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Mukadam, Shireen

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GUESTS AND HOSTS: MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES OF IN(HOSPITALITY) DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN SOUTH AFRICA

Shireen Mukadam

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Forced Migration and Displacement Studies.

Cape Town, 2021

DECLARATION

I, Shireen Mukadam, declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of a Masters in Forced Migration and Displacement Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination at any other university.



31st day of July 2021 in Cape Town

DEDICATION

For my beloved nieces, baby Aleena, born in the midst of the pandemic, and her big sister Maya.

ABSTRACT

The Covid-19 pandemic provides a heuristic which reveals the dynamic hospitality relationship between migrants in South Africa as guests, and their host(s). Using hospitality as a conceptual framework, this study explores how migrants understand the South African government's response to the Covid-19 pandemic, with a focus on the Social Relief of Distress (SRD) grant. Based on qualitative methodology and the use of thematic, narrative and discourse analysis, three main findings emerge: Firstly, the South African government is not a hegemonic host; secondly, migrants are heterogenous guests; and thirdly, migrants as guests are powerful. Migrants understand the government's decision to offer partial hospitality to certain foreigners through the SRD grant in terms of their categorizations as 'foreigner.' This deepens existing divides based on nationality. Significantly, what migrants experience as guests, in relation to what they think they deserve from their host(s) is contested. Despite the South African government's hospitality or hostility, migrants have the agency to choose how to respond. Ultimately hospitality is not necessarily a panacea, nor is it always a virtue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the migrants who agreed to participate in this research study, who openly shared their feelings, lived experiences, beliefs, hopes and fears with me. Without you, this thesis would not be possible. I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Loren Landau, mostly for his sense of humour that kept me laughing, and for his unwavering patience, while walking the yellow-brick road and long walk to freedom with me- no matter the roadblocks.

I would like to acknowledge the Fellowship I was awarded by the Mobility, Urbanism and Future Politics project at the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) funded by the Andrew Mellon Foundation. Without this my studies would not have been possible. In addition, the financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

This writing experience has been a journey for me. In a way, it has felt like I migrated during this process. Although this work was researched and written remotely, I have been accompanied by an army of angels. Thank you to my parents for generously accommodating and feeding me while studying during the pandemic. To my family, especially my sister Ayesha; and friends, new and old, around the world who took the time to listen to my ideas, discuss concepts, and above all, for your encouragement and endless support. You know who you are.

Thanks to Nontobeko Mkhwanazi for your tireless assistance with transcriptions, Barbara Adair of the Wits Writing Center for your invaluable feedback, Quraisha Dawood for editing with joy and Zubeida Brey for proofreading with such enthusiasm. Above all, thanks to my cat Coconut, for sitting on my laptop as I tried to write this, for eating some of my articles (except those written by my supervisor) and for being my loyal companion throughout.

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1. Introduction

"*The world was born yearning to be a home for everyone.*"

- Eduardo Galliano, 2009

Welcome home. Make yourself at home. My home is your home.

These are universal sayings, but what do they mean? What do they have in common? Hospitality – a relationship between a host and guest – binds them (Still, 2010:11). This is the conceptual frame of reference for this thesis.

This thesis takes a snapshot of one moment in time: the Covid-19 pandemic is the context. The place (home) is South Africa. The guests are migrants; the host is the South African government. It is March 2020, and the country has gone into lockdown.[1] The economy has fallen to its knees. People are confined to their homes by law. It is a crisis situation.

In this context, the South African government offers a Social Relief of Distress (SRD) grant. The name describes the grant's purpose: to relieve distress caused by the closed economy[2]. The challenge is that there is a limited budget[3].

Since the beginning of time people have migrated. For some people, home is the place where they have always lived and will always live. For others, "home is no longer one place. It is locations" (Bell Hooks, 1991:148 in Urry, 2004:15). There are several reasons why people migrate, for example, to "…seek profit, protection, or passage elsewhere" (Landau, 2017:1). Migration involves moving from a place where they are known and which is familiar, to another place, where they are unknown and everything is unfamiliar, and some often find themselves without a home. Others migrate from hostile places seeking more hospitable homes.

I argue that hospitality is a feeling of being welcomed, included, accepted – of being 'at home'. Being highly subjective, hospitality is a social construction, interpreted in various ways and from different perspectives, whether from hosts or guests. Neither group is homogenous nor without contradiction (Still, 2010:6).

[1] President Cyril Ramaphosa announced a national state of disaster on 15 March 2020. On 23 March President Ramphosa announced the National Coronavirus Command Council decided to enforce a nation-wide lockdown from 27 May 2020 for an initial period of 21 days. Statement by President Cyril Ramaphosa on escalation of measures to combat Covid-19 pandemic. Accessed on 21 July 2021.
[2] See: https://srd.sassa.gov.za/
[3] See: https://mg.co.za/article/2020-04-21-ramaphosa-announces-r500-billion-covid-19-package-for-south-africa/

Figure 1 illustrates the arbitrary nature of social constructions.

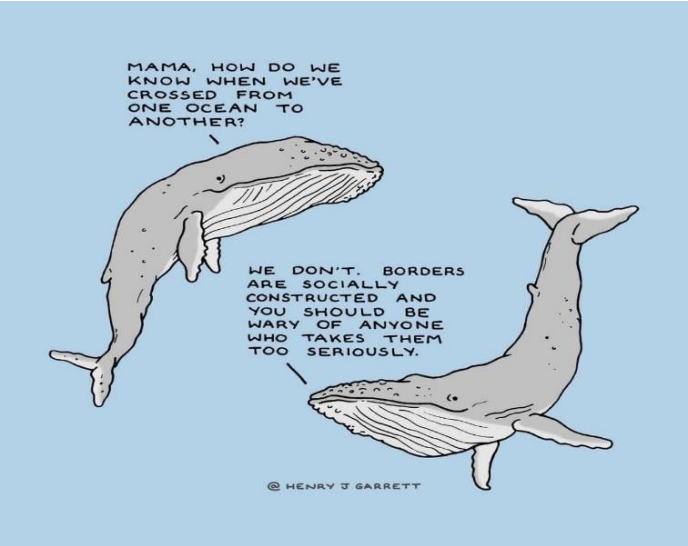

Figure 1: Borders and Boundaries as Social Constructions

My view that hospitality is socially constructed is rooted in my experiences. I was born in Cape Town. It is my first home. I have had the opportunity to live, study and work in two other cities: Geneva and Johannesburg. Geneva was foreign to me, where people spoke a different language, and I did not know one person before arriving there. Yet it soon became my home. I was welcomed into the homes of once-strangers who became family. I felt at home.

What exactly made me feel at home? It is a mélange of how my hosts welcomed me – their hospitality – and my response to them and the new environment, as a guest.

Wherever I have lived, my hosts' welcome and acceptance made creating a new life easier. My host was not necessarily one person; it was sometimes a family, different families, networks of neighbours, co-workers and fellow students who became friends and who made the places I lived feel like home. Hospitality is what transformed the foreign into familiar and brought about a feeling of safety and refuge, recognition, and acceptance. There was a blurring of the lines between me and you, us and them. A coming together, a unity, arose from being at home in someone else's home.

My personal reflection is only one example of hospitality. Although the mainstream meaning of hospitality is associated with tourism and the hotel industry – in other words, *literal* accommodation – hospitality can also be a *figurative* accommodation.

1.1. Argument

Migrants' narratives are at the heart of this thesis. Arguments underpinning this thesis are based on a qualitative study of migrants' experiences in South Africa related to the government's response to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Although South Africa's post- Apartheid values are premised on equality, inclusion, and dignity for all – and are enshrined in the Constitution, and other domestic legislation and regional and international obligations to protect refugees and migrants' rights which ostensibly demonstrate a commitment to hospitality towards foreigners – the rainbow nation is a mirage for many migrants. Instead, the reality of the post-Apartheid era has been characterised by xenophobia (defined as overt fear and hatred of foreigners).[4] Xenophobic violence has been a recurring pattern.[5] This constitutes inhospitality, or hostility towards foreigners.

The Covid-19 pandemic presented an opportunity for the South African government to demonstrate hospitality towards migrants, unreservedly. The policy decisions that the government took in relation to the pandemic can be perceived as acts of hospitality or inhospitality. Offering something to people during a crisis, can be seen as an act and symbol of hospitality; the SRD grant is one example of such an act.

The arguments of this thesis are three-fold. Firstly, instead of using the provision of the SRD grant during the context of the Covid-19 pandemic as an opportunity to extend hospitality, the South African government reluctantly offered partial hospitality to certain foreigners. This is a form of differential inclusion (Holston, 2011). Not *all* foreigners were included; the grant extended to only certain legal-institutional/bureaucratic categories of foreigners (South African Government Department of Social Development, 29 April 2020).[6] What this demonstrates is that South Africa is arguably not as hospitable as it purportedly espouses to be on both the continental and international stages.

[4] See: A Short History of Xenophobia. Merriam-Webster. https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/a-short-history-of-xenophobia accessed on 24 June 2021.

[5] For a detailed list of xenophobic incidents see: Misago, Jean-Pierre with Landau, Loren and Monson, Tamlynne. 2009. Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity: Addressing Violence to Foreign Nationals in South Africa. International Organisation for Migration (IOM) p. 23-28. Available at: Towards Tolerance, Law, and Dignity: Addressing Violence against Foreign Nationals in South Africa | International Organization for Migration (iom.int); and Silindile Mlilo and Jean Pierre Misago. Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: 1994-2018 An Overview. The African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS). Xenowatch: Monitoring Xenophobic Violence in South Africa. March 2019, p.2-7. Available at: Xenophobic-Violence-in-South-Africa-1994-2018_An-Overview.pdf (xenowatch.ac.za).

[6] The eligibility criteria included 'refugees' registered with the Department of Home Affairs.

Significantly, what migrants experience as guests in relation to what they think they deserve from their hosts is a contested space. The laws of hospitality are precarious, because they are not clearly defined and agreed upon. These expectations, contrary to the social contract between government and citizens, are not cast in stone, stable or agreed upon by hosts and guests. Instead, the laws governing the relationship between host(s) and guest(s) are unclear, ambiguous, and inconsistent. There is a lack of communication, consultation, negotiation, and agreement about these laws between host(s) and guest(s).

Secondly, in relation to the SRD grant, migrants understand the government's decision (to offer or withhold hospitality) in terms of their categorisation as 'foreigner', a category that has come to define their identities in South Africa. Through this experience, migrants' identities under the 'foreigner' label have become solidified. This deepens already existing nationality/citizenship divides, entrenching socio-spatial boundaries. The differences between the labels 'citizen' and 'foreigner' are exaggerated. This in turn impacts the perceived entitlement to allocation of and access to resources.

Thirdly, some migrants have accepted what can be described as their subjective experiences of inhospitality/hostility and accepted the 'foreigner' label they have been assigned.

As the study will show, migrants do not wait for hospitality, nor do they always expect it. Despite the South African government's hospitality or hostility, migrants have agency to survive. Although hospitality may make their lives more comfortable, it is not something for which all migrants will choose to fight. Perhaps this is due to fear, their transience, or it is a tactic for survival.

1.1.1. The Covid-19 Pandemic and the SRD grant

On 11 March 2020, the World Health Organisation (WHO) declared the Covid-19 virus a pandemic.[7] Following this, South African President Cyril Ramaphosa declared a State of Disaster on 15 March 2020.[8] South Africa went into an official lockdown from 26 March 2020, which at the time of writing is ongoing. During this lockdown, movement, economic activity, and other freedoms have been severely restricted.

In attempts to mitigate the pandemic's adverse socio-economic impacts, governments across the world increased social assistance programmes. South Africa responded similarly, by increasing the amounts of all existing social grants, and by creating a new grant, the SRD grant (Bhorat and Kohler,

[7] See Statement by WHO's Director-General's Opening Remarks at the Media Briefing on Covid-19. 11 March 2020. Available at: https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-19---11-march-2020 accessed on 30 June 2021.

[8] See: Statement by President Cyril Ramaphosa, 15 March 2020. Available at: Statement By President Cyril Ramaphosa On Measures To Combat COVID-19 Epidemic - SA Corona Virus Online Portal accessed on 29 June 2021.

2020: i). Through the Department of Social Development (DSD), the South African government initiated the provision of SRD funding of ZAR350/month for an initial six months.[9]

However, this was subject to strict eligibility criteria. According to the criteria, not all non-nationals/non-citizens were included. While refugees and permanent residents were eligible to apply, all other categories of non-nationals, for example asylum seekers, migrants and stateless people were excluded from the SRD grant.

Figure 2 below shows the South African government's tweet to announce the SRD grant and eligibility criteria.[10] To access the SRD grant, South African government communication stipulated that: "Applicants must provide the following compulsory information for processing their applications: identity number/Department of Home Permit…banking details…proof of residential address" (South African Government Department of Social Development, 29 April 2020). Since not all migrants have South African identification numbers or Department of Home Affairs (DHA) permits, they were legally excluded from the purported protection.



Figure 2: The South African government's tweet to announce the SRD grant.[11]

Several civil society organizations reacted to the legal exclusion of members of society. The Scalabrini Centre[12] wrote a letter to the Presidency stating their, "concerns around the

[9] There have since been a number of additional extensions. On Sunday 25 July 2021 the South African President announced the extension of the SRD grant until March 2022.
[10] South African Government twitter handle @ZAGovernment, tweet on 29 April 2020.
[11] South African Government twitter handle @ZAGovernment, tweet on 29 April 2020.
[12] The Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town is a non-governmental organization that aims to facilitate the integration of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers into society. See: https://www.scalabrini.org.za/ accessed on 23 July 2021.

differentiation in approaches pertaining to non-citizens depending on whether their documentation is issued in terms of the Immigration Act or the Refugees Act" (Scalabrini Centre, 2020). Similarly, Human Rights Watch pointed out: "The government is ignoring the plight of refugees and asylum seekers currently confined in their homes and unable to work to provide for themselves" (Human Rights Watch, 2020). The Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA), a national network of organisations working with refugees and migrants, reinforced that "the lockdown has witnessed …pervasive food insecurity and exclusionary practices towards refugees, asylum seekers, migrants and their children living in South Africa" (CoRMSA, 2020).

Importantly, the Centre for Human Rights (CHR) and the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) highlighted that they, "are deeply concerned about the situation of migrants in South Africa during this Covid-19 pandemic. The exclusion of any segment of society from access to testing, treatment and other palliative measures put in place to cushion the effects of measures taken to combat the spread of the virus will, ultimately, undermine national efforts to stem the spread of the virus" (Adeola, 2020).

This response emphasises how, when confronted with a threat that can only be addressed collectively, the South African government decided to draw distinctions. The presumption that rests in civil society's response is that the government's voice is the only one that holds power; government policy and statements appeared hegemonic as government set the rules/laws in response to the Covid-19 pandemic.

However, this research reveals that there are other voices, or actors, for example the citizenry, which can also act as an extension of the government as host. These additional actors too hold power to draw boundaries between themselves and migrants residing in South Africa.

1.1.2. Amendments to the SRD grant

On 9 May 2020, the South African government issued an amendment to the regulation of the Disaster Management Act (2002) policy: "A special Covid-19 SRD grant of R350 per month may be provided for the period indicated herein to distressed individuals who are– i. South African Citizens, *Permanent Residents or Refugees registered on the Home Affairs database*;" (Government Gazette 43300:7).

This regulation sets out slightly broader criteria that must be met to access the SRD grant, and explicitly includes "refugees registered on the Home Affairs database" as a category of migrants/non-citizens eligible for funding (Government Gazette 43300:7).

On the one hand, this regulation shows that the South African government has extended some hospitality to migrants, provided they are legally recognised and registered as 'refugees'. This is aligned with the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, which defines a refugee and the responsibilities of states to guarantee their rights (Aleinkoff, 2016: 2). On the other hand, this policy decision signals differential inclusion in terms of hospitality.

By effectively excluding all other categories of migrants (asylum seekers, economic migrants, their children and other stateless people), the South African government extended hospitality only to registered refugees, however it limited or restricted all other categories of migrants, meaning they became subject to the laws of hospitality.

Consequently, the Scalabrini Centre launched urgent litigation to oppose this exclusionary decision.[13] On 19 June 2020 the Scalabrini Centre won its case, compelling the South African government to extend SRD funding to asylum seekers and holders of special permits (Scalabrini Centre news, 2020).

In a radio interview[14] a few days after the court ruling, Minister of Social Development Lindiwe Zulu said:

> "We are a department that is responsible for the wellbeing of each and every individual that is in South Africa, that is **South Africans first and foremost.** But of course, we are responsible for other people who find themselves in South Africa and are destitute and are desperate. The bottom line is that we need to dig deep deeper into something that isn't there."

Through her discourse, the Minister, as the representative of the host government, is signalling a hierarchy of priorities when it comes to hospitality.

Minister Zulu indicates a troublesome dichotomy, by pronouncing a responsibility for the entire population 'in South Africa' on the one hand, while simultaneously highlighting a primary obligation to South African nationals on the other.

During the interview, Minister Zulu did however acknowledge the plight of everyone:

> "As a government, we never take for granted, especially during social relief of distress and during this time of Covid, it's not only South Africans who are finding themselves in

[13] See: Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town vs. The Minister of Social Development et al. Case number 22808/2020.
[14] Listen to the audio recording of this interview at the bottom of the following online article: Cape Talk. Friedman, Barbara. 24 June 2020. Available at: https://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/387670/minister-zulu-explains-where-she-will-find-the-money-to-pay-asylum-seekers accessed on 13 January 2021.

this bad situation. It's *everyone else who is within the borders of South Africa*. And therefore, it's important for us to look at what is to be done."

However, she highlighted that the "the purse is not a bottomless pit."[15] While recognising the scale of "undocumented" people who need assistance, Minister Zulu stated that the government has been constrained by a limited budget.

The South African government is not the only entity that holds the view of "South Africans first and foremost". At the time of the controversial court case, there was an outpouring of "antagonistic" views on social media, as members of the public worked as extensions of the inhospitable host, promoting the same ideology of *#PutSouthAfricansFirst* to receive the SRD grant.[16]

The debate and controversy over this exclusion suggests multiple perspectives over how South Africa should define its members and how various obligations are owed to them. This debate is not new. Minister Zulu's comments are eerily reminiscent of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's over two decades ago, who, as then Minister of Home Affairs, said:

> "…With whatever empathy and understanding one may judge the underlying reasons and motivation why people are compelled to leave their fatherland and to seek refuge here, the interests of the Republic of South Africa and her citizens must be our first and foremost consideration" (Buthelezi, 1995 in: Peberdy, 2001:15).

By communicating a hierarchy in which the interests of citizens come first over those of guests, or non-citizens, Buthelezi set up the laws of hospitality that still exist today. These laws state that guests are welcome to enter the territory of South Africa, however they enter with the knowledge that their interests are secondary, regardless of the reasons why refugees and migrants have left their homes. The laws of hospitality that Buthelezi asserted are a framework of assumption and policy, where citizens come first in a system – the systemic prioritisation of groups of people over others based on perceived needs – that is currently operating in this 'home'; that is, within South Africa.

1.1.3. The concept of hospitality

Hospitality is not a panacea. While hospitality appears to be aspirational, hospitality is imperfect. A

[15] Minister Lindiwe Zulu. Interview, Cape Talk. Friedman, Barbara. 24 June 2020. Available at: https://www.capetalk.co.za/articles/387670/minister-zulu-explains-where-she-will-find-the-money-to-pay-asylum-seekers accessed on 13 January 2021.

[16] "Antagonism was noted on social media and radio interviews that I conducted." On twitter, these views were shared around the time of the court case using hashtags #SRD or #PutSouthAfricansFirst." Abigail Dawson, personal e-mail communication with author, 29 January 2021.

power imbalance between host and guest is intrinsic to hospitality (Still, 2010; Chamberlain, 2020). However, literature on migrants has shown that agency is inherent to migrants (Turton, 2003). The data collected for this thesis reinforces this, by reflecting the ways in which migrants exercise agency and power. Migrants choose how to respond to the government's hospitality or inhospitality.

Hospitality is considered a virtue or ethic. There are many different understandings of hospitality, examples are:

Siddiqui points out that while there is not a universal definition of hospitality, the concept has sacred roots.[17] Hospitality originates in Greek mythology, where Oedipus who arrives in a new place with his daughter Antigone, asks:

> "What country have we come to? Whose is this city? Who will receive the wondering Oedipus, with the scantiest of gifts?"[18] He later proclaims: "…we have come to be learners, as **foreigners**[19] from **citizens**…"[20]

Similarly, philosopher Kant wrote: "…hospitality signifies the claim of a **stranger** entering **foreign territory** to be treated by its owner **without hostility**" (Kant, 1795:137). Kant distinguished between a **right** of visitation (temporary) and permanent stay which requires a formal agreement. The basis of Kant's right of visitation is that "…society belongs to all mankind in virtue of our common right of possession on the surface of the earth…" (Kant, 1795: 137-138).

Developing this further, Algerian-born French philosopher, Derrida, views hospitality as intrinsically linked to ethics:

> "Insofar as it has to do with the ethos, that is, the residence, one's home, the familiar place of dwelling, inasmuch as it is a manner of being there, the manner in which we relate to ourselves and to others, to others as **our own** or as **foreigners**, ethics is hospitality; ethics is so thoroughly coextensive with the experience of hospitality." (Derrida, 2001:16-17) Derrida's Law(s) of Hospitality present a conundrum: there cannot be absolute hospitality, instead there must be conditional hospitality based on laws (Derrida, 2001).

More recently, Landau described Derrida's approach to hospitality as "ethically informed and wilful accommodation **of the other**" (Landau, 2019:9). Both Landau (2019) and Bulley (2015) point out the critical links between power, sovereignty, and hospitality, which are of particular interest to this

[17] See Siddiqui, Mona. 29 July 2020. Divine Welcome, The Ethics of Hospitality in Islam and Christianity. https://www.abc.net.au/religion/mona-siddiqui-hospitality-as-welcoming-in-gods-name/12503800 accessed on 7 March 2021
[18] Sophocles. Oedipus at Colonus, lines 2-3.
[19] Bold emphasis is added by the author throughout this thesis.
[20] Sophocles. Oedipus at Colonus, lines 13-14.

study. The host has the power to define the rules of hospitality, and sovereignty over the space of the home, while the guest has the power to accept or reject the rules of hospitality.

Particularly relevant to the subject of migration, Still advocates that hospitality involves traversing boundaries and/or borders: "Hospitality in theory and practice relates **to crossing boundaries** ('Come in, come in') or thresholds… including those between self and other, private and public, inside and outside, individual and collective, personal and political, emotional and rational, generous and economic – these couples that overlap each other's territory without any one exactly mapping another" (Still, 2010:4).

Derrida's concept of hospitality requires a clear distinction between the host and guest. There is a difference between the two, and to distinguish between host and guest, there needs to be a recognition of who is whom. The question of **who** defines the boundaries or distinctions, and **what** these distinctions are- between family members (children) and foreigners or hosts and guests- is critical.

In the context of migration studies, there is danger that a power asymmetry intrinsic to the binary distinction between host and guest arises (Chamberlain, 2020). For Derrida, it is the host who sets the Laws of Hospitality:

> "The host, he who offers hospitality, must be the master in his house, he (male in the first instance) must be assured of his sovereignty over the space and goods he offers or opens to the other as stranger…It does not seem to me that I am able to open up or offer hospitality, however generous, even in order to be generous, without reaffirming: this is mine, I am at home, you are welcome in my home, without any implication of "make yourself at home" but on condition that you observe *the rules of hospitality* by respecting the being-at-home of my home, the being-itself of what I am" (Derrida, 2000:13-14).

Since hospitality is a relationship between a host and guest, this concept requires a recognition of and distinction between the two categories or identities. This entails a power relationship:

> "At the heart of his approach is a recognition that the host must feel able to set the general parameters of welcome. In his words, doing otherwise reflects a form of 'absolute hospitality' which existentially threatens those claiming prior rights to space" (Derrida, 2000:25; Derrida, 2003:129, Derrida, 1999:90 in Landau, 2019: 10).

The laws of hospitality, which are set by the host, according to Derrida, are essential for hospitality. However, some guests do not agree with the laws of hospitality and expect less exclusions or

restrictions, and a move along the continuum toward absolute hospitality. The figure below illustrates this continuum:



Figure 3: Derridean hospitality as a continuum [21]

For Derrida, an unconditional law of hospitality ("an absolute openness") is "impossible to organise into a law or politics" (Derrida, 2003:129; Derrida, 1999:90) "even if it were to operate, it would destroy the host's mastery of the home that makes hospitality possible in the first place" (Derrida, 2002:364 in Bulley, 2015:4). Thus, for Derrida, absolute hospitality would undermine the concept of hospitality itself and dissolve the laws of hospitality. Landau's interpretation is that "if this is so, then hospitality - and justice- become impossible without some restrictions and regulations that enable the sovereign decision to welcome, and which are accepted as legitimate by all those to whom they apply" (Landau, 2019:10).

Considering these conceptualisations of hospitality then, the SRD grant can be seen as a heuristic into revealing the dynamics of boundary-making and crossing involved in hospitality.

The dynamics of boundary-making are embedded with elements of inclusion and exclusion, the context in which boundaries are erected or demolished, and by whom these boundaries are constructed. For Bulley, an international relations academic, hospitality has two components, social and spatial: "the acts of welcoming and controlling work to produce the home itself, its spatiality (internal and external borders) and its affectivity (feelings of belonging and nonbelonging)" (Bulley, 2015:2). Hospitality can therefore be seen as bridging a socio-spatial boundary, which means the intersection of difference that incorporates both social and spatial dimensions.[22]

Significantly, hospitality is described as "multi-scalar": "Imaginaries of home and home-making **negotiations** occur at the level of the family, community, suburb, neighbourhood, city, nation, state, region or can be 'located on a park bench'" (Blunt and Dowling, 1996: 29 in Bulley, 2015:7-8).

[21] My own interpretation of Derrida's Law(s) of Hospitality.
[22] I am conceptualizing Hospitality as a socio-spatial boundary, based on Judith Still and Dan Bulley's work. Professor Loren Landau provided this definition of a socio-spatial boundary, via e-mail communication, December 2020.

We can apply the concept of hospitality to South Africa, a clearly defined territory at the Southern-most tip of Africa. South Africa is home to approximately 60 million people. Of this population, approximately four million are international migrants.[23] The provinces, Gauteng and the Western Cape received the highest numbers of migrants between the period 2016-2020 with "approximately 1 553 162 and 468 568 respectively" (Stats SA, 2020 Mid-Year Population Estimates). Many migrants leave their home countries and travel to South Africa. Migrants, with varying legal statuses and classifications, such as 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers', see South Africa as a favourable host state. They migrate with different expectations of hospitality from their host country.

Hospitality can be reflected in language which will be elaborated further in this thesis. One of the most current examples is the words the president uses when addressing the nation. "My fellow **South Africans**," President Cyril Ramaphosa opened his address on 23 March 2020 when he announced the nation-wide lockdown.[24] From this language, it appears as though the President is only addressing South African citizens. President Ramaphosa closed his national address on 17 June 2020 with the words: "May God bless South Africa and protect *her people*." This type of discourse continued throughout his State of the Nation addresses during the pandemic, even at the time of writing.

Taking the presidential address as an example of the hospitality of the South African government, the president is addressing "fellow South Africans", excluding those who are not South Africans.

In a world grappling with questions about inclusion and exclusion, and borders and boundaries, this thesis attempts to understand what this positioning by the South African government at this time means for those who are excluded. What are the limits of inclusion in this country, particularly in cities where diverse people from different places converge? What hospitality matters? And on what scale is it negotiated?

The idea to use Derrida's *Hospitality* concept as a frame of reference for part of this thesis arose from the interviews with participants themselves. The interviews and the dominant themes which recurred during fieldwork guided the work towards the notion of hospitality as a conceptual framework for this thesis. Thus, the study employs an inductive approach, also known as a "bottom-up approach and is driven by what is *in* the data" (Braun and Clarke, 2012:58).

[23] According to the International Organization for Migration's World Migration Report 2020, p.57. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf accessed on 17 June 2021.
[24] Statement by President Cyril Ramaphosa on escalation of measures to combat Covid-19 pandemic. 23 March 2020. http://www.dirco.gov.za/docs/speeches/2020/cram0323.pdf. Accessed on 21 July 2021.

1.2. Thesis Objectives

This thesis will explore what the South African government's response to the Covid-19 pandemic reveals about hospitality to migrants. This thesis will be based on different migrants' subjective experiences of the South African government's response to the Covid-19 crisis (from here on referred to as 'the government's response'), with a focus on the SRD grant. Applying the hospitality conceptual framework, this thesis will explore the experience of (in)hospitality, from the perspectives of migrants.

1.3. Research Question:

This study seeks to answer the question: What does the South African government's policy decision (regarding the SRD grant) during the Covid-19 pandemic reveal about hospitality toward migrants?

In answering this, several sub-questions will also be explored:

- How do migrants understand the government's response?
- How do migrants define their host(s)?
- How do migrants (as guests) experience hospitality in diverse ways?

1.4. Background and Context

1.4.1. The Transition to Democracy

With its history of legalised discrimination and exclusion based on race, building an inclusive 'rainbow' nation has been a South African priority since the dawn of democracy in 1994. If apartheid – the literal meaning of which is 'apartness' – entrenched exclusion, the new dispensation promised resounding inclusion, and this included towards migrants, as is evidenced below.

Former President Thabo Mbeki's *I am An African* speech, which marked South Africa's Constitution, reflects this inclusivity. In it, he thanked migrants from India and China, Africa, Asia and Europe for: "…teaching me that we could **both be at home and be foreign**" and that, "freedom was a necessary condition for . . . human existence."[25]

[25] Thabo Mbeki, 8 May 1996. I am an African speech in Parliament. Available via the Thabo Mbeki Foundation. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dCeLwTITRoQ accessed on 5 July 2021.

However, since then, several authors have questioned why South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy, which was premised on inclusivity, has not resulted in a significant change in migrants' experiences of inclusion and protection through human rights in practice (Croucher, 1998; Crush, 2000; Peberdy, 2001; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Mosselson, 2010; Khan, 2020; Khan 2021). In fact, research indicates that with the democratic transition, 'foreigners' became the 'other' (Croucher, 1998; Crush, 2000; Peberdy, 2001; Nyamnjoh, 2006). Lines of difference which had been drawn along boundaries of race during apartheid, and which were supposed to have disappeared under the popularised term 'rainbow nation', are now drawn along new lines of citizen and foreigner.

1.4.2. Xenophobic Violence

In May 2008 there was widespread xenophobic violence across five provinces in South Africa that led to deaths, destruction of homes and businesses, and displacement.[26] The May 2008[27] xenophobic attacks were unprecedented in terms of "scale and intensity" however they were also part of a pattern that can be traced to 1994 (Misago, Landau and Monson, 2009:2). Alongside inequality, and poverty, xenophobic violence[28] has characterised post-apartheid South Africa (Misago, Landau and Monson, 2009; Monson and Misago, 2009; Landau, 2011; Mlilo and Misago, 2019). The origin of the word 'xenophobia' comes from combining two ancient Greek words: *xenos* which means 'stranger' or 'guest' and *phobia*, which means 'fear' or 'flight'.[29] Xenophobia can then be seen as representing a form of recognition of the 'other' in Hegelian terms.[30]

Adeola argues that xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in Africa (Adeola, 2015). She traces xenophobia in Africa to the legacy of colonialism (Adeola, 2015). Nyamnjoh argues that the paradox of globalisation is that increased flows of goods and services, technology, infrastructure have also led to a fixation with citizenship. According to Nyamnjoh, "One stark result [of increased movement of goods and services] is the building or re-actualisation of boundaries and differences through xenophobia and related intolerance" (Nyamnjoh, 2006:2).

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[26] Amnesty International. Available at: South Africa must protect those at risk of "xenophobic" attack - Amnesty International. Accessed on 1 December 2021.

[27] According to the Consortium of Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) "62 people were reported dead; at least 670 wounded; dozens raped; more than 100 000 displaced; and millions of rands worth of property looted, destroyed or appropriated by local residents" (CoRMSA, 2008).

[28] For a detailed list of xenophobic incidents see: Misago, Jean-Pierre with Landau, Loren and Monson, Tamlynne. 2009. Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity: Addressing Violence to Foreign Nationals in South Africa. International Organisation for Migration (IOM) p. 23-28. Available at: https://southafrica.iom.int/publications/towards-tolerance-law-and-dignity-addressing-violence-against-foreign-nationals-south-africa; and Silindile Mlilo and Jean Pierre Misago. Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: 1994-2018 An Overview. The African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS). Xenowatch: Monitoring Xenophobic Violence in South Africa. March 2019, p.2-7. Available at: https://www.xenowatch.ac.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Xenophobic-Violence-in-South-Africa-1994-2018_An-Overview.pdf.

[29] See: https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/a-short-history-of-xenophobia accessed on 24 June 2021.

[30] G.W.F. Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind, 178 in: Makowski, Piotr. (2008) p.3

Similarly, Fassin states that immigration has revealed two "contradictions of globalization" (Ekholm Friedman and Friedman 2008 in Fassin, 2011: 214). The first is although globalisation has facilitated flows of goods, there is a restriction on the transnational movement of people. Secondly, although there was initially a promise of incorporation of migrants in receiving countries purportedly under paradigms such as multiculturalism, what happened in reality is that ethnic and religious divisions became the rule, resulting in discrimination (Appadurai, 2006 in Fassin, 2011). Fassin argues that: "The two contradictions echo each other: *borders* as external territorial frontiers and *boundaries* as internal social categorisations are tightly related in a process in which immigrants are racialised and ethnic minorities are reminded of their foreign origin" (Fassin 2010 in Fassin, 2011). These tensions manifest themselves at the regional and local levels, for example in how the South African government determined access to services such as the SRD grant. Adeola writes: "The narrative of the 'foreign-other' which was not an essential component of pre-colonial societal orderings (Arthur 2000: 19) has become a powerful rhetoric for determining access to social security and welfare" (Adeola, 2015:254).

South Africa's legal framework can be seen as formalising the laws of hospitality.

1.5. Legal Framework

After South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, the country acceded to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugees Problems in Africa[31] in 1995 and the United Nations 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol[32] in 1996 (Human Rights Watch report, 2005). South Africa ratified the UN Refugee Convention in 1998.

The South African Constitution, lauded as one of the most progressive in the world, begins:

"We, the people of South Africa… Believe that South Africa **belongs to all who live in it**, united in our diversity" (Constitution of South Africa, 1996:1).

This preamble highlights the puzzle that my thesis seeks to address. On the one hand, the Constitution addresses many of the injustices of the past; therefore, some may interpret the phrase "to all who live in it" to mean everyone who lives in South Africa – that is, all citizens regardless of race. However, on the other hand, the Constitution is considered a guide for the future, which applies to all scenarios post-1994. In this sense, this preamble can be interpreted to mean that the country belongs to all people, *regardless of any distinction*, including nationality.

[31] See: https://au.int/en/treaties/oau-convention-governing-specific-aspects-refugee-problems-africa accessed on 22 June 2021.
[32] See: https://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html accessed on 22 June 2021.

Belonging to a nation denotes membership, which means that members are considered part of the 'family' who live in the home, i.e. South Africa. This is linked to hospitality.

The puzzle is drawing a distinction between family members and outsiders: who are the family members, do they include foreigners/non-citizens? There are multiple perspectives and tensions about who is part of the family, and who is not. This has implications for perceptions of entitlement to resources and access to services, as this research will show.

Citizenship determines access and opportunity. The Constitution recognises that, "There is a common South African citizenship; All citizens are— (a) equally entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship; and (b) equally subject to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship" (Constitution of South Africa, 1996: Section 3.1-2).

While the Constitution outlines the above entitlements to "citizens", the Bill of Rights, which is "a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa enshrines the rights of **all** people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom" (Constitution of South Africa, 1996: Section 7.1). Although the Bill of Rights acknowledges it is subjected to certain limitations, it sets out values that apply to everyone, including equality and human dignity (Constitution of South Africa, 1996: Sections 9-10). The Bill of Rights guarantees that *everyone* has the right of access to social assistance.[33]

Of further relevance is the Refugees Act (1998), which was passed "to give effect within the Republic of South Africa to the relevant international legal instruments, principles and standards relating to refugees; to provide for the reception into South Africa of asylum seekers; to regulate applications for and recognition of refugee status; to provide for the rights and obligations flowing from such status…" (Refugees Act, 1998). The Immigration Act 13 of 2002 regulates the entry, stay and departure of people to and from South Africa.[34]

However, despite this legal landscape, and other similar international, regional, and domestic frameworks for human rights protection, there is a disconnect between policy and practice. Laws do not ensure protection for migrants (Landau, 2017; Khan, 2020; Khan, 2021).

Although the protections for refugees, guaranteed in the South African Constitution, domestic refugee legislation and the country's obligations that arise from regional and international conventions to which South Africa is party, in practice, "refugees' experiences tell a different story" (Khan, 2020:262).

[33] Constitution of South Africa. Bill of Rights. Section 27: Health care, food, water and social security 27. (1) Everyone has the right to have access to— (a) health care services, including reproductive health care; (b) sufficient food and water; and (c) social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance.
[34] See Immigration Act 13 of 2002 | South African Government (www.gov.za) accessed on 22 June 2021.

1.6. Conceptual Framework

This thesis topic can be situated in global debates and existing literature about hospitality, citizenship, and membership. These debates are embedded in the concept of hospitality. In this case, hospitality relates to the crossing of borders (territorial) and the relationship between hosts (government/citizens) and guests (foreigners/migrants), as well as expectations from guests (for example, to be entitled to human rights protections) from their hosts.

1.6.1. Old boundaries, new mindsets

We live in a world where nation states are the building blocks of the international system. This Westphalian state model has divided continents into countries, which are demarcated by borders or boundaries. By virtue of this system, state sovereignty demands that states have absolute control over who can access their territories. This gives states supreme power and authority over the people within *their* (the state's) land. For states to remain powerful over their territories, they must retain control over their land.

However, proponents of cosmopolitanism recognise the principle of universal human rights. This holds that all people are created equal, and deserve to be treated with dignity and respect, regardless of where they come from, where they find themselves (the place/space), or their nationality.

These two opposing realities that exist simultaneously constitute a dilemma which Benhabib describes as a "crisis of territoriality" (2004:4). She writes:

> "We are like travellers navigating an unknown terrain with the help of old maps, drawn at a different time and in response to different needs. While the terrain we are travelling on, the world society of states, has changed, our normative map has not" (Benhabib, 2004: 6).

Benhabib acknowledges that the territorial man-made borders that form our literal world map were drawn centuries ago. While the world has since changed – transnationalism, for example, acknowledges that people can live in multiple places – our normative maps (the ideas we have and the behaviours related to outdated maps) have remained the same.

This has an impact of identity and how we view those from outside our normative maps. The nation-state system creates citizens, who are distinguished from others, who are seen as non-citizens. Citizenship formally determines membership or belonging to a nation-state. Holston and Appadurai point out that "since the eighteenth century, one of the defining marks of modernity has been the use of two linked concepts of association – citizenship and nationality – to establish the meaning of

full membership in society" (1996: 187). Citizenship thus can be understood as the "national bond between state and citizen" (Herbst, 2000: 227). While this notion of citizenship reflects methodological nationalism, which is defined as the assumption that the nation state is central (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002) it is an important understanding, because it is a norm, although an archaic one. Membership ensures inclusion and access to resources, while non-membership implies exclusion.

1.6.2 Social boundaries

Lamont and Molnar define social boundaries as "objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities" (2002:168). Newman explains that the study of borders is multidisciplinary. For political scientists, borders reveal power relations, while for sociologists and anthropologists, borders reflect binary distinctions (for example, us versus them) at multiple scales (Newman, 2006:5). Newman argues that the process of bordering rather than borders itself is preeminent (Newman, 2006:6). Demarcation is how the criteria for inclusion and exclusion are chosen (Newman, 2006:6). In other words, demarcation is the process of boundary-making. The question is, who has the power to demarcate boundaries and what are they? Torpey (1998:239) argues that modern states have "expropriated the legitimate means of movement". His view is that states hold hegemonic power to decide who can move within and across borders, by controlling borders, through passports and citizenship. Regardless, migrants move, and citizens have different responses to migrants.

Citizenship status is a form of a social boundary; it separates those who are included equally (citizens) from those who are excluded (non-citizens). The boundary that is drawn is determined by the prerequisites of citizenship, thus creating the status of 'foreigner'. This casts a binary where power rests in the hands of those defined as citizens. Waldinger and Soehl thus define citizenship in dominant and exclusionary terms, as an instrument of closure:

> "Citizenship has two faces: it is internally inclusive, establishing legal equality for members of the state, but also externally exclusive, as only citizens possess unconditional access to the territory and full political rights. Using the term introduced by Rogers Brubaker (1992), citizenship is an object as well as an instrument of closure" (Waldinger and Soehl, 2013:337).

A key aspect of this is legitimacy. Citizenship status is a legal status that establishes who legitimately has full political rights, and access to resources and services, as members of the polity. Lacking

citizenship status denotes difference and subordination; because citizenship is associated with legitimacy, belonging and membership to a polity.

Derrida's conceptualization of hospitality involves a binary relationship between a host and a guest (Still, 2001). In the South African context and viewed from the heuristic of this study, the binary of citizen is foreigner.

This binary is often disguised within the context of South Africa's fading 'rainbow nation' aspiration. Several authors have pointed out that there is an underbelly or "dark side" of South Africa's new democracy (Peberdy, 1998; Crush, 2000; Mosselson, 2010). Not only are 'foreigners' or 'illegal immigrants' perceived as threatening the state's authority to control borders, but also as a threat to South African citizens' access to socio-economic resources and services (Mosselson, 2010:645). Crush argues that this perception arises from a citizenry that feels under attack by 'outsiders' (2010:110). In alignment with Crush, Mosselson (2010:645) argues that migrants are seen as a threat to both the state and citizenry, in other words as the "enemy". Schmitt argued that this principle is the paradox of liberal democracy: "not only are equals equal but unequals will not be treated equally" (Mouffe, 1998:39 in Mosselson, 2010:646).

This binary has not only created tension but has also given rise to its own language; in South Africa, 'Makwerekwere' is a derogatory term used by locals to refer to foreigners.

1.6.2. Concepts of multiculturalism

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights says: "All humans are born free and equal in dignity and human rights" (UDHR, 1948). In 1952 Hannah Arendt who was herself a stateless person, wrote:

> "The stateless people were as convinced as the minorities that loss of national rights was identical with loss of human rights, that the former inevitably entailed the latter. The more they were excluded from rights in any form, the more they tended to look for a reintegration into a national, into their own national community" (Arendt, 1952:292).

What Arendt observed was that when a person was no longer a citizen of a country, there was no authority responsible to ensure the recognition of their identity and to protect their human rights. A loss of citizenship therefore implied a loss of human rights. Arendt argues that citizens' membership to a political community or a state is what ensures their human rights. Without this membership, "human rights are often unrealised" (Arendt, 1968 in: Khan, 2020:264).

What Arendt wrote in 1952 following World War Two, is as relevant in our contemporary world as it was then. Benhabib notes: "The growing normative incongruities between international human rights norms, particularly as they pertain to the "rights of others" – immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers – and assertions of territorial sovereignty are the novel features of this new landscape" (Benhabib, 2004: 6). Arendt and Benhabib highlight a tension between the hegemonic territorial nation state, which purportedly guarantees rights for its citizens, and the existence of non-citizens or 'others'. A key feature is perceived entitlement or legitimacy, and this is experienced along lines of nationality.

Multicultural, democratic South Africa presents a more complex study, offering more intricacies of understanding. There are strands of different communities who make up this country. Therefore, different people have different ideas about the country's governance. In South Africa, there are multiple hosts, each with contested claims over the laws of hospitality.

Considering the example of the SRD grant in South Africa, two main reactions tend to emerge and create a unique tension:

> "…some aim to deny social services to various categories of non-citizens…The other kind of response has gone in the opposite direction. It tries to make citizenship more inclusive. It aims to reconceive citizenship in supranational and non-local terms in which rights are available to individuals regardless of national origins, residence or place of work. Examples include movements for human rights, transnational citizenship, and continental associations" (Holston and Appadurai, 1996: 191).

There were several reactions to the South African government's announcement of the SRD grant. On the one hand, civil society advocated to extend the SRD grant to additional categories of non-citizens, asylum seekers and special-permit holders. On the other hand, however, there was another response that called for "South Africans first" which advocated for a more exclusive citizenship based strictly on nationality and place of birth.

1.6.3. Nativism as a colonial construct

The roots of this tension are suggested to lie in the country's colonial history. When new nation states became independent from old colonial masters, one of the ways they consolidated power was by creating citizenship through deciding who "legitimately lived in their societies and who did not, and this process … effectively foreclosed any opportunities to migrate" (Herbst, 2000: 228).

Mamdani (2001) and Herbst (2000) both describe how, despite the waves of independence movements globally, colonial powers exerted influence over African states in terms of the

politicisation of their new identities and the legislature related to citizenship. This shaped contemporary understanding of citizenship.

Consequently, as Eyoh argues, "citizenship remains an unresolved and highly contested issue in contemporary Africa" (2008: 269). The 'nativist' conception of citizenship is inherited from colonialism, argues that citizenship is determined by birth (Eyoh, 2008: 280). The nativist approach, also known as autochthony, provides an extremely limited and impractical interpretation of citizenship, by effectively excluding anyone from citizenry who has been born in another country, regardless of ancestry. This approach also provides a potential rationale for effectively excluding any non-natives from protection by the government.

1.6.4. Towards a new citizenry

However, while this approach lies in the background, proponents of the right to exclude certain communities from membership of a country, use state sovereignty as the central tenet of their argument. A consequence of this exclusionary approach is that those who are excluded from the citizenry mobilize and create new types of citizens, sources of law and participation, thereby expanding democracies (Holston and Appadurai, 1996: 187-188).

On the other hand, scholars argue a case for open borders, highlighting freedom of movement. For example, Carens challenges the view that prioritises a state's power: "States may choose to be generous in admitting immigrants, but they are under no obligation to do so" (US Immigration policy, 1981 in: Carens, 1987: 251). Drawing on a Nozickian approach, Carens purports that, "The state is obliged to protect the rights of citizens and non-citizens equally because it enjoys a *de facto* monopoly over the enforcement of rights within its territory" (1987:252). For Carens, Nozick's argument "…means rather that it provides no basis for the state to exclude aliens and no basis for individuals to exclude aliens that could not be used to exclude citizens as well" (1987:253).

Regarding current restrictions on immigration, Carens argues that they are "like feudal barriers to mobility, they protect unjust privilege" (1987: 270). This argument therefore helps to partly explain and support the civil society response in South Africa that argues that the government has an obligation to include protect all people, equally.

1.6.5. Classifications

At the root of the migrant experience of hospitality is classification or categorisation and the associated rights attached to each category. "The **classification and attendant differentiation of the rights of citizens and migrants** have been major factors in recent civil and interstate wars on the

continent" (Eyoh, 2008: 269). Although in the current South African case, a war has not broken out, this does not mean that this policy decision of the government does not have an impact.

By drawing a conceptual line between who it is obliged to include and exclude in extending relief, the South African government can be perceived to condone exclusionary attitudes to migrants. This will be explored further in this thesis.

Classification facilitates membership or exclusion. In a context of economic slowdown, exacerbated by the pandemic, tensions can arise as people claim access to limited opportunities to earn a living. As Eyoh emphasizes: "The tensions generated by the competing claims of citizens and migrants over livelihoods are most acute in cities where the migrant presence has always been most visible" (2008:271).

Tensions worsen in an environment of both perceived and actual scarcity. As a result of the differentiation between categories of migrants, states effectively "…disregard the human rights of the overwhelming majority of mostly unskilled and poor migrants who are without legal protection" (Eyoh, 2008:271). This became clear in South Africa during the state of disaster at the time of the pandemic. In the context of the pandemic, with restrictions which affected people's ability to earn a living, the government provided the SRD gr to alleviate suffering. However, only certain groups, including citizens, refugees, and permanent residents were eligible to apply for this grant.

1.6.6. The concept of hospitality related to migrants in South Africa

Hospitality is used as the conceptual framework in this thesis and the concepts of inclusion and exclusion are intrinsic to hospitality. For the purpose of this thesis, hospitality will be understood in terms of inclusion. In Bulley's words:

> "As it [hospitality] operates to form relations between self and other, inside and outside, **inclusion and exclusion**, those distinctions also need to be policed, managed and controlled, even after the threshold of the home is crossed." (2015:2)

This thesis adopts the conceptualisation of hospitality as the crossing of borders and boundaries (Still, 2010; Germann Molz and Gibson, 2007 in Bulley, 2015:5). Hospitality according to Bulley is "necessarily a spatial practice because it involves the crossing of borders and thresholds. It is structural, requiring an inside and an outside, and that the two be separated by more or less clearly defined boundaries" (Still, 2010; Germann Molz and Gibson, 2007 in Bulley, 2015:5).

Fassin, who argues that borders and boundaries[35] are interconnected, explains that theoretically they are seen as separate (Fassin, 2011; Fassin, 2020):

> "In a tradition inherited from Weber and Durkheim, borders were generally viewed as territorial limits defining political entities (states, in particular) and legal subjects (most notably, citizens), whereas boundaries were principally considered to be social constructs establishing symbolic differences (between class, gender, or race) and producing identities (national, ethnic, or cultural communities)" (Fassin, 2011:214).

1.6.7. Theoretical framework

One of the theories that will be employed to explore this project's research question is the social constructivist theory. According to the social constructivist theory, language, communication and speech play "…the central role of the interactive process through which we understand the world and ourselves" (Galbin, 2014: 82). This theory will be helpful to explore the meanings attached to the South African government's official communication during the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as to understand migrants' experiences.

Another theory that is helpful in exploring this project's research question is the agency-structure theory. The South African government's laws and regulations can be seen as the structure in which migrants live. Sibeon highlights that "structure … can constrain actors or facilitate and enable them to achieve their preferred objectives" (1999:142).

In this particular case, the structure puts constraints on migrants' ability to access relief during the pandemic. However, this does not consider subjective *agency,* which is critical in relation to migration. Agency is defined as, "actors' capacity to act upon situations" (Sibeon, 1999: 139). This theory will be helpful to explore how migrants responded to the Covid-19 pandemic and the South African government's decisions that impacted them.

As David Turton asserts, "to migrate, when applied to human beings, implies at least some degree of agency, of independent will. To migrate is something we do, not something that is done to us" (Turton, 2003: 11). Agency is a key theme in this thesis. Agency denotes power or "independent will" (Turton, 2003:11). What Turton argues is "we should be focusing on forced migrants as 'purposive actors' - as ordinary people" (Turton, 2003:11).

[35] For a comprehensive overview of the concepts, borders and boundaries, see: Fassin, Didier (2020). How Territorial Borders and Social Boundaries Delineate our World. Chapter 1: *Connecting Borders and Boundaries*. p.4 Pluto Press, London. Fassin's definition of 'border' and 'boundary' will be adopted in this thesis.

1.7. Significance of the Study

This study is significant because migrants' voices matter. Migrants' lived experiences matter. Migrants' narratives matter (Eastmond, 2007). Migrants' responses to government policy and migrants' understandings of this policy (and why they were included or excluded from entitlements/benefits), and the implications thereof matter.

Before being a 'migrant', a person is a human being (Turton, 2003). A migrant is an assigned category, and thus a social construction. Human beings come from different origins, backgrounds, and different journeys, values, expectations and opinions. Human beings have agency, and therefore migrants have agency. What migrants think and feel about a policy that affects or does not affect them, matters. How migrants experience government's response to a crisis, matters. Migrants' lives are also impacted by government's response.

Although there is media[36] coverage of migrants' experiences in South Africa during the Covid-19 pandemic, there are limited academic articles. The existing academic articles address primarily the exclusion of migrants from access to the vaccine, and health concerns.[37] However, there is a gap in the academic literature in exploring the experiences of migrants in South Africa during the Covid-19 pandemic, from migrants' perspectives. This is a critical gap and is the motivation and justification for this research. This research aims to fill this knowledge gap.

[36] See for example: Ekamberam, Sharon, 29 April 2020. *Covid-19 is not a reason to hunt down illegal immigrants. Daily Maverick.* Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-04-29-covid-19-is-not-a-reason-to-hunt-down-illegal-immigrants/ accessed 9 March 2021; Chekero, T and Ogude, H, 14 September 2020. *Convival networks, how migrants cope with the pandemic in South Africa*, available at: https://www.coronatimes.net/convivial-networks-migrants-pandemic-south-africa/Staff reporter. 8 March 2021. *Covid-19 leaves Zimbabwean immigrants stranded in SA*. Available at: https://www.thezimbabwemail.com/zimbabwe/covid-19-leaves-zimbabwean-immigrants-stranded-in-sa/ accessed on 9 March 2021.

[37] See for example: Walker, R, Maple, N and Veary, J. Migrants and the Covid-19 Vaccine Roll-out in Africa: Hesitancy and Exclusion. *Migration and Health project Southern Africa.* Occasional paper 1 (June 2021) accessed on 30 July 2021 and Mukumbang et al. Unspoken inequality: how COVID-19 has exacerbated existing vulnerabilities of asylum-seekers, refugees, and undocumented migrants in South Africa. *International Journal for Equity in Health* (2020) 19:141 https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-020-01259-4; accessed on 30 July 2021.

2. Methodology

Considering the research questions which focus on migrants' experiences of (in)hospitality via the South African government's response to the Covid-19 crisis, the most appropriate methodology for a study of this nature is qualitative. This thesis uses a variety of qualitative approaches including narrative, thematic analysis, and discourse analysis.

Firstly, in attempting to present the authentic voices of the migrants interviewed, the study adopts a narrative approach. I have weaved my own experiences into this thesis in a story-telling way as qualitative methodology acknowledges that research impacts the researcher as well.

Secondly, a thematic analysis was employed to organize the main themes that emerged through the participants' narratives. Finally, discourse analysis was used to understand how language represents migrants as 'foreigners' or 'outsiders', and the power this holds.

Initially I had planned to interview three population groups to understand the holistic migrant experience. These three initial groups included government representatives, civil society, and migrants' representatives. However, despite initial informal communication, I received no formal response from government to requests for interviews. Due to a lack of responsiveness from government, and after realising that citizens views are beyond the scope of this research project, it became clear that the narratives of the migrants needed to be the central focus of the study.

The narrative approach was used to focus on migrants' lived experiences as articulated through their own words. The narrative or storytelling approach is important as stories come from people; this means the study's assumptions rest on a bottom-up approach, rather than a top-down approach where academic theories inform the research. As Marita Estmond argues: "as a field of knowledge production, narrative provides a site to examine the meanings which actors ascribe to experience" (Estmond, 2007: 260). This study is also partly autoethnographic, as it incorporates my personal and reflective experiences in the analysis; this is done through storytelling (Adams, Jones and Ellis, 2014 in: Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2013).

2.1. Data Collection

In order to gather rich data which would answer some of the research questions, the study included primary data collection and secondary data collection. This provides holistic insight into the subject from various perspectives.

2.1.1. Primary data collection

This research report is centred around primary data collection. As a starting point, I researched and contacted relevant authorities and civil society organisations whom I had identified as research participants, to introduce my proposed research.

In October 2020, I contacted the Media Liaison Officer from the Office of the Minister of Department of Social Development (DSD) to share my proposed research and informed her that I would request an interview with the Minister once my proposal was accepted and I received ethical clearance. On 10 December 2020, I sent a formal letter requesting an interview to the Head of Office of the Minister of DSD.[38] Although I followed up with an email on 25 January 2021 via e-mail, and again on 16 February, to date I have received no response. On 17 December 2020, I sent a formal letter requesting an interview with the Minister of Home Affairs. To date I have received no response.[39]

In October-November 2020, I contacted civil society organisations, including Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and the Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town via e-mail, to share my research proposal. I then had informal conversations about my proposed research topic with representatives of both organizations, and shared my intention to request interviews once I received ethical clearance from the University of the Witswatersrand.

I used a snowball method to arrange interviews. LHR suggested several civil society contacts who were relevant for my research. I am aware that LHR has its own subjectivity, and the contacts I was referred to and subsequently connected with represent subjective perspectives, which influenced our conversations.

In November 2020, I contacted additional civil society organisations to introduce my research. These included the Refugee Social Services (RSS), the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA), the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), Three2Six (sic), the South-South Migration Hub, and the Migrants and Refugees Office of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference. During each conversation, if the contact suggested additional potential participants, I would then reach out to them in turn, to introduce my research and to request an interview.[40]

Formal interviews commenced in December 2020. Most formal interviews were conducted between January to March 2021.[41] In total, I conducted 12 one-on-one telephonic interviews with migrants

[38] See Appendix One for this correspondence.
[39] See Appendix Two for this correspondence.
[40] See section, Ethical Considerations below, for detailed information about the interview request process and administration.
[41] See Appendix Three for interview guide questions.

between January to March 2021.[42] In addition, I conducted 10 interviews with civil society representatives. Of these, eight took place one-on-one telephonically, while two were responses to questions in writing. Each interview lasted approximately 40-90 minutes.

Given the restrictions on movement due to social distancing imposed by the ongoing and unprecedented Covid-19 pandemic, I used an emergent design approach; this means that some elements of the research design have been reconsidered based on the changing context (Ravitch, 2020:1). For example, this research project's subject was reconsidered and formulated in this manner. Additionally, due to Covid-19 restrictions, the interviews which would usually have taken place in person, were conducted remotely using online voice telephone calls via the WhatsApp platform.

Following the interviews, I typed my handwritten notes and then completed the notes using the audio recordings of the interviews for accuracy. A research scribe assisted me with transcribing some of my recorded interviews. I verified the transcriptions thereafter for accuracy. Others I transcribed myself.

While conducting the interviews I found that in practice the divides between civil society and migrants are at times blurred. Without intending to, I ended up interviewing migrants who were also activists, working independently or with civil society organisations. There was therefore an intersection between migrants and civil society/activists. These migrant activists had in common a particular orientation, that is a human rights approach. This of course means that they portrayed a particular perspective which not all migrants hold. I interviewed all migrants in their personal capacity and included a question about the role their organisation had played in response to the South African government policy decision about the SRD grant.

Although I conducted 12 interviews with migrants, I decided to focus on six interviews with migrants themselves for the purpose of my data analysis. The reason for this was due to the richness of the data collected in these interviews. These participants are migrants from different African countries including Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo via Tanzania and Somalia. They have various labels/status including an asylum-seeker, refugees, special-permit holders and migrant workers. The migrant participants include two males and four females, who live in three different locations in three South African cities, Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban. The youngest migrant is a student in her early twenties, and the eldest migrant interviewed is a grandmother.

[42] Interview with Lerato Nkhetse, 18 January 2021. Interview with Nqabutho Mabhena, 25 January 2021. Interview with Brian, 26 January 2021. Interview with Lumumba, 16 February 2021. Interview with Mafoko, 18 February 2021. Interview with Tinashe, 22 February 2021. Interview with Nobuhle, 23 February 2021. Interview with Eneserine, 26 February 2021. Interview with Pricilia, 8 March 2021. Interview with Cecelia, 9 March 2021. Interview with Didier* 10 March 2021. Interview with Maryan, 11 March 2021.
*Not his real name. This participant has requested to remain anonymous.

2.1.2. Secondary data collection

A large component of this research project involved secondary data collection, in the form of desktop data sourced online. This data comprised literature related to the concepts of hospitality, citizenship; Covid-19 and the SRD grant.

Articles were sourced from credible academic journals.[43] I collected policy documents issued between March- July 2020, related to South African authorities' decisions during the state of disaster. Desk-top research continued throughout the thesis-writing process. The full details of the secondary data appear in the reference list.

2.2. Data analysis

This thesis adopts a narrative approach. This is "an interpretative narrative approach to explore lived experiences and the subjective dimension of social life" (Eastmond, 2007: 248). It is suitable for my thesis since the focus is on subjective experiences of migrants, in relation to government's decision. This research also required my subjective interpretation of the experiences that participants narrated, which is integral to a narrative approach. As Eastmond highlights: "In all stories, the personal voice is interwoven with those of many others, and in narrative analysis it necessarily includes that of the researcher" (Eastmond, 2007:261). As I have experienced moments in my life of moving to a new place, both abroad and within South Africa, where I found myself a stranger, I have first-hand insight into being a guest. My experiences of hospitality are woven into this thesis as it is part of my analysis.

Following the interview process, I used a thematic analysis which is "a method for systematically identifying, organising and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set" (Braun and Clarke, 2012: 57). Thematic analysis was appropriate as a method to analyse the rich data collected during the interviews.

I apply discourse analysis to written and oral data that originate from migrants' interviews, and official South African government authorities during the Covid-19 pandemic. The rationale for this is that discourse analysis involves analysis of power and language, which is applicable to both migrants and government communication. Since discourse analysis originates from social constructivist theories, this analysis focuses on culture and society:

[43] For example, the Journal of Refugee Studies, the Journal of Southern African Studies, Political Theory, Public Cultures, Hospitality and Society, etc. For a full list of references see the Reference list at the end of this thesis.

> "We are fundamentally historical and cultural beings and our views of, and knowledge about, the world are the 'products of historically situated interchanges among people'" (Gergen 1985: 267 in: Jorgensen and Phillips, 2011:12).

Discourse analysis is therefore critical to expose the power dynamics at play when considering the choice of language migrants use to make sense of their experiences, as well as the terms and words the South African authorities used when addressing the 'nation' during the state of disaster. Discourse analysis highlights the links between knowledge and action: "Different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions, and therefore the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences" (Burr 1995: 5, Gergen 1985: 268–269 in: Jorgensen and Phillips, 2011:12).

2.3. Positionality and Reflexivity

Butler-Kisber emphasises that, "we all bring beliefs, often unarticulated ones, to the research process" (2010:16). My positionality is that I am a female, South African citizen who was born in Cape Town. On this basis, if I needed to, I would have been able to access the Covid-19 SRD grant due to my citizenship. However, I am also a third-generation migrant from India. Despite this, I have always considered myself to be 'South African'. I will also include my reflection on my experience as a guest during the time of researching this thesis.

The role of the interviewer is reinforced by the concept of co-creation of narratives. The authors, Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou emphasise the impact the interviewer has on research, for example in "how we hear, and often fail to hear aspects of the narrative we encounter and how we decipher their meaning" (2008: 17). They acknowledge that "narrative researchers are crucially part of the data that we collect; our presence is imprinted upon all that we do" (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008:17). I acknowledge that my own positionality and biases no doubt influence my interviews with participants, and interpretation of the data.

For the last decade, I worked in the field of human rights and social justice in Southern Africa. My default is therefore normative: migrants *should* be protected. International human rights law is my framework of reference. This is my bias and assumptions about the way the world works. No doubt, this is what initially sparked my interest in this topic, following my interpretation that the government's decision about migrants during Covid-19 pandemic was xenophobic and inhospitable.

During this research, however, I was surprised many times by my findings. What I have learnt is that not all migrants hold the same perspective as my initial reaction. In fact, some migrants did not expect anything from the South African government. I found myself angry on their behalf,

nonetheless and unwittingly. What migrants experience as guests, in relation to what they think they deserve from their hosts is contested.

Recently, in April 2021, I wrote a reflection on my experience of unexpectedly becoming a guest:

Last week a fire engulfed my city, Cape Town. When the fire wrapped around the mountain, I could see the golden-orange embers from the window at the back of our house. It was 2am. I went to bed thinking that the fire would pass by and be gone by morning. However, the next morning the winds flared the fire in our direction. My dad made a call. We had to pack. It was inevitable that we would need to evacuate.

What to pack? My passport was already in my backpack…

I called my cousin Bouchra - we need to leave home. "Can we come to your home?" I asked. Bouchra, a migrant from Morocco, had called the night before saying that if we needed a place to stay, we were welcome at hers. I did not think it would be necessary to take up this offer. The next morning, however, we had no choice.

When we drove out of our home I did not know if we would see it again.

"Pack your belongings neatly in a corner in the people's house", my dad instructed. I had suitcases and, bags, and things stuffed in my handbag that I grabbed at the last minute.

"I'm a refugee[44]," I declared. We were forced to flee home. About an hour after we left home, an official announcement from the City's Disaster Risk Management instructed immediate evacuation of our road. We had left in time. At Bouchra's home, I felt apologetic for taking up space and bringing all my possessions along too. However, she was hospitable and shoo-shood my apologies. I felt welcomed. For the next two days, I was a guest in her home. She was my host. I felt like I was in a ten-star hotel because of the way in which I was treated. I felt at home. At ease.

While my experience was in no way analogous to that of a refugee, it is connected to my thesis topic since I experienced a form of hospitality. By becoming a guest in Bouchra's home, I experienced a relationship of hospitality, which gave me insights into identity, power dynamics, interests and ultimately, the laws of hospitality. While my experience is subjective, it has allowed me to reflect first-hand on what it is like to be a guest.

[44] Although this was my exact words at the time, in hindsight I realize that this could be insensitive toward refugees who have endured far more traumatic experiences when forced to leave their homes.

2.4. Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance for this research study was obtained in December 2020.[45] This study was a low-risk study, and posed no harm to the participants. Before holding an interview, I sent information[46] about my research topic and a consent form[47] to each participant. Participants returned their consent forms via email. Where participants did not have access to signing the consent form electronically, consent was obtained verbally and recorded. All interviews were recorded for accuracy, with participants' permission and I took handwritten notes during the interview. All civil society participants except one person agreed for their names to be used in the research. All migrant participants except one person agreed to be identified by their names in the research. In this case, I used a pseudonym to protect this individual's identity.[48]

2.5. Limitations of the Study

An ongoing limitation is that this thesis has been researched and written during the Covid-19 pandemic. What this means is that the research and writing took place during times of isolation, and away from the traditional university space. I did not have physical access to the university library, which usually would have been my reference point. Contact with my supervisor and research participants took place remotely, as did all the interviews. Face-to-face contact facilitates a sense of connection and reveals non-verbal communication such as body language. Therefore, conducting interviews behind the screen of a telephone was limiting. While technology facilitated remote interviews, and sharing of information, it simultaneously could have served as a barrier, preventing deeper connection, and understanding. However, the Covid-19 pandemic is ongoing and due to ethical considerations, remote communication was the only available option, albeit limiting.

There were language barriers too. Communication via telephone meant that live translation services during the interview were not possible. All the interviews were conducted in English; however, English was not always the participants' first language. This means that there is the possibility that some meanings have been lost in the absence of live translation.

This thesis' focus on the SRD grant can be seen as limiting, since the government's response to the Covid-19 crisis was far more comprehensive than this. It can therefore be viewed as simplistic or

[45] Ethics protocol number ACMS2020-07-08. The title of this research project has since changed, approved by Faculty.
[46] See Appendix Four for an example of this participant information letter.
[47] See Appendix Five for the consent form.

[48] Only the research scribe and I had access to the interview recordings and that these were stored in a password protected folder. All participants knew that they could remove themselves from the project at any time and were under no obligation to partake in the study.

reductionist. However, the aim of using this SRD grant is as a heuristic (or a case study), a lens through which to understand South Africa's hospitality toward migrants, and the experience of migrants in South Africa in relation to the government's decision during the Covid-19 crisis. This research project is by no means an overall reflection of the South African government's response to the Covid-19 crisis in its entirety.

The scope of this research is limited. While conducting this research, many issues and themes emerged, which are all important. These include the gaps between policy and practice. For example, how many people were eligible for this grant, versus how many received it. This points to the multiple challenges in practical implementation of this grant including administrative and bureaucratic. This is reflective of broader challenges regarding implementation of court orders and the gap between law and practice (Landau, 2017; Khan, 2020; Khan, 2021).

This thesis does not purport to represent the views of *all* migrants. The participants in this research are all migrants. However, participants come from diverse backgrounds with unique circumstances, life experiences, values, beliefs and interests. While there are numerous differences between the participants, what they all have in common is that they are cross-border international migrants. They have all migrated from African countries to South Africa. Within South Africa, these migrants are classified by the government as 'refugees'; 'asylum-seekers'; 'special-permit holders' and 'economic migrants.'

I come from a traditional International Relations academic background which takes as its starting point that nation states are the building blocks of the international system. I have never before questioned borders between countries; it was a given, an assumption not usually challenged. Through this interdisciplinary Masters in Forced Migration and Displacement Studies, I have learnt that my previous lens amounts to methodological nationalism. From a sociological perspective, borders and boundaries are created, they are socially constructed. They have the power that we give them, through our belief in them. Similarly, the terms 'refugee'; 'asylum-seeker'; 'migrant' are terms I previously accepted as facts, and now understand to be social constructions of categories. At times, it has been challenging to put on a new set of glasses and to adjust to the new lens. Although this has been an enlightening journey, I acknowledge this is my academic representation.

3. Analysis

There are three main findings which form the three major themes that will be used to guide this analysis. In brief, these findings are that firstly, the government is not a hegemonic host; secondly, migrants are heterogenous guests; and thirdly, migrants as guests are powerful.

These main findings are expanded into sub-themes. These findings are based on my interpretation and are not the only interpretation. After explaining the core theoretical premises, section one of the data analysis looks at the creation of the label 'foreigner' who is considered the guest. Significantly, some migrants refer to themselves as 'foreigners' and understand they are not part of the 'children' of their host government.

Migrants' experiences of fear in relation to this label are then explored; this is a fear that emanates primarily from interactions with local South African citizens who identify migrants as 'foreigners'. This shows that the host is not only the government who sets the policies. The power to demarcate boundaries is in the hands of local South Africans too. The data analysis is based on core theoretical premises, including boundary theory: social boundaries; Citizen vs. 'Foreigner' as an example of a social boundary; and Derrida's conceptualization of Hospitality: relationship between host and guest.

3.1 The government as hegemonic host

While the government may appear to be the hegemonic power that demarcates social boundaries, I argue that in practice, power to define, draw and re-draw social boundaries lies in the hands of local South Africans too- who have their own perspectives and interests. Power is therefore exercised by those who can define boundaries or rules. One of the most salient examples of social boundaries is the way in which the government and citizens respond to and engage with migrants.

Hospitality involves the relationship between a host and guest. For the purpose of this thesis, the host refers to the South African government, which can also be extended to include citizens, civil society and the judiciary, while the guest is migrants. For Derrida, power lies in the host who can define the rules, or laws of hospitality.

This research has found that in practice, local South African citizens can be seen as an extension of the host- the South African government. In addition, civil society have a voice, and the judiciary can make rulings that override the government's power. The judiciary is therefore an extension of the

host too. However, the judiciary's views may differ from the government, and so the judiciary may act as a check on the government's power.

3.1.1 The 'foreigner'

The interviews testified that migrants understand the government's decision in relation to their categories/labels/representation as 'foreigners'. Although some migrants relate the decision to their and others' perceptions associated with this representation, it is notable that their reaction to the government's decision is dynamic and potentially transformatory. What this means is that when people are faced with an event (in this case, the government's response to the Covid-19 pandemic in the form of the SRD grant) it brings forth reactions that reveal their values and ideals, which may be latent. In other words, it is as if an event provides a mirror to themselves. They look into the mirror and see what they already thought they knew about themselves; however, it also, sometimes reveals new and possibly hidden aspects of their beliefs and new ways of viewing their contexts.

The analogy of particles colliding can be used to explain this. When there is a collision between different particles, it leads to a reaction (Landau, 2011). In this case, it's the interaction and relationship between migrants (guests) and hosts that is of interest.

I argue that the migrants interviewed understand the government's decision (to offer or withhold hospitality) in terms of their self- understanding (even implicit) of borders and foreignness. This category or label, 'foreigner' is linked to the concept of hospitality which requires a clear distinction between the "hierarchical binary (host-guest)" (Chamberlain, 2020:64).

However, what is significant to note is that hospitality is a social construction, in which the host and guest do not exist on their own. It is the relationship between the host and guest that enables hospitality (Still, 2010). Like the Hegelian[49] relationship where recognition between 'master' and 'slave' is necessary, recognition between host and guest is necessary for hospitality. The guest in this case is the migrant, who describes herself as a 'foreigner'. This label 'foreigner' is, significantly, a social construct itself. Turton argues that "to conceptualize something is to construct it rather than to define or describe it (Turton, 2003:2). In other words, we socially construct categorical distinctions between migrants, creating terms such as 'refugees'; 'asylum seekers'; 'migrants' etc. In the South African context, this can similarly be applied to the label, 'foreigner'. Cecelia, a Zimbabwean refugee/special-permit-holder who works as a nanny in Mowbray referred to herself as a 'foreigner' described what this meant to her:

[49] G.W.F. Hegel, The Phenomenology of Mind, 178 in: Makowski, Piotr. (2008) p.3

"It means I'm not a South African. I'm from another country. Coming here to work, live or to find something to survive. Then I can go back to my country."

As Cecelia demonstrates, the word 'foreigner' also embodies/personifies a socio-spatial boundary. It is a social construction, an intersection of difference which incorporates both social and spatial aspects. I.e., 'foreigner' refers to a person who is a non-citizen (a social/legal category) which also refers to the person's place of origin (outside of South Africa). Cecilia said she did not receive any official information about the government's SRD grant, but she noticed South Africans queuing in Khayelitsha for the grant.[50]

About the SRD grant, Cecelia said:

"Us, we just say: maybe it's for their South Africans. ***Us, we are foreigners****. It's for their country. It did not even hurt us. Because we're not from their country. They are providing for* ***their children***[51]*…I'm not in my country. And I can't get everything which the people here, the South Africans are getting. Because I'm a foreigner. This is not my country."*

My interpretation is that Cecelia understood that she did not receive the grant based on her being a 'foreigner.' My expectation was that Cecelia would feel excluded. However, she expresses the sentiment of indifference, and an understanding that she is not one of South Africa's "children."

In the way Cecelia makes sense of this situation, she is describing a hierarchical system that exists between South Africa's "children" and "foreigners". This hierarchy is analogous to the host-guest binary (Still, 2010; Chamberlain, 2020). Cecelia understands that South African citizens are receiving the grant, while she is not, because she is a foreigner. This socio-spatial boundary therefore informs her understanding of the legitimacy of entitlement to the SRD grant. Cecelia sees South African citizens as legitimate benefactors/recipients, and she is not. This happens with an attitude of indifference.

What the distinction/label/boundary is, is demonstrated in terms of perceived legitimate entitlement to access resources and services. Labels/categories are therefore not neutral or inconsequential; they are political and determine perceived legitimacy to access resources and services. This is reinforced by the literature on the language of boundary setting. Both Zetter (1991) and Turton (2003) highlight the power relations involved in labelling. A label is not neutral, and

[50] "I think there were South Africans who were getting those ones. Because we could see them lining up at Home Affairs for those things. They were saying- those people who are not working. Foreigners, I didn't even hear any foreigner who got those ones" (Cecelia, interview with author).

[51] The idea that South Africa is providing for her "children" is echoed by Didier: "They're doing what they want for **their people**, not for everyone in the country (Didier, interview with author).

labelling is politicised (Rosenblat, 1984; Wood, 1985:6 in Zetter, 1991:45). Roger Zetter argues that "By reinforcing actions of designation, labelling means conditionality and differentiation, inclusion and exclusion, stereotyping and control" (Zetter, 1991:59).

There is therefore a power dynamic involved in labelling. Labelling involves a boundary between the powerful and powerless (Zetter, 1991:59). This is significant, because it means that the process of labelling or demarcation grants power to the host, which can include the government and humanitarian organisations. This process activates a set of rules, both concrete and assumed, that create the demarcations between insiders and outsiders or hosts and guests.

However, this research finds that in some cases, the labels given to migrants can resonate with their own ethics, creating a shift in power. For example, when Cecelia recognizes that she's a foreigner, this denies the government total power over the label. Cecelia already believes that because she is not South African, or because she is a 'foreigner', it is understandable that she is not equally entitled to certain resources and services, as the "children" of the host. What this shows is that not all migrants hold cosmopolitan views, and they are aware that not everyone is considered equal in the democratic system.

Zetter argues that "labelling is a process of designation; crucially, it is non-participatory" (Zetter, 1991:45). Similarly, Turton argues that these are "artefacts of policy concerns" (Turton, 2003:2). What these authors are highlighting is that those in power designate labels for migrants. Therefore, the language of migration "…is not the language of migrants themselves, but of their hosts or potential hosts" (Turton, 2003:4). However, contrary to what these authors argue, this thesis shows that migrants can and will use these labels to refer to themselves too.

In addition, my research finds that local South African citizens use the label 'foreigner'.[52] Importantly, this signals that the South African citizenry is an extension of the host, based on Turton's assertion that the language of migration is the language of migrants' hosts.

There are different ways of conceptualising citizenship: either through a communitarian or nationalist discourse, or with a cosmopolitan or transnational view. On the one hand, South Africans feel that they are entitled to the country's resources and services, as equal citizens who are materially deprived (Landau, 2011). This belief is based on the country's history of Apartheid and rooted in South Africans' subjectivities. On the other hand, migrants are attracted to South Africa, the 'land of Gold', known to be one of the most stable democracies on the African continent. However, when migrants arrive here, they find that their ideas do not always match reality. South Africa is gripped with high inequality, poverty and unemployment. Many South Africans are

[52] For example, Eneserine, Cecelia's testimony confirms this.

disgruntled at the pace of redistribution and economic transformation and consequently: "…outsiders have come to be understood as a threatening obstacle to achieving justice and retribution for decades of discrimination and indignity" (Landau, 2011:3). South African citizens therefore see foreigners as competing with them for scarce resources. Consequently, foreigners have become scapegoats for their socio-economic grievances. As Croucher pointed out in 1998: "in the absence of the racialized 'other', these immigrants have become scapegoats for the country's current social, economic and political ills" (Croucher, 1998:639).

Landau captures the differentiation:

> "The logos of contemporary citizenship, born in the struggle against apartheid, insists, often implicitly, on categorising South Africa's residents in two primary groups. The first is a relatively homogenous, entitled majority. The second comprises those who, by virtue of their origins, can only claim social legitimacy and recognition by demonstrating their utility to a **true and deserving political community**" (Landau, 2011:227). At the heart of the issue is social legitimacy. And the question of **who** is part of the "true and deserving political community" (Landau, 2011:227).

Tensions between the two groups often manifests in xenophobia. Landau describes the 2008 xenophobic attacks: "When state institutions evidently failed to deliver on their promises to protect and promote a politically entitled but materially deprived citizenry, the population (or parts of it) took on the obligation to alienate and exclude those standing in its way (Landau, 2011:3).

Xenophobia has become entrenched in South Africa. As a result, foreigners find ways to survive. This research finds that some foreigners feel entitled to the same rights as South African citizens, while others accept that they are secondary to citizens and that their needs are not prioritized by the South African government, which can barely please its own citizenry. This creates conditions ripe for conflict. There are contesting beliefs, along lines of citizenship and foreignness.

Despite the literature around the language of boundaries and despite my own expectations, the migrants, Eneserine and Cecelia, reified the label/category of 'foreigner'. I was surprised by this, because my interpretation is that the label 'foreigner' means 'outsider' or 'other'. Foreigner therefore signals 'otherness'. The category 'foreigner' therefore requires an 'other' in order to make this label 'foreigner' come to life. In this case, the 'other' refers to South African citizens, who have identified perceived 'non-citizens' as 'foreigners'. By absorbing the label and using it to identify themselves, migrants therefore legitimize the 'other' who is the host, that is, they reinforce the perspective of South Africans.

This is even more surprising when one considers that the word 'foreigner' in the South African context is synonymous with the derogatory label, '*Makwerekwere*'. As Eneserine articulates, she is called *Makwerekwere* and told to go back [home].

The fact that migrants are willing to refer to themselves as 'foreigners' could be a form of intersubjectivity. In the Hegelian sense, migrants know that the 'other', that is South African citizens, recognise them as foreigners, and so they see themselves in this way too. It is therefore a reflection of the relationship between the two, the 'foreigner' and the 'citizen'. The label, however, does not just denote an identity, instead it can be seen as a judgement:

"…far from clarifying an identity, the label conveys, instead, an extremely complex set of values, and judgements which are more than just definitional" (Zetter 1988:1 in Zetter, 1991:40).

Like Zetter and Turton, I initially assumed that it is power-holders who designate or make these distinctions. Since the government is responsible for migration policy, it is therefore reasonable to assume that the government is the host. However, the interviews indicated differently; in practice the citizenry is an extension of the host and, in addition, migrants themselves use the language of migration to refer to themselves. This brings into question the power imbalance assumed to be inherent in the process of demarcating boundaries.

3.1.2 Fear as part of being 'foreign' and street-level bureaucrats

Migrants experience some degree of fear in relation to their label as 'foreigner.' This institutionalised fear is a legacy of post- Apartheid South Africa. There has also been a pattern of xenophobic comments by political leaders, criticised and uncovered for example in a report by Navi Pillay[53] as well as patterns of xenophobic violence.[54] Migrants living in South Africa are aware of this context. In response to the xenophobia from local South Africans directed toward perceived 'outsiders' or 'foreigners', migrants then have a fear of the 'others' who in this case are local South Africans, seen as the 'insiders'. Migrants' fear is related to their perceived identification or representation as 'foreigner'.

This fear expressed through the interviews, is indicative of the perceived power that locals (South Africans) have, in relation to migrants. Migrants would not fear local South Africans if the latter did not wield some form of/degree of power over the former. Local South Africans can therefore be seen as an extension of the host. Using the analogy of a family to explain hospitality, some migrants

[53] See Report of the Special Reference Group on Migration and Community Integration in KwaZulu Natal, 31 October 2015, released in April 2016. Available at: http://www.accord.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/REPORT-SPECIAL-REFERENCE-GROUP.pdf

[54] See for example, Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA). 2008. Protecting Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in South Africa; Polzer and Igglesden 2009; Amnesty International Press Release, South Africa: Urgently Take Steps to Combat Impunity for Xenophobic Violence. 14 April 2015. Available at: https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/04/south-africa-urgently-take-steps-to-combat-impunity-for-xenophobic-violence/

see the government as the patriarch (host), while the children or members of the family such as citizens, civil society and the judiciary.

Strikingly, all the migrants interviewed expressed a degree of fear, based on their label, 'foreigner'. Eneserine, a 24-year-old refugee student[55] who lives in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) was the only interviewee who had received the SRD grant. She says:

> *"It [the SRD grant][56] is only R350. And it did not change anything. And actually, in the line there, you're just scared. You have a fear inside."*

When I asked what her fear was, Eneserine replied:

> *"For them, they only attack those who are working. But since we know they don't like us. Just being around them. And if they know I cannot speak Zulu, they are speaking about me, and I cannot hear them. So, I just keep quiet and do my best not to talk to anyone."*

Through the lens of fear by which Eneserine experienced the different people in the grant queue, she is describing a binary, between "us" and "them", or between "foreigners" and "South Africans."[57] This is analogous with the binary between guest and host, the very distinction that is necessary for hospitality (Still, 2010; Chamberlain, 2020).

When Eneserine admitted her feelings of fear, she expressed it directly in relation to her label of 'foreigner'. Even though she was legally eligible for the SRD grant, she felt fear of the 'South Africans' who were in the queue alongside her at the Post Office in Durban. This was a moment of interaction across a binary.

This reinforces the idea that the creation of social boundaries is the result of migration and interaction: "The contact with the "other" makes you realise what you are and what you are not" (Barth in: Misago, 2016: 64).

In line with this, Misago argues that:

> "Migration, and the interaction of different groups that results from it, appears to promote the formation and strengthening of exclusive national identities and social boundaries. Social boundaries are not formed and reinforced as a result of complete

[55] Eneserine has since graduated with a Bachelor of Commerce in Entrepreneurship.
[56] Author's elaboration
[57] When I asked her who "they" was, she responded, "South Africans now. We're talking about South Africans." When I asked her, "Who is us? They don't like 'us'?" Eneserine replied, "Foreigners" (Eneserine, author's interview).

isolation but rather as a result of interactions between different groups" (Misago, 2016:64).

Other migrants interviewed expressed a similar fear that Eneserine describes, during interactions with the 'other'. Didier[58], a 27-year-old student[59] asylum-seeker, who lives in Durban, KZN, was disappointed with the government's decision but said that the government's decision regarding the SRD did not affect his relationship with locals. He said:

> *"For me, I don't take things on a level, that it's this person that did that to me. I understand that it's a system, and the system it's governed by people in power. So, if I live with someone here, it's just okay for me."*

However, he continues his narration of fear below:

> *"…But the thing that affects me currently and that time also in Durban where we live, it's mixed, with citizens and immigrants. I feel like they look at you like a person who is disturbing their economy or so. Whereby, you feel like even the people who are surrounding you… they don't want you. And then you know you have that fear in the heart. Knowing even if talking to this person, maybe what he talks behind my back is bad, and I would even run from them."*

Didier shared two important points: firstly, that as he understands it, the government is responsible for making policy decisions, and he does not hold individuals responsible for this. Secondly, despite this, his perception of citizens is that: "they don't want you". As a result, he lives with "fear in the heart".

Many of these interactions involve daily hostile encounters migrants experienced from the time they arrived in South Africa, to the time they received documentation, and during visits to the DHA or clinics. These everyday encounters involve interaction with public servants, who are representatives of the host. Tinashe, a migrant activist who lives in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, said:

> *"Wherever you go, you go to a police station, they don't welcome you well. They call you names. You go to the post office, a clinic, all these places, different places. So, to me, the decision by government reinforced those kind of things we are living in our day to day lives. The xenophobia we go through, the challenges that we go through."*[60]

This form of governance on the local level can be considered "street-level bureaucracy" (Lipsky, 1980 in Fassin, 2011:218). In essence what this means is that bureaucracy is not only in the hands of

[58] *Not his real name. This student asylum seeker has asked to remain anonymous.
[59] Didier has since graduated with a National Diploma of Accounting.
[60] When Tinashe refers to "they" he means South African public servants.

the government. Therefore, the government is not a hegemonic host to migrants, who are considered the guests. I argue that "street-level bureaucrats" hold power in addition to the government. Street-level bureaucrats are an extension of the government. They understand their roles in relation to the government's policy, however they do not always agree. As a result, they can choose to make life harder in practice for migrants, than policy dictates. Tinashe, Didier[61], Mafoko[62] and Maryan all shared experiences of their daily struggles as migrants, for example applying and waiting for legal documentation from the DHA, accessing bank services, accessing healthcare services.

Despite the government policy, street-level bureaucrats hold their own perceptions about migrants and treat migrants accordingly. There is therefore at times a disconnect between the government's policies and street-level bureaucrats.

This resonates with Still's assertion that neither the host nor guest are necessarily homogenous:

> "All are in very different positions, and yet all have something in common by virtue of being strangers. All could call the host community into question in some way (linguistically, economically, culturally, sexually, for instance) which might be perceived as positive or as threatening by their hosts. The host community may be welcoming or may respond violently to the interlopers, neither response excluding the other; **the host (or guest) need neither be considered as homogeneous nor as free from contradiction" (Still, 2010:6).**

Although the South African government had rules that certain categories of migrants are eligible to apply for the SRD grant in policy, in practice, as is evident from these interviews, it is clear that the interests and perspectives of local South Africans also exert an impact on who has access to the grant; this includes both public servants and local South Africans. However, there is at times a disconnect between policies set by the government (rules of hospitality) and the rules as defined by public servants and the citizenry, which impacts migrants.

Cecelia's narrative below encapsulates the heterogeneity of the host:

[61] "Because when I came the first time, I had to go to Home Affairs, to tell them my problem, and why I'm here and why I needed the asylum. The first time I went there, it was like, they're pushing you back and giving you so many appointments until you are exhausted, until you don't want to go there anymore, and mostly, that makes many people don't have papers. Because they give you so many appointments. Come back another day. Come back another time. Until you feel like maybe they don't even want to hear what you have to say. I don't know if it's the office. Actually, the people who are representing the government are those people in the office there. So that's why I'm saying that." (Didier, interview with author)

[62] "Everything directed toward a foreign national is a fight. Like applying for a permit. It's not an easy process. There's always an extra journey/effort you have to put in as a migrant to eventually get afforded an opportunity to just be." (Mafoko, interview with author).

"Us we thought, you know always if there's something for free and if they say they do not want foreigners, if you go there- we know there's something if you make a noise- you can die for those things. So, we did not even enter to go for those places to find what's happening and what can we get from that place. Because you know things if they are happening, ***yes, the government will say, we want to give it to all, but they don't know what else people they think. You know we got different minds. Them [the government] they say they want to provide everybody, but the people in the area- they will say no, this is our things, because these ones they have got their own country****. Maybe in their country there is something happening, they should get it from their country."*

Cecelia asserted that there are certain spaces that foreigners do not enter because they are afraid based on their designation as 'foreigner'. In this account, her fear was not linked to the government. In fact, she said is that although the government may intend to provide something to everyone, South Africans interfacing with migrants seeking access, claim ownership of access, and exclude 'foreigners' who they do not perceive as legitimately entitled beneficiaries. Essentially, there is a disconnect between the government and the citizenry, in terms of the laws of hospitality toward migrants who are considered the guests.

This is substantiated by Mbembe who points out:

"Based on the territorial, nationalistic and ethnic understanding of rights and entitlement, "immigrants are seen as illegitimately competing for scarce resources and opportunities."

Even if those labelled 'foreigners' have a legal right to access a particular service, like the SRD grant, they can still be seen by local South Africans as "illegitimately competing for scarce resource opportunities" (Mbembe in Misago, 2016:64).

Although Landau points out that this accusation does not stand up to scrutiny and is not based on empirical evidence (Landau, 2011), it remains a perception, nonetheless.

This perception fuels xenophobia (Misago, Landau and Monson 2009; Misago, 2009). Given the backdrop of patterns of xenophobic attacks by local South Africans, interviews indicated that in response migrants experience fear of locals. This fear means the citizenry as extensions of the host, hold a degree of power over migrants.

However, interviewees' experiences testify that this does not mean that citizens and the government agree about the rules of hospitality.

Eneserine explained that she does not blame the government for excluding foreigners. She believes that the government is caught in a dilemma, where if the government uses a more inclusive

discourse, the risk is that it will lose voters "…because the majority of citizens don't want foreigners." Eneserine articulated this view based on her experience:

> *"You hear them calling, "Makwerekwere". The way they talk. With me since I can't speak Zulu. If you just speak English. I hear a little bit. If they see you cannot speak Zulu, they start talking about you in Zulu. They talk. They say you must go back…"*

Eneserine pointed out that citizens complain about the fact that refugees are entitled to social grants and from this, a new risk emerges. Including 'foreigners' to access the SRD grant may affect the vote in future since, in her view, "there's an increase in the number of people who don't like foreigners to be included in the privileges South Africans get…"[63]

What Eneserine's narrative highlights is that although the government sets policy regulations, which can be seen as the laws of hospitality, the government regulations can be contested by locals, who may not agree with the government's laws of hospitality, as Eneserine's experience demonstrates. There is a disconnect or tension between the laws of hospitality set by the government, and what will please the local citizenry. Because the citizenry holds power in terms of voting, the views of the citizens matter too, thus the government is not the hegemonic host it appears to be. There are multiple actors who form part of the host, each with its own interests, priorities and values.

3.2. Migrants as heterogenous guests

This section argues that discourses among migrants on hospitality are dialectic; migrants hold multiple views about what hospitality entails, how they understand hospitality, and what they expect from their host(s). What one migrant may consider hostility; another migrant may interpret as hospitality. This section is divided into two sub-themes. The first theme represents migrants' views that the government's decision was xenophobic and who therefore do not agree with the rules of hospitality. The second theme narrates the dialectical position of some migrants, who accept what the government has provided for their community, and who accept the rules of hospitality

[63] "…There's a number of people that want foreigners out. With normal grants, children grants and everything, foreigners are included. They, citizens complain about that. So now since they're including foreigners in this grant, it may affect the vote. Because politicians always look for votes basically. In most cases, they operate in a way that they make people happy. So that during time of elections, they can vote for them. Since there's an increase in the number of people who don't like foreigners to be included in privileges South Africans get, it might affect the number of votes that the government in power may get…Dilemma: they are trying to please their citizens and trying to please other countries in Africa. That dilemma will make them get less people to vote for them" (Eneserine, interview with author).

3.2.1. Perceptions of xenophobia

There are some migrants who believe that they deserve hospitality. What they mean by hospitality is that they should be treated equally to other the 'children' in the home (citizens). There are several reasons why migrants believe this. One of them is the economic contribution of migrants to their host society. Still points out that hospitality "…is also perceived as potentially dangerous in economic terms because it implies sharing scarce resources, although in fact guests may be productive and may bring their gifts to the economy" (Still, 2010:13).

The previous section highlighted what Still underlines: the perception that migrants, who are considered guests, make illegitimate claims on scarce resources (Mbembe, 2006 in Misago, 2016:64). This perception then contributes toward xenophobia. However, what Still suggests is that despite this perception, guests are not always competing for scarce resources – in fact guests can make productive economic contributions.

Importantly, Didier and Tinashe said:

> *"I didn't take it very well. Cz [sic] it was disappointing. Why they can **discriminate** against some people on those kinds of grants while we live in the same economy, and we contribute in [sic] the same kind of the economy of the country. So, it was very disappointing for me, why they can give one part of the population, which actually **we are, [we are] part of the population right now in South Africa, even though we're not citizens.** It's heartbreaking because we were all not doing anything. We were all at home. We live on day-to-day work and try to provide every single day something to eat, and so on, to pay rent and stuff. And when you're indoors and can't do any of those activities, how are we going to survive? That was the question that came into my mind."*

Didier highlights that as an asylum seeker he lives from day to day. His question, *how are we going to survive?* is critical because it demonstrates that he found himself in a dire situation. Didier was in distress – like other migrants and South African citizens – at the onset of the lockdown, yet he was not initially eligible to apply for the SRD grant. As Kihato and Landau point out: "Covid-19 is not only a heuristic revealing the precarity of life for millions in cities across the global South. It also draws attention to the social bases on which people (**barely**) survive…" (Kihato and Landau, 2020:5).

Similarly, Tinashe said he felt unwelcome, angry and rejected as a migrant who contributes toward South Africa's economy through daily purchases such as buying bread and paying tax:

> *"Of course, I felt angry. I felt rejected as a migrant myself. Because we are here- not because of choice, and Covid-19 and the implications of lockdown didn't only affect local South Africans, but It affected everyone as a whole. When the government*

decided to only select citizens, it made me feel angry, unwelcome, rejected. We are contributing to the economy of this country. When I buy bread there's money that they're collecting from the purchase I make. The VAT goes toward the GDP of the country…When collecting taxes, it's not labelled as coming from a migrant worker or this is coming from a South African. It devastated my heart. I felt rejected."

As indicated above, both migrants highlighted that even though they are not citizens, they are contributing to the country's economy. Didier stated clearly that migrants are part of the South African population, even though they are not citizens. With the Covid-19 lockdown regulations and the South African government's decision on the SRD grant eligibility criteria, Didier and Tinashe expressed their experience of hostility, or exclusion.

At the crux of this debate is who deserves what, and on what basis. The dominant government discourse is that the citizenry is deserving, and this boundary divides the "deserving citizenry" from "outsiders" (Landau, 2011:7).[64] South Africa's history – when the country's resources did not belong to everyone (that is all citizens) equally – no doubt has informed this stance. However, ironically, the government is now reproducing divides between people and entrenching differences, this time along lines of nationality.

Apartheid policies such as the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Pass Laws Act of 1952 drew socio-spatial boundaries along lines of race. Entitlement to rights, and access to resources and services depended on race, resulting in a racial hierarchy. The new Constitution in 1996 based on equality and dignity for all, drew a line in the sand. From then onward, the country – on paper at least – belonged to all citizens.[65] The social contract between citizens and their new democratic government established a relationship of legitimacy, a mutual recognition.

The relationship between a host and guest can be seen as analogous to the citizen-government relationship. Although the social contract that exists between citizens and the government does not exist between a guest and host, by contributing toward the economy, some guests, for example Tinashe and Didier, interpret this to mean that their economic contribution is a form of social contract, albeit tenuous. These migrants therefore hold the view that in exchange for their economic contribution to the host society's economy, they deserve what everyone else in the population is getting, in terms of hospitality. In other words, they deserve to be treated the same as the 'children' in the family, and not as 'foreigners'.

[64] This discourse is reinforced by the statements by Minister Zulu (2020) and former Minister Buthelezi (1998), cited in Introduction chapter.
[65] Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996.

Selwyn describes hostility as hospitality's "twin sister" – where the former recognises, the other: "is not so much making war but choosing simply to **ignore the other's existence**" (Selwyn, 2001:26).

A few migrants[66] stated that the symbolic meaning of being offered/receiving the SRD grant would have been recognition. For example, Mafoko, a 43-year-old who describes herself as a "Pan-Africanist" who studied in South Africa and now works in Johannesburg, said:

> *"…In a crisis, what does your host do? Does your host say: Get out of my house, I don't need you right now because there's a crisis? Or does your host say: You're living under my roof. I'm going to protect you as I'm going to protect my children as well. So, for me, it's just that recognition of: You're here, we see you. We know that you're not necessarily at an advantage, but the little we have, we can share with you. It's not a lot of money that was given out or that is still given out. But it's a recognition. It's a human gesture. It's an extending of an olive branch of – yes, we may not agree or whatever but "I'm your host, willingly or unwillingly (host)." Just that human connection, it would have advanced a level of human connection."*

Mafoko expressed a desire for migrants to be seen equally by their host, the South African government – as citizens in South Africa are visible to their government. This means that an offer of hospitality, even though small, can be potentially transformational as it involves advancing a "human connection". Mafoko's view is reinforced by Selwyn, who argues that the basic function of hospitality is to "establish a relationship or to promote an already established relationship" (Selwyn, 2001:19).

However, for this to happen, it means that Derrida's s notion of hospitality cannot be applied here, since his laws of hospitality require a clear distinction between host and guest. If the guests are treated like family members, who are an extension of the host, then Derrida argues that his concept of hospitality deconstructs or implodes. This would amount to absolute hospitality which Derrida argues is impossible, because then the guest can become the host.

For Didier, the hostile experience of not receiving the SRD grant was significant:

> *"It did change something. Of knowing that you are just a migrant – just a person who is in somebody's house and maybe one day will be kicked off … It's like you're in somebody's home. And you're just there for a moment. You have to make a plan. They say: it's better being at home, no matter how bad is home. That's what I felt."*

For Didier, home remains the DRC:

[66] Didier and Tinashe shared this view too.

"Being here just taught me that, even if asylum seeker, you are a refugee, they are accepting or not accepting you. It's just for some time. Because you know we ran away from bad things that were happening back home. And when you find yourself running in another place, whereby, at least those ones were showing that the war was happening, and you could see the situation was bad. But you go to a place whereby you think you'll be welcomed, and they're showing you the same thing. And you are in kind of the same situation like at home. So, it's better to be where you know this is happening, than knowing that you are running for help whereby they're not helping you, but they're pushing you back. So, you're in the middle. You don't know where you're standing."

Despite how untenable the situation in his home country is, the hostility he experienced in South Africa caused Didier to realise that it is better to be somewhere where he knows the rules, rather than to migrate to a new country where the laws of hospitality are deceptive and precarious. Didier would rather choose the devil he knows, than the devil he does not know.

Tinashe, Didier and Mafoko are not the only ones who hold the view that migrants are equally deserving of hospitality. Civil society organisations hold a similar view, as is evidenced through the reaction of civil society and the court case[67] outlined in the introductory chapter of this thesis. Although the court case was successful and formally extended eligibility to apply for the SRD grant to asylum seekers and special-permit holders, all unregulated/undocumented migrants who were not registered with the DHA and stateless people were still excluded. So, while civil society groups had admirable intentions to widen the pool of migrants who could be eligible for the SRD grant, they unintentionally contributed to new boundaries being drawn between different categories of migrants.

Despite the successful court case, migrants like Didier were not aware that they were subsequently eligible to apply for the grant. So, although the court (judiciary) and civil society (who brought the court application forth) may influence the government and is therefore an extension of the government as a host, there is a gap in terms of communication and implementation. Tinashe argued that the decision to extend the grant seemed like an afterthought, although it gave migrants hope.

Tinashe captured the tension between different migrants' feelings:

[67] See: Scalabrini Centre. Victory in Covid-19 Social Relief of Distress Grant Court Case Victory in Covid-19 Social Relief Grant Court Case | Scalabrini published on 19 June 2019.

"Before the court case[68], people felt a reinforcement of the xenophobia that we face on a day-to-day basis. People felt this is xenophobic attacks and indirect justice to them. People were kind of angry. But you can't be angry when you're a slave. When you're not the rightful citizen/first citizen. You know what I mean?

But at the same time, we also had some understanding, looking into South Africans themselves. There's a sense of understanding. Since resources might not be enough for South Africans itself, we might need to fold our arms and let it go. There was also this sense in some communities."

On the one hand, Tinashe's response is predictable, given that he is a migrant activist, but more importantly that he lived through the 2008 xenophobic attacks against migrants in South Africa. This is his frame of reference. It therefore is not surprising that he describes that some migrants found the government's decision xenophobic. This is the language of the fear of, and exclusion of, the 'other'. Even by using this language it unwittingly distinguishes one from another. In this case, migrants felt excluded based on their foreignness, or otherness from South African citizens.

In reaction to understanding the government's actions as xenophobic, Tinashe describes the feeling of anger. Significantly though, my interpretation is that he almost covers this feeling of anger by referring to migrants as slaves, dissolving their right to be angry. Tinashe's reference is analogous to the Hegelian master-slave relationship, which can be seen as analogous to the host-guest relationship. The master has power over the slave, who recognises his master as powerful. Tinashe asserted that migrants are not the "rightful citizen or the first citizen" who are recognised as the host's family members. Migrants therefore fall outside of this circle and are considered guests; their anger is therefore not justifiable, as they do not have the power to set the rules of hospitality. This indicates the asymmetrical power relationship between host and guest.

On the other hand, Tinashe described other migrants' acknowledgement that South Africa's resources are limited, and not sufficient for all South Africans.[69] Although this can be seen as a mitigating factor, it also points to an alternative view: that South Africans are the deserving citizenry, whose needs and interests must be prioritised. This view will be explored in the following section.

[68] See: Scalabrini Centre. Victory in Covid-19 Social Relief of Distress Grant Court Case Victory in Covid-19 Social Relief Grant Court Case | Scalabrini published on 19 June 2019.
[69] Several civil society representatives highlighted the point that not all South Africans who were eligible received the SRD grant. Another group of people who they said were excluded, are stateless people.

3.2.2. Accepting that 'foreigners' get less privileges

What is clear from the above accounts is that migrants hold contrasting views about what they deserve from their host. Not all migrants have the same expectations of hospitality, as Tinashe and Didier illustrated. While Tinashe and Didier expected migrants to be treated equally as citizens, in terms of entitlements to access resources, other interviewees held contrasting views; hospitality does not mean the same thing for all migrants, who are considered guests. Eneserine said:

> *"It's only logical. Even if you're in a house, you can't serve a stranger first, before you serve your own people. That's how it is. We are here. We are regarded as* ***non-citizens****. They have to start anything, although it affects all of us, but they have to start with their own people. We are not citizens of South Africa. We are* ***intruders*** *basically. There's a saying in our language, that is, serve* ***your own*** *first. Doesn't mean you don't have to help the other persons. But your own people have to be satisfied first, have to be served first, before you serve other people."*
>
> *"…Although we are all affected with the pandemic, a lot especially asylum seekers were affected by the pandemic. But also, we do need to understand,* ***we are not citizens****, so* ***we will not be given lots of privileges. To keep our minds at ease, we need to understand****."*

Eneserine's narrative is rich and multi-layered. She used the home as an analogy for the territory of South Africa.[70] This analogy is aligned with the understanding of hospitality as multi-scalar (Brown and Dowling, 1996:29 in Bulley, 2015:7-8).

Eneserine defined herself as a "non-citizen" and in her understanding this means she is like a "stranger" in a home. In her culture, the belief is to first serve "your own [family][71]" before serving strangers. This ethic informs Eneserine's understanding of hospitality. This version of hospitality ethics may be counter intuitive and is not the only version. For example, alternative ethics, related to the Islamic faith, see the guest as sacred, who brings blessings into the home, and thus insist that guests must be served first. Another ethic, espoused by Tinashe and Didier, calls for the guest to be treated equally with the family members.

However, Eneserine highlighted that 'foreigners' are perceived as "intruders". The word 'intruders' has negative connotations linked to an illegitimacy of presence. It is this very perception of illegitimacy that informs the perception that 'foreigners' are not entitled to the same privileges as

[70] Another migrant, Mafoko, similarly used this analogy in Section 3.1 (theme 1)
[71] My interpretation.

citizens. This sets a binary between citizens and non-citizens, with citizens seen as deserving, while non-citizens are seen as illegitimately competing for scarce resources (Mbembe, 2006 in Misago, 2016). This binary entrenches socio-spatial divides in a country that has been characterised by differentiation for decades.

Eneserine is not the only one who understands hospitality in this way. Cecelia shared the same understanding but expressed it differently:

> *"Us we just say, maybe it's for their South Africans. Us, we are foreigners. It's for their country. It did not even hurt us. Because we're not from their country. They are providing for their children. I'm not in my country. And I can't get everything which the people here, the South Africans are getting. Because I'm a foreigner. This is not my country."*

Cecelia did not express anger or disappointment; she simply understands the government is providing for its "children", the citizens, who are first priority.

This view indicates an acceptance of inhospitality. Despite perceiving hospitality differently, the interviewees who demonstrated acceptance of this situation can be seen to be accepting the laws of hospitality. By not criticizing or challenging the laws, they do not necessarily experience hostility in the same way as other migrants; what one migrant experiences as hostility, another migrant accepts as the laws of hospitality, which in this socio-spatial context, the guest must accept, to survive.

The concept of hospitality is contested, even among migrants.

What Eneserine and Cecelia are demonstrating is an acceptance of a system of hospitality, which other migrants like Tinashe and Didier view as discriminatory and hostile.

Knowingly or unknowingly, Eneserine and Cecelia accept the (laws of) hospitality; because of the labels 'foreigner' and 'not citizens', these groups are entitled to limited privileges. The label is therefore not only conceptual or symbolic but has social and material meanings.

In other words, the labels have been reified (Wray, 2006). Reification is the process whereby an abstract concept is solidified or considered natural. Reify is defined as "the process of coming to believe that humanly created social forms are natural, universal, and absolute things".[72] Although migration scholars (Zetter, 1991; Turton, 2003; Landau 2011) agree that concepts are necessary for our understanding of the world, the risk is that people may become "constrained even imprisoned, by our conceptual maps" (Turton, 2003:2).

[72] McGraw-Hill (2004) *Sociological Theory* site Glossary in: Harvey, L., 2012-20, Social Research Glossary, Quality Research International, http://www.qualityresearchinternational.com/socialresearch/ accessed on 28 June 2021.

Eneserine and Cecelia showed that they accept the meaning of the labels of 'foreigner' and 'not-citizens' as if it is natural or describing something that exists. To them, 'foreigner' and 'not-citizens' denotes a subordination, relative to 'children' or 'citizens'. This subordination results in rules of hospitality to which migrants are subjected. By accepting this, Eneserine and Cecelia are subscribing to the laws of hospitality, knowingly or unknowingly. Their understanding is therefore in line with Derrida's concept that it is the very rules of hospitality that enable hospitality.

However, just as the language associated with the laws of hospitality – the words 'host' and 'guest' – are socially constructed, so are the terms 'foreigner' and 'citizen'. These terms do not describe something that already exists; rather they describe something that has been defined by a particular context. As Turton points out that "meaning, then is not something which is fixed, given, out there in nature – it is the result of our social and cultural conventions – we make it, construct it" (Turton, 2003:3).

There is a power dynamic involved in this language of labelling. Turton argues that the "language of migration" may very well be the "language … of their hosts or potential hosts" (Turton, 2003:4). However, what Eneserine and Cecelia's narratives demonstrate is that the discourse of hosts can also become the discourse of guests through reification. The presumption this relies upon is that the guest holds relatively less power than the host (Chamberlain, 2020). However, the boundaries between powerful and powerless are not as clear as they appear. This will be analysed in the following section.

3.3. Migrants as guests are powerful

This theme intersects with the first two themes by exploring the myriad of choices migrants have, in response to their host's perceived hospitality/hostility.

Power does not only reside in the hands of the host. Migrants as guests hold power. Although there is an inherent power asymmetry between host and guest in Derridean hospitality, this research shows that migrants have power to choose how to respond to the host's actions or inactions. Secondly, in the relationship between a host and guest, a guest does not necessarily have to accept what the host is offering. In this sense, migrants have agency to choose to accept or decline hospitality. The migrants' choices of responses vary, from visibility to invisibility. There is a myriad of ways in which migrants can choose to respond. These choices appear as forms of resilience, resistance, and subversion.

Brown writes that Derrida "seems to focus his attention on the idea that hospitality is something liberal countries owe to visitors who are powerless, downtrodden and in need of assistance" (Brown, 2010: 313). What Brown is illuminating is a presumed asymmetry of power relations between the host and guest, intrinsic to Derrida's laws of hospitality. This insinuates migrants are by default needy and dependent on the host, even parasitic. Similarly, Chamberlain critiques two assumptions of hospitality: "a clear distinction between hosts and guests and the exclusive right of putative hosts to impose conditions on hospitality" (Chamberlain, 2020:59). In addition, Chamberlain critiques Derrida's lack of guidance on "how to enact necessarily conditional hospitality in the most just manner" (Chamberlain, 2020:57).

Chamberlain's first critique relates to Derrida's assumption that the host is the sovereign master who sets the rules of the game: "A key component of the host's role, moreover, concerns the conditions or rules that govern hospitality, thus making the relationship between hosts and guests asymmetrical" (Chamberlain, 2020:63). In other words, the host has the power to define the rules of hospitality, whereas the guest has relatively less or no power, and there is little space for negotiation. This Derridean assumption undermines the agency of the guest, reducing the guest (migrant) to the powerless. However, the experiences and responses of migrants interviewed for this thesis suggest the opposite of Derrida's perception of guests as powerless and aligns more closely with Chamberlain (2020) and Brown's (2010) critiques.

3.3.1. The role of choice

As Still summarises, hospitality is about the "relation between the one offering and the other accepting or refusing" (Still, 2010:11). What this indicates is that there are choices involved in the hospitality relationship. The host has the choice of offering (the guest) something, and the guest has the choice to either accept or refuse hospitality. This is reflected in migrants' accounts. Eneserine said:

> *"I heard one who was a refugee, who was accepted. He went there one day. I have to stand in this long line, I could be working. So, he left it."*

Drawing on the values of her Congolese community, Eneserine said that the long queues that people have to stand in to receive their SRD grant, are not worth the money they get in the end: some

migrants may not have the time to stand in the queues given their family obligations, and others would choose to instead go to the market where they could make more money.[73]

Another migrant, Cecelia, who has what she describes as "status" and was probably eligible for the grant, following the court case[74], said:

> *"Me, I prefer to go to work for myself. Not to get that grant. Because it's like if they give us that grant, they will say, we are paying you. So, you can't complain. It's not like when I'm going to work…"*

So, even if Cecelia had been offered the grant, she would prefer to work for her own money. This demonstrates that she is empowered by the freedom to choose to work. She prefers this option, because to her, receiving a grant means that another actor (the host) has power over her. If she accepts what the host is offering, Cecelia believes she would then be subject to conditions, one of them, she interprets as the inability to articulate complaints. If she is given something for example the SRD grant, she is then expected to behave in a certain way that the host expects, to "not complain". This is aligned with what Derrida calls the "pact" using Benveniste's term: "The foreigner doesn't only have a right, he or she also has reciprocally, obligations, as is often recalled, whenever there is a wish to reproach him for bad behaviour" (Derrida and Dufourmantelle, 2000:23). In a way, by accepting what the host is offering, Cecelia believes she would be beholden to the host. She prefers to set the terms for herself though, by working and not receiving a grant. At the heart of this theme is the power relationship between host and guest.

3.3.2. We are not victims

I was surprised by the diverse reactions from migrants, narrated in the previous sections. I had presumed all migrants felt a sense of xenophobia, or injustice, or anger, as I did, that the government was including and excluding groups of people based on their labels. My bias was grounded in my understanding of human rights in terms of equality. What I discovered is that Cecelia and Eneserine did not express any anger or resentment regarding which categories of migrants were eligible to apply for the SRD grant. Instead, they accepted or acquiesced.

[73] "This is my thinking now. Even if they had been accepted, the majority of them would not have never been going that early in the morning for R350. Maybe because I'm not working, I'm a student, I can… that. But a person with a lot of responsibilities cannot go early in the morning for R350, while they can go to the market and get R500 on that specific day…I'm Congolese. When I talk the perspective that I have is of a Congolese foreigner. Most of them would have never gone to get actually the money" (author interview with Eneserine).
[74] Scalabrini Centre. Victory in Covid-19 Social Relief of Distress Grant Court Case Victory in Covid-19 Social Relief Grant Court Case | Scalabrini published on 19 June 2019.

Initially, I interpreted this as a form of internalised oppression, defined as "turning upon ourselves, upon our families, and upon our own people the distress patterns that result from the . . . oppression of the (dominant) society" (Lipsky, 1987:6 in: David and Derthick, 2013:9). However, when I reflected on their interviews, I realised that neither Eneserine nor Cecelia portrayed themselves as victims. In fact, the opposite: they came across as confident and empowered. As Kihato points out:

> "Characteristically labelling women as 'victims' objectifies them: their lives, feelings and humanness, are rendered invisible and transformed into stereotypical cardboard characters. More importantly, it denies them agency, as victims have no ability or power to change their circumstances" (Kihato, 2007:91).

Based on my bias, I unwittingly saw migrants as vulnerable and or marginalised. In other words, I saw them as victims. However, what Cecelia and Eneserine's narratives convey is that they are in fact not victims. Kihato cautions:

> "Notions of agency and victimhood/passivity are complexly intertwined. Further, if agency is not permanent or immutable, if migrant women sometimes display it and other times do not, and if indeed passivity or victimhood can sometimes be interpreted as agency, oppositional notions of women's passivity/victimhood in the migration process on the one hand or their agency on the other need to be challenged and collapsed" (Kihato, 2007: 106-107).

Positioning migrant woman as either victims or victors (binary opposites) is unrealistic and unhelpful. Therefore, migrants' experiences, perceptions and their responses are not always binary. They are varied and nuanced.

Eneserine and Cecelia expressed themselves in a way that demonstrates agency, the ability and power to decide how to respond to change their circumstances, their choices manifest as resilience, and power. This is reinforced in the next section.

3.3.3. We get on with life

Part of the choices migrants make involve being visible or invisible. The choice to be invisible is an act involving agency and potentially subversion. This research has demonstrated that regardless of migrants' experiences of the government's hospitality or inhospitality, migrants "make a plan"; "put

their heads down"; "throw their hands up", "prefer to work for myself" and literally "move on" (Didier; Mafoko, Tinashe, Eneserine). Although these choices can be seen as the choice to remain invisible, invisibility does not mean that migrants are victims or "powerless, downtrodden and in need of assistance" as Brown (2010:313) interprets Derrida. This reinforces my argument that migrants are powerful, have agency to choose how to respond, and are not dependent on the South African government's hospitality for their survival. For example, Mafoko stated:

> *"What I can say, is that as a migrant, you put your head down and do what you need to do. So not having access to certain niceties or grants is not something that I think migrants dwell on. Because they understand their position as not necessarily being 'part of'. You do want to be accepted in your community. You do want a sense of belonging…"*

Similarly, Eneserine said:

> *"When we get, we say thank you, when we don't, we move on."*

It is evident from both these interviewees that receiving hospitality or hostility does not deter migrants from their lives and goals. This can also be explained as a form of resistance[75] or subversion, or a *tactic* – in line with de Certeau's conceptualisation of tactics: "Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into opportunities" (de Certeau, 1984: xix). A tactic according to de Certeau is an everyday means of survival employed by someone in a purportedly disempowered position, relative to the relatively more powerful system or institution's strategy[76]. In this way, acts of visibility or invisibility can be seen as tactics or acts of subversion, in relation to the perceived hospitality or hostility of the host.

[75] See: Willmann Robleda, Z. (2020). Re-Inventing Everyday Life in the Asylum Centre: Everyday Tactics Among Women Seeking Asylum in Norway. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 10(2), 82–95.

[76] Philosophy for Everyday Life. 8 June 2020. The tactics of everyday life (de Certeau). [video] The tactics of everyday life (de Certeau) - YouTube accessed on 14 June 2021.

4. Conclusion

The main argument of this thesis, substantiated by the research findings is that there is no hegemonic host nor homogenous guest in the case of South Africa. Hospitality is contested, from both actors in the relationship – the side of the guest (migrants) and the hosts (government, and members of the family that include the citizenry, judiciary, civil society).

What is clear from this is that there is no form of social contract, or agreement on the laws of hospitality, between the guests and hosts. There is no space for discussion or negotiation of the terms of the laws of hospitality. While there are formal laws of hospitality (for example policy decisions), in practice there are informal laws too. Informal laws are set by non-government actors. Power is held in the hands of those who are able to demarcate social boundaries between 'us' and 'them'- this includes local South Africans. However, this thesis argues on the whole, that power lies in the hands of migrants too, some of whom referred to themselves as 'foreigners.'

Contrary to the Derridean representation of guests as relatively disempowered, my research reveals that guests do in fact have power. Migrants who I have conceptualized as guests have the agency to accept the nature and the terms of the hospitality that is offered, or not. In addition, migrants have the choice how to respond to the government's offer of (in)hospitality, i.e. some migrants accept the terms and conditions of their host(s), however this does not necessarily signal victimhood, as this research has found.

Migrants' choices to accept the label 'foreigner' and what it entails in terms of entitlement, relative to the family members of the host, is a form of agency, that reflects resilience and subversion. Regardless of the (in)hospitality they perceive, migrants choose to live their lives on their own terms.

By using the SRD grant as a lens to peer into migrants' subjective experiences of the South African government's political response to the Covid-19 pandemic, the study has found that different migrants have different experiences of the SRD grant and of inclusion and exclusion. Since there is no clearly defined hospitality 'agreement' (like a social contract) or consensus between all the players- host(s) and guest(s) about the law(s) of hospitality, the boundaries are blurred. Therefore, different migrants have different expectations from the government.

The findings are multi-layered, dependent on the subjectivities of migrants and ultimately, socially constructed. Migrants shared a variety of reactions to the government's announcement of the SRD; their reactions can be divided into three: some felt happy, others felt disappointed and rejected,

some migrants felt indifferent. One migrant in particular was angry, and some migrants described the government's action as "xenophobic," however this was not a unanimous reaction across migrants. There were nuanced reactions. This proves that migrants cannot be seen as a homogenous group (Turton, 2003). Instead, migrants' heterogenous experiences varied across degrees of hospitality and hostility in relation to the government's decision.

Civil society may take lessons from this research. As a human rights researcher and activist, I tend to see the world in black and white, or as two dichotomies: victim and perpetrator. I learnt through this research that reality is often more nuanced than this binary, and in fact there are risks of simplifying complex, dynamic stories by reducing migrants to either victims or victors (Kihato, 2007).

This research has implications for the way that civil society perceives political decisions, and the concomitant actions that civil society takes, often on behalf of purported 'victims'. It is not clear if civil society consulted with migrants before advocating to extend the SRD grant to asylum seekers and special-permit holders. Although I am not suggesting that migrants would have disagreed with this course of action, or that this action was not beneficial, what I have learnt through this research is that human rights activists often (re)act quickly, in a knee-jerk reaction and then proceed to act according to their *assumptions* about what migrants need and want- and what is right and wrong.

This 'responsibility to protect' approach unwittingly assumes that human rights organisations/advocates hold relatively more power than migrants (Chamberlain, 2020:66). Similarly, policymakers should act "with the urban poor rather than 'for' or 'on' them' (Kihato and Landau, 2020:7).

Human rights activists and advocates have a framework for human rights and justice, and measure everything according to this framework. However, each individual is a human being with her own interests, preferences and priorities. Migrants have a "…capacity for agency against all odds" (Soguk, 1999:5 in Turton, 2003:12). Acting on behalf of, or in the 'best interests of' a migrant, makes presumptions about power and justice. Justice is, in fact, subjective. and what is just for one migrant may not be just for another.

As Chamberlain highlights, it is easy to assume there should be more hospitality to counter the clampdown on borders. Yet, hospitality comes with conditions, which are not discussed, debated, deliberated or agreed upon equally by host and guest. Yes, hospitality denotes a relationship between the two - host and guest, however it is not a relationship based on equality. Instead, it involves a hierarchical relationship where the host holds relatively more formal power over the guest.

What this research also illustrates is the power of norms. Boundaries and labels, categories and concepts are social constructions. They have been created and do not describe something that is natural or already exists (Turton, 2003). However, these categories become powerful when they are institutionalised and legalised; such events tattoo them into our minds as conceptual maps. The language of concepts and categories are not only used by government to inform policies and practices (Foucault's 'discourse'); but more importantly they start to define how we behave in relation to these categories. Migrants who know they are 'foreigners' start to expect less from the government and to demand less, because they know and understand what this label implies. It is not neutral; it is a political label that carries power.

However, the reality is that these labels are social constructions which are arbitrary. Underneath them is a human being. They may develop a 'thick skin' or convince themselves that they are okay with how they are being treated on the basis of this label, however this does not mean that it is ethical.

My perceptions have changed during the course of conducting this research. As an activist I realise the need not to make assumptions about what people who I consider 'victims' want. (Turton, 2003). Government does this, and so does civil society. One is not better than the other, because they both purport to act in the 'best interests' of certain categories of people.

I have also realised that even though I assumed migrants want to feel welcomed, included, and that they belong here in South Africa, perhaps not all migrants hold hospitality as an aspiration or ideal. Migrants are, as Turton highlights "purposive actors" (Turton, 2003). They are human beings and cannot be placed in one basket. They are heterogenous, as the research has illustrated. Although this realisation may make advocacy a little more challenging, it begs the question: what do (different) migrants want? What does the government owe migrants, and what do migrants expect and want from the government? The answer will inevitably be as diverse as: what do (different) people want?

What the findings illustrate is that while some migrants pointed that they feel unwelcomed, they however find a way to survive, albeit barely. Migrants are not dependent on the government's hospitality. Even if migrants felt rejected, they accepted the situation, for several reasons, and they literally and figurately move on. As the Covid-19 pandemic is ongoing, South African President Ramaphosa continues to conclude his State of the Nation addresses with: "May God continue to

bless *our* beautiful country and protect *her resilient people*".[77] The question remains, who is "her resilient people?"

For Eneserine, a young refugee living in South Africa:

> *"God is a God of Foreigners."*

Hospitality must also be considered on a broader cultural scale. It is represented as virtuous by sacred texts of religions such as Islam, which signifies the reverence of the guest who brings blessings into the home. I have had an experience where, when visiting a friend in Italy, she gave up her bed for me and slept on the couch. It is ironic that during the Covid-19 pandemic, social visiting has been curbed world-wide. However, there were migrants in South Africa before the nation-wide lockdown was enforced on 27 March 2020. These guests were effectively locked into the home (South Africa) and could not leave, as borders were closed. They therefore had no exit option.

What the migrants' narratives reveal is the sometimes latent or explicit values that migrants carry with them. Not all migrants believe in cosmopolitanism, that everyone deserves equal treatment by the host. Some migrants have nationalistic values, believing that the host must serve its own people first, or understanding that the host prioritizes its own 'children' or family members.

Whether migrants are socialised in this way to develop their diverse values before entering South Africa, or whether migrants adopt these values in response to the xenophobic context in South Africa, or a combination of both, is unknown; it was beyond the scope of this research.

South Africa is represented as the rainbow nation, where strength purportedly comes from diversity. However, if South Africa was as inclusive as it presents itself, then the country as a whole would surely include non-citizens in its rainbow nation too. However, in reality, what my research has found is that different members of the host have varying rules of hospitality. In fact, all migrants expressed fear in relation to their label as 'foreigners' during interactions with South Africans. One migrant described the government's approach in general as "hostile" which is the opposite of hospitable. A place that is hospitable does not instil fear in its guests. This suggests that many migrants experience hostility in South Africa. This is contradictory to the pan-African approach espoused by South Africa's president. The possibility for welcome exists, in various forms and at various scales. The rules of hospitality which determine the extent of welcome are contested by members of the host's family. If there is disagreement within the host about the rules of hospitality, then the possibility for welcome is obscure. Guests may receive mixed messages, sometimes a cold reception that instils fear, or at other times a feeling of warm welcome. The point is that without the

[77] President Cyril Ramaphosa. State of the Nation Address. 27 June 2021. Available at: WATCH LIVE: Family meeting with President Ramaphosa - YouTube accessed on 30 June 2021.

host family's agreement on the rules of the home, the possibility for welcome is tenuous. Tensions within the host family will lead to internal discord amongst the family, with the guest left waiting on the doorstep, not knowing whether to enter the home or not. The guest is left unsure about the possibility for welcome.

To extend the metaphor of hospitality in the case of a family home to the case of migrants' experience of hospitality in South Africa during the Covid-19 pandemic, it is as if the guests were already inside the house, when discord broke out amongst members of the extended family. The guests then found themselves in an even more precarious position than before; where they could not leave the front door to earn a living for themselves, nor could they exit the country as an option. The guests were stuck and had to ultimately accept whatever the host offered them. Some migrants were angry about what they were denied, based on their legal status. They considered their experience hostile. After all, they live in the house too, buy milk and bread, contribute VAT and taxes. Surely, they should be treated as equals to the family members. Other migrants however, embraced what they were denied, and accepted this as a law of hospitality- serve your own first.

This research shows that the government authority is not a hegemonic host. The multifarious actors that hold power and form part of the host's 'family' may not always agree on the law(s) of hospitality- they can be contested and disconnected from each other and the patriarch, the government.

Furthermore, the discourse analysis has shown that language carries meaning and ultimately, power. For example, the status or label 'citizen' carries meaning that is relatively powerful and is associated with legal and social entitlements. Citizenship is associated with legitimacy. On the other hand, the label 'foreigner' regardless of its legal status (regular or irregular) is pregnant with meaning that describes the relatively disempowered. This label in South Africa carries even more meaning as foreigners are seen as the demons within (Landau, 2011).

We draw lines every day; some lines are conceptual maps in our minds of which we are not even aware. They are cognitive shortcuts, or ways for us to understand the world. Sometimes the demarcations we draw are automatic or reflexive. This indicates a latent meaning or value system that is inherent/embedded within us. What matters in the world is not the lines we have already drawn, but the mindfulness that we are in fact drawing lines, more often than we realise. These lines have consequences; for us, and others, and the interaction between the two.

The process of drawing boundaries requires more thoughtfulness and consciousness, for the process of boundary-drawing is powerful. With power, comes responsibility.

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6. Appendices

6.1 Appendix One



University of the Witwatersrand,

African Centre for Migration and Society

Minister Lindiwe Zulu

Minister of Social Development

c/o Mr Abram Phahlamohlaka

Chief of Staff

134 Pretorius Street

HSRC Building

Pretoria

10 December 2020

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Permission to conduct research at Department of Social Development

My name is Shireen Mukadam. I am studying a Masters in Forced Migration and Displacement Studies in the African Centre for Migration and Society at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am seeking permission to do research at the Department of Social Development.

I am conducting research on the South African government's decision to provide social relief of distress funding, through the department of Social Development in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdown. To access the Social Relief of Distress Grant, South African government communication stipulated that: "Applicants must provide the following compulsory information for processing their applications: identity number…banking details…proof of residential address" (South African government Department of Social Development, 29 April 2020). As not all migrants and asylum seekers have South African identification numbers, they were legally excluded from the provision of social relief of distress funding. A number of civil society actors reacted to the legal exclusion. My research aims to investigate what the political motivation behind this decision

was, and what does this mean for how the South African government views the notion of community at present.

The research will entail collecting data from the Minister of Social Development, as well as advisors in the Department of Social Development and or any other relevant staff members.

I will invite individuals from your Department to participate in this study. In particular, I'm interested in individuals who can help to shed light on the government's decision to provide social relief of distress funding to certain groups of the population. If they agree, they will be asked to participate in a telephonic interview. The recipients will be required to set aside approximately one hour of time during working hours. The participant's responses will be audio recorded for purposes of accuracy in transcribing the interview.

Participants will be asked to give their written or verbal consent before the research begins. Their responses will be treated confidentially, and identities (their names) will be anonymous unless otherwise expressly indicated. Individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study. The results will be communicated in the form of a dissertation.

The research participants will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. They will be reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. The participants will not be paid for this study. All research data will be stored in digital form and destroyed after five years.

I therefore request permission in writing to conduct my research at your Department in January 2020. The permission letter should be on your Department's headed paper, signed and dated, and specifically referring to myself by name and the title of my study.

Please let me know if you require any further information. You may also contact my supervisor Professor Loren Landau for additional information at: loren.landau@wits.ac.za

I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely,



Shireen Mukadam

+27 71 889 6068

0612003R@students.wits.ac.za

6.2 Appendix Two

Dr Aaron Motsoaledi Minister of Home Affairs c/o Mr Siya Qoza Media Liaison Officer
17 December 2020

Dear Sir,

Re: Permission to conduct research at Department of Home Affairs

My name is Shireen Mukadam.

I am studying a Masters in Forced Migration and Displacement Studies in the African Centre for Migration and Society at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am seeking permission to do research at the Department of Home Affairs.

I am conducting research on the South African government's decision to provide social relief of distress funding, through the department of Social Development in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdown. The Department of Social Development worked in conjunction with the Department of Home Affairs to verify refugee, asylum seeker and special permit holder status, in order to issue this grant. In this sense your Department is relevant to my research.

To access the Social Relief of Distress Grant, South African government communication stipulated that: "Applicants must provide the following compulsory information for processing their applications: identity number…banking details…proof of residential address" (South African government Department of Social Development, 29 April 2020). As not all migrants and asylum seekers have South African identification numbers, they were legally excluded from the provision of social relief of distress funding. A number of civil society actors reacted to the legal exclusion. My research aims to investigate what the political motivation behind this decision was, and what does this mean for how the South African government views the notion of community at present.

The research will entail collecting data from the Minister of Home Affairs, and or advisors in the Department of Home Affairs and or any other relevant staff members.

I will invite individuals from your Department to participate in this study. In particular, I'm interested in individuals who can help to shed light on the implementation of the government's decision to provide social relief of distress funding to certain groups of the

population, including refugees, asylum seekers and special permit holders. If they agree, they will be asked to participate in a telephonic interview. The recipients will be required to set aside approximately one hour of time during working hours. The participant's responses will be audio recorded for purposes of accuracy in transcribing the interview.

Participants will be asked to give their written or verbal consent before the research begins. Their responses will be treated confidentially, and identities (their names) will be anonymous unless otherwise expressly indicated. Individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study. The results will be communicated in the form of a dissertation.

The research participants will not be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way. They will be reassured that they can withdraw their permission at any time during this project without any penalty. There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this study. The participants will not be paid for this study. All research data will be stored in digital form and destroyed after five years.

I therefore request permission in writing to conduct my research at your Department in January 2020. The permission letter should be on your Department's headed paper, signed and dated, and specifically referring to myself by name and the title of my study.

Please let me know if you require any further information. You may also contact my supervisor Professor Loren Landau for additional information at: **loren.landau@wits.ac.za**

I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely,



Shireen Mukadam

+27 71 889 6068

0612003R@students.wits.ac.za

6.3 Appendix Three

Guide Interview Questions: migrants

This questionnaire focuses on the decision by the South African government to provide a Social Relief of Distress grant to citizens, in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown. This grant was later extended to refugees, permanent residents, asylum seekers and special permit holders.

Name:

Contact Number:

***Please indicate if you wish to remain anonymous.**

QUESTIONNAIRE:

1. What was your reaction when you learnt about the South African government's decision to provide social relief of distress funding during the Covid19 pandemic lockdown for South African citizens and refugees?
2. How did you interpret the South African government's decision to issue social relief, but only to South African citizens and refugees initially?
3. What was the reaction in the migrant communities/network that your organization represents?
4. In your experience, what is the South African government's approach to migrants in general?
5. How did the decision affect how you feel about being in South Africa?
6. What did you/your organization do in response to this decision?
7. Would the social grant have changed anything for you? (Change is not necessarily economic, there could be social aspects too)
8. How were you affected by the pandemic and lockdown in terms of the restrictions and livelihoods?
9. Did the government's social grant decision change anything in how you or your migrant network interacts or get along with South Africans in the township; in politics; and in the future?
10. Did this government decision change anything in how you understand the position of migrants in South Africa?
11. Anything else you would like to add?

Thank you for your time.

6.4 Appendix Four

16 February 2021

Dear Participant,

My name is Shireen Mukadam and I am a Masters student in Forced Migration and Displacement Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project. I am investigating what the COVID-19 pandemic reveals about the South African authorities' view of citizenship, belonging and community under the supervision of Dr Loren Landau. The aim of this research project is to find out what the South African government's decision to refuse relief to migrants reveals about the construction of socio-spatial boundaries, in the context of the Covid-19-19 pandemic.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. This activity will involve a telephone call and will take around 45 minutes. With your permission, I would also like to record the interview using a digital device.

There will be no personal costs to you if you participate in this project. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation but there are no disadvantages or penalties if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The information you give to me will be held securely. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. The data collected from this research project will be stored electronically on a hard drive and will be kept for five years. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za Please feel free to contact my supervisor, Professor Loren Landau if you have any further questions: **landau@wits.ac.za**

Yours sincerely,

Shireen Mukadam

6.5 Appendix Five

Consent form

My name is Shireen Mukadam and I am a Masters student in Forced Migration and Displacement Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project. The title of my project is 'Crisis Reveals Character: What the COVID-19 pandemic reveals about the South African authorities' view of citizenship, belonging and community. During the pandemic, the South African government made a decision to provide relief to South African citizens. This was later extended to refugees, however migrants could not access this funding. What I am trying to understand is the motivation behind this decision, and the implications for notions of belonging and community in South Africa.

I, **[participant's name]**, agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will not remain anonymous	YES NO
I agree that the researcher may use quotes in his / her research report	YES NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES NO
I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained.	YES NO

(signature)

(Name of participant)

(date)