Professionals and xenophobia: a sociological analysis of skilled African immigrants in Gauteng

By

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Declaration of Authenticity

I Bento Gilberto Mazula Marcos declare that this mini-dissertation is my original work. Where secondary material has been used (either from a printed source or from the internet), this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria.

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Table of Contents

Abstract

The transition, in 1994, in South Africa from an authoritarian ethno-nationalist Apartheid state where racial categories determined inclusion and exclusion to a liberal democratic state, raised the promise of greater inclusion within society. The post-Apartheid state formally abandoned racism and discrimination, at least in its legal sense. Paradoxically, in a context which enabled greater engagement with Africa, the new 'Rainbow Nation' with an emphasis on nation-building and emerging nationalism, led to manifestations of discrimination and exclusion of a different kind.

An escalation in incidents of xenophobia within post-Apartheid South Africa has been fully documented. However, it could be argued, not all immigrants are subject to incidents of xenophobia. In the new South Africa, targeting the black African immigrant, in particular, has resulted in a new cycle of exclusion. As Nyamnjoh puts it these black African immigrants are associated with "the Heart of Darkness north of the Limpopo". In contrast, foreign whites seem to be more acceptable in the new South Africa. Experiences of xenophobia and the concomitant exclusion and/or discrimination have been raced. African immigrants, however, are not a monolithic grouping. The dissertation argues that whilst all black African immigrants potentially experience xenophobia, socio-economic status may mitigate the extent and immediacy of this, as well as the ability to escape or avoid such experiences to some extent.

Opsomming

Die oorgang vanaf 'n outoritêre etno-nasionalistiese Apartheid-staat, waar rasse-kategorieë insluiting en uitsluiting bepaal het, na 'n liberale demokratiese staat in 1994, het die belofte van groter insluiting in die samelewing gehuldig. Die "post-Apartheid" staat het rassisme en diskriminasie ten minste op wetlike-vlak, formeel afgeskaf. In 'n konteks wat groter verbintenis met Afrika moontlik gemaak het, het die nuwe "Reëboog nasie" met die klem op nasiebou, nasionalisme ontketen. Paradoksaal het dit tot manifestasies van diskriminasie en uitsluiting van 'n ander aard gelei.

'n Toename in die voorvalle van xenofobie in "post-Apartheid" Suid-Afrika is ten volle gedokumenteer. Tog kan dit aangevoer word dat, nie alle immigrante onderworpe is aan voorvalle van xenofobie nie. In die nuwe Suid-Afrika is dit gerig op die swart Afrika-immigrant, in die besonder. Dit het tot 'n nuwe siklus van uitsluiting gelei. Soos Nyamnjoh dit stel word hierdie immigrante van Afrika met die "Heart of Darkness north of the Limpopo" geassosieer. In teenstelling blyk dit dat blankes van die buiteland meer aanvaarbaar in die nuwe Suid-Afrika beskou word. Ervarings van xenofobie en die gepaardgaande uitsluiting en/of diskriminasie is ras-gebonde. Immigrante van Afrika is egter nie 'n eenvormige groepering nie. Die verhandeling voer aan dat alhoewel alle swart immigrante van Afrika potensieel xenofobie ervaar, sosio-ekonomiese status, die omvang en die onmiddelikheid hiervan versag, sowel as die vermoë om van sulke ervaringe, tot 'n mate, te kan ontsnap of dit te kan vermy.

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Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CoRMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
RRP	Radical right-wing Political Parties
RuDASA	Rural Doctors Association of Southern Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SAPS	South African Police Services
UDF	United Democratic Front

List of tables

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

People have always moved from one location to the next. As the world becomes 'smaller and smaller' through the advancement of technology, the number and frequency of individuals moving between countries and even continents have become greater. According to the International Labour Organisation one in every fifty human beings in the world is a migrant worker, a refugee, an asylum seeker or immigrant living outside their country of origin (ILO, 2001:1). The United Nations estimated that 175 million people globally, were not living in a country where they were born. According to the International Organization for Migration these figures are estimated to rise to 250 million by the year 2050 (ILO, 2001:3; Waller, 2006:10). The freedom of movement of people has raised insecurities and anxieties. On the local level this has resulted in acts of xenophobia within communities. Receiving states have also countered such movements by imposing draconian restrictions. Nyamnjoh (2006:1) refers to the present as times of flows and closures, whereby capital flows are virtually unregulated and labour is subjected to more and more restrictions.

The global stretch of capital friendly policies, specifically in its neo-liberal form, have exacerbated imbalances between and within rich and poor nations, and increase the propensity for labour to migrate outside the state in search for greener pastures (ILO, 2001:2). The movement of people has been characterised by extensive South/North mobility. According to Nyamnjoh (2006:6) an estimated 35 million people have migrated from the developing to the more developed world, comprising an extensive 'brain drain' from the South. Waller (2006:6) argues that an estimated 20 000 professionals have emigrated from Africa to the developed world. Mobility has also intensified between developing countries, to those countries where possibilities for prosperity are imagined or assumed.

In Africa, South Africa stands as one of the dominant immigrant receiving nations, followed by Namibia and Botswana in the Southern African region. Responses, in

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recent history, to increased immigration to South Africa have been filled with uncertainties and anxieties. These responses have resulted in xenophobic like discrimination being directed at those individuals defined as foreign and undesirable in certain circumstances. However, not all immigrants/migrants are subject to the same discrimination by nationals. In South Africa, black African immigrants[1] in particular appear to be targeted. However, black African immigrants do not constitute a homogeneous group. The study, by focusing on the experience of xenophobia of black African immigrant professionals, attempts to de-homogenise the category black African immigrant. For purpose of clarification, I do acknowledge the positive contribution that non-professional black African immigrants make to South African society. However, this study places black African immigrant professionals at the centre of analysis.

1.2 Discussion of key concepts

From the inception of the study it is essential to unpack concepts that underpin the study. By so doing, it provides clarity as to what is meant by their usage. In this study the concepts that need clarification are 'xenophobia' and 'professional'.

1.2.1 Xenophobia defined

The term xenophobia emanated from the Greek word 'xenos' meaning "stranger" and 'phobia' meaning "morbid fear or aversion". According to The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, xenophobia means "a morbid dislike of foreigners" (Fowler & Fowler, 1964:1513). The Collins Dictionary of Sociology defines xenophobia as "an exaggerated hostility towards or fear for foreigners" (Jary & Jary, 1995:738). These definitions portray a kind of attitude or sentiment that those deemed 'insiders' share towards those defined as 'foreign'. However, they do not adequately substantiate the term foreign. The question remains foreign in relation to what or whom?

Warner and Finchlescu (2003:36) attempt to localise their definition. They see it as "a dislike of certain kinds of foreigners". Harris (2002:170) as well suggests that

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[1] The term African immigrant by no means denies the existence of Africans that are not black. However, for the sake of this study the term will be applied as used by authors such as Croucher (1998: 645), Fine and Bird (2006:49) Landau (2004:2) Neocosmos (2006a:5) Nyamnjoh (2006:5) Perbedy (201:18) and Steinberg (2005:iv) to refer to black African immigrants.

"Xenophobia as a term must be reframed to incorporate practice. It is not just an attitude: it is an activity. It is not just a dislike or fear of foreigners: it is a violent practice that results in bodily harm and damage. More particularly, the violent practice that comprises xenophobia must be further redefined to include its specific target…in South Africa the black [African] foreigner".

Both Warner and Finchlescu (2003), and Harris (2002) implicitly or explicitly associate xenophobia with black African immigrants. Irrespective of the extent that black African immigrants in South Africa experience xenophobia, associating it exclusively with them ignores xenophobia experienced by other racial categories of immigrants. Furthermore, emphasising incorporating practice in the definition creates the possible assumption that xenophobia outside of 'violence' is not possible.

The study uses the operational definition applied by the ILO, IOM and OHCHR (2001:2). Petros, Airhihenbuwa, Simbayi, Rawlangan and Brown (2006:74) describe xenophobia as "attitudes, prejudices and behaviours that exclude and vilify others because they are considered to be outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity". This definition is less prescriptive with regards to categories who may experience xenophobia as well as the way in which the outsider may be 'othered'.

1.2.2 Professional defined

Batalova and Lowell (2007:28) suggest that professionals "are preferably classified not in terms of either/or, but in terms of both education and occupation". This guideline has been used to select the participants for this study, who are both highly educated and are engaged in professional employment.

1.3 Problem statement

Historically, settlement within South Africa was racially ordered. The authorities implemented a number of regulations which controlled both the movement and settlement of people of colour internally. As a result, measures were taken to regulate and control immigration. In particular, blacks from the rest of Africa were granted entry on the condition that they enter to address the need for cheap labour in critical sectors of the economy. The entry of African migrants was predominately characterised by non-professionals to work in the mining sector, the agricultural

sector and urban services. Some African professionals migrated clandestinely to the independent 'homelands'. When the term 'European' was removed from immigration legislation in 1986 Africans could legally immigrate into South Africa. Still few in numbers, more educated professionals from the region, Congo, Mali, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Zaire, Kenya and Uganda immigrated to the independent 'homelands' (Waller, 2006:4).

Bhorat, Meyer and Mlatsheni (2001:13) estimate that 11 464 professionals (both African and non-Africans) immigrated to South Africa between 1989 and 1997. After the demise of the Apartheid state immigration into South Africa increased substantially, although no accurate estimates can be determined. Both professionals and non-professionals migrated to the country, the latter in greater numbers (Posel, 2003:5).

Responses from ordinary South Africans and the state to black African immigrants have been uniformly restrictive and in some instances violent. The literature on xenophobia in South Africa has focussed on asylum seekers, refugees and proletariat black African immigrants, for obvious reasons. Hence, there has been a tendency to homogenise black African immigrants in academic literature and public discourse.

The only identifiable literature in South Africa that places immigrant professionals at the centre of analysis is the work by Mattes, Crush and Richmond (2000b). The literature covered what they termed the "brain gain" of skills into the country. The study assessed immigrant professionals generally. Certain traits with regards to black African immigrant professionals were identified. In general, they were satisfied with their stay in the country, but showed dissatisfaction with the level of taxation (too high) and concerns with their personal and family safety due to the rampant crime in the country. They concluded as follows:

> "The survey seems to show that the professional and higher income status of this group shields them from much of the harsh treatment meted out to ordinary foreign workers, immigrants or refugees" (Mattes *et al.*, 2000b:25).

Literature on the migration of professionals suggest that immigrant professionals are treated favourably in host societies and that they are least likely to experience exclusion, domination or economic exploitation due to their immigrant status (Favell, Feldblum & Smith, 2007:16; Nyamnjoh, 2006:2). The study by Mattes *et al*. (2000b) presents some methodological limitations. By virtue of it being a survey study it omits in-depth analysis that would otherwise unveil more nuanced conclusions about black African immigrant professionals experience in South Africa. The highlighting of economic positioning by placing professionals at the centre of analysis is countered by the lack of qualitative depth in the analysis. This study proposes to contribute to the stock of knowledge about the experiences of black African immigrant professionals of xenophobia through in-depth qualitative research.

1.4 Aim of the study and statement of questions

The aim of the study is to de-homogenise the black African immigrant, by placing the black African immigrant professionals at the centre of analysis. Xenophobia has been identified as a social problem in the South African society. However, the sociological problem, concerned with the economic positioning of black, professional African immigrants has not been satisfactorily addressed. With regard to xenophobia there is a need to consider economic positioning as a determining factor of the extent and form xenophobia may be experienced by black African immigrants. The experiences of professionals may differ from that of non-professional black African immigrants. The following questions are posed to address the exercise:

Do black African immigrant professionals experience xenophobia?

What is the experience of black African immigrant professionals with regards to xenophobia in the South African society?

Does class positioning have an impact on black African immigrants' experience of xenophobia?

1.5 Outline of chapters

In *chapter 2: Situating xenophobia substantively*, xenophobia is considered substantively by referring to its incidence both globally and locally. Locally, the

incidence of xenophobia has to be related to the politics of transition from a past of legislated racism to an embracing of the 'Rainbow Nation'. This transition seems to have redefined the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Immigrants of specific nationalities, especially those coming from the rest of Africa face greater restrictions than those from elsewhere. The chapter will as well consider the experiences of black African immigrants, with particular interest on the differences between professionals and non-professionals.

Chapter 3: Theoretical perspectives on xenophobia engage with theories of xenophobia. European perspectives are considered and compared to how xenophobia has been theorised in Africa and South Africa. Neocosmos' (2006a) perspective on politics and political consciousness provides a point of departure.

Chapter 4: Methodology: a small scale study of black African immigrant professionals living and working in Gauteng, South Africa, addresses the methodology applied in the study, and considers a qualitative approach as a method of investigation. Fourteen black African immigrant professionals were interviewed for the study.

Chapter 5: Xenophobia: experiences of black African immigrant professionals living and working in Gauteng, South Africa, reports the findings and provides interpretation to the data collected. Generally, the chapter argues that African immigrant professionals' experience of xenophobia is contingent upon the kind of people they come it contact with. If they come into contact with South Africans who have internalised citizenship as an exclusionary boundary then it is possible that they may experience xenophobia. If they come into contact with South Africans who attest to a more inclusive and flexible notion of belonging, immigrants are more likely to feel welcomed. It is argued that professionals have the material means to evade potential xenophobes through minimized contact with South Africans.

Chapter 6: Conclusion provides a summary of the key arguments of the study and suggests some recommendations on how this social issue can be addressed.

Chapter 2

Situating xenophobia substantively

2.1 Introduction

The literature suggests that xenophobia is heightened in a context of increasing migration. Furthermore, the assertion of national identities heightens social exclusion and leads to ethno-national discrimination. First, this chapter contextualizes xenophobia globally in order to avoid essentialising the local (South Africa) as unique.

Second, in the local context, the transition to a post-Apartheid society and the rise in xenophobic sentiments amongst South Africans is considered. The chapter argues that the South African state and ordinary citizens develop adverse sentiments towards black African immigrants. As a result, these immigrants are subjected to harsh treatments by instruments of the state such as the police as well as ordinary South Africans.

2.2 Xenophobia, considered in a global context

According to Nyamnjoh (2006:2) the mounting preoccupations with questions of belonging, which dwell within discourses of nationality, have been evident globally. The growth in global interconnectedness has coincided with rising consciousness about national territorial boundaries and greater restrictions on the mobility of people globally. Patterns and policies of migration in the Western world, regarding inclusion and exclusion of people, have changed dramatically since the aftermath of the Second World War. According to Schuster (2003:243) prior to the abovementioned period the imperative of Western states was to prevent emigration and not immigration. Hence, immigration was not a negative social and political issue at the time. Recently, restrictions on the mobility of people have been tightened. States and societies have become more exclusive with regards to foreigners. Restrictions on the movement of migrants and immigrants coincided with a rise of xenophobic like expressions. Although the prevailing assumptions on why restrictions and exclusion

of those considered foreign may differ from context to context, the general consensus is that xenophobia is prevalent on a global scale.

In the last few decades, opposition to immigration has been increasingly politicized in many regions of Western Europe and the United States, which have made accessing these countries very difficult for many refugees and asylum seekers due to amendments made to immigration legislation. In 2005, European Union member states presented legislation to the European parliament dealing with "return directives". The "return directive" is legislation that facilitates the detention and deportation of immigrants by host European states. The European parliament approved it on 18 June 2008 and the legislation has been extended to cover all twenty seven member states of the Bloc (Fetzer, 2000:6; Nyamnjoh, 2006:6; Peer, 2008:1; Xu & Plaza, n.d: section 1). The tendency has been for 'capitalist democratic states' to re-affirm their immigration policy and place barriers on what Zolberg (1989:406) refers to as "self propelled immigration".

Greater restriction on the movement of people suggests that immigration has become an issue that merits concern for societies and their states in the Twenty First Century. The greater awareness of a dislike of foreigners (especially in Europe) can be seen with the rise of Right-wing political parties with anti-foreigner discourses imbedded in their manifestos. This is evident with the National Front in France, the New Democracy in Sweden, the National Action in Switzerland, Freedom Party in Austria, and the proliferation of nationalist extremist organizations in Russia that are supported by nationalist oriented political parties and the Orthodox Church (DeAngelis, 2003:77; Rydgren, 2003:45; Shlapentokh, 2007:134; Skenderovi, 2007:165).

The increased restrictions on the movement of migrants and immigrants across national borders and the rise and support for these nationalists' organizations fuel xenophobic like expressions in European societies. These exclusive discourses and practices propagated by these forces (which receive support at societal level) have manifested into violent actions towards the 'other' who are considered 'foreign', as an expression of the discontentment over the presence of foreigners in these societies.

The violent practices that have taken place in countries around the world have raised global concern.

In 1993, the European Commission conducted a large scale survey within the European Union member states to assess racism and xenophobia and concluded that extreme racism/xenophobia occurred more in countries with greater population of immigrants such as Belgium, France and Austria compared to more "homogenous" countries such as Sweden, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain. Although anti-foreigner sentiments may have intensified in countries like Sweden, the survey illustrates a concern within Europe with questions of belonging, and the need to address the rise of these racist, extremist, ethnocentric and xenophobic expressions. The European Union's first meeting in 1993, revealed a disturbing trend regarding the growth of aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, which suggested new expressions of xenophobia (Brems, 2000:481; Miller, 1999).

In 2005, murders of non-white students and guest workers were documented in Russia. The media reported 25 murders and 200 assaults as motivated by ethno-racial hatred. Intolerance of immigrants and migrants is widespread throughout Russia as is the case in Western Europe, which is reflected on the extensive public support for the expression "Russia for Russians". In 1998, 40% of the electorate supported the expression and in 2005 it rose to 58%. A national survey revealed that levels of xenophobia are approximately between 50% and 60% nationally and as high as 70% in Moscow, where before Putin's ascendancy to the presidency anti-foreigner sentiments were not so pronounced (Shlapentokh, 2007:135). Moreover, in the United States, the September 11 attacks on US soil have also increased what Nyamnjoh (2006:11) refers to as "Arabophobia" and "Islamaphobia", which makes the racial-religious-cultural identity of Arabs and Muslims grounds for abuse and attacks. Galuszka (2008:23) too suggests that individuals of Hispanic background also bear the brunt of xenophobia in the United States.

According to Schuster (2003:244) there are various factors that play a role in the experience of discrimination of migrants and immigrants such as ethnicity, nationality, gender, race and class. Collins (1997:4-5) argues that asylum seekers, many black people and ethnic minorities are targets of racism in Europe. For

example, a man from the former Yugoslavia stated in an interview that it was difficult for him to find employment in Ireland because of his accent.

It can be inferred from the examples mentioned that the restriction and exclusion of migrants and immigrants apply more to some categories of migrants, than others. Schuster (2003:245) argues that, Western states are not hostile to all immigrants and that preferences are made regarding who is allowed to immigrate into these countries. These preferences are mainly related to the fulfilment of labour needs, whereby highly skilled professionals and their families receive preferential treatment from governments of host states, to the detriment of less skilled labourers, who are often of a darker skin complexion.

2.3 The politics of belonging in Africa

The global preoccupation with 'politics of belonging' regarding 'insiders' and 'outsiders' is no exception in the African continent. The contestation over boundaries of belonging often have undesirable implications for individuals who are 'indigenous' and legal citizens of a country. Geschiere (2004:237) argues that, in Cameroon, political and economic liberalization impacted on the rapid intensification of struggles over belonging, an obsession with "autochthony" and the rise of violent forms of exclusion toward those who were defined as "strangers" even when some were citizens of the same countries.

Citizenship rights and questions of entitlement are a contested terrain and are also grounds for exclusion in Africa as is the case elsewhere. For example; as far back as 1983 the Nigerian government expelled one and a half million illegal immigrants from the country, mostly Ghanaians. In 1994 sixty-seven prisoners, mostly Nigerian and Ghanaian nationals accused of being illegal, suffocated to death in an overcrowded cell in a Libreville detention centre. Studies have also identified expressions of xenophobic like behaviour in Southern Africa with degrees of harsh anti-foreigner sentiments varying from country to country. Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Mozambique are regarded as more accommodating to foreigners and Namibia, Botswana and South Africa are regarded as having the harshest anti-immigration sentiments (Campbell, 2003:74; Gray, 1998:401; McDonald & Jacobs, 2005: 300-301).

Applying tools developed by the World Values Survey that focuses on the attitudes of nationals towards the entry of foreigners into their country, several authors suggest that South Africans have consistently been amongst the most intolerant and hostile towards foreigners since the 1990's when comparable data is studied globally. Nonetheless, Botswana is also highly xenophobic. The fact that Botswana and South Africa are the dominant migrant receiving countries in the region may influence these sentiments and suggest a similar trend to that reported with regards to European states. Botswana and South Africa arguably stand as the major immigrant receiving countries in Southern Africa given their expanding economies and patterns of migration to them historically(Crush, 2000:108; 2001:13; 2008:24; Mattes *et al.*, 2000b:22; Neocosmos, 2006:3; Nyamnjoh, 2006:19; Oucho, 2007:7).

The alarming extent of xenophobic like discrimination in South Africa has led authors such as Mattes, *et al*. (2000b:22) to conclude that, immigration is not viewed as a public policy that benefits the country and its citizens. Whereas skills elsewhere often serve as a 'guarantee' for entry and inclusion into host societies, in South Africa it is often overlooked and skilled professionals fall victim to racially motivated stereotypes that influence sentiments of discrimination. Discourses and practices of exclusion seem to be directed primarily at particular nationalities and racial group of immigrants. The intolerance and hostility towards foreigners in South Africa is largely directed towards black African immigrants (Crush & Dodson, 2007: 440; Crush & McDonald, 2001:2; Harris, 2001:5; 2002:169; Morris, 1998:1117; Neocosmos, 2006a:1; Nyamnjoh, 2006:14; Peberdy, 2001:16; SAHRC, 2004:27; Williams & Crush, 2005:16; Valji, 2003: Section 2).

Manifestations of xenophobic sentiments have become more pronounced in the post-Apartheid era (Crush, 2001: 11; Crush & Dodson, 2007: 444; HSRC, 2008: 18). In order to frame the current context historical patterns of immigration into South Africa are traced to identify changing trends and responses. The factors that influenced the flow and kind of migrants that arrived in the country, as well as the nature of the exclusion foreigners encountered are considered.

2.4 A brief overview of migration and immigration to South Africa

South Africa has a history of exclusion, oppression and discrimination. The state used racial and religious criteria to warrant immigrants and migrants access to South Africa (Crush & McDonalds, 2001:2). These criteria impacted on the trend and configuration of the migration process into the country. Since 1994 immigration to a post-Apartheid South Africa has changed considerably.

2.4.1 White immigration

Immigration policies addressed the needs for skilled and unskilled workers in the racialized labour market. The Immigration Regulation Act (IRA) of 1961 enabled the state to control and channel immigration. Restrictions were placed on black migration internally by a number of related acts. The consequence was a racial distribution of skilled employment, whereby white immigrants were preferred to both local and foreign blacks in the skilled section of the racialized labour market. The Apartheid state structured its immigration flow with the end purpose of serving a narrow ideological end, with the objective being, first, initially to maintain Afrikaner control and second, subsequently the maintenance of a minority white dominated state. During Apartheid, white skin was a necessary but not sufficient requirement for entry into South Africa, as was apparent with the immigration policy that encouraged and promoted the assimilation of certain kinds of whites (Mattes *et al.*, 2000a:26; Peberdy & Crush, 1998:20, 30; Vale, 2002:16;).

The Nationalist government was keen to maintain its Afrikaner base and did not initially actively encourage the immigration of English speakers, Roman Catholics and Jews. A year after the Nationalist government came into power in 1948 there was a sharp decrease of net immigration until 1962. The growing point of concern for the state was 'assimilation', where all potential immigrants had to be 'assimilable' by the white population by law. Assimilation meant that immigrants did not 'threaten' the existing white population; therefore, they made sure that immigrants did not threaten the language, culture or religion of the dominant white ethnic group (Lewis, 1990:74; Peberdy & Crush, 1998:31; Valji, 2003: Section 4).

The state maintained strong relationships with the Netherlands and Britain, and one of the characteristics of this relationship was to draw immigrants from these countries to South Africa. The intention was to strengthen a particular kind of national identity and to allay the security fears of the settler minority. The state's discourse concerning immigration from Europe was seen as a source of security rather than insecurity (Vale, 2002:16). Mattes *et al*. (2000a:23) analysis of immigration into South Africa suggests that until the 1980's Great Britain dominated as the source of immigrants into the country. However, the situation changed sharply after 1985. Maharaj (2004:3) suggests that the decline of Great Britain as the dominant source of immigrants into the country was due to the changing political climate during the period 1960-1980. Liberation struggles in the region and elsewhere in Africa elicited 'the white flight' from newly independent African states such as Zambia, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Therefore, whites from the region and further north began to immigrate to South Africa. They were granted citizenship to boost the local white population, hence, somewhat shifting the source of white migration to South Africa (Peberdy & Crush, 1998: 30). According to Crush and McDonalds (2001:2) at this point in time (between 1960's and 1980's) virtually anyone with a white skin was welcomed.

2.4.2 Black immigration/migration

Migration of black Africans from the rest of Africa to South Africa has a long history. Restrictions on the immigration of black Africans were much greater than whites. The trajectory of the migration of black Africans to South Africa was fundamentally different than that of whites. Black migration was primarily due to South Africa's dependence on cheap migrant labour, especially for sectors such as mining, agriculture and urban services. The system was conceived of in terms of bilateral treaties between the South African state and the sending countries (mainly from the region). Blacks were excluded from citizenship rights on grounds that they threaten the white way of life, which justified the exclusive nature of immigration (Crush, 1999a:18; Crush & Dobson: 2007:440, 438; Maharaj, 2004:2-3 Reitzes, 1998a:38; 1995:7).

Crush and Tshitereke (2001:53) argue that the migration of black labour was organized through migration labour conventions dating back to 1909. These were

bilateral agreements between states for the supply of cheap labour mainly to South African mines. The bilateral agreements were exploitative and worked in the interest of employers and governments at the expense of migrants and their dependents. The treaties undertaken created a two gate policy; one for white immigrants and the other for black migrant workers. Only whites moving into South Africa could be immigrants, while black people were regarded as migrants (temporary sojourners). Unlike white immigration, none of the black migrant workers were granted citizenship. The contract labour system was designed to exclude them by creating the necessary conditions for their return home at the end of each contract. These restrictions extended to prohibitions to be accompanied by family members and the non-ownership of property in the territory. Nonetheless, some managed to settle and stay (Crush & McDonald, 2001:3; Maharaj, 2004:3; Peberdy & Crush, 1998: 19; Peberdy & Crush, 1998: 19).

The demand for African migrant labour from the region was high, because recruitment of cheap African labour from Southern Africa to work on the mines occurred in a time of high inflation and competition for black labour in secondary industries. At this point in time the need for cheap labour was crucial, because with the fixed price of gold, cost containment became a priority for the mining companies. The supply of cheap labour to cater for the mining companies profit needs came from predominately outside South Africa, and its dependency on this cheap labour pool grew up to the late 1960s. The state supported the recruitment of cheap labour from outside South Africa as opposed to local black labour. However, after the 1960s the Apartheid state tightened control on the movement of people from the rest of Africa, in an attempt to force employers to hire locally, but only to ease restrictions in the 1980's due to increased pressure from mining capital. On the whole, during the Apartheid era the restrictions that were placed on black migrants from outside South Africa limited not only the settlement potential but also the number of black Africans entering the country (Crush, 1999a:128; Crush, Jeeves & Yudelman, 1991:101; Innes, 1984: 128; Morris, 1998: 1116).

In the mid 1980's the immigration stream into South African became more diverse. Independence of homelands impacted on immigration patterns to the country. Removal of the definition of 'European' from section 4(3)(b), which required that

immigrants be assimilable to the local European population, by the Aliens and Immigration Law Amendment Act of 1986, granted black Africans from the rest of Africa the status of immigrants for the first time in South African history (Peberdy & Crush, 1998:33).

During this period, Skills from Asia, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the rest of Africa were imported by the Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana (Mattes *et al*., 2000a:23). According to Crush and McDonald (2001:2) and Nyamnjoh (2006: 28) the overt racist selection of immigrants was abandoned towards the end of Apartheid when the state allowed selected skilled black immigrants and "honorary whites" from Asia to strengthen the homelands strategy of co-optation.

The same period saw a change in the state's discourse regarding the hiring of foreign mine labourers. The state 'complied' with the mine industry in as far as the hiring of immigrant labour was concerned. The state supported claims made by the mining industry that South Africans were not suited for mine work and if the state was not supportive of the need for foreign labour, restrictions on migrant labour from the region would work to the detriment of the country's economy (Crush & Tshitereke, 2001:50). However, the recruitment of non-white migrant workers to South Africa was restricted to designated locations where they would not be in competition with white workers.

As Apartheid approached its demise, the immigration trends to South Africa underwent some changes. After 1991 skilled labour from the rest of Africa began to formally enter the country to address the shortage of skills in the homelands, although some entered clandestinely. There was a significant difference in the level of education of the pre-1991 and post-1991 immigrants to South Africa, the later comprising of more educated individuals (Mattes *et al*., 2000a:24-25).

Crush and William (2005:4) argue that the run up to the 1994 elections impacted on the flow of immigration to South Africa, and that immigration from other SADC states increased considerably, not just at the unskilled categories, but at the professional level as well. The immigration of professionals such as engineers,

doctors, academics, school teachers from the former Zaire that where incorporated into the "Independent homelands" from the late 1980's has been documented (Steinberg, 2005:23).

Towards the demise of Apartheid, South Africa experienced an extensive flight of white skilled citizens. According to Mattes *et al*. (2000b:11) statistics from countries that South Africans mostly migrate to (United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) suggest that 233 609 South Africans settled in these countries between 1989 and 1997. The exodus of white professionals coincided with the emigration of professionals from the rest of Africa to the country.

For instance, it is estimated that 200 doctors left Zimbabwe for Botswana and South Africa in 1992 alone. These professionals were 'pushed' from Zimbabwe as a result of political and economic turmoil that began in the 1990s. The 'brain drain' involved the flight of professionals such as nurses and doctors that impacted negatively on the Zimbabwean health sector (Chikanga, 2005: 163).

Furthermore, due to the inability of the Zimbabwean government to address the demands for higher wages, better working and living conditions, these professionals looked to South Africa as a land of opportunity, and as potential provider of an opportunity for the betterment of their life chances. The propensity to migrate to South Africa was not limited to Zimbabweans, as Steinberg (2005) also illustrated with regard to Zairians'. However, on arrival, these immigrants were 'exposed' to an environment that is potentially negativity to their foreignness. This aversion contrasts with past experiences of immigrants, where national identity was not necessarily an issue. The hostility faced by migrants was not defined by nationality, but race (Reitzes & Bam, 2000: 84). In the post-Apartheid dispensation race and nationality intersect to define boundaries of inclusion and exclusion.

2.5 Post-Apartheid South Africa: redefining boundaries of belonging

In 1994 South Africa became an inclusive democratic state in principle, where integration replaced segregation, non-racialism replaced legislated racism and

democracy replaced Apartheid, at least in terms of its laws (Harris, 2002:169). The transition saw an increasing movement of people from the region and further north of Africa into the country (Crush, 1999b:2; Morris, 1998: 1116). Data from the 2001 national census suggests an increase of the foreign population in Gauteng province from 4.8% in 1994 to 5.4% in 2001 (Landau, 2004b: 5; Landau & Monson: 2008:316). Estimates of undocumented immigrants in the country range from 500 000 to 8 000 000, depending on the method of analysis applied and source of data (Landau, 2004a: 5; Valji, 2003: Section 2). Crush and Dobson (2007:443) suggest that warranting any kind of reliability to these figures is problematic (see table 1 below for statistics released by the HSRC).

Table 1: Statistics of undocumented immigrants released by the HSRC in the mid 1990's

Province	Dec 1994	June 1995	Oct 1995	March 1996
Western Cape	29 138	82 294	125 727	275 241
Eastern Cape	209 798	549 110	248 821	478 974
Northern Cape	33 490	61 132	46 234	32 638
Free State	244 178	1 010 787	108 202	6 803
Kwazulu/Natal	1 186 582	599 539	689 334	134 605
Mpumalanga	723 398	1 100 794	879 462	22 409
Gauteng	1 722 382	782 377	1 884 145	3 327 577
North West	348 913	31 838	642 888	382 328
Limpopo	676 179	4 875 703	436 079	36 979
Total	5 174 058	9 093 574	5 058 892	4 697 554

Source: Crush and Dobson (2007:443)

The figures reported in the table above reflect extreme variations over a short time span. There is a tremendous jump in the estimates of undocumented immigrants in figures circulated in December 1994 and June 1995 (which clearly appear inflated). The fluctuation in these figures and the short time span between studies raises serious questions regarding the accuracy of the data. These figures have the potential of creating a misperception about the total number of foreigners in the country, therefore, further reinforcing the 'siege discourse'. It is evident that the number of

immigrants in the country, especially from the rest of Africa, has increased substantially since the early 1990's (Kihato, 2007: 266). However, to disseminate inflated estimates can fuel already existing negative sentiments about black African immigrants. Duncan (1998:150) argues, "no one knows how may "illegal aliens" are in South Africa", suggesting that it is difficult to get numbers right.

The political transformation in 1994 and the economic dominance of South Africa in comparison to other countries in Africa, situates the country as a favourable immigration destination. Outsiders view South Africa as a country that can provide 'opportunity' (illusive or otherwise) that is much greater than what can be obtained in their country of origin, thus, creating the potential for attracting greater number of foreigners into the country (Croucher, 1998: 644; Maharaj, 2004: 2; Nyamnjoh, 2006:5). According to Campbell (2002:1) South Africa is seen as the most attractive African country for skilled migrants/immigrants (and other categories of migrants), followed by Botswana and Namibia.

However, these push and pull factors are countered by anti-immigrationist sentiments. A survey conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) revealed that 87% of South Africans felt that too many foreigners were being let into the country (Crush: 2001:13). In 2002 a township outside of Cape Town went as far as passing a resolution to expel foreigners and prohibiting their return (Landau, 2004a:6-7). The movement of foreigners to the new 'racially inclusive' society was paradoxically countered by the exclusion of black African immigrants.

Generally, national surveys illustrate that South Africans share an aversion towards black African immigrants, and believe that this particular group of immigrants impact negatively on the country's economy. In spite of all that divides South Africans, there seems to be a general agreement regarding immigrants and immigration. Across all racial, social and economic groupings in the country there is a general consensus that immigration is undesirable (Crush, 2001:27; 2008: 19; Crush & Dodson, 2007:442; Nyamnjoh, 2006:13; Reitzes, 1998b:1; Valji, 2003: Section 2).

Reporting violent behaviour expressed by black South Africans towards their black African immigrant counterpart creates an impression that black South Africans are the

most xenophobic racial group in South Africa. However, to construct a better understanding of the phenomenon, there is a need to disassociate violence from xenophobia. Xenophobia does not necessarily manifest into violent behaviour. SAMP studies suggest that since the 1990's whites have shown higher xenophobic tendencies than any other racial group in South Africa, only surpassed by coloureds in the 2006 survey. A SAMP survey concluded that, anti-foreigner attitudes are intense amongst whites as well, where 76% opposed the granting of amnesty to all foreigners compared to 55% blacks, 82% supported the call for foreigners to carry their identification card compared to 68% blacks (Crush, 2001: 15, 16; Crush, 2008:34; Landau, 2008:8). Therefore, in South Africa, black South Africans cannot be isolated and regarded as more xenophobic than other racial groups. Violence can however be seen as a way such sentiments are expressed.

There seems to be a tendency to define xenophobic practices of whites as racism. For example; in 2000 a video recording was released to the press of six white police officers torturing alleged 'illegal' Mozambicans with police dogs (Crush, 2001:7). Crush and Dobson (2007:446) further emphasized that attention focused primarily on the racist rather than the xenophobic aspect of the event, given the country's racist history it is understandable. However, the act of exclusion grounded on individuals' national identity should be addressed across all categories of the South African population. The collective aversion towards black African immigrants that cuts across such indicators as age, education level, gender, economic status and race coincides with a general preference for immigrants from Europe and North America (Crush, 2001:18; Maharaj, 2004:7; Valji. 2003: Section 5). Mattes *et al*. (1999:12) argue that both white and black South Africans would not support an immigration policy that would favour black African immigrants over Europeans and North Americans.

In spite of the political transition from 'authoritarian rule' to a constitutional democracy that is supposed to protect all people, prejudice and violence continue to characterize the new South Africa (Steinberg, 2005:2). New forms of discriminatory practices and new victims have emerged and one such victim is the foreigner (primarily African). The rise in the level of xenophobia that largely targets black African immigrants is one of the characteristics of post-Apartheid South African

society. Reitzes and Bam (2000) illustrate the changing patterns of inclusion and exclusion based on research in Winterveld conducted in 1996. They conclude that negative perceptions of South Africans towards Mozambican residents in the area arose with the transition from Apartheid. Prior to 1994 inclusion in the community was based on a sense of belonging and loyalty to the community. Integration was so pronounced that Mozambicans were able to participate in political activities in the community. After 1994 the conception of belonging changed, and national identity became a basis for drawing boundaries thereby excluding Mozambicans.

Neocosmos (2006a: 72) and Nyamnjoh (2006: 15) argue white immigrants are treated as an exception, therefore, generally excluded from xenophobic ordeals. Although white foreigners are not immune from hostility, their presence does not illicit the kind of panic and hostility that the presence of black African immigrants and refugees illicit (Crush, 2001:28). The former Premier of Gauteng Tokyo Sexuale conceded that white immigrants are often perceived as positive contributors to South African society, and black African immigrants are often perceived as parasites, criminals and carriers of diseases such as HIV and AIDS. Therefore, "No action is taken against illegal immigrants from Europe" (quoted in Reitzes, 1995:9). Moreover, Crush (2000:105) argues that South Africans have become extremely intolerant towards black African immigrants, and this feeling has become pervasive and is growing in intensity and seriousness. These anti-foreigner sentiments are also prevalent at state level.

2.5.1 The exclusive character of the state and immigration policy

The immigration policy of post-Apartheid South Africa has changed significantly, from the Immigration Regulation Act of 1913 to the Aliens Control Act of 1991 and finally to the Immigration Act (IA) of 2002 amended in 2004. The 'racially selective' immigration policies of the past have been abandoned. However, ironically, this resulted in the rise of adverse views about immigration in general (Crush, 2000:109; 2001; Crush & McDonalds, 2001:4; Peberdy & Crush, 1998:20, 30). Peberdy (2001:15) and Valji (2003: Section 4) argue that, the shift towards inclusive citizenship in the new South Africa, has led to an increasingly exclusive "restrictionist immigration policy", whereby the mobility of black African immigrants in particular have been cause for concern.

The Aliens Control Act of 1991 passed during the transition phase, and amended in 1995 governed immigration into South Africa until the Immigration Act of 2002, amended in 2004, came into effect (Crush & Dobson, 2007:436). Crush and McDonald (2001:8) argue that one of the most distinguishing features of the Aliens Control Act of 1991 was the emphasis on control and exclusion. This act reflected the state's intention to control its borders. It was further built on numerous policies and practices that were introduced over a number of years that were enforced to control the movement of black people into the Republic (Crush & McDonald, 2001:3; Maharaj, 2004:3; Peberdy & Crush, 1998: 30). Peberdy (2001:16) refers to the approach of the state in border and inland policing as "draconian", which involved documented cases of human rights abuse. The exclusion that results from the reconfiguration of boundaries of belonging rest on conceptions of citizenship rights and what Wimmer (1997:32) refers to as "the collective goods of the state".

The presence of foreigners is a concern for the state and South Africans in general and is reflected in discourse. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) argues that, xenophobia is institutionalized and entrenched in various government departments. The 'anti-immigrationist' character of state discourse is reflected in practices of state officials towards foreign nationals. There is a new 'restrictionism' regarding immigration policy in South Africa, which rests on the issues of numbers, based on the belief that a 'flood' of foreigners from the rest of Africa have entered the country. As was illustrated earlier in this chapter, the methodology used to arrive at these statistics is questionable (Crush, 1999a:128; Landau, 2008:2; SAHRC, 2004:31).

Immigration and migration are perceived to be a problem and threat to be contained rather than an opportunity to be managed. The discourse now outlines black African immigrants as a problem adding to the difficulties of the country such as: unemployment, undercutting wages, increasing criminal activities, increasing housing shortages, straining social services delivery and spreading health treats like HIV and Aids (Reitzes, 1995:6).

The Department of Home Affairs has, for example, put forward the opinion that due to the high unemployment rate in the country, South African citizens and permanent residents should at all times be given preference in the job market (Crush & Tshitereke, 2001:49). Such a statement suggests that it is rather difficult for foreigners without permanent residence status or citizenship to get employment in South Africa. It creates the pre-condition for exclusion, whereby skilled immigrants that can make a positive contribution to the society are excluded.

Under Buthelezi as minister, the Department of Home Affairs entrenched an informal policy that restricted those foreigners categorized as unskilled and semi-skilled access to the labour market. Subsequently, pressure was placed on employers to give employment preferences to South Africans. Many companies new to the country have complained of the difficulties of getting permits for staff from overseas (Crush & Dodson, 2007:440). In fact, the Department of Home Affairs was regarded by authors such as Ellies (2006:87) as "a bastion of anti-immigration sentiments" and accused by the then chairmen of the SAHRC, Barney Pityana, of "allowing rabid xenophobia" (Valji, 2003: Section 3). The emphasis has been on the restriction of foreign labour into the labour market, irrespective of the skill shortage that the country faces.

The Alien Control Act of 1991, as amended in 1995, explicitly prohibited issuing of work or immigrant permits to foreigners wishing to work in the country, in conditions where there were sufficient numbers of South Africans to do the job. Consequently, it became increasingly difficult for non-South Africans (including skilled migrants and immigrants) to legally access the South African labour market. When the new Immigration Act of 2002 amended in 2004 came into effect transcending the 'anti-immigrationist' discourse of the Alien Control Act of 1991, its skills based selection became the best criteria (Crush, 1999b:6; Crush & Dodson, 2007:441). However, immigrant selection criteria, which may be based on productivity, class, wealth and skills of potential immigrants, veil entrenched ideas in a selection process that is fuelled by negative stereotypes of non-nationals and their place of origin. The control of the kinds of immigrants and migrants that enter the country confirms precisely this, whereby unwelcoming attitudes towards immigrants have been

particularly directed at those from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the rest of Africa (Peberdy, 2001:17).

Peberdy (2001:24), further states that even though barriers of mobility have been raised to all applicants, the restrictions and regulations are directed primarily at individuals from the rest of Africa who are perceived to threaten the collective good of the nation. The restrictions and regulation of foreigners have trickled down to government departments and society at large. The tendency is to increase surveillance and policing strategies at the state and societal level. The Department of Home Affairs called on other state departments such as health care and education as well as municipalities to refuse to provide services to undocumented and other category of immigrants (Crush, 2001:9; Peberdy, 2001:21). According to Crush (1999b:8) the first minister of Home Affairs (Buthelezi, 1994) in post Apartheid South Africa called on the South African public to report undocumented migrants to his department and/or the police and those who followed suit were monetarily rewarded for complying (Reitzes, 1995:12).

2.5.2 Implications of xenophobic sentiments when policing South Africa

When policing South Africa is left to members of society it usually results in violent action against those defined as 'illegal', and creates the conditions where frustrations can be directed at immigrants who do not fall under that category. According to Reitzes (1995:12) South Africans do not make a distinction between refugees, legal immigrants and illegal immigrants. Therefore, innocent individuals can fall victim to xenophobia on account of their assumed illegality, or simply foreignness. The consequence has been the destruction of houses and property of immigrants, attacks on immigrants and the marching of suspected illegal immigrants to local police stations demanding their immediate removal (Croucher, 1998:646).

The claim that black African immigrants are responsible for social ills, especially related to crime and taking jobs from South Africans, is widespread within the national discourse. These perceptions create the condition where these immigrants are scapegoated for failures of promises made during the struggle for democracy. In an attempt to explore the veracity of this perception, Zuberi and Sibanda (2004)

studied data on how immigrants fare in the job market compared to black South African nationals in post-Apartheid South Africa. They conclude that immigrants have odds of employment that are significantly higher than South African born blacks. Similarly Crush (1999a:129) contends that immigrants have a slightly lower unemployment rate than the national average. This may serve to account for the perception within South Africa that "foreigners take our jobs". If immigrants fare better in the job market where black South Africans are facing unemployment, xenophobic tendencies may germinate. Consequently, immigrants are perceived as a threat to the social and economic fabric of the nation. In this view they are perceived as competitors for scarce resources and accused of preventing the transition to a more inclusive political economy in South Africa. Zuberi and Sibanda (2004:1486) suggest this may be the cause for the antagonism against immigrants by South Africans.

Zuberi and Sibanda's (2004) research draws a picture that assumes that immigrants are taking up jobs that could be allocated to South Africans, and because South Africans could occupy the jobs that are taken by immigrants, this could be a source for tensions between the two. However, they do not take their time to analyze specific sectors of the labour market to better interrogate the assumption that foreigners are competing for scarce resources. A more comprehensive analysis may suggest that foreigners (especially those in the skilled section of the labour market) are filling the gaps from the skill shortages that are present in the existing labour market (Crush & Dodson, 2007:440).

In the Sunday Times (13 August 2006:9) Ntshingila, for example, identified huge gaps in certain sectors of employment in the South African labour market. Furthermore, Ntshingila notes that in the information technology sector 7 500 more individuals with the necessary skills were needed immediately. According to the article it was estimated that a further 35 000 teachers and 5 000 engineers were needed by 2008. Information provided by Ntshingila sheds some light on the need to engage in context specific inquiry into different sectors within the labour market where foreigners and South Africans are applying for jobs. These facts appear to be widely ignored in public discourse, and conclusions like those presented by Zuberi and Sibanda are taken as given, hence, fuelling acts of discrimination. A point to emphasize is that, anti-foreigner sentiments cannot be reduced to competition for jobs,

as Wimmer (1997:21) illustrates, even in times of high employment manifest xenophobia is still possible (to be further discussed in chapter 3).

However, these perceptions create the conditions where vigilante mob justice justified by unqualified stereotypes is increasingly occurring in the country. This is worsened where these negative views about migrants and immigrants are also held by the police, whereby their relations with those deemed to be illegal often involve violence, abuse and ill-treatment (Nyamnjoh, 2006:45). According to Valji (2003: Section 3) the police, like ordinary South Africans, tend to associate African foreignness with criminality, hence, making little distinction between illegal and legal immigrants. According to Masuku (2006:19) in the past five years the South African Police Service (SAPS) has frequently targeted illegal aliens for arrest. Furthermore, the perception of members of the SAPS regarding immigrants is disturbing. Negative sentiments about immigrants and migrants show some degree of consistency across the different ranks and racial groups. A study conducted by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) in 2004 on the transformation of the SAPS in the Johannesburg policing area illustrates precisely this. The study concluded that 87.1% of members of the SAPS agreed that illegal immigrants' are involved in crime. There were no differences between the rank-and-file and more senior members of the force (Masuku, 2006:22).

Due to the stereotypical manner in which illegal immigrants are identified, some South Africans are misidentified as foreign, for example: having a darker skin complexion (Kihato, 2007:268; Valji, 2003: Section 3). According to estimates 30% of individuals arrested on assumption of being illegal are in fact South Africans. Moreover, the SAHRC discovered that one in five of those assumed to be illegal aliens at the Lindela Repatriation Centre are South Africans who could not produce their documents at the time of arrest (Masuku, 2006:23). Furthermore, in the March 2008 xenophobic violent outbreaks, it was estimated that at least 21 of the people killed were South African nationals (Pambazuka New 13 June 2008).

Nonetheless, possessing the right documentation is no guarantee against persecution from the police. Cases where arrested foreigners have been prevented from providing documentation and instances where valid identity documents have been destroyed by

the police, in order for the police to justify arrests have been reported (Landau & Monson, 2008: 330; Masuku, 2006:22). Such practices have led Steinberg (2005:20) to conclude that "South African identity documents are sometimes not worth the paper they are printed on".

According to Crush (1999a:127), popular and official perceptions, rarely distinguish between various categories of immigrants and they tend to classify immigrants in all encompassing categories such as 'illegal aliens', illegal immigrants' or simply 'illegal'. The perception that illegal immigrants/migrants take South African's jobs, spread disease and engage in criminal activity make them targets. Cases of outright police brutality towards immigrants alleged to be illegal have been reported. Harris (2001:38) refers to a case where a man who was trying to run from the police because he did not have his legal papers, was caught and beaten to death. Landau and Mason (2008:330) list a case where a man from the Sierra Leone was administered shock by police officers in a holding cell.

2.6 The black African immigrant population in South Africa

As Western countries have tightened immigration requirements, South Africa has become an alternative destination for many Africans. Reasons for immigrating to South Africa from the rest of Africa generally are; lack of job opportunity in the country of origin, the desire to pursue studies in South Africa, and fear of political persecution at home. Poverty, depressed economies and socio-political crises in the country of origin are push factors, whilst higher salaries, better working conditions and better living conditions in South Africa are pull factors (Adepuju, 2202:3; Morris, 1998:1120).

I have suggested that migration trends to South Africa can be categorized and placed within two specific time frames, pre-1994 and post-1994. In the pre-1994 era immigration/migration patterns from the rest of Africa into South Africa could be distinguished in terms of education and skills. Adepoju (2003:7) argues that, migration from West Africa comprised primarily of highly educated and highly skilled individuals, who migrated to the Bantustans. This varied significantly from the unskilled labour lured from Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Malawi and

Mozambique to work on the mines and farms in the pre- 1994 period, a trend that changed significantly in the post-1994 era.

Those, that Morris (1998:1121) refers to as the "first wave immigrants", were mostly, male, young, single and from a middle class background. They either came to South Africa by choice or due to work related opportunities (Mohale, 2004:45). According to Steinberg (2005:26) 47% of the Congolese migrants to South Africa had a tertiary education and 20% were skilled professionals.

In the period leading to 1994, the prospects of a booming economy and a democratically elected government transformed immigration trends to South Africa. It opened what Adepoju (2002:6) refers to as "a floodgate for immigration". Highly skilled professionals from West Africa and neighbouring countries continued to immigrate to South Africa to meet demands in the labour market. In the period between 1994 and 2004, Zimbabwe contributed the highest number of skilled migrants into South Africa, but outside the region Nigeria was the highest contributor. However, in the post-1994 period, some of the professionals were unable to be incorporated into the professions that they were employed in their home country. Therefore, some have endeavoured into some kind of self-employment activity such as street vending, cutting hair, washing and cleaning cars (Adepoju, 2003: 17; Oucho, 2007: 5; Steinberg, 2005:26).

The post-1994 period saw changes in the migration patterns to the country from regions where previously the immigration of skilled professionals had dominated. When the alleged "floodgates" opened unskilled immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers all entered into the migration stream. If regional flows are considered, in contemporary times, the immigration of 'non-professionals' to South Africa seem to be more pervasive across the board. In the period between 1 January 1994 and 30 April 1997, an estimate of 2862 Nigerians had applied for political asylum (Morris, 1998:1119).

The influx of migrants to South Africa concomitantly affected perceptions amongst South Africans towards black African immigrants. Social interactions between South Africans and black African immigrants have become extremely antagonistic.

2.7 Experiences of black African immigrants

This section considers experiences of black African immigrants in South Africa with regard to xenophobia. The section will attempt to outline factors that influence the susceptibility to discrimination, through an illustration of the differences in experience of professionals and non-professionals.

Sinclair (1999:469) argues that in South Africa hostility is a common experience faced by immigrants. Although Crush (2000:116) argues that not all immigrants (even black Africans) are victims of hostility, he suggests that hostility towards black African immigrants is pervasive. The literature portrays an image of immigrants, especially Africans who are black, as being exposed to immense prejudice and discrimination from South Africans.

Two general types of individuals are outlined: on the one hand you have the 'unskilled immigrant/migrant' (often considered to be illegal) and on the other hand you have the skilled immigrant/migrant (although limited in numbers) with an assumed legal status. The skilled are those who are employed in the formal sector, however, this may not reflect the reality on the ground. As was illustrated in the previous section, there are professionals that have been integrated into the 'informal economy'. Nonetheless, those professionals that are employed in the formal economy are for the most part in well-paying jobs and are most likely to be living in the low density suburbs (Morris, 1998:1117). In other words their daily life in South Africa is less harsh than their inner city or township counterparts. Nonetheless they are still subject to varying degrees of prejudice and discrimination.

Literature tends to suggest that the status of being professional lessens prejudice and discrimination immigrants in South Africa face (Mattes, at el, 2000b:25). A survey conducted almost a decade ago by Mattes, at el. (2000b:27-29) of highly skilled immigrants registered high levels of contentment with their personal economic conditions in South Africa, including access to health care, quality schooling and the cost of living. Skilled immigrants are optimistic about their personal future in South Africa, and only a small portion sampled feel that their co-workers or others in their profession have negative attitudes towards non-South Africans.

The less skilled black African immigrants, who do not enjoy the same 'privileges' and benefits as their skilled counterparts, speak of a completely different experience in South Africa. Morris (1998:1117) states that nobody has looked specifically at the Nigerians, although they face some of the most malicious racism directed at them by South Africans who are black. The emphasis on black South Africans may be due to spatial and contact elements. It may be the case that low income groups are more likely to share spaces and come into regular contact with black South Africans due to the racialised division of wealth in the country. Hence, they are more likely to complain about black rather than white South Africans. The discrimination experienced by Nigerian nationals is informed by a national discourse that is influenced by the negative image that is associated with being a Nigerian. The negative image of this category of immigrants is illustrated by Captain Giocomo Bondesio of the South African Police Services Alien Investigation Unit who stated that:

"Nigerians do not come to South Africa for political reasons or to work, and that 90 percent who applied for section 41 permits-which grants temporary residence to political asylum applicants, were drug dealers…and most Nigerians are involved in illicit activities" (Morris, 1998:1120).

Consequently, Morris' study suggests that Nigerians perceive themselves as being unfairly discriminated against in a racist xenophobic fashion by predominately black South Africans. As a result, this has generated anger, surprise and anguish, particularly from Nigerians, especially since they feel that they make a contribution to the South African economy. The stereotyping of black African immigrants is not limited to Nigerians but extends across the board to Somalis, Mozambicans, and Zimbabweans to mention a few. These sentiments of xenophobia are not limited to discourse. They often result into acts of violence by South Africans towards immigrants/migrants (primarily Africans).

2.7.1 Consequences of xenophobia

Similar to the Nigerians, Africans from various nationalities are subjected to discrimination and cruelty in the country. The following events were perpetrated by black South Africans, which involved violence and destruction of property. However, as suggested earlier violence should be separated from xenophobia, to avoid racially

deterministic accounts of the phenomenon. The cases outlined below are a form that expressions of discontentment towards the presence of immigrants may take.

In a squatter settlement in the Witwatersrand, Gauteng Zimbabwean nationals were attacked and killed by methods of 'necklacing'[2] by South Africans. These xenophobic incidents cut across geographical landscapes affecting most parts of the country. In Zandspruit informal settlements outside of Johannesburg more 'illegal' immigrants from Zimbabwe were under siege. 74 homes were burnt and more looted. In Joe Slovo 70 Angolans were forced to flee the area, and in the Kwanobuhle townships in Port Elizabeth thousand of rioters attacked Somali owned shops, looted homes and a mosque (Kellett, 2002:1; Pauw & Petrus, 2003:175). In more recent occurrences, the events leading to the xenophobic violence of May 2008, illustrate the experiences lower class immigrants who dwell in the townships and informal settlements have to endure. The Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) (2008:26) reported on some of the events that culminated into the May 2008 xenophobic outbreaks in Gauteng Province:

"Mooiplaas, December 2007. Minor clashes between South Africans and Zimbabwean nationals led to retaliatory attacks resulting in over 100 shacks being burned".

"Soshanguve. January 2008. Attacks started after four non-nationals allegedly broke into a spazashop owned by a local trader. Residents apprehended the suspects and allegedelly burnt one of the suspects to death. After this incident, residents called for foreigners to leave. Shacks were burnt and shops belonging to non-nationals looted. Many non-nationals fled the area"

"Laudium. February 2008. At a community meeting in the informal settlement of Itireleng some members [South Africans] encouraged residents to chase non-nationals out of the area. Violent clashes took place. Shacks and shops belonging to non-nationals were burnt and others looted."

"Atteridgeville. March 2008. At least seven lives were lost in a series of attacks that took place over a week. The deceased included Zimbabweans, Pakistani and Somali nationals as well as a South African who was mistaken for a foreign national. Approximately 500 people sought refuge elsewhere."

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[2] The act of punishing 'offenders' by placing a tyre around their neck and setting the tyre alight and watching the 'perpetrators' burn to death.

"Mamelodi. April 2008. In a similar pattern to the attacks in Itireleng and Attridgeville, residents of Mamelodi went from house to house attacking non-nationals and setting alight the shops and homes abandoned by non-nationals. This was again violent on a major scale, resulting in large numbers of displaced non-nationals."

The above stated incidences were part of the events that culminated into the May 2008 xenophobic outbreaks. In the Atteridgeville case Pakistanis were also victims to the attacks. However, compared to the scale in which black African immigrants are victimized the numbers are not as substantial. Below are some of the documented incidences of the May 2008 xenophobic outbreaks:

"Black African immigrants in search of a better life in the country were savagely set upon by locals, beaten up, their property looted, raped and murdered. In what became a symbol of shame, a Mozambican man was rounded up by locals in the Rhamaphosa informal settlement, near Johannesburg. They wrapped him in his only possessions, blankets, and set him alight. While he burned, the locals danced, laughed, cheered, and jeered. Burnt beyond recognition, he was transported to his Mozambican village for burial" (Commey, 2008:12).

"The mob attacks this month on foreigners in Attridgeville- everyone from refugees and asylum seekers to South Africans born overseas- left several people dead and a large number of houses looted and burned. Nearly 500 people, including 140 asylum seekers, have been given shelter in a school near the Attridgeville police station. Numerous other foreigners have found refuge with friends and relatives…In many previous instances, the mob violence and looting had been directed specifically against Somalis running local businesses, kwon for their aggressive pricing. The attacks at Attridgeville, though, were indiscriminately against anyone considered foreign" (Redden, 2008).

"37,000 Mozambicans fled xenophobic violence in South Africa during and after the March events. Tens of thousands of other migrants from all over Africa are living in crowded shelters inside South Africa. Officials in Maputo put the number of Mozambicans killed at 23- the violence claimed the lives of over 50 people" (Valy, 2008).

"62 people lost their lives…21 South Africans, 11 Mozambicans, 5 Zimbabweans and 3 Somalis…53 of the deaths occurred in Gauteng" (Pampazuaka News 13 June 2008).

Violence has become common practice when expressing the dislike of foreigners in South Africa. The events are alarmingly similar. There are usually burnings of

people and property, looting of property and more often than it is realized death of black South Africans by these alleged xenophobes. These practices have elicited reciprocity. The antagonism and prejudice experienced by immigrants has resulted in an unfortunate vicious cycle. As a response to the discrimination experienced, they often have the tendency of treating South Africans as the inferior 'other'. Their experiences contribute to the development of strong negative stereotypes of South Africans (Morris, 1998:1127). However, these sentiments of resentment about South Africans does not manifest in the same manner as those of South Africans. This may be do to the 'powerless' position that black African immigrants occupy in relation to South Africans, both at the societal level and the state.

2.8 Bringing class into experiences of xenophobia

To a greater or lesser extent, xenophobia has been implicitly and explicitly linked to those at the margins of society. One can infer from the literature that it is those members of society with low social economic standings that are most likely to be involved in xenophobic attacks. Such an inference can be drawn from studies that mostly focus on asylum seekers, refugees, undocumented migrant and mine workers are considered. This tends to shift the blame for xenophobia on poverty, as well as poverty stricken unemployed nationals with low accounts of cultural capital (Crush, 1999:125; Crush & Pendleton, 2007:64; Crush & Williams, 2005:10; Rydgren, 2003:49; Wimmer, 1997:31; Schuster, 2003:233; Sinclair, 1999:467).

These analyses are problematic when inferences are made that aggregate all immigrants into victims of xenophobia on equal terms. Authors such as Remmenick (2004), Batalova and Lowell (2007), Mattes *et al*. (2000b) and to a lesser extent Morris (1998) have drawn attention to professionals. In order to understand and attempt to address the phenomenon in the South African context it is essential that the black African immigrant is disaggregated and experiences of professionals are considered in a more detailed analysis. The extent and form xenophobia is experienced may vary across different sociological indicators. Therefore, to achieve a more in-depth understanding of the workings of xenophobia, the intersection of nationality and race have to be taken into account, as well as other sociological factors such as class to fully understand the extent and form of xenophobia.

In the literature, race, ethnicity and nationality are overtly identified as factors that contribute to exposure to xenophobia. However, the role that economic positioning plays, as far as the extent and form xenophobia is experienced amongst professionals has been given much less empirical attention. The invisibility of skilled professionals, especially in the South African context, has aided conclusions about this group of immigrants that may not necessarily reflect their experiences. Therefore, this study endeavours to understand the experiences of black African immigrant professionals in South African Society.

2.9 Conclusion

The global mobility of people/labour has heralded discourses and practices of social exclusion that focuses particularly (but not exclusively) on nationality. Across the globe barriers have been raised to impede the free movement of immigrants and migrants seeking alternatives. Common practices have been for states and ordinary citizens to confront these mobile individuals with varying degrees of scepticism about their intentions and concerns for the potential implications of immigrants' presence in their society. Social exclusion is usually driven by stereotyped, ethno-racial assumptions about the immigrants being 'othered' by the local population. The 'other' is often considered inferior to the local population, and viewed as a threat to the growth and development of the nation. As is the case elsewhere in the world, South Africans have become extremely xenophobic towards immigrants from the rest of Africa. The transition to post-Apartheid coincided with the rise of xenophobic sentiments, at least as far as black South Africans are concerned. Amongst white South Africans, the immigration of those who were not defined as "assimilable to the European way of life" was for the most part a point for concern.

These restrictions on the mobility of black African immigrants into South Africa suggest that black African immigrants are unwelcome and have similar experiences in society. Black African immigrants have become subjected to harsh treatment by the state and ordinary South Africans. However, the African immigrant is not a homogeneous group and there is a need to de-aggregate the black African immigrant by assessing how economic positioning enables or contains manifest xenophobia.

Chapter 3

Theoretical perspectives on xenophobia

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the manifestation of xenophobia both globally and locally. This chapter will consider how xenophobia has been theorized in different contexts.

Xenophobia is a contentious issue. Scholars from various disciplines attempt to demystify and explain it. For instance, a 'popular' psychological explanation to xenophobia emphasizes that the phenomenon must be understood as a rational human feeling of fear in the presence of the unknown. Xenophobia is understood by focusing on the individual, and the fears and dislikes that emerge from individuals and groups that are different from one another (Soldatova, 2007:105). Harris (2002:169) argues that, xenophobia must be understood as a socially located phenomenon, rather than an individual one. It requires a sociological explanation. Xenophobia must be approached by looking beyond explanations that place people's attitudes or some form of psychologically oriented drive at the centre of analysis. Sociologists provide a broader social frame of reference by, for instance, taking into account the role of the state and nationalism, in enabling or containing xenophobic sentiments. It is necessary, as noted, that social factors in the broader social and historical context are taken into account in order to develop an understanding of how boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are drawn.

Since this study is grounded in Sociology, this chapter argues for the importance of context when attempting to theorize xenophobia. Contributions of European, African and South African scholars are respectively considered. Framing the theoretical debates in this manner allows the opportunity to associate explanations for the rise of xenophobic sentiments to particular contexts.

3.2 European perspectives on xenophobia

Two broad strands will be considered. The first focuses on the role played by the elite in encouraging the emergence of xenophobia. The second looks at the relationship between the state and society, in particular the role played by state building.

3.2.1 Top-down explanations

Authors such as Shlapentokh (2007) and Rydgren (2003) ascribe the rise in xenophobia in society to the role played by leaders. Attempting to unpack the workings of xenophobia in Europe, they implicitly or explicitly link the matter to the role of political propaganda or the existence of Radical Right-wing political parties with nationalist extremist ideologies embedded in their manifestos.

Shlapentokh (2007:137) links the rise of xenophobia to the elite's manipulations of society. According to Shlapentokh (2007:137), the elite possess instruments of persuasion that influence the general public. Through their control over civil society the political elite have an 'unquestioned' influence on political behaviour. He contends that, in the Russian context, data concurs that anger against the 'other' is not a product of 'spontaneous processes' or the deterioration of material life, but of the elite's propaganda of hatred (See chapter 2). As evidence he points out that whilst standards of living declined between 1992 and 1995 there was an absence of xenophobia. In contrast, under the presidency of Vladimir Putin, in the context of rising living standards in 2005 and 2006 there was a marked increase in xenophobic sentiments (Shlapentok, 2007:139).

He attributes the xenophobic outbreak to the emergence of a nationalist orientation within the Kremlin and Putins' encouragement of "nostalgic feelings" that stimulated hatred towards foreigners. The rise in xenophobic sentiments was unveiled in a national poll conducted in Russian society. A national Poll conducted in 2001 and repeated yearly to 2006 presented findings that suggest the rise of xenophobia in Russian society. In 2001, 40% of those sampled showed a hatred of Georgian nationals, and this figure rose to 45% in 2006. In 2005, 18% of those sampled showed hatred of Ukrainians, and this figure rose to 40% in 2006. Shlapentokh (2007:137) assumes that these changes in attitudes should be understood as a result of a greater political effort to revive nationalism.

Rydgren (2003:49) attempts to provide a more sophisticated explanation for the rise in xenophobia by linking the presence of radical right-wing political parties to certain conditions present in society i.e. socio-cultural and economic cleavage dimensions. Placing France with the National Front and Sweden with the New Democracy at the centre of analysis, Rydgren examines for the conditions under which xenophobic sentiments are most likely to escalate. According to Rydgren (2003:49) the rise in xenophobia should be located within the uncertainties brought forth by the transition from industrial to post-industrial society. Due to prevailing social transformation, those individuals with low amounts of cultural capital have found themselves in positions of social decline and status deprivation that encourage feeling of anxiety and frustration from resulting unemployment. Hence, they are susceptible to political entrepreneurs propagating primordial ideals of belonging and stressing themes of ethno-national identities.

This explanation casts the public as *latent xenophobes*, possessing more or less unarticulated negative prejudiced stereotypes and beliefs about immigrants. Xenophobia becomes *manifest*, when more elaborate beliefs and attitudes that imply a higher level of consciousness emerged, through the intrusion of radical right-wing political parties into political spaces. Rydgren (2003: 47) further argues that, at the manifest level, xenophobia is more likely to be diffused throughout society, because manifest xenophobes are more likely to try and persuade others. However, this may only occur under conditions where the electorate perceive the immigration issue to be more salient than other matters (Rydgren, 2003:49). In this explanation, xenophobia is presented as a quasi-psychological trait of the citizens that is transformed from a latent stage to a manifest stage through the influence of political engineering. Through propaganda the political elite construct and direct stereotypes at the outsider/foreigner.

Rydgren (2003:55) adds sophistication to the argument by claiming that society is distinguished by several historically contingent cleavage dimensions. These cleavage dimensions are based either on social identity or material interest. Contemporary Western European democracies are characterized by two major cleavages i.e. economic cleavage and socio-cultural cleavage dimensions. Depending on the

prevalence of these cleavages, radical right-wing political parties will gain or lose support. Societies dominated by economic cleavage (which places workers against capital, and concerns the degree of state involvement in the economy) are least likely to support radical right-wing political parties. In contrast, where the cultural cleavage dimension is prevalent (where issues such as immigration, law and order and abortion are raised) citizens are more likely to support to radical right-wing political parties. The transition from a latent to manifest xenophobia is located within the prevalence and dynamics of these cleavage dimensions in a given society. Rydgren (2003:55) attributes the quasi-invisibility of xenophobic sentiments in Twentieth century Europe, to the predominance of the economic cleavage dimension in structuring most of the political behaviour.

3.2.2 State building, nationalism and citizenship

Wimmer (1997:17) suggests that the rise in xenophobia has to be understood as a result of a particular relationship between the state and society. First he argues that xenophobia cannot simply be understood as a consequence of competition for scarce material resources such as jobs or housing. History has shown that xenophobic fears of domination do not necessarily increase in times of falling wage income or rising levels of unemployment. For Wimmer (1997:21) it is not real competition in the job market, but rather, the perception of legitimate and illegitimate competition i.e. citizenship rights which is a crucial factor. He suggests that the rise in xenophobia is not necessarily motivated by material interests, at least not as a point of departure.

The point of departure should be the understanding of how the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are drawn around the homogenous conception of the 'imagined community'. The 'imagined community' is a construct of an historical past, reinforced by primordial ideas of what constitutes the nation and who belongs to this nation (Anderson, 1991:11). These ideals further demarcate the boundaries of legitimate and illegitimate competition i.e. only those deemed to be 'indigenous' and part of the nation are entitled to compete for the collective goods of the state. Anderson (1991:7) argues that irrespective of the inequalities and exploitation present in society, those that belong see the nation as "a deep, horizontal comradeship".

Second, xenophobia cannot be understood as resulting from cultural clashes that are caused by movements of migrants across countries and continents, as suggested by Rydren (2003:48). It might have much more to do with the context. If at the level of assimilation emphasis on inclusion is strong, it is more likely that it will result in the integrations of immigrants. In as far as the immigrants are defined as 'belonging' to the national 'we', considerable amount of differences in culture can be overcome, and their integration in society made possible (Wimmer, 1997:23).

Third, he dismisses arguments that emphasize the role of radical right-wing political parties and place elite construction of xenophobia at the centre of analysis. He argues that xenophobia does not result from mere radicalizations of discourses of exclusion and devaluation that are generated and institutionalized by political and administrative elites. The perceptions of social problems can develop independent of those articulated by the national elite. What happens in society cannot just be attributed to the discourses of those holding power to manipulate the terms of inclusion and exclusion. The converse can also be expected. Official's views and policies also react to public sentiments and grass-root protest mobilization (Wimmer, 1997:17, 26).

Using a Weberian approach in his analysis, he locates xenophobia and racism within expressions of ultra-nationalism. He argues that

> "The downwardly mobile groups appeal to the institutionalized and hegemonic image of a national group of solidarity in order to reassure their place in the core of the social fabric" (Wimmer, 1997:19).

They then perceive people outside this 'imagined community of destiny' as competitors for state organized promises of solidarity and security. The argument does make reference to material circumstances, but these material circumstances cannot be understood as the point of departure. The imagined community sets the necessary conditions whereby the boundaries of legitimate and illegitimate competition are drawn i.e. individuals that do not or are not perceived to belong to this imagined community are viewed as illegitimate competitors. They are subjected to exclusion by those deemed insiders.

According to Wimmer (1997:28) xenophobia has to be understood within the process of the rise of nationalism, the development of modern forms of citizenship and the process of state-building. The evolution of modern forms of nation-states develops new relations towards territoriality. Expectations of solidarity are now restricted to these demarcations. Within these new boundaries an 'imagined community of solidarity', the conception of a political community of destiny based on common origin and historical experiences is created along with a real community of interest (Anderson, 1991). United into a new nation, through struggles and contestations, the rights of members of society become institutionalized. Hence, the rights, the participation of citizens and solidarity appears as collective goods of a nation with the state as its guardian. The institutionalization of citizenship becomes a form of social closure (Wimmer, 1997:28). The bureaucracy of the modern state and the bureaucratic process becomes nationalized. The influence of a common language on the construction of the nation creates the condition whereby nationalism becomes the determiner of legitimate rule. The dynastic practices of nations being ruled by outsiders become no longer feasible (Anderson, 1991). Therefore, access to state power, access to services of the new bureaucracy becomes restricted to those who could prove to be part of this 'imagined community of solidarity' (Wimmer, 1997:29).

Wimmer (1997:29) argues that the modern state develops out of a compromise of interest between different social groups where promises of participation and security are exchanged for political loyalty. When these compromises run into difficulty, the social pact between state and society breaks up. At this point, members of society attempt to regenerate the imagined community. Appeals are made to the national community, by the downwardly mobile, with the aim of securing and protecting the rights and privileges of members of the imagined community who the state is supposed to look out for (Wimmer, 1997:30). Those who do not belong to the national majority appear as a threat to the new precarious social union.

The 'others' begin to be viewed by members of this imagined community, as traitors to their own political project. Mobile populations such as *asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants* become targets of xenophobia, because they are seen as preventing the state from fulfilling it 'true task', namely to look after the wellbeing of its own citizens. According to Wimmer (1997:30) the extension of citizenship rights to those

who are not defined as members of the imagined community appears to the downwardly mobile as a scandal. To protect the interest of those who belong to the imagined community action is taken to curtail the movement of immigrants into society.

All members of society do not interpret the crises equally, because social changes in society affect or threaten the prestige of some groups and their social standing more than others. These changes primarily affect the downwardly mobile groups. Consequently, they fall back on xenophobia or racism as a way of ensuring their future due to their extensive dependence on the promise of solidarity organized by the nation-state. He argues that, the territorial dimension of the national community has a special importance to members of society. It is viewed as solidarity among the "familiar ones" who live in locations that become a mini-model of the nation state. The physical presence of foreigners in these social spaces, nurture perceptions of invasion, inundation and existential rivalry at times when the social contract breaks up and promises of a future becomes rare assets (Wimmer, 1997:31).

Therefore, xenophobia has to be seen as an appeal to the pact of solidarity that the state and the national community have entered into, which at times of crises seems fragile especially to those threatened by loss of their social standing (Wimmer, 1997:32). In other words, xenophobia results from a political struggle about who has the right to be cared for by the state or as Wimmer (1997:32) implies "a fight for the collective goods of the state". Xenophobia has to be understood as an integral part of the institutionalization of the modern state. He further argues that xenophobia and ethnic conflict in the South also have to be understood along the lines of a struggle for the collective goods of the state. He acknowledges that the rise of the nation-state had different implications in the South, due to the selective and multiple 'ethnization' of the bureaucracy that lead to wider forms of exclusion. In the South, greater numbers of people are excluded from the imagined and real community of solidarity (Wimmer, 1997:32).

3.2.3 Assessment of European perspectives of xenophobia
Rydgren's (2003) and Shlapentokh's (2007) explanations for the rise in xenophobia have explanatory value in societies where nationalist extremist political parties are

prevalent in political spaces. However, such political parties are absent or not dominant in political spaces in South Africa. Members of the dominant political parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and the labour movement Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), have come forward condemning xenophobic behaviour. The abovementioned institutions and their various representatives have made public their disapproval of xenophobia:

"Xenophobic sentiments evident in parts of South Africa runs against the current of the country's main political traditions, and is in sharp conflict with the strong non-racial culture of the majority of the people…its [the ANC's] broad, outward-looking nationalism reflected both in the humanist tradition of African democratic inclusiveness…the ANC will work to ensure that its structures are equipped to assist immigrants to legalize their stay in South Africa" (ANC policy on xenophobia, 2001- ANC Today, 1 (31)).

"We must continue to be vigilant against any evidence of xenophobia against the African immigrants. It is fundamentally wrong and unacceptable that we should treat people who come to us as friends as though they were enemies. We should also never forget that the same peoples welcomed us to their own countries when many of our citizens had to go into exile as a result of the brutality of the apartheid system" (Letter from President Thabo Mbeki, 2001- ANC Today 1 (18)).

"Cosatu is shocked and disgusted to note that the problem of xenophobia has grown to unacceptable proportions. What angers COSATU even more is that most of the hatred is directed at the migrants of African origin" (COSATU statement on xenophobia, 8 February 2001).

Although these statements suggest the political elite's disapproval of xenophobia. It should be borne in mind that they were made during the *World Conference against Racism, Racial discrimination, Xenophobia and related intolerances*, hosted in South Africa in 2001. The documented practices enacted by the police, officials at the Department of Home Affairs and citizens in general, are a complete contradiction to the sentiments expressed (See chapter 2).

The assumption by Rydgren (2003) and Shlapentokh (2007) that political parties manipulate the citizen's xenophobic sentiments should not be taken as given, because if their presence can stimulate manifest xenophobia then the opposite should also be possible. For example, in South Africa, no political party has emerged that has made

an anti-immigration stance a central feature of their policy (Morris, 1998: 1133). Instead the opposite has been more pronounced. The African National Congress (ANC) the current dominant party in South Africa, the former president of the country Thabo Mbeki, and the dominant labour confederation COSATU have outwardly condemned xenophobia, and yet xenophobic practices are still prevalent in the country.

The above arguments on xenophobia assume that the rise in xenophobia is a result of the influence of political elites, propaganda by the state, the presence of radical right-wing political parties in political spaces (Rydren, 2003; Shlapentokh, 2007). Xenophobia is attributed to manipulation by political elites, the rise of nationalist extremist political parties, and cultural construction of hegemonic groups. No credence is paid to circumstances where xenophobia may manifest itself outside of these forces. There is a need to account for such possibilities in order to understand xenophobia in the absence of the above mentioned situations.

Wimmer's (1997) emphasis, that a struggle over scarce resources, existence of cultural differences and the radicalisation of political discourse towards exclusion of foreigners cannot solely account for the rise in xenophobic sentiments in society, is applicable to the South African context. The context of nationalism and how the 'we' have been negotiated permeates a definition of citizenship that is more inclusive or highly exclusive. In essence illegitimate competition is constructed within the boundaries of nationalism. Those that fall outside the national 'we' are rendered illegitimate competitors. Foreigners represent the other who is illegitimately benefiting from what 'naturally' belongs to the 'we'. In South Africa the aggression fostered by this notion of illegitimate competition is greatly exacerbated by a failure of expected state delivery to its citizenry, and the silence of an alternative politics of peace (In Neocosmos 2006a, to be discussed on a later section of this chapter).

Wimmer's conception of downwardly mobile is not entirely clear. It is difficult to assert whether he is referring to individuals at the lower tiers of society or just any individual experiencing downward mobility. He is limited by his idea of an 'imagined community of destiny' based on common origin and historical experience. The notion of a homogenous nation-state is problematic, even in Europe

3.3 African perspectives of xenophobia

As discussed above, an attempt to unpack the intricacies of xenophobia is not an entirely straightforward endeavour. From the global to the local, scholars have presented various explanations for the cause of the exclusion of foreigners and the forms this exclusion takes. This section describes theoretical explanations for the rise in xenophobia in African context.

3.3.1 Political manipulation, citizenship and competition

Contemporary Africa has been characterized by a growing preoccupation with belonging, which has raised concerns with regard to previous notions of nationality and citizenship (Nyamnjoh, 2006:3). The preoccupation with boundaries has meant the exclusion of the 'other' from citizenship and basic human rights. Hence measures to exclude the foreigner have become widespread and pervasive. However, the rise in xenophobia in its current form in Africa is seen as a consequence of post-colonialism rather than of globalization (Neocosmos, 2006a:10).

Attempts at explaining xenophobia in Africa have tended to explain it as a product of economic factors, as an outcome of struggles for scarce resources, or as merely political (Campbell, 2003:75; Gray, 1998:400; Harris, 2002:171; Toangara, 2001:67). Where politics is taken into account it is limited to state politics that is reminiscent of state manipulation of its constituency.

Understanding xenophobia as an outcome of political manipulation is apparent from the works of Gray (1998:400) and Toungara (2001:67, 68). Gray's work on Gabon suggests that xenophobia must be understood as an outcome of political manipulations of society. The apparent state led xenophobic wave in Gabon is an outcome of governments' implicit/hidden intentions to direct the perceived economic and political crisis at a particular group of people i.e. the foreigner, mostly non-Europeans (Gray, 1998:392). Furthermore, this was evident in the state's support for violent incidents directed at foreigners, which he argues had an effect on the construction of Gabonese citizenship (see below). Locating this increasing wave of xenophobia in Gabon Gray writes:

"Since independence it has been the participation of the Gabonese urban population, in mob violence against foreign African communities that has provided the central ingredient to the formation of Gabonese ideas of citizenship" (Gray, 1998:390)…the 1962 riots are significant in that they establish the pattern of "enterprising African foreigners" as targets for violence and effectively link Gabonese citizenship to such violent acts" (Gray, 1998:394).

According to Gray (1998:393) these ideas and the manner in which these constructs were perceived were sanctioned by the state, implying state promoted xenophobia. As he further quotes a statement by President Bongo in a speech in 1986:

"We cannot go on entrusting our destiny to foreigners, however honest they may be" (Gray, 1998:400).

Toungara's (2001) and Gray's (1998) accounts of the 'politics of belonging' are similar. According to Toungara (2001:66-68), xenophobia in the Ivory Coast was an outcome of a fiercely contested election between Beddie and Ouattara. This demonstrates the effects of political manipulation on the emergence of a xenophobic. In 1995 elections Beddie took refuge in primordial ideas of belonging, in an attempt to secure his presidential victory, by adapting a kind of 'ersatz nationalism' called Ivoirite. The construct eventually received support from the Judiciary, and was used by his government to deny citizenship rights and access to public services to northerners and immigrants (Toungara, 2001:67). On this account, Ouattara, his strongest opponent was ruled out of contestation for the presidency on the grounds that he was not truly Ivorian. By linking Ouattara to Burkinabe identity, Beddie impacted on the rise of xenophobia against foreigners in general and Ouattara in particular (Toungara, 2001:68).

Campbell's (2003:72) work in Botswana attempts to provide an explanation of xenophobia on the basis of a perceived threat to cultural, political, and economic stability of the nation. He locates the rise of xenophobia in the context of post-colonialism and extensive migration into Botswana. In this period, the increasing flow of skilled migrants into Botswana coincided with a clash between local and international skilled elites. In a time where there was a race to localize positions held by non-nationals, rising unemployment, and fears of economic recession, led to the rise in xenophobia resulting from competition (Campbell, 2003: 71). Xenophobic

tension emerged in Botswana as a result of contestation over rights and entitlements between the national elite who were eager to maximize benefits from a 'Westernized economic structure', and non-nationals who are perceived to be the main obstacle for the locals in achieving economic prosperity (Campbell, 2003: 72). The non-nationals were perceived as illegitimate competitors for national resources. Hence, the outcome is an increase in attitude of hostility towards foreigners, who have no legitimacy to compete for the collective goods of the newly inhered state.

3.3.2 Assessing African Explanations

Campbell (2003), Gray (1998) and Toungara (2001) implicitly place the rise of xenophobia within the context of post-colonialism. However, the notion that elite manipulation provides a sufficient explanation for a 'politics of exclusion' must be interrogated. Politics does not merely have to be limited to the realm of the state. It has to be understood as existing beyond the state, and has to be brought into civil society, which sometime operates in conjunction with or in opposition to the state (Neocosmos, 2006a:18). This understanding of politics at the societal level is known as 'popular politics' where citizens are active in formulating an independent popular politics (Neocosmos, 2006b:363; 2008: section 5), where an alternative politics of peace is possible.

It is within the decline of this 'popular politics' in Africa in general and South Africa in particular that the shift to a politics that breeds an exclusive conception of citizenship/belonging has to be understood. Popular politics places people as thinking agents, and not just mere subjects of state 'interpellation'. When politics is reduced to the realm of the state, it 'zombifies' the citizens, and citizens are viewed as recipients of state discourses without any room for struggle or contestation to these 'hegemonic' discourse. Hence, why should people/civil society be passive recipients of state/elite discourses, xenophobic or otherwise? This is what must be engaged when attempting to understand the shift from an inclusive politics to its more 'brutal' exclusive form in Africa. By no means is it being suggested that 'popular politics' necessarily equates to the inclusion of immigrants. However, it is precisely the politics of the 1980's in South Africa, in particular, that was inclusive in this manner. The failure to sustain that 'popular politics' should be considered as a contributing factor to the rise of xenophobes, or to a redefinition of insiders and outsiders within the national

discourse.   As is evident by a statement made by Murphy Morobe the Acting Publicity Secretary of the UDF, in 1987:

> "We in the United Democratic Front are engaged in a national democratic struggle. We say we are engaged in a national struggle for two reasons. Firstly, we are involved in political struggle on a national level, as opposed to a regional or local level. The national struggle involved all sectors of our people-workers (Whether in the factories, unemployed, migrants or rural poor)" (Cited in Neocosmos, 1998:206).

A more recent example of an inclusive form of "politics" came from a statement on xenophobia released by a popular movement based in Durban, Abahlali BaseMjondolo who stated:

> "There is one human race. Our struggle is to put the human being at the centre of society, starting with the worst off. An action can be illegal. A person cannot be illegal. A person is a person wherever they may find themselves. If you live in a settlement you are from that settlement and you are a neighbor and a comrade in that settlement" (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2008).

Here no clear distinctions are made on the bases of nationality or ridged conceptions of citizenship, which suggest a more broadened conception of who the 'we' are by providing a more inclusive alternative discourse.

3.4 Conceptualizing xenophobia in South Africa

Attempts at theorizing xenophobia in the South African context have been more descriptive, focusing on its background, symptoms and indications (Harris, 2002:171).   Harris (2001:170; 2002:67) links these accounts to three hypotheses, which attempt to explain xenophobia in South Africa. She criticizes these hypotheses extensively and provides an alternative way of thinking xenophobia in South African society.

3.4.1 The scapegoating, isolation and bio-cultural hypotheses

First, the *Scapegoating hypothesis* attributes the emergence of xenophobia to processes of transition and social change. Hostility towards foreigners is an outcome of limited resources, and a failure to redistribute resources equitably. Hence, the

hypothesis accounts for xenophobia in terms of broader social and economic factors (Harris, 2002:3).

Great expectations of improving livelihoods were raised by the transition to democracy. A lack of delivery on promises for the provision of housing, education, healthcare and employment disappointed the expectations of the public. This created conditions in which xenophobia could take root and flourish (Harris, 2001:67). The foreigner becomes the target for discrimination, a scapegoat, someone to blame for social ills and personal frustrations, because they come to take what is perceived by locals to rightfully belong to them.

Criticizing the scapegoating hypothesis Harris (2001:68) argues that it does not clarify why the foreigner is singled out and carry the blame for unemployment, poverty and deprivation. There are other minorities in society like Whites and Indians. It further provides no explanation justifying why nationality is the driving force behind such scapegoating (Harris, 2001:68).

Second, *the Isolation hypothesis* attributes the emergence of xenophobia to South Africa's history of seclusion from the international community. Foreigners represent the 'unknown' to South Africans, as a result of isolation from the international community before 1994. Therefore, the interface between foreigners and South Africans is rife with tension. Xenophobia rises because of the very foreignness of foreigners (Harris, 2001:68-69).

The isolation hypothesis fails to provide an explanation for xenophobia in South Africa, because not all foreigners are targeted by xenophobes. The hypothesis is further limited by not acknowledging the migration process into South Africa during Apartheid. As a result of migrant labour, South Africans were exposed to Africans from the region. If xenophobia can be reduced to isolation, at least, people from the region should be excluded. As noted in chapter 2, people from the region have been targeted by South African xenophobes, Mozambicans and Zimbabweans in particular.

Third, the *Bio-cultural hypothesis* provides an explanation for why black African immigrants are the prime target of South African xenophobes. The hypothesis

suggests that xenophobia is located at the level of physical differences or 'otherness'. The physical and cultural differences exhibited by black African immigrants serve as ground for identification and discrimination by South Africans. In spite of acknowledging the differences on the basis of nationality and race, emphasizing physical and cultural appearance, Harris (2001:70) argues that "it does not explain why certain biological and cultural features take on xenophobic significance".

The bio-cultural hypothesis highlights the significance of identifiers in xenophobic actions, because they point out whom to target (Harris, 2002:6). However, it is not clear why black African immigrants should be the group predominately targeted for xenophobia when their white and Asian counterparts also have accents, speak a different language, have a different dress code and have different physical features. She argues that relative to black African immigrants these groups appear to face a lower risk for xenophobic violence (Harris, 2002:174).

Neocosmos (2006a:3-4) suggests that the problem with these accounts is their methodological individualism and fundamentally speculative nature. He asks the question: why should people who are economically deprived decide to scapegoat foreigners? Furthermore, he argues that these hypotheses tell us absolutely nothing about the xenophobic practices of state institutions and their employees towards others whom they define as foreigners in specific circumstances. Hence, the hypotheses do not provide the core of any explanation of xenophobia, because they do not provide an adequate explanation as to why these sentiments and practices are directed towards black Africans immigrants as opposed to their European counterparts (Neocosmos, 2006a:5).

3.4.2 Nationalism and the culture of violence

According to Harris (2001:175) xenophobia has to be understood as a form of racism that culminates from the negative representation of black African immigrants in the media. She states that:

> "The generalization and stereotypes that are commonly offered regarding Africa and African immigrants [in the media] offer insight into the hostility that meet this group" (Harris, 2002:175).

Hence, the hostility grows from the negative representation of black African immigrants throughout South African society, whereby the media, commonly portrays black African immigrants as criminals and social contaminants. Generally, immigrants are presented as a threat to the nation and these threatening and dangerous immigrants are Africans, even though this is rarely stated explicitly in public discourse (Harris, 2001:71).

Theoretically, she links the rise in xenophobia to South Africa's transition from a 'past of racism' to a future of nationalism and South Africa's culture of violence. She suggests that the culture of violence inherited from the past persists in South Africa as a dominant means to solve problems. Therefore, it is within this context of a culture of violence that xenophobia in South Africa must be conceptualized (Harris, 2002:12). Harris (2002:18) understands xenophobia as a form of violence and violence as the norm in South Africa. She implies that this culture of violence is an integral part of the 'New South Africa', and xenophobia operates within this culture of violence to give definition to the new nation, the "New South Africa" and the forms of identity that follow this discourse. Hence, xenophobia can be understood as a central feature of nationalism, and nation building (Harris, 2002:18).

It is not clear why the citizenry should be passive recipients of media influence and state discourses. The whole conception of a culture of violence presented by Harris (2002:180) as an explanation must be interrogated. The liberation struggles across the African continent were violent. This raises the question why this culture of violence was not perpetuated in countries deemed to be less xenophobic like Mozambique. Although numbers of migrants may be something to consider, they tell us nothing about how discourse shapes individuals political consciousness towards inclusion or exclusion of immigrants. It would also make more sense if the outcome of the culture of violence was reflected in relations between blacks and whites because historically, resistance was directed towards a white racist state and not fellow blacks (immigrants or locals).

The reasons for the exclusive character of nationalism, and why it embraces society with minimum resistance should also be taken into consideration. To address this issue it is imperative to look elsewhere beyond mere conceptions of nationalism

provided thus far. It must be interrogated why society has fallen victim to state interpellation that promote the exclusion of foreigners. To arrive at such a conclusion transformation at the societal and state level must be taken into account. The following sections will suggest an alternative means for explaining xenophobia in South Africa.

3.4.3 From an inclusive to an exclusive politics: rethinking xenophobia in South Africa

What is evident from various accounts is a general agreement that black African immigrants are most likely to experience xenophobia (see chapter 2). This raises the question: why are those from, what Nyamnjoh (2006:39) ironically refers to as 'the heart of darkness north of the Limpopo', more inclined to experience xenophobia compared to their European and North American counterparts?

First, Neocosmos (2006a:5) suggests that exclusion based on national identity can be attributed to a discourse that is part of South African nationalism. He goes on to argue that, South Africans of all racial groups share an arrogant political discourse about the 'exceptionalism' of the country on the African continent. The discourse suggests that South Africans view themselves as being somewhere closer to a Southern European and Latin American country, due to its relative level of industrialization and the success of a liberal democratic state (Neocosmos, 2006a:5). In contrast, Africa is viewed as a backward place characterized by primitivism, corruption, authoritarianism, poverty and 'failed states'; therefore its inhabitants wish only to partake of South Africa's' resources and wealth at the expense of its citizens.

Second, combined with these exceptionalist ideologies is what Neocosmos (2006a:5) refers to as 'an out of hand rejection of any notion of group rights'. He suggests that, because of the exclusive nature of the Apartheid state based on group rights, it is maintained that only an individualistic notion of rights can be 'democratic', and anything else is viewed as resembling Apartheid ethno-culturalism (Neocosmos, 2006a:5). Neocosmos (2006a:6) argues that the stress on individualism has meant South African nationalism has exhibited an unfounded antagonism to 'group rights' as a threat to the nation.

This perceived antagonism is related to alleged threats from foreigners. Black African immigrants are the prime targets of xenophobia in South Africa: first, due to negative connotations and second, through a perception of the threat of invasion. As Nyamnjoh (2006:44) put it, this perception of the black African immigrant perpetuates the trends of the 'hierarchy of humanity' inherited from Apartheid South Africa, with whites South Africans at the helm as superior, black South Africans in the middle with some degree of superiority, and the black African immigrant as the inferior. This conception of the black African immigrant is reflected on the national discourse, whereby the shared attitudes of the state, immigration officials, the media and the general public suggest that black African immigrants are collectively unwelcome in South Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2006:39).

At this instance, it is evident that nationalism is an important factor when accounting for xenophobia, but the reasons for nationalism taking this particular form are neither obvious nor natural. Why should exclusion be primarily directed at black African immigrants? Neocosmos (2006a:6) argues that, this presupposes a conception of citizenship based on indigeneity or autochthony, and to understand the politics of indigeneity in South Africa one must transcend an analysis that begins from the states conceptions of the 'nation', of 'migrants', or of 'immigrants' that are taken for granted or 'obvious' in most analyses. What is needed is a "theoretical explanation which is firmly located within the fields of politics".

How do we begin to make theoretical sense out of this whole process? Neocosmos (2006a:18) states that it cannot be exclusively accounted for by state interpellations, or by what other authors discussed earlier on the chapter have tried to argue with reference to competition, scarce resources and social change. It is essential to take into considerations some understanding of 'popular-democratic politics' even in its absence. He further states that, in order to understand xenophobia in Southern African and South Africa; one must take the following theoretical steps or process into consideration.

3.4.4 Theoretical process/steps to understanding xenophobia in South Africa

Neocosmos (2006a:18) argues that the first process/step which should be considered is the political economy:

> "The point of departure must be the political economy, within the context of imperialism and globalized capital (including market divisions, migration with its political and cultural aspects), which provides the conditions for social divisions and fragmentations along certain dimensions and lines/cleavages".

These particular divisions are state sanctioned and provide what he refers to as the 'material condition for the moment of interpellation'. A historical analysis of the political economy, specifically of migrant labour in Southern Africa provides a specific conception of 'the nation' associated with African nationalist discourses in South Africa (Neocosmos, 2006a:19). This is a conception of the nation that is primarily urban and centred on the cities. A consequence of this conception of the nation was the exclusion of the rural areas in the 1980's, the so called 'homelands' and independent TBVC states where migrants emanated from. Currently, 'illegal immigrants' in South Africa are viewed as coming from 'backward rural' areas of the continent or from failed states, ultimately labelled as the impoverished 'other' (Neocosmos, 2006a:19).

The second process/step is the *moment of interpellation*, which takes place as ideology, whereby power and institutions address people as citizens or subjects over time. People in the nation are 'interpellated' by state discourses, which demarcate boundaries of belonging, where people are seen to belong to specific groups. Nationalism, ethnicity, gender and occupational categories are all bases for belonging. He argues that the construction of citizenship by the state as indigeneity/nativity and the prevalence of a passive citizenship at the level of society are also central and important (Neocosmos, 2006a:19). During Apartheid all migrants from the rural areas who came to the city were interpellated as foreigners through the medium of tribal and racial identity, irrespective if they were from South African territory or not (Reitzes & Bam, 2000:84). However, in post-Apartheid South Africa, only those immigrants coming from beyond the borders of South Africa are interpellated as

foreign, whereby it is no longer ethnic identity but national identity which enables access to resources.

The third process/step is the *mediation of politic*. Here he argues that:

> "The power of state interpellation is mediated by experience and politics, meaning that it is not necessarily apprehended/internalized mechanically or automatically" (Neocosmos, 2006a:19).

What must be considered here is the level and presence/absence of politics in society and community. He refers to this as 'popular prescription'. It affects on the character of political identity and consciousness. National political identity is also constructed from below, within the realms of civil society and beyond, which at times works in opposition to or in conjunction with the state.

Therefore, the prevalence of xenophobia in South Africa has to be understood as an effect of a particular form of state politics: a politics that reduces citizenship to indigeneity and to a politically passive conception of citizenship (Neocosmos, 2006a:20). This hegemonic mode of politics is secured due to the failure to sustain an alternative mode of politics, a popular-democratic politics, which stressed the centrality of political agency and inclusiveness in the construction of South African citizenship. Therefore, the existence or absence of xenophobia must be understood within the changing configuration of politics, from a period of popular struggle (national democratic revolution), to a state led process of nation-building, from the 1990' to the present (Neocosmos, 2006a:20). He suggests that, the unbanning of national political movements, which were legitimized by the people and seen as their voices, resulted in the collapse of popular prescriptive politics, as popular organizations were gradually but clearly and irreversibly depoliticized through linkages to state subjectivity (Neocosmos, 2006a:20).

Neocosmos (1998:211) argues that all 'mass formations' (black South Africans in general) reached a general consensus once the ANC was unbanned; it alone was concerned with 'national politics'. Furthermore, pre-1990 is characterised by active citizenship and post-1990 by passive citizenship. Notions of who is defined as an

outsider as well as relations between state interpellation and popular prescription changed. He further argues that the absence of popular prescriptions in politics today, due to their collapse since the end of Apartheid in the early 1990's, is what largely enables the existence of various forms of xenophobia as directed against both foreigners and ethnic minorities (Neocosmos, 2006a:21).

When studying xenophobia in South Africa, Neocosmos (2006a) provides a clear and comprehensive conceptual understanding of how we should begin to think about it. Nonetheless, a shortcoming is evident in his work that places his argument amongst the ranks of the previous authors stated in this chapter. He fails to dehomogenize the black African immigrant. The black African immigrant is not a homogeneous group. There are lines of differentiation along nationality and class, for instance, which may influence the extent and form of xenophobic like discrimination. It is of immense importance that on an aggregate level cognizance is taken of the importance of the role of nationality and race as congruent factors of the complexities of xenophobia in South Africa and elsewhere.

However, it is also essential to try and understand the intricacies of the phenomenon across class lines within targeted groups, to try to conceive a more nuanced understanding of the workings of xenophobia. Nonetheless, Neocosmos provides a general comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. He sets a solid point of departure for this complex engagement; where a further step can be taken to contribute towards enriching knowledge around the complexities of this 'politics of exclusion'. The point now is to transcend this generality and 'problematise' the 'politics of exclusion' in South Africa, by looking at particularities when one speaks of xenophobia. One such endeavour is to investigate xenophobia, within the black African immigrant category, across class lines, and attempt to understand the role class plays in shaping the extent and form xenophobia may take.

3.5 Conclusion

Nationalism seems to underlie explanations for the rise in xenophobia. The understanding of xenophobic notions of boundary creation should indeed start at the level of nationalism, at least as far as understanding how individuals are interpellated by the state as citizens and subjects. How this process takes form determines notions

of legitimate and illegitimate competition. However, the internalization of ideology is neither natural nor automatic. Inclusion and exclusion are not exclusively determined by the prevailing discourse, at least as far as the agency of people living and constructing their ordinary lives is concerned. A passive citizenship may prevail in relation to the state, but expression of what Neocosmos refers to as a 'politics of peace' towards foreigner is possible in the way people live their lives. At this point there may be individuals who have internalized this exclusive conception of citizenship and others who have not. Therefore, at least as far as society is concerned, the potential for experiencing xenophobia is contingent upon the South African immigrants one comes into contact with.

The xenophobes are likely to use bio-cultural differences to identify the undesirable 'other'. Once the other has been identified they are subsequently singled out for discrimination. Immigrants that come into contact with South Africans that have adopted a more flexible approach to citizenship or who are sensitive to the presence of foreigners may live their lives not having faced xenophobic discrimination. However, they are aware of the discrimination that prevails in the broader society.

Chapter 4

Methodology:

a small scale study of black African immigrant professionals living and working in Gauteng, South Africa

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters situated this research within a socio-historical context and provided a theoretical underpinning for the research. This chapter outlines the methodological underpinnings of the research. The qualitative inquiry employed a snowballing technique as the participant selection strategy and a face to face, semi-structured interview as a means for data collection. This chapter also discusses political and ethical considerations of the research as well as how data haven been analysed.

4.2 A qualitative study

The study applied a qualitative methodology to its inquiry. The endeavour entailed the understanding of individuals' experiences from their own point of view, which required an in-depth description of these experiences from their perspective. A qualitative approach was applied instead of a more quantitative approach due to the very nature of the implied assumptions of a quantitative paradigm, which emphasise quantification, measurability and replicability. The aim of this study was to access a more descriptive understanding of the participants lived experiences and perceptions of South African society. A qualitative approach seemed more appropriate for reasons that will be discussed below.

A qualitative approach has broadly been defined in opposition to the positivist oriented quantitative approach. Hoepfl (1997: 48) argues that qualitative research is one where findings are not arrived at by "means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification". Donalek and Saldawisch (2007:354) also argue that qualitative research entails a segmented but systematic exploration of human experience that does not concern statistical interpretation, rather the discovery of

common emergent themes from an in-depth investigation. The focus of the qualitative approach is on 'contextual' research and does not advocate the discovery of universal, law like patterns of human behaviour (as positivist's would suggest). It attempts to understand human behaviour from the perspective of those experiencing it (Kelly, 1999:398).

A qualitative approach is value-laden and subjective (Hoepfl, 1997:60). Those who adhere to qualitative research principles argue that the approach can create a "deeper understanding of social phenomena" than can be achieved through quantitative data collection (Silverman, 2005:32). This is because space is available for the researcher to probe the complexities that are embedded in the meanings people give to their social reality. Several authors argue that meaning is derived from an exploration that seeks to understand social events as the participants live it and interpretive research attempts to grasp the participants own perspective. Hence, a qualitative approach is fundamentally concerned with attaining meaning and interpretation from participants' accounts, suggesting that meaning can be derived through "minimizing the interpersonal distance between the researcher and the participant" (Babbie *et al.*, 2001:270; Barnes, 1992:215; Flick, 2007:2; Shinebourne & Adams, 2007:101; Vishnevsky & Beanlands, 2004:234).

Bryman (1988:52) emphasises that in the social sciences action must be examined from the actors' perspective and not the social scientist's. The researcher should attempt to access the meaning people attribute to their experiences in the social world (Muller & Glassner, 2004:126). Therefore, allowing exploration of "social phenomenon and how they are meaningful in everyday life" (Vishnevsky & Beanlands, 2004:234). The interpersonal nature of qualitative research allows the researcher to study an issue in-depth, with openness and detail, hence identifying categories of information that emerge from the data. The approach is inductive in character, meaning that it moves from the participants perspectives to possible wider themes (Donalek & Saldwisch, 2004:354; Durrheim, 1999:43). Its emphasis on exploring the meanings people attribute to events in their everyday life is appropriate for a study that seeks to inquire into peoples' experiences. This study endeavours to query on how xenophobia manifests itself in peoples' everyday life. Therefore, it is essential to get their perspective and the meanings they attach to these experiences.

However, the point is not just to document descriptive accounts of peoples' experiences, but also to provide some interpretation.

A qualitative approach was chosen due to the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions that guide social inquiry. The respective principals informs us on the nature of reality (ontology), the relationship between the inquirer and the known (epistemology) and how knowledge can be gained from the social world (methodology) (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:26; Guba and Lincoln, 1998:201). The ontological assumptions of qualitative research support a non-statistical, non-measurable and non-abstract nature of social inquiry. It implies that reality is socially constructed by social actors and apprehendable through interaction with these actors (Schwandt, 1998: 223). It suggests that the meaningful properties of social reality can be attained through understanding social actors' knowledge, views, interpretations and experiences of the social world. An interpretivist epistemology seems more appropriate for the study.

4.2.1 Interpretivism

Qualitative research accommodates the subjective nature of interpretivism, through its emphasis on the importance of understanding views and meanings people attribute to social phenomenon. However, intepretivists suggest that the interpretation of the social world in accordance to the subjective frame of reference of those being studied is also essential. Therefore, the intention is not simply to describe but also to interpret the experiences of participants in human terms rather than through quantification (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999:123; Rubin & Rubin, 2005:27; Williams, 2002:128).

Interpretivist research emphasises "rich experiental data" as opposed to searching for causality (Durrheim, 1999: 35). Rubin and Rubin (2005: 29) argue that, the interest of the approach is not the discovery of statistically quantifiable measures, but to synthesize diverging understandings that are illuminated through the combination of different individuals' detailed accounts of a particular issue or event. Hence, the emphasis is on the first-person's subjective accounts of their experiences in the real world (Guba & Lincoln, 1998; 223).

The various concepts that emerge from the interview process are left to the researcher's discretion, to shape and reshape in an effort to attain not only description but also interpretation of social phenomenon. This allows the researcher to select aspects of what is being observed is deemed relevant to answer the questions under investigation (Blaikie, 2007:124). Marshall and Rossman (1995:54) suggest that the attainment of data in its interpretivist sense means that the researcher "read" the interview for what he/she thinks is meant, and make inferences from the data "about something outside of the interview interaction itself".

4.3 Research design

The research design implies a shift from the particular paradigm that informs the study to operational decisions (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:29). This research is a small scale study of black African immigrant professionals living and working in Gauteng, with the intent to construct an in-depth understanding of their experiences of the South African society, particularly with regard to experiences of xenophobia. Given that the numbers of black African immigrants residing in Gauteng has increased substantially since 1994 (see chapter 2), it is an appropriate location for undertaking the study.

The research aimed to address the following questions to constructing an understanding of the experiences of black African immigrant professionals: First - Do black African immigrant professionals experience xenophobia? Second - What is the experience of black African immigrant professionals with regards to xenophobia in the South African Society? Third - Does class positioning have an impact on black African immigrants' experiences xenophobia?

The research questions required that the participants lived experiences be told from their own point of view, as they live and interpret them. The support for a subjective understanding of the social world informed the choice for a qualitative methodological tool for participant selection and data collection. As a participant selecting strategy the study implemented the snowball sampling strategies, and a semi-structured interview as a means for selecting and obtaining data from interviewees.

The ontological assumptions of a study that implies a socially constructed world, and an epistemological assumption that implies a look at the subjective nature of social inquiry would require a method of sampling and data collection that are supported by such assumptions. The methodology that is informed by hermeneutical discourses implies that social constructs are in essence individual constructions that can be elicited and refined primarily through interactions between the inquirer and the interviewee. Therefore, the inquiry would entail an inter-subjective approach when eliciting accounts of the participants under investigation. The following sections will outline the method applied for interviewee selection, the participants profile and the tools used for data collection (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:29; Guba & Lincoln, 1998:207)

4.3.1 Method of participant selection: snowball sampling

Sampling implies the selection of data sources for the study, and this selection is bound by the relevant research approach/paradigm applied to the study. Mason (1996:83) refers to sampling as:

> "Principles and procedures used to identify, choose and gain access to relevant units which will be used for data generation by any method".

The study employed the snowball sampling technique, which explored social networks whereby participants to the study facilitated access to other potential participants. The exploration of social networks provided by snowball sampling made it possible to have access to participants to interview. Due to the fact that the sampling strategies of qualitative research are usually a reflection of the diversity within the study population, and it is not so strict on the representation of samples, snowballing appeared an acceptable tool for identifying participants (Johnson & Waterfield, 2004:124). Furthermore, due to the lack of a consolidated sampling frame for the targeted population, snowballing facilitated access to a 'difficult' to reach unit of investigation. Black African immigrant professionals are a group not easily located, not just because of its' relatively "small numbers" (as opposed to other categories of black African immigrants), but because a consolidated sampling frame is not available.

Snowballing makes it possible to study such a "hard to reach" population through the exploration of social networks (Browne, 2005:48). When applying the snowball sampling technique participants can be identified through networks, whereby one participant with certain characteristics can recommend to the researcher other potential participants with similar characteristics, in this particular instance, other black African immigrant professionals. This sampling method assumes that individuals or units of analysis are somehow connected through direct or indirect linkages. It does not necessarily imply that people directly know, interact, or are influenced by every other person in the network, but when analysed as a whole, through direct or indirect links most individuals are interconnected within a web of linkages. The process initiates with one or a few individuals then it expands the sample through linkages in the network, and this was precisely what was employed in this study (Gobo, 2004:449; Neuman, 1997:207).

The links were explored until the networks were exhausted. The exhaustion of networks required some degree of flexibility, where further exploration of other potential avenues that would lead to the identification of additional black African immigrant professionals were utilised. Given that I'm an black African immigrant I decided to explore my network of friends who are foreign and African. None of the people I knew were professionals. However, some individuals were able to direct me to potential participants. Therefore, I was able to build on additional networks.

A qualitative approach does not hold strict limitation on sample size. It does not emphasise large samples. Rather it suggests that the sample should generate depth instead of breadth using a relatively small numbers of participants (Durrheim, 1999:45; Hoepfl, 1997: 50; Johnson & Waterfield, 2004: 124). The main focus was the identification of black African immigrant professionals irrespective of their gender and nationality. The choice for selecting black African immigrant professionals is informed by the objectives of the study, which aims to understand experiences of professionals with regard to xenophobia. There were no set parameters for particular professions, because their professional status is the point of analysis. Initially the study aimed at interviewing between 12 and 20 participants. Through the networks that I was able to develop using snowballing, I was able to interview 14 black African immigrant professionals.

Table 2: Profile of participants

Pseudonym	Nationality	Gender	Age	Profession
Tawanda	Zimbabwean	Female	30	Medical researcher
Kimo	DRC	Male	46	Gynaecologist
Kathy	Zimbabwean	Female	38	Medical doctor: General Practitioner
Michael	Sudanese	Male	40	Medical doctor: Clinician
Kimani	Kenyan	Male	38	Medical doctor: General Practitioner
John	Ugandan	Male	53	Medical doctor: General Practitioner
Kiongo	Kenyan	Male	46	Engineer
Ivan	Ivorian	Male	29	Computer scientist
Tatenda	Zimbabwean	Female	40	Economist
Fraser	Zimbabwean	Male	59	Mathematician
Farai	Zimbabwean	Male	34	Engineer
Pamela	Kenyan	Female	45	Mathematician
Alan	Nigerian	Male	55	Dentist
Gordon	Zimbabwean	Male	56	Historian

The sample was predominately male; this may reflect the gender patterns of immigration where males have greater tendencies to immigrate. There were four females and ten males, respectively. Zimbabweans constituted the largest part of the

sample and this can be attributed to the influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa in recent times. The following section outlines the profile of the interviewees.

4.3.2 Profile of the target population

The table 2 above presents a simplified version of the interviewees' profile (see appendix 1 for more detail). It provides the number of participants in the study, pseudonyms, nationality, gender, age and their respective professions.

There were six participants from Zimbabwe, three from Kenya, and respectively one from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Sudan. Seven participants work in the medical profession, six are academics at tertiary institutions and one is a practicing engineer. Eleven participants are employed in the public sector, two participants are employed in the private sector and one participant is employed in both the public and private sector. The participants age range from twenty nine to fifty years of age. The participants' duration of stay in South Africa from the date of the interview range from six months to twenty years, with the mean year of stay at seven point four years. Four of the participants are naturalised South Africans (but still often regarded by South Africans as foreigners, hence their inclusion), five have permanent residence permits and five have work permits.

4.3.3 Process of data collection

The study applied a method for data collection that would facilitate the gathering of peoples' experiences of the social world. Muller and Glassner (2004:137) argue that the qualitative (semi-structured) interview is particularly advantageous when collecting data for a rigorous examination of the social world. The interview enables the researcher to gather participant's experiences and their attributed meanings of social reality

4.3.3.1 Semi-structured interview

The most appropriate data collecting strategy for the study proved to be a semi-structured, face-to-face interview, because the face-to-face interview allows the participants to speak about their lived experiences and the researcher to capture their subjective views of the social world (Rapley, 2004:15).

Advocates of qualitative interview suggest that it is a good tool for gathering data of peoples' experiences, and presents the most comprehensive way of generating representations of interviewees' accounts (Mason, 1996:42). The methodological assumptions of qualitative interview rest on the presumption that it is possible to inquire into elements of the social world through talk and develop knowledge through what people say (Mason, 2002:225). Kvale (2007:1) simply posits the question: "If you want to know how people understand their world and their lives, why not ask them?" The qualitative interview may take on various forms i.e. from a completely open ended-interview (where the researcher has a topic and allows the participant to openly discuss on the topic under investigation), to a semi-structured interview (where the researcher approaches the interview process with an interview schedule which comprise of a set of guidelines or issues, questions to be addressed in the interviewing process). The semi-structured interview was chosen because it allows the provision of parameters to guide the interviewing process. It is less time consuming and allows the research to take place with limited amounts of funds.

The study adopted a semi-structured, face-to-face individual interview format. In the semi-structured interview the researcher has 'some' degree of structure in regards to the selection of issues that are relevant to address the research question(s). Predetermined set of questions, topics or issues (see Appendix 2) provided such structure to the interview process. However, participants were allowed to take the interview in a different direction. This flexibility permitted the generation of new insights that would have been omitted from a quantitative survey study. It also allowed the opportunity for the researcher to probe, and get more detail/depth from the participant's responses (Anon, n.d:3; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:126, 130). The choice of a semi-structured interview was informed by its stated assumptions. Kvale (2007:1, 10) argue that a semi-structured interview is:

> "an interview with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the social world of the interviewees with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomenon…[and] attempt to understand themes of the lived daily world from the subjects own perspective"

This implies that the subjective views of the participant's social world can be uncovered during the interviewing process. Due to time constraints and the

unavailability of a consolidated sampling frame of black African immigrant professionals, a semi-structured, face-to-face interview proved more appropriate for the study. Due to the possibility that participants would be scattered in different workplaces an observational study was not considered. Some populations are simply not available for large scale or observational studies, therefore the method of asking people questions face-to-face on a one-on-one basis, about their experiences seems to be a more appropriate strategy (Anon, n.d:329).

4.3.3.2 Key questions

The current study held the understanding of individuals' experiences as the research's focal point. The aim was to get the interviewees to discuss how they experienced South African society, with specific attention paid to acts of inclusion and exclusion by South Africans. I went to the field with a pre-constructed interview schedule. The interview schedule was structured to assess experiences of xenophobia in four distinct spaces in South African society. The literature on xenophobia illuminated four areas of concern that were deemed relevant for examination i.e. the participants general experiences since they arrived in South Africa, experiences in the workplace, experiences in the community where they live and experiences with state institutions. The participants were given room to elaborate on their experiences, and I probed and asked follow-up questions where it was necessary. Most interviews were conducted at the participants' workplace. However, one was conducted at the interviewees' home and one in my office. Nine of the interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and five were recorded using a tape recorder. The interviews were conducted in private with minimal interruption.

4.3.3.3 Negotiating access

A point of concern in qualitative research is that the researcher acknowledges or is aware of his role in the interviewing process, also referred to as *reflexivity*. The underlining assumption of reflexivity is that within the research process our beliefs, backgrounds and feelings are part of the process of knowledge construction. The researcher must be aware of certain aspects of his character that he brings to the interview, such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, which may influence the research process. A possible advantage identified in the research process, with regards to reflexivity, was that my status as a African migrant may have facilitated

access and the trust needed for the participants to elaborate openly about their experiences (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:141).

Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006:136) argue that, a strategy often used by researcher is to explore characteristics that may be similar between the researcher and the respondents that may assist in developing an insider status, that will help in attaining access and obtaining cooperation. The individuals that participated in the study are all educated (at least at tertiary level), therefore claimed to understand the importance of research. Both my position as an black African immigrant and a student researcher undertaking research may have facilitated both access and cooperation from the interviewees. If a South African were to conduct the study, it may have been a challenge for him/her to get the interviewees to open up and discuss their experiences freely. The interviewees were aware of the xenophobia that manifests across South African society and the aversion and resentment that South Africans share towards black African immigrants. Therefore, they may have been reluctant to fully open up to a South African 'national'.

4.4 Data analysis

The data analysis phase of the research is where the researcher attempts to bring order and meaning to the data collected (Marshall & Rossman, 1995:111). The process involves an attempt to transform the raw interview data into what Rubin and Rubin (2005:201) refer to as "evidence-based interpretation". The analysis entailed the search for recurring general statement and underlining themes. Each theme was represented by extracts that provided the most rich and in-depth description of the theme. Furthermore, this concurs with what has also been stated by Rubin and Rubin (2005:202) that qualitative analysis does not entail the provision of numeric summaries as would be done in a quantitative study, but the discovery of variations, the construction of meaning and the examination of complexities in the data. This was applied through a systematic reflection on the complexity of human experiences by reporting social phenomenon in the words of those being researched. It required the application of an inductive analysis, which involves the discovery of patterns, themes and categories by interacting with the data (Patton, 2006:453).

Interaction with and immersion in the data allowed findings to emerge as categories and themes. Patton (2006: 452) refers to this process as thematic analysis, which involves pattern recognition, where the ability to recognize patterns out of seemingly "random information" is essential. Marshall and Rossman (2006:156) argue that qualitative analysis generally involve the following procedures: the organisation of data, immersion in the data to develop a thorough familiarity with the data, the generation of categories and themes, coding the data and offering interpretation.

In order to describe and interpret data that have been collected in the field it is necessary that the data is coded and classified (Patton, 2002:465). To ensure systematic coding and classification, the interviews were recorded through an audio cassette and digital recorder transcribed verbatim and printed for analyses. The transcripts were coded manually, with the aim of identifying patterns of the participants' experiences in South African society.

Gibbs (2007:38) emphasises that, coding is a process of indexing and categorizing the text with the aim of developing a framework of thematic ideas. The transcripts were analysed throughout the interviewing process. The themes were developed through clustering patterns of participants' experiences together, in a manner that enabled the research question to be addressed.   The research questions are:

Do black African immigrant professionals experience xenophobia?

What is the experience of black African immigrant professionals with regards to xenophobia in South African society?

Does class positioning have an impact on black African immigrant's experience of xenophobia?

Some themes derived from questions pre-set on the interview schedule, and other themes emerged from the interviewing process and immersion in the data.

4.5 Themes in the research

Throughout the analysis eight themes were identified, that can construct a comprehensive understanding of what the experiences of black African immigrant professionals in South Africa may entail.

4.5.1 Themes emanating from questions in the interview schedule

The construction of the interview schedule was informed by exiting literature on issues related to xenophobia. The following two themes were identified as appropriate to construct an understanding of interviewee's experiences:

Theme 1

Social interaction with South Africans was developed by combining interviewee's responses to a question that asked them to describe their general experiences with South Africans. The question posed to the interviewees was: How would you describe your relationship with South Africans since your have arrived in the country? The question was asked in order to get an understanding of what the general experience of black African immigrant professionals have been.

Theme 2

Black African immigrants as the unwelcome 'other' emerged from a question set in the interview schedule that required the participants to describe how they perceive their treatment by South Africans in relation to other immigrants from outside of the African continent, Europeans and North Americans in particular. The question posed was: Regarding foreigners of other races and non-Africans, do you feel that you are treated with the same degree of fairness in the workplace? The theme shows how interviewees perceive their inferior position in relation to Western immigrants living and working in South Africa.

4.5.2 Themes that emerged from the data

The following themes emerged from the interviewing process as accounts of interviewee's experiences that were not identified initially when constructing the interview schedule. Also, contribute to the understanding of interviewees' experiences.

Theme 3

Professionals as a privileged class emerged from a culmination of issues that arose during the interviewing process. The theme combined issues that suggested that this group of individuals are part of a privileged group, particularly in relation to their working class, asylum seeking, refugee and marginalised counterparts. The question

required the interviewees to discuss whether they perceive their position as professionals to facilitate or minimize experiences of xenophobia.

Theme 4

Forms of xenophobia experienced, with the sub-themes *Subtle forms of exclusion* and *Overt forms of discrimination* emerged as participants described how they have experienced overt or subtle forms of discrimination. The theme and sub-themes present how xenophobia is perceived and experienced by these professionals. The overt form of exclusion emerged as a sub-theme as a result of clustering experiences of physical or verbal violence such as physical attack and derogatory name calling. The subtle form of exclusion emerged as a result of clustering accounts of experiences that suggest that exclusion take on non-physical violent forms such as avoidance, and the role language (both verbal and non-verbal) play in the process of excluding the 'other'.

Theme 5

Employment of black African immigrant professionals emerged from combining issues raised by participants regarding their experiences when attempting to acquire employment in South Africa. This theme discusses issues related to the difficulties in obtaining employment, and the issues encountered by these immigrants when they are already employed. The interviewees were asked to discuss their encounters with various state institutions, for example: the Department of Home Affairs.

Theme 6

Perceptions of hostile and less hostile spaces emerged as participants' made the distinction between their experiences in different spaces in South African society. This theme was more pronounced with regard to professionals that were employed in the medical profession as they described their experience of working in the rural areas, townships and the inner cities. However, participants in general made a distinction of potentially hostile and less hostile spaces for black African immigrants.

Theme 7

Awareness and Anticipation of discrimination emerged from engagement with the data, where participants appeared to be aware of the hostility towards foreigners that

characterises South African society. The theme is structured around interviewees' knowledge of xenophobic like discrimination and addresses the mechanisms that are used by the interviewees to avoid discrimination by South Africans.

Theme 8

The grey area between racism and xenophobia emerged as a result of accounts not addressed in the initial stage of the interview. The participants referred to having experienced racism as part of their experience in South African society. The theme suggests that participants are not merely subjected to discrimination based on their national identity, but that racial discrimination is also part of their experiences. This theme emerged as a result of clustering together participants accounts of having experienced racism is South Africa. However, perceptions of experiencing racism make it difficult, at the level of analysis, to distinguish between racism and xenophobia. The theme also suggests that the racialized nature of xenophobia makes an independent assessment of each, when considering black African immigrants, rather difficult.

4.6 Political and ethical considerations

In the field of social research, ethical consideration in the research process is of immense importance. Therefore, I ensured that the participants were protected and that no potential harm will befall them. An important ethical aspect of research is to obtain voluntary participation. This is achieved through a process of informed consent. The participants were contacted and asked if they were willing to partake in the research. When they agreed to participate they were approached for a face-to-face interview. Almost all of the black African immigrant professionals that were contacted agreed to be interviewed for the research (Punch, 1998:175).

From those interviewed, Tawanda was the only interviewee that expressed some degree of insecurity about being interviewed. When I pulled out my tape recorder to record the interview she stated: "It's going to be recorded, this is dangerous". However, she said it with a slight smile on her face. After I explained that confidentiality will be assured with regard to keeping her identity hidden she became more relaxed. I spoke to her about my experience of living in Zimbabwe which seemed to establish trust.

Only one individual refused to participate in the research, he appeared insecure about what the research entailed. After informing him about the nature of the research and that confidentiality would be ensured he was still reluctant to participate. Rather, he directed me towards spaces where refugees and asylum seekers are housed, and emphasised that they are the groups that experience xenophobia and not him. The encounter reveals a perception that some professionals may feel that xenophobia is not a part of their daily concerns and they should not be bothered with it, and from this encounter it can be inferred that xenophobia may not be an issue that concerns all black African immigrants. This particular occurrence may be linked to the individual's alleged status that minimises potential encounters with the phenomenon. Therefore, disregarding the matter altogether. Irrespective of the reasons for declining to participate in the study after informed consent was requested, the participant's wish was respected and I proceeded to contact other potential participants (Crow, Wiles, Heath & Charles, 2006:84).

Some potential participants who agreed to participate were not interviewed due to constraints with regard to time, location, and financial cost. As far as time was concerned, most of the individuals that were not interviewed could not allocate adequate time for me to interview them. Especially interviewees in the medical profession (operating a private practice), for them "time is money", literally. For example: when I went to their private practice for the interview there were long queues of people waiting to be attended by the doctor, and at times I would wait up to four hours for the doctor to be free. At the end of the day the doctor would suggest that I come back the following day. This happened several times. Other individuals were not interviewed because they had relocated to other provinces and this study focused on Gauteng.

However, a majority of the individuals contacted to participate, agreed to participate in the interviewing process. What the research entailed was explained fully and they were given the opportunity to withdrawal if they wished to do so. Those individuals that agreed to participate in the research were interviewed. To confirm their volunteered consent participants were asked to sign a consent form, and I signed a written commitment that promised confidentiality (See Appendix 3) (Crow *et al.*,

2006:83). A copy of my signed form was left with each interviewee and copies of their signed consent form were kept with me separate from the transcripts.

To ensure confidentiality the participants were assured that no one other than the researcher and supervisors will hear the recordings (if necessary) and read the transcriptions. They were told that pseudonyms would be used to hide the participants' true identity. No organizations were referred to in the final report, and further measures were taken to ensure the protection of potentially vulnerable participants. Some participants hold high ranking position in their organizations.

I withheld their occupational position because of the likelihood of possible identification. In some instances, the participants concerned are the only black African immigrants employed at their institutions at a senior level. Therefore, mentioning their employment position may compromise confidentiality. As part of the institutional policy of the University, the audio recorded interviews and transcripts will be stored at the University for a period of fifteen years. The researcher adhered to all the ethical requirements of the University of Pretoria throughout the research process.

Chapter 5

Xenophobia:

experiences of black African immigrant professionals living

and working in Gauteng, South Africa

5.1 Contextual background: an introduction

Social exclusion has been a characteristic of the South African state and society. According to Horn (2005:58) ethnic and racial segregation were key elements behind oppression before and during Apartheid. Historically, segregation has been a part of South African society. The demise of Apartheid, with the unbanning of liberation movements and their activists in 1990 and the extension of the universal franchise in 1994, heralded an era which promised equality and prosperity for previously disadvantaged South Africans. Yet this promise was short lived. The failure to deliver on these promises coincided with the influx of foreign nationals into the country in post-Apartheid South Africa. Hence, foreigners became the scapegoate for these failed expectations and discrimination of black African immigrants as a new form of exclusion crystallised. Although immigration of Africans (especially from the region) pre-dates 1994, their presence became increasingly problematic during the post-Apartheid period in South African society (see chapter 2). Antagonism towards black African immigrants became pervasive and more visible, and exclusion became not only drawn racially but also along national lines.

Black African immigrants 'emerged' in social and political spaces as problematic to the nations' well being. Assumptions about the negative impact of their presence in the country became pervasive. These assumptions transformed to rage, leading to attacks on immigrants across the country. In present day South Africa, there are still events of violence and ill treatment of immigrants/migrants documented across the country. Gauteng has had recurring xenophobic outbreaks (see chapter 3), particularly in surrounding urban areas. The manner in which these events are portrayed intrinsically place black African immigrants at the receiving end of these

attacks. Indeed, as shown in chapter 2 and 3, the black African immigrant is not the sole target of xenophobia, rather a primary target. However, it would be misleading to consider black African immigrants as an undifferentiated category, because if their experiences in South Africa are considered certain sociological indicators, such as economic positioning potentially have an impact. To account for the extent to which a higher class position may contain experiences of xenophobia the current study endeavours to investigate the accounts of professionals.

Reitzes (1995) argues that, South Africans indiscriminately categorise the black African immigrant irrespective of their skills and legal status. Black African immigrant professionals are placed amongst those that have been defined as problematic to the South African economy and society by the state and ordinary South Africans (ILO, 1998:27).

Regardless of the imagery of South Africa being overwhelmed by foreigners, the movement of black African immigrant professionals into the country is substantially smaller compared to the movement of undocumented and document immigrants that are predominately employed in non-professional jobs such as the mining and agricultural sector. Some of these immigrants, however, may have held professional posts in their country of origin (ILO, 1998:27).

The South African labour market is facing a skills shortage, which is in part due to the exodus of skills from the country to the West. Nonetheless, the shortage of professionals and other categories of highly skilled workers have lured immigrant professionals, not just from the African continent but also from Eastern Europe, North America, and the Far East to take opportunities of the gaps in the labour market (Bailey, 2003:235; ILO, 1998:18).

The interviewees in this study are part of a group of skilled black African immigrants that migrated into the country. They arrived either before the demise of the Apartheid state or during the formation of the post-Apartheid state. The period of stay in the country varied from 6 months to 20 years from the date of the interview (see appendix 1 for participants' profiles). All of the participants are employed and practiced within their respective area of expertise in the private and or public sector. Interaction with

South Africans, at least at their place of work was evident. The participants that are employed in the public sector shared spaces with other South Africans. Medical doctors employed in the public sector interact with South Africans both as colleagues and on a doctor to patient basis. They work in an environment that consisted mostly of South Africans, although there were cases are Western European doctors are employed in the same institution. Their interaction with black African immigrants and other foreign doctors working in public hospitals are limited. Hence, their networks are limited as well. On the day of the interview, the participants were not aware of any other black African immigrant colleague working in the same institution.

In the private sector there appears to be more opportunity to limit interaction with South Africans. Doctors operated their own private practice, Kimo and John, share a section of a private hospital floor with two other black African immigrant doctors. Most of the interaction in their day-to-day practice in the private sector is with patients. They attend to both foreign and South African patients. In terms of numbers South African patients are the largest group seeking their services. Therefore, even if their interaction is limited with South African colleagues, they still interact with South African patients. Nonetheless, doctors in the private sector are required to work in the public sector before venturing into the private sector (see Chapter 3); therefore, they have some experiences of working with and interacting with South Africans at that level.

One other participant that works in the private sector is an engineer named Fara. He is employed in a predominantly white environment. He is the only foreigner working in that establishment, and is in regular contact with South Africans in his place of work. He is a qualified engineer in his country of origin and continues to practice his profession in South Africa. The remaining participants are employed at tertiary institutions. They also continue to practice their profession in South Africa. The environment that they work in is mainly constituted of South Africans, and at times one or two other black African immigrants are employed in the same place. With the exception of Kimani, who had been in the country for only six month from the date of the interview, all the participants stay in formally white middle class low-density suburbs. Kimani stays in an apartment provided to him by the hospital where he worked in close proximity to the hospital. His stay in this location is influenced by

his length of stay in the country, and he desires to relocate to the low density suburbs. The interviewees are not residing in the townships or rural areas. They live in areas that are predominately occupied by white residents.

5.2 Social interaction with South Africans

Interviewees' accounts of their experiences living in South Africa described both fortune and misfortune. Some interviewees described their experiences with South Africans as satisfactory and others as antagonistic. Crush (2001:24) reporting on a South African Migration Project (SAMP) survey drew a similar conclusion. Not all immigrants have experienced anti-foreigner type hostility or discrimination in the country. Twelve interviewees referred to their experiences with South Africans as satisfactory. Gordon, Michael and Fraser voiced their experiences of living in South Africa as follows:

"Ahh I have had no problems at all, especially professionally. I have been in this department for five years and when I came I was accepted by everybody. I mean to show that I have never really was made to feel an outsider. Um but I don't know much about the ordinary people out there [other foreign Africans]. I don't interact with them [South Africans] that much…Yah outside my workplace I mean it is really sort of you know, it is people that you know from work and interact with. And I don't really have much contact with local South Africans" (Gordon, Zimbabwean, Male, Historian).

"You know as it is a working relationship, I don't think there is any personal aspect to it, maybe outside. Except for a very few. In the workplace yes it is fine, it's good actually. I'm treated very well. When I'm doing my work I don't have problems in my work environment… there are maybe few people which I have friendship relations. I mean personalized relations, it's very hard here. It is not really easy in this setting. But work relationships as colleagues it is good" (Michael, Sudanese, Male, Medical doctor: clinician).

"I haven't interacted with many South Africans beyond you know workplace and you know and things like that. Um so not too many ha social interactions as such. Um so um I, in that limited interactions you know on the whole satisfactory... . Um. We don't have any, we don't really have any [South African] friends that we socialise with, you know visit each other and that sort of thing" (Fraser, Zimbabwean, Male, Mathematician).

The interviewees in the above extracts reported that their experience in South Africa has been satisfactory. However, they have stated that they do not have close

interactions with South Africans in the broader society. Their relationships in the workplace are described as satisfactory but at the same time limited. The limited interaction with South Africans in their place of employment may be due to how personal spaces are organized in the workplace. Fraser and Gordon are academics at tertiary level; their office spaces are organized so that contact with colleagues is restricted to the corridors or spaces outside their offices. When they are at work most of their time is spent in their offices. Contact with colleagues requires some degree of effort, either by going to their colleagues' offices or their colleagues coming to their offices. The demanding nature of academic work may also not permit that constant interaction. Michael a medical professional working in a public hospital, as well reported that his interaction in the workplace is limited. It can be suggested that the way public hospitals are overflowing with patients can minimize the time to socially interact with colleagues in the workplace. However, interviewees reported that at instances where there is interaction with colleagues they are satisfactory. Outside of the workplace interaction with South Africans are limited.

Interacting with South Africans on a personal basis seems to be limited amongst the participants. However, one interviewee who mentioned having some personal relationship with South Africans outside the work environment described it as satisfactory. Kathy, a medical doctor from Zimbabwe, although describing her interaction with South Africans as limited, also stated that the South African networks she has are quite favourable:

"I don't know, there is not much interaction with my neighbors. You know, I know my neighbors we greet each other hi hi, but we don't get to be with each other. They mind their business and I mind my own. And I'm the only black around there. So I don't (Laughter) know what they think about me. But if there is like a break in we do chat about it. If they need anything approved they come and ask for permission just like any other, but I don't know how they feel, you know…unfortunately my colleagues that I speak to they live in low densities [suburbs], you know it is different. The interaction they get from the community it is kind of different. Because where we live it is more like you mind you own business. Really the people that you interact with, they are your friends. So you would say. I have a South African friend, very close, my best friend is South African here. So obviously she treats me well (laughter). She lives where I stay… Actually my child goes to one of the schools, and I was given the phone numbers of a colleague who was staying in my area. She is also from South Africa, she is a South African we get along very well. If I saw them at the

community picnic there we are more like very good colleagues. If she have got a problem with the kid I go and fetch her child, you know kind of transport arrangement. You know, it is good, we can phone each other anytime for anything." (Kathy, Zimbabwean, Female, Medical doctor: general practitioner).

Kathy, like Gordon, Michael and Frazer stated that she does not have much interaction with South Africans. However, where she was able to develop network of friends the relationships are satisfactory. She was able to develop some degree of social capital through these networks of friends. A degree of trust and reciprocity is evident in her relationship with her South African friend i.e. they pick each others children up from school. Her experience suggests that when there is contact between South Africans and black African immigrants there are possibilities for inclusion.

One interviewee, Alan a dentist from Nigeria, presented an account that lay on the other side of the experiences outlined above, and seems to stand as the exception. He reports of negative experiences of living in South Africa and interacting with South Africans. He stated as follows:

"Um I relate more to everyone, but with black South Africans you tend to have the notion that, first the questions why are you here? That is usually the question. It comes from every South African. Okay so as soon as they see a stranger or a strange face, the first question will be where do you come from? The second question will be why did you come here? And the third question is when are you going back? And this comes mainly from the black people, mainly from the black people… Um first it will be curiosity and then it turns into anger and eventually it boils into the derogatory terms [Makwerekwere]. So um you hear it in the taxis. You hear it in the pubs. You hear it in the supermarket. As soon as you are picked out as foreign, then you can either have an interest on where you come from or you can have a tongue lashing for you to go back to your country. And that has been there since 91'" (Alan, Nigerian, Male, Dentist).

Alan reported a rather negative experience with South Africans. He perceives South African blacks as particularly negative towards foreigners compared to other racial groups in the country. The perceptions that he developed from encounters with black South Africans is an unwelcoming one, whereby South Africans want him to leave. He feels that his foreignness is visible; therefore, increasing his vulnerability to abuse anywhere he goes.

To attempt some understanding of the complex nature of the interviewees' accounts I will rely extensively on the work of Neocosmos (2006a). The point of departure is nationalism and how the state and power interpellates members of society as citizens and subjects. The definition of citizenship based on an 'arbitrary notion of indigeneity'[3] has fostered conceptions of the 'we' that are entitled to citizenship rights and the 'other' who should be restricted from accessing these rights. Such discourse has prevailed and shapes both the political and social consciousness of South Africans in general. However, such a discourse that excludes foreigners is countered by an alternative discourse that suggests a more inclusive understanding of the presence of foreigners in the country.

It can be inferred that, foreigners' experiences of xenophobia or lack thereof is contingent upon the kind of South Africans they come into contact. If black African immigrants come into contact with South Africans who have internalized an exclusive conception of citizenship, they are more likely to experience xenophobia. Neocosmos (2006a:103) argues that some South Africans are more sympathetic and supportive to foreigners and others are just xenophobic. Drawing from this insight it is possible to suggest that interviewees' experiences are subject to how citizenship and citizenship rights are defined by the state and internalized by members of society. The depiction of relation with South Africans as 'good' by most interviewees may suggest that the political consciousness that lead to the exclusion of foreigners is not shared by all South Africans.

5.3 Black African immigrants as an unwelcome 'other'

Accounts of the interviewees who attest to having experienced some form of xenophobic 'othering' suggest a restrictive, racially-hierarchical construction of boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. The intersection of race and nationality or broadly speaking a 'continental identity'[4] seems to restrict or permit flexibility to notions of inclusion into South African Society. An inclusive flexibility that attempts to transcend ridged, exclusive boundaries of the 'we' seems to favour immigrants

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[3] Indigeneity here refers to the historically defined ethno-racial groups in colonial [apartheid] South Africa such as: Whites, Africans, Indians and Blacks.
[4] Here I refer to the homogenization of people from the rest of Africa.

from Western Europe and North America[5]. Black African immigrants are subjected to inflexible and ridged restrictions, even in instances where they have acquired legal access to the Republic. They are still regarded as the undesirable 'other'. When the interviewees were asked if they perceived any distinctions regarding treatment of other immigrants from other continents and themselves by South Africans, they confirmed such differentiation. Some perceived themselves to be treated as undesirable in relation to immigrants from other continents, especially white immigrants from the West. Tawanda and Farai respectively contend:

"What I don't understand is why in South Africa, when you are coming from the European Union you are more well received, much more well received in South Africa [by South Africans] than when you are coming from Africa. When you are coming from Africa you are seen as creating problems. Whilst even if you are skilled no one cares about your skill. Then, you are creating problem. As someone who is coming from Poland and they have been cleaning floors. As long as their skin color is different, their environment is different from what we experience as Africans. It is easier for me to migrate to Canada than to come to South Africa as a doctor... So, but for somebody who is coming from Europe, whether they are whatever. They [Westerners] are asked sir how many days do you need? At the Department of Home Affairs or the Immigration Department and when I come in they ask me what are you coming to do? What do you want to do? Whatever. They don't care, no one cares whether they have got those skills or not... what I know is that the distinction between the black and the white, whites are treated better. Hence whether they are skilled or not. If you are a white you are seen as an investor, if you are black you are an alien" (Tawanda, Zimbabwean, Female, Medical researcher).

"[At] Home Affairs when you are trying to process your papers, you can see that these people they are not happy, they don't like helping you. They will just do it because it is their job, but the truth is that they are saying bad comments. For example; I was in the office one guy saying 'it is you who coming to our country we don't go to your country, so when you come here listen to what we say', you know something like that. So it means they don't care because it is their country you are foreigner (laughter) so it is not really, yes they just serve you because it is their job" (Farai, Zimbabwean, Male, Engineer).

The interviewee's perceptions of the treatment of black African immigrants as unwelcome may suggest that this discourse of exclusion is institutionalized at the level of the state (Neocosmos, 2006a: v). The negative traits of the unwelcoming

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[5] These groups of immigrants are believed to be white, although non-whites may also be part of this migration process.

discourse are reflected on interviewees' perceptions of relations with South Africans. They perceive that South Africans treat black African immigrants with disdain and Western Europeans and North Americans favourably. Tawanda's reference to the Polish floor cleaner, however unlikely it may be that a Polish floor cleaner will immigrate to South Africa illustrates these perceptions of social relations between South Africans and immigrants. The perception suggest that, irrespective of the qualification of an black African immigrant they are regarded as less welcome to any white individual from Europe, at least at the level of the state. These perceptions are reinforced by the manner in which black African immigrants are treated at the Department of Home Affairs.

In the workplace these perceptions of unwelcome treatment are also evident. The idea that black African immigrants are treated as the unwelcome 'others' is reflected on the interviewees' perceptions of their social relations in the workplace. Tatenda suggests that the skin complexion of an individual in relation to exclusion grounded on national identity does matter in South Africa. She speaks of a hierarchy that places black African immigrants as the unwelcome 'other'. She stated as follows:

"I mean they [South African colleagues] treat Americans differently than they treat Zimbabweans… We are, we I mean Zimbabweans, there is a rank, you can almost put it like that so if you are coming from a Western country you are clearly, they [South Africans] feel, I think they see you as being even better than them. Then it moves down like that at some point they are at par with people, then at certain point these people are [inferior]" (Tatenda, Zimbabwean, Female, Economist).

Alan, who emphasized his experience with black South Africans in particular, as non-satisfactory, also notes that there is a difference in treatment of white European and black African immigrant doctors. He emphasizes that there are instances where black South Africans collaborate with white South African colleagues when it suits them to antagonize the black African immigrant doctors. Such treatment undermines his authority as a senior member of staff. He refers to being subjected to surveillance by his South Africans colleagues:

"They [South Africans] seem to accept them [Westerners] nicely. They don't question what they say most of the time. But when you give them [South Africans] instructions they

question what you have said. I can give instances as well. Like in a hospital situation, and you have got to go to the theatre, they, the black South African dentists, will ensure that the white South African, ha whoever is with you in the theatre, portrays you as not being capable of doing that procedure…. The white person around you will make sure that you are searched out for faults. That is looking out for faults, mistakes. Whether you make a mistake or not. And the black person around you will instigate that more or less, towards that black person. So the black South African when it suits them become antagonistic together with the white South African. When it suits them. That you would get in theatres, in high risk areas. So you can imagine if you have to treat a patient. So you will be searched out, they will look at you scrubbing metal [surgical instruments], they are going to look at the way you do your operation. They are going to look at the way you clean your instruments". (Alan, Nigerian, Male, Dentist).

The scrutiny of Africans from the rest of Africa by South Africans is evident in the account presented above. Seven interviewees reported unwelcome treatment by South Africans that do not necessarily apply to their European and North American counterparts. The rest of the interviewees could not comment due to lack of experiences that involved European and North American immigrants. Some interviewees' perceive that South Africans disregard black African immigrant professionals irrespective of their professional qualifications. The boundaries of exclusion and inclusion are drawn around notions of individuals' pigmentation with white immigrants viewed as positive contributors to the social fabric and black African immigrants viewed as potential deviants and incompetent.

These stereotypes, real or not, have an effect on the perception of the hierarchical order of acceptance, with Europeans or foreigners that are white perceived as superior in comparison to their black African immigrant counterparts. The perception of the interviewees is that both white and black South Africans alike share similar views of the black African immigrant as unwelcome. The notion of black African immigrants as the unwelcome 'other' is also reflected in practices of state officials. When processing of documentation is required, tougher measures appear to be taken against black African immigrants compared to their European or North American counterparts who are often white. The interviewees perceive that being a white immigrant facilitates 'inclusion' into South African society by both ordinary South Africans and state officials, irrespective of the non-racialism enshrined in the South African constitution.

Authors such as Neocosmos (2006a:41, 43), Leilde (2004:208, 212) and Vale (2002:8-9) have suggested that the exclusive, xenophobic expressions are linked to the country's assumed exceptionalism to the rest of Africa. The discourse constructs South Africa as an island of prosperity in Africa, and individuals from the rest of Africa wish to come and reap the benefits of the new South Africa. These black African immigrants are perceived to emanate from failed states (in comparison to South Africa's success in establishing a constitutional democratic state, in principal). Combined with an African pessimism this constructs a notion of South African superiority towards people from the rest of Africa. The 'othering' of Africans emanate from this sense of superiority. The exceptionalism discourse that view the rest of Africa as inherently inferior to South Africa can translate into condescension and a disassociation from identifying with the continent.

The sense of superiority over black African immigrants can be located in distinctions between the prevailing politics of the period pre-1994 and post-1994, at least as far as black South Africans were concerned[6]. The politics of the struggle did not contain elements of exclusivity in regards to those Africans from the rest of the continent (see Chapter 2). The transition to post-Apartheid South Africa heralded a shift in political consciousness that suggests more negative inclinations and social, economic and political disassociation from the rest of the continent. These transformed political orientations create conditions where antagonism can develop between black African immigrants and nationals, irrespective of their class positioning. The interviewees' accounts suggest that these shared beliefs are pervasive in South African society.

5.4 Professionals as a privileged class

To varying degrees black African immigrant professionals that are employed in their respective areas of training can be understood as an advantaged 'category'. In contrast to their working class, refugee, asylum seeker and marginalized counterparts, their experiences of violent and non-violent forms of exclusion seems to be less harsh and less frequent. The preceding themes suggest that experiences of xenophobia are contingent upon the kind of South African they come into contact. This can result in

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[6] The exceptionalism discourse was already pervasive amongst whites South Africans during Apartheid (see Lazarus, 2004: 206).

either positive or negative experiences. The interviewees' accounts suggest that at the professional level satisfactory experiences are the norm rather than the exception. John, a medical doctor operating in the private sector stated that he has not experienced xenophobia. It can be inferred that his status in the workplace and privileged position create the conditions whereby hostility is minimized:

"Um personally its been generally okay. Um maybe my type of work as a doctor, um I wouldn't say that I have been treated unfairly because I'm black. I have not met the type of xenophobia that other people sometimes complain about, nah... Fine. I have had a good time with nurses. I would presume if they appreciate the work that you do, in other words, you treat your patients well, you relate well with them, I don't think they would have an alternative either then to react properly to you, yah. So I think its been what you give you happen to get back. Almost a complimentary reply. So it is mainly that, I have been relating well with patients or with staff, those staff there, Yah" (John, Ugandan, Male, Medical doctor: general practitioner).

With regard to workplace relations, interviewees attribute the satisfactory relations with South Africans to the level of what was termed 'professionalism'. 'Professional ethics' may contain manifest xenophobia and limit the extent to which potential xenophobes can express themselves freely. They state that at a professional level it is difficult for sentiments filled with derogation to be directed at them by their South African colleagues. Even though interviewees may view that South Africans perceive black African immigrants as the undesirable 'other', this seems to be less so at their workplace. Furthermore, when asked about matters related to promotion in the workplace, Fraser and Kathy stated as follows:

"Yah, that's absolutely superb with everyone. I mean I haven't had reason to complain against anyone. And thank goodness I don't think anyone has complained against me professionally (laughter)...[when it comes to promotions] Yah, I'm not aware of any preferences, any discrimination um against me um on matters of that nature there. There are guidelines that are stipulated in the conditions of service of what is that one has to do to get promoted. And so far as I know I haven't been promoted because I haven't fulfilled them [requirements], yah" (Fraser, Zimbabwean, Male, Mathematician).

"I think it is the public [non-professionals], it is the public in general. Professionals you know, I think it is kind of difficult for people to say dirty things to you as you are colleagues. But I have heard it from the public in general, the public. It happens you know when you are

in the streets and people shouting you have taken my labour. I think people are actually happy because we are usually short staffed so if there are doctors, people are happy with more doctors…I would be unfair to say that, to say that foreigners, for as long as you are in the public hospital it is the same, if there is a post advertised to apply they call you. All the interviews that I have been called to apply they called me for the interview. And I think that if you just good to them they will take you. Like I'm saying it is difficult in our profession for them to do that [discriminate] because there are not so many doctors in the public sector (laughter). So they try to grab as much as they can." (Kathy, Zimbabwean, Female, Medical doctor: general practitioner).

At the level of the state, where there are departments that are notorious for being anti-foreigner (see chapter 2), most of the interviewees did not mention discrimination as part of their experience. Although the police have a record for harassing and unlawfully detaining black African immigrants, no interviewee reported such an experience. Those interviewees that have had contact with South African police did not speak of experiencing discrimination. On the contrary, some even went to the extent of referring to the police and the Department of Home Affairs as fine, as Fraser indicates:

"Ha the um lets talk about the Home office. Um every visit that I made there in connection with my first of all my work permit and later on with my application for permanent residence, I, you know, I didn't have any unusual problems. Um there always are queues that's there for everyone, I don't remember being singled out in terms of treatment, um being singled out um for abuse or anything like that with the officials there. Um I guess it is true that in some stage in one or two of the cases I went there with a University official from the faculty, maybe that was a factor I couldn't tell you. Um so on the whole you know, no I have no complaints ah you know with regard to being you know abused, being singled out and abused um as an African, as a black person. None that I can remember of. The police, um again you know maybe this is just me being lucky, I have not had any problems with them. I have been stopped maybe just once possibly twice on the road for example. Um they wanted to see, in those, at that times I was driving a Zimbabwe registered car, the early days. They wanted to see if the papers were in order. Um they were in order of course so that was that. I mean in the whole engagement there was no um there wasn't any hostile, um there was no hostility in the part of the officer. I don't know what would have happened if the papers were not in order, but that didn't happen anyway. So yah and I have also visited the police station, um once or twice maybe a little more. Um Again the treatment was completely fair. um one time in fact both times I was going there um for you know for them to act as, what you call this, when some officer vouches to says that a copy that has been made is a faithful copy of the

original. So, again there is always a queue of people asking for that, and I was treated normal no worst, no better than anybody else" (Fraser, Zimbabwean, Male, Mathematician).

Kiongo, an associate professor from Kenya was fortunate enough to have the Department of Home Affairs call him when his papers were ready. Furthermore, on an encounter with the police he claims that they were not "nasty" to him, implying the absence of negativity with regard to treatment:

"I will tell you that I'm very very fortunate, because my work permit, to apply they told me that it was going to take 6 weeks and in less than 6 weeks I had my documents with me. I have been very very fortunate. But I know of people who have had very nasty experiences. So you know, probably my experience is not the, what is the word there, I cannot say that it is the experience of everybody else. But when it comes to state institutions I have been very very lucky you know in that respect. Because you know all my documents that I applied, I got them and they said come in three weeks and three weeks it is ready. And sometimes they call me and they tell me your document is ready. So I have been very very lucky, but I know of people who have had very nasty experiences... Umm, [the police] no. It is just the normal thing, people stop you. When you are driving they want to see your driver's license. Of course, I would not say because they are the police, there is always the first thing when people see that you are black they first think that you will be able to speak one of their languages, and it takes them [black police officers] aback when they realize that you are not able to do so. So that is the order of the day, but none of those people have been nasty to me. It is just doing something without fast reflex that we thought that you should speak one of the languages, now they realize that you are not able to do so. I have not had any nasty experiences with the police no" (Kiongo, Kenyan, Male, Engineer).

Pamela further illustrates that the networks and support structures that were made available to her by the University may have contributed to her not experiencing discrimination at the Department of Home Affairs:

"Um, Home Affairs. I think mine was easy because ah I got a letter, a support letter from the University of X and so it was very easy. It took me one year to get the permanent residence. So I didn't push it. So I didn't have a bad experience there. The situation is different I know…I think my situation is different than most people, because as an academic you get all the support letters from the University. So that helps smoothen things then you don't have to deal with the officers as such you know. You just do your part, the interview and them the rest just takes its time" (Pamela, Kenyan, Female, Mathematician).

Two interviewees further highlighted the material advantages that professionals have. They suggest that monetary resources can permit access to legal documents through either conventional or unconventional means. They illustrate that professionals have the necessary means to avoid personnel at the Department of Home Affairs, even if it implies financial cost. John contends:

> "No, ah, I never had really to go there [The Department of Home Affairs] so when applying for documents I used attorneys, yah yes so I didn't go there personally. So I use attorneys to go and get those papers, get the documents. So yah I didn't have to go there" (John, Ugandan, Male, Medical doctor: general practitioner).

This illustrates that some professionals have the means to take an 'unconventional route' in order to acquire their work permits. Ivan used what he referred to as "connections"[7] in order to acquire his work permit. He contends:

> "I have heard of things like that [discrimination by officials at the Department of Home Affairs], but I have never really experienced it because ah I had kind of connections, where my work permit and my study permit has been done through connections. People who we just happen to know who have good positions in Home Affairs that we just give, hand them our passport, it will take a lot of money but they will come back with good results. So, I haven't been at Home Affairs as such making queues and waiting for anything. I had connections and, you know I paid a lot of money for my work permit to be done" (Ivan, Ivorian, Male, Computer scientist).

In contrast to the literature that portrays the black African immigrant as victims, professionals have a significantly different experience than their working class, refugee, asylum seeking, and marginalized counterparts. All of the interviewees in the study, with the exception of Alan who suggested that experiences of xenophobia is contingent upon the kind of people one comes into contact with, referred to their experiences in South Africa as generally satisfactory. The encounters with South Africans at state level and society in general were predominantly reported as positive, although some participants presented their case vicariously. The positive outlook of their experiences should be understood as an outcome of the mechanisms that are in place that minimize potential discrimination. One such mechanism is the assistance

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[7] An official that can facilitate the processing of documents often receiving payments.

these professionals receive from their place of employment that facilitates access to legal documentation. Most of the interviewees were assisted by their place of employment, either through the physical presence of a member of their place of employment or through the provision of supporting documentation that limit any suspicion of illegality.

Two interviewees, through the availability of financial resources utilized these to facilitate the acquisition of legal papers. The financial resources were either dispersed through more conventional channels to pay attorneys to proceed with the submission of application for legal papers, or through unconventional channels by bribing employees at the Department of Home Affairs to facilitate the process. In the event that an individual has not been employed/or given a letter of appointment by the prospective employer prior to requesting a work permit they are more likely to seek the unconventional route. To avoid rejection of work permit applications and intransigent bureaucratic processes, individuals may be coerced to take an unconventional route. The Department of Home Affairs has been known for its corrupt practices, therefore, it creates the conditions where resorting to bribery in order to acquire documents is an avenue for those foreigners that may otherwise be excluded. Therefore, professionals have to be understood as individuals with the institutional and/or material means to minimize potentially xenophobic situations. They are fortunate enough to have the necessary documentation made available, or the necessary financial resources to facilitate the acquisition of legal documents. Hence, they are able to avoid the possible negative 'othering' that other black African immigrants are subjected to on a daily basis in South African society.

In the workplace, interviewees perceived their interaction with South African colleagues as professional, and suggested that it is unlikely that professionals would discriminate another professional due to their nationality. This may suggest the prevalence of latent xenophobia or the absence of the political consciousness that is anti-foreigner. Others made reference to the skill shortage in the country, and stated that in professions like medicine individuals are quite satisfied with the fact that there are doctors present. Due to the shortage of doctors, especially in the public sector, people are generally satisfied with the presence of a doctor, irrespective of their nationality. In this regard professionals are indeed privileged.

5.5 Forms of xenophobia experienced

Understanding experiences of black African immigrant professionals may be advanced by considering various forms exclusion. This necessitates a more nuanced analysis of professionals' circumstances to highlight the unwelcome 'othering' of this group of individuals grounded on exclusionist identity politics based on nationality, which single out black African immigrants for discrimination. In popular discourse the black African immigrant has been aggregated and the category has been presented in an all encompassing manner. However, an analysis that de-homogenizes the black African immigrant would suggest that discrimination and/or exclusion are experienced differently by professionals. The analysis suggests that anti-foreigner discrimination towards the black African immigrant professional class occurs in both subtle and overt forms. Subtle forms imply glances, mutterings, distancing and avoidance of people whilst overt include racist name calling and physical violence. A manifestation of subtle forms of discrimination can be unveiled through accounts of interviewees' perceptions on the role language plays at instances of interaction between themselves and South Africans.

5.5.1 Subtle forms of exclusion

The following extracts illustrate the role of 'mother-tongue communication' during moments of interaction between South Africans and black African immigrants, and shows how language can be used to exclude the 'other' Pamela contends:

> "I think that the only thing that I find that is different here, I feel that language acts as a social barrier. People can put you, people here don't care whether you are a South African or you are not. So um but I understand that it is their mother tongue. So it is expected. So most of the time you are cut off. When you are, lets say it happens here you are having a social or some other time when you are getting together, tea-time or whenever. You always feel like you are not part of the group because the majority speak their mother tongue... Its mainly Afrikaans because firstly most people here speak Afrikaans I think. This is an Afrikaans institution, yah. But it is their mother tongue I don't complain…Because, you know I came from an English speaking University. And suddenly I come to another University where I didn't know what Afrikaans was, but now I have learnt a lot. And then it was like wow (laughter), yah it was, really I felt lonely (laughter) yah" (Pamela, Kenyan, Female, Mathematician).

Michael provides a similar example:

"No, not with patients. I think with patients all the time I find myself understanding their conditions. But I cannot understand if a superior or a colleague of mine speaks in any of their languages I cannot understand, knowing that I need to understand what he is saying. Even if you are not directly talking to me [but] to someone else. Like in a meeting so I feel a little bit excluded in that, especially they need to understand that we are in a different position. At the end I will call a nurse or assistant to come and assist me to communicate with the patient. But I could not understand if some of my colleagues or my superior in an academic meeting or in clinical meeting they are talking about so and so patient and then diverge then to speak in his own language, he or she knowingly that I cannot follow up. I think this one point which I have said now I think the difference is with the person showing consideration. But the problem is. I don't have a problem I guess with any language. Anyone is entitled to speak the language they use. But the other think is if there is someone you know cannot follow you, then you need to compromise at least to speak in the language that they know we can be able to follow." (Michael, Sudanese, Male, Medical doctor: clinician).

Here both interviewees refer to the exclusion they have experienced in the workplace where colleagues have conversed in their mother tongue. English is one of the official languages of the country, and the probability is that most immigrants cannot communicate in any local language other than English. However it is evident from interviewees' experience that South Africans persist in communicating in a language other than English in the presence of those interviewed. Hence, making immigrants feel isolated and excluded from the interaction. The inability of immigrants to communicate in any of the South Africa's indigenous languages, as grounds for exclusion, corroborates a study by Warner & Finchilescu (2005:38), which concludes that foreigners feel unwanted in their interaction with South Africans, and language plays a significant role in that experience. The interviewees expressed sentiments of loneliness when in the presence of South Africans. Both Pamela and Michael felt excluded when having to engage South Africans, as they disregard the fact that they are immigrants and cannot communicate in any local language other then English. It was discomforting to the interviewees that professionals would communicating in their mother tongues in a professional environment knowing that some cannot understand the language, for example; in meetings and/or departmental gatherings such as tea-time.

The insistence on the use of 'mother-tongue communication' by professionals that are capable of speaking English in contexts where foreigners are present may give the impression that they are deliberately attempting to exclude the 'other'. Although people have the right to communicate in their mother-tongue, there should be sensitivity to the presence of foreigners especially in contexts such as work meetings. At the level of the general public communication in mother-tongue should be understood differently. A study by Mongwe (2004:176) concluded that just over one-third of the South African population can communicate properly in the English language. On account of these statistics it can be inferred that a lack of dominion of the English language may be a barrier during moments of interaction between foreigners and ordinary South Africans. However, medical doctors when dealing with patients have measures in place to facilitate communication with their patients. The lack of dominion of the English language as a barrier of communication is minimized through the use of interpreters.

A further subtle form of exclusion comes in the form of body language, where non-verbal expressions are used. These modes of expression are perceived by the interviewees as manifestations of dislike towards the presence of a foreigner. Ivan from the Ivory Coast stated as follows:

> "Most of them they [black South Africans] try to hide it, they try their best to behave. Most of them are very hypocritical they trying to. I mean, the best way to avoid xenophobia is to stay away from them you know. But it is impossible to stay away from them. Some of them at work they give a mean eye, you know showing that they are not happy collaborating, being your co-worker" (Ivan, Ivorian, Male, Computer scientist).

Alan also made a similar statement on body language:

> "Let me put it this way. Their [colleagues at the managerial level] behaviour borders on, more with the body language. That is we are not really wanted here. It is not a direct thing. It becomes direct when we go down the ladder [and deal with subordinate staff]. Because they have nothing to lose by confronting you. But with the senior managers, their body language, their attitude tends towards xenophobia" (Alan, Nigerian, Male, Dentist).

Here the interviewees report on the way body language is used to express dislike towards them. As Alan stated, the xenophobia that he experiences is not necessarily expressed in violent or verbal forms. Here xenophobia is understood as a dislike or the unwelcome treatment of foreigners. He emphasizes that the expressions of the dislike of foreigners mostly play themselves out through the use of body language. As Ivan reported, people tend to give him a "mean eye" as a way of expressing their disapproval of the presence of a foreigner.

As stated above, experiences of xenophobic like discrimination may take on various forms. One such form is the subtle nature in which foreign nationals are exposed to such discrimination at the professional level. However, it would be misleading to presume that every negative encounter between foreigners and South Africans can be reduced to acts of xenophobia. Nonetheless, some black African immigrants perceive acts of dislike as xenophobia; therefore, acts of dislike expressed through body language can be perceived in such terms. It can be inferred that the xenophobic violent outbreaks in the country have made them sensitive to potential South African xenophobes, and black African immigrants have constructed their interactions with South Africans around these perceptions. Therefore, acts that may not be charged with xenophobia may be perceived to do so.

Furthermore, reports of having experienced xenophobia in its subtle form have to be approached with caution do to the sensitivity raised by violent outbreaks towards black African immigrants. However, as stated above, xenophobia experienced in its subtle form toward foreigners is minimal given their generally favourable relations with South Africans. Nonetheless, the perception of having experienced xenophobia in its subtle form seems to be more pervasive than having experienced overt xenophobia. Nine of the interviewees report having experienced xenophobia in its subtle form. Two participants stated that language is not an issue because they are able to communicate in an indigenous language.

5.5.2 Overt forms of discrimination

Although exclusion or dislike of black African immigrant professionals may be expressed in more subtle forms, depending on the condition, circumstance and spaces, professionals are also subject to overt forms of exclusion. The overt discrimination

may include utterances of derogatory statements [Amakwerekwere][8] by nationals, unlawful detention by the police and/or outright physical violence. An illustration of an experience of physical violence was reported by Ivan when he referred to being violently attacked at Park station[9] Johannesburg on his way back to Pretoria. In Park station foreigners come into frequent contact with ordinary South Africans, therefore, increasing the possibility of coming into contact with potential xenophobes and experiencing xenophobia:

"You know I'm a very close person [does not go out a lot]. You know from work I'm at home. I'm at church with my wife, we have to go out, sometimes I have a contract in Johannesburg where I lecture in an institution there. I go to Jo'burg, give my class and just leave the place and come straight to Pretoria. You know but ha, the latest biggest xenophobic action that I have received, and this I'm not playing, this is real. I was in Park Station in Johannesburg. There were some other guys helping the, I don't know, they call it the queue when people are standing all together. There was a queue of people all together standing and waiting for the Pretoria taxi to take them from Jo'Burg to Pretoria, and I was making a queue and one of them there identified me as a Nigerian. According to him I was a Nigerian and he stopped me from taking one of his taxis. He nearly broke my glasses; he slapped me and stuff like that... Yah that was purely xenophobic. He was speaking his language saying that we are going to slaughter this people. This is South Africa. They think they are clever. They think they are better and stuff like that. So that was the latest actually... Yah, that was right in the middle of Johannesburg in Park Station. I was a victim of that, out of nothing. I didn't say anything, they beat me and they slapped me, but I didn't say a word because they had knives and they were ready to kill me. To bring me down. And so I didn't say a word they pushed me to go and catch the train, and you know the train for us foreigners to catch a train. The way I was dressed, it was you know. I didn't want to catch the train, but I managed to find a police guy, a policeman patrolling around, I explained to him the situation. He went to beg them to let me take a taxi" (Ivan, Ivorian, Male, Computer scientist).

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[8] Nyamnjoh (2006:39) defines the terminology as follows: "Makwerekwere means different things in different contexts, but as used in South Africa it means not only a black person who cannot demonstrate mastery of local South African languages but also one who hails from a country assumed to be economically and culturally backward in relation to South Africa. With reference to civilisation, the Makwerekwere would qualify as the 'homo caudatus', 'trail-men', 'cavemen', 'primitives', 'savages', 'barbarians' or 'hottentots' of modern times, those who inspired these nomenclatures in southern Africa attempting to graduate from naked savagery into the realm of citizenship. In terms of skin pigmentation, the racial hierarchy of humanity under Apartheid comes into play, as Makwerekwere are usually believed to be the darkest of the dark-skinned, and to be less enlightened even when more educated than the lighter-skinned South African black. Makwerekwere are also thought to come from distant locations in the remotest corners of the 'Heart of Darkness' north of the Limpopo about which South Africans in their modernity know little, and are generally not interested to discover".

[9] Taxi Rank in Johannesburg, where commuters go to get public transportation, in and out of Johannesburg.

Farai spoke of an incidence in Sunnyside Pretoria, where contact with ordinary South Africans is more frequent.

"Yah, give you an example: we are phoning on a public phone. This guy comes to me and says can I borrow your cellular phone. And I said what phone? He said I have got a problem with my SIM card. This guy I don't know him and it is late at night. He asked can I borrow your cell phone. I want to put my SIM card in your phone and so I can phone. Now I'm afraid I don't know what this guy is going to do with my phone. And I said no I don't think I can help you. I really want but really don't know what's going to happen. And he started to say names, you I don't know where you are coming from. Maybe you are from Zimbabwe, you know. And he said all sort of cursing. Yah things like that. But we didn't do anything we just said no. You know, giving some one the phone is something that you cannot just do. And I refused and I think that he was supposed to respect my decision you know, this guy he said no. Then instead he called me names [like makwerekwere]" (Farai, Zimbabwean, Male, Engineer).

Further illustrating that in some instances higher economic positioning may not limit discrimination, Farai continues with an example of his engineer friends who were unlawfully arrested and detained in a police station in Sunnyside Pretoria for two consecutive nights.

"Yah, my, maybe on those issues, my friend is also an engineer. Ha maybe I'm telling you because you are involved in this research. He had a very bad experience traumatic you can say. He went to Sunnyside, now he's staying in Midrand, so in the middle of the night he took some of his friends, they are also engineers staying in Sunnyside. In the middle of the night they were raided by police. The passport they had the permit on it, but the police said no we need to verify. It was on Saturday night. They went to the police station they were locked up with passport with permits, and they said we will verify it. The next thing they say no, Home Affairs opens on Monday and we cannot verify on Sunday so you need to sleep here. So they slept two nights in police custody with permits which are valid and then on Monday that is when they managed to leave. So I was mad about that when he told me the story. There were four guys all of them were engineers, all of them had their papers. Because normally what we do they are short of engineers even here, these guys most of them I took them on to work for this company, because they need engineers that is what happens we help each other out. And we make sure that everybody get those papers you know, because they were locked up four guys. They spent two nights in jail with valid permits. So I don't, it's not me, but I think, I don't know what… They didn't want him, first he had a car, they didn't want him to go to his

car because, until he took him escorted by three police cars to take his car, his car he had the paper of the car with his name in the car, they did not even say it is nothing we need to check your passport. So they parked at the police station, slept there two nights at the police station and were released on Monday. And then they said we want your employers to come to the police station with a letter saying that you are working for that company. Something like that" (Farai, Zimbabwean, Male, Engineer).

The extract illustrates that professionals may not be entirely immune to police harassment. Although the theme on professionals as a privileged class suggests that the interviewees have not had any negative encounters with the police, the current theme suggests that there are exceptions. The police and ordinary South Africans can express xenophobic like discrimination towards black African immigrant professionals. The tendency for police to detain black African immigrants on an assumed illegality, as argued by Masuka (2006) and Valji (2003) (see chapter 2) may not exclude these immigrants because of their professional status, even when they have proper documentation to prove otherwise. These tendencies are pervasive in the police, irrespective of position of seniority (see Masuka, 2004 in chapter 2). As stated above, overt forms of discrimination can take on various forms. All of the interviewees that emphasized having experienced such incidents suggest that their nationality was the driving force behind the discrimination that they had endured. Ivan, Farai and Farai's friends were all singled out as foreigners.

Ivan, before being subjected to physical attacks was initially identified as a Nigerian that needs to be dealt with because he apparently thinks he is clever and better then South Africans, which suggests jealousy from his attackers. He was denied access to a taxi and was forced to take a train, until he was able to get assistance from a police officer. Aware of the stereotyped bio-cultural differences that are used to identify the 'Amakwerekwere', such as his clothes and hair styles, he was reluctant to take the train due to the possibility of experiencing further violence. Farai, although he did not experience such a traumatic event as Ivan, was also singled out as a Zimbabwean when he was harassed by a South African. He experienced antagonism after refusing to lend his cellular phone to a complete stranger in the middle of the night in Sunnyside Pretoria, a place that may not be considered one of the safest locations in the city. After he refused to lend his cellular phone, he was called derogatory names.

The bio-cultural hypothesis (see chapter 2) may be criticized for being limited when attempting to explain the causes of xenophobia. However, it may still provide some insight as to how foreigners are singled out by South Africans. The bio-cultural hypothesis, which categorizes individuals in terms of their physical appearance, can provide some explanation as to how Ivan and Farai were singled out and victimized (Harris, 2002:173). An explanation may be drawn from their hairstyle, mode of dress and accent as signifiers that are perceived as different from that of South Africans. The attack on Ivan may be linked to the culture of violence that is prevalent in South African society. Harris (2002:180) argues that violence is a pervasive means of addressing social issues in South Africa. Therefore, one of the means to address the 'foreigner problem' is through the use of violence. This illustrates, real or not, that stereotypes influence the experiences of discrimination that black African immigrants are subjected to. They are singled out accordingly and discriminated against by those South Africans who hold negative attitudes towards this group of individuals, some overtly violent and others more subtle.

5.6 Employment of black African immigrant professionals

The immigration policy does not favour the employment of black African immigrants in the country. Migrants from the rest of African are subjected to harsh barriers when seeking employment in South Africa, which reflects the literature that emphasizes the exclusive character of the immigration policy (see chapter 3). Tawanda regards the exclusionary policy as xenophobic:

> "They have got some policy which they have even shown us that they cannot employ Zimbabweans into public institutions, they will not register you under the Health Professionals Council and they will not give you a job. You will have to go back to Zimbabwe. Not only that, our students who graduated from here they are not allowed to do internship in South Africa just because they are Zimbabweans. So for me it is not only, it may be a policy issues, policy issues that are filled with xenophobia" (Tawanda, Zimbabwean, Female, Medical researcher).

Kathy, in spite of having her legal papers, was scrutinized, and her document verified to see if her marriage to a naturalized South African of Zimbabwean origin was a marriage of "convenience". In other words, to see if it was not a "sham marriage" in order for her to access benefits made available to South Africans. This clearly

illustrates the barriers present when foreigners attempt to seek employment in the country, whereby policing is extended to various government departments to make the process of acquiring employment much more difficult, and how the immigration policies facilitate acts of discrimination by state officials:

> "When I went to see then [The Department of Health], you know they have got this agreement to say no SADC um doctors are employed in South Africa. But once you have got the correct papers they never give you problems. Yah, my belief was when I came here they told me no for foreign doctors. It is very difficult to get work in Gauteng. So I started off actually on my own account, going into Mpumalanga thinking that I wouldn't stand a chance. But when I went to the Department of Home Affairs, I mean the Department of Health. I met the guy who is responsible for this [employment]. So he actually told me no this will break your family. He made an appointment for me at Garankuwa to go and see the medical superintendent there and I got a job. It was so easy for me. It was so easy. I think it was. I think it was very good… I know Mr X, I know a Mr X there, he did not make it difficult. I just started this job. I was asked. No I didn't know who he was so I actually walked into the Department of Health, I didn't know who he was. Everyone so afraid of him. So unknowingly I walked in straight into his office. I had no appointment. He was like who are you? Who told you to come here? I said I just came on my own (laughter). I'm looking for a job and I have my papers. So he said take a seat, uh where are you from? So I initially said Zimbabwe. His like we don't employ Zimbabweans this side. I have got a permanent, you know, residence. He said oh that is a different situation. So his serious, he started reading all my papers, he says; looks like it is not a marriage of convenience. You know convenience thing?...[people from Zimbabwe] they come here they think it is so easy to be employed in South Africa. Initially they used to allow everyone to write that exam. It is so easy, people would pass. But then when it comes to registration, it was a totally different thing. Then they will start asking about permanent residence, we are not employing anyone from SADC. They are, I think they are quite rude there. Yah, I have met one or two of my colleagues from Zim [Zimbabwe] and they said: Oh it was quite a startle" (Kathy, Zimbabwean, Female, Medical doctor: general practitioner).

Alan attributes the negative treatment of black African immigrant doctors in particular; to an immigration policy that makes the employment of health workers from the rest of Africa difficult. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the policy is an outcome of negotiations with other African states.

African immigrant professionals still manage to find employment. When black African immigrants are granted employment they are treated as 'second class citizens'

and privileges given to South Africans do not apply. The policy (especially in the medical profession) although not unique to South Africa, is designed to keep black African immigrant professionals in the rural areas. It stipulates that a foreign doctor have to work for the government without permission to operate a private practice for a period no less then 3 years (RuDASA), as a means for the state to address skill shortages in disadvantaged locations. In other countries governments also use immigrant skilled labour rationally.

One of the interviewees stated that it usually takes longer for immigrant doctor to breakaway from the public sector. The extensive retention of immigrant doctors in the public sector, especially in rural hospital, is perceived by the interviewee as a strategy by the state to address the gap created by the exodus of South African doctors to the more lucrative private sector and Western countries. Therefore, black African immigrant doctors are not tied down just to the public sector, face difficulties when attempting to seek employment but are also retained in public hospitals even after the duration of their services in the public sector is complete. These occurrences may raise frustration amongst the black African immigrant professionals.

"Okay. Ha. That in itself is a policy. It is not that they are treating you bad. It is a policy that South Africa will not employ doctors or health workers from Africa… That is a policy in itself. That is an immigration policy. So if you have to get a job as a doctor. You have first to write the exams. Secondly after writing the exams you need to go to ha get a letter from your home counties um Department of Health allowing you to work in South Africa. And when they eventually give you a job, you will be classified as a doctor with limited registration. Irrespective of your experience. It means that you are not allowed to do private practice. That is one. Two, limited means also that you will be in that particular institution. And you are not allowed to change you status… Yah. I have a friend who have just resigned because he wanted to get residence permit. He was tied to the hospital for 7 years. So he was there for 10 years he has just resigned… He got his papers… Yah. Now he can get out of the system… Yah. [the system works] to make them work particularly in rural hospital" (Alan, Nigerian, Male, Dentist).

Interviewees' reference to being employed in an environment predominated by immigrant doctors, illustrate the tendency by the state to push black African immigrants into areas where South Africans may not be willing to work in, Kathy stated a follows:

"You know I started working in Garankuwa, it was mostly black doctors, mostly foreign. They were employing a lot of foreign doctors" (Kathy, Zimbabwean, Female, Medical doctor: general practitioner).

"Where we worked it was mainly foreign doctors (laughter). So you would see the whole suite or all of it that it was foreign doctors. Because the pay was too little compared to what you would get in the private sector. So most doctors who are South African once they qualify they wouldn't stay much longer in the government hospitals, public hospital. They [South Africans] would go and set up private practices because they pay them well. The income was too much too much in the private sector they wouldn't stay long in the public sector" (John, Ugandan, Male, Medical doctor: general practitioner)

There seems to be a perception amongst the interviewees that the labour market is ridged in terms of accessibility and flexibility. However, these restrictions cannot be solely reduced to xenophobic practices by the state. There is a general agreement between states in the region (SADC) to stop the drain of skills from one another, to minimize the exodus of skill that may undermine the sending countries developmental goals. The interviewees seem to be knowledgeable of these measures, but they tend to understand and interpret them differently. Tawanda understood it as decisions taken internally to prohibit the employment of black African immigrants. Therefore, it was much easier for her to associate the agreement with acts of xenophobia.

On the other hand, Kathy understood that the measures were a result of inter-state agreements. Hence, could not necessarily view Mr. X's attitude and behaviour simply as xenophobic. Kathy's extract suggests that there is generally a degree of surveillance applied when it comes to employing black African immigrants. Hence, the measures taken by Mr. X to verify the validity of her marriage imply suspicion of 'illegality' because of her national identity. There is no reason why an official of the Department of Health should take the functions of officials from the Department of Home Affairs. Furthermore, irrespective of the underlining intentions, the inter-state agreement is exclusionary nonetheless. It has the potential to generate a perception amongst immigrants that those implementing them are xenophobes, and creates conditions where xenophobic state officials can express negative sentiments towards

black African immigrants within the ambits of the law. Nevertheless, it seems as if a foreigner has the correct documentation employment is possible.

However, it is generally difficult for immigrants to get employment in South Africa. When employment is attained, immigrant professionals are made to work in areas where South Africans are not willing to work in, especially due to the heavy work load and low pay compared to the private sector (especially individuals employed in the medical profession). Alan's, Kathy's and John's extracts illustrate that black African immigrant doctors are used as a solution to the exodus of South African doctors to brighter pastures. Hence, the public hospitals in the surrounding locations and rural areas appear to have a heavy concentration of black African immigrant qualified doctors working there. When in Garankuwa Kathy was working predominantly with black African immigrant doctors. Although doctors are supposed to work in the public sector for a designated numbers of years, once those years are complete difficulties may be presented that inhibits them from leaving the public sector, as was the case with Alain's doctor friend. As illustrated by Alan's excerpt, his friend was trapped in the rural hospital for seven years. This was predominately illuminated in the medical profession, but may be juxtaposed to immigrants in other professions in their lived experiences in South African society.

5.7 Perceptions of hostile and less hostile spaces

In general, interviewees were aware of the discrimination that black African immigrants' experience in the country. However, most interviewees acknowledge that their economic positioning in society plays a role in minimizing their experiences of xenophobic like discrimination in South African society. During their stay in the country they have formulated a distinction between potentially hostile and less hostile spaces for black African immigrants. They perceive that discrimination/hostility towards their foreignness is most likely to occur in the inner cities, shanty towns and townships, rather than the rural areas and low-density suburbs. Ivan's experience in Park station Johannesburg and Farai's experience in Sunnyside Pretoria, with regard to overt discrimination, may suggest that these perceptions are not so far fetched. They experienced discrimination fueled by xenophobia instigated by their foreignness in the inner city of two major metropolitan areas, namely Johannesburg and Tshwane.

With regard to perceived hostile and less hostile spaces, Gordon and Farai reported as follows:

"Yah if you think about it most of these attacks have really occurred in sort of ha the formal townships, and the squatter settlements. Um one doesn't hear of any attacks on professionals in the sort of suburbs, in the Universities and institutions. So I think your position in terms of class positioning in South Africa does have an impact on the degree of xenophobia that um we get exposed to. Because it [class position] also limits your circle of contacts. Um if you are in a squatter camp you are in contact with everybody who lives in a squatter camp. Whereas if you are a professional you can pick and choose people that you want to interact with" (Gordon, Zimbabwean, Male, Historian).

"Where we hang around most of the time, and where we you know, where we live [low density suburbs], it plays an important role. But obviously if you are in the locations, you hear in the new papers they [foreign African] are targeted. People are targeted. They say no, she is a foreigner, anything happens they are targeted. Even the police can be after you, because of a lot of bribes. They are broke they will come after you because they want something from you. " (Kathy, Zimbabwean, Female, Medical doctor: general practitioner).

Farai whom previously spoke of his colleagues being harassed and unlawfully arrested by the police, stated that being a professional is better because a foreigner can stay out of perceived hostile spaces, but that does not exclude one completely from discrimination:

"I think that if you are a professional you are better off. Because normally non-professionals normally they stay in the township you know and we hear stories happening in the townships. Where you just open your small shop they [South Africans] will say you know, they don't like it and they can create stories for you, you know. If you are successful they will say who is this guy who just come and do this and you are there. I have heard stories I don't have a particular story but I think if you are professional it is better. Like my friends I thought maybe because they are engineers with their permits, I expected them [police] to understand you know but they were not you know" (Farai, Zimbabwean, Male, Engineer).

Furthermore, most of those interviewed for the study live in low density suburbs. However, what was interesting was the emergence of an urban-rural distinction with regard to experiences of inclusion and exclusion. The distinction emerged from medical professionals in particular, given that they have to render services in public

hospitals (mostly located in the rural areas and townships) as a requirement to practice in the country. The interviewees stated that their personal experiences in the rural areas were much better than the ones in the urban areas. They claimed that people in the rural areas were much more receptive and accommodating than people in the urban areas:

"In the rural area, is that a black person who is a foreigner is more accepted than in the urban area. You can visit people in the rural area nicely. They tend to respect you more. They tend to accept you into their home than people in the urban areas. Urban black South Africans are very hostile. Compared to rural black South Africans… So like in the Transkei people are very accommodating. They like foreigners because it is more rural. And most of the time you are the only dentist or medical doctor around. So they will just have to use your services. And the community leaders are very nice. They invite you to their homes. Treat you nicely and so on. But when you come to the cities it is a different ball game" (Alan, Nigerian, Male, Dentist).

"When I was in the rural areas they were so much welcoming, they were very much welcoming... when I was in the rural areas I would get invitations from a family that I treated, come to their home. I have gone there. Sometimes and be with them. Of course when there were weddings or funerals that one I used to participate a lot. And also maybe I was like in a fixed, when you are in an administrated position you have to be seen to mingle with everybody, to be with them through good and bad times. Because I was a medical specialist at that time, so I found myself visiting families, yah" (John, Ugandan, Male, Medical doctor: general practitioner).

These accounts suggest that, real or otherwise, interviewees perceive the inner city, shanty towns and townships as particularly hostile spaces for black African immigrants. There appears to be a sense of awareness amongst the participants that their material means provides the condition whereby they can stay out of these hostile spaces. The low-density suburban environments where they live minimize the experiences of xenophobic based discrimination. Extracts by Alan and John, who have worked in the rural areas as medical practitioners, also suggest that hostility towards black African immigrant professionals is minimal in these spaces. Hence, the prevalent perception is that nationality based hostility towards black African immigrant professionals is relegated to spaces outside the rural areas and the low density suburbs.

Alan regarded urban black South Africans as very hostile, and displayed a more positive perception of black South Africans who reside in the rural areas. Interaction with South Africans in the rural areas created the impression that they are much more accommodating. The degree of accommodation can be seen in Johns' excerpt where he reports that South Africans in the rural areas are more willing to share intimate spaces and intimate events such as invitations to their homes and funerals. Suggesting that the rural areas tend to be more inclusive to black African immigrants, at least as far as medical doctors is concerned.

The positive interaction in the rural areas may be associated with Neocosmos's (see chapter 3) suggestion of the neglect of the rural areas in the construction of the kind of citizenship (based on an arbitrary conception of indigeneity) that is pervasive in urban South Africa. The struggle for inclusion was primarily urban, and entitlement came to mean redistribution of resources in the hands of whites in these spaces. The shift from subject to citizen meant a shift from the Bantustans to urban spaces. As Fanon (1965:122) suggests, the tendency to nationalize in post-colonial Africa is primarily urban and elitist, resulting in a struggle over urban space and resources that the 'we' take on a nationalist, indigenous and autochthony connotation. The conception of the 'we' is fundamentally urban, distanced from the rural. Therefore, in South Africa citizenship in the rural areas may not have taken the exclusive character that is prevalent in Urban South Africa. Hence, the rural areas tend to be more inclusive to black African immigrants. Alternatively, the professional status of these immigrants and services they provide may mitigate xenophobic actions directed to them.

The prevailing perception of hostile and less hostile spaces is shared across the board by the interviewees. They have constructed townships, inner cities and shanty towns in particular, as hostile spaces. Eight interviewees, who did not have any experiences of rural areas, nonetheless made comparisons with the up market areas where they reside and/or work. These areas were regarded more favourably to the inner cities, townships and shanty towns.

5.8 Awareness and anticipation of discrimination

Taking the nature of the context into account, especially in relation to racism and xenophobia, as Crush (2001:25) suggests, black African immigrants are aware of the

anti-foreigner negativity and discrimination that is widespread in present day South African society. An awareness of anti-foreigner behaviours in society has created conditions whereby interviewees anticipate discrimination and/or hostility. Consequently, they have established mechanisms for avoiding these experiences. One can infer that this awareness and mechanisms for avoidance contribute to limiting exposure to discrimination. Participants are able to distance or place themselves in spaces where these occurrences are minimized. Tawanda voiced her awareness of anti-foreigners sentiments as follows:

"I think I haven't had experienced that [xenophobia] myself, but I know that people if they know you are a foreigner they can actually come and burn your house. That we know, that all the events that have happened before where people go gang up against foreigners and stuff like that" (Tawanda, Zimbabwean, Female, Medical researcher).

Fraser demonstrates an awareness of anti-foreigner discrimination as targeting those foreigners with a darker skin complexion. He emphasizes that if one does not open ones mouth to be identified as foreign then one can avoid discrimination from South Africans. Implying invisibility ("hiding ones foreignness"), as a means to minimize tension from potential xenophobes, he contends:

"They [South Africans] particularly dislike those who have, who look like, most unlike South African, otherwise those who are very very dark. I think they tend to be picked on more often. I guess it is simply a case of that. If you are amongst people who are going to abuse you because you are not a South African. You and me are walking on the streets, and you are not talking to anyone they have no way of telling the difference…So the instinct therefore, the possibility therefore is that it is removed completely if you don't open your mouth, or do anything that displays that you are not South African. But of course if you um look like the very very darkest of Ugandans or someone you know in the equatorial places, and you are really very very dark then they [South Africans] will pick you up I think if they are there. So there is a lot of that" (Fraser, Zimbabwean, Male, Mathematician).

Kimo also stated that getting citizenship in South Africa was a means to minimize antagonism from South Africans:

"You know after we got, you know, the term South African, we went just to change the nationality to become South Africans so that you can at least become quiet and people not disturb you" (Kimo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Male, Gynecologist).

Farai after completing an additional degree that would mean a promotion to a managerial position was reluctant to present it to the necessary authority in his place of employment in fear of rejection and/or discrimination grounded on his national identity.

"Also because of this thing that I'm experiencing, I completed an MBA degree last year, and now I'm thinking of going forward. Now with this type I don't know how I will be treated if you are moving into top management, you don't know how, you don't know if they are going to accept you, or they going to say you are good. Because at lower level engineer you work all these things, you have got other bosses you know, and suppose that now you are one of those guys. Eish I do tend to get scared, will they even give you a chance to move up. So that is how it is affecting me that I have experienced all this inside. Are they going to give me a chance? Even if you are applying to another company, will they? I don't know what they are going to say so I get scared. I don't know (laughter), I don't know what to think but, some times I think that these guys are going to say you know get away, this guy" (Farai, Zimbabwean, Male, Engineer).

Furthermore, as a result of a previous incidence of some of his friends with the police (see above), Farai has developed a fear for the police. His extract illustrates the anxiety that black African immigrants have to endure as a result of the potential negativity they may be subjected to by South Africans, Farai contends:

"So I think it is this, the police it's really, I'm not saying all of them but some of them they are, it is very very, the way they treat us is not good. Probably the main reasons, maybe one of the reasons they want bribe. But you cannot bribe someone when you haven't done something, you haven't done anything wrong. So which it means according to what they were saying, you should carry your passport, of course you carry but they say they want to verify whether your permit is correct. It doesn't make sense…. So Maybe I was thinking maybe we need to engage some lawyers, I don't know because now I'm not safe. The police they are the ones who are harassing. I'm afraid of the police not because I have done something wrong but because the way they will treat you, you know." (Farai, Zimbabwean, Male, Engineer).

The interviewees were aware of the abuse and discrimination that are directed at the black African immigrants in South African society. It can also be suggested that events that have taken place in the broader social context have shaped interviewees perceptions of the possible negative outcome when interacting with South Africans. They are conscious of the bio-cultural differences that serve as markers that single out the foreigner and the possible implications one's phenotypical and accent differences hold. Hence, avoiding making visible the stereotypes associated with their foreignness as much as possible is a strategy to avoid discrimination and/or hostility.

As Fraser suggests, the 'accents' of black African immigrants is a possible identifier, and the solution to avoid discrimination is to keep one's mouth shut as much as possible in the presence of South Africans. Although he understands that bio-cultural differences are a possible identifier of black African immigrants, he seems to exclude lighter skinned African immigrants, who potentially can pass as South African and suggests that it is the exceptionally darker skinned individuals that have to be concerned with being identified because of their complexion. Others have developed a sense of fear as an outcome of experiences of those close to them and events that have taking place in the broader social context. Kimo reported that he changed his nationality with the intension to stay silent and not be bothered by South Africans. Farai feared both the reaction of his boss and the potentially negative contact with the South African police. He went to the extent of suggesting hiring an attorney to assist in dealing with xenophobic 'law enforcement' agents. All participants displayed an awareness and anticipation of discrimination directed at their foreignness in South African society. At this instance, interviewees prefer to use avoidance as a measure to minimise potential hostility, abuse and discrimination from South Africans.

5.9 The grey area between racism and xenophobia

There are issues that emerged from the data that suggested that some of the experiences faced by participants cannot be directly linked to anti-foreigner sentiments. Some accounts have to be attributed to other events that transpire in the broader social context, such as racism[10]. Fine and Bird (2006:4-5) argues that South

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[10] Black on black racism included. Xenophobia in South Africa is for the most part raced, given that the hostility and other forms of discrimination associated with it tends to be directed at black African immigrants by South Africans of all racial categories. Also, it has been more visibly expressed by black South African towards blacks from other African countries.

Africa is still racially divided in both subtle and obvious forms. Crush (2001:7) further states that South Africa is one of the worlds most "race conscious" society and acknowledges the deeply entrenched racism of the past that is still prevalent in the country. As stated on chapter 2 and 3 and further accentuated by Warner & Finchilescu's (2003: 36) study, "xenophobia in South Africa is racialised", meaning that xenophobic like abuse and discrimination is mostly directed at black African immigrants, expressed by South African across the racial divide in the country.

The form that xenophobia takes in South Africa makes it particularly difficult to assess experiences of black African immigrants in relation to white South Africans, because to draw a clear distinction between the moment an black African immigrant is experiencing racism or xenophobia may be complex. It would be misleading to attribute acts of discrimination by white South Africans towards black African immigrants as mere expressions of xenophobia, because the current social context creates the possibility for black African immigrants to experience outright racism, regardless of their nationality. However, authors like Landau (2008) and Crush (2001) (see Chapter 3), have emphasized the intensity of xenophobia amongst white South Africans, and concluded that anti-foreigner sentiments amongst white South Africans is stronger than that of any other racial groups. Nonetheless, even with the possible interpretation of incidences of discrimination by white South Africans as xenophobia, the interviewees seem to define their negative experiences involving white South Africans in racial rather than xenophobic terms. This perception is pervasive amongst the participants. Some interviewees' spoke of overt racism when dealing with white South Africans. Pamela reported her experience as follows:

> "[X University's] situation now you know is an English speaking [institution]. It was okay, no problem. But I faced on two occasions I felt things I experienced in [X University] where they had an attitude, I felt like they [white staff and white student] felt that because you are black you can't be a lecturer. I remember one time I went and they had this registration, student registration and I was doing student registration. Maybe I looked a bit younger at the time, and then when I went there the lady who opens there said it was just for lecturers. They said it had to be lecturers alone. So when I went there she said what are you coming to do here? I told her why? You are not allowed in here, I don't know why you are assuming that I'm not allowed to be in here, why? This is just for lecturers. I asked her do you think I can't be a lecturer and she was so embarrassed (laughter). But I found that quite amusing. That she

has assumed from the beginning that I couldn't be a lecturer. I don't know why. (Laughter) Ah so, student are, she said students are not allowed here. I told her I'm not a student look at me, I'm not a student. And then she said oh I'm very sorry (laughter). And then I even, last month I had a function there at [X University], a study group, and then I was chairing one of the sessions. So I was in the venue where I was supposed to chair a session and I was waiting for the people to come because as the person who is chairing the session you have to be there. So I was there a bit early, there was power failure and all that, so I was a bit early. And then this guy comes, a white male, and he said can you leave, we need this room you have to get out. I asked him why do I have to get out? He said because we are using this room for the study group mathematics and industrial study groups. And I said, and I looked at him and I said to myself, why does he think that I cannot be part of that group you know, why why? So eventually he looks and I'm the one chairing the session and then looks and he is embarrassed, but it is there. There is that things of you are this or your colour or whatever, I feel is that. Because if I was maybe a different whatever [race] I would be, some of them wouldn't doubt you that you can be what you are. They wouldn't doubt you that you are a lecturer or they wouldn't doubt that you are in the right place (laughter). So yah there has been a few but not many as such [incidences of racism]." (Pamela, Kenyan, Female, Mathematician).

Michael, as well, referred to an incident he perceived as reflecting racism:

"The only one experience I felt that I had a problem with the fact that I'm not from the right person in South Africa, is when I wanted to enter a flat somewhere in Pretoria. And I went there and saw the flat and I was with my wife and they opened the door for us. And we submitted our application forms with all the supporting documentation. And it was me and my wife because both of us were working. So I put it in mind from that point of view that we were qualified to get that flat, and our salaries would justify that. So we were confident that the flat on that basis we should get it actually. So the agency actually insisted that I should go and have a sort of meeting with them or that I should go and see their office. And they just asked me a few questions and they told me they would call me. It took a while, and then I called them and they said no the flat was taken or something like that. I couldn't understand because after that time I was already actually employed (laughter). Later to follow it up I asked a white friend of ours, a white colleague of my wife to call and ask for the same flat. Two days after, she called the agency and asked them if that flat was still available and they said yah it was still available (laughter). So yah. I couldn't understand it on any other basis except that just because I'm a foreigner or maybe actually because I'm an African. So they didn't want me to go there. I think there is something which is not fine" (Michael, Sudanese, Male, Medical doctor: clinician).

These extracts suggest that the broader social milieu is perceived by the interviewees to be characterised by racism. It can be inferred that black African immigrants are subjected to similar racist experiences as those experienced by the South African 'black' population. The findings suggest that in relation to white South Africans, the black African immigrant is firstly identified racially (as black) and their nationality when exposed may play a role in accentuating the discrimination they experience. Nonetheless, as stated above, it is difficult to make an accurate distinction as to what is the root cause of discrimination expressed by white South Africans towards black African immigrants. Given the history of a racially divided society, the interviewees suggest that the initial point of discrimination by whites is racism and not xenophobia. Pamela's case may be difficult to define as racism as such, but the perception and definition of 'bad' encounters with white South Africans as racism is evident. Michael's incidence is inclined more towards racism; because when the white friend called the agency he was told that the flat was available, when he was denied the same flat on the account that it was no longer available. It would have been more interesting if a black South African had called to verify the availability of the flat. It would have added more nuance to these encounters. However, what is apparent in their definition of these incidences is that the interviewees tend to attribute negative sentiments, discrimination or abuse directed towards them by black South Africans as xenophobia and from white South Africans as racism.

Tawanda's extract further emphasises the perception that white South Africans are racist rather than xenophobic.

> "I have worked with them before in other places and I just saw that it was just the skin color thing, it was more racism than xenophobia" (Tawanda, Zimbawean, Female, Medical researcher).

Racism can also be experienced between black people. The xenophobia that is pervasive in South African society is fuelled by racism. Black South African xenophobes target other black African immigrants. A darker pigmentation stands as a bio-cultural identifier that black South Africans use to single out and potentially discriminate against the undesirable 'other'. Frazer's extract suggests that the xenophobia expressed by black South Africans towards black African immigrants is

characterized by a form of black on black racism. Where the prime target of discrimination is the black African immigrant, Frazer contends:

> "So the instincts therefore, the possibility therefore is that, it is removed completely if you don't open your mouth, or do anything that displays that you are not South African. But of course if you um look like the very very darkest of Ugandans or someone you know in the equatorial places, and you are really very very dark then they will pick you up I think if they are there. So there is a lot of a lot of that I'm told. I'm, one of my students came um came to see me, but it was for something else, and then he told me about a story of him and his girlfriend, South African girlfriend who happens to be very dark. And you know she was picked on in his presence, at um, by the janitor somewhere in Res, where he lived or where she lived. So you know these are some of the consequences. You know you find that if you do things like that, you will find that you are hurting your own people" (Frazer, Zimbabwean, Male, Mathematician).

Eight of the interviewees suggested that the discrimination directed at them by white South Africans is more racist than xenophobic. The particular understanding of their experiences as racism can be attributed to the racially segregated order of South Africa's history. Historical events may have shaped the perception of black African immigrants as to where the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are drawn between them and white South Africans. The boundaries are defined racially. On the other hand, racism is implicitly omitted from their perceptions of black South Africans. The extract from Frazer suggests that a form of black on black racism is prevalent in experiences of xenophobia. However the xenophobic elements are still apparent. Four other interviewees reported similar perceptions. There seems to be a grey area when attempting to draw substantive conclusions. However, from this complexity it can be inferred that it is difficult to independently analyse racism without xenophobia and vice versa, at least when black African immigrants are considered.

5.10 Conclusion

The transition from Apartheid to a liberal democratic state has heralded a redefinition of the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in the South African society. The exclusion of individuals on grounds of their national identity has become pervasive in society, and has impacted on social relations between South Africans and immigrants. The exclusion of black African immigrants in particular has been expressed in violent actions by South Africans and has resulted in behaviours that have been defined as

xenophobic. The black African immigrant has been a prime target of these occurrences. However, the connotation black African immigrant is problematic, because a more focused analysis suggests that this category of individuals should be de-homogenised in order to construct a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of their experiences with regard to inclusion and exclusion in South African society. An analysis that takes into account class differentials amongst black African immigrants reveals a more complex dynamics at play. The complexity suggests that the extent and form xenophobia experienced may differ across class lines. The study places black African immigrant professionals at the centre of analysis to understand the dynamics of their social relations in South African society.

To return to the research questions: First, do black African immigrant professionals experience xenophobia? Black African immigrant professionals' experience of xenophobia is contingent upon the kind of South African they come into contact. Where contact is made with South Africans that have internalised conceptions of citizenship that is highly exclusive of foreigners' xenophobia is possible. On the other hand, if contact is made with South Africans who regard foreigners inclusively, Neocosmos's (2008) suggestion for 'a politics of peace' is possible. In general black African immigrant professionals, theoretically speaking, are subjected to similar probabilities of experiencing xenophobia as other categories of black African immigrants.

Second, what is the experience of black African immigrant professionals with regards to xenophobia in South African society? Experiences of xenophobia seem to occur in both subtle and overt manners. In its subtle form, xenophobia seems to manifest in the form of body language and exclusion as a result of South Africans' tendency to communicate in their mother tongue. Such practices occur even in meetings at work. In its overt form, although minimal, violent attacks and derogatory name calling such as 'amakwerekwere' are directed at them. These occurrences are contingent upon the spaces that these professionals may find themselves. If professionals find themselves in 'hostile spaces' the inner cities, township and shanty towns then the possibility of experiencing xenophobia in its overt form increases.

Racism is an integral factor present in the discrimination against black African immigrants. Whether xenophobia transpires during interactions with South Africans of other racial groups is unclear, but nonetheless possible. During interactions with black South Africans xenophobia takes on a racial connotation, suggesting some form of black on black racism. Therefore, xenophobia takes on a racial character and it may be the case that historical continuities of racial tensions in society may veil both latent and manifest xenophobia expressed by white South Africans.

Third, does class positioning have an impact on black African immigrant professional's experience of xenophobia? Class seems to minimise experiences of xenophobia as far as professionals are concerned. Their status as professionals may limit manifest xenophobia and make subtle forms of exclusion not so obvious when interacting with other South African professionals. As well, their life styles and material means allow that professionals minimize frequent contact with ordinary South Africans, therefore limiting interaction with South Africans.

When processing legal papers professionals either have the necessary assistance from their employers or the monetary means to facilitate the acquisition of these documents. However, class positioning does not in all instances contain potential xenophobic experiences. Professionals may still be subjected to discriminatory and violent 'othering' that other categories of black African immigrants have had to endure in South African society, both by the state and ordinary citizens. Generally, class seems to place black African immigrant professionals at a privileged position. However, a higher class position does not automatically include black African immigrant professionals. It creates conditions where these immigrants can evade South Africans whose political consciousness is oriented towards the exclusion of foreigners.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In recent history, global interconnectedness has intensified creating unprecedented possibilities for trade. However, this opening up of trade has been countered by exclusive and extremely ridged notions of inclusion and exclusion for mobile populations. The liberalization of global capital flow has been followed by increased restrictions on the mobility of labour beyond the 'nation state'. Population flows has grown to mean exclusion and potentially harmful discrimination of individuals wishing to migrate to locations outside their country of origin. The trends of this politics of exclusion result in a denial and violation of basic human rights of individuals who are in certain circumstances defined as 'foreign' or undesirable. This seems to be the case globally, where immigrants who are entitled to basic human rights such as asylum seekers and refugees have been targeted by 'anti-immigrationist' states and local xenophobes. From the United States of America, to Europe and Africa preoccupation with autochthony and citizenship have become a matter for concern.

In South Africa, these trends are also pervasive suggesting that denial and violation of basic human rights of those defined as 'foreign' and undesirable is also prevalent. There have been increased restriction and discrimination towards immigrants that originate from the rest of Africa. Documented events in the country suggest precisely this, and black African immigrants in the country have been subjected to extreme violence and destruction of property perpetrated by South Africans. However, the black African immigrant is portrayed as a homogeneous group. The homogenization veils differences in experiences when distinctions are considered along class lines. The disjunction where the black African immigrant is de-homogenized along the line of economic positioning, suggests that there are differences in experiences when professionals and non-professionals are considered. This study places xenophobia within the context of migration and interrogates the experiences of black African immigrant professions working and living in Gauteng, South Africa. The study places

their status as black African immigrants and professionals at the centre of analysis to understand how the broader social context impacts on their lived experiences, in particular of class matters in experiences of xenophobia.

6.2 Key Arguments

Chapter 2: Situating xenophobia substantively, locates xenophobia within the context of migration, historically as well as currently. Although the Apartheid and the post-Apartheid context are fundamentally distinct with regard to how boundaries of migrants'/immigrants' inclusion and exclusion were and are drawn, the legacy of the past cannot fully be escaped. The logic that governed immigration and migration to South Africa during Apartheid was fundamentally informed by the racist ideology of the state. The ideology informed immigration policies from the Immigration Regulation Act of 1913 to the Aliens Control Act of 1991. A two gate immigration policy governed the entry of people to the Republic. First, it regulated the entry of whites to the Republic to supplement the local ruling white minority and to provide the necessary skills to sustain the functioning of the state. Not all whites were equally welcome and this policy shifted over the course of time to accommodate whites generally. Second, it controlled the entry of blacks from the rest of Africa, who were defined as migrants and not immigrants. They were temporary sojourners who where allowed to enter the Republic to address the need for cheap labour in the mining sector, the agricultural sector and urban services.

Within the ranks of the black Africans that came to the country to address the need for cheap labour, professionals and skilled Africans managed to come in clandestinely to the independent 'homelands'. Until 1986, the immigration of Africans from the rest of the continent was, in terms of the law, illegal. It was only after the Aliens and Immigration Law Amendment Act of 1986 that removed the term 'European' from the definition of immigrant that Africans were allowed to legally immigrate to the South Africa, mostly to address the needs for skills in the independent homelands. As Apartheid came to its demise more and more African professionals emigrated to the country. These immigration and migration trends were fundamentally influenced by the ideologies of a racist state and the need for cheap labour from the rest of Africa. The transition from Apartheid to the current dispensation redefined these boundaries of inclusion and exclusion outside of the racist ideologies of its predecessor, at least in

principal. Those South Africans defined as blacks graduated into full citizenship (at least in terms of its laws) and those defined as outsiders in terms of their national identity became 'othered' accordingly. This redefinition of boundaries primarily targeted black African immigrants for exclusion and or violent discrimination. From the 1994 elections recurring events have been documented, regarding the persecution of black African immigrants by state officials and ordinary citizens. Post-Apartheid South Africa has been categorized by a xenophobia infused with a racist and extremely exclusionist attitudes towards black African immigrants. The rise in xenophobia has to be located with the shift in politics from Apartheid to the post-Apartheid dispensation.

Chapter 3: Theoretical perspectives on xenophobia address the theoretical underpinnings of xenophobia globally and locally. Xenophobia is described as resulting from the rise of nation building/nationalism as suggested by Neocosmos (2006a), Wimmer (1997) and Harris (2001; 2002). Neocosmos accentuates that this nationalism fosters a kind of citizenship based on indigeneity. The form of citizenship demarcates boundaries over citizenship rights, what Wimmer refers to as "legitimate and illegitimate competition", and fosters a political consciousness that is extremely exclusionist towards those defined as 'outsiders'. However, there are alternative discourses that may suggest an inclusive conception of 'outsiders', for ideology is not internalised automatically. Therefore, there are alternative, more inclusive discourses that may not be so pervasive in society. Experiences of xenophobia are contingent upon the kind of South African an black African immigrant comes into contact with. If an black African immigrant is exposed to a South African(s) that have internalised exclusionist conceptions of citizenship, then they are likely to experience xenophobia. They are singled out through stereotyped bio-cultural differences and subsequently fall victim to what Harris (2001;2002) refers to as "South Africa's' culture of violence".

Chapter 4: Methodology: a small scale study of black African immigrant professionals living and working in Gauteng, South Africa, describes the methodology and techniques used to conduct research. The study applies a qualitative approach and places black African immigrant professionals working and living in Gauteng at the centre of analysis. Gauteng is a good site to engage in the investigation, because it

is the economic centre of the country. Pretoria stood as 'the political centre of Apartheid'. Currently Pretoria and Johannesburg stand as the political and economic hub of the new non-racial South Africa respectively. Gauteng underwent tremendous transformation since the demise of the Apartheid state. It did not only experience an influx of their local black population into the city, but also the movement of Africans from the rest of Africa.

The study required that the professionals discussed their experience with regards to xenophobia in South African society. Fourteen in-depth interviews were conducted with individuals across various professional fields. Their class positioning was the focal point of the investigation, and the assessment was oriented towards drawing conclusions that would clarify whether class matters in experiences of xenophobia.

Chapter 5: Xenophobia: experiences of black African immigrant professionals living and working in Gauteng, South Africa, concludes that xenophobia is an experience that some African immigrant professionals have to confront in South African society. Their chances of experiencing xenophobia are contingent upon the kind of individuals that they come into contact with. In the event that they come into contact with an individual that has internalised an exclusionist conception of citizenship, then experiencing xenophobia is possible. If they come into contact with an individual that regards citizenship inclusively then the possibility for experiencing xenophobia is minimized. Generally, black African immigrant professionals are subject to the same chances of experiencing xenophobia as any other category of black African immigrants. If xenophobia is understood politically, chances of experiencing xenophobia are contingent upon the prevalence of an anti-immigrationist political consciousness.

This consciousness targets primarily the black African. They are subjected to unwelcoming treatments. There seems to be a perception amongst black African immigrant professionals that South Africans treat Westerners more favourably than they treat them. They suggest that black African immigrant professionals are treated as unwelcome in relation to Westerners, who are often white. Racism also seems to characterise their experiences. Black South Africans seem to display a xenophobia fuelled by a form of black on black racism. White South Africans seem to express

racism to black African immigrants. However, xenophobia may be veiled due to the overemphasis on race relations.

The study concludes class does matter. Professionals' class positioning seems to minimise exposure to potential xenophobes. It tends to place them at a privileged position in relation to their asylum seeker, refugee, proletariat and marginalised counterparts. When faced with state institutions like the department of Home Affairs they have the necessary institutional support to facilitate the application for documents, such as supporting documents from their prospective employers or the monetary resources to corrupt officials. They can minimize contact with South Africans, therefore, cutting the chances for experiencing xenophobia. However, when black African immigrant professionals find themselves in 'hostile spaces' class does not play a determining role on whether they will experience violent xenophobic discrimination. They are subjected to the violence and/or discrimination that their proletariat, asylum seeker, refugee and marginalised counterparts are exposed to regularly in South African society. However, it seems to be the case that acts of xenophobic exclusion as experienced by black African immigrant professionals is more subtle than overt. I conclude that class matters in as far as it defines relations between black African immigrants and South Africans. It does not necessarily foster automatic inclusion or exclusion in society. But it gives those with a higher economic standing the material conditions to evade potential autochthones and xenophobes.

6.3 Recommendations

I conclude this study by making a recommendation to the state and with regard to further research.

6.3.1 Recommendations to the state

The state should consider the contribution that immigrant professionals (of whatever origin) make to the South African economy. I acknowledge that the Immigration Act of 2002 amended in 2004 considers skills as a requirement to facilitate entry to the country, but the implicit racism towards black African immigrants cannot be condoned. Measures must be taken to tackle the rabid xenophobia at the department of Home Affairs, through sensitization of employees on the contributions that immigrant professionals make to the economy. There is a need for officials at the department of Home Affairs to know the distinctions between professionals and other

categories of immigrants. Black African immigrants make great contributions to critical sectors of the economy such as education and medicine. Also, it should be considered that non-professionals do make a positive contribution to the countries economy. The state should attempt to foster a more inclusive conception of citizenship or make clear to the public the difference between getting rewarded for services rendered and stealing that which perceived by South Africans to belong to them. There is a need to acknowledge the contributions that black African immigrant professionals make to the South African economy and South African people. South Africans need to acknowledge the contribution of knowledge that many foreigners have made in the academy, and the contribution black African immigrant medical doctors make in filling in the gaps in hospitals in disadvantaged areas. These contributions affect South Africans.

6.3.2 Recommendations for future research

The focus of this study was to place black African immigrant professionals at the centre of analysis. I do acknowledge that the study lacks specificity, so there is a need to engage single professions and unpack the dynamics involved in regards to xenophobia, for example: the medical profession. Also, the intersection of citizenship, race, class and gender needs to be researched. Specifically, there is a need to understand the circumstances of female black African immigrant professionals. There is also a need to make comparative studies at an inter-provincial level and international level. Since South Africa, Namibia and Botswana have been regarded as the favourable destination for migration and the most restrictive to immigrants in the region, there is a need to make comparative analysis.

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Appendix 1

Profile of participants

Nationality	Profession	Age at date of interview	Gender	Sector at date of interview	Duration of stay in South Africa from date of interview	Legal status	Pseudo-Names
Zimbabwean	Medical researcher	30	Female	Public	3 years	Work permit	Tawanda
Democratic Republic of Congo	Gynaecologist	46	Male	Private/Public	16 years	Naturalised	Kimo
Zimbabwean	Medical doctor: general practitioner	38	Female	Public	4 years	Permanent resident	Kathy
Sudanese	Medical doctor: clinician	40	Male	Public	5 years	Permanent resident	Michael
Kenyan	Medical doctor: general practitioner	40	Male	Public	6 months	Work permit	Kimani
Ugandan	Medical doctor: general practitioner	53	Male	Private	20 years	Naturalised	John
Kenyan	Engineer	46	Male	Public	12 years	Naturalised	Kiongo
Ivorian	Computer scientist	29	Male	Public	7 years	Work permit	Ivan
Zimbabwean	Economist	40	Female	Public	5 years	Work permit	Tatenda
Zimbabwean	Mathematician	59	Male	Public	3 years	Permanent resident	Fraser
Zimbabwean	Engineer	34	Male	Private	1 ½ years	Work permit	Farai
Kenyan	Mathematician	45	Female	Public	7 years	Permanent resident	Pamela
Nigerian	Dentist	55	Male	Public	14 years	Naturalised	Alan
Zimbabwean	Historian	56	Male	Public	5 years	Permanent resident	Gordon

Appendix 2

Interview Schedule[11]

Interview number	

Dr. Sir/Madam

My name is Bento Marcos and I am a student in Industrial Sociology and Labour studies at the University of Pretoria. I am studying the experiences of African skilled professionals with xenophobia in Pretoria. Thank you for agreeing to talk to me. In an attempt to maintain your anonymity, your name will not be recorded. Would you mind if I record the commentary of the interview? Furthermore, let me inform you that you have the right not to answer any question on the interview and you are welcome to withdraw from the interview at any time. Once again I thank you for agreeing to participate. I will begin the interview by asking you a few close questions, than I will ask you some open ended questions about specific spaces in society regarding your experiences with state institutions, the workplace and the community. If there is a question that you do not understand, please ask for clarification.

Part A: Structured detail on biography is required.

Interview date: (dd/mm/yy)			
Practice	Public	Private	Both

1. What is your nationality?

2. Are you a permanent resident?

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[11] Please consider that this interview schedule was initially drafted for medical doctors, and due to issues of access, was extended to target black African immigrant professionals generally.

3. If you are employed in the public sector, what is your position in the organization?

_____

(Please state your position)

4. If you work in the private sector, are you the owner of your own private practice?

	Yes	No

5. How old are you?

6. What is your gender?

Male	
Female	

7. How long have you been living in South Africa?

8a. **If you arrived in South Africa before 1994 can you describe your experiences with South Africans, at the time and also after 1994**?

8b. Would you say that you have had much interaction with South Africans since 1994?

Part B: Open ended questions regarding state institutions, the workplace and the community.

Experiences of xenophobia cut across various spheres in society. As such, for different spaces in society, foreigners may experience xenophobia in different forms and varying degrees. To attain a more encompassing description of their experiences, the interview schedule will engage different spaces in society in an attempt to unveil foreigners' distinct encounters with xenophobia. The interview will be limited to the following spaces in society: state institutions, the workplace and the community.

1. Xenophobia in State institutions

9. Have you encountered any situation at any state institution or by any state official that you many consider to be xenophobic? For example; the police, the department of Home affairs and the department of health?

10. Officials at the department of Home Affairs and the South African Police Service are known to display very negative and discriminatory attitudes towards foreigners; can you provide some examples of your particular experience with officials at the department of Home Affairs or the South African police?

11. Is it commonplace in your circle of professionals, that Africans complain of negative and discriminatory treatments being directed at them by officials at the department of Home Affairs or other state institutions?

12. Have you heard of other African medical doctors who have encountered negative or discriminatory experiences with the South African Police?

13. How do you deal with the restrictive policies of the state?

14. **(This question applies only to medical doctors, skip it of different profession)** Did you face any difficulties when registering with the Health Professionals council? **Have you heard of any case where other African doctors have experienced difficulties? May you give me some detailed examples.**

15. Do you think that your status as a black African foreigner stimulates or influences these negative and discriminatory attitudes?

16. Do you feel that your class and professional positioning does or should play a role in minimizing negative discriminatory attitudes by South African officials at the department of Home Affairs, the South African Police or elsewhere?

17. Are there any other experiences that you have encountered involving the state or official of state institutions that might have been left out that you feel are worthy of mentioning?

2. Xenophobia in the workplace

Public Institutions (This section applies only if participants have or are currently employed in the public sector)

18. **(This question applies only to medical doctors, skip it of different profession)** I understand that before a doctor can establish a private practice, they have to work for the state for a minimum of five (5) years, so doctors do have some

experience in the public sector. If you are currently employed at a state institution please describe your workplace relations with South African colleagues?

 And if you are not currently working for a public hospital, please describe your workplace relations with South Africans when you did so?

19. How would you describe your experiences with your South African colleagues in the workplace? E.g.; are they friendly, distant, aggressive, or indifferent?

20. Have you been confronted with a situation that you may consider to be xenophobic or discriminatory due to your foreigner status in the workplace? If so, can you elaborate on that a bit more?

21. Do you socialize more with your foreign colleagues or with your South African colleagues in the workplace?

21a. If so why?

22. Do you feel a sense of discrimination in the workplace due to your foreigner status?

23. Do you feel that your progress as a professional is based on the same criteria as your South African counterparts? Ex: when dealing with who gets and does not get promoted or general professional merit or credibility. Can you give any examples to justify your response? Ex: "His a foreigner, he does not deserve this".

24. Do you feel like your South African Colleagues see you as a threat to their professional lives? Has there been a particular occasion where this has manifested itself into hostility or discrimination? Ex: making statements like 'these foreigners are here to take our jobs' or expressing negative sentiments when a foreign African is promoted.

25. What is your general perception of your South African colleagues? Would you say they are liaise, incompetent, good professionals.

26. Regarding foreigners of other races and Non-Africans, do you feel that you are treated with the same degree of fairness as them in the workplace?

27. How was the relationship between you and the support staff?

Private practice (This section apply only if participants are working in the private sector)

28. **(This question applies only to medical doctors, skip it of different profession)** What drove you into the private sector?

29. **(This question applies only to medical doctors, skip it of different profession)**

What are some obstacles that you have encountered when trying to get a license to operate a private establishment?

30. **(This question applies only to medical doctors, skip it of different profession)**
Do South Africans come to your establishment for medical assistance? If no, why do you think that is so?

31. **(This question applies only to medical doctors, skip it of different profession)**
Have you experienced xenophobia in your private practice?

32. **(This question applies only to medical doctors, skip it of different profession)**
I understand that there used to be an Association for foreign doctors employed in South Africa? Were you a member of the association? **If so**, was this association effective in dealing with issues relating to discrimination of its members? **If you were not a member**, why not? Are you a member of any other association that protects foreign African doctors? **If so**, how effective are they when dealing with the issues that arise?

Relations with patients (This section applies only to medical doctors)

32. May I also ask you to describe your particular experience with patients at these state hospitals? Would you consider these encounters to be xenophobic at times or do you think they are influenced by your nationality?

33. Do patients generally have a preference for South African doctors rather than African foreign doctors?

34. Would you be able to describe, if there are any differences, in the ways patients treat you at your private practice and those at state hospitals? E.g. are they friendly, rude or distant from you or other African foreign doctors. How do they react when they find out that you are not South African?

35. If you attend to South African patients, what groups mostly attend your practice? Ex: The poor, the affluent, white, black. Why do you think that this trend is prevalent?

36. Do you have large numbers of foreign patients?

37. Regarding xenophobic experiences, do you think that there are differences in the experiences when you are working in the townships and the urban hospitals?

38. Is there any information regarding your experience at the workplace, both private and public institutions that you feel has been left out or has been discussed that you feel may be relevant for the study?

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3. Xenophobia in the community

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39. How would you describe your relationship with South Africans in your community? Would you categorize them as xenophobic? Give examples of xenophobic experiences.

40. Where in South Africa or to be more specific, in the place where you work and stay would you say you have experienced xenophobia? E.g. in the township or the urban areas, the shopping centres, in restaurants, social events, on the streets, etc..

39. Do you feel that other African foreigners are victimized in South Africa, as a result of xenophobic sentiments?

40. Looking at nationalities, which African foreigners do you think are victimized the most?

41. Is it commonplace that other African professionals complain of having experienced xenophobic-like experiences from the community where they live or socialize?

42. What kind of reactions do you get from people in the community when they realize that you are not South African? Ex: Do they discriminate? Are they friendly? Or are they indifferent?

43. What role do you think language plays in determining an individual's chance of experiencing xenophobia?

44. Are there any other experiences that you have encountered in the community that might have been left out that you feel are worthy of mentioning?

Thank you for your time. Is there anything else that you would like to say or you would like to ask me?

Appendix 3

Letter of Free, Prior and Informed Consent[12]

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Bento Marcos and I am a Masters student in Industrial Sociology and Labour Studies at the University of Pretoria.

I am studying the experiences of African skilled professionals with xenophobia in Pretoria. In attempting to understand their particular experience, part of the information in the study will be collected through interviews with open-ended questions, designed to reveal the experiences of these skilled professionals with xenophobia in South Africa. Your name will not be asked, or recorded. The interviews are therefore anonymous and the information you provide will be treated with confidentiality.

I am asking permission to tape the interview. The tape recordings will be transcribed by me and will be only available to my supervisor and myself. Your voluntary response to this request constitutes your informed consent to participate in this social research. You are not being coerced to participate in this study and, therefore you may withdraw from the interview process at any time without penalty and ask to see the interview results in order to verify the content. The information resulting from the interviews is only for the purpose of social scientific research, and your identity and that of others will be held in confidence, unless you specify otherwise. These research activities have been approved by the Department of Sociology of the University of Pretoria and by the Research Proposal and Ethical Committee of the Faculty of Humanities of the same University.

I wish to thank you for your time

Sincerely

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[12] Original letters given to participants were all printed on a letter head.

Bento Marcos

_____

Informed consent form

"Professionals and xenophobia: a sociological analysis of skilled immigrants in Gauteng"

I hereby agree to participate in the above research project. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any stage and agree that the interview may be tape-recorded. I understand that this will be transcribed and that the transcript may be used at a later date. I also understand that my name will not be used in the mini-dissertation or attached to the transcript of the interview in order to ensure anonymity.

PARTICIPANT

NAME:_____

SIGNATURE:_____

DATE:_____

RESEARCHER

NAME:_____

SIGNATURE:_____

DATE:_____