According to my findings, I came to a conclusion that African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville face a serious problem of home-making and integration. Unlike many other countries where we find refugees camps, refugees and immigrants in South Africa and specifically in Yeoville experience a lot of challenges of home-making and integrating themselves. They are called to adapt themselves, unaided to the high costs of their lives. This point is going to focus on the idea of churches creating among African immigrants and migrants as home-making and local integration.

There are quite a large number of evangelical churches created by African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville. In the frame of this point, I would like to focus mainly on one church which is the Victory Gospel Ministries, God's City of Power.

I shall proceed by analyzing how this particular church is making African immigrants and migrants feel at home and 'integrated' in the local community.

VII. 1. THE CHURCH AS HOME

Victory Gospel Ministries is seen by its congregants as home because of its spiritual, moral and material support. Spiritually, the church offers some kinds of teachings that touch the daily problems and realities of the immigrants and refugees. For example, in his sermon on Sunday September 2007, Naway, the senior pastor preached:

Dear congregants do not be afraid of what happening to you in a foreign land. We are all conquerors in the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Remember he fled himself in Egypt with his family when Herod was willing to take off his life. To what extent are we different to the son of God? He suffered as refugee in Egypt the way we are suffering in South Africa; we are rejected and insulted by our fellow Africans. Do not give up the prayer as it is our spiritual food.

To these words, the entire congregation clapped their hands, sign of agreement and support. These kinds of sermons during Sunday services strengthen the congregants who feel rejected by black South Africans.

Fabienne, a 32 year old Congolese woman, married and mother of one child told me how sustainable the Victory Gospel Ministries teachings are:

I was about to go back in my home country even though it is impossible for the moment because of the war. When, I arrived in Johannesburg, I was renting a room which the owner was a local citizen. I was late to pay the monthly amount and that man insulted me as foreigner. He took my goods until I paid him. When I

joined this congregation, I am almost relaxed even the church does not satisfy all my needs. I feel among my brothers and sisters in Christ.

The church through its teachings gives hope and makes the congregants feel at home. According to the church's politics of teaching, the administrative staff has divided the daily morning services in four blocks. The first block is for the praise and worship, the second block is for the teaching, the third one is for the offerings and the last block is for the announcements and the closing prayer.

Morally, the church has organised the daily visit to the residences of its congregants. There is a team of evangelists and elders¹⁷ who visit the members according to their Programme and agreements. These visits lift up the moral of congregants more especially of those who experience the daily rejection of locals in household. As Gemima, a 20 year-old Senegalese¹⁸ girl said during the interview:

The visit of my brothers and sisters of the church strengthens me because most of the times I stay alone at home with these South Africans who always speak in their local language.

Materially the church supports its congregants. The church use to organise once a month, a special offering which is dedicated to help the "poor" of the church. All members are invited to donate whatever they have in kind, or some money. After the collection, the

¹⁷ The elders in the church are men and women who are in their forties of age. They play the role of counsellors. They also visit Christians from their home each week.

¹⁸ Senegal is mostly a Muslim country. However, there is a few minority Christian community in big cities such Dakar and Kaolak. Gemima comes from Kaolak.

social care team selects a number of some needy congregants and gives them donations. They do the same to the mothers who have given birth after their first week from the hospital.

VII. 2. CHURCH AS SAFETY AND SECURITY

Members of Victory Gospel Ministries feel safe and secure within the church. The church in itself has organised two rooms in the back of the church next to the pastor's office. These two rooms, called 'permanence',¹⁹ are used to accommodate the congregants who are newly arrived in Johannesburg and have no place to stay. However the church only accommodates men or boys in these premises. For the newly arrived women and girls, the church has no official location for them. The social care team use to contact within the church, members of 'good will' to accommodate these ladies or girls until they find their own places. In most of the cases, ladies or girls are few and they find their own place as soon as possible rather than men because they find small jobs easily. They work in the hair saloons and shops. The men do their own cooking. The church used to help them some times when the Sunday offerings are significant and the social care team too. These men and boys who stay in the church are jobless and have no families who can look after them. The church is for them a home, a family. They have found a home in a foreign land, which is Victory Gospel Ministries. They wake up early in the morning to

¹⁹ Permanence is a room into the church reserved for members to pray outside the normal time of services. It has been transformed in a shelter in this church because of the needy members who are homeless and jobless.

clean and to arrange chairs in the church for the morning and Sunday services. They are also there to guard the musical equipment and the pastor's office.

The church is the safe and secure place for the rest of the congregants in the way that, when they come together to worship, especially during weekdays, the teachings are divided into two categories: the three first days of the week are consecrated for the preaching of physical and spiritual awareness. Kapenda, a 31 year old Congolese man and evangelist preached:

As a son of God, we must be careful in choosing friends. Some friends are occasions of failure in our lives...

The church organises these kinds of teachings because some of its members found themselves in police custody simply because of their friends. Lolo, a 33 year old man from Congo Brazzaville is behind bars because of his friend's fault. When the police arrested his friend, he was there and his friend said that he operates with him.

The rest of the days are for the teachings of oneness and togetherness as children of God. The pastor preached one day during a Sunday service of "not being ashamed to knock at the door of your fellow congregant when you are in need. We are all one in the spirit of Jesus Christ. We share one vision and worship one God".

The safety and the security of the church towards its members is seen also when a married congregant becomes unable to pay his monthly rent and has nowhere to stay, the church receives him and his family. The pastor's office becomes his room until he finds a place. Pamela and David, a South African family with their two daughters spent more

than three months in the pastor's office when the husband was jobless. Stany, a 41 year old man married from Congo left his goods for two months in the church when he lost his job. He sent his wife and kids to his relative's home and found himself a place with a friend.

VII. 3. CHURCH AS A STEP TOWARDS LOCAL INTEGRATION

Victory Gospel Ministries, God's City of Power through its teachings and preaching is trying to integrate immigrants and refugees in the local community. The interaction between nationals and non-nationals who worship together is real.

According to Jiji, a 30 year old single man from Kenya, Victory Gospel Ministries has a meaningful significance in his life, because it has brought him in touch with South Africans who worship with him. He never thought being in touch with them because of the xenophobic behaviours he was experiencing in town. Churches in the past social context of South Africa, apartheid, "formed an integral part of the movement that culminated in the transformation of South Africa from a racially segregated society to a multiracial, integrated and democratic society" (Orobator, 2000: 96).

Unfortunately, churches seem nowadays unable to overcome the marginalized and xenophobic attitudes of South Africans towards immigrants and refugees. The political and social factors of the South African history did not allow churches to work accordingly. Hinchliff writes that "the apartheid policy of the South African government is so well known that, perhaps, it is not necessary to do more than merely touch upon some of its aspects as it affects the churches" (1968: 104).

Some members of the Victory Gospel Ministries conduct their own business such as Night Clubs, private clinics, Shops, Internet cafés, Freight agencies, public phone business, hair saloons and many other entrepreneurship established business in Johannesburg, more especially in areas such as Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow. These businesses are not only for survival but also employ nationals thus providing job creation for both communities:

Nawaya said:

I am glad to find South African joining the congregation and committed to the activities of the church. Pamela, a 26 year old woman, married and mother of two children is my secretary and she is a South African. God has answered to my prayers.

Some of the South Africans who worship at Victory Gospel Ministries are employed by immigrants and/or refugees members of the church. This sad situation of unemployment is well elaborated by Singer (1998). According to Singer (1998), 35% of the South African population is unemployed. One of the objectives of the government is to create jobs or fight poverty. By creating jobs for local people, this particular category of refugees participates to the program of South African government. President Mbeki (2002) declared on African Day: “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” (<http://www.africa-union.org>).

Furthermore, local integration can also be seen in terms of “bringing together into a whole” or “to become available to persons of all races” (Kymlicka, 1999:4). The church is doing its best to bring its congregants both nationals and non-nationals to be one as children of God despite their cultural differences.

One sees some Congolese within the church, for instance, learning South African local languages (Zulu, Xhosa and other.) as a means by which to participate or integrate efficiently in the ways of lives of South African society. It is also neither surprising nor discouraging to meet into the church some South Africans, who have never been in the Congo but highly conversant in *Lingala* and *Swahili*²⁰. Sharon, a 31 year old single mother South African speaks Lingala well and plans to visit the DR Congo one day because she has been living with Congolese since she joined the congregation.

Contrary to the work of Mattes (1999) entitled “Still waiting for the Barbarians: South African attitudes to immigrants and immigration” where he sadly remarks that many South Africans do not believe that the foreigners bring skills to South Africa or do not need to learn from foreigners, the experiences above witness that the presence of immigrants and refugees stimulate some of the South Africans to know about other people, their ways of lives, cultures, languages and compose with them. This is the problematic of living together that Hannah Arendt (1961), the American philosopher from Germany talked about. The Problematic of living-together according to Arendt, as a philosophical point of analysis is that, a person is naturally and fundamentally member of the society. It is in the community that a person is born. Thus a person is a reality that cannot isolate from the others. So, humanity is not a solitary history, it is a plurality

²⁰ Lingala and Swahili are national languages among the four official national languages spoken in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

without condition of adhesion. Thus for people, living is living with and to exist is to coexist. Its development or its progress is due to the life of togetherness.

It was said earlier that refugees deprived with assisted settlement try by all means to integrate themselves in the South African community through the help of evangelical churches. South Africa however offers a good example in which refugees though not assisted by the government start their new life with a sense of freedom. If there is one thing mostly needed by immigrants and migrants, it is freedom.

Church founder, Nawaya explained:

When I said yes to the call of God and felt the need to establish my church in Yeoville as the Lord recommended, I did not have an official letter yet from the government. I only had it six months later while the church was already functioning.

CONCLUSION

In this point, my focus was on the idea of churches creating among African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville as home-making. I interviewed members of a particular evangelical church in Yeoville. The majority of the members of this church and its founder are African immigrants and migrants.

I analyzed how this particular church is making African immigrant and migrant congregants feel at home and 'integrated' in the local community. The teachings and preaching of the pastor help the members to keep their moral up according to the realities they meet in Yeoville.

African immigrants and migrants who feel rejected and marginalised by black South Africans in Yeoville find comfort and consolation when they join evangelical churches created by their fellow African immigrants or migrants because there, the preachers being themselves immigrants or migrants know the pain and suffering of being rejected or marginalised. Thus, they console one another with scriptural hope of how God is on their side.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Anthropology being a critical science, it aims to study humankind in all its diversity: past, present and future, physical, psychological, political, cultural and social, etc.

Lienhardt (1967: 1)

‘National Identity and Immigration from Africa: Relationships between Black South Africans and African immigrants in Yeoville-Johannesburg’; this was the topic and title of my research. The aims of this research were 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; to explore the relationships between black South Africans and African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville.

I was particularly interested in the qualitative nature (by qualitative nature I mean the positive input of African immigrants and migrants in the social and economic life of locals living in Yeoville) of African immigrants and migrants in Yeoville.

If South Africa and its population persist in labeling African immigrants and migrants with derogatory names such as kwerekwere, aliens, robbers, trouble makers, job stealers, etc. they (African immigrants/migrants) are less likely to integrate and subscribe themselves to the obligations of the state. (Reitzes 1995)

If they are denied the opportunities (as they claim) to participate meaningfully in the society and to engage positively with the authorities and the locals, African immigrants are going to increasingly find strategies to avoid or to outwit the authority and demonise more and more black South Africans as they see them as fully anti-foreigners and xenophobic.

Yeoville has become a more complex area. Notwithstanding the barriers for African immigrants to integrate and participate in the development of Yeoville, the evidence shows that illegal (undocumented) immigrants and migrants are embedded in associational organisations. They do see themselves as having a stake in the future of South Africa. They consider themselves as making an impact in the country's economy as producers and consumers. For a good number of them run various businesses and they employ locals. They participate in job creation as the government encourages it. My encounter with African immigrants and migrants have shown that being an African immigrant or migrant in Yeoville is no protection from prejudice and abuse from black South Africans living in Yeoville. This shows that the anti-apartheid struggle did not really encourage properly an ethos of international and a pan African solidarity and respect for diversity.

The high rate of unemployment among locals, the uncompassionate behaviours of the officials (home affairs and police), the negative coverage of the media are perhaps the most powerful weapons of incitation to xenophobia and resentment of African immigrants and migrants. Most of African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville are self-employed either formally or informally. However, both formal and informal economic activities they perform have positive impact on the economy of South Africa. While the influx of African immigrants and migrants in South Africa is characterised by some negative features, their overall contribution to the economy of the country is positive.

The majority of African immigrants and migrants living in Yeoville are aware of the negative attitudes of black South Africans towards them. And they pass it to other African immigrants/migrants who newly come to Yeoville.

In coming to South Africa, African immigrants and migrants had each personal reasons and motivations. Some came to seek for jobs, others came to study (locals often diabolise apartheid for not giving them good education. Henceforth, they deposit their anger upon some well educated African immigrants or migrants) and some came to do business or to transit to Europe, North America or Australia. In order to meet their dreams African immigrants/migrants do whatever they find possible to materialise their dreams. Hence, the issue of marriage between black female South Africans and African immigrants/migrants. These marriages are motivated with hidden agendas from both sides. African immigrants enter it with motivations of getting legal documents and jobs whereas black South African ladies contract these marriages with financial motivations, safety and security reasons are also behind these marriages.

African immigrants and migrants who feel marginalised by black South Africans in Yeoville as they argued; find their comfort and consolation in churches created by their fellow African immigrants or migrants because there in churches as they say, pastors being themselves immigrants or migrants, they (pastors) know the pain and suffering of being marginalised. Thus, they console each others spiritually and also socially.

The relationships between African immigrants/migrants and black South Africans living in Yeoville are characterised by fear, resentment, rejection and stereotyping each other with derogatory names.

MY FINDINGS ON THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS AND AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN YEOVILLE

The openness and honesty of black South Africans and African immigrants in engaging in this sensitive process was vital for the success of my research. It really was inclusive of all groupings (insiders and outsiders) living in Yeoville. From this research experience, I think there is a need for the state and non governmental organisations to organise ongoing dialogues and discussions for people to begin to understand the various concepts that underpin the complexity of the problem of overcoming xenophobia, resentment and derogation between black South Africans and African immigrants/migrants in Yeoville.

I acknowledge that much has been done and still being done by the government and by the Human Rights Commission to insure that discrimination and xenophobia stop. Discrimination and xenophobia have entrenched themselves not only in the social and economic structure of Yeoville and in South Africa as a country but also in religious structures. I recall my Honours thesis in which African immigrants and migrants were forced to open their own churches because the local existing churches did not welcome them. Both black South Africans and African immigrants justified discrimination and xenophobia in many ways as shown in my research. But I still think that there is a need for continuous dialogue in order to transform attitudes and behaviours that relate to discrimination and xenophobia. Stereotyping, discrimination and many other attributes that each grouping says about one another occur deliberately in the belief that “we are different by virtue of our races, cultures and customs” (words from local and African informants).

These forms of discrimination relate mostly to socio-economic conditions, tribes and nationalities. Some black South Africans find it easy to relate with African immigrants of certain countries and not with others. African immigrants in return find it easy to relate with black South Africans of particular ethnic groups such as the Pedi and Tsonga from Limpopo province. Therefore, the government and non governmental organisations of human rights remaining silent about this could be seen as taking a position that condones it.

Africa has not yet come to terms with living in a diversified society. The Rwandan genocide in 1994, the killings of Rwandese and Ugandans civilians in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1998 and many other incidents around the continent prove that there is a need to improve race relations, thus fostering growth and development within the continent. Once the relationships between ordinary Africans become affected by negative practices, Africa will fail to meet its desired goal of building a 'United States of Africa'. The rejection of our differences which seem to be a crippling problem in some parts of the continent, can easily lead Africa into more complex problems.

Many would try to simplify or even oversimplify discrimination and xenophobia in Yeoville by saying that black South Africans and African immigrants live together, they share flats and rooms, they work together and far more they marry. In fact many would say there is no racism, no discrimination no resentment, because of that interaction in daily sharing rooms, etc. This will be a simplistic way of dealing with the complexity of discrimination and xenophobia. Seeing the complexity of the matter, I suggest that in dealing with it, the government has to look at issues of race, poverty and economy

because these are the realities that cause discrimination between black South Africans and African immigrants/migrants.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER OF AGGREEMENT FOR INTERVIEW

To be read to all interviewees before starting the interview:

Greetings my brother/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?

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?

Interviewee should sign in the appropriate box bellow:

Yes	No
-----	----

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	

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

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	
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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	
Swahili	
English	
Portuguese	
Other: (specify Bellow)	

--	--

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

Mother Tongue:	
----------------	--

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	
-------------------	--

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
--------------------------------	------

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)	