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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND,

JOHANNESBURG



FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

Development Planning Programme

Research Report

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN PROMOTING GREATER SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR FORCED MIGRANTS LIVING IN THE INNER CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

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October 5th, 2006

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THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN PROMOTING GREATER SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR FORCED MIGRANTS LIVING IN THE INNER CITY OF JOHANNESBURG.

Dieudonné BIKOKO MBOMBO

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Development Planning.

Johannesburg, 2006

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses what has arguably become a salient feature of a 'just city' and social development on an international level, namely social justice. Specifically, it focuses on the role of the Johannesburg's civil society organisations in promoting greater social justice for forced migrants (refugees and asylum seekers) living in the downtown Johannesburg. For this purpose, a case study was carried out, particularly with Africa's forced migrants living in the inner city of Johannesburg (in Hillbrow and Yeoville). The research makes use of in-depth interview and participant observation methods to uncover the perspectives of a group of refugees and asylum seekers and members of seven civil society organisations, working with forced migrants in Johannesburg. The main research question that the study addresses is: What role can civil society organisations play in facilitating greater social justice for Africa's asylum seekers and refugees living in the inner city of Johannesburg?

I have concluded that Johannesburg's civil society organisations have the potential, which may allow them to bring social transformation and create a just city by promoting a greater social justice for forced migrants living in the inner city. To achieve this goal, they should play a reformative and transformative role in the inner city, by challenging government exclusionary policies and decisions relating to the forced migrants; and, at the same time, they should mediate between the government and forced migrants at the local and national levels. To conclude this report, I recommended civil society organisations to develop strong collaboration with the city's planners for a better improvement of the quality of life of forced migrants in the inner city. I also recommend the national government to decentralise its decision-making power on international migration issues by conferring to the provinces and local governments certain power which can allow them to develop internal structures (taking into account the context of each province), which can allow them to protect the basic rights of refugees and asylum seekers, such as the rights to work, to study, and to access free health care.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science (Development Planning) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____

(Signature of candidate)

_____day of_____(year)_____

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ABBREVIATION

ANC: African National Congress

BEE: Black Economic Empowerment

CoJ: City of Johannesburg

CSOs: Civil Society Organisations

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

DPCR: Department of Pastoral Care for Refugees

DHA: Department of Home Affairs

FM: Forced Migrant

ID: Identity Document

JCW: Johannesburg Child Welfare

JRS: Jesuit Refugee Services

JH: Johannesburg Hospital

LHR: Lawyers for Human Rights

LG: Local Government

MA: Master of Art

MR: Mister

MRS: Misses

NG: National Government

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organisations

RRO: Refugee Reception Office

SA: South Africa

SAPS: South African Police Services

Sr.: Sister

SCRA: Standing Committee for Refugee Affairs

TCC: Trinity Congregation Church

WITS: Witwatersrand (University of the)

WLC: Wits Law Clinic

WCAC: World Class African City

ZTVP: Zimbabwe Torture Victims Projects

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CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim

This study deals with the role of the Johannesburg's post-apartheid civil society organisations (CSOs) in promoting greater social justice for Africa's forced migrants (FMs), or refugees and asylum seekers, living in the inner city, particularly in Hillbrow and Yeoville. My aim in undertaking this study is motivated firstly by my own experience of the inner city as a foreigner national; secondly, by the outcomes of interviews conducted in 2005 with Caroline Kihato on the unheard voices of migrant women living in the inner city (Kihato, 2006); and finally, in relation with pertinent issues raised by Alan Morris (1999) in his book *Bleakness and Light: Inner City Transition in Hillbrow,* in which he portrays Nigerians and Congolese, from my home country the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), as the victims of Hillbrow, due to the general view of the majority of South Africans who stereotype Nigerians as 'drug dealers' and almost all foreigners as those who steal jobs and bring diseases in South Africa (Morris, 1999: 308) .

In the inner-city of Johannesburg, the majority of local people are hostile to FMs, instead of considering them as effective residents of the city. For this reason, FMs complain that they are marginalised, discriminated against, and excluded from the city's life. This trend is in some extent 'legitimated' by some public institutions and private companies, which deny to the FMs their right to work by refusing to hire them because of their refugee or asylum seeker permits. And yet, the section 26 of the 1998 Refugee Act states that they may work everywhere in South Africa (SA, 1998).

Access to the health care also is a challenge for FMs (particularly asylum seekers), as this basic right is denied to them in some public health facilities, contrary to what is stated in section 26 of the 1998 Refugee Act and in section 27 of the Bill of rights (SA, 1998 and SA, 1996). Apart from that, FMs face many other challenges such as police harassment, illegal detentions, xenophobia, and unemployment.

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Despite all these challenges facing FMs, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) and the national government (NG) pay little attention to the circumstances experienced by FMs in the inner city.

This study examined the potential of the Johannesburg's CSOs and their ability to contribute to the social transformation of the inner city by facilitating a greater social justice for FMs and by influencing CoJ to create structures that will allow Johannesburg to become a 'just city', accordingly to Susan Fainstein's (2005) conceptualisation of the just city. For this reason, this study attempted to answer the main and subsidiary research questions which are presented below:

Main Research Question

What role can CSOs play in facilitating greater social justice for Africa's FMs living in the inner city of Johannesburg?

Subsidiary Questions

1. What roles are the Johannesburg's inner city CSOs currently performing with regards to FMs?
2. How are these CSOs structured and funded?
3. How do FMs know about these CSOs?
4. Where are these CSOs located?
5. Who participates in their programmes?
6. What is social justice and why is it important for the CoJ?

1.2. Rationale

Transforming Johannesburg into a just city is the fundamental idea developed in this study, which is based essentially on the conceptualisation of the 'just city'. According to Fainstein, the "purpose of planning is to create the just city" (Fainstein, 2005: 121); that is, a more inclusive, multicultural, democratic, equal, and sustainable city where all residents participate in the life of the city and benefit from all the opportunities offered by the city, regardless of their races, ethnic groups, and national backgrounds. To meet such challenge, Fainstein relies

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on the reformative and transformative power of civil society which, she believes, has the potential and the capacity to challenge government policies and decisions, and mobilise people to fight for the future of their cities.

Johannesburg is a cosmopolitan city of about 3 225 812 people (Johannesburg, 2005) and constitutes the main destination of the majority of foreign nationals from other African countries (including FMs); but the way the city is accommodating diversity shows that much needs to be done, in terms of promoting the social transformation of the city by facilitating a greater social justice for FMs and by encouraging the local and national governments to balance interests between both the local people and the FMs. In other words, both the local and national governments should fully respect the rights of FMs contained in the Refugee Act and in the Bill of rights.

This study also attempted to show that local and national governments should work in collaboration with the CSOs to protect the rights of FMs; and in these relationships, the local and national governments should engage with CSOs as 'partners' rather viewing them as enemies, because these organisations have a better knowledge of FMs as they do deal with them almost every day.

Over the last decade, SA has made appreciable efforts in terms of democracy and human rights since the abolition of the apartheid in 1994. The African National Congress (ANC), the ruling party, created structures to end exclusion and all types of racial discrimination, in aid of a 'rainbow nation', by facilitating the inclusion and empowerment of the historically disadvantaged communities. As a result, all South African citizens currently are able to live and work together, regardless of their races and cultural diversities. They are also equal in the eyes of the law, and they share equal opportunities everywhere in the country. The government programmes and efforts to facilitate a greater social justice for poor and vulnerable South African citizens living in Johannesburg would have a huge impact if only they were to include the interests of all the city's residents, including FMs living in the inner city.

Undertaking such a study may have many advantages (for the national and local governments, CSOs, and FMs). The most important of these are contained in the statements set out below.

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- This study will increase awareness of the national and local governments on challenges facing FMs living in the inner city; it will also question these two spheres of government on issues relating to the implementation of the 1998 Refugee Act and other legislations affecting FMs.

- The outcomes of the case study conducted in this report and the recommendations made for the purposes of the local and national governments will certainly help policy makers in the future to formulate more inclusive policies that will benefit both local people and FMs.

- This report will also help CSOs to become more vocal and more aware of their reformative and transformative powers for the social transformation of the inner city; in other words, it will help them to discover their current strengths and weaknesses in their struggle for greater social justice for FMs.

- Undertaking such a study on the role of CSOs in facilitating greater social justice for FMs will help both local and national governments to reinforce their partnerships, particularly regarding issues relating to the social transformations of the city.

It is also important to know that this study presents a new way of approaching the issue of forced migration in Johannesburg, compared to other studies done previously by the students of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits University) of Johannesburg. Most of these have dealt with sociological, anthropological, and legal aspects of the lives of FMs living in Johannesburg; while this study has used the urban planning approach to deal with challenges facing FMs in the inner-city.

1.3. Literature Review

Inspired by Flyvbjerg, Winkler suggests that selecting an appropriate theoretical approach for a study depends on the problem under study (Winkler, 2006: 3). This study dealt with the social injustices that a group of people living in the inner-city of Johannesburg face, namely refugees and asylum seekers, from other African countries. For this reason, my literature review for this study was drawn from a wide range of theories, literatures, and practices used in the social sciences, including from disciplines such as: sociology, anthropology, cultural and gender studies, migration studies, and urban studies, in order to address specific

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Johannesburg urban planning issues on forced migration. I referred also to international legislation to define terms such as 'refugee' and to illustrate the South African current failure with respect to the rights of FMs.

My literature review in this study is divided into three main sections: the first section deals with the concept of 'forced migration'; the second section tries to link notions of planning with those of forced migration; and the third section focuses on civil society, planning, and power relations.

1.3.1. The Concept of 'Forced Migration'

The aim of this section consists of defining 'forced migration' and listing different categories of FMs. My definition of 'forced migration' came from Turton, who usually links this term with processes of social and economic change (Turton, 2003); while my categorisation of FMs is based on the 1951 United Nations (UN) Convention relating to the status of refugees, the 1969 Organisation of the African Unity (OAU) Convention governing the specific aspects of refugees in Africa, the 1984 Cartagena Declaration for the Central American Region, and on Turton's (2003) book.

In the South African context, I shortly refer to the national legislations such as the 1998 Refugee Act and the 1995 Aliens Control Act, in order to explain how the national government, through the Ministry of Home Affairs, has dealt with refugees and how refugee matters are currently legislated.

1.3.2. Planning and Forced Migration

Through this section, various writings which link planning with forced migration issue are reviewed; and, based on scholars such as Rawls (1971), Harvey (1973), Campbell (1988), and Oelofse (2003), this section will also gave an overview of the notions of justice, social justice and the 'just city' (Fainstein, 2005).

With regard to the notion of justice, it is important to know that this study used an administrative approach or understanding of the term 'social justice', seeking to show how CSOs may use their power to 'force' the government to respect the basic rights of forced

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migrants. In this section, Rawls' famous book *Theory of Justice* (1971) is reviewed in order to understand what he calls *Justice as Fairness*, and his two principles of justice (the principle of equality and the principle of difference), which are the foundation of his conceptualisation of social justice. Harvey's (1973) book *Social Justice and the City* helped me to understand his conceptualisation of justice as efficiency, and the relationship that he establishes between social justice and efficiency because, according to him, social justice and efficiency are interrelated (Harvey, 1973).

Oelofse's (2003) conceptualisation of justice as equality is also reviewed based on one of his articles on *Social Justice, Social Integration, and Compact City*. It is important to know that Oelofse's idea of justice is based on some normative values such as non-discrimination, fairness, integration, and empowerment.

At the end of this section, there is a review of Fainstein's conceptualisation of the 'just city' which, in *Cities and Diversity* (2005), she defines in terms of democracy, equality, diversity, growth and sustainability. It is important to emphasise that her conceptualisation of the just city is based partly on Fisher's (1990) populist idea of participation, on Rawls and Friedman's conceptualisations of equality; and on Young (1990), Healy (1996), and Sandercock's (1998) conceptualisation of diversity.

1.3.3. Civil Society, Planning, and Power Relations

In this section some works on civil society written by scholars such as Friedman (1998), Douglass (1998), and Marris (1998) are reviewed in order to understand what 'civil society' means and which type of organisation can be considered as part of civil society; in other words, this section tried to define 'civil society' and list a number of organizations that may be considered as members of civil society. It is important to know that this study dealt with CSOs in a very broad sense including non-governmental organisations (NGOs), church organisations, and community-based organisations.

According to Marris (1998), civil society "represents a way of thinking about power and the State" (Marris, 1998). To accomplish this role, CSOs generally use skills that people associate with the profession of planning. This led me to look at the relationships existing between urban planners and CSOs.

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1.4. Methodology

The case study is the main research method used in this research, which focused particularly on Africa's FMs, particularly those from the Sub-Saharan Africa. Samples were selected among people from East Africa (Ethiopia, Burundi, and Tanzania), West Africa (Nigeria and Ivory-Coast), Central Africa (DRC and the Republic of Congo or Congo-Brazzaville), and Southern Africa (Zimbabwe).

Interview and participant observation were the two sources of information that used to collect data presented and analysed in this report. Altogether 20 in-depth interviews were conducted with 10 FMs, seven members of seven different CSOs, one police officer from the Hillbrow police station, and an official of the Department of Home Affairs (DHA).

A. Interview

All the in-depth interviews conducted were semi-standardised; that is, I started asking specific questions to all my informants to show them the kinds of information I wanted, depending on the group to which each informant belonged. With regard to the FMs, for example, I started questioning them about their experience as FMs living in the inner city; about their knowledge and relationships with different CSOs dealing with refugees and asylum seekers in Johannesburg; and about their relationships with the local government (LG) authorities. And from their answers I could develop other series of questions accordingly to my research interests of this particular study.

As said previously, it is important to note that among the information presented in this study, some of them came from five interviews selected from interviews conducted the previous year (2005) in collaboration with Kihato. In other words, among the 10 interviews done with FMs, only 5 were done in 2006; while the 5 others were selected from the 2005 interviews.

With regard to the CSOs, I conducted 7 in-depth interviews with people working in 7 different Johannesburg CSOs, as already emphasised. The names of these organisations are given in Chapter Two and repeated in the Appendix Two.

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B. Participant Observation

Participant observation is another method used during my visits to the offices of CSOs selected in this research. It is important to note that data presented in this study came also, partly, from my day-to-day contacts with FMs in both Hillbrow and Yeoville, and in places such as community parks and community forums.

With regard to my visits to the offices of CSOs, such as the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), I used to spend hours in the board room with FMs, observing them and learning from their conversations. This allowed me to find out the type of assistance most of them needed, and the type of relationships existing between them and these CSOs. I also assisted in the prayer meetings of FMs, especially in Yeoville where francophone FMs usually attend church service in French the third Sunday of every month, at the Saint Francis Catholic Parish. I also attended some of their community meetings in the same Parish.

In-depth interviews and participant observation exercises helped me to clarify the real problems facing FMs in the inner city and to reveal the potential of the Johannesburg's CSOs with regard to their ability to facilitate a greater social justice for FMs living in this part of the city. In other words, information collected through interviews and participant observation helped me in answering the main research question of this study, as well as its subsidiary questions.

1.5. Outline of Chapters

This report comprises five chapters which are listed below.

Chapter One: Introduction

This introductory chapter presents broadly the structure of this study, including the aim, rationale, literature review, methodology, outline of the chapters, and the limitations of the study.

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Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter is intended to present and comment different literatures reviewed about various themes developed in this research, including the notions of justice, social justice, just city, forced migration, planning, and civil society. The literatures reviewed came from a range of scholars such as Friedmann (1998), Harvey (1973), Healy (1996), Sandercock (1998, 2005, and 2006), Fainstein (2005 and 2006), and Marris (1998).

Chapter Three: Civil Society Organisations and forced Migrants in the Inner-City of Johannesburg

This chapter is divided into two major parts: the first gave an overview of the methodology used; and the second part presented the findings of my fieldwork.

Chapter Four: Analysis of the Findings

This chapter analyses the outcomes of my fieldwork, based on theories, ideas, and practices taken from different literatures reviewed in Chapter Two. This analysis proves that the Johannesburg's CSOs have the potential to be used to contribute to the social transformation of the inner city by influencing policy-makers and challenging government policies and decisions affecting FMs. This chapter also shows the strengths and weaknesses of the Johannesburg's CSOs.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter concludes my research by formulating recommendations for the purposes of the Johannesburg's CSOs, the LG, and the NG. With regard to the local and national government, for instance, this report recommended them to pay more attention to the challenges facing FMs and encouraged them to include the interests of the FMs in their agenda, and to reinforce their relationships with CSOs on matters relating to FMs. From the civil society's side, this study urges CSOs to increase their efforts to promote a greater social justice for FMs by continuing to challenge the government policies and decisions; but, at the same time, remaining disposed to collaborate with the City's planners on matters relating to FMs.

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1.6. Limitations of the Study

Undertaking such study was a necessity because, for a considerable time, I believed that the Johannesburg's CSOs could contribute a great deal to lot for the improvement of the quality of life of FMs living in the inner-city. The outcomes of my research confirmed my hypothesis. But as every study has always limitations, it is important for me to emphasis the limitations of this particular piece of work.

As far as I am concerned, I believe that this study has main limitations: Firstly, it did not analyse in detail the 1998 Refugee Act and other legislation affecting FMs in order to show if social injustices facing FMs is linked to content of this Act and legislation or to their implementation; and then see whether or not there is a need for the NG to amend them. Secondly, CSOs are under-represented in this study, in the sense that samples were taken from only a few organisations. It would have been better if I had been able to talk also with some other big NGOs, such as the National Consortium of Refugees (which is the biggest national organisation dealing with FMs in SA) to collect more views. It would also have been better to interview some people from the UNHCR to ask them for further details about the challenges facing FMs in Johannesburg. The difficulty here has been the lack of time available to visit these two big organisations above-cited. That is why I would recommend all those who will have the willing to work in the future on a similar topic to take into account these limitations.

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CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0. Introduction

Greater social justice for FMs is the aim of this study which, attempts to examine whether or not Johannesburg may be viewed as a 'just city', in terms of promoting values of social justice for the least advantaged people, including refugees and asylum seekers. It is about seeing whether or not Johannesburg is a more inclusive city, where people from different cultural backgrounds and countries can live in harmony with each other, sharing equal opportunities, and having a similar vision for the future of their city, regardless of their race, gender, and nationality.

In my opinion, CSOs based in Johannesburg may play a major role in the coming together of such a 'just city' given that, in the past, some CSOs (such the Lawyers for Human Rights and the Johannesburg Child Welfare) contributed to the struggle against the apartheid; and for almost a decade now, they also contributed in the redaction of the 1998 Refugees Act. But before explaining how CSOs can promote greater social justice for FMs, it is important to clarify my understanding of some key concepts or terms that seem to be relevant to this report, such as forced migration, civil society, social justice, and a 'just city'. My understanding of these concepts is based on some ideas presented by a range of scholars from various disciplines, including sociology, forced migration studies, political studies, and urban planning.

This chapter covers a range of writing relating to the above-mentioned terms, and comprises three main parts. The first part will give an overview of 'forced migration' and will define the term 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' according to the 1951 United Nations (UN) Convention relating to the status of Refugees and its Protocol of 1967, and the 1969 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention relating to the status of Refugees in Africa. The second part will present the literatures reviewed on the notion of justice and social justice based on scholars such as Rawls (1971), Harvey (1973), Healy (1996), and Oelofse (2003). The third part will highlight the relationships between planning, civil society, as well as the power relation between planning and politics.

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2. 1. The Concept of Forced Migration

'Forced migration' is a complex concept, particularly in the developing world, where forced migration is often only thought to involve cross-border migration. This section will define forced migration in relation with different categories of people who may be viewed as FMs.

2.1.1. Definition of "Forced Migration".

According to Turton (2003), forced migration is a product of wider processes of social and economic change, processes that are normally referred to as *globalisation* and which appear to be creating an increasing economic North-South divide in living standards, human security, access to justice, and human rights protection; it therefore concerns cross-border flows as well as transnational networks (Turton, 2003: 7). Turton's definition emphasises the global, social, and economic characters of the phenomenon of forced migration. It is a global phenomenon because it affects both underdeveloped and developed countries. In the earlier 1970s, Castles and Kosack (1973) emphasised that the phenomenon of forced migration was one of the hotly debated public issues in Britain, in the sense that it was frequently in the main headlines of the media (Castles and Kosack, 1973: 1).

The social and economic characters of the phenomenon of forced migration refer to the causes of movement around the world. In Africa, mobility and movement are often linked to issues of civil wars, political violence, natural disaster, poverty and hunger. But, before talking about different causes of forced migration in the African context, it is important to focus first on different categories of forced migrants.

2.1.2. Categories of Forced Migrants

Three categories of people are broadly included in the phenomenon of forced migration, namely, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDP), and asylum seekers.

a) Refugees.

The 1951 UN Convention relating to the status of refugees and its protocol of 1967, state that the term 'refugee' refers to any person who has been forced to leave his/her country of origin,

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fearing persecution "for the reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (UN, 1951). Analysing this definition, Turton (2003) suggests two main criteria, namely 'persecution' and 'alienage', which allow him to define a refugee as "a person who has crossed an international border because of a *well-founded* fear of being persecuted in his or her state of origin" (Turton, 2003: 12).

This definition can also be found in the OAU's 1969 Convention governing the specific characteristics of refugees in Africa, and in the 1984 Cartagena Declaration for the Central American Region. Inspired by the 1951 UN convention, the two documents enlarge the causes of forced migration by including issues such as external aggression or occupation, foreign domination, generalised violence, internal conflicts (civil wars), mass violation of human rights or other circumstances which can seriously disturb public order (ibid, 2003: 12).

In 2004, the UNHCR counted over 4.2 million refugees in Africa, second only to Asia (www.southafrica.info, 2004); while, in 2002, the South African Department of Home Affairs (DHA) recognised 23,000 resident refugees, predominantly in SA's urban regions who survive largely without state assistance (Rulashe, 2004). It is important to note that, in SA, delays in determining refugee status are one of the main challenges facing FMs. According to Rulashe (2004), between 2002 and 2004, the UNHCR trained 40 lawyers to help the South African DHA to clear its backlog of cases, which piled up again "after many of the lawyers left for greener pastures". In 2004, there were some 52, 000 cases awaiting status determination in SA (ibid, 2004).

During the apartheid era, people who came to SA seeking asylum were not recognised as refugees by the South African government, as the country had not ratified the UN and the OAU conventions relating to the status of refugee. The Human Rights Watch (HRW) states that the so-called Aliens Control Act of 1991 was the only piece of legislation that regulated the movement of non-nationals into SA until 1993, when the country signed a first "basic agreement" with the UNHCR (HRW, 2005). Amended in 1995, the "Aliens Control Act dealt with refugees and asylum seekers in an ad hoc manner". No statutory basis for determining refugee status existed. According to the HRW, all procedures were contained in internal circulars of the DHA until 1998, when the country promulgated the 1998 Refugee Act, Number 130 (ibid, 2005). This Act, which came into force after its regulations were published in April 2000, defines the legal standards for refugee status, establishes the state's asylum

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procedures, and sets out the rights and obligations of refugees and asylum seekers. Some sections of this legislation give a few advantages to FMs, particularly refugees, such as the access to the rights contained in the Bill of Rights (except the rights reserved for the citizens, for example the right to vote), the right to apply for an immigration permit (formerly called permanent residence) after living in the country for five years, the right to get an identity document and a passport (see section 26 of the Refugee Act), the right to work, and the right to access health care services and primary education facilities (Para Legal Advice, 2003; and SA, 1998 26).

It is important to note that, in spite of comprehensive laws contained in the Refugees Act and other legislations, many FMs still continue to face significant obstacles to their right to seek and enjoy effective protection in SA, as I will show later in this report.

b. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

The term IDP refers to a person who has been forced to move from one place to another, without crossing an international border, mainly because of issues such as natural disasters (drought, volcanic eruption and so on), or as a result of civil wars. Such a person is technically still under the protection of the government of his/her own country and he/she is not, therefore, in a refugee situation (Turton, 2003: 13). In some cases, IDPs can be assisted by the UNHCR at under the request of their government.

This report, however, does not deal with this category of FMs, as mentioned in Chapter One. For this reason, my attention will not be focused on issues facing this category of FMs.

c. Asylum Seekers

The term ‘asylum seeker’ refers to people who have made a claim for asylum but whose cases have not yet been determined (Turton, 2003: 14). Generally, asylum seekers flee their countries of origin because of political conflicts, wars, and/or persecution (Para Legal Advice, 2003). According to Turton, this category of FMs has emerged in response to the growing difficulties of making clear distinctions between people moving for political, as opposed to economic, reasons, “since political upheavals usually go hand in hand with violent conflict, economic distress and human rights abuses” (Turton, 2003: 14). In Africa, as elsewhere in the

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world, it become very difficult, in practice, to separate asylum seekers from economic migrants, and yet such a separation is seen by governments as “an essential condition of an effective asylum and immigration policy” (ibid, 2003).

In SA, asylum seekers are the most vulnerable category of FMs who face many challenges, including xenophobia, marginalisation, discrimination (from the work place and public hospital), and exclusion. With regards to the exclusion, it is important to note that the SA Refugee Act, at the time of its publication in 1998, officially excluded asylum seekers from the basic right to work and study. The South African Human Rights Commissioner and other CSOs dealing with FMs challenged this clause in the Act for a very long time (Para Legal Advice, 2003). As a result of this challenge, asylum seekers can now study and work in SA, but these rights seem to be ignored by many organisations and companies, including the state’s agencies and departments.

Besides the above-mentioned challenges, there is also the issue regarding the backlog of asylum applications. In SA, a person can remain an asylum seeker for more than one or two years (even five years) without gaining a refugee status. And yet, according to the 1998 Refugee Act “an asylum seeker application should be adjudicated within 180 days, including the appeal” (www.southafrican.info, 2004), but this rarely happens. The HRW (2005) believes that “poor planning and inadequate preparation for the coming into force of the Refugee Act has largely been responsible for the backlog of asylum applications” (HRW, 2005). The state has, therefore, not adequately manage the transfer of asylum applications issued under the Aliens Control Act to the new system, and few immigration officials are hired and trained to administer the 1998 Refugee Act (ibid, 2005).

This section highlighted the meaning and different types of FMs, as well as certain challenges they face in SA due to the poor planning and the inadequate preparation for the coming into force of the 130 Refugee Act. This confirms how much FMs suffer from social injustices in the South African context that can only be addressed if the government can become more aware and respond more efficiently to the claims of FMs. The next section will consider the relationships between planning and forced migration, particularly with regard to the promotion of social justice for migrants.

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2.2. Planning and Forced Migration

According to Friedmann, "for the city of Johannesburg to be able to address the problems that resulted from the apartheid era, the thrust of thinking has to change from traditional planning to equity planning" (Cebekhulu, 2004: 26) so that greater equity may be achieved. Planning in Johannesburg, should move beyond the mere preparation of physical plans towards integrating physical planning with social, economic, and participation planning" (Cebekhulu, 2004: 26). The same logic can be applied to the issue of forced migration. The movement of foreigners to Johannesburg is not a new phenomenon, in the sense that, since the apartheid era, Johannesburg has always attracted foreign migrants, especially those from neighbouring countries, who have come here seeking economic opportunities in the mining sector (Kok *et al.*, 2005). Shifting from physical planning to social, economic, and participative planning should not only concern South African citizens, but also migrants who live legally within the country, particularly refugees who share some of the same rights contained in the Bill of Rights with South Africans.

In accordance with the equity planning model, Krumholz (1982) states that equity planning requires local government institutions to give priority attention to the goal of promoting a wider range of choices for people who have few, if any, choices (Krumholz cited by Fainstein, 2005). The main goal of Krumholz then speaks not only of participatory or deliberative democracy but also of social inclusion: "inclusion not necessary in the discussion of what to do but inclusion in having access to the benefits of the city" (Fainstein, 2005: 124). Having access to the benefits of the city is one of the elements that Friedmann emphasises when inviting South African planners to shift from physical planning towards equity planning (see Cebekhulku, 2004).

The aim of this section is to establish a link between forced migration and urban planning by focusing on the concept of equity planning and the just city as proposed by Friedmann (see Cebehkulu, 2004), Krumholz (1982), and Fainstein (2005), as well as political economy theorists, such as Harvey (1973) and Young (1990). This section will be divided into two broad parts: the first part will deal with social justice based on the thoughts of some thinkers, such as Harvey (1973), and Rawls (1971); while the second part will focus on the idea of the just city.

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2.2.1. An Overview of the concepts of 'Social Justice'

In *Social Justice and the City,* Harvey (1973) affirms that social justice is a normative concept. It is usually linked to some values, including equity, equality, democracy and respect of difference. This section aims to provide some definitions of social justice based on some of the work of Rawls, Harvey, Oelofse and others, before focusing on the 'just city' planning approach aimed at achieving the normative values of social justice. These works will serve both as analytical lenses to review civil society and state actions in the inner-city of Johannesburg, as well as to provide recommendations in Chapter Five of this report.

a) Justice as Fairness.

"Justice as Fairness" is the principal theme that has been developed by Rawls in his book *Theory of Justice*, published in 1971 (Campbell, 1988: 72). According to the Rawlsian conceptualisation of justice, fairness refers to equity or social justice (Wikipedia, 2006), which is one of the main themes of this study. Rawls' *Theory of Justice,* therefore, serves as a reference to civil society and other organisations that are engaged in equity projects. The starting point for Rawls is the idea of "original position". According to him, in order to achieve fairness or equity, people must be free and equal in the original position (Campbell, 1988: 75). At the original position, said Rawls, people (or parties) are not self-centred since they do not seek to harm anyone, and in the pursuit of their claims civil society organisations are free to propose and argue for the principles of justice that they believe would be of greater benefit to social cooperation (Campbell, 1988: 76).

It is important to note that the nature of Rawlsian equality is grounded in the equality of a person as a 'moral agent'. Rawls defines 'good' as "a set of convictions about what personal goals are worth pursuing", and he defines the 'sense of justice' as "a set of beliefs about the terms of fair social cooperation" (ibid, 1988).

Another important component of Rawls' conception of social justice is what he calls the "veil of ignorance", which emphasises that at the original position all parties are entirely ignorant of any particular fact about themselves which might lead them to favour themselves at the expense of those with different qualities (ibid, 1988). In other words, Rawls' "veil of

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ignorance" spares parties from any possibility of unfairness in the decision to be made by rendering them entirely ignorant of their own interests.

At the original position, persons have the conception of good, but they ignore entirely its specific content and, cannot, therefore, "slant the principles of social justice to suit their particular goals". Parties know other general facts about human nature and the society in which they live "but not their own particular nature, their sex, their social class, their size or intelligence, or talents". They come together to 'sign' a kind of 'social contract' that can facilitate social cooperation (ibid, 1988).

There are two principles of Rawlsian social justice, which are both related to equality and difference. The principle of equality states that "each person has the same indefeasible claim to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic liberties, which scheme is compatible with the same liberties for all" (Rawls, 2001: 42). The principle of difference, in turn, announces that "social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions: first, they are to be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity; and secondly, they are to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged of society" (ibid, 2001).

The first principle of difference is considered as the principle of equality that gives equal rights to all. The second principle of difference, which "is concerned with the distribution of income and wealth" (Oelofse, 2003: 90), recognises inequalities among people. The principle of difference is linked to the equality of opportunity, which should allow people, having the same capacities, to gain access to diverse functions of society. For example, people having the same degrees in medicine should be given equal job opportunities.

According to Rawls, inequalities can be justified only if society can benefit from them, in the sense that a person with more talent should gain a higher salary than the one with less. This argument may be legitimated only if society can also gain some profit from inequalities, for example, in terms of taxes.

b) Justice as efficiency.

In *Social Justice and the City*, Harvey (1973) states that social justice and efficiency are interrelated. According to him, social justice should be thought of as a principle, or a set of

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principles, that may resolve conflicting claims in any society, which arise out of the necessity for social cooperation in seeking individual advancement (Harvey, 1973: 97).

To illustrate the relevance of the principles of social justice based on a Rawlsian model, Harvey talks about the division of labour. He believes that, through labour division, it is possible to increase production, but the main question is how the fruits of production are distributed among those who cooperate in the process. Like Rawls, Harvey's conception of social justice also refers to the division of benefits and the allocation of burdens arising out of the process of undertaking joint labour (ibid, 1973). In other words, justice as efficiency should be applied to the division of benefits and the allocation of burdens in a way that can allow people to share equally the benefits and burdens of society.

The principle of social justice that Harvey explores is what he calls the skeletal conception of a just distribution. To explain this skeletal conception, he asks two main questions: "what are we distributing?" and "among whom?" The answer to the first question has been already given, it is about the benefits of people's cooperation, but Harvey recognises that it is difficult to specify what those benefits are, as they relate to individual preferences and values. The second question concerns the individual, but Harvey prefers to talk about distribution as it occurs among groups, organisations, territories, and so on (Harvey, 1988: 98-99). He assumes that "justice achieved at a territorial level of analysis implies justice achieved for the individual, even though I am aware that this is not necessarily the case" (Harvey, 2003: 99). Thus, to achieve individual as well as territorial social justice, it is important to make sure of the elements discussed below.

- The distribution of income should meet the needs of an individual or the population of the entire territory.

- It is necessary to make sure that resources are allocated to maximise interterritorial multiplier effects; and that extra resources are allocated to help overcome special difficulties emerging from the physical and social environment.

- Institutional, organisational, political, and economic mechanisms are presented in such a way that the prospects of the least advantaged individual or territory are as great as they

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possibly can be (Harvey, 1973: 117). It is only if distribution is made in such way that one can talk about social justice.

c) Justice as equality.

In his article on S*ocial Justice, Social Integration, and the Compact City*, Oelofse (2003) talks about social justice as equality in the context of the Inner city of Johannesburg. Analysing the process of racial and spatial integration in the inner city, in the light of the Rawlsian conceptualisation of equality and liberal integration strategies, Oelofse concludes that these processes failed because they did not necessarily improved the lives of the least advantaged people (Oelfse, 2003: 103).

Oelofse's conceptualisation of justice is based on normative values such as non-discrimination, fairness, integration, protection of people's rights (taken from the liberal social justice theorists), empowerment of the disadvantaged people, and equality of treatment among all the inhabitants of the inner city. The type of social justice that he fights for is one that may contribute to an urban context that constitutes a place "within which individuals may create and exploit the opportunities they choose" (Oelofse, 2003: 197). To conclude, he recommends that planners formulate appropriate policy responses "to make sure that no one is discriminated against or unfairly treated" (Oelofse, 2003: 197).

2.2.3. Justice for a 'Just City'.

In one of her conference papers on the search for the just city that she sent to me by email in April 2006, Fainstein gives the historical perspective of the just city, stating that "the profession of planning was born of a vision of the good city" (Fainstein, 2005: 1). The idea of 'good city' came from the Ebenezer Howard and Baron Haussman's conception of creative destruction, and from the American and European technocrats' idea of urban progress, as a response to what Fainstein calls "a revulsion at the chaotic and unhealthful character of the industrial city". Their common purpose was to achieve efficiency, order, and beauty in cities through reason; but, according to Fainstein, today's feature of planning is "modesty".

Fainstein's just city approach emanates from "the progressive leftist ideal of a revitalised, cosmopolitan, just and democratic city", raised against the idea of "unjust distributional

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outcomes" and the failure to take into account the views of affected citizens, including FMs, in the public decision-making processes (Fainstein, 2005: 3). In *Cities and Diversity* (2005), she defines the concept of the 'just city' in terms of democracy, equality, diversity, growth and sustainability (Fainstein, 2005: 3). According to my understanding, Fainstein believes that justice within cities should promote all those values. A just city should, therefore, be democratic, promote equality, tolerate diversity (including diversity resulting from migration), promote economic growth where benefits are fairly distributed, and take into account all issues regarding sustainability.

Fainstein's idea of a democratic city is based partly on Fisher's populist idea of the participation of ordinary people in the decision making processes. Both Fisher (1990) and Fainstein (2005) condemn the exclusion of ordinary people (including FMs) from the planning process and criticise the hegemony of 'experts' (Fainstein, 1997). According to them, participation in the decision-making process is part of the ideal of the just city, "both because it is a worthy goal in itself and because benevolent authoritarism is unlikely" (ibid, 1997). Democracy, for Fainstein, consists of resolving problems by endowing minorities with rights that cannot be transformed by the majority (Fainstein, 1998). The success of a planning project then depends on the level of participation or involvement of the marginalised, including FMs, or those who are targeted. She, like Sandercock (1998), also insists on the role of the third-sector (or civil society) to challenge existing structural inequalities among groups (Fainstein, 1998). This study will, therefore, examine whether the Johannesburg's CSOs dealing with the FMs are engaged in this political challenges.

With regards to equality, Fainstein is influenced by Rawls' conception of equality in which equality is viewed as a rational approach to organising a 'well-ordered' city (Fainstein, 2005: 13). She is also influenced by Friedmann (1987) who considers equality "as a necessary pre-condition to human fulfilment and condemns the dehumanising effects of capitalism" (Fainstein, 1997). The notion of equality can be used in order to redress disadvantage as it affects groups. And equality includes a range of considerations that concern planners, namely, the impact of environmentally degrading facilities on different social groups, access to public space, public policies and the right to the city (Fainstein, 2006: 17).

Young (1990), Healy (1996), and Sandercock (1998) have also influenced Fainstein in her formulation of the value of diversity. Young (1990) attempts to reconcile the 'politics of

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difference' with ethical precepts regarding justice. She "outlines a vision of the good city within the framework of a group-identified society" (Fainstein, 1997). According to Young, Healey, Sandercock, and Fainstein, differences among groups are what characterise cities, while acceptance of difference provides the moral basis for urban life. That is why, in cities, diversity should be adopted as a guiding value. This is the concept of multiculturalism or interculturalism which "requires respect for the norms of others" (Fainstein, 1997 and Sandercock, 2005 and 2006), including the norms of FMs.

It is important to clarify the concepts of 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' used by Sandercock (2006). According to Sandercock, multiculturalism is more that an idea; it is a political philosophy and a great social project; and, at the same time, "a way of imagining how we might manage to co-exist peaceably in the increasingly culturally diverse shared spaces of streets and neighbourhoods, cities and regions" (Sandercock, 2006: 1). In a country where multiculturalism is a guiding idea, the government sets aside funds for the preservation of cultural heritage of each ethnic group. That is why, in a country such as Canada (one of the countries which espoused a political philosophy of multiculturalism), the state encourages individuals voluntarily to affiliate with the culture and traditions of their choice, through multicultural grants, "to support the maintenance of various cultures and languages and to encourage diverse cultural festivals in public places as well as the symbolic gesture of public art works that recognize and celebrate the multiple peoples who make up the nation" (Sandercock, 2005: 8). The philosophy of multiculturalism led to the birth of 'multicultural cities', in which the cultural diversity of ethnic groups is promoted and celebrated, and the respect of the norms of 'others' is required and encouraged.

Sandercock supports the idea of the multicultural city because of its emphasis on the celebration and respect of the cultural diversity, but she suggests a shift from the multicultural city to an intercultural one because, instead of building cities or neighbourhoods that provide culturally specific services, it is better to help in building hybrid cities that are home for all, in which no one culture is dominant, and each culture learns from, contributes to, and adapts to others, to create something entirely new (Sandercock, 2005: 10). She shares Rushdie's idea of "change by fusion" and "change by conjoining". According to her, using interculturalism as a guiding philosophy to build cities, means building cities in which "strangers become neighbours"; that is, building cities in which people can transcend their ethnic and other

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differences, and where places and programmes are designed for everyone and not for any specific ethno-cultural group. Rushie calls this process: 'Mongrelisation' (ibid, 2005).

Healey (1997) is concerned about planning practices and privileges the post-structuralist values of diversity along with the populist goal of participation that she considers as a guiding norm. Inspired by Habermas' communicative theory, she favours consensus building in the decision-making process. Accordingly, "right and bad actions are those we can come to agree on, in particular times and places, across our diverse differences" (Healy cited in Fainstein, 1997). Fainstein, however, criticises a consensus building approach to planning by suggesting that "a negotiated consensus may fail to produce the desired outcome" (Fainstein, 1997), particularly for FMs who may not be part of the mainstream negotiation process. That is why, in this work, I will propose a role for CSOs that advocate on behalf of FMs for the inclusion of their rights in the public decision-making processes. This proposed role will be discussed in later chapters of the report.

Through the value of growth, Fainstein refers to the just distribution of economic benefits of the social goods among social groups. Based on Harvey's (1996) idea of economic justice in which social justice is regarded as something that people must always fight for as 'a key value', Fasinstein calls for "an ethic of political solidarity built across different places" (Fainstein, 1997). Talking about mechanisms of fair distribution, she emphasises the necessity of targeting redistributional policies to attain social benefit for the most disadvantaged.

In terms of sustainability for a just city, Fainstein has founded her arguments on Harvey's (1997) conception of environmental justice, which problematises "the tension between human comfort and respect for the environment to a defence of environmental justice" (Fainstein, 1996: 5). Sustainability in the context of the just city is about building responsible cities where people use, in a responsible manner, their environment for their own benefits, without ignoring environmental benefits for future generations.

This section has tried to establish a link between forced migration and urban planning theories, by showing how planning theories and practices can respond to the challenges of forced migration within cities. The promotion of interculturalism, equality, and social justice for all, particularly for FMs who are among the most disadvantaged members of SA society, can be a major planning response. To conclude this section, it is important to note that

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Fainstein does not ignore some of the possible negative consequences of the just city. She recognises that aspects of democracy, diversity, and sustainability may be problematic, in the sense that they sometimes have undesirable potentials or risks. Democracy, for instance, can compromise the rights of minority groups (particularly for FMs), as the high cost of achieving equality through redistribution creates resentment among those who must sacrifice, resulting in a legitimation crisis and even counter-revolution or civil war. Diversity, in turn, can provoke a social breakdown; and sustainability may diminish growth, thereby producing unemployment and sacrificing desired consumption (Fainstein, 2005: 3).

The next section will define civil society and will establish power relation between planning and politics.

2.3. Civil Society, Planning, and Power Relations.

Governing a city is not the concern of the city council alone. Good governance should involve members of the LG, CSOs and other social actors in order to preserve the right of the least advantaged communities. This section aims to define the concept of 'civil society' in relation to urban planning and to analyse the power relation between planning and politics.

2.3.1. What is 'Civil Society'?

First of all, it is important to note that there is not only one definition of civil society. For the purpose of this research, the most illustrating definition of this concept is the one by the London School of economics (LSE) Centre for Civil Society, which states that:

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"Civil society refers to the arena of uncorked collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups".

(LSE cited in Wikipedia, 2006).

This definition portrays CSOs as an ensemble of organisations (outside of the state and market structures) representing the interests of residents and promoting some values such as democracy and human rights. The CSOs have some common features, such as autonomy, and appear as a counter-power to state institutions in the interest of people, particularly the least advantaged (including FMs).

From a planning perspective, my understanding of civil society is based on Marris (1998), Douglass and Friedmann (1998) who attempt to define this concept in a way relevant to planners, insisting on the fact that these organisations are vehicles of social justice for all, particularly for those marginalised groups such as FMs. According to Marris, for instance, civil society represents "a way of thinking about power and the state". He demonstrates that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) can mobilise people and governments on both local and global scales by setting agendas, challenging governments, monitoring the implementation of policies and carrying out research. To do so, CSOs employ the skills associated with the profession of urban planning, namely, applying knowledge to action, defining issues, mobilising participation and reconciling conflicts, evaluating the potential impact of policies and their performance, and designing a framework for collaboration (Marris, 1998:12). Friedmann (1998) considers civil society as a way of "thinking about power and the state" and seeking to address the social needs of all those residing in cities (Friedmann, 1998: 20). This justifies my preference for CSOs as advocacy groups that may facilitate greater social justice for FMs, as I will show in Chapter Four of this report.

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Friedmann also portrays civil society as "a collective actor in the public domain, particularly in the urban domain, which is the domain of planning" (Friedmann, 1998: 29). CSOs may act efficiently for 'social transformation' by facilitating greater social inclusion, self-development, and "a form of social justice that acknowledges the different priorities of different groups" (Friedmann, 1998: 34). In other words, the politics of civil society "aims at the removal of artificial obstacles that limit each person's chance to development her or his innate abilities to the fullest possible extent" (ibid, 1998). Through this statement, Friedmann emphasises the emancipatory character of the politics of CSOs, and he clearly describes the transformative role of those organisations in the promotion of a more inclusive city.

Marris and Friedmann portray an image of a civil society capable of questioning and challenging state institutions, via social transformation possibilities. The question that then arises from this perspective concerns the relationship between planning and CSOs. In other words, how can planners interact with members of CSOs towards social transformation?

2.3.2. Planning and Civil Society.

If the aim of planning is to promote the positive aspects of a 'just city' via social change (Blowers, 1980) and to improve people's quality of life (Healey and Thomas, 1991), this aim may be similar to what CSOs, as agents of 'social transformations', promote. Accordingly, there is a strong link between what planners for social transformation and members of the CSOs do, in the sense that people may collectively be fighting for more just cities. The major difference is that mainstream planning works according to the government regulations, while most CSOs are autonomous and operate with their own money received from external donors. This fact gives CSOs the power to challenge state institutions in favour of marginalised groups. Moreover, planning for social transformation is not regarded as mainstream planning. Rather planning for social transformation favours working with CSOs and social movements to bring about structural changes.

Autonomy then increases civil society's power for more democratic actions; while mainstream planning involves gaining political support to get things done (Blowers, 1980). But both mainstream planning and planning for social transformation are politicised (Blowers, 1980; Friedmann, 19898; and Marris, 1998), and the power relation between planning, in general, and politics is unbalanced.

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2.3.3. Power relations between planning and politics.

This section will look at the power relations between planning and politics as this research report proposes some criticisms regarding the formulation and implementation of the 1998 Refugees Act. Policy formulation is mainly the concern of politicians who exert their power to influence policy according to their ideology or values. The "balance of power" emphasises that politicians share this responsibility with appointed planning officials (Blowers, 1980). A deeper investigation into this process of power sharing is required in order to know, on the one hand how power can be used by both politicians and officials to influence policies, and on the other hand, the extent to which CSOs and planners working with these organisations can use their power to influence policy-making decisions in favour of FMs in the context of the inner city of Johannesburg.

A myth prevails that "planning and politics are related but separate activities" (Blowers, 1980: 2), This assertion should be nuanced because, according to me, both politics and planning go hand in hand and the degree of interaction between the two is strong. Politicians have more power over planning, given that they have control over all the spheres of government, including parliament, government agencies and departments. They have their representatives within parliament (who have legislative powers) as well as in government departments. This gives them opportunities to influence planning decisions and sometimes to manipulate planners and members of civil society. Appointed planning officials, in turn, participate in policy-making processes, but these processes, more often than not, respect the decisions of politicians.

This is why, in my opinion, the CSOs need to be reinforced. In the context of Johannesburg, for instance, in order to change existing and exclusionary migration policies, city officials, politicians, civil society, and planners working for social transformation, will need to realise collectively the values of promoting greater social justice for FMs. But the benefits of promoting greater social justice for FMs will require that CSOs (dealing with FMs) become more vocal and effective in challenging existing exclusionary policies and decisions. Only once these challenges become part of the mainstream thinkings can a collaborative approach between the state and CSOs to promote a just city, be, realistically, visualised. And only then can an equity planning, as proposed by Krumholz (1982), be imagined.

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2.4. Conclusion.

This chapter highlighted some theoretical concepts that are relevant to my research. It started with a definition of forced migration by focusing on international conventions relating to the status of refugees (the 1951 UN Convention and the OUA Convention of 1969). Then, I presented a range of the literature reviewed on the concept of justice, social justice and the 'just city'. Such a city is a planning concept that promotes a more inclusive, multiculturalist, and socially just country, where all residents, regardless of their social, cultural and national backgrounds, can live together and share equally in the benefits of their city. Possibilities for intercultural planning policies, and the values of such policies, were discussed.

This chapter also defined CSOs as social actors of change and as a possible counter-power to the state. It examined power relations between planning, civil society, and politics. The conclusion which emerged from this examination is that civil society, in particular, needs to become more vocal and effective in challenging existing exclusionary migration policies in SA and Johannesburg.

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CHAPTER THREE:
CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND FORCED MIGRANTS IN THE INNER-CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

3.0. Introduction

After reviewing a number of works on different themes that this report will consider, I would like now to focus my attention on the Johannesburg CSOs and FMs living in the inner city of Johannesburg, in order to discover the type of relationships that exist between both CSOs and FMs. My purpose is to examine closely the efforts of the inner city CSOs efforts to improve the quality of life of FMs. For this reason, I decided to enter into contact with members of CSOs as well as with FMs living in the inner city in order to collect the information presented and analysed in this study.

This chapter comprises two main parts. The first part will focus essentially of the methodology used to collect the data presented and analysed in this chapter. While the second part will elaborate and present the findings of my fieldwork which has been characterised by series of interviews done with both members of CSOs and FMs living in Hillbrow and Yeoville.

3.1. Methodology.

As previously said, this study will focus only on FMs from Sub-Saharan African countries. Information gathered will come from two sorts of data, namely primary data (including interviews and participant observation) and secondary data (such as books, articles, and internet). But before presenting research findings, it is necessary, for me, to explain the 3 research methods that I used in this study, namely: case study, interview, and participant observation.

3.1.1. Case study

'Case study' research many definitions. This section will provide some of them, taken from scholars such as Yin (1993), Bromley (1986), and Lundberg.

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a) Definition of Case Studies

Yin defines a case study as an empirical inquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, addresses a situation in which the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and uses multiple sources of evidence" (Yin, 1993: 59). Bulmer, in turn, defines it as "a way of organizing social data and looking at the object to be studied as a whole" (Bulmer, 1983: 44).

The most important thing in the definitions of Yin and Bulmer is that both present case study researches as empirical inquiries that may help a researcher to investigate a phenomenon or a situation that occurs in a well-specified context and within a particular community or a group of people. According to Yin, when using a case study research method, the researcher should make sure that his/her investigations cover both a particular phenomenon (in this research report, the main focus is on a search for social justice) and the context in which the phenomenon is occurring (Yin, 1993: 31). He advises researchers to use a case study not only for exploratory or explanatory purposes but also for causal purposes. For Bulmer, a researcher should pay particular attention to all aspects of the event, phenomenon or situation because "the development over time of the event or person constitutes an important dimension" (Blumer, 1983: 44). For example, one may ask: "How are the feelings of South Africans towards FMs gradually changing? What are the incidents and thought processes that facilitate these changes?"

Case study research can also use one case or selected cases in order to look at events, collect data, and report the results.

b) Types of Case Studies

Yin (1993) distinguishes between three types of case studies: exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive. While Stake (1995) includes three others, namely, intrinsic, instrumental, and collective case studies. This study drew three types from Yin.

Exploratory case study

The exploratory case study aims to gain insights into a situation, phenomenon, community or person (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995: 42). The need for an exploratory research method is

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usually influenced by the lack of basic information on a new area of interest. This method helps researchers to become more familiar with a situation in order to formulate a problem or to develop a hypothesis. In this case, fieldwork and data collection are undertaken prior to the final definition of questions and hypotheses. Exploratory case studies then become a prelude to much social research, in the sense that they serve as an initial step before the actual study and thus the subject of investigation may not be precisely determined but may be left open for adjustment (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995: 43). According to Yin, the main problem with exploratory methods is that the data collected during the pilot phase are also used as part of any ensuing case study (Yin, 1993: 6).

Explanatory Case Studies

An explanatory case study "sets out to explain a social phenomenon". It usually seeks to answer 'why' phenomena exist and tries to find the answer to these phenomena (McNeill, 1985: 9). This may be a social problem that McNeill defines as "those aspects of social life that cause private unhappiness or public friction, and are identified by those in power as needing some kind of social policy to deal with them" (McNeill, 1985: 9).

According to Yin (1993), explanatory methods help researchers to seek the causes of a social problem or phenomenon. Forcese and Richer (1973), in turn, believe that the object of explanatory case study is to "test specifically hypothesised relationships among variables" (Forcese and Richer, 1973: 89); and others scholars, such as Tellis (1997), believe that "explanatory case studies may be used for doing causal investigations" (Tellis, 1997).

Descriptive Case Studies

Generally, a descriptive case study requires theory to be developed before starting a particular project (Wikipedia, 2006). The aim of such case is to describe a phenomenon that is occurring.

Note that complementary information (including sources of evidence for case studies; and application and procedures of case studies) about case studies can be found in Appendix I at the end of this study.

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3.1.2. Primary Data

In social research, the term 'primary data' refers to data collected by the researcher through surveys, interviews, participant observation (McNeill, 1985), or experimentation (Monash University, 2006). Interviews and participant observation are the two sources of primary data that I used during my fieldwork.

3.1.2.1. Interview.

a) Definition

An interview is a series of items and questions (structured or unstructured) that are asked and filled in by an interviewer in a face-to-face situation with the respondent (Phillips, 1966).

b) Types of Interviews

There are various types of interviews including: standardised, semi-standardised, unstandardised, qualitative, and in-depth interviews.

- *A qualitative interview:* This type of interview is based on conversation with emphasis on researchers asking questions and listening, and respondents answering. Qualitative interviews are linked to ethnographic fieldwork, and both are considered as 'qualitative or interpretive methods' (Warren, 2002: 87).

- *An in-depth interviews:* In-depth interview tends to be relatively long. It commonly involves face-to-face interaction between an interviewer and informant, seeking to build the kind of intimacy that is common for mutual self-disclosure. It tends also to involve a greater expression of the interviewer, and a personal commitment on the part of the participant (Johnson, 2002: 103).

- *A standardised interview:* Here, the interviewer is not free to adapt his/her other questions to the specific situation, to change order of topic, or to ask any other extra questions. In the standardised interview, the interviewer, therefore, asks all respondents a pre-established series

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of questions with proposed answers. There is generally little room for variation in responses, except where open-ended questions may be used (Frey, 2002).

- *An unstandardised interview:* In this type of interview, the interviewer is free to develop each situation in whatever ways he or she deems most appropriate for the purposes at hand. It is a 'nondirective' interview. The interviewer thus attempts to develop a very permissive atmosphere in which the respondent will feel perfectly free to express his or her feelings without fear of disapproval (Phillips, 1966: 130).

- *A semi-standardised interview:* Here, the interviewer may have to ask a number of specific questions, but he or she may be free to probe beyond the answers to these questions. It combines some advantages and disadvantages of each of the other types (Philips, 1966).

c) Significance

Forcese and Richer (1973) state that interviews are a social exchange which involves the interaction of two people. According to them, for any social interaction to be enjoyable, both the interviewer and the informant should receive what these authors call 'social rewards', in the sense that each party should receive from the other sufficient social rewards to allay the cost he (or she) is suffering in terms of time given up. The researcher's rewards are obvious; and the respondent should be receiving a combination of subtle flattering and attention (Forcese and Richer, 1973: 172).

d) Procedures and Techniques of the Interviews

Regarding the procedure and technique, four different stages of an interview may be identified. The first concerns the selections of persons to be interviewed and this selection depends on how well-defined the aim of the inquiry is. The second stage consists of securing appointments for interviews. The third stage deals with creating favourable conditions for interviewing by ensuring the privacy of the informant. The last stage regards the techniques used for driving an interview, which depends on the personality and skills of the interviewer (Lundberg, 1942). According to Lundberg, the most important procedure to be followed by the interviewer is to "gain the confidence of the informant and to release whatever mental

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inhibitions that may exist with reference to the interview" (Lundberg, 1942: 365). Similarly, Whyte believes that "the first concern of interviewer is to build rapport" (Whyte, 1984: 104).

3.1.2.2. Participant Observation.

According to Bless *et al*, (1995) participant observation requires that the researcher join a group of people who are being studied in order to observe and understand their behaviours, feelings, and attitudes (Bless *et al.*, 1995: 43). Lundberg (1942) states that this method requires a researcher to 'become' a member of the group by, for example, settling in a community and participating in the everyday life of a group (Lundberg, 1942: 375). For McNeill (1985), participant observation is sometimes used instead of ethnography and fieldwork. But, this method "is just one method of collecting data, not a complete strategy for social research" (McNeill, 1985: 68). In most of the cases, participant observation is usually combined with other research methods, including interviews.

3.1.3. Secondary Data

According to McNeill (1985), secondary data may come from various sources including, data from previous studies, official documents (such as government gazettes and reports), mass media (press releases or television and radio programmes), books, and articles (McNeill, 1985). All sources of data collection can be used in order to provide evidence and make more credible arguments.

3.1.4. Application of the Above-Mentioned Methods for this Report

This subsection aims to provide details about the case studies, the interviews, and the participant observation methods that were applied. It will also include some of the difficulties that I encountered when applying different methods in my study.

a) Case Study Research

Hillbrow and Yeoville were the case study areas chosen for this research in order to gather primary data on both male and female FMs living in the inner city for more than three years. Their ages varied between 25 and 60; and interviewees were nationals from the following

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regions: Central Africa (DRC), West Africa (Ivory Coast and Nigeria), and East Africa (Burundi, Tanzania, and Ethiopia). Interviewers were also chosen based on their representation (in terms of number) and influence in the inner city of Johannesburg.

b) Interviews

The outcomes of interviews that I will present in this chapter come from 20 in-depth and semi-standardised interviews that done with 10 FMs (males and females), 7 members of CSOs, one official of the DHA, one police officer from the Hillbrow Police Station, and one local government official. Among the 10 in-depth interviews done with FMs, five were done this year and the five other were selected from the 2005's interviews done in collaboration with Kihato.

As already said, data presented in this study are a result of in-depth (or open-ended) and semi-structured interviews (see section 3.1.2b). All my interviews began with a few structured questions (as mentioned in Chapter One: Introduction). In general, I was interested in stories and experiences of refugees and asylum seekers living in the inner city, as well as their relationships with CSOs. Regarding interviews with members of CSOs, the most significant elements were their mission, activities, and their relationships with FMs and the State, and well as their relationships among themselves through their networks.

c) Participant Observation

This task was accomplished through my day-to-day interactions with FMs at schools, in Hillbrow and Yeoville, and at the offices of some CSOs. I participated in migrants' religious meetings and observed some of them in community forums, particularly in Yeoville and I also spent hours in public parks observing and learning from conversations.

In August 2006, I joined FMs at the DHA to observe documentation process. This also provided an opportunity to interview an official from the Department who preferred to remain anonymous. Apart from three informants (the Home Affairs official, the LG official, and the Wits students) who preferred to remain anonymous, all others informants, in turn, agreed to the use of their names in this document.

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3.2. Forced Migrants in Johannesburg's Inner City

As said, all the interviews were focused on the stories and experiences of FMs in the inner city, whose the outcomes will be presented in three steps in this section. The first step will focus on education and access to health care. The second will deal with issues of discrimination, exclusion, and corruption facing FMs, while the last step will reveal stories of xenophobia and police harassment.

3.2.1. Education and Health Care.

Access to the primary and secondary education for refugee children remains a challenge for the majority of families living in the inner city, for various reasons. To know more about this problem, the following questions were asked of parents and an asylum seeker attending tertiary education at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits University).

1. As a parent, what difficulties do you face in terms of sending your children to school, and how do you manage to resolve these difficulties?

2. As an FM, what motivated your decision to pursue your studies at Wits University, and what challenges do you face?

3. As an FM living under the UNHCR and the SA government protection, are you aware of your right to free health care?

According to the views of most FMs, access to the health care is a challenge, especially for asylum seekers, in the sense that they do have free access to primary health care in small local clinics, but the quality of service delivery at these clinics is poor and limited. For example, Mrs Vida Uwase, a married Tanzanian woman and the mother of two girls, states that:

"Two months ago, I could even lose my four years child if I did not have money to bring her to the JH. My child was very sick and I took her to Hillbrow Clinic because it is the only public health facility where I could bring her as I do have an asylum seeker permit… The nurse prescribed only Panado and gave me a referral letter to JH, where I was required to pay

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R 1800, 00 as a hospitalisation fee… yet, when I arrived in Johannesburg in *2001, both refugees and asylum seekers had free access to health care at JH"*

(Interview with Mrs Uwase, 2005).

Mr. Anonymous One, a Congolese MA student at Wits University, also experienced a similar problem when, in July of this year (2006), he was required to pay R 200, 00 for medical consultation because of his asylum seeker's permit. And yet, section 27 (b) of the 1998 Refugee Act stipulates that refugees should enjoy full legal protection, which includes the rights set out in the Bill of rights (Constitution, Chapter Two), including the right to access health care in public hospitals.

Regarding access to primary and secondary education, Tshilobo Sabwe (2005), a 49 year old Congolese lady and the mother of nine children, told me that she pays alone the school fees for her children. She and her family fled the DRC for political reasons. Her husband passed away in 1999 when they were still in Zambia. Sabwe runs a small business at the Yeoville African Market in order to feed and take care of her children and ground-children. As a refugee, she emphasised that life in the inner city is very hard, adding that:

"My children and I don't receive help from the South African government, in terms of money or foods… This year, I received financial supports from the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), a Catholic organisation, which provided me some money in order to pay the school fees of my children. This is a gesture that I cannot forget".

(Interview with Sabwe, 2005).

According to Sabwe, education in SA is expensive, and the majority of refugee parents are not able to afford it, given that most of them do not work. She believes that the government and the UNHCR should think about this problem in order to alleviate their misery.

Sabwe continues by saying that "We are feeling excluded in this society… as the government cares only about South African citizens. It does not even think about improving the quality of life of refugees and asylum seekers living in this country. And yet, in some African countries, governments provide money, food and accommodation to refugees but, in SA, refugees must

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do everything themselves… If the government thinks that it cannot take care of us, why does it not send us to other countries? And why it refuses to provide us travel document that can allow us to go to other countries?" (ibid., 2005).

Mr. Anonymous One, in turn, emphasises that he always thought about pursuing his tertiary education, but was forced to flee his home country, the DRC, because of political instability. Regarding his presence at Wits University, he emphasises that he never thought about coming to SA to study, adding that "if I was in my country, I would have pursued my tertiary education there as I am doing it here in SA" (Interview with Mr Anonymous One, 2006). He also emphasised that, when he came to SA, his purpose was to seek for protection, but not to study.

Talking about challenges he faces in the inner city, Mr Anonymous has condemned the xenophobic and discriminatory attitudes of the majority of South Africans towards foreigners. According to him, in SA, xenophobia has generated exclusionary practices, especially in companies (even in the government agencies and departments). As a result, these companies do not accept to hire FMs because of their permits. To illustrate this issue, Mr Anonymous One gave his own example, saying that "I have got qualifications but I cannot be hired… Recently I applied for a job position but, my application was rejected because of my permit. I have been asked to bring my Identity (ID) book. And yet, as an asylum seeker, I have the right to study and work in SA. Unfortunately, this right of FMs is frequently violated and the NG is doing anything to protect it, although it receives pressures from CSOs on this issue" (ibid, 2006).

3.2.2. Discrimination, Exclusion, and Corruption

The previous sub-section showed that FMs are excluded and discriminated in the inner city, particularly in public institutions such as schools and health facilities. With regards to the employment, the fact that companies ask FMs for the South African ID, for example, proves that the majority of South Africans know little thing about refugees and asylum seekers; and few of them also understand who can hold a South African ID.

Likewise, Mrs Sabwe states that one of her sons was attending Grade 12 and was expected to write his matric examination at the end of 2005. The Principal of his school asked him to

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bring his ID book or a study permit before he was allowed to write his matric examinations. According to this Principal, a refugee permit will not allow Mrs Sabwe's son to study in SA. Sabwe found this decision unfair and reported the case to the DHA, which provided her son with a letter stating that he was legal in SA and had the right to write his matric examination (Sabwe, 2005).

Ignace Coulibaly, a 35 year old refugee from the Ivory Coast and an electrician by profession, was also refused a job because of his refugee permit. Here is how he described what happened to him:

"Last year (in 2005) I applied for a job position that I found in a newspaper, and some time later, the manager of this company called me for an interview. During the interview, he asked me to show him my ID book. I presented him my refugee permit, but he told me that his company does not hire refugees and asylum seekers because they are not permanent residents in SA, in the sense that they can return back to their home countries anytime; and, this can have a negative impact on his company. I implored him to consider my application but he categorically refused…"

(Interview with Mr Coulibaly, 2006).

Henriette Mungoma, a single mother and asylum seeker from Uganda complained about a case of discrimination that she and other migrant women experienced in the Yeoville African Market, where she runs a small business in order to take care of her 2 year old boy. Mungoma came to SA in 2002, fleeing the civil war between President Museveni's army and the rebels of the Lord's Resistance Army. When she first arrived to Johannesburg she stayed with her big sister, who died in 2004 leaving two children. Mungoma now takes care of her sister's children as well as her own son. In 2003, she started a small business at the Yeoville African Market to support her family. At the market, her table was located along the main road (called Rocky Street) where customers could easily buy her items. At the beginning of 2005, a group of South African women complained to the market manager, asking him to move all foreigners who were running businesses along the road to the inside of the market where business is slower than along the main street. Without any consultation, the manager asked all foreigners to move their businesses inside the market. Mungoma and other migrant women found this decision to be unfair, exclusionary, and discriminatory. Fortunately, according to

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her, even from within the market, she and her friends are still running successful businesses because they do not depend only on the location but also on the items that they sell (Interview with Mungoma, 2006).

With regards to corruption, all of my informants confirmed that corruption is an issue that they face, particularly at the borders, the DHA, and at police stations. All were forced to pay Home Affairs officials to obtain permits. Mrs Becky Kenneth, a forty year old Nigerian asylum seeker and the mother of three boys told me her corruption story in this way:

"I came to SA in 2002 and I obtained my permit some months later after corrupting a Home Affairs official with some money (R 600) under his own request, because getting a permit, at that time, was not easy… The process was very slow… the number of people seeking asylum was high, but the DHA could provide only twenty asylum permits per day… The majority of people were forced to corrupt Home Affairs officials to obtain permits. Some people used intermediaries that we (Nigerians) call Contacts to obtain them".

(Interview with Kenneth, 2005).

Similarly, Mungoma states that, when she came to SA in 2002, she was forced by an immigration officer, at Beit Bridge border, to pay R 300 before getting into SA, because she did not have a South African visa in her passport. "I also saw some people paying more money than I did… They asked me to pay them R 300 because I told them that I did not have enough money" (Interview with Mungoma, 2005).

Cases of corruption are also frequent among police officers. In 2005, Inspector Naidoo from the Hillbrow Police Station, confirmed reports of police officers who used their power in order to force refugees and asylum seekers to give them bribes (Interview with Naidoo, 2005). According to Mungoma, every Saturday policemen surround the Shoprite Supermarket (in Yeoville) and the Yeoville African Market asking people for permits, including FMs; "if you don't have it they can arrest you or force you to give them money". She also emphasised that sometimes policemen challenge refugee and asylum permits, especially when they look old, ignoring that permits are printed on A4 paper, which is very fragile (Interview with Mungoma, 2005).

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Reports of the involvement of the officers in corruption and bribery charges were also confirmed by the Anonymous 2 from the CoJ, who emphasised that many FMs complained that police officers usually regard them as 'mobile ATM' where they can get money anytime that they want (Interview with Anonymous 2, 2006). The Anonymous 3, from the DHA, also recognised the responsibility of Home Affairs officials in charges of corruption against them; that is why, his Department decided to consider the fight against corruption as one of its priorities this year and in the future, in order to protect FMs and the 'image of SA' (Interview with Anonymous 3, 2006).

3.2.3. Xenophobia and Police Harassment

My informants also highlighted the negative impacts of xenophobia on their day-to-day life in the inner city. *Makwerekwere* is the term used by the majority of South Africans to label all foreigners from other African countries. Mungoma states that she does not like to be called a Makwerekwere because it makes her feel like a stranger in SA. Xenophobic attitudes in the inner city are expressed differently and can be seen in places such as public health facilities, schools, supermarkets and in the behaviour of the police officers and Home Affairs officials. To focus the government's attention on xenophobia in the inner city, Emeka, a Nigerian refugee, states:

"Xenophobia is a big issue in Johannesburg. It is a disvalue (anti-value) that should be combated at any levels of the society: schools, hospitals, government departments, even in the public transport system, because it pushes people to ignore the African value of solidarity and may compromise the idea of African unity in SA".

(Interview with Emeka, 2006).

Talking about his own experience in Hillbrow, Emeka emphasises that the majority of South Africans, including the police officers, believe that all Nigerians are drug dealers. According to Emeka, the number of Nigerians involved in drug trafficking is very small. He thinks that the South African government should mobilise its people and teach them how to accept and learn from differences between people, as foreigners die because of the xenophobic attitudes of local people. Emeka confirms that Nigerians die in the inner city as a result of xenophobia (ibid, 2006).

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Similarly, Jean Krysostome, a Burundian refugee living in Yeoville, claims that many police officials do not like to intervene in matters relating to foreigners, in the sense that they do not intervene in disputes or conflicts among foreigners. But, when conflicts between a foreigner and a South African citizen arise, most take the side of their countryman. He illustrates the argument by saying:

"… I had a problem with one of my home guy and I went to the police station to ask for police intervention… Two policemen asked me to give them money before helping me. I told them that I did not have money, trying to show them that it was unfair to ask me for money…. One of them was angry; he took me out of their office telling me that their mission is to protect South African citizens, but not foreigners. He also asked me to go and resolve my problem alone with my home guy. I was very surprised and I felt like I was missing my country."

(Interview with Krysostome, 2006).

According to Jeannette Mbala, a refugee from the Congo-Brazzaville, the xenophobic attitudes of South Africans are based mainly on their refusal to accept cultural diversities:

"They are very sensitive to our fashion and languages. In my country, most of the married women, like me, do not wear trousers like here in SA. We wear traditional clothes that we call pagnes (in French), which make us different from South African ladies. In Johannesburg, if you wear pages everybody can notice that you are a Makwerekwere… Most of people look at you with disdain…. In public hospitals or in clinics, the sentiment is the same. If you dress in the way I dress, some nurses, especially blacks, cannot treat you with the same respect as other people. It is easy to notice it because they can ask you questions such as where are you from? When are you going back to your home country? Why are you here in Johannesburg? How do you feel with such fashion? These kinds of questions make me sick".

(Interview with Mbala, 2006).

Banks are also places where FMs experience xenophobia in the inner city, as Mouhamer (an Ethiopian refugee living in Yeoville) and Emeka describe. Both, Mouhamar and Emeka

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express their concerns about the suspicion that South Africans have vis-à-vis foreigners when they go to the bank to withdraw money or make some transactions. Emeka, for instance, states that "when they see my physical appearance, listen to my accent, and notice that I am from Nigerian, everything can change… sometimes they can ask me where did I get my money and so on" (Interview with Emeka, 2006).

According to Mouhamar, the decision made by several banks in SA to exclude FMs from opening bank accounts is based on xenophobia. "First National Bank (FNB) is the only bank that allows refugees and asylum seekers to open bank accounts" (Mouhamar, 2006). Mouhamar does not understand why other banks, such as the African Bank of SA (ABSA), do not allow FMs (especially asylum seekers) to open bank accounts.

These, and many other issues raised by my informants suggest a need for greater social justice for FMs living in the inner city. This suggestion is also confirmed by some members of CSOs, as the next section will emphasise.

3.3. Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the Inner City

As mentioned above, 10 interviews were conducted with members of seven different CSOs, including: the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), Department of Pastoral Care for Refugees (DPCR) of the Catholic Diocese of Johannesburg, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), Zimbabwe Torture Victims Projects (ZTVP), Johannesburg Child Welfare (JCW), Wits Law Clinic (WLC), and Trinity Congregation Church (TCC).

This section aims to provide the views of CSOs regarding challenges facing FMs, and the strategies that they implement to facilitate greater social justice for refugees and asylum seekers living in the inner city. This chapter comprises two main parts. The first will present my "scoping exercise" of different CSOs, and the second part will discuss their projects that promote greater social justice for FMs.

3.3.1. Scoping Exercise

The purpose of the scoping exercise is to present a list of all CSOs I visited, including their mission (services they deliver), their physical addresses, and the names of people I

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interviewed. This is what the table below present, while the maps show where these CSOs are located.

a) Table.

Organisation & type	Mission	Address	Representative
1. Department of Pastoral Care for Refugees (DPCR)	Provision of social services (accommodation, referral letters, etc.	08 Web Street Yeoville	Sister Sandra (Programme Co-ordinator)
2. Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS)	Provision of social services (accommodation, referral letters, and funeral assistance).	2nd Floor Dynamo House 130 Commissioner Street Johannesburg Central	Mr. Blaise Nzuzi
3. Johannesburg Child Welfare (JCW)	Psychological Counselling Services (counselling and therapy)	1st Floor Edura House 41 Fox Street, Cnr. West Street Johannesburg	Dr. Jackie Loffell (Advocacy Co-ordinator)
4. Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR)	Provision of legal assistance (on unlawful arrest, detention, and deportation).	1st Floor, Braamfontein Centre Tel: 011 339 1960 Fax: 011 339 2665	Mr. Jacob
5. Trinity Congregation Church (TGC)	Provision of social services (Soup kitchens, referral letters, etc)	Cnr Muller and Bedford Streets Yeoville Tel: 011 648 2188	Wena Wright
6. Wits Law Clinic (WLC)	Provision of legal assistance (advice and assistance with asylum application, and appeals and reviews of rejected cases).	University of the Witwatersrand 1 Jan Smuts Ave Braamfontein Johannesburg Tel: 011 717 8562	Tesneem Bramjee (Attorney) and Naazneen Madla (Candidate Attorney)
7. Zimbabwe	Psychological	2nd Floor	Dolores Cortes

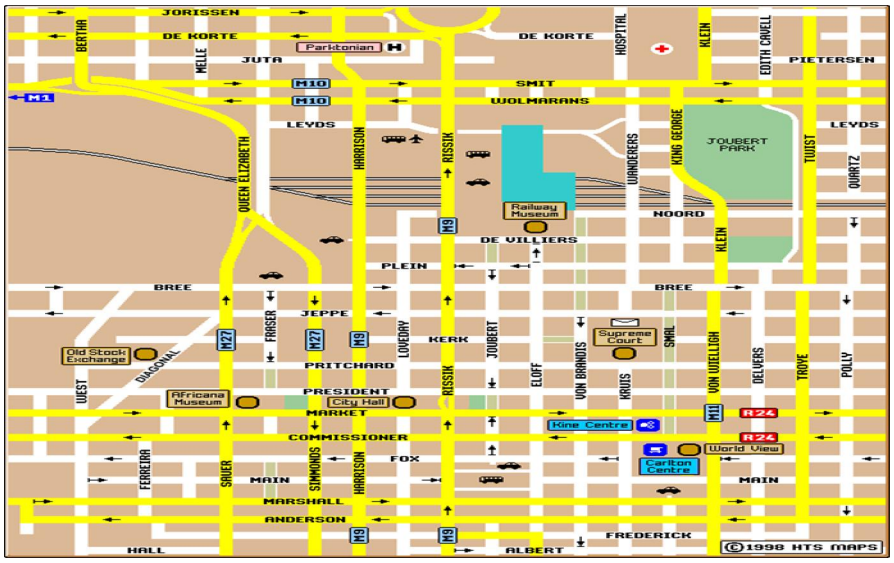
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Torture Victims Project (ZTVP)	Counselling (paralegal advice, funeral assistance, and medical and psychiatric referrals).	Braamfontein centre Located within CSVR offices

NB. This table presents the names of people and organisation, as well as physical address and mission as they have been provided to me. Privacy of people and some details regarding their position and telephone numbers are strictly respected.

b) Map.

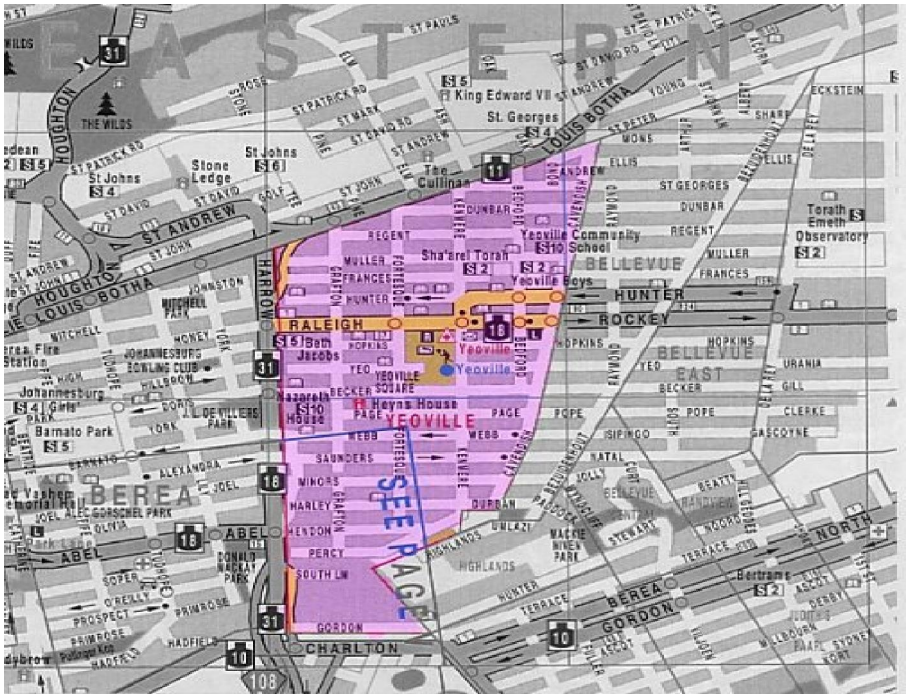
Map One: Central Johannesburg



Source : Central Johannesburg (after Safaris). INTERNET. http://hotels-tours-safaris.com/south_africa/johannesburg/citymap.htm. Cited 04 October 2006.

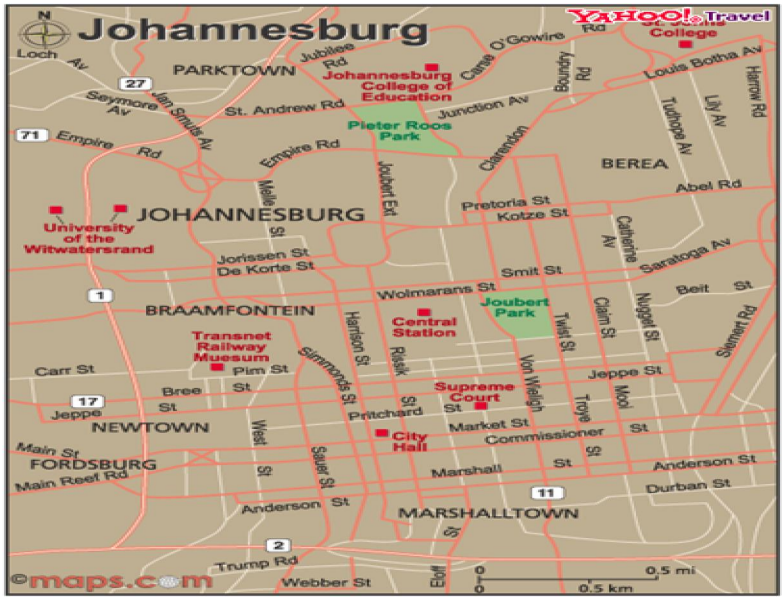
Map Two : Yeoville

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Source : Yeovile (after Yahoo Travel). INTERNET. http://www.yeoville.co.za/online.htm. Cited 05 October 2006.

Map Three : Braamfontein



Source : Johannesburg (After Yahoo Travel), INTERNET. http://travel.yahoo.com/p-travelguide-577388-map_of_johannesburg-i. Cited 04 October 2006.

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Map One: Central Johannesburg

This map shows where the organisations below are located: Jesuit Refugee Services (2), Johannesburg child Welfare (3), Lawyers for Human rights (4) and Zimbabwe Torture Victims Project (7).

Map Two: Yeoville

This map shows where the following organisations are located: department of Pastoral Care for refugees (1) and Trinity Congregation Church (5).

Map Three: Braamfontein

This map shows where Wits law Clinic (6) is located.

3.3.2. The Viewpoints of the CSOs

This section will summarise the many challenges facing FMs living in the inner-city and will review some of the actions taken by local CSOs to facilitate greater social justice.

a) Department of Pastoral Care for Refugees (DPCR)

The DPCR is a church organisation created by the Catholic Diocese of Johannesburg in the 1990s to provide social care to refugee communities. It is almost entirely funded by the Diocese of Johannesburg, but receives some financial aid from external donors, including international charity organisations. Sister (Sr.) Sandra, the programme co-ordinator, told me that her organisation deals with FMs from all over the world, providing them social assistances such as food, accommodation, fees and jobs.

Food

According to Sr. Sandra (2006), the majority of FMs lack sufficient financial means to feed themselves and their families. For this reason, her organisation is committed to provide meals, once a week, in order to alleviate their misery. At the Saint Francis Parish of Yeoville,

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additional food hampers are also made available, once a month, to families who find themselves in extreme poverty situations. “We make food provision available once a week simply because our budget is very limited and cannot allow us to make it available to all FMs… our priority is to focus particularly on the poorest of the poor” (Interview with Sr. Sandra, 2006).

Accommodation

The majority of FMs also lack a place to stay when they first arrive in Johannesburg. According to Sr. Sandra, the DPCR provides a shelter to FMs, particularly women and children, for a period of six months. ‘Bienvenu Shelter’ (‘Bienvenu’ means ‘welcomed’ in French) (located in Betrams) is the DPCR’s residence for FMs. “When couples come to Johannesburg for the first time with their kids, and need our help, we can provide places only to ladies and kids… we usually send men in other City’s residences such as Ekhaya Overnight Shelter, in Hillbrow, which is a place for men” (ibid, 2006). Sr. Sandra regrets that her organisation is obliged to separate families but argues that she does not have a choice, given that the ‘Bienvenu Shelter’ cannot accommodate couples and their children. Priority is usually given to women and children because they are the most vulnerable.

The six months temporary shelter allows FMs to familiarise themselves with Johannesburg and to look for jobs or to start a small business. For those who may have difficulties in getting their permit, the DPCR recommends them to the Wits Law Clinic (WLC) for legal assistance, and for those who have qualifications and need to work, the DPCR may recommend them to companies. The DPCR usually encourages FMs to look for jobs; and, once job opportunities are found, it just provides recommendation letters to support applications.

As an organisation working with FMs, the DPCR lobbies and networks with other CSOs and health facilities such as the WLC or LHR (for legal advises), the JRS (for humanitarian help), and the JH (for health problem).

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Fees and Other Services

Sr. Sandra also states that the majority of FMs are not able to afford school fees when they first arrive in Johannesburg. To resolve this problem, the DPCR usually recommends parents to the JRS for help.

In the case of illegal detention, the DPCR sometimes intervenes with the South African Police Services (SAPS) in order to release FMs who are unjustly arrested. For example, SR. Sandra intervened for the release of a FM woman who used to stay at 'Bienvenu Shelter'. She was arrested for not having her documents when trying to find a family member living in Hillbrow. According to Sr. Sandra, many other similar cases happen daily.

Social Justice

Regarding social justice, SR Sandra says that there is a need for greater social justice for FMs living in the inner city. Every day they are, for example, victims of exclusion from the work place: "recently, a Congolese came to see me in order to tell me how companies refuse to hire him because of his asylum seeker permit" (Interview with Sr. Sandra, 2006). Police harassment and xenophobia are also some of the challenges facing FMs in the inner city. To address these issues, Sr. Sandra organises meeting with local associations, such as Yeoville Community Forum at the Yeoville Police station. She also contacts the media (radio and television) to build an awareness campaign. Finally, she engages in dialogues with the DHA and local government authorities to discuss issues regarding the integration and participation of FMs in the daily life of the city. The aim of such dialogue is to invite local authorities to create structures that may facilitate harmonious cohabitation between FMs and local people (ibid., 2006).

b) The Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS)

The JRS is a charity organisation founded in the 1970s by Catholic priests belonging to the Society of Jesus (SJ). It operates in 67 countries in the world. The JRS opened its two offices in SA, in Johannesburg and Pretoria, in 1980, but only in 1997 did it start to focus on forced migration issues. The two JRS offices in SA depend on the regional bureau based in Harare (Zimbabwe). According to Nzuzi, a project co-ordinator, almost 80% of the JRS funds come

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the Society of Jesus, international donors, international charity organisations, and private individuals. The UNHCR SA used to provide the JRS with financial support, but since 2001 this financial support has been significantly reduced, causing negative effects on its capacity to provide services to FMs. The South African Department of Education may also respond positively to the JRS requests for the exemption of school fees (Interview with Nzuzi, 2006).

The principal mission of the JRS is to provide social services to FMs, to campaign positively for them, and to fight for the rights of victims of human right abuses. In Johannesburg, its main activities are co-ordinated around three main programmes: education, health and social grants, as well as the provision of pastoral care for unaccompanied children. It is in this way that the JRS attempt to facilitate greater social justice for FMs living in the inner city.

Education

In the education sector, the JRS offers financial support to a limited number of refugee children attending primary and secondary schools. Eligibility is based on the financial situation of parents and on the academic performance of students. Bursaries vary between R150 and R 200 per child per term.

The JRS also plays an advocacy role in gaining an exemption from the school fees for the refugee children. According to Nzuzi, this year, of the 100 applications presented to the Department of Education, 99% were successful. This because of a lobby that JRS formed with other CSOs, asking the government to provide to refugee children (ibid., 2006).

Due to the language challenges facing many FMs, particularly those from francophone countries, the JRS is also implementing an English learning centre called “Saint François de Sales” in order to teach English course to those who are not able to speak English. According to Nzuzi, this centre has increased the capacity of many refugees; and as a result, some have found jobs in the security industry and at restaurants because they are now able to speak English (Ibid, 2006).

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Health

Both refugees and asylum seekers used to have free access to provincial health facilities, but, in 2003, this right was changed by the management of the Johannesburg Hospital (JH), which decided to exclude and stop providing free health care to asylum seekers. This decision was due to the fact that certain FMs used to invite their family members (who had health problems) to SA for health care, and once in the country, they could get free treatment at JH before returning to their home countries. Corruption at the DHA facilitated this practice, as Home Affairs officials used to sell asylum and refugee permits to people, without control.

Following the death of several asylum seekers in 2003 (who could not afford the hospitalisation fee at JH), the JRS facilitated an initiative to bring together other CSOs to resolve this problem. After negotiating with the management of the JH, the JRS convinced the authorities of the JH return to their previous policy. The JRS office of Johannesburg now collaborates with the JH in order to avoid irregularities. Currently, all asylum seekers are required to bring a letter of recommendation from the JRS prior to any treatment at JH. In other words, both JH and the JRS signed an agreement stating that no asylum seeker could be treated at the Johannesburg Hospital without a referral letter from the JRS confirming his/her FM status. According to Nzuzi, this decision has been welcomed by all members of the CSOs operating in Johannesburg (ibid., 2006).

Micro-Loans and Pastoral Care for Unaccompanied Children

In the past, one of the JRS solutions to issues of poverty was to provide micro-loans to parents, in particular to women, in order to allow them to start a small business to feed their families. But two years ago, this lending programme was suspended due to a lack of sufficient funds. “The number of FMs increases every day and our resources are very limited. We are unable to satisfy the needs of those who need our help… Sometimes I work under stress, simply because people come with different problems that often remain unsolved because of the lack of funds, and the government is not doing enough to improve the quality of the life of FMs” (ibid., 2006).

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In 2006, the JRS started a new project to assist unaccompanied children who come to Johannesburg alone or with friends fleeing wars and political instabilities in their home countries. According to Nzuzi, most of these children are abused and are the victims of police harassment. The JRS, in collaboration with other CSOs, is engaged in dialogues with the Departments of Social Development and Home Affairs to assist those children by providing them with permits and social grants.

Regarding social grants again, Nzuzi has emphasised that his organisation was engaged, since last year, with other refugee aid organisations to ask the South African government to start providing social grants to the disabled refugees living in the entire country. A proposal has been handed in to the authorities of the country, and in January 2006, according to an article received from Nzuzi, the Department of Social Welfare "have been ordered to formulate a plan to assist disabled refugees, and must start processing refugees' applications for disability grants immediately" (Lange, 2006).

c) The Johannesburg Child Welfare (JCW)

The JCW is a South African CSO founded 45 years ago, and its mission is to deal with abused children in the city of Johannesburg. According to Dr Jackie Loffell, a third of its funds are provided by the state, and the rest of the money comes from private individuals, the National Lottery, and overseas donor organisations. According to Dr Loffell, the fact that the JCW receives government subsidiaries does not prevent it from being autonomous. "We never cease to challenge government policies regarding children… even though we received our mandate from the government" (Interview with Dr Loffell, 2006).

The JCW is divided into units which are listed below.

- Sexual abuse of children: this unit deals with children who are sexually abused and those who are involved with drugs.

- The dropping centre and life skills (Joubert Park): aims to provide technical training to children in order to give them the opportunity to participate in the economic development of the city.

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- The adoption service: provides advises to people who want to adopt orphans and abandoned children. The organisation owns two centres that take care of pregnant children and babies.

- Health: the organisation has a trauma centre which deals with sexually abused children, including those coming from countries engaged in civil wars. According to Loffell (2006), the JCW does not have a particular programme for refugee children; it includes them in the existing programmes because it seeks to promote the dignity and the well-being of all children living the CoJ.

- Advocacy: with regards to this particular task, the JCW lobbies with other CSOs to challenge government policies. According to Loffell, her organisation has contributed to the amendment of legislation such as the Children's Act (currently called New Children's Act), Sexual Offences Bill, Child Justice Bill, and the Social Assistance Act. The JCW also networks with organisations against child labour, exploitation, exclusion from the social grants, violence, child conflict with the law (which is currently under debate in parliament), and the trafficking of children (ibid., 2006).

The most successful contribution of the JCW for the welfare of refugee children is that this organisation facilitated their free access to primary health care in all health facilities around the City. During the apartheid era, together with other CSOs, the JCW challenged the old Immigration Act by asking the apartheid government to remove the section asking South Africans to report to the police all those foreigners who sought to remain illegally in the country for fear of being persecuted in their home countries. This used to happen because the apartheid regime had not signed any international legislations relating to the status of refugee (ibid., 2006). Recently, the JCW, in collaboration with other CSOs, challenged the government decision prohibiting asylum seekers from working and studying in SA.

d) Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR)

LHR is a South African Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) founded in 1979 to assist people with legal advice. This organisation employs qualified lawyers to achieve its objectives. LHR started dealing with refugee issues in the early 1990s, following the increase in the number of FMs to the country. As discussed in Chapter Two, during the apartheid era,

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no other law or legislation existed to protect the rights of FMs, apart from the Aliens Control Act which governed all foreigners living in the country.

According to Jacob (2006), LHR is funded by international donors such as Oxfam and the UNHCR. He also emphasises that his organisation is not interested in government subsidies; it may accept them only if they are provided in order to train people (particularly police officers and government officials) on human rights issues. Jacod emphasised also that LHR prefers to remain independent of the state so that its members can challenge government policies and legislations (Interview with Jacob, 2006).

With regards to the FMs, LHR works in partnership with other CSOs. According to Jacob, LHR provides the services listed below to the FMs.

- Legal advice: there are a number of FMs who do not know how to obtain a permit when they first arrive in Johannesburg. LHR guide and show them where to go and how to proceed.

- Assistance to the UNHCR: LHR assists the UNHCR in the repatriation process of FMs to their home countries.

- Lobbying and advocacy: together with other CSOs, LHR and its partners challenge some government legislations and policies, particularly those relating to the protection of refugees and asylum seekers. According to Jacob, Parliament usually asks his organisation to send proposals when formulating new policies. This proves how important this organisation is.

- Monitoring the illegal detentions of FMs: according to Jacob, the majority of FMs are harassed and abused by police officers. Police often arrest them and send them to the Lindela Detention Centre in order to be forcibly repatriated in their home countries; and yet, they fled their countries because of the fear of being persecuted. In such cases, the LHR may send its lawyers to Lindela to investigate and ask for their release (ibid., 2006).

- Training: The LHR provide training for newly graduated lawyers, teaching them how to promote the culture of human rights in SA. They also provide workshops and training to the Johannesburg Metro Police officers and the government officials on issues regarding human rights.

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Regarding the achievements of LHR, Jacob makes the statements below.

- In 2000, LHR and other CSOs challenged the government to give FMs the opportunity to open bank accounts.

- After the abolition of the apartheid, LHR lobbied and networked with other CSOs to push the government to put in place a legislation that could help the country to manage the flow of FMs; and this legislation is the 1998 Refugees Act, number 130. LHR also challenged, in collaboration with other CSOs, the government legislation which prevented asylum seekers from working and studying in SA (ibid., 2006).

e) Trinity Congregation Church (TGC)

The TGC is an organisation founded 40 years ago, in order to assist vulnerable people, particularly the poorest of the poor. According to the director, Wena Wright, her organisation is funded by private people and some companies (such as Woolworths and Barrow Construction). Recently, one of its sponsors (a private person who preferred not to be named) died and left all his/her money for the poor who are supported by TGC. Wright says that this private "person left a lot of money in the TGC's bank account. I am sure that it will help our people for many years to come" (Interview with Wright, 2006).

Regarding FMs, the TGC's main activities consist of providing FMs with foods almost every day; and concerning matters such as health care and education, the TGC lobbies and networks with other CSOs. It sometimes provides patients with medicines, which it receives from its local and international donors. For this purpose, the TGC employs the services of well-trained nurses who may provide FMs primary health care before recommending them to local clinics and hospitals.

f) Wits Law Clinic (WLC)

WLC is an organisation founded almost 20 years ago by the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits University) in order to provide legal assistance to all those who cannot afford legal

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services. It is also a place where some postgraduate law students from Wits University do their vocational training.

According to Naazneen Modla (a candidate attorney) and Tesneem Bramjee (an attorney), WLC deals with a range of people, including FMs. With regards to the FMs, the services provided are listed below.

- Asylum seeker and refugee permits: as the DHA may also reject an asylum seeker's applications, WLC can provide advice to unsuccessful candidates by providing them with lawyers to appeal on their behalf. It does the same thing for asylum seekers whose applications for the refugee status are rejected.

- School fees: WLC does not pay school fees for refugee children, but may assist those seeking bursaries by providing them with letters of recommendation to support their applications.

- Illegal detention: when an FM is arrested illegally, WLC has the power to provide him/her with legal support.

It is important to note that WLC also lobbies and networks with other CSOs on issues regarding the improvement of the quality of life of FMs, as well as for their human dignity (Interviews with Modla and Tesneem, 2006).

g) Zimbabwe Torture Victims Project (ZTVP)

The ZTVP is a new organisation founded in 2005, and its mandate is to rehabilitate Zimbabwean torture victims who live in SA. It is funded entirely by international donors. For security reasons, Dolores, the director, did not want to reveal the list of these donors (Interview with Dolores, 2006).

In Johannesburg, the ZTVP deals with the physical and psychological problems facing Zimbabwean FMs. It also runs workshops with torture victims in order to help them to decrease feelings of isolation and increase their self-esteem. Sometimes, the ZTVP (together with some other Zimbabwean organisations operating in SA) may ask the South African

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government to intervene in the Zimbabwean crisis by proposing solutions. It also lobbies and networks with other local CSOs in order to condemn crimes and other types of violence facing FMs in the inner city, inviting the SAPS to take measures that can decrease violence against them. The ZTVP's office is located inside the offices of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), which is a South African NGO.

3.4. The Relationships between Forced Migrants and Civil Society Organisations

Through the previous sections, one can understand that there are strong relationships between FMs and CSOs, based essentially on the search for a greater social justice for FMs. The Johannesburg CSOs play an advocacy role for FMs, and bring challenges facing them to the local and national governments. They contributed to the publication of the 1998 Refugees Act, as well as in the amendment of government legislations, particularly those preventing FMs from studying, working, and opening bank accounts. Apart from that they successfully convinced government to start providing exempting refugee children from school fees and providing social grants to unaccompanied refugee children and disable refugees. They also managed to protect them from illegal detention and police harassment.

On the side of the FMs, their relationships with CSOs are based on trust and the services that these organisations continuously provide. FMs do not have the opportunities to challenge directly and alone some government exclusionary policies and decisions; consequently, they regard the CSOs as being those those who may bring their voices and present their needs to both local and national governments. That is why they continuously rely on the advocacy role of CSOs for the improvement of their conditions in the inner city.

3.5. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to give an overview of the methods used to collect data and to present findings from my fieldwork. 20 open-ended interviews were conducted with 10 FMs, seven CSOs, one police officer, one official of the DHA, and another from the local government of Johannesburg.

In the case study that I conducted with Africa's FMs, I was interested particularly in their stories, as well as in their relationships with CSOs. Outcomes presented in this chapter

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suggest a need for greater social justice for FMs as they face many challenges, including exclusion, discrimination, xenophobia, unemployment, and police harassment. Regarding the CoJ, few initiatives are being undertaken to improve the situations of FMs in the inner city. Their voices are not heard by the LG. Yet, as residents of the inner city, they are part of the City and they should be given the opportunity to participate and share in the same basic advantages with local communities as stated in the 1998 Refugee Act and the Bill of Rights, except the right to vote. They should also be given the opportunity to present their views on issues regarding their presence in the city and in local decision-making processes, because "today's citizenship practices have to do with the production of presence of those without power and a politics that claims rights to the city" (Sassen, 2006: 315).

The outcomes of interviews showed that, in the current context of the inner city where FMs, the voices of FMs may better be heard through CSOs which have the power and the opportunity of connecting them to the local and national governments. As FMs do not have the opportunity to address government directly about their problems, CSOs may mediate between FMs and the local and national governments. But, to do so, CSOs should become more vocal as I will show in the next chapter, which will evaluate the outcomes of my fieldwork.

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CHAPTER 4:
ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

4.0. Introduction

Regarded in the past as an apartheid city, Johannesburg has been becoming more and more aware of its exclusionary features and is trying to become a more inclusive city, where everybody can participate in the life of the city without discrimination. That is why in 2000, in an official long-term development strategic plan called *Joburg 2030*, the City announced its vision for the future which consists of "becoming a World Class African City (WCAC) by increasing prosperity and improving the quality of life of its residents. In the newly published 2006 Growth and Development Strategy (GDS), the City has re-emphasised its desire to become a WCAC for all (Seedat, 2006). This chapter aims to examine whether Johannesburg is a WCAC, by analysing research findings against the conceptual framework presented in Chapter Two.

In this chapter, the analysis of the findings of my fieldwork will focus on four issues. The first one will concern notions of 'citizenship', community, and participation. The second will deal with the way the 'just city' approach is being promoted in the inner city; and the last issue will talk about the strengths and potential of the Johannesburg's CSOs in promoting social transformation in the City.

4.1. 'Citizenship', Community, and Participation

4.1.1. Citizenship

Citizenship is a confusing term, in the sense that, "although the idea of citizenship is nearly universal today, what it means and how it is experienced are not" (Kabeer, 2005: 1). In a city such as Johannesburg, for instance, many people do not know what citizenship is about. For most people, the idea of citizenship is always linked to the belonging of each person to his/her home country; in order words, it is linked to the nationality of each person. And yet, people talk more and more about the idea of inclusive citizenship, in which citizenship refers also to a set of obligations, rights, and values that 'citizens' (as residents of a city) should fulfil, respect., and promote. That is why Ansley states that citizenship may mean many things but

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sometimes it "signifies a formal, legal status, and, at other times, a substantive set of citizenly obligations and rights" (Ansley, 2005: 200); while Wheeler (2005) believes that citizenship can be defined in terms of "national identity, individual rights or formal democratic processes" (Wheeler, 2005: 111). Both Ansley and Wheeler define citizenship as a status derived from the membership of a collectivity or a country, and as a system of rights and obligations that incorporates justice, equality and community (Hill, 1994: 9). In other words, it is important to understand that the idea of citizenship cannot only be limited to someone's belonging to a particular state (in terms of nationality), but also as a complex of obligations and practices that can help citizens (residents) to create just, equal, and united community.

From a classical liberal theorist's perspective, the idea of citizenship expresses adherence to four values, including justice, recognition, self-determination, and solidarity (Kabeer, 2005). In this subsection, my purpose is to analyse the FM' s experiences in the inner city in relation to these four values.

Justice

Chapter Two, subsection 2.2.1 (c), spoke about justice as equality, based on Oelofse's (2003) conceptualisation of justice which is focused on normative values such as non-discrimination, fairness, integration, protection of citizens' (residents') rights, empowerment of least advantaged people, and equality of treatment. In other words, justice requires cities to adhere to all these values listed. Considering FM's experiences in the inner city of Johannesburg, it is clear that most of these values are neglected. Their basic right to work, for example, is violated and they are not equally treated compared to the South Africans. Mr. Coulibaly from Ivory Coast (see Chapter two), for instance, stated that he was excluded from a job position because of his refugee permit; and yet, his refugee status gives him the right to work in SA. With regard to the integration of FMs into the South African society, xenophobic attitudes of the majority of local people is one of the factors preventing better social relationships South Africans and FMs living in the inner city.

In J*ustice as Fairness* (1971), Rawls distinguishes two principles of justice. The first is the principle of equality, and the second is the principle of difference. The second principle states that, in a society, people should be given the same opportunity according to their merit. It was mentioned earlier that people having the same degrees in medicine, for instance, should be

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given equal job opportunities. In the inner city of Johannesburg, based on the outcomes of my fieldwork, it is obvious that educated FMs do not have the same job opportunities as South Africans. The lack of the South African ID book is the major cause of their unemployment.

Findings of my fieldwork showed that CSOs are aware of injustices facing FMs in the inner city. Regarding the violation of the FMs' basic right to work and seek for asylum, Lofell from JCW (Johannesburg Child Welfare) said that her organisation lobbied with other Johannesburg CSOs to challenge government decision which prohibited asylum seekers to work in SA. As a result, refugees and asylum seekers can work now in SA.

With regard to the detention of illegal immigrants, as well as the illegal detention of FMs and their repatriation towards their home countries, Jacob from LHR emphasised that his organisation created a special unit that continuously challenges the SAPS on this issue, and keeps the LG informed on the same issue. As a result, many FMs who were illegally detained in the Lindela Detention Centre have been released, and the DHA delivered permits to those who would have been repatriated because of their lack of documents or because they lost their permits.

Recognition

Recognition which Kabeer talks about refers to the "intrinsic worth of all human beings, but also recognition of and respect for their differences" (Kabeer, 2005: 4); the practice of citizenship requires recognition of all human values, as well as the respect of differences (cultural, religious and so on) between the residents. Chapter Two of this report reviewed some literatures on the relevance of difference and cultural diversity in cities. Young, Healy, Fainstein, and Sandercock regard differences between groups as the most important characteristic of cities, and believe that diversity should be adopted as a guiding value in cities (Young, 1990; Healy, 1996; Fainstein, 2005; and Sandercock, 1998, 2005, and 2006). Sandercock also emphasises that, in cities, diversity should be celebrated rather repressed; and the claims (material and non-material) of minorities need to be recognised and facilitated (Watson, 2002: 32). During my fieldwork, some informants stated that South Africans are hostile to foreigners and critical of some of their cultural elements such as fashion. Mrs Mbala (2006) from Congo-Brazzaville, for example, explained me how suspicious and mistrustful the majority of South African are when they see Congolese women wearing their traditional

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clothes called *pagnes.* This proves that the CoJ needs to encourage its residents (particularly black South Africans) to respect other people's cultures, and teach them how they may learn from other people's cultures, without neglecting their own culture.

In one of her recent articles on multiculturalism and interculturalism, Sandercock emphasises the importance of building intercultural cities, in which residents may encounter and respect their cultural diversities. She calls this process 'mongrelisation', 'mélange', 'change by fusion', and 'change by conjoining'. According to Sandercock, in intercultural cities, no one should consider his/her culture as superior to other people's cultures (Sandercock, 2005 and 2006).

According to Kabeer, the search for recognition of the worth of all human beings and respect for their differences often first takes the form of what Hannah Arendt (1986) called 'the right to have rights, to be recognised as full persons, despite their difference, and hence as full citizens' (Kabeer, 2005: 4).

Based on the outcomes of my fieldwork, FMs are not recognised as 'full persons' in the inner city; in the sense that they do not have the right to a 'voice'; that is, the City does not give them the opportunity to express their opinions on the city's life. And yet, talking about immigrants in England, Sassen states that the presence of 'others' (immigrants) should not be neglected because they are part of the city, given that they contribute to its day-to-day life. Consequently, they should be given the opportunity to be heard, because they could always have something to say for the transformation of the city (Sassen, 2006).

My fieldwork's findings also show also that FMs contribute a great deal to the development of the inner city, in terms of the job opportunities that they offer to the other residents, especially to South Africans. In Hillbrow, for instance, most of the night clubs, supermarkets, and game shops belong to FMs, especially Nigerians. Emeka (2006), for example, owns a small shop where he works with four South Africans. All of them are married and have children that they feed with the money that they receive from him. Emeka has the equivalent of an Honours Degree but he has never managed to find a job that he is qualified for, simply because he is a Nigerian (Emeka, 2006).

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With regards to crime in the inner city, there are some South Africans who complain that Nigerians are drug dealers and are destroying their country. This may be true as there is evidence showing that some Nigerians have been trafficking drugs, but those who accuse them of being drug dealers ignore that the fact that they do also contribute a great deal to the reduction of crimes, especially in Hillbrow, because of their presence. Inspector Naidoo, for instance, confirmed this hypothesis, arguing that not all the Nigerians living in the inner city are drug dealers: "Most of them are educated but they run businesses in the inner city because they did not find jobs… and their presence in some places in Hillbrow (such as in High Point) has significantly reduced crime" (Interview with Naidoo, 2005), in the sense that their presence terrifies these criminals commonly 'Tsotsis'

The fact that the majority of South Africans do not recognise the rights of FMs, impacts on their social relations with FMs in the inner city. From the FMs' side, most of them avoid having strong relationships with black South Africans, because of the xenophobic attitudes of the latter towards foreigners. This came from an argument presented by Mungoma from Uganda who said "Most of my friends are foreigners like me. I do not like to have South African friends because most of them do not like us…" (Interview with Mugoma, 2005). The same reaction may be recorded from the South Africans' side, in the sense that most fear the 'others' that they consider as a 'strangers'. Talking about *People in Cities*, Krupat (2005) questions and condemns this kind of behaviour, saying that the urban life is full of strangers; and, in cities, people should make an effort to interact with each others (Krupat, 2005: 130); and for Young, "cities involve the being together of strangers; finding affinity with some should not lead to the denial of a place for others" (Young, 1990: 70).

The mistrust that exists between local people and FMs may compromise any attempt to promote an inclusive city, where all the residents of Johannesburg can participate in its development, and give their views on issues such as crime, which affects the quality of life of all. As Krupat states, citizens should be aware that cities are full of strangers; that is, they are full of people or groups of people who are different from each other. As Young (1990), Healey (1996), and Sandercock (1998) said, differences among groups are what characterises cities, while acceptance of difference provide the moral basis for urban life. That is why diversity in cities should be adopted as a guiding value. The question that one may ask is: is diversity a guiding value in the inner city of Johannesburg? Based on the findings of my fieldwork, I fell that the answer may be no, as there are so much inequalities and

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discrimination between SAs and FMs. The hope is that in the near future, it will become more inclusive, because in the recently published Growth and Development Strategy (GDS), the City's vision is to build in long-term a more inclusive city for all, in which all the benefits that the city will generate will be equally shared among all its inhabitants (Johannebsurg, 2006).

Self-determination

The value of self-determination refers to "people's ability to exercise some degree of control over their lives" (Kabeer, 2005: 5). It is about giving them the opportunity to spell out what they consider to be essential to their dignity as human beings. According to Kabeer, this may include public participation in activities such as community forums and public decision-making processes. The self-determination value, based on the idea of participation, is linked to Fainstein's conceptualisation of a democratic city inspired by Fisher's (1990) populist idea of the citizens' participation in the decision-making process. In a city, all residents should be given equal opportunities to express themselves on issues affecting their lives, as well as the life of their city. In the inner city of Johannesburg, representatives of FMs are usually ignored when residents should discuss on matters affecting their lives. They are usually regarded as 'outsiders'. Inspector Naidoo, from the Hillbrow Police Station, is aware of this fact when he argued that, Hillbrow, migrants complained that they do not participate in the community forums. Yet they may have something to say on issues such as crime, robbery, police harassment and incitement to corruption and prostitution. Mouhamar, for instance, stated that one day he was curious to attend the Yeoville community forum. Surprisingly, he noticed that "all the discussions were taking place in Zulu… I felt like a stranger because I could not even listen to everything that they were saying" (interview with Mouhamar, 2006). Mouhammar's experience reveals that South Africans sometimes use their local languages to prevent foreigners from participating in communities meetings or from expressing themselves on issues affecting their lives and the city. Yet, in cities, a community forum is an environment in which all residents should express themselves, discuss and evaluate their lives as communities.

To end this exclusionary behaviour in the city, Sr. Sandra from the Catholic Department of Refugees, in collaboration with other members of the Johannesburg CSOs, sometimes organises meetings with the inner city's police services and the local government authorities, encouraging them to create structures that will allow FMs to participate in community forums.

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She also encourages them to instruct representatives of the local communities to drop all the barriers preventing the full participation of the FMs in the community forums. The use of Zulu as a language of discussion is one of these barriers. Sr. Sandra's initiative is one of the Johannesburg civil society's efforts to promote self-determination for FMs living in the inner city.

Solidarity

The value of solidarity (which is an African value also called 'Ubuntu') refers to the "capacity to identify with others and act in unity with them in their claims for justice and recognition" (Kabeer, 2005: 7). According to Kabeer, in the practice of citizenship, the value of solidarity should be the common ground between those who are included, as well as those who are marginalised in the society. That is, in cities, the value of solidarity requires that residents sometimes undertake common actions against their authorities to defend and protect the rights of the vulnerable, marginalised, and powerless people, such as FMs. To illustrate this, Ansley cites a brilliant example of what happened in the state of Tennessee, in the United States (US), where all the inhabitants joined together in a series of popular protests to force the state's authorities to give undocumented immigrants the right to apply for a driver's license for which they were previously excluded, due to the lack of social security number (which was one of the requirements). Yet, in Tennessee as in many other US locations, "there is basically no local public transportation outside the tight central core of the larger cities. For the vast majority of people, including the poor people, an automobile is a virtual necessity for even the simplest act of daily existence, including the tack of getting to and from one's place of work" (Ansley, 2005: 203). Consequently, most immigrants used to drive illegally without a driver's license and they were exposed to police harassment and racial abuses. To end this situation, a growing population of the native-born developed an awareness about the existence and the situation of immigrants, and progressively they formed, together with immigrant' rights organisations and immigrants themselves, a coalition and "managed to put together a legislative campaign, move a bill through the general assembly, and secure the Republican governor's signature. The programme was implemented; and soon licenses were being issued once again to undocumented immigrants in Tennessee" (Ansley, 2005: 204).

The practice of the value of solidarity is what Fainstein refers to when calling for "an ethic of political solidarity, built across different places" (Fainstein, 1997). According to me, I believe

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that the ethic of political solidarity is about sympathising with those who are in difficult situation; Gilligan (1982) calls it 'ethics of care', which seeks to promote social justice and to consolidate social relationships among people (Smith, 2002: 70). The spirit of solidarity may give citizens the power to express themselves on the realities of their community and to question the ability of their authorities to deal with problems affecting their city.

In the inner city of Johannesburg, there is a lack of commitment to the value of solidarity. Members of each group in the community prefer to address the local authorities only for their own interests, ignoring the interests of other groups. My interview with Mungoma (see Chapter Three) revealed that South African women running business in the Yeoville African Market complained to the manager of this market for their own interests, forgetting the interests of FMs. According to Arendt "the fundamental deprivation of human [and citizenship] is manifested first and above all in the deprivation of a place in the world [a political space] which makes opinions significant and actions effective" (cited in Wheeler, 2005: 100). In some African cultures (such that of mine), depriving someone of a place in the society may signify that he/she has been excluded from the community, and consequently, his/her opinion cannot have an impact on the society.

Considering what happened to FM women in the Yeoville African market, the following questions may be asked: where is the African value of solidarity? Is the 'ethics of care' still necessary in the citizenship practice in the inner city of Johannesburg?

4.1.2. Community

Based on the findings of my fieldwork, this subsection aims to examine the types of community that exist in the inner city, in order to see whether they can facilitate greater cohesion for a just city. But before analysing the inner city communities, it is important to define the term 'community' broadly.

There are many definitions of 'community' but, for Hill (1994), community is a group of people "sharing common interests in a network of social relationships" (Hill, 1994: 34). In other words, communities exist through human communication, and people can communicate only if they interact with each other in the course of their everyday social and economic lives. Thus, people's experiences of community are both spatial and social. What is central to the

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notion of community concerns the fact that people have something in common called ‘space’ (to which they attach some meanings) and ‘values’ (that they can discover from each other through social and economic interactions).

From the spatial side of people’s experiences of community, Hill emphasises the importance of cohesion (spatial cohesion) among members of communities and believes that they should find the meaning of community in ‘shared interests and values (Hill, 1994: 35). That is, the core of community should be found not in territoriality but in shared interests and values.

Looking broadly at the communities of people living in the inner city of Johannesburg, and based on my interviews with the members of CSOs and FMs, as well as on my own experience as an inhabitant of the inner city, I can argue that there is a lack of real communities that Hill defines in terms of group of people sharing common interests. From the side of the South Africans, the interests of their own community groups are at the top of the agendas compared to the interests of all the inhabitants of the inner city as a whole. The historically disadvantaged South Africans (especially blacks) think that all the government actions should be focused only on them, for their ‘empowerment’. The politics of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) seem to be used as an argument to justify their intention of excluding and prevent other residents (especially foreigners) from sharing with them the benefits and the resources of the Johannesburg or of the country. The majority of black people regard FMs as those who came in Johannesburg to compete with them and steal their jobs. That is why, most of my informants claimed that it is common in the inner city to hear South Africans launching slogans such as “Makwerekwere” or “foreigners, go home”.

From the FMs’ side, as most of them feel like excluded and marginalised in the inner-city, every single FM prefer to choose friends only among people from his/her own country. That is why, one can notice that, in places such as Hillbrow and Yeoville, Nigerians (for instance) prefer to stay together in order to share (as a community of people coming from the same country) their day-to-day experiences. The same behaviours can be seen among the DR-Congolese, Zimbabwean, Tanzanian, and Ethiopian communities. Feeling excluded from the city’s life and from the citizenship practices, the majority of FMs developed a fearful and hostile attitude towards South Africans. According to Mr Anonymous One (see Chapter Three), such attitude can be seen especially when the South African national soccer team plays against a foreigner team. He argued that the majority of foreigners do not like to support

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Bafana Bafana, not because they do not like soccer, but because they have developed hostile attitudes towards South Africans due to their xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners (Interview with Anonymous One, 2006).

According to me, encouraging more interaction (through communication, dialogue, and intercultural activities as I will recommend in Chapter Five) between South Africans and FMs may be one of the better means that local authorities may used to help them to develop strong social relationships between them and create real communities because, as Hill says, communities can exist only through human communication and people can communicate only if they can interact together in the course of their everyday social and economic lives (Hill, 1994: 34).

In planning, communicative planning theorists emphasise the importance of communication in citizenship practices. Forrester, for instance, and others, "drew inspiration from Habermas to pose communication as the most important element of planning practice" (Watson, 2002: 29). Communication may help interest groups towards interacting, communicating ideas, forming argument, debating differences in understanding, and reaching consensus on issues regarding their lives in the city. As I have already said, communication or dialogue should be promoted by the city's authorities to facilitate social cohesion between South Africans and FMs. By doing so, FMs can fully live their presence in the city without feeling excluded because the cities of the 21th century will be intercultural or "The City which is Not One" (Sandercock, 2006 and Tagg, 1996).

4.1.3. Participation

Participation is an ambiguous term that sometimes refers to the involvement of people in the life of their city or a project affecting their community. According to Arnstein (1970), to legitimate participation in a particular project, citizens should be informed of their rights, responsibilities, and options (Arnstein, 1970: 218). In Arnstein's argument, information seems to be the core element of residents' participation in the life of their city.

In discussing effective participation, Hill (1994) states that effective participation depends upon the existence of appropriate structures and processes, as well as on access to the information available to citizens (Hill, 1994: 32). The question that I arises may well be: Do

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there exist in the inner city appropriate structures and processes that can allow both South Africans and FMs to effectively participate in the inner city's life?

Before answering to this question, it is necessary to return to the issue regarding Nigerians' involvement in drug trafficking. If this accusation is true, the following hypothesis can be formulated: the fact that Nigerians are drug dealers; this may mean that they should know better how some criminals operate in the inner city. Then, the following question may be asked: Why do local authorities not associate, in a constructive manner, them in an anti-crime campaign for the transformation of the inner city? According to me, I believe that they may play a greater role in this process, in terms of providing information to the police.

Crime is a challenge facing the city of Johannesburg, particularly in the inner-city. The local government (LG) and the SAPS cannot combat it alone. They should put in place structures that may encourage the residents' participation because, as the inhabitants of the inner city, they are aware of realities about crime that the police may ignore. Cooperation between the LG, police, and the inner city residents may improve the city's capacity to stop crime.

Participation is one of the values that Fainstein (1997) recommends in her conceptualisation of the just city; she condemns the exclusion of ordinary people, including FMs, from the planning process and critiques, as I said in Chapter Two, the hegemony of 'experts' because she believes that participation by all the city's residents in the city's life is a part of the ideal of the just city (Fainstein, 1997).

4.2. Promotion of a Just City

Based on the findings of my fieldwork, this section aims to examine whether or not the way FMs are treated in the inner city may help Johannesburg to become a just city; that is, according to Fainstein, a city which promotes democracy, equality, diversity, growth, and sustainability for the benefit of all its residents. Apart from sustainability, this section will review all the other three elements of Fainstein's conceptualisation of the just city.

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Democracy

The democratic value that Fainstein talks about in her conceptualisation of the just city is based on the participation of ordinary people, including FMs, in the decision-making processes in cities. According to her, every resident should be given the opportunity to participate (in different ways) in the planning process of the city in which he/she lives. As I previously said, in the inner city of Johannesburg, opportunities are often given only to South Africans; FMs are usually neglected. As a result, there is no cohesion between the residents; in the sense that each person seeks to limit his/her relationships within the boundaries of people from his/her own culture, or of the country to which he/she belongs. Thus, Johannesburg theoretically gives the impression of being a multicultural city because of the cultural diversity of its residents, but in reality it is a segmented city as there is no cohesion between its residents.

In cities where participative democracy is non-existent, Fainstein relies on the reformative and transformative power of the CSOs (see Chapter Two), as the most important social agent capable of challenging the state institutions. In the case of the inner city of Johannesburg, it is about questioning the LG on its exclusionary governance practices, and negotiating with it about the 'right to a voice' for FMs living in the inner city. The outcomes of my fieldwork showed that the Johannesburg's CSOs accomplished this role, but more needs to be done to help FMs to enjoy fully their democratic value as residents.

Equality

Fainstein regards equality as a rational approach to organising a 'well-ordered' city and as a "necessary pre-condition to human fulfilment and condemns the dehumanising effects of capitalism" (Fainstein, 1997). The outcomes of my fieldwork proved that many things should be done to promote equality of opportunities between South Africans and FMs. In terms of job opportunities, for instance, from the side of both the civil society as well as from that of the FMs, there is evidence showing that many companies do not want to hire FMs, even those who are educated and possess qualifications, because of their status as FMs. With regards to the disabled FMs, the national government had excluded them from the social grants. But, because of the CSOs efforts, this year, it decided to start giving them social grants. There is a hope that, in the near future, the quality of life of FMs will significantly improve.

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Diversity

During my fieldwork, some of my informants stated that the majority of South Africans are hostile and sensitive to the cultural differences of FMs, instead of approaching these cultures and seeing if they could learn something from them. Their attitudes prevent Johannesburg from becoming an intercultural city, where residents may exchange some components of their cultures, without compromising their own cultures, as Sandercock (2006) stated (see Chapter Two).

The local government's failure to promote intercultural values in the city impacts on the relationships between the residents of the inner city, preventing them from forming real communities of people sharing common interests. And yet, Healey, Sandercock, and Young stressed that differences among groups are what characterise cities, while acceptance of differences provides the moral basis of urban life. For this reason, diversity should be adopted as a guiding value in cities, and should be celebrated (Healey, 1996; Sandercock cited by Watson, 2002: 32; and Young, 1990).

Growth

Talking about growth, Fainstein refers to the just distribution of economic benefits among those who live in the city, insisting on what she calls "an ethics of political solidarity built across different places" (Fainstein, 1997). She also raises the issue of fair distribution, basing her arguments on the necessity of targeting redistributional policies to attain social benefit for the most disadvantaged. In the inner city of Johannesburg, as in any other city of the world, it is through job opportunities that people may share equally the economic benefits of their society. The outcomes of my fieldwork showed that the majority of FMs are jobless, and those running their own businesses to survive, are sometimes discriminated against in favour of South African citizens (see interview with Mungoma, Chapter Three). To facilitate greater social justice for FMs, the Johannesburg CSOs attempt to encourage companies to hire FMs, by providing them with letters of recommendation and challenging the national government (NG) to show strict respect for this basic right.

An overview of those four elements of the just city (democracy, equality, diversity, and growth) showed that the city of Johannesburg needs to double its efforts in order to create a

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just city which would be more inclusive of all its residents, including FMs, who constitute one of the most important communities, in terms of their impact on the city. The next section will focus particularly on efforts that are being made by the city's CSOs to create a just city and facilitate a greater social justice for FMs living in the inner city.

4.3. The Strengths and Transformative Power of the Inner City' CSOs

The lack of social justice for FMs living in the inner city should be challenged to end the discrimination and exclusion that force them to stay away from the local people, and to create a more inclusive city where everyone can feel free to participate and contribute to its social and economic transformation. To achieve this objective, everyone's contribution is important, including that of the CSOs which, I believe, may play a very important role in this process.

This section will focus on the strengths and the transformative power of the inner city CSOs, based on the various initiatives that they are currently undertaking to improve the social and economic situations of FMs.

4.3.1. Social initiatives.

Social initiatives undertaken by the city's CSOs are concentrated on sectors such as education, health, and other social assistance (including access to social grants, to the bank account and to legal permits, as well as freedom of movement).

Education

As I previously said, it is through networking relationships that all the city's CSOs facilitate the access of the FMs (children in particular) to education. In SA, primary education is free for South Africans in public schools. Section 27 (g) of the 1998 Refugees Act gives also refugee children this right, which is often neglected; but recently progress was made by the Department of Education under pressure from the city's CSOs. As a result, this Department agreed to start assisting refugee children in attending primary and secondary education. Regarding secondary education, for instance, Mr Nzuzi from the JRS stated that, in 2006, of the applications for fee exemptions that his organisation submitted, almost 99% of them were approved by the Department. According to Nzuzi, the national government (NG) understands

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civil society efforts to promote education for the refugee children, because the government education policy is 'inclusive'. That is why, in a province such as Mpumalanga, one hears slogans such as:

"Celebrating Diversity
Education for Diversity
Breaking down Barriers to Learning
Democracy is about including everyone
Inclusive Education
Education for All"

(Mpumalanga Department of Education, 2006)

Health

It is internationally known that refugees and asylum seekers do have free access to the health care in public health facilities. In the inner city of Johannesburg, before the beginning of 2002, both refugees and asylum seekers had free access to primary and secondary health care at the Johannesburg Hospital (JH); but at the end of 2002, the management of JH decided to exclude asylum seekers from this measure, requiring them to start paying a deposit prior to any consultation. The amount of this deposit depended on the case of each patient. This decision was taken because the JH had doubts about the validity of the asylum status of some people. This measure was challenged and regarded as unfair by the Johannesburg's CSOs, including JRS and LHR, because the majority of asylum seekers are jobless. In 2003, these CSOs negotiated with the authorities of the Johannesburg Hospital and an agreement was found and the decision was changed in favour of asylum seekers. Both CSOs and the management unit of this hospital agreed that each asylum seeker patient (who needs to be treated at this hospital) should bring a recommendation letter from the JRS, testifying his/her asylum seeker status in Johannesburg, prior to any treatment. Once again, the Johannesburg civil society proved its potential to improve the quality of life of FMs living in the inner city.

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Social Grants and Bank Account

In 1998, when the Refugee Act was published, asylum seekers could not work and study in SA, nor could they open bank accounts. Life was very hard for most of them, in the sense that their family members living outside SA could not transfer money to them through banks. By the end of 2000, CSOs dealing with human rights issues and FMs, under the initiative of the Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), challenged this government decision. In 2002, the national government, through the DHA, granted asylum seekers the permission to open bank accounts; and later it allowed them to work and study.

With regard to the social grants, Nzuzi (from JRS) said that, in the past, disabled FMs were excluded from the social grants that the government provide to all disabled South Africans; but, at the beginning of 2006, under pressure from the CSOs, the government decided to start providing social grants also to the disabled refugees and asylum seekers by the end of the year.

Permit and Freedom of Movement

From both FMs and members of civil society, I learnt that getting asylum seeker permit was not easy in Johannesburg compared to other South African cities. Corruption was the easiest way to get it. Those who could not make it or lacked money were exposed to police harassments. I learnt also that some nationals of countries, such as Zimbabwe, were denied the right to asylum in Johannesburg, as the DHA used to treat them as economic migrants, fleeing their countries because of hunger and lack of job opportunities. In the inner city, even now, Zimbabweans are among people who are denied the right to asylum, and are suffering from police harassment. They are sometimes forcibly sent back home. CSOs, such as Zimbabwe Torture Victims Project (ZTVP), the Catholic Department of Pastoral Care for Refugees (DPCR), the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), and the Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), have created illegal detention units in their offices to deal with illegal detention of FMs. These units often work in collaboration with the DHA, SAPS, and the South African immigration services to defend and protect the rights and the dignity of the victims, as well as helping them to obtain permits. Talking with an official of the DHA from Crown Wheels (See Chapter Three, Anonymous Three), he recognised that corruption was a major problem in his department, particularly when the Refugees Reception was located in Braamfontein and

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Rossethenville. That is why the Ministry of Home Affairs recently opened a new Refugee Reception Office in Crown Wheels, partly, in order to end corruption and resolve the issue of the backlog of asylum applications.

With regard to freedom of movement, LHR and other organisations, supported by the UNHCR, are currently challenging the Department of Home Affairs to provide travel documents to FMs who intend to travel out of SA for vacations or for business purposes.

4.3.2. Economic Initiatives

Apart from the right to work and to open bank accounts, CSOs frequently question the government, through its Ministry of Public Works, about the refusal of some companies and organisations to hire FMs because of their status. Sometimes, they take the initiatives, as Sr. Sandra said (see Chapter Three), of providing recommendation letters to those looking for job opportunities. It is important to note that many FMs, especially in the security industry, got jobs due to the influence and under the recommendation of CSOs; and now they can take care of themselves and feed their family members.

This chapter has highlighted the Johannesburg's civil society strengths, focusing on their potential for bringing social and economic transformation in favour of the FMs, through a range of services in sectors such as health and education. The next subsection will talk about some of their weaknesses.

4.3.3. Weaknesses of the Inner City CSOs

The most important weaknesses of the inner city's CSOs may be seen through the statements expressed below.

- They are unable to mobilise South Africans in their awareness campaigns for a greater social justice for FMs, in the sense that they have never thought about encouraging them to sympathise and be supportive of FMs, as a sign of solidarity.

- There is a lack of radical (rebellious) attitudes (as Sandercock suggests) in the way they address FMs challenges to the local and national governments. For example, they do not

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organise protest marches, inviting South Africans as well as FMs to participate, to exert pressures on these two spheres of government, asking them to improve the conditions of FMs, like social movements did in the US state of Tennessee where American citizens sympathised with the undocumented immigrants to force authorities to give the undocumented immigrants the right to apply for a driver's license.

- Some of these organisations are financially dependent of the state subsidiaries. This may compromise their autonomy vis-à-vis the state and may also prevent from challenging the government on issues affecting FMs.

4.4. Conclusion

The chapter focused on the analysis of the findings of my fieldwork. It examined the opinions of both FMs and members of the CSOs on the challenges facing FMs, as well as on the different initiatives undertaken by CSOs to facilitate a greater social justice for FMs, bring social and economic transformation, and make Johannesburg a just city. It also gave an overview of the strengths and the weaknesses of these organisations. But the most important thing that should be noted is that, since the abolition of apartheid in 1994, the Johannesburg CSOs have contributed a great deal to the social transformation of the City, and have played a major role in the integration of FMs in the inner city. At the national and local levels, they contributed to the publication of the 1998 Refugees Act, and to the government decisions to allow FMs to work and study, to open bank accounts, as well as to access public health care freely.

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CHAPTER FIVE:
RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

5.0. Introduction

Chapter Four analysed the outcomes of my fieldwork in two different ways: firstly, it provided details on diverse initiatives undertaken by the Johannesburg CSOs to improve the quality of life and the living conditions of FMs in the inner city. These initiatives showed that they do have the power and the capacity to challenge the government, as well as the city's exclusionary policies and decisions about FMs; they also are capable of facilitate greater social justice for FMs. Secondly, based on my personal review of the procedures used by the city's CSOs to facilitate greater social justice for FMs, I attempted to reveal the strengths and the weaknesses of these organisations.

After taking into account the strengths and weaknesses of the CSOs, my purpose here is to formulate recommendations for the CSOs, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ), and the national government (NG) for greater social justice for FMs.

5.1. Recommendations for CSO

Proposed recommendations for CSOs will be based on their strengths and weaknesses, presented in Chapter Four. Their strengths will reveal what kind of potential they do have and what should be done in order to maximise this; while their weaknesses will emphasise their limits and formulate recommendations that will help them to make their actions more responsible.

5.1.1. Views on the Strengths of the inner city's CSOs

Some authors of the literatures reviewed on civil society, defined and portrayed civil society as:

- "Vehicles of social justice", dealing particularly with the causes of the marginalised people (Marris, 1998; Douglas and Friedmann, 1998); but also, as a "way of thinking about power

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and the state" for having the capacity to mobilise people and governments, and monitoring the implementation of policies in countries (Marris, 1998). According to Marris, to achieve such goals, CSOs employ the skills associated with the planning profession, namely, applying knowledge to action, defining issues, mobilising participation and recognising conflicts, evaluating the potential of policies and their performance, and designing a framework for collaboration (Marris, 1998).

- They also regard CSOs as organisations that seek to address the social needs of all those residing in cities; or, as collective actors in the public domain, particularly in the urban domain, which is the planning domain (Friedmann, 1998);

- CSOs are also viewed as any organisation acting for 'social transformation' by facilitating the social inclusion of marginalised people, their self-development, as well as a form of social justice that acknowledges the priorities of different groups of the society (ibid., 1998). According to Friedmann (1998), civil society's politics aims to remove barriers or artificial obstacles that limit each person's chance to develop her/his innate abilities to the fullest possible extent (ibid., 1998).

All the above-mentioned elements summarise, in general, the features of civil society. It is now important to look at the Johannesburg inner city CSOs in order to see which potential and power they do have, and what they must do to increase their capacity to promote social justice.

a) What kind of potential exists in the Johannesburg's CSOs?

Based on the outcomes of my fieldwork, Johannesburg's CSOs possess most of the characteristics above-listed; they do also have the potential to bring social transformation in the city through their ability to:

- Lobby around shared interests of FM communities by organising the awareness campaigns about the violation of their basic rights, such as the right to study, work and access the health care;

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- Challenge the state policies (and decisions), and to influence the national government for their amendment;

- Address the social needs and services of the FMs (social grants, education, and bank accounts), and negotiate with the local and national governments for their provision;

- Act in the public/urban domain and for the social inclusion of the inner city's FMs by asking the government to give them social grants, and exemption fees for refugee children;

- Present the needs of FMs to the government without compromising the priorities of local communities as, for example, when they asked the national government to start providing social grants to disabled FMs, and;

- Finally, to fight for the removal of obstacles that prevent FMs from accessing health care, getting work and participating in the life of the city.

b) What should be enhanced by the CSOs

Considering the many initiatives taken by the Johannebsurg's CSOs, the recommendations listed below may further enhance their efforts.

- Regarding the way they should think about power and the state, I recommend them to intensify their efforts in challenging by using, sometimes, radical and more rebellious means, such as protest marches, which should gather all the city's social movements, FMs and local communities.

- With regards to their capacity to mobilise people and the government, particularly in their awareness campaigns, I recommend them to enhance their presence in media (television, radio, and newspaper) to inform people and increase the government awareness on challenges facing FMs in Johannesburg. They may also create programmes on television channels, in which they will start diffusing information on FMs and inviting different social actors to debate on forced migration issues in the city. Regard the issues of research, I recommend them to develop strong partnerships with the Forced Migration Department of Wits University which, under the initiatives of Professor Landau, carries out quality academic research on

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Johannesburg's FMs. This kind of partnership could further help them to improve their ability to evaluate the potential impact of policies relating to FMs.

- Finally, regarding community mobilisation, Friedmann (1987) argues that 'the problem of social mobilisation, of opposition, needs planners who are social change experts" (Healey, 1991: 31). The inner city' CSOs cannot play such a role alone. This is why I will encourage CSOs to collaborate with the community and city's planners. I will turn to this recommendation after in this chapter.

5.1.2. Addressing Some of the Weaknesses of the Inner City's CSOs

In Chapter Four, I listed several weaknesses of the Johannesburg CSOs, including their poor ability to mobilise and encourage South Africans to join them in their struggle for social transformation. I also mentioned the lack of 'radical' actions to challenge the state, and the financial dependency of some of them on the state that that may prevent them from remaining autonomous in order to challenge the government. This is why, for example, Mr Jacob from the Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) emphasised that his organisation's budget comes from external donors because he prefers it to remain autonomous vis-à-vis the state, in order to challenge the government policies and decisions anytime.

Considering the above-mentioned weakness, the recommendations are that CSOs should:

- Include sometimes 'radical' social mobilisation, such as public protests, as a way of exerting pressure on the government to improve the quality of life for FMs;

- Develop long-term and more credible partnerships with international organisations (the Human Rights Watch, the United Nations Children Funds, UNHCR and church organisations), which may plead for them to the international donors for funds. In return, they should adopt the practice of accountability and good governance in their financial management to keep their credibility vis-à-vis the international donors; because, in many African countries, CSOs have been accused of mismanagement and lack of transparency and accountability in the financial management of the projects for poor and marginalised people.

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Apart from the recommendations formulated on the basis of the weaknesses of the CSOs, other recommendations are listed below.

- In my interview with Nzuzi (see Chapter Three) from the JRS, it emerged that this organisation used to provide microfinance supports to jobless FMs, particularly women, to allow them to survive and take care of their families; but, currently this programme does not exist because of the lack of money. For this reason, I recommend CSOs to enter into dialogue with the Economic Development Unit of the city of Johannesburg to ask the local authorities to set up 'similar microfinance opportunities' for FMs, or to facilitate the re-opening of this programme by capacitating the JRS financially (Winkler, 2006:302). Thus, FMs will be able to make money which will allow them to take care of themselves, as most of them are jobless.

- With regard to the facilitation of the social cohesion between South Africans and FMs, the CSOs may influence the local government authorities to set up intercultural programmes (activities), in which the city will encourage both local people and FMs to interact and to entertain through cultural activities such as music, dance, poetry and so on. Thus, both South Africans and FMs will progressively learn how to live together despite their differences. These intercultural programmes will also contribute in the city's fight against xenophobia, especially if such programmes are aired on television and radio channels.

- Regarding the issue of health, my research findings showed that Johannesburg Hospital, as a provincial hospital, excluded unilaterally asylum seekers from the free access to the health care in this facility. To end such exclusionary behaviour, CSOs should influence the city's Health Unit (HU), as well as the provincial government of Gauteng, to set up policy and legislation that will prevent such behaviour and impose sanctions against all institutions, which attempt to exclude FMs from the health care facilities. This would alleviate discrimination against the FMs.

5.2. Recommendations for the Local and National Governments

With regards to the CoJ and the national government, this section aims to review first of all how these two spheres of government currently deal with FMs, before formulating certain recommendations that will be based on the creation of partnerships between the city's planners and CSOs to facilitate a greater social justice for FMs.

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5.2.1. How the CoJ and the NG deal with Forced Migrants?

In South Africa, forced migration issues are the exclusive domain of the NG, which formulates policies and regulations stating how the country should manage and monitor the issue of international migration. According to the 1998 Refugees Act (number 130), the board of the Refugee Department of Home Affairs consists of the Minister of Home Affairs, the Director-General of Home Affairs, and the Standing Committee, and Refugees' Reception Offices (SA, 1998). According to section 8 (e) of the Refugees Act, the Director-general "may establish as many Refugees' Reception Offices in the Republic as he or she, after consultation with the Standing Committee, regards as necessary for the purpose of this Act" (ibid., 1998).

The same Act states that the members of the Standing Committee for Refugee Affairs (SCRA) are appointed by the Minister of the Home Affairs, and she/his is the one who can determine where their headquarters may be located (Section 2, 2). Note that each SCRA is composed of a chairman and a number of other members as the minister may determine. Their power and duties stated in section 11 are the following: formulating and implementing procedures for the granting of asylum, regulating and supervising the work of the Refugee Reception Offices (RROs), and may liaising with representatives of the UNHCR or any NGO (SA, 1998).

Considering the above-mentioned elements, it is understandable that FMs depend on the national government, which receives reports from different RROs; but there is collaboration between the national and local governments on matters concerning FMs. It is important to note that, at the CoJ, there is not a unit or department dealing exclusively with FMs; but their concerns are shared between different departments of the city council, including the Department of Community Development, the Department of Health, the Department of Development Planning, and so on. According to the Anonymous Three, from the Community Development Department, on matters regarding the FMs, the CoJ works in collaboration with the local Police department and the Department of Home Affairs (Interview with Anonymous Three, 2006). In other words, there is a relationship between the city of Johannesburg, the police, and the DHA.

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5.2.2. Recommendation For the city of Johannesburg

Regarding to the local government, I will recommend that the city of Johannesburg should encourage the city planners to collaborate with CSOs, by exhorting them to serve as a bridge between the city council and CSOs. In other words, the city's planners may become the representatives of the city council to the CSOs, in the sense that if CSOs want to discuss with the local authorities on matters relating to the FMs, they can do it through the city's planners who, in turn, may bring their concerns to the city's authorities.

As the representatives of the local government, the city's planners may provide CSOs relevant information about the city's vision, projects, and capacity to respond to the claims of the FMs. They can also direct and advise local authorities as to how to include FMs' interests in the city's agenda and how to facilitate their full participation, as residents, in the life of the city.

In their collaboration with CSOs, the city's planners can also play the roles discussed below, as suggested by Healey (1991): policy analyst, intermediator, and social reformer.

- Policy analyst: through this role, the city's planners will be social analysts, in the sense that they will use their background and knowledge on various policies to think about which analysis to undertake, to evaluate findings and to assist civil society in addressing government on challenges facing the inner city FMs.

- Intermediator (or networker): As intermediators, the city's planners will try to build a bridge between the local government and the CSOs, by helping them to exchange views, to negotiate, and find solutions to issues affecting the FMs.

From the intermediator role of planners, the members of the CSOs will learn from planners a "more interactive and negotiative style of practice" (Healey and Thomas, 1991: 173) that may make them more convincing in the way they challenge government policies or decisions.

- Social reformer: as social reformers beside CSOs, the city's planners will demonstrate that they are committed to changing the society, "to build better cities, to promote democratic public policy-making and implementation; to assist in the advance towards a fairer and more humane society; to conserve environmental heritage and ecological balance" (Healey, 1991:

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30); that is, they will show both the local government and the CSOs that they are committed to building a just city, according to Fainstein (2005).

5.2.3. Recommendation for the National Government (NG)

Regarding the national government, I recommend it to include the interests of FM's in its priorities instead of focusing only on the interests of the South Africans. The national government should promote equality of opportunities between South Africans and FMs (in terms of job opportunities) and encourage companies to recognise refugee and asylum seeker permits. Moreover, the national government should decentralise its power over FMs, in the sense that it should increase the power of the local government on FMs, by allowing local authorities to formulate their own policies on matters relating to the forced migration in different cities of the country.

5.3. Recommendation for Future Study

For future study, I recommend development planning students to conduct research on how the partnerships between the city's planners and the CSOs should be made, in other to facilitate greater social justice for FMs living in the inner city of Johannesburg.

5.4. Conclusion

This report examined how Johannesburg's CSOs could facilitate a greater social justice for FMs, following several challenges they face in the inner city which include the denial of access to the health care and also relate to education, unemployment, lack of accommodation, xenophobia, exclusion, and discrimination. Fainstein's (2005) conceptualisation of the 'Just City' was used as the guiding theory for this study, followed by Sandercock's (2005 and 2006) approach to the multicultural and intercultural cities, and Healey's (1996) politics of difference. The just city approach, the theories of multicultural and intercultural cities, and the politics of difference, were urban planning theories and approaches used to review, examine, argue, and analyse the findings of the fieldwork that I conducted for the purpose of this study.

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Broadly, this report was divided into five chapters. The first chapter was introductory, presenting the aim, rationale, methodology and the study's limitations. Johannesburg experiences a flow of FMs coming from all over the world, fleeing their countries for various reasons, including civil wars, political pressures, and persecutions. However, in the inner city, where most of FMs are concentrated, there is a lack of social justice (in a administrative way, as mentioned in Chapter One) whose the consequences are the challenges previously mentioned. These challenges have a severe impact on their human rights and dignities, and prevent them from accessing the opportunities that the city offers to all its residents.

For this reason, a case-study on Africa's FMs living in the inner city (particularly in Hillbrow and Yeoville) was carried out; and in-depth interviews were conducted with the FMs, CSOs, a police officer, an official from the DHA, and an official from the city council of Johannesburg, in order to examine the challenges facing FMs in the inner city, and their relationships with the city's CSOs. The outcomes of these findings served also to evaluate the impacts of the CSOs' actions regarding their efforts to promote social justice for FMs and make Johannesburg a just city.

To see how this objective could be achieved, a number of works on civil society, social justice, forced migration, and 'just-city', were reviewed in Chapter Two. The aim of these literatures reviewed was to understand the meaning and role of civil society, the importance of promoting a greater social justice in cities, the content of international regulations on FMs, as well as to highlight the meaning of the just city from a planning perspective. Most of these works reviewed defined the civil society as an agent of social transformation (Friedmann, 1998) and as a 'way of thinking about power and the state' (Friedmann and Marris, 1998); while others defined social justice in terms of fairness, equity, equality, democracy, social integration, and respect for the differences (Rawls, 1997; Harvey, 1973; Campbell, 1988; and Oelofse, 2003). Regarding the concept of the 'just city', it has been defined in terms of democracy, equality, diversity, growth, sustainability (Fainstein, 2005; Sandercock, 1998; and Young, 1990), and participation (Fisher, 1990).

The Chapter Three focused on the methodology used in the study, and presented the findings of the fieldwork conducted for its purpose. Regarding the methodology, this study used the case study research as this method may help to examine social phenomena such as xenophobia and discrimination (Yin, 1993; McNeil, 1985Tellis, 1997), which are some of the

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causes of the lack of social justice in the inner city of Johannesburg. In-depth interviews and participant observation were the two sources of information that were used to collect the data presented in this study. Through in-depth interviews, FMs expressed their views on challenges they face, and the members of the CSOs explained how they tackle issues facing FMs, challenge the government policies and the City's exclusionary decisions, and how they facilitate greater social justice for FMs.

The strengths and weaknesses of CSOs were analysed and evaluated in Chapter Four, as well as the voices of FMs. The review of the civil society activities and efforts confirmed that the inner city CSOs have the potential to bring social and economic transformation in the city and help it to become a just city, according to Fainstein's vision.

And finally, in Chapter Five, some recommendations were formulated for the purpose of Johannesburg's CSOs, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) and for the national government. With regarding to the national government, it was recommended that it should include the interests of FMs among its priorities to create a more just city; while from the civil society's side, recommendations that were formulated included: encouraging greater participation, mobilisation and inclusion of South Africans in their struggle for greater social justice for FMs; adopting sometimes radical or 'rebellious' procedures to tackle or challenge government policies and exclusionary decisions towards FMs; encouraging strong collaboration between CSOs and the city's planners on matters relating to the FMs; increasing the awareness campaign through the use of the media for the social and economic transformation of the city; reinforcing partnerships with international financial institutions in order to avoid the government subsidiaries which may impact negatively on their autonomy vis-à-vis the state; and increasing a greater collaboration with research centres as well as academic institutions, such the Forced Migration Department of the University of the Witwatersrand for them to stay informed frequently enough on the conditions of the FMs. Some directions for future study were also given in this chapter to encourage development planning students to continue the research on the subject of social justice for the Johannesburg FMs.

In relation to the main research question (see Chapter One), this study showed that the CSOs could facilitate a greater social justice for FMs by adopting a collaborative, participative, and educative (constructive) attitudes in their relationships with the city council, South Africans, and FMs. It would be collaborative, in the sense that, to change the FM's conditions, they

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should collaborate with the city council (especially with city's planners); and participative, because they should invite local people to support efforts to challenge government policies and decisions. Finally, it would be educative, because their efforts to promote social justice should be constructive, as it is about teaching people who are different to live together, despite their differences.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX I: CASE STUDIES

A. Sources of Evidence for a Case Study

Yin (1994) identifies six main sources of evidence for a case study research, namely: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artefacts (Tellis, 1997). These sources are essential in every case but should not necessarily be used at the same time. In this report, I used only two sources: interviews and participant observations.

Based on Tellis (1997) model, the following table presents the strengths and weaknesses of both interviews and participant observations:

Source of Evidences	Strengths	Weaknesses
Interviews	- Targeted - focuses on case study topic	- Bias due to poor questions
	- Insightful - provides perceived causal	- Response bias

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	inferences	- Incomplete recollection - Reflexivity - interviewee expresses what interviewer wants to hear
Participant Observations	- Reality - covers events in real time - Contextual - covers event context - Insightful into interpersonal behaviour	- Time-consuming - Selectivity - might miss facts - Reflexivity - observer's presence might cause change - Cost - observers need time - Bias due to investigator's actions

Fig. Strenghts and weaknesses of Interviews and participant observation (after Tellis, in http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-3/tellis2.html. Cited 08 August 2006.

B. Application and Procedures of Case Study

According to Yin (1994), there are four different applications for the case study research model. The case-study model aims (Tells, 1997):

1. To explain causal links in real-life interventions;
2. To describe the real-life context in which the intervention has occurred;
3. To describe the intervention itself, and;
4. To explore those situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear set of outcomes.

With regarding to the procedures to be followed, Yin (1994) advises researchers to have some skills including: “the ability to ask good questions and to interpret the responses, be a good listener, be adaptive and flexible so as to react to various situations, have a firm grasp of issues being studied, and be unbiased by preconceived notions. The investigator must be able to function as a "senior" investigator” (Tellis, 1997).

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APPENDIX II: LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

A. Forced Migrants

1. Anonymous One: originally from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Mr. Anonymous One is an asylum seeker and a MA student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. He came to South Africa in 2002 (interview done in May 2006).

2. Becky Kenneth: a 40 year old, Kenneth a married women and a mother of three boys. She is a teacher by profession. She came to South Africa in 2002. She runs her own business at the Yeoville African market. I spoke to her in 2005.

3. Emeka: Mr. Emeka is a Nigerian refugee, living and running business in Hillbrow. I spoke to him in July 2006.

4. Ignace Coulibaly: Electrician by profession, Mr. Coulibaly is a 35 year old refugee from the Ivory Cost. He came to South Africa in 2003. I spoke to him in June 2006.

5. Henriette Mungoma: Single and a mother of a two year old boy, Mungoma is an asylum seeker from Uganda, who came to South Africa in 2002. She runs an own business at the Yeoville African market. I spoke to her in 2005. She is 26 year old.

6. Jean Chrysostome: A 32 year old man, Mr. chrysostome is a Burundian refugee, living in Yeoville. He came to South Africa in 2001. I spoke to him in June 2006.

7. Jeannette Mbala: Mrs. Mbala is a refugee from Congo-Brazzaville. She came to South Africa in 2000, and I spoke to her in June 2006.

8. Mouhammar: Mr. Mouhammar is a 35 year old refugee from Ethiopia, living in Yeoville. I spoke to him in May 2006.

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9. Tshilobo Sabwe: Mother of nine children, Sabwe is a 49 year old refugee from the Democratic republic of Congo. She came to South Africa in 2000. She runs her own business at the Yeoville African Market. I spoke to her in 2005.

10. Vida Uwase: Mrs Uwase is a Tanzanian asylum seeker, living in Hillbrow. She came to South Africa in 2001. I spoke to her in 2005.

B. Police Department, Department of Home Affairs and City of Johannesburg

1. Anonymous Two: Originally from South Africa, Mr. Anonymous Two started working at the Department of Home Affairs since 2001. I spoke to him in August 2006.

2. Anonymous Three: Mrs. Anonymous Three is a South African. She started working for the Community Development Department of the City Council of Johannesburg in 2002. I spoke to her in August 2006.

3. Naidoo: Mr. Naidoo is a Police Inspector at the Hillbrow Police Station. I spoke to him in 2005.

C. Civil Society Organisations.

1. Sr. Sandra: She is the Programme Co-ordinator at the Department of Pastoral Care for Refugees (DPCR) of the Catholic Diocese of Johannesburg. I spoke to her in July 2006.

2. Mr Blaise Nzuzi: He works at the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS). I spoke to him in July 2006.

3. Dr. Jackie Lofell: Lofell is the Advocacy co-ordinator at the Johannesburg Child Welfare (JCW). I spoke to her in July 2006.

4. Mr Jacob: works with the Lawyers of Human rights (LHR). I spoke to him in August 2006.

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5. Wena Wright: She is in charge of forced migrants at Trinity Congregation Church (TGC). I spoke to her in August 2006.

6. Tesneen Bramjee and Naazneen: The former is an Attorney and the later is a candidate attorney at the wits Law Clinic (WLC). I spoke to them in July 2006.

7. Dolores Cortes: she is the programme co-ordinator at the Zimbabwean Torture Victims Project (ZTVP). I spoke to her in August 2006.